The JOURNAL
OF THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM

A CATALOGUE *of* GREEK MANUSCRIPTS
at the WALTERS ART MUSEUM
and ESSAYS *in* HONOR *of* GARY VIKAN



VOLUME 62, 2004

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Preface

This volume of *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* is dedicated to Dr. Gary Vikan, a scholar of Byzantine art, a curator of medieval art, and, for the last ten years, director of the Walters Art Museum. His personal interest in the culture of Byzantium has generated scholarship on, and acquisition of, important medieval manuscripts and objects at the Walters. The articles in this volume, and the acquisitions recorded in the short notices, are the result of his unfailing enthusiasm for the scholarly study of medieval art and of his conviction that it can play a vital part in the cultural life of the city of Baltimore.

The centerpiece of the volume is a catalogue of the twenty Greek manuscripts in the collection, all but one of which were acquired by Henry Walters between 1895 and 1931. This is the fourth major scholarly catalogue of the Walters' manuscripts holdings, following Sirapie der Nersessian's *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, and Lilian M. C. Randall's monumental three-volume catalogue of the *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, covering France and Belgium. A catalogue of the Walters' Greek holdings was first envisioned by Randall, curator of manuscripts from 1974 to 1996. The catalogue as it now appears is the achievement of Georgi Parpulov, Carol Bates Fellow in the department of manuscripts, 2002–3.

Other essays in this volume have generously been provided by scholars working on particular manuscripts and objects belonging to the museum. A major exception is Nigel Wilson's article about the Archimedes Palimpsest, a privately owned codex. The Archimedes Palimpsest is a document of outstanding historical significance. Following the initial suggestion by Dr. Vikan, the manuscript was deposited at the Walters in January 1999 for the purposes of conservation, imaging, and scholarship. The Palimpsest Project, as it has come to be called, has already yielded extraordinary results, including a complerely new reading of proposition 14 of Archimedes' *Method of Mechanical Theorems* and the discovery of two hitherto unknown works by the fourth-century B.C. Athenian orator Hyperides. Nigel Wilson's article is a report on the state of the project, which has been underway for five years, and which is ongoing. A complete digital facsimile of the Archimedes Palimpsest, with the palimpsested texts enhanced, is planned for the next few years.

Other notices in this volume consist of recent acquisitions in the department of manuscripts and accounts of manuscripts that have not previously been catalogued. There are, for example, notes on the one Coptic manuscript and on the one Russian codex in the collection. Also included are two Flemish manuscripts acquired after 1997, and, therefore, not included in Randall's catalogue. One is a calendar of 1301, acquired in Lilian Randall's honor, and the other comprises three cuttings from the famous Beaupré Antiphonary (Ms. W.759–762), which was acquired by the Walters from the Hearst Foundation in 1957. It is very satisfactory that this present volume also records the reunification of six further fragments of the great Conradin Bible (Ms. W.152), following the acquisitions of other fragments in 1956 and 1982.

Dr. Vikan has always been expansive in his view of the Byzantine world. Under his leadership, the Walters has become one of the greatest repositories of the related arts of Ethiopia in the Western Hemisphere. It is entirely appropriate that the volume includes an account of an Ethiopian diptych acquired in honor of Gary Vikan on the occasion of his tenth anniversary as director of the museum.

William Noel
Volume Editor

ESSAYS



Other Icons: The Classical Nude in Byzantine Bone and Ivory Carvings

HENRY MAGUIRE

Two Middle Byzantine carved ivory boxes at the Walters (acc. nos. 71.295 and 71.115) have reliefs representing, on one, biblical events, and, on the other, mythological episodes that are difficult to identify. These works are useful for considering Byzantine attitudes to the antique. In contrast to the clarity that artists sought in the portrayal of sacred scenes, they deliberately obscured the identity of pagan ones, avoiding inscriptions, conflating subjects, and drawing on the attributes and antics of contemporary popular entertainers. Depicting classical myths in this irreverent manner allowed the Byzantines to gaze upon the pagan nude without exposing themselves to the danger of idolatry.

The Walters Art Museum is fortunate to possess major examples of Middle Byzantine ivory and bone carving decorated with both Christian and pagan subjects, revealing two opposing, but not unrelated, aspects of medieval Byzantine culture. A comparison of two of these works, which can be dated to the eleventh or twelfth centuries, shows how, within a broadly similar format, the carvers treated Christian and pagan images in very different ways, revealing distinctive Byzantine attitudes to each type of subject matter. The first object, a wooden box with a truncated pyramidal roof bears carved ivory plaques depicting scenes from the fall of Adam and Eve and from the story of Joseph (acc. no. 71.295).[1] The panel that begins the chronological sequence, on the left hand side of the front of the box, illustrates a naked Adam eating the fruit, beside a prominently engraved inscription: Η ΠΑΡΑΒΑΣΙΣ ΑΔΑΜ (the transgression of Adam; fig. 1). A second plaque, on the right of the box, shows the temptation of Eve, who stands equally naked as she listens to the serpent entwined around the tree; beside her is inscribed the legend: ΟΦΙΣ ΟΜΙΛΩΝΤ (?) ΕΥΑ (the serpent speaking to Eve). Between these two panels, but half their size since it is situated beneath the lock, is another depicting Adam grieving after the Fall. He sits, still without any clothes, in the classical pose of sorrow, with his left elbow supported on his raised left knee and his cheek resting against his left hand. In a fourth plaque, on the back of the box, Adam reappears, again identified by a large inscription, covering his nakedness after the Fall. The long rectangular panel on the lid of the box depicts the initial episodes from another biblical story, that of Joseph and his brothers. On the left, we see Jacob sending his son out to find his brothers in the fields, with the inscription: ΙΑΚΩΒ ΑΠΟΣΤΕΛΩΝ ΙΩΣΗΦ ΠΡ(ΟΣ) ΤΟΥΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ (Jacob sending Joseph ro his brothers). On the right, an angel, identified by the engraved legend as ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ Κ(ΥΡΙΟ)Υ (angel of the Lord), shows Joseph the way.

The box has lost several of its ivory plaques from its back and two ends, so the overall narrative of the stories no longer has the coherence that it once had. Nevertheless, on the plaques that do survive, the identity of the subjects is made absolutely clear, not only through the gestures, clothing, and arrributes of the actors themselves, but also through the carefully engraved inscriptions, which identify all but one of the panels: the truncated plaque under the lock.

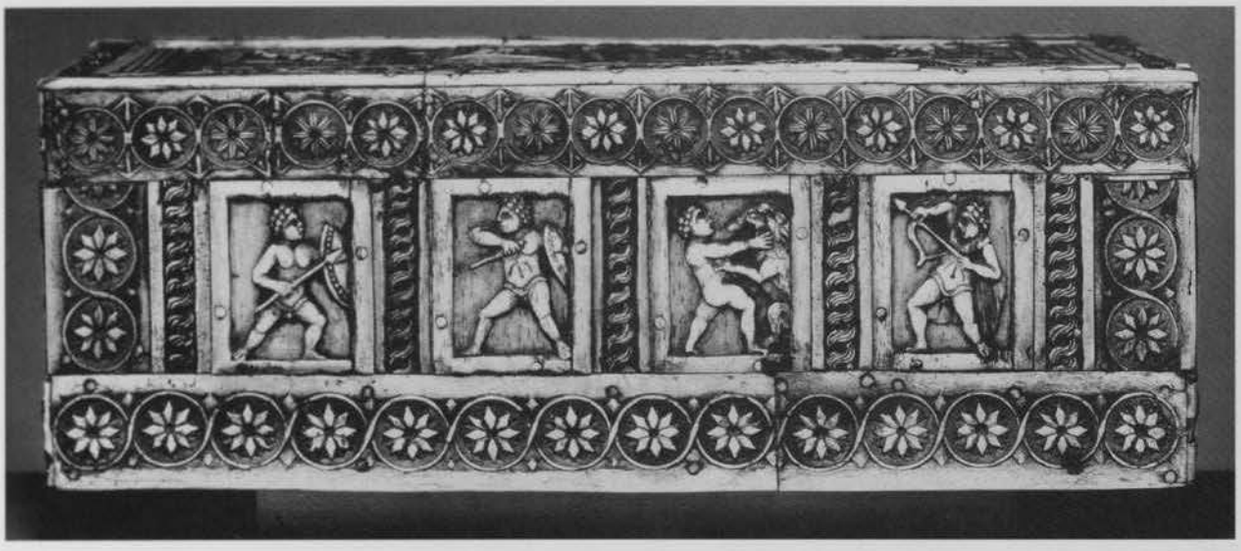
We now turn to a second box in the Walters Art Museum (acc. no. 71.115), which depicts a variety of carvings of a non-Christian character (figs. 2–3).[2] The two boxes resemble each other in some respects. They share similar dimensions, although the second box is covered by a flat lid rather than by a truncated pyramid. In each case, the subjects are presented in rectangular panels, framed by strips containing circular rosettes. All of the panels on the second box contain single figures, many of whom carry weapons of various kinds. And, as in the case of the portrayals of Adam and Eve, all of these figures are naked. However, unlike the figures on the box with the Christian stories, the subjects on the second box are not named by engraved inscriptions. It is difficult, even, to determine their identities through their actions or their attributes. While the carved figures certainly project an air of the antique, their iconography is for the most part unspecific; none of them corresponds to standard types from the visual repertoire of ancient mythology.

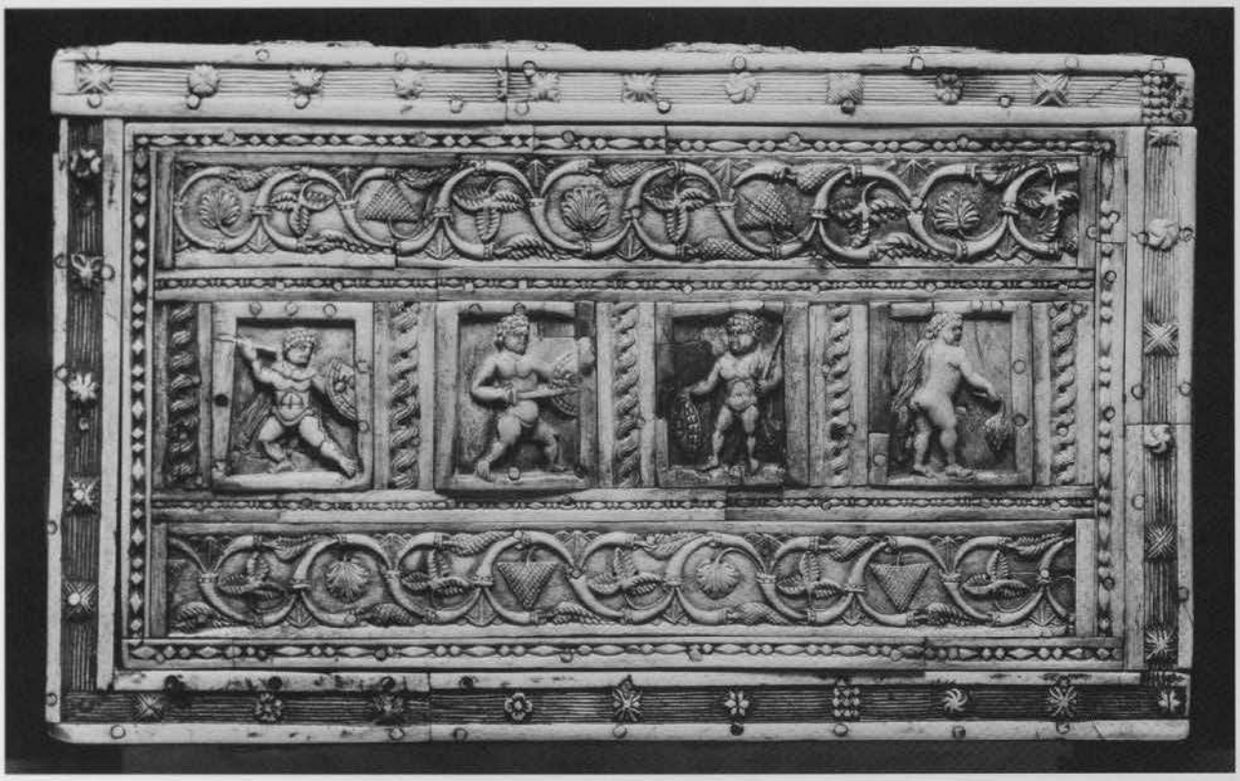


Above: Fig. 1. Casket with panels depicting Adam and Eve, ivory. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 71.295. Facing page: Fig. 2. Box with panels depicting nude figures, ivory. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 71.115. Fig. 3. Lid of box with panels depicting nude figures, ivory. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 71.115. Fig. 4. Lid of the Veroli Casket with the Rape of Europa, musicians, and dancers, ivory. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

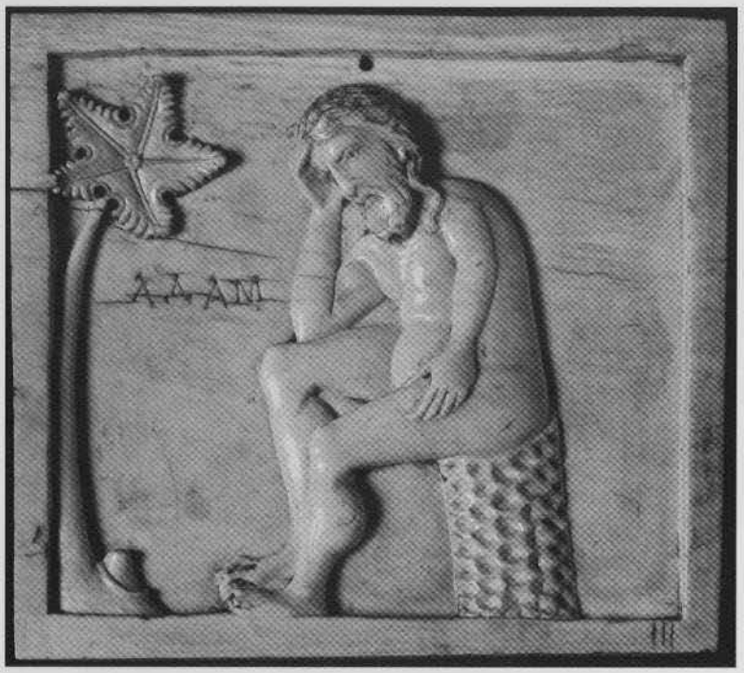
The carving that comes closest to a standard rendering of an ancient iconographic theme shows a naked male, perhaps Hercules, wrestling bare-handed with a lion, although the hero's club is not visible (fig. 2, second panel from the right).[3] Two other panels, each showing a nude male aiming an arrow up into the air, were identified by Kurt Weitzmann as representations of Hercules killing the Stymphalian birds on the basis of comparisons with classical sculpture (fig. 2, first panel on the right).[4] But, as Weitzmann admitted, the identification is somewhat tenuous as the bone plaques do not show any birds. Another of the nude figures, who holds a large bunch of grapes in his right hand, might possibly be identified as a satyr (fig. 3, first panel on the right).[5] In summary, the motifs on the second casket lack iconographic precision, and they have no inscriptions to identify them. These distinctions between the non-Christian and the sacred imagery on the two boxes cannot be a result of differing workshop practices, for we know that the same workshop or group of carvers who worked on the classicizing box in the Walters Art Museum also produced boxes decorated with plaques illustrating the Adam and Eve story. These boxes depicting the Fall, which survive in collections in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg and in the Landesmuseum at Darmstadt, share with the box in the Walters a distinctive carved ornament, which in the case of the Walters' box appears on the lid (fig. 3). This pattern takes the form of a vine scroll whose stems are created by interlocking cornucopias, and whose grape bunches have a strongly triangular form.[6] However, on both the Darmstadt and the St. Petersburg boxes, engraved inscriptions clearly identify the individual scenes from Genesis, a distinction that seems to indicate a desire on the part of the artists or their patrons to treat Christian subject matter in a different manner from the profane.

It is true to say that the profane figures portrayed on Byzantine ivory and bone boxes are very rarely named with engraved inscriptions, even when they appear to be drawn from specific episodes of pagan mythology. The majority of Christian subjects, however, do have inscriptions. While it is the case that not all of the Christian figures depicted









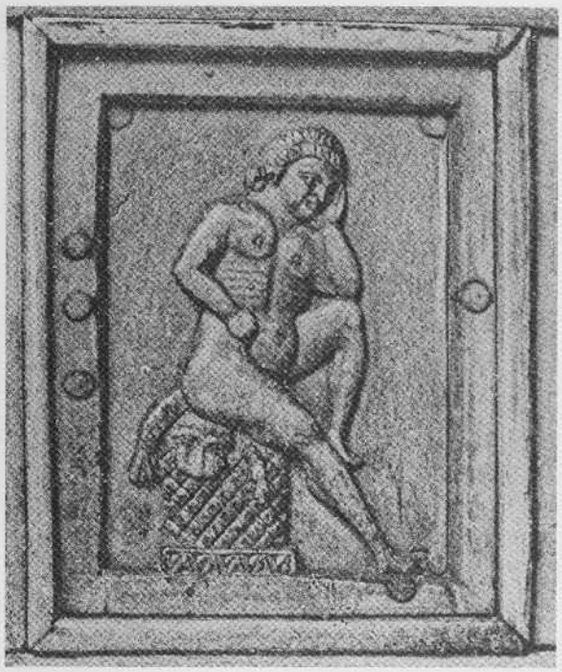


Fig. 5. Plaque from a box depicting Adam's remorse, ivory. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 71.296. Fig. 6. Detail from box showing the Hercules of Lysippos, after Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.–XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1930), 1:pl. 5b.

in Byzantine ivory carvings have legends, virtually none of the profane subjects are so defined. Even the Victoria and Albert Museum's Veroli Casket, a repository of classicizing figures and evidently a very expensive and high-status object, lacks inscriptions to identify its mythological figures (fig. 4).[7]

If, for example, we juxtapose two objects now in Paris, the well-known Harbaville triptych in the Louvre and another rosette casket in the Musée de Cluny, we find that the various saints depicted on the triptych all have engraved inscriptions,[8] while the mythological figures on the casket have none.[9] The figures on the Cluny casket are certainly evocative of specific mythological characters, such as the centaur Chiron with the boy Achilles on his back or the eagle Zeus with Ganymede, but no inscribed legends survive to confirm these identities.[10]

A second juxtaposition will make the same point. Figure 5 shows an ivory plaque, also in the Walters Art Museum (acc. no. 71.296), which was originally attached to another box portraying scenes from the fall of Adam and Eve. The carving represents Adam seated in remorse after being expelled from paradise.[11] Figure 6 depicts the formal model for the pose of the grieving Adam, a plaque from a box now in Xanten, which reproduces a bronze statue of Hercules by Lysippos.[12] Until 1204, the Hercules of Lysippos was in Constantinople, where it was described by Byzantine writers such as Constantine Manasses and Niketas Choniates.[13] In the statue, Hercules was shown sitting in exhaustion on a basket after cleaning out the Augean stables. The basket had been used to clean out the refuse; it is also illustrated in the plaque in Xanten, where it is draped with Hercules' lionskin. In the ivory at the Walters Art Museum, Adam is portrayed in a pose similar to that of Hercules, with his head cradled in the palm of one hand and one elbow propped up on a raised knee. The closeness of the carving to its classical model is revealed by the fact that Adam even sits on a woven, basket-like object, unlike most other Byzantine portrayals of Adam grieving, in which he sits on stones or on a tree trunk.[14] But we may note that whereas Adam is clearly identified by engraved letters, there is no such inscription to name Hercules.

Not only are the profane images on the boxes unidentified, but their subject matter is frequently imprecise and badly defined—at least from the perspective of modern iconographers who have struggled to classify the images. Indeed, the Byzantine artists often seem to have delighted in playing with and confusing the iconographic categories.

In general, the attitude to mythological subject matter on the boxes was cavalier, with a great deal of tolerance for iconographic drift—an attitude that would not have been acceptable in Byzantine religious art. Even on the Veroli Casket, not much effort was made to portray the subjects completely accurately. This is evident if we compare the portrayal of the rape of Europa on the Veroli Casket (fig. 4, at the left) with another version of the same subject carved on an isolated ivory plaque also preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 7). On the plaque, an ivory relief from a casket that is no longer preserved in its entirety, we see the more accurate portrayal of the story, complete with



Fig. 7. Plaque from a box with the Rape of Europa, ivory. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

the waves under the swimming bull and a figure of Eros emerging from the sea to guide the pair with a nuptial torch. The latter figure also appears on a Roman mosaic portraying this scene.[15] However, the version on the lid of the Veroli Casket is much less faithful to the myth (fig. 4). The waves of the sea and the guiding Eros have gone, and in their stead we have an unruly crowd of stone-throwing boys who have no business here, but have apparently barged their way in from a completely different context, the stoning of Achan in the Old Testament story of Joshua.[16] Clearly, as Anthony Cutler has suggested, the artist did not care to get the iconography exactly right—the aim was to evoke the myths in a jocular way rather than to reproduce a canonical archetype accurately.[17]

Other works of art with classicizing figures exhibit a similarly imprecise attitude toward classical iconography. For example, the paintings on the outside of a tenth-century glass cup in the treasury of San Marco in Venice exhibit a sequence of naked or semi-naked figures that were evidently intended to evoke ancient art, whether statues or even vase paintings. But the figures are not accompanied by inscriptions, and it has proved difficult for modern scholars to identify any of them with specific characters from Greek mythology—the painted nudes are certainly evocative of the antique, but only in a generic way.[18]

We can ask why these two characteristics, the lack of definition and the playing with the categories, were so widespread in Byzantine profane art. One answer is to suppose that, with the passing of so many centuries since the end of antiquity, medieval Byzantine artists and their patrons were simply ignorant of classical iconography. According to this view, the imagery on the boxes would represent the tail end of an already dead classical tradition.[19] However, twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Byzantine



Fig. 8. Detail from box showing a naked man brandishing a stick, bone. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

writers such as Constantine Manasses and Niketas Choniates described the statue of Hercules by Lysippos with considerable precision and with a knowledge of its identity.[20] This fact argues against the proposition that the Byzantines, or at least the more educated ones, were completely ignorant of or unconcerned with classical iconography.[21] And it is certainly true that, while many of the classicizing figures on the Byzantine boxes are too generic to be named, others, such as Europa or Chiron with Achilles, are sufficiently specific to allow identification by anyone familiar with the myths.

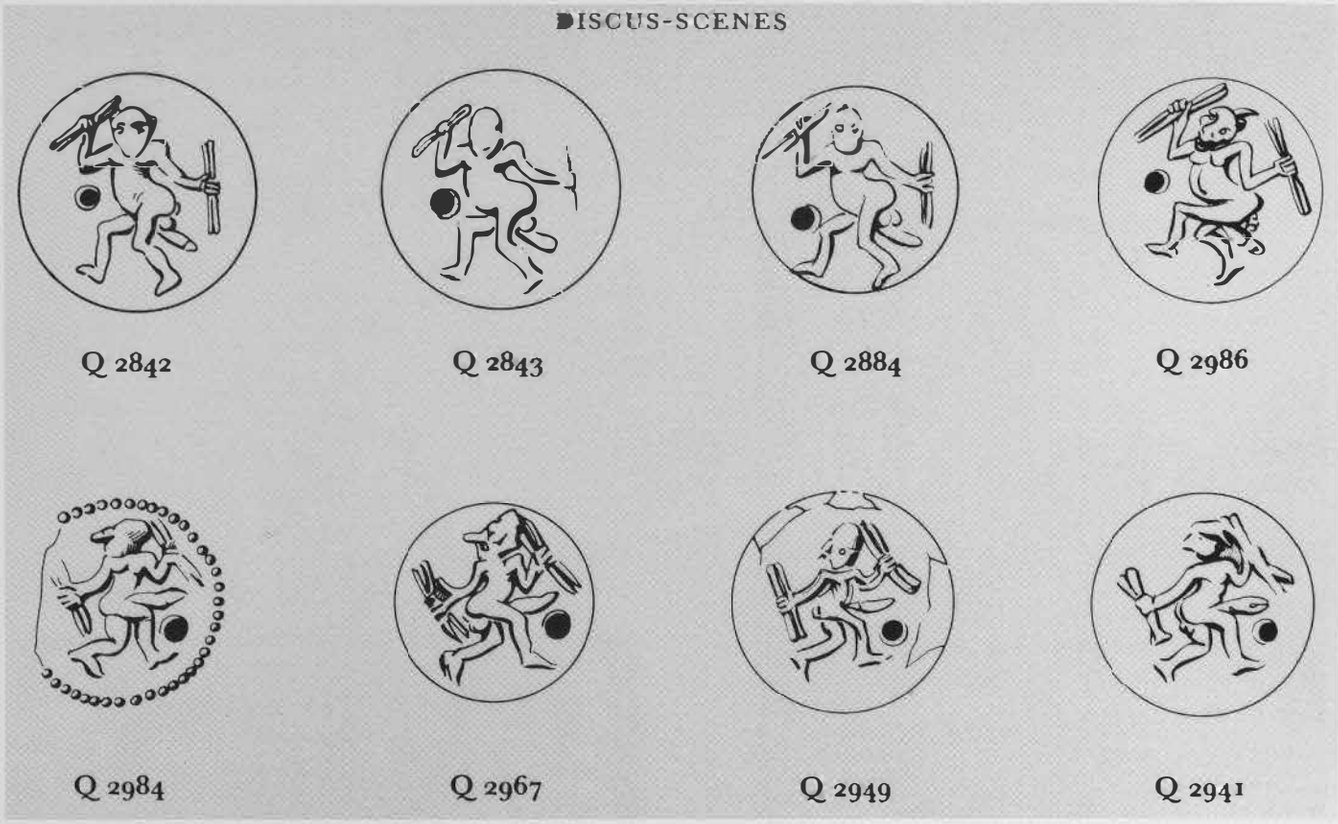


Fig. 9. Dancers on Roman pottery lamps, after Bailey, *A Catalogue of Lamps in the British Museum* (London, 1975), 3:62.

But if the Byzantine carvers of the boxes and their patrons did on occasion have specific deities or mythological stories in mind, why did they never identify these subjects with inscriptions, as they frequently did in the case of Christian subjects?[22] And why did they care so little about the accuracy of their renderings of classical mythology? Another possible answer to this question is that the anonymity and imprecision of the non-Christian imagery on the boxes acted as defenses against the dangers of idolatry. In Byzantine art from the tenth century onwards, Christian images, especially portrait icons, almost always carried identifying inscriptions and adhered as closely as possible to canonical types.[23] For the major saints, a system of sacred portraiture was established so that each one could be readily identified by his precisely portrayed features.[24] The named and accurately defined Christian icons were supposed to lead the worshiper directly into contact with the prototype without ambiguity or confusion. To quote from the acts of the second council of Nicaea, "The [sacred] image resembles the prototype not with regard to essence, but only with regard to the name and to the position of the members which can be characterized."[25] But the non-Christian images on the boxes, unnamed and imprecise, could not so easily lead the viewer back to their prototypes—they could not be used in a devotional sense as icons. Just as the addition of inscriptions validated Christian icons, so did the lack of inscriptions invalidate profane icons and distance the viewer from their veneration. Likewise, in a Christian image, the accuracy of the portrait type was an essential feature of the authenticity of the image, but the pagan images, by their relative lack of iconographic precision, were disempowered.

Another distancing technique employed by Byzantine artists when they depicted profane subjects was mockery; the same strategy was employed by Byzantine writers also, when they described pagan works of art. The *topos* began with Eusebius, who claimed that Constantine had peopled his new foundation of Constantinople with pagan statues only so that people could laugh at them.[26] In the tenth century, the poet Constantine the Rhodian prefaced his description of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople with a long account of the Seven Wonders of the city, among them the ancient bronze doors of the Senate House at the Forum of Constantine, with reliefs depicting the battle between the gods and the giants. After a vivid description of these pagan reliefs, the medieval writer declared: "With such errors was the stupid race of [pagan] Greece deceived, and gave an evil veneration to the indecency of vain impieties. But the great and wise Constantine brought [the sculptures] here to be a sport for

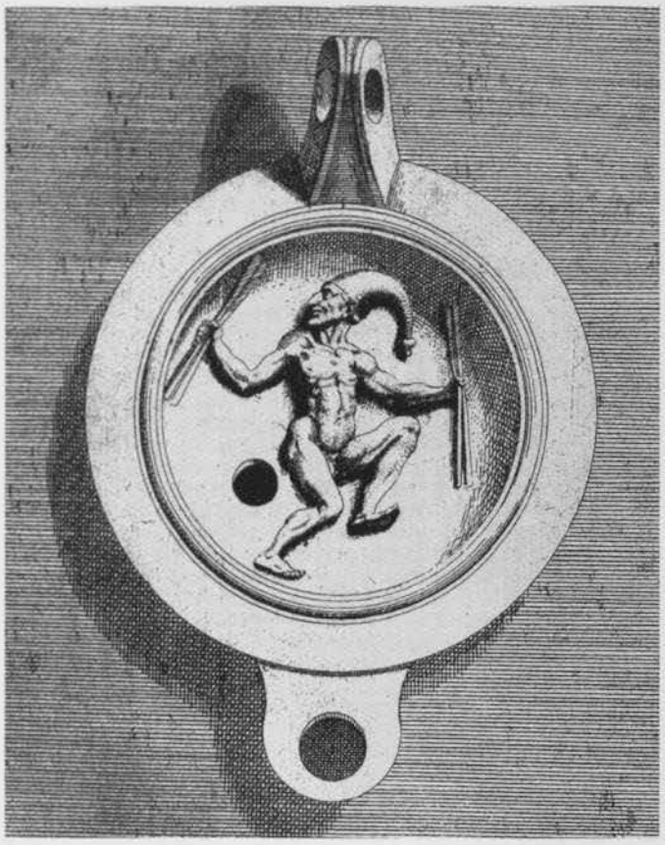


Fig. 10. Lamp from Rome with a dancer, after Bartoli and Bellori, *Lucernae veterum sepulchrales iconicae* (1702), pl. 34.

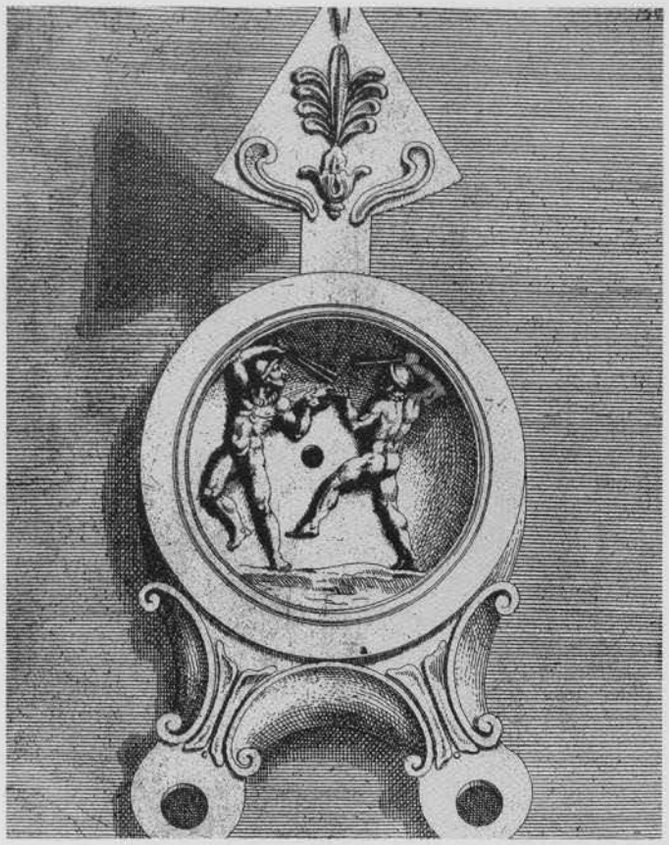


Fig. 11. Lamp from Rome with dancers, after Bartoli and Bellori, *Lucernae veterum sepulchrales iconicae* (1702), pl. 36.

the city, to be a plaything for children, and a source of laughter for men."[27] As Anthony Cutler has shown, the pagan imagery on the Byzantine boxes is consistently undercut by undignified juxtapositions—such as the disappearance head first into a basket by a small boy who accompanies the stately procession of the naked Dionysus on one end of the Veroli Casket.[28] Typically in this case, the carver has disrupted the integrity of the scene by drafting this comic motif from another context, namely the Chastisement of Eros, which depicts the naughty boy trying to escape his mother's upraised shoe by hiding himself in a basket. The Chastisement of Eros was illustrated, among other places, on a sixth-century floor mosaic from the Hall of Hippolytus in Madaba.[29]

There is another aspect of the classicizing imagery on the Byzantine boxes, hitherto insufficiently recognized, which also suggests that its approach to classical antiquity was mocking rather that reverent, namely the conflation of mythological subjects with the popular entertainment of the mimes. Such a conflation, mixing together high and low culture, can be seen in an oblong box preserved in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, which is decorated with a series of bone plaques, each depicting a clothed or semi-clothed figure.[30] Among the figures is an old man with a beard and a balding pate who brandishes a stick (fig. 8). This character was identified by Kurt Weitzmann, in his book on *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, as Silenus, a member of the retinue of Dionysus, fighting his battle in India. Weitzmann identified another warrior on the same casket as Pan, on account of his horns. He compared the repertoire of fighters on the box to a Roman sarcophagus in Cortona Cathedral, where a horned Pan appears in the Triumph of Dionysus.[31] Another fighter on the box, who carries a sword in his right hand while holding a shield in his left, can be compared with a Silenus who fights with a lance on the sarcophagus. On the basis of such parallels, Weitzmann suggested that the images on the Byzantine box all went back to a lost miniature recension illustrating a lost Hellenistic poem on the adventures of Dionysus. Thus, Weitzmann associated the carvings on the box with the high literary culture of antiquity.

It does seem likely that there are elements of Dionysiac imagery in the figures on the box, but there are also echoes of other ancient characters even less reputable than the followers of Dionysus, namely the performers in pointed hats who were referred to as *cinaedi* and later as *grylloi*.[32] These entertainers, as a category of representations in Roman floor mosaics and lamps, have recently been brought to our attention by Katherine Dunbabin,[33] but they also had an afterlife in Byzantium. In Roman art, the



Fig. 12. Groullos and his musicians. Madrid, Bibliotheca Nacional, Ms. Vitr. 26-2 (Chronicle of Skylitzes), fol. 78v, after Grabar and Manoussacas, *L'illustration du manuscrit de Skylitzès de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid* (Venice, 1979), fig. 80.

performers sometimes appear in the contexts of banquets, as dinner entertainment. An example is a mosaic now in the Vatican in which two groups of dancers and musicians flank an abbreviated banqueting scene.[34] In the center, there is a stylized semicircular bench for the diners, a round table, an amphora standing on a tripod, and a servant with a short tunic holding a jug. On the left, a man and a woman dance to the music of a flutist. The male dancer is naked except for a loincloth, and he holds two sticks in his right hand, an attribute that we shall encounter later. On the right, there are three more dancers. Again, the males wear only a loincloth and hold the two sticks. The woman, who is seen from the back, is clothed in a long, but diaphanous tunic. Similar performers can be found represented on Roman lamps (fig. 9). In examples now at The British Museum, the dancers hold the paired sticks in both hands, and they are completely naked except for their hats, which have a characteristic pointed or cone-shaped form.[35] As can be seen from the lamps, the dances appear to have had a ribald character involving a great deal of lewd posturing, especially with the buttocks projecting.

More Roman depictions of such entertainers occur on the lamps illustrated in Bartoli's eighteenth-century publication of the lamps found in Roman cemeteries.[36] Here again, the dancers hold the paired sticks in their hands, and they are naked except for their pointed caps (figs. 10–11). Some of the caps shown on the lamps have little pom-poms at their tips. Sometimes, as in a painting discovered in the Columbarium of the Villa Pamphili at Rome, the men dance with one stick rather than two, although they are still naked apart from their loincloths and their pointed hats.[37]

These performances continued to be evoked in medieval Byzantine literature, and also in Byzantine art. In the Middle Ages, the entertainers appear to have been associated with the term "gryllos." According to Pliny's *Natural History*, a "gryllus" was first portrayed by an Egyptian painter named Antiphilos, who "painted a figure in an absurd costume known by the joking name of Gryllus, the name consequently applied to every picture of that sort."[38]

Anyone familiar with Byzantine history will know of the character assassination of the ninth-century emperor



Fig. 13. Pottery bowl with musician and dancer. Rhodes, Palati Megalou Magistrou, after Papanikola-Bakirtzis, ed. *Kathemerine zoe sto Byzantio* (Thessaloniki, 2001), no. 223.

Michael III that was carried out by the official biography of his successor, Basil I. In the *Life of Basil*, we are told that Michael wasted his time and money in dissolute living, with a crony or jester named Groullos as his collaborator in his drunken antics. On one occasion, the emperor Michael III played a trick on his own mother, the saintly Theodora. He sat himself upon the imperial throne in the Chrysotriklinos, the great throne room of the palace, and had the bearded Groullos cloth himself in the vestments of the patriarch and sit by his side. He then invited his mother to come and receive the patriarch's blessing. Theodora came into the throne room and fell at the feet of the supposed patriarch, beseeching him to say a prayer on her behalf, whereupon Groullos rose from his throne, and, in the words of the text, "turned his rear toward her" and "emitted an ass-like noise from his foul entrails."[39] This performance, we are told, greatly amused the emperor, who himself assumed the scatological title of "Bishop of Colonville."[40]

A similar kind of behavior is described in a text dating to the last years of Byzantium, an invective written by John Argyropoulos in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. This is another piece of character assassination, this time directed against a certain Demetrios Katablattas, who is identified on the title page with the scatological sobriquet "The unbridled Priapos Skatablattas." According to Argyropoulos, Skatablattas participated in feasts in which the food served was so disgusting as to defy description, and the entertainments could have come directly off one of the Roman lamps depicting the postures of the dancers with pointed hats: "You lead the dance of the servant girls, while singing to them the airs to which they dance.... In the convolutions of the dances, and in the other flexings and contortions, you also have Stenimiros, who leaps before you, with his back side completely naked, and who breaks wind in your beard. And what bursts of laughter does he let loose from every quarter at your expense!"[41]

When the twelfth-century painter of the Chronicle of Skylitzes illustrated the episode of Michael III and Groullos, he depicted the latter's associates in conical hats with pom-poms at their tips. Figure 12 illustrates folio 78v of the manuscript in Madrid, on which we see a group of musicians directed by Groullos in a mocking performance

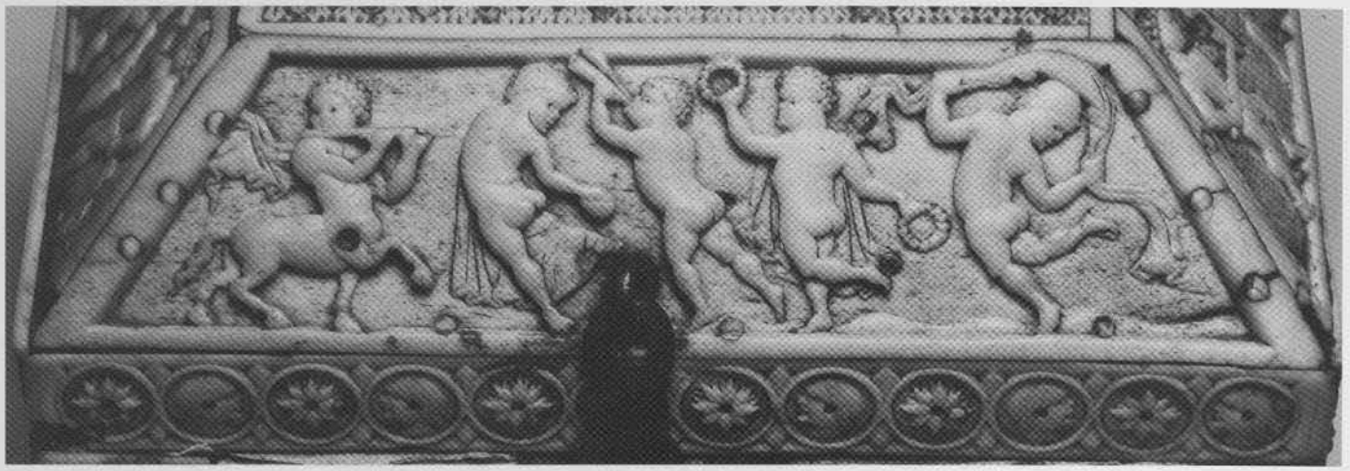


Fig. 14. Lid of box with nude dancers, bone. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 71.298.

in front of Patriarch Ignatios. Two of the performers wear the distinctive headgear that André Grabar, in his publication of the manuscript, termed "étranges bonnets," but which we can recognize as the costume of the mimes.[42]

The antics of the grylloi are also reflected in other works of Byzantine art, though the artistic representations are somewhat less graphic than the literary ones. First, we have the survival of the pointed hats, which are worn, for example, by the dancers and musicians who cavort in the hippodrome of Constantinople, as portrayed in the twelfth-century frescoes at St. Sophia in Kiev.[43] Here, the entertainers perform in front of the Byzantine emperor, who is shown seated in his box. There is also a recently discovered twelfth-century cut-slip bowl from the Island of Rhodes (fig. 13).[44] It shows a harpist with a long pointed cap and, to the right of him, a male dancer with long dangling sleeves who is pointing his behind at the musician in the manner of the posturing grylloi. He even appears to be provided with a phallus, which brings us very close to the depictions on the Roman mosaics and lamps. Other Byzantine pottery vessels depict entertainers wearing the pointed caps of the grylloi. For example, some of the small three-dimensional figures of musicians with pipes and drums that adorn the rims of late tenth- and eleventh-century chafing dishes found in Corinth also wear long pointed hats.[45] A few of these ceramic performers, like the Roman entertainers before them, were represented completely naked.[46]

The grylloi also appear in the carvings of Byzantine ivory and bone boxes, where they mingle with, and mock, the repertoire of classicizing figures. We have seen, for example, the partly nude, pot-bellied old man brandishing a stick who accompanies the apparently Dionysiac figures on the bone casket in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 8). His posture, with his behind naked and projecting, is clearly indebted to the posturing of the nude dancers and must have been intended to be ridiculous (compare figs. 9 and 13).[47] As for his aggressive, fighting stance, this also has parallels in Roman images of the dancers, as can be seen in one of the lamps published by Bartoli, in which two entertainers fight each other with their sticks (fig. 11).[48] As noted above, Kurt Weitzmann identified the naked man on the box as Silenus fighting his battle in India. But, in this case, the fighter clearly is not holding a sword or a lance, but a stick, like the performers represented in Roman art. He is one of the mimes who, according to the twelfth-century canonist Zonaras, "incite unseemly laughter with blows to the temples and loud noises."[49] There may be echoes of the grylloi on other Byzantine ivory and bone carvings, evidenced by the lid of another box with classicizing figures in the Walters Art Museum (acc. no. 71.298), on which four youths stick out their rumps in an exaggerated fashion as they dance (fig. 14). On the casket in the Walters, these undignified dancers accompany figures from pagan mythology such as an Eros riding a hippocamp, a centaur playing a flute, a nude male (Hercules?) playing a lyre, and another borne in a cart drawn by panthers (Dionysus?).[50]

On some Byzantine boxes, the mythological figures themselves acquire the attributes of the grylloi, creating a conflation between the mythology and lowbrow entertainment. Thus, on the lid of the Veroli Casket, to the right of the rape of Europa, there is a trio of dancing figures, usually identified as maenads (fig. 4).[51] Yet two of these "maenads," who are not depicted physically as women, wear the pointed caps with little pom-poms at their tips that are the trademark of the grylloi (compare fig. 10). Even one of the centaur musicians to whose music they dance is wearing the same headgear. More of these centaur/grylloi, with their pointed caps, can be seen on a casket in St. Petersburg.[52] On a casket in Novgorod, a figure of "Hercules" is shown wrestling with the lion, naked except for a tall conical cap.[53] Other figures from the repertoire of the Byzantine boxes also wear these hats.[54]

In conclusion, the classicizing imagery on Byzantine ivory and bone boxes, with its strongly pagan overtones, was treated with a humor and irreverence that is rarely found in Christian iconography. Symptomatic of the Byzantine attitude to the classical past, as revealed by the boxes, is the association of mythological subjects with the mockery of the mimes.[25] By treating classical subjects casually, and with disrespect, the Byzantines of the Middle Ages could flirt with the forbidden culture of antiquity; they could entertain themselves at its expense while avoiding any accusations of idolatry. The Byzantine portrayals of mythological subjects were imprecise, ill defined, and unnamed, in sharp distinction to the general precision of Christian iconography, which had to follow the rules laid down by the Church. Although ignorance must often have been one of the factors causing the apparent incoherence of Byzantine portrayals of antique types, the Byzantines also had sound reasons for avoiding excessive accuracy and specificity in their depiction of mythological episodes and characters. By portraying classical subjects without reverence, and by mixing the literary culture of classical myth with the low entertainment of the mimes, the Byzantines of the Middle Ages could gaze upon the pagan nude while distancing themselves from its dangers and from any possibility of serious veneration.

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NOTES

1. R. H. Randall, Jr., *Masterpieces of Ivory from the Walters Art Gallery* (New York, 1985), 128, no. 201.

2. Ibid., 126, no. 199.

3. Compare, for example, the sixth- or seventh-century silver plate in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris; W. F. Volbach and M. Hirmer, *Early Christian Art* (New York, n.d.), 360, pl. 251.

4. K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1951), 161–62, figs. 190–91, 193.

5. A comparable example, on a casket in The Metropolitan Museum in New York, is discussed by Weitzmann, ibid., 180–81, fig. 236.

6. A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X–XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1930; reprinted 1979), 1:49–50, nos. 68, 69, pls. 48–50; Randall, *Masterpieces of Ivory*, 126, no. 199.

7. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 1:30–32, no. 21, pls. 9–10.

8. H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1997), 133–34, no. 80.

9. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 1:39–40, no. 41, pl. 23.

10. Ibid., pl. 23c.

11. Randall, *Masterpieces of Ivory*, 130, no. 202.

12. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 1:26–27, no. 10, pl. 5b.

13. L. Sternbach, "Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 5 (1902): Beiblatt, col. 75; J.-L. van Dieten, ed., *Nicetas Choniatae Historia* (Berlin, 1975), 519, 649–50; H. Maguire, "The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977): 111–74, esp. 135, 140, figs. 14, 20.

14. The box in the Walters with Old Testament scenes also depicts the grieving Adam sitting on a basket with a crisscross weave (fig. 1).

15. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 1:32, no. 23, pl. 9; Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, 183, fig. 246.

16. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 1:30, no. 21, pl. 9; John Beckwith, *The Veroli Casket* (London, 1962), 3, fig. 1, pl. 2.

17. A. Cutler, "On Byzantine Boxes," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 42/43 (1984/85): 32–47, esp. 43–44, figs. 18–19; idem in Evans and Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium*, 230–31, no. 153.

18. I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "The Cup of San Marco and the 'Classical' in Byzantium," in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 800–1250: Festschrift für Florentine Mütherich zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. K. Bierbrauer, P. K. Klein, and W. Sauerländer (Munich, 1985), 167–74.

19. Ibid., 172.

20. Sternbach, "Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte," col. 75; Van Dieten, ed., *Nicetas Choniatae Historia*, 519, 649–50.

21. As does the sophistication of objects such as the late ninth- or tenth-century inkwell preserved in the treasury of the Cathedral of Padua, where the mythological figures create a panegyric of the scribe who used the object; see H. Maguire, "Epigrams, Art, and the 'Macedonian Renaissance'," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48 (1994): 105–15, esp. 112–15, figs. 11–14.

22. One can contrast the medieval Byzantine practice with the almost obsessive naming of mythological figures on some late antique and early Byzantine floor mosaics, such as the fourth-century House of Aion at Paphos or the sixth-century Hall of Hippolytos at Madaba; see W. A. Daszewski, *Dionysos der Erlöser* (Trier, 1985); M. Piccirillo, *Madaba, le chiese e i mosaici* (Milan, 1989), 50–60.

23. H. Maguire, *The Icons of their Bodies: Saints and their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1996), 36–40, 100–106; see also now K. Boston, "The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts," in *Icon and Word: the Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies presented to Robin Cormack*, eds. A. Eastmond and L. James (Aldershot, 2003), 35–57.

24. Maguire, *The Icons of their Bodies*, 5–47.

25. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XIII:col. 244B.

26. *Vita Constantini* 3.54. See C. Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963): 56–67, esp. 67.

27. E. Legrand, ed., "Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'église des Saints Apôtres de Constantinople," *Revue des études grecques* 9 (1896): 40. For other examples of the topos of pagan statues being erected so that Christians could deride them, see H. Saradi-Mendelovici, "Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990): 47–61, esp. 50.

28. Cutler, "On Byzantine boxes," 44–46; Evans and Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium*, 230, no. 153.

29. Evans and Wixom, eds. *The Glory of Byzantium*, 230, no. 153; Piccirillo, *Madaba*, 59.

30. Evans and Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium*, 232–33, no. 155; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 1:27–28, no. 12, pl. 6.

31. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, 179–83, figs. 242–45.

32. I am indebted to Professor Katherine Dunbabin for the references to representations of pointy-hatted dancers in ancient art that are given here.

33. Professor Dunbabin's work on these performers is due to be published in the proceedings of the conference "Le statut de l'acteur dans l'antiquité," held in Tours in 2002.

34. B. Nogara, *I mosaici antichi conservati nei Palazzi Pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano* (Milan, 1910), 7, pl. IX, 5.

35. D. M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum* (London, 1988), III:62–63, nos. Q 2067, Q2842–43, Q2884–85, Q2941, Q2949, Q2967, Q2984, Q2986, Q3298, Q3345.

36. P. S. Bartoli and G. P. Bellori, *Lucernae veterum sepulchrales iconicae* (1702), pls. 34, 36. Another Gryllos, with buttocks projecting, is illustrated on a lamp published by J. R. Green et al., *Ancient Voices, Modern Echoes: Theatre in the Greek World*, exh. cat. The Nicholson Museum, The University of Sydney (Sydney, 2003), 77, no. 41.

37. G. Bendinelli, *Le pitture del columbario di Villa Pamphili* (=Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia, ser. 3, Roma, fasc. 5) (Rome, 1941), 21, pl. 4a.

38. *Naturalis Historia*, 35.114; H. Rackham, trans. *Pliny, Natural History*, IX (London, 1968), 345. In Phrynichos Sophistes, *Praeparatio sophistica*, ed. I. De Borries (Leipzig, 1911), 58f., "gryllos" is defined as a performer of a type of dance originating in Egypt; see F. Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (691)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974): 323–43, esp. 331n. 46.

39. *Vita Basilii*, ed. I. Bekker, *Theophanes Continuatus* (Bonn, 1838), 247. On the name "Groullos," see Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz," 323–43, esp. 331; J. Hammerstaedt, "Gryllos," Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 129 (2000): 29–46, esp. 42–43.

40. *Vita Basilii*, 244.

41. P. Canivet, N. Oikonomidès, eds., "[Jean Argyropoulos], La comédie de Katablattas: invective byzantine du XVe s.," *Diptycha* 3 (1982–83): 49.

42. A. Grabar, M. Manoussacas, *L'illustration du manuscrit de Skylitzès de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid* (Venice, 1979), 56, fig. 80. The passage illustrated is in H. Thurn, ed., *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum* (Berlin, 1973), 110.

43. V. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics* (London, 1966), 56–57, 236–40; G. Logvin, *Kiev's Hagia Sophia* (Kiev, 1971), 38–40, pls. 251–56.

44. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, ed., *Kathemerine zoe sto Byzantio*, exh. cat., White Tower (Thessaloniki, 2001), 200–201, no. 223.

45. C. H. Morgan II, *Corinth, XI, The Byzantine Pottery* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), 39–40, 179, no. 12, pl. Ia. See also the flutist in a pointed cap depicted on a shard of cut-slip ware from Corinth: ibid., 163, 337, no. 1721, pl. 53m.

46. Ibid., 180, no. 17, pl. IIA, i.

47. On his comic aspects, see Cutler, "On Byzantine Boxes," 45.

48. Bartoli, *Lucernae veterum*, pl. 36.

49. Commentary on the fifty-first canon of the Council in Trullo, *Patrologia graeca*, 137, col. 693B–C. On Zonaras and the mimes, see Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz," 337–38; K. Corrigan, "The 'Jewish Satyr' in the 9th Century Byzantine Psalters," in *Hellenic and Jewish Arts, Interaction, Tradition and Renewal*, ed. A. Ovadiah (Tel Aviv, n.d.), 351–68, esp. 356–57. For a different interpretation of the casket in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, see H. Evans, "Digenis Akritis and a Middle Byzantine Rosette Casket in The Metropolitan Museum of Art" (forthcoming).

50. Randall, *Masterpieces of Ivory*, 128, no. 200, pl. 54.

51. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, 180, fig. 232; Beckwith, *The Veroli Casket*, 8, pl. 4.

52. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 1:41–42, no. 48, pls. 27a, 28e.

53. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 1:41, no. 47, pl. 26c. Compare the naked lion fighters on caskets in Palermo, St. Petersburg, and New York, who also wear pointed caps: ibid., 40, no. 43, pl. 24c, 41–42, no. 48, pl. 27a, and 42, no. 49, pl. 29a. The cap in the New York example was noted by Cutler, "On Byzantine Boxes," 41, fig.17.

54. For example, an archer on the box in Palermo: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 1:40, no. 43, pl. 24d.

55. It is not known to what extent the actual performances of the Byzantine mimes parodied classical myths. The *Life of Basil* compared the performances of Groullos and his retinue to Pan and the satyrs, but the invocation of these mythological characters could have been a rhetorical strategy on the part of the author of the Life to denigrate Michael III and his cronies, much as heretics were conventionally compared by Byzantine writers to followers of Dionysus. See *Vita Basilii*, 245; Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz," 332.

Tenth-Century Greek Gospels at the Walters Art Museum: Writing Styles and Ornamental Motifs

NADEZHDA KAVRUS-HOFFMANN

In an examination of the two tenth-century Greek Gospels at the Walters (W.523 and W.524), the author characterizes their scripts, discusses the paleography of closely related manuscripts, and finally draws parallels in script and decoration between the two books. More precise dates are suggested for both, and new evidence is considered that may be helpful in establishing their place of production.

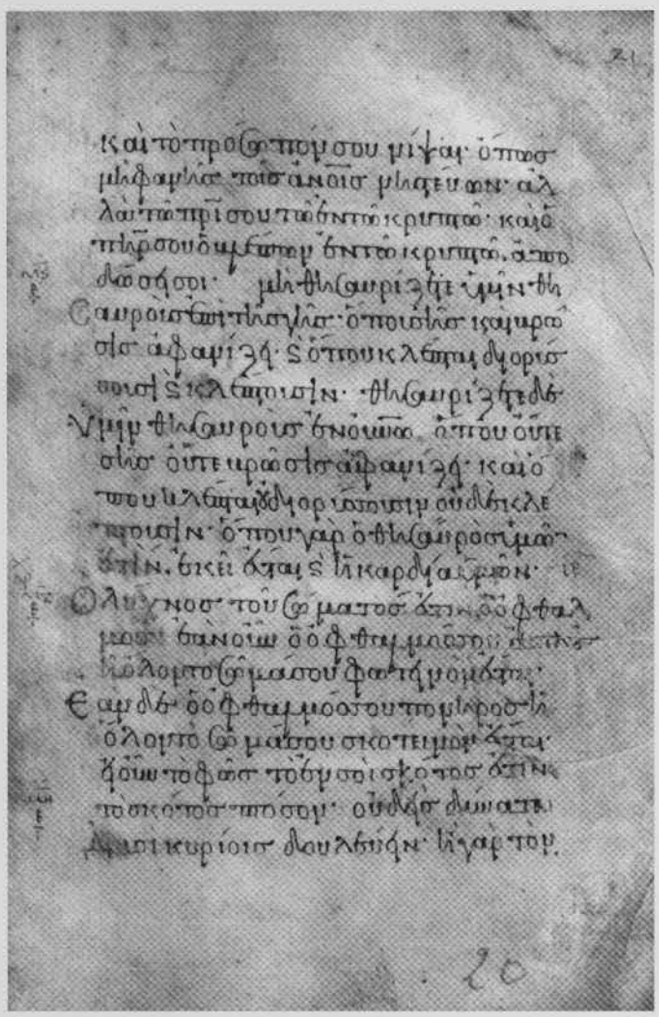
There are two Greek Gospels at the Walters Art Museum attributed to the tenth century: W.523 and W.524.[1] Neither manuscript has a colophon, and the attributions to the tenth century are based on their script and decoration. One of the manuscripts, W.524, is a well-known codex quite extensively studied by art historians.[2] The other, W.523, has not attracted much attention. The difference is easy to explain: W.524 has four full-page miniatures that art historians believe are contemporary to the script (plus four full-page miniatures that once belonged to this codex and are now in a private collection in Switzerland).[3] W.523 has only one full-page miniature apparently inserted into the manuscript later. W.524 has four Π-shaped headpieces with complex patterns, while all headpieces in W.523 were executed in a simple fretsaw style. And the handwriting in W.524 is a meticulous calligraphic script, while W.523 displays a more casual and hasty writing.

From the point of view of a paleographer, however, both manuscripts are very interesting and deserve close examination. In this article, I will analyze the writing styles of both Gospels and offer paleographic and codicological evidence for their more precise dating and localization. Also, I will identify groups of manuscripts closely related in script and ornamental motifs to each of the two Gospels. Furthermore, I will compare W.523 and W.524 with each other and with contemporaneous manuscripts, many of which have never previously been associated with the Walters' Gospels. And I will note some intriguing interconnections among the Walters' and other manuscripts.

CODEX W.524

The earlier of the two Gospels is W.524. This manuscript is written in minuscule *bouletée*, which was widely used in Greek manuscripts of the tenth century. This writing style was first described by Jean Irigoin and studied in great detail by Maria Luisa Agati.[4] According to Irigoin, dated codices written in *bouletée* range from 913 to 985.[5] He acknowledged, however, that the minuscule *bouletée* in manuscripts dated from the second half of the tenth century showed clear signs of decline. In fact, the last dated manuscript in traditional *bouletée* was copied in 953 (Oxford, Bodleianus Auct. E. 2.12).[6] After this date, some scribes attempted to imitate minuscule *bouletée*, usually without much success (for example, Ms. СПбДА Б 1/5 from the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg), or displayed a different writing style with some forms of letters influenced by the *bouletée*.[7] Irigoin described several features that distinguish the mature minuscule *bouletée*, such as the verticality of the script, the roundness of the letters, the reduced strokes, and the small bulges at the ends of strokes. It is this kind of minuscule *bouletée* that Agati regards as "*bouletée canonica*."[8] Canonic *bouletée* disappeared rather quickly after the middle of the tenth century and was replaced by other writing styles, such as the "Ephraim style"[9] and the early *Perlschrift*.[10]

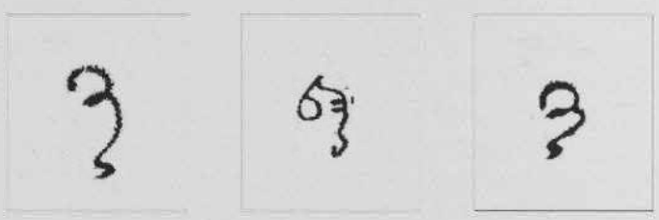
The script in W.524 has all of the characteristics of canonic *bouletée*: it is upright and rounded rather than angular; many strokes are reduced; there are small bulges at the ends of most of the strokes; and most of the letters can be inscribed into a circle or a square (i.e., the width and the height of the letters are the same). Also, the medium-sized script looks large for the size of the manuscript. And, in a practice common to manuscripts written in canonic *bouletée*, there are some uncial forms of letters inserted into the minuscule: delta, narrow epsilon, kappa, lambda, nu, pi, and an enlarged sigma connected to the bottom of the following vowel (pl. 1). Briefly stated, the



Pl. 1. Walters Art Museum, W.524, fol. 21r.



Figs. 1a–c. The ligature σ–α in: (a.) Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.524; (b.) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatic. Ottob. gr. 80; (c.) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.652.



Figs. 2a–c. The letter ζ and the ligature ε–ξ in: (a.) Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.524; (b.) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatic. Ottob. gr. 80; (c.) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. gr. 492.

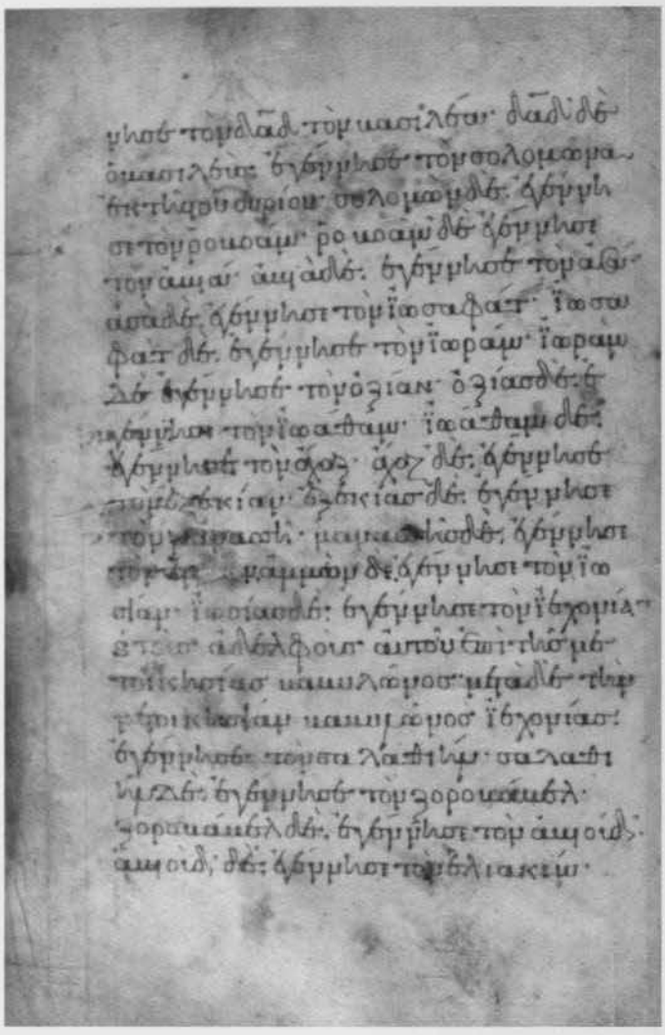
scribe demonstrates the calligraphic and assured hand of a professional copyist.

There are several folios at the end of W.524 (e.g., fols. 229r–v, 241r–245v, 253r–254v) in which the script looks slightly different. The lettering is more compact, and the ink looks lighter. These folios were written on a darker parchment of poorer quality. The changes in script are within the normal range of variations of the same hand and can be explained by the rougher surface of a different parchment. It was not uncommon for scribes to insert poorer quality writing material into the second half of a manuscript, especially if it was not a deluxe codex. More important, there are no changes either in the codicological characteristics (such as ruling pattern, position of script on ruled lines, etc.) or in the paleographic peculiarities of the individual letters (such as a small sharp "hook" at the very bottom of letters zeta and xi, ligatures epsilon-xi, etc.). Thus, I have reason to believe these folios were written by the same scribe who copied the rest of the manuscript and not by a collaborator or novice.

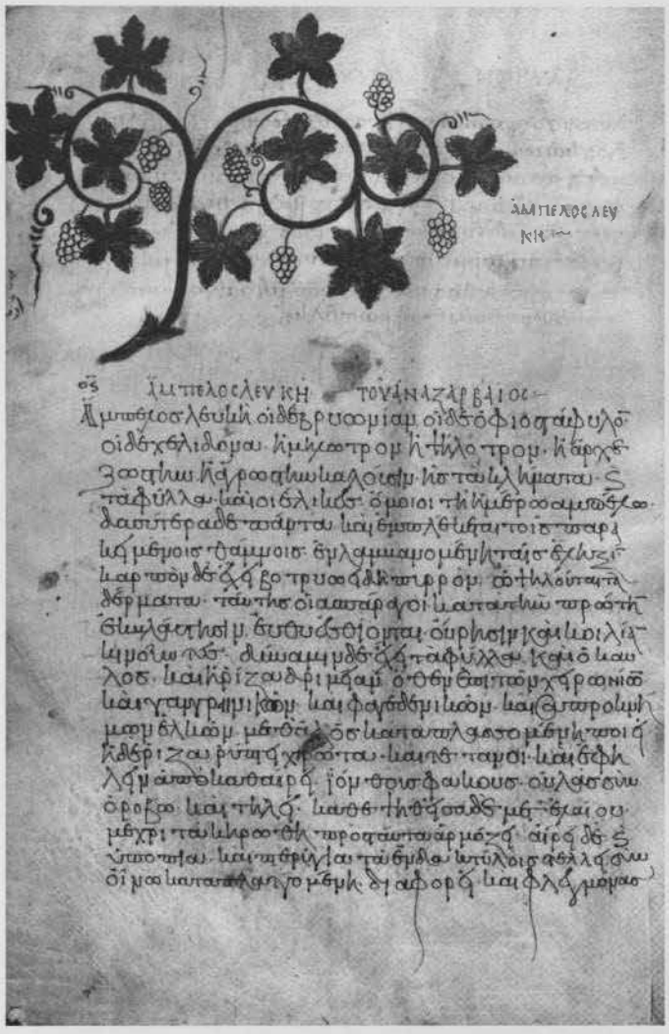
The closest paleographic parallel to W.524 is, in my judgment, provided by Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 80, scribe I, which contains works of Basil of Caesarea.[11] Especially similar are the enlarged uncial sigmas connected to following alphas, upsilons, or omegas (cf. figs. 1a and 1b). Also very similar are the forms of zeta and xi with a lower stroke forming a small "hook" at the very bottom (cf. figs. 2a and 2b). Comparable forms of xi and zeta are found in Parisinus gr. 492, which contains also works of Basil of Caesarea and is dated 942[12] (cf. figs. 2a and 2c). The handwriting in Paris. gr. 492, however, is not as calligraphic as that of W.524.

Another related script is found in the famous manuscript of Dioscorides in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.652. Its first scribe has the same general writing style as that of W.524 and uses very similar details, such as epsilon-pi ligatures and enlarged uncial sigma connected to following vowels (cf. pls. 1, 2, and 3). Paleographically, Morgan M.652 can be attributed to the first third of the tenth century. Although there is no direct indication as to where it was written and decorated, evidently it was extensively used during subsequent centuries—it contains at least two different sets of Arabic and one set of Persian inscriptions that translate botanical terms. It is clear that the manuscript circulated in a region where knowledge of Greek, Arabic, and Persian was not uncommon.[13]

As one of the classic examples of canonic *bouletée*, Walters W.524 should be attributed to the first half of the tenth century. Usually it is unwise to try to date Greek manuscripts more precisely than by half a century because there are known examples of individual scribes who had quite long careers. But Walters' codex W.524 has some



Pl. 2. Walters Art Museum, W.524, fol. 7v.



Pl. 3. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.652, fol. 10v.

features that indicate it was produced in the earlier decades of the tenth century. First, some letters have archaic elements not common in canonic *bouletée*—for example, gamma is in the shape of a letter *V* rather than having a rounded bottom with a small bulge; minuscule nu is not rounded but forms a square angle on the right; and the strokes of minuscule lambda, phi, chi, and other letters are elongated but in a different way than in *bouletée élancée*[14] (pls. 1 and 2).

Moreover, an important indicator for determining the date of a Greek manuscript is the position of the script in relation to the ruled lines. Uncial script was always positioned on the ruled lines, but this position was apparently not well suited to the minuscule script that emerged and rapidly spread in the ninth century. Scribes now began experimenting with the position of the letters. One can see script on the lines, across the lines, and suspended from the lines. For example, all three variants are found in the famous ninth-century "philosophical collection," whose manuscripts are homogeneous in all other aspects.[15] Such experimentation continued through the tenth century, until scribes first abandoned the "on the line" position (sometime before the middle of the tenth century) and then the "across the line" position (toward the end of the tenth century). From the beginning of the eleventh century, minuscule script was invariably suspended from the ruled lines (unless there was obvious sloppiness and disregard of ruled lines). Significantly, the script of W.524 is positioned *on* the ruled lines. Thus, because of the positioning and characteristics of its script, the Walrers' Gospel manuscript was quite probably produced sometime between 910 and 940, and most likely in the first third of the tenth century.[16]

The decoration of W.524 consists of four full-page miniatures, carmine frames filled with gold and blue around the Letter of Eusebius, similar frames around four canon tables with arches on the top, four Π-shaped headpieces, and four ornamented initials. Minor initials are in gold. Every headpiece displays a different ornament, more complex in the first two headpieces (rosettes with two



Figs. 3a–c. Π-shaped headpieces in: (a.) Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.524, fol. 232r; (b–c.) Moscow, State Historical Museum, Vladimir 159, fols. 79v and 375v.

amphoras in the first and rosettes in a guilloche in the second) and simpler *rinceau* ornaments in the last two headpieces. The colors are gold, carmine, and blue. It was common practice for Byzantine scribes/decorators to place more elaborate artwork in the beginning of a manuscript, so there is no reason to believe that different ornaments were executed by different hands. Most likely, the scribe himself executed the frames, headpieces, and initials. The miniatures are very probably the work of a different artist and perhaps from a different atelier. They were executed on separate folios of thicker parchment, and the miniatures of Luke (fol. 146r) and John (fol. 231r) are on folios with a ruling pattern that is faint but, under close examination, visibly different from that found in the manuscript itself. Also, the blue pigments used in the miniatures are different from those found in the headpieces.

As mentioned earlier, art historians have rather extensively studied W.524, especially its full-page miniatures. The four headpieces have been studied to a lesser extent. Kurt Weitzmann considered the decoration of codex Patmos 70 to be the only parallel to the ornamental motifs of W.524. Specifically, he compared the amphoras, Sassanian palmettes, and cornucopias found in the decoration of both manuscripts. However, the similarity in motifs notwithstanding, the style, composition, and execution of the ornaments seem to be quite different in the two codices. Weitzmann himself acknowledged that "the style of Patmos 70 is decidedly more oriental while that of the Baltimore codex is ... more oriented towards the style of the capital though not synonymous with it."[17]

My extensive work with Greek codices in Russian collections has led me to conclude that there are several manuscripts with decoration that is much closer in motifs, composition, and style to the Baltimore codex than is Patmos 70. The first is a large manuscript of John Chrysostom's homilies from the State Historical Museum in Moscow, Vladimir 159 (Synod. gr. 128), written by two anonymous scribes in small-sized and meticulously executed minuscule *bouletée*. The first hand looks somewhat archaic and angular, with slight inclination to the left, and can be characterized as early *bouletée*; the second scribe displays a more rounded, vertical canonic *bouletée*.[18] Although there are individual differences in the handwritings of the Moscow and Baltimore manuscripts, the scribes used the same writing style as their calligraphic model and a very similar ornamental vocabulary.

The Moscow codex was decorated with 76 Π-shaped headpieces and ornamented initials. Most likely, the scribes themselves were responsible for the decoration. Both scribes/decorators were very creative and did not repeat any of the ornamental patterns. Decorative themes include geometrical motifs as well as rosettes, palmettes, vases, fruit,

and vegetation. Some of these decorative motifs closely resemble those of W.524. For example, the headpiece to the Gospel of John in W.524 is filled with cornucopias in the horizontal field and two large Sassanian palmettes in the side fields (fig. 3a). Variations of Sassanian palmettes occupy the corresponding place on fol. 78v and on fol. 375v of Mosquensis Vlad. 159 (figs. 3b and 3c). Also, the Gospel of Mark in W.524 opens with a Π-shaped headpiece filled with rosettes in the horizontal field and with two amphoras in the side fields (fig. 4a). The same composition is found on fol. 194r of Mosq. Vlad. 159 (fig. 4b).[19] The amphoras in the latter, although not identical to those in W.524, are of a similar style. And, significantly, the Baltimore and Moscow codices are the only manuscripts known to me in which amphoras have no other function than that of purely decorative ornamental details in the headpieces.[20]

I have identified the hand of the first scribe of Mosq. Vlad. 159 in two other manuscripts: St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, ms. gr. 220 Granstrem 147 and Sinaiticus gr. 283. The former contains the four Gospels, the latter, the Acts and Epistles of Apostles.[21] The identical handwriting and codicological characteristics of these two codices indicate that they were either a set or, most likely, one volume of the New Testament produced in the same scriptorium as Mosq. Vlad. 159. The St. Petersburg Gospels are decorated with four full-page portraits of the Evangelists, eight Eusebian canon tables, four Π-shaped headpieces, and four colored initials. The Sinaiticus has two full-page portraits of Apostles Peter and Paul and Π-shaped headpieces. Vasilii Putsko has convincingly argued that the miniatures in both codices are not authentic and were added to the manuscripts in the thirteenth century. He compared the miniatures with Sinai icons and concluded that the miniatures were very probably executed in the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai.[22]

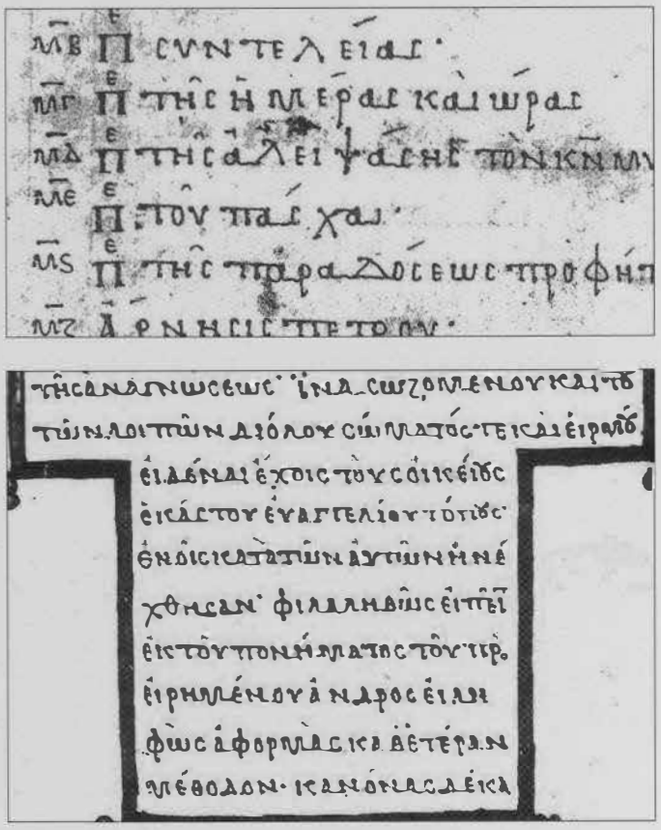
There are some close parallels in decorative details between Petropolitanus gr. 220 and W.524. Both scribes/artists drew similar delicate arches with small petals at the connection points on the top of the canon tables (cf. figs. 5a and 5b). The Alexandrian (Coptic) type of distinguishing uncial in Eusebius's letters and lists of chapters is very similar in both manuscripts.[23] In both codices the letter mu is quite distinctive and different from the usual form of mu in the Alexandrian type of distinguishing uncial. Specifically, the middle part often descends below the level of the side strokes, and two short horizontal bars connect the middle part with the side strokes on the top (cf. figs. 6a and 6b). And the headpieces to the Gospel of Matthew in both manuscripts display a comparable pattern of rosettes inside a guilloche (W.524) or in squares (Petrop. gr. 220), with the initial *B* decorated in a similar way (cf. figs. 7a and 7b).



Figs. 4a–b. Π-shaped headpieces in: (a.) Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.524, fol. 90r; (b.) Moscow, State Historical Museum, Vladimir 159, fol. 194r.



Figs. 5a–b. Eusebian canon tables in: (a.) Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.524, fol. 3v; (b.) St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, ms. gr. 220, fol. 3r.



Figs. 6a–b. Alexandrian (Coptic) type of distinguishing uncial in: (a.) Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.524, fol. 88v; (b.) St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, ms. gr. 220, fol. 1r.



Figs. 7a–b. Π-shaped headpieces in: (a.) Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.524, fol. 7r; (b.) St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, ms. gr. 220, fol. 10r.

Finally, there is a well-known manuscript that has never previously been associated with the Baltimore Gospels. This codex, Sinaiticus gr. 417, which contains *The Heavenly Ladder* by John Klimax, is very closely related in script and decorative motifs to Mosq. Vlad. 159, Petrop. gr. 220, Sinait. gr. 283, and W.524. Sinait. gr. 417 was copied by one scribe. His meticulous, small-sized, rounded, and vertical handwriting, slightly leaning to the left, is among the finest specimens of canonic *bouletée*.[24] The script is especially closely related to that of the second scribe of Mosq. Vlad. 159. Many ornamental motifs in Sinait. gr. 417 are similar (rosettes in circles) or almost identical (a *rinceau* consisting of cornucopias with leaves and sprouts on the circular field around the portrait of John Klimax) to the motifs in W.524. The *rinceau* in the Sinai codex is especially interesting because it combines ornamental elements found on two headpieces of the Baltimore manuscript: cornucopias on the headpiece to the Gospel of John and leaves with sprouts on the headpiece to the Gospel of Luke (cf. figs. 3a, 8a, and 8b).

Sinait. gr. 417 displays something particularly unusual and possibly unique. Its distinguishing Alexandrian uncial reflects the strong influence of an Arabic Kufic script.[25] Weitzmann has argued that the decoration and distinctive uncial in this codex indicate that it was produced in some center located at a crossroads of Constantinopolitan, Palestinian, Coptic, and Arabic cultures. Weitzmann hypothesized that this could have been the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai.[26]

Upon studying a microfilm of Sinait. gr. 417, I found yet another indirect link between this manuscript and the monastery of St. Catherine. In the margins of many of its folios, there are elaborate notes made by a contemporaneous hand. The scribe of these marginal notes employs a rather distinctive small-sized fluent cursive script. In my judgment, this scribe also copied another codex from the monastery of St. Catherine—Sinait. gr. 1112 (*Canons*)—a sixteen-folio fragment of which is now in St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, ms. gr. 120 Granstrem 124.[27] Weitzmann pointed out oriental motifs in the narrow ornamented headpieces of Sinait. gr. 1112,[28] some of which resemble those in Sinait. gr. 417. Although Sinait. gr. 1112 does not have a colophon, my identification of the handwriting indicates that it was produced in the same scriptorium as Sinait. gr. 417—quite possibly in the monastery of St. Catherine itself.

The problem of localization continues to be the most challenging for students of Greek paleography.[29] The paucity of localized Greek manuscripts, together with the rapid dissemination of writing styles and ornamental motifs, does not allow us to attribute confidently a particular style or motif to a specific scriptorium or region. Too often scholars attribute manuscripts to Constantinople or the





Figs. 8a–b. Ornamental decoration in: (a.) Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.524, fol. 232r; (b.) Codex, Sinaiticus gr. 417, fol. 13r.

provinces only on the basis of their quality of production or on the presence of oriental motifs or Islamic influences. I agree with Leslie Brubaker that "we do not yet know enough to distinguish centre from periphery in the ninth and early tenth centuries. And yet ... we can group manuscripts into related clusters on the basis of ornamental systems, isolate certain forms or motifs that seem to have limited chronological slots, and (however imperfectly) trace their development."[30]

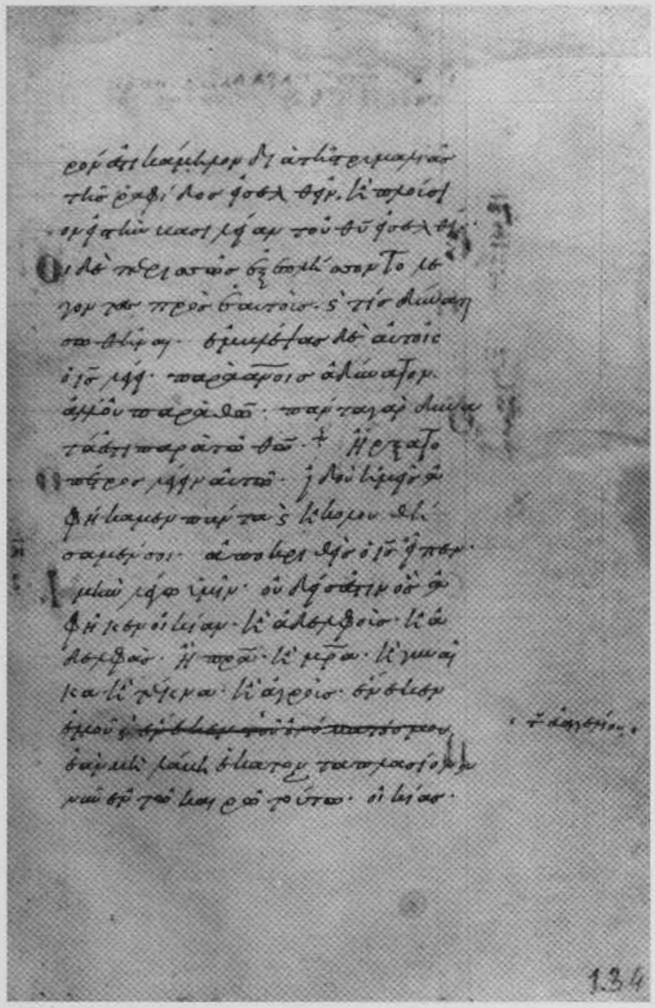
Thus, one cannot conclude with absolute certainty that all of the above-mentioned manuscripts, including the Baltimore Gospels, were produced in the same scriptorium and that this scriptorium was in the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. But several important things are clear: these closely related manuscripts form a cohesive group and were produced and circulated in a region where centers of book production were closely interconnected, where scribes and artists exchanged ornamental patterns and elements, and where these craftsmen freely borrowed calligraphic and decorative ideas from each other and from local and Constantinopolitan manuscripts. The monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai fits this description very well.

CODEX W.523

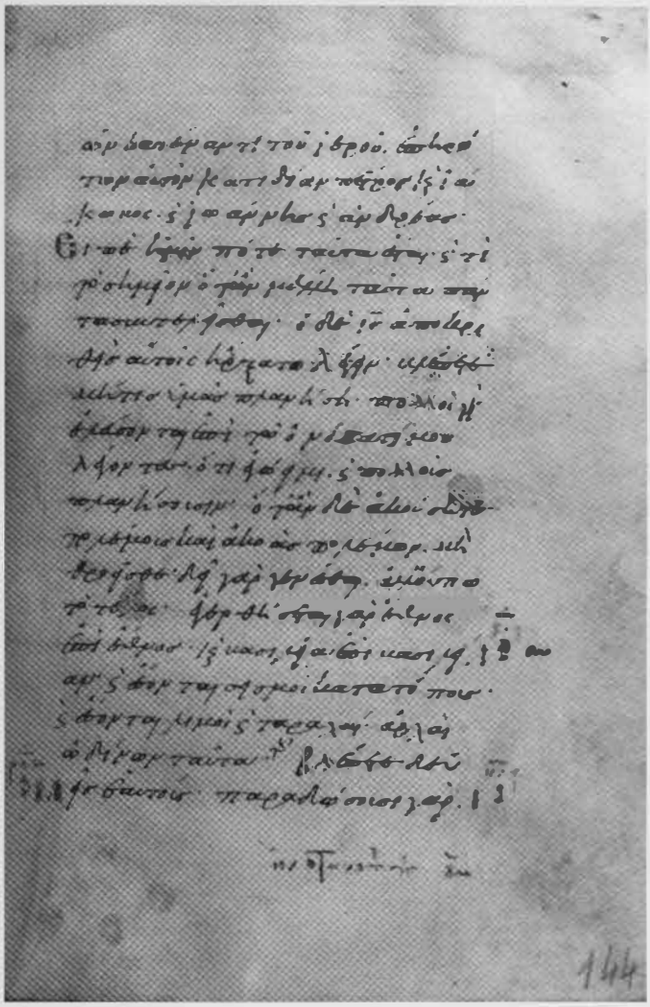
Unlike W.524, the Walters Gospel book W.523 has not been sufficiently studied by paleographers or art historians.[31] Kenneth Clark attributed it to ca. 1100, while Seymour De Ricci suggested a well-off-the-mark date of the twelfth century. Kurt Weitzmann included W.523 in his book on ninth- and tenth-century illumination on the basis of its ornamentation.[32] In order to establish a narrower chronological boundary one must look closely at the characteristics of the script.

W.523 was copied by one scribe, whose handwriting is quite distinctive but reflects some general trends of his time. The script is fluent, has a pronounced inclination to the right, and is rather small. But some letters are enlarged and/or elongated—for example, the uncial etas, kappas, lambdas, taus, and the tachygraphic abbreviations of the conjunction "και" (pls. 4–6). There are a fair number of uncial letters intermixed with the minuscule ones, such as beta, gamma, delta, epsilon, eta, kappa, lambda, pi, sigma, and tau. Also, some letters, especially zeta and xi, display forms frequently found in minuscule *bouletée* (pl. 4, lines 4 and 9 from the top). In short, this kind of script can be characterized as tenth-century sloping cursive minuscule with elements of minuscule *bouletée*.

Although sloping cursive minuscule was widespread in the tenth century, it has not yet been adequately studied by paleographers. Enrica Follieri has classified this script as *minuscola corsiveggiante*.[33] Agati has included some of the manuscripts written in sloping cursive script in a group of codices written in *bouletée italique*.[34] In my view, the sloping cursive minuscule should be distinguished from italic *bouletée* proper. Italic *bouletée*, as found, for example, in the Vatican codex Arch. S. Pietro B 59,[35] has all the characteristics, except verticality, of the minuscule *bouletée* discussed earlier in this article. The sloping cursive script, however, displays only a few letters influenced by minuscule *bouletée*—see, for example, the script in Parisinus Coisl. 48.[36] Guglielmo Cavallo has proposed distinguishing two types of tenth-century sloping cursive minuscule: an "informal script" (*scritture informali*) and a "script with a pretense to be formal" (*scritture con pretesa alla formalità*).[37] It is apparently the latter that Agati defined as a "compromise between *bouletée* and cursive," citing as an example the handwriting of Michael, the scribe of Parisinus gr. 598.[38] Although the terminology for describing tenth-century sloping scripts is still not agreed upon, I submit that the term "sloping cursive script with elements of minuscule bouletée" adequately describes the script of W.523 (a more precise description will be presented below).



Pl. 4. Walters Art Museum, W.523, fol. 134r.

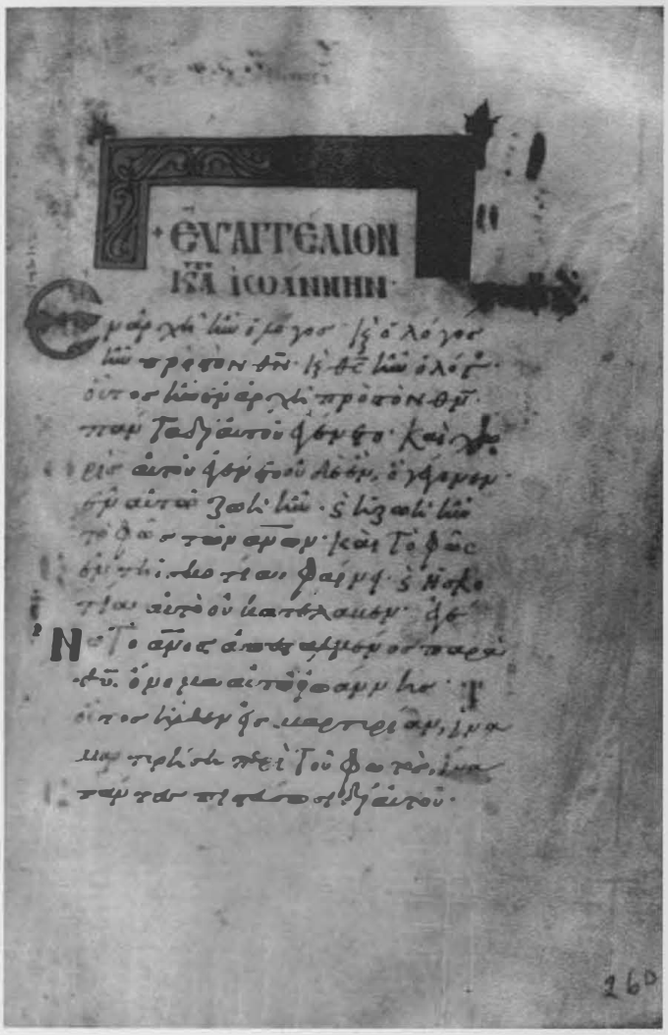


Pl. 5. Walters Art Museum, W.523, fol. 144r.

Let me now discuss the date of the W.523 Gospels and its place among contemporaneous manuscripts. Georgi Parpulov has identified several manuscripts as being the closest parallels to W.523, such as Parisinus Coisl. 48, Sinaiticus gr. 1112, Florence, Laurentianus Plut. 59,9, and others.[39] Agati and other scholars, including the present writer, have attributed most of these manuscripts to the first half of the tenth century.[40] Indeed, all of these manuscripts display sloping cursive script with elements of minuscule *bouletée*. To the list of related manuscripts, I would add Laurentianus Plut. 70, 3 (1st scribe), which contains works by Herodotus and whose letters zeta, xi, elongated uncial era, and enlarged καί-abbreviations are especially similar to those in W.523.[41]

The handwriting in W.523, however, displays several paleographic details quite different from the above-mentioned manuscripts, and these details indicate a date later than the first half of the tenth century. The most important detail is regular usage of the letter rho connected to a following vowel (alpha, epsilon, iota, omicron, or omega). Although scribes from time to time linked rho with a following vowel in early minuscule manuscripts (including the first dated minuscule manuscript—the Uspenskii Gospels, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, ms. gr. 219),[42] the regular use of ligatures of rho with a following vowel (especially alpha or omicron) first appears in Vaticanus gr. 124 of Polybius, which was copied in 946/47 by the famous scribe monk Ephraim, active around the middle of the tenth century.[43]

Ephraim's handwriting marks the departure from minuscule *bouletée* and the beginning of a new paleographic style that bears his name.[44] This writing style spread quickly in Constantinople and throughout the provinces and predominated in manuscripts written in the second half of the tenth century. It is characterized by a less formal *ductus* and by details such as an increased percentage of majuscule forms of letters, a regular usage of rho connected to a following alpha or omicron, a particular form of zeta in the shape of the number 3, a wide uncial epsilon with extended horizontal bar, a particularly tall and narrow



Pl. 6. Walters Art Museum, W.523, fol. 260r.

uncial beta with connected loops, and an epsilon-pi ligature that forms an apex at the top.[45]

The script of W.523 has many but not all of the features of the "Ephraim style." Besides the already mentioned rho regularly connected to alpha or omicron (pls. 4 and 5), one can find zetas in the shape of a 3 (pl. 6, sixth line from the top) and a distinctive uncial beta (pl. 5, second line from the bottom). Although there is no epsilon-pi ligature with an apex on the top—one of the "signature" features of the "Ephraim style"—this omission reveals nothing about the sequencing of this style and its W.523 variant. The Ephraim script, which is likely of Constantinopolitan origin, might have preceded and influenced the W.523 script, which is possibly of provincial origin, but there is no conclusive evidence one way or the other. It is clear, however, that the W.523 handwriting combines elements of the sloping cursive script, the minuscule *bouletée*, and the "Ephraim style."

Many manuscripts display this same eclectic combination of different writing styles, and some of these manuscripts are dated. The handwriting of the priest John, who copied Parisinus gr. 668 in 954, is closely related to the script of W.523 in its general impression and in many details, such as the regular link between rho or phi and a following vowel, and zeta in the shape of a "3."[46] Also similar to the script of W.523 is that of the monk Basil who copied Vaticanus Ross. gr. 169 (former Ross. gr. 5) in 961.[47] Two other examples of related script are found in Milan, Ambrosianus B. 106. sup. (a psalter copied shortly after 967) and in Parisinus Coisl. 246 (homilies of John Chrysostom copied by a monk John, not dated).[48]

The increased percentage of majuscule letters in W.523's minuscule script also suggests a date later than the first half of the tenth century. Unlike scholars who have created tables with precise percentages of uncial in the minuscule script for a particular century or even a decade, I do not believe that the pursuit of this kind of mathematical precision is fruitful. My own calculations have shown that sometimes there is a tremendous variation within one manuscript and even within the same handwriting. In general, however, the percentage of uncial in the minuscule script increases with time and can be used as a rough approximation for dating Greek minuscule manuscripts.[49]

Evidence from decorative motifs also can be useful in identifying W.523's date and place among contemporaneous manuscripts. The book's original decoration was probably executed by the scribe himself and consisted of four headpieces and four ornamented initials.[50] Unfortunately, the first headpiece to the Gospel of Matthew (fol. 5r) has been cut out. The somewhat larger space before the beginning of this Gospel and the fact that its ornamented initial letter is slightly larger than others in the volume suggest that the lost headpiece could have been slightly larger and perhaps more elaborate than the other three, as was common practice in Byzantine manuscripts. Also, on fol. 5r (the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew) there are only twelve lines of text, while on the fol. 99r (the beginning of the Gospel of Mark) there are thirteen lines of text and fourteen lines of text at the beginnings of the two subsequent Gospels. One can only speculate how that first headpiece might have looked.

The other three headpieces are Π-shaped, and their narrow fields are filled with different but rather simple fretsaw ornaments. Alison Frantz calls these kinds of ornaments "abstract rinceau."[51] There are medium-sized finials on the top corners of the headpieces and smaller, leaf-shaped finials on the bottom corners. Only the headpiece to the Gospel of John does not have smaller finials (pl. 6.).[52] The frames of the headpieces and the fretsaw ornaments were executed in gold and carmine, and the background was colored in blue and bright turquoise-green. The same colors were used in the major initials, and gold and carmine were used in the minor initials. Regrettably, the gold and green pigments have corroded the parchment. The rather heavy



Fig. 9. Π-shaped headpiece in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatic. gr. 2564, fol. 5r.

and sloppy application of gold, blue, and green colors on the otherwise delicate carmine and original gold ornaments is almost certainly a later addition.

There are quite a few parallels to W.523's fretsaw ornaments. Some of them are found in the manuscripts written in minuscule *bouletée* and *bouletée élancée* around the middle of the tenth century, such as London, British Library, Add. 22.732,[53] Patmos 43,[54] Vaticanus gr. 577,[55] and Oxford, Bodl. Auct. E. 2. 12, copied in 953 (one of the latest examples of canonic *bouletée*).[56] Fretsaw ornaments quite similar to W.523's are found in the Oxford codices Christ Church gr. 3 (former Wake 3) and gr. 4 (former Wake 4). These Chrysostom manuscripts have been attributed to the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, but the script in both displays all the distinctive characteristics of the manuscripts writren in the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century: minuscule *bouletée* with elements of "Ephraim style" in Christ Church gr. 3 and a combination of sloping cursive and "Ephraim style" in Christ Church gr. 4.[57]

In my judgment, the example closest to W.523 is a headpiece filled with S-shaped parts of the ornament tied together in Vaticanus gr. 2564, which the scribe Sergios copied and decorated in the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople (cf. pl. 6 and fig. 9).[58] This scribe also copied Parisinus gr. 1431 and, according to my identification, Jerusalem Taphou 13.[59] All three codices are decorated in a similar style of fretsaw ornaments. Sergios's handwriting displays the same eclectic combination of sloping cursive, minuscule *bouletée*, and "Ephraim style" as the W.523 script, but with fewer elements of the "Ephraim style."[60] I agree with Agati's attribution of manuscripts written by Sergios to the middle of the tenth century.[61]

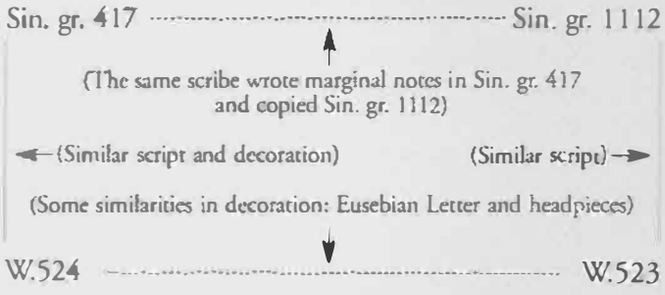
There is yet another manuscript decorated with numerous fretsaw-style headpieces similar to those in W.523—Varicanus gr. 1675.[62] Because this copy of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos was donated to the Stoudios monastery in 1018, some scholars have concluded it was produced in the monastery shortly before that date.[63] This was a reason to consider 1018 as a *terminus ante quem* for the fretsaw-style ornamentation.

After examining Vaticanus gr. 1675, however, I have come to five conclusions. First, this manuscript almost certainly was not produced in the Stoudios monastery. It has different codicological characteristics from Stoudite manuscripts, and there are few, if any, plausible reasons to donate a manuscript to a monastery if it were produced there. Second, the colophon on fol. 333v is almost certainly not scribal—the ink is slightly darker; it was written in vertical semi-uncial (unlike the sloping semi-uncial in the titles); and the letter xi has a form different from the ones used by the scribes of the manuscript. The non-scribal colophon opens up the possibility that Vaticanus gr. 1675 was donated to the Stoudios monastery considerably later than it was produced.[64] Third, in the colophon, the names of the donor, the *primikerios* and archon Nicholas, and the monastery's abbot Nicholas, were written *in rasura*, which means that Nicholas was not the original owner and commissioner of the manuscript. Fourth, the handwritings of the two main scribes have all the characteristics of the scripts that were prevalent in the middle and the third quarter of the tenth century—an eclectic mixture of cursive, *bouletée*, and "Ephraim style." Fifth, the position of the script *on* and *across* the ruled lines supports the attribution of Vaticanus gr. 1675 to a date probably decades earlier than 1018. Thus, Vaticanus gr. 1675—and likewise W.523—were most likely produced in the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century. By the early eleventh century, fretsaw ornamentation was probably used only or predominantly in "blue style" manuscripts.[65]

In sum, the script of W.523 is more closely related to that in many manuscripts written in the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century than to the comparable scripts of codices copied in the first half of the tenth century, such as Sinait. gr. 1112 and Petrop. gr. 120 or Paris. Coisl. 48. The distinctive combination of writing styles and the similar combination in a number of dated manuscripts, together with codicological evidence (the position of script across ruled lines) and decorative motifs (the fretsaw ornamentation of headpieces), strongly support the attribution of W.523 to the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century.

Finally, the question of localization: although it is tempting to link codex W.523 to the Stoudios monastery where manuscripts were written and decorated by the scribe Sergios, there is not enough evidence for a definite conclusion. And the different codicological characteristics (e.g., ruling patterns) of W.523 and other Stoudite codices, including Sergios's, cast doubt on this linkage. But there are intriguing links between W.523 and W.524. First, the

Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus on fols. 1r and 1v in both manuscripts was written in a similar small-sized Alexandrian semi-uncial with carmine ink and surrounded with plain frames (carmine, blue, and gold in W.524 and carmine and blue in W.523). Second, the original delicate hollow headpiece ornaments in carmine and gold in W.523 are very similar in technique to the last two headpieces in W.524. Third, the ruling pattern in both manuscripts displays the same rather unusual characteristic of triple horizontal lines in the top and bottom margins. And last, but most important, the two Walters' Gospels and two other manuscripts have intricate interconnections, which are presented in the following diagram:



These interconnections suggest that the four manuscripts were produced in the same region, the identity of which remains uncertain, some indirect evidence in favor of the Mount Sinai region notwithstanding. But it is quite important to group manuscripts written and decorated in a similar manner. With more Greek manuscripts becoming available to scholars, especially by means of new electronic technology, the links, interactions, and influences among the centers of manuscript production may become clearer and fall into their proper places as pieces of a complex mosaic.

CONCLUSION

Let me very briefly summarize my findings and raise a few unanswered questions. In the first part of this article, I described and analyzed in detail the script and decoration of W.524. The script can be characterized as canonic *bouletée* with archaic features. Also, I identified manuscripts with similar writing styles and ornamental motifs. Paleographic, codicological, and decorative data indicate the first third of the tenth century as the most likely period of production for W.524. The similarities in script and decoration of W.524, Vat. Ottob. gr. 80, Morgan M 652, Mosq. Vlad. 159, Petrop. gr. 220, and Sinaitici gr. 283, 417, and 1112 suggest that they were produced in the same region. The similarities are strong evidence that the scribes were familiar with each others' work and/or had the same sources of calligraphic and ornamental vocabulary.

In part two, I focused on W.523. I classified its script as an eclectic combination of elements of sloping cursive, *bouletée*, and "Ephraim style." I proposed a more precise date of production of this manuscript—the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century. Also, I identified manuscripts with similar script and ornamentation. The Constantinopolitan origin of three of these manuscripts can be confirmed by the scribe Sergios's colophons. Because it is not known where the other members of this group were produced, localizing W.523 is not yet possible. Grouping codex W.523 with similar codices, however, is a step toward a better understanding of the interactions among scribes and scriptoria and the evolution of their calligraphic and ornamental styles.

After I compared and grouped W.523 and W.524 with their contemporaneous counterparts, I compared the two with one another. This revealed intriguing links between the two Walters Gospels. Although indirect evidence points to the Mount Sinai region, the Gospels' place of origin cannot be definitely established. The reason for this is the paucity of our knowledge about the creation, acceptance, and intermingling of different writing styles. We know that the canonic *bouletée* of W.524 was a distinctive and cohesive style whose origins and demise were both rather sudden. The eclectic combination of W.523 was more syncretic—it incorporated and blended many elements of old and new styles into an innovative mixture. Canonic *bouletée* could be written more efficiently than uncial script, while preserving some of its formality, dignity, and (in Agati's words) "ieraticità."[66] But canonic *bouletée* was labor-intensive and was used mainly for religious texts. And the cursive script, which could be written faster than *bouletée*, was used increasingly for religious texts as well as for classical and scholarly texts in the first half of the tenth century. Clearly, these are important considerations in explaining several phenomena: the rapid emergence and spread of the canonic *bouletée* used in W.524, and, half a century later, this script's rapid decline and disappearance, as well as the emergence of the "Ephraim style" and eclectic styles such as the one in codex W.523.

What were the main causes of these evolutionary changes and adaptations in script and decoration? A scribe's particular talents? The preferences of scribes' clerical and lay commissioners and monastic superiors? Fashions of the time in a particular region or scriptorium? Pragmatic concerns, such as the capacity to write faster, use less parchment, and thereby produce more manuscripts at lower cost? Although all of these factors probably played a role, we know little about their relative importance in general and in specific cases. Only further research can shed light on such unanswered questions, but modern paleography gives hope they can be answered in the future.

NOTES

I studied Greek manuscripts in the Walters Art Museum as part of a larger project to catalogue Greek manuscripts in the collections of the United States. I would like to thank Dumbarton Oaks for support of this project with a research grant that enabled me to work at the Walters. I also wish to thank Will Noel and the staff of the Walters' Manuscript Department, as well as Abigail Quandt, Senior Conservator, for their assistance and interest in my work.

1. S. De Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, I (New York, 1935), 758; K. W. Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 350–52 with pls. LV and LVI.

2. G. Vikan, ed., *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, exh. cat., Princeton University Art Museum (Princeton, 1973), 62–65 and figs. 5–7; K. Weitzmann, "An Illustrated Greek New Testament of the Tenth Century in the Walters Art Gallery," in *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*, ed. K. Weitzmann (London, 1980), no. IX, 19–38; R. S. Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (New York, 1980), 76–80; K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts. Addenda und Appendix* (Vienna, 1996), 90–91 and figs. 677–81.

3. Weitzmann, "Illustrated Greek New Testament," 26–35 and figs. 9, 11, 13, 15.

4. J. Irigoin, "Une écriture du Xe siècle: la minuscule bouletée," in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977), 191–99; M. L. Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée,"* 2 vols. (Città del Vaticano, 1992).

5. Irigoin, "Une écriture," 195–99.

6. L. Th. Lefort and J. Cochez, *Palaeografisch Album* (Leuven, 1932–34), pl. 32; Irigoin, "Une écriture," fig. 9; Agati, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* II:pl. 68. Parisinus gr. 70 is a classic example of minuscule *bouletée*, but an attribution to the 960s is not credible because it was based on a non-scribal note (see details in Agati, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* I:119).

7. Irigoin, "Une écriture," 197. About St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Ms. СПбДА Б 1/5, see N. F. Kavrus, "«Алмазное письмо» в греческих рукописях Москвы и Ленинграда," *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 47 (1986): 191–204, esp. 202–4.

8. Agati, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* I:87–88.

9. From the name of monk Ephraim who copied several manuscripts in the middle to second third of the tenth century. See K. and S. Lake, "The Scribe Ephraim," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 62 (1943): 263–68; J. Irigoin, "Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantines," II, *Scriptorium* 13 (1959): 177–209, esp. 181–95; E. Follieri, "La minuscola libraria dei secoli IX e X," *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977), 139–65, esp. 148; L. Perria, "Un nuovo codice di Efrem: l'Urb. gr. 130," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 14–16 (1977–79): 43–114.

10. About the *Perlschrift*, see H. Hunger, *Studien zur griechischen Paläographie* (Vienna, 1954), 22–32; repr. in idem, *Byzantinische Grundlagenforschung* (London, 1973), no. I.

11. M. L. Agati, "A proposito di alcuni frammenti del codice Vaticanus graecus 2646," *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, IV [*Studi e Testi*, 338] (Città del Vaticano, 1990), 7–12 and pl. I; eadem, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* I:89–91 and II:pl. 48. Weitzmann has suggested that the handwriting of Paul, one of the two copyists of codex Staurou 55 from the Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem, is close to the script of W.524: Weitzmann, "Illustrated Greek New Testament," 34. In my opinion, these two manuscripts are quite different paleographically, codicologically, and artistically and are not related. See samples of the handwritings of Staurou 55 in Lefort and Cochez, *Album*, pls. 23 and 24. See the descriptions of the Jerusalem codex and its St. Petersburg fragment from the National Library of Russia, ms. gr. 339 in N. F. Kavrus, "Алмазное письмо в греческих рукописях Москвы и Ленинграда," *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 47 (1986): 197; Agati, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* I:259–60.

12. See examples of the script in K. Lake and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the year 1200* (Boston, 1934–36), IV:pls. 234, 235, 238; Lefort and Cochez, *Album*, pl. 28; Agati, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* I:197 and II:pl. 134.

13. About this codex, see A. van Buren, "*De Materia Medica* of Dioscurides," in Vikan, ed., *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 66–69 with prior bibliography; Z. Kadar, *Survivals of Greek Zoological Illuminations in Byzantine Manuscripts* (Budapest, 1978), 52–76; N. F. Kavrus-Hoffmann "Рукопись Диоскорида библиотеки Пьерпонт Морган М652 (Нью-Йорк): кодикологическое и палеографическое описание," *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 56 (1995): 185–90.

14. About *bouletée élancée*, see Agati, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* I:201–42.

15. See B. L. Fonkič, "*Scriptoria* bizantini. Risultati e prospettive della ricerca," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 17–19 (1980–82): 93–99, esp. 97.

16. Weitzmann attributed W.524 to the first half of the tenth century in his article "Illustrated Greek New Testament" and to the early tenth century in *Buchmalerei* (1996): 91. The manuscript was attributed to the first half of the tenth century by Jirat-Wasiutynski in Vikan, ed., *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 62, but she refers to "the early tenth-century date of the Baltimore codex" on p. 64. Nelson also refers to W.524 as "an early-tenth-century Gospel book" without elaborating his reasoning for dating: Nelson, *Iconography*, 77. L. Perria dates W.524 to the first half of the tenth century: A. Iacobini & L. Perria, *Il Vangelo di Dionisio* (Rome, 1998) [= Milion, 4], 42f.

17. Weitzmann, "Illustrated Greek New Testament," 32 and figs. 2, 4, 6, 7; also see idem, *Buchmalerei* (1996): 91.

18. For a detailed description of this manuscript, see Kavrus, "Алмазное письмо," 191–204, esp. 194–96 and pls. 2–4; Agati, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* I:110–11 and II:pl. 65.

19. The parallel between these two sets of amphotas was indicated by Agati in *Minuscola "bouletée,"* I:111.

20. Stylistically similar amphoras were used in the decoration of the well-known codex Athens, National Library of Greece, Ms. 211, but they were a kind of cornucopia and performed the function of a vessel. I wish to thank Elina Dobrynina for a helpful discussion of this subject. About Athens 211, see A. Marava-Chatzinikolaou and Chr. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece* (Athens, 1978–1997), III:24–54, with figs. 11–37; S. Pinto Madigan, *Athens 211 and the Illustrated Homilies of John Chrysostom* (Chicago, 1984).

21. About these manuscripts, see W. H. P. Hatch, *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament at Mount Sinai. Facsimiles and Descriptions* (Paris, 1932), pl. II; K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9.–10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), figs. 22–25; Kavrus, "Алмазное письмо," 196–97 and pls. 5a–6b; Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei* (1996): 89 and fig. 673.

22. V. Putsko, "Синайское Четвероевангелие X века с миниатюрами эпохи Крестоносцев (ГПБ, греч. 220)," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 17.3 (1979): 523–39.

23. This type of Greek uncial was first described by J. Irigoin, "L'onciale grecque de type copte," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 8 (1959): 29–51.

24. About this manuscript, see K. Weitzmann, "Islamische und koptische Einflüsse in einer Sinai-Handschrift des Johannes Klimakus," *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel zum 75. Geburtstag am* 26.10.1957 (Berlin, 1959), 297–316; repr. in idem, *Byzantine Book Illumination and Ivories* (London, 1980), no. V; J. R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton, 1954), 186–87 and figs. 1–4; K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts, I, From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 1990), 28–31 and figs. 32–44; Agati, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* I:137–38 and II:pl. 89; Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei*, (1996): 93–94 and figs. 691–94.

25. Weitzmann, "Islamische und koptische Einflüsse," fig. 13; Martin, *Illustration*. fig. 2; Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, figs. 32–44.

26. Weitzmann, "Islamische und koptische Einflüsse," 315–16. These atguments and hypothesis were strengthened and tepeated in Weitzmann and Galavaris, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 30–31.

27. See N. F. Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Петербургский фрагмент Синайской рукописи греч. 1112," *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 57 (1997): 161–64 (with one plate).

28. Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei*, (1996): 96–97 and fig. 707. Weitzmann's association of Sinait. gr. 1112 with the Princeton manuscript Garrett 14, which was produced in Great Lavra of St. Sabas near Jerusalem, is not convincing.

29. The difficulties of localization were the subject of a round table at the 5th International Colloquium on Greek Paleography in Cremona (1998): *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998), a cum di G. Prato* (Florence, 2000), II:669–707.

30. L. Brubaker, "Greek Manuscript Decoration in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries: Rethinking Centre and Periphery," *Manoscritti greci*, II:513–33, esp. 532.

31. The short bibliography list includes De Ricci, Census, I:758; Clark, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 350–51 and pl. LV; Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei*, (1996): 80 and fig. 631.

32. See Weitzmann in note 31.

33. E. Follieri, "Minuscola libraria," 139–65, esp. 146.

34. Agati, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* I:242–57 and II:pls. 159–72.

35. Ibid., II:pl. 165.

36. Ibid., II:pl. 170.

37. G. Cavallo, "Scrittute informali, cambio grafico e pratiche librarie a Bisanzio tra secoli XI e XII," *Manoscritti greci*, I:219–38, esp. 221–22.

38. Agati, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* I:247.

39. See G. Parpulov's catalogue in this issue, under "W.523." I discussed Sinait. gr. 1112 earlier in this article in connection with Sinait. gr. 417 and W.524.

40. Agati, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* I:254; Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Петербургский фрагмент," 163.

41. For samples of the script, see W. Wattenbach, *Schrifttafeln zur Geschichte der griechischen Schrift und zum Studium der griechischen Paläographie* (Berlin, 1876), pl. 30; *Manoscritti greci, Tavole*. 325–27 (pls. 1–3).

42. N. E Kavrus, "Студийский скрипторий в IX в. (по материалам рукописей Москвы и Ленинграда)," *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 44 (1983): 98–111, esp. 101–2; P. Canart, "La minuscule grecqueet son ductus du IXe au XVIe siécle," in *L'écriture: le cerveau, l'oeil et la main*, eds. C. Sirat, J. Irigoin, E. Poulle (Turnhout, 1990), 307–20, esp. 310; N. G. Wilson, "The Interpretation of Scribal Habits," *Manoscritti greci*, II:685–88.

43. H. Follieri, *Codices graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae selecti* [Exempla Scripturarum, IV] (Vatican City, 1969), 26–27 and pl. 16; Follieri, "Minuscola libraria," 143 and 148. See also note 9 for additional bibliography about the monk Ephraim and his scriptorium.

44. Follieri, "Minuscola libraria," 148; Perria, "Nuovo codice," 70–82.

45. Some of these features and others are cited by A. Diller in "The Age of Some Early Greek Classical Manuscripts," in *Serta Turyniana: Studies in Greek Literature and Palaeography in honor of Alexander Turyn*, ed. J. L. Heller (Urbana-Chicago-London, 1974), 514–24, esp. 516–17 with pl. III and by L. Perria, "Un aspetto inedito dell'attività del copista Efrem: l'uso delle abbreviazioni nel Laur. 28.3," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 53 (1999): 97–101, esp. 99.

46. See examples of priest John's handwriting in Lefort and Cochez, *Album*, pl. 33; E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, eds. *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600* (Vienna, 1989), II.C: pl. 135; C. N. Constantinides & R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570* (Washington, DC and Nicosia, 1993), pl. 152. Constantinides and Browning stated that Paris. gr. 668 was written "most probably in Cyprus." They gave no direct evidence of this, however, and many of the authors' attributions were questioned by E. Gamillscheg, "Zypern oder nicht Zypern?", *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 47 (1997): 239–43 and id., "Probleme der Lokalisierung von Handschriftengruppen," *Manoscritti greci*, II:689–93, esp. 690.

47. See examples of Basil's handwriting in Lefort and Cochez, *Album*, pl. 35; Follieri, "Minuscola libraria," pl. 11b.

48. See examples of the handwritings, for Ambros. B. 106 sup.: E. A. Bond and E. M. Thompson, eds., *The Palaeographical Society. Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions* (London, 1873–83), I:pl. 32; for Paris. Coisl. 246: Gamillscheg & Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, II.C:pl. 136.

49. On this subject, see E. Follieri, "La reintroduzione di lettere semionciale nei più antichi manoscritti greci in minuscola," *Bullettino dell'Archivio paleografico italiano*, III.1 (1962): 15–36; R. Valentini, "La reintroduzione dell'onciale e la datazione dei manoscritti greci in minuscola," in *Scritti in onore di Carlo Diano* (Bologna, 1975), 455–70; P. Thillet, "Insertions d'onciales et abbréviations dans le cod. Venetus Marcianus gr. 258 (= 668), in *Miscellanea Marciana di studi Bessarionei*, Medioevo e umanesimo, 24, (Padua, 1976), 387–406.

50. Off-printed frames of canon tables on fols. 1v–2r indicate that canon tables were also part of the now lost original decoration. The miniature of the seated evangelist Matthew on fol. 4v is a later addition (twelfth century?) and is out of the scope of this article.

51. M. A. Frantz, "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament: A Study in Chronology," *The Art Bulletin* 16 (1934): 43–76, esp .60 and pl. XIII.

52. See the headpiece to the Gospel of Luke in Clark, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pl. LV, and the headpiece to the Gospel of Mark in Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei* (1996): fig. 631.

53. Agati, *Minuscoli "bouletée,"* II:pl. 2.

54. Ibid., pl. 9.

55. Ibid., pl. 200a.

56. Lefort and Cochez, *Album*, pl. 32.

57. I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften. Band 4.1 and 4.2. Oxford Christ Church* (Stuttgart, 1993), cat. nos. 2 and 4.

58. See N. Ch. Eleopoulos, *Hē vivliothēkē kai to vivliographikon ergastērion tēs monēs tou Stoudiou* (Athens, 1967), fig. 14.

59. About this identification, see my review of Agati, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* in *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 56 (1995): 365–66. The partially erased name in the colophon should be read as [Σερ]γίῳ and not as [Ευλο]γίῳ as Agati suggested.

60. See examples of Sergios's handwriting in Follieri, *Codices graeci*, pl. 25; Eleopoulos, *Vivliothēkē*, figs. 9, 14, 15, and 16; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, II.C: pl. 278; Agati, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* II:pls. 189–90.

61. Another example of a headpiece filled with S-shaped semi palmettes tied together is found in the manuscript Res. 235 from the National Library in Madrid: S. Dufrenne, "Problèmes des ornements des manuscrits byzantins," *Scriptorium* 41 (1987): 35–57, esp. 41–42 and pl. 6b. According to Dufrenne, Matritensis Res. 235 belongs to the group of manuscripts "with blue and gold ornaments" and was produced in Constantinople around the middle of the tenth century. The second scribe of Matrit. Res. 235 employs writing style *bouletée élancée* very similar, in my judgment, to the scribe A in Agati, *Minuscola "bouletée,"* I: 202 seqq. The similarity of the headpiece ornaments in W.523, Vat. gr. 2564, and Matrit. Res. 235 is clear evidence that the scribe/decorator of W.523 was familiar with ornamental motifs employed in Constantinopolitan manuscripts. Also, Dufrenne noted that ornamental motifs in the headpieces of Matrit. Res. 235 somewhat resemble those in W.524. Such interconnections among W.523, W.524, Vat. gr. 2564, and Matrit. Res. 235 indicate that ornamental motifs in tenth-century Greek manuscripts were freely borrowed by scribes/decorators from each other and were easily disseminated among scriptoria and regions.

62. P. Franchi De' Cavalieri and J. Lietzmann, *Specimina codicum graecorum Vaticanorum* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), 20; Lefort and Cochez, *Album*, pl. 75; Eleopoulos, *Vivliothēkē*, figs. 13, 18, 19; Follieri, *Codices graeci*, pl. 24.

63. For example, De' Cavalieri & Lietzmann, Eleopoulos, Follieri (with a question mark)—see note 61.

64. As first suggested by Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei* (1935): 18, n. 98.

65. Fretsaw-style ornamentation was used in codices decorated in "blue style" produced in the last third of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries. This homogeneous group of manuscripts had specific features that set them apart from the earlier manuscripts of the tenth century—they were written in early *Perlschrift*, had distinctive codicological characteristics, and no gold was used in their decoration. Also, their fretsaw ornaments were usually more complex than the ones in the earlier manuscripts. About codices in "blue style," see L. Perria, "Manoscritti miniati in «stile blu» nei secoli X–XI," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 24 (1987): 85–124; E. N. Dobrynina, "Неизвестные рукописи «stile blu» X–XI вв. в российских собраниях," forthcoming in the Proceedings of the 6th International Colloquium on Greek Paleography (Drama, Greece, September 21–27, 2003). I thank the author for sending me a draft copy of her very interesting article.

66. M. L. Agati, "Maiuscola e minuscola: indicazioni per l'interpretazione di una minuscola greca del sec. X," *Studi di filologia bizantina* IV (1988): 81–96, esp. 93. The uncial script continued to be used in the Lectionaries of the Gospels throughout the tenth century.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, 6a, 7a, 8a–b, pls. 1–2, 4–6, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum; figs. 1b, 2b, 9, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apolstolica Vaticana; figs. 1c, pl. 3, New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library (Phorography, Joseph Zehavi); fig. 2c, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France; figs. 3b–c, 4b, Moscow, State Historical Museum; figs. 5b, 6b, 7b, St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia; fig. 8 c, Mount Sinai, Monstery of St. Catherine.

The State of the Walters' Marginal Psalter and Its Implications for Art History

JEFFREY C. ANDERSON

The Walters Byzantine Marginal Psalter (W.733) was made in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. This article presents a full description of the numerous pictures found in its margins and examines their relationship to the similarly illustrated Russian Psalter from Kiev, dated to 1397. Both manuscripts are considered to have been copied from an eleventh-century exemplar. The nature of the iconographic inventions is examined and questions are raised about the assumption that their model was necessarily produced at the Studios Monastery in Constantinople.

The Walters Art Museum holds the only marginal psalter in the Western Hemisphere (W.733).[1] For what we know of the psalter we can largely thank Dorothy Miner, the first curator of manuscripts at the museum, who established its provenance and relationship with three other books of its type: the Barberini, Theodore, and Kiev Psalters.[2] The Walters' Marginal Psalter was copied from the same model as the Kiev Psalter, and this source was a manuscript similar to the Barberini and Theodore Psalters but identical to neither. In effect, Miner posited a lost, eleventh-century work that had presumably been made in the Stoudios monastery of Constantinople, a hypothesis that scholars have examined and supported.[3] Miner's only misstep came when dating the manuscript to the eleventh century rather than to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth, but it was subsequently corrected by A. Cutler.[4] My purpose in writing this essay is principally to document the state of the psalter and inventory its miniatures. An event left the manuscript a fragment, and one that required restoration before it could be shown to the public. This later history has possibly obscured our knowledge of the state of the manuscript when it left the hands of its maker(s). Knowing why the psalter looks the way it does may supply information about its audience and hypothetical source.

Like many medieval manuscripts, the Walters' Marginal Psalter had a number of users. One of them corrected readings, another added notes and drawings, and someone restored text and miniatures that had been lost or damaged when water soaked between the leaves. Somewhere along the line, several miniatures were cut out of the book, three of them replaced by an individual who had no knowledge of the original subjects.[5] The most consequential event, though, was a fire that seems to have broken out in the eighteenth century. I infer this date from two episodes in the history of the psalter. The first occurred in 1681. In May of that year, a man named Theodore restored at least two leaves that had fallen out of the psalter.[6] On fol. 96, Theodore recorded his repair in the form of a subscription or colophon, the statement that a scribe traditionally writes at the end of a text using set formulas.[7] In the late seventeenth century, therefore, the manuscript was in relatively good condition, suffering no losses after fol. 96. We can also say that the manuscript seems still to have been in use in a Greek-speaking community as it had been in the fourteenth century, since both text and rubrics for monastic recitation were kept legible.

But by the early nineteenth century, the psalter had been reduced to its present state and had been transformed into a collector's item, an artifact from a foreign culture. The second event that suggests an eighteenth-century date for the fire is its acquisition by Frederic North (1766–1827), a philhellene who traveled widely and purchased Greek and Italian books. Although North intended to leave his library to the Ionian University, which he co-founded on Corfu, his heirs had other plans, and, in 1837, the collection went on the block at the London house of Robert Harding Evans.[8] When the Walters acquired the psalter it was still in the vellum binding of the North library, and this binding held a manuscript missing leaves and entire quires. The psalter had been in a fire that destroyed its covers and some of the cords that secured the gatherings. A dusting of carbon marred part of the remaining fragment, for a brief report, dated 14 October 1946, states that "soot [was] removed from about 30 leaves" by the Walters' conservation department; at this time, a number of non-scribal notes were also erased.[9]

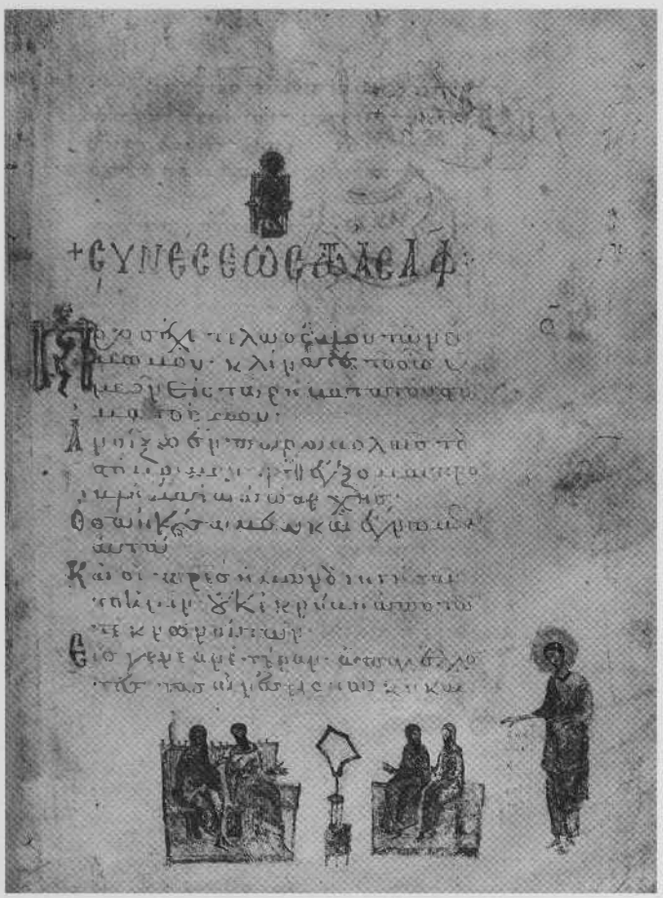


Fig. 1. Opening of Psalm 77 from Marginal Psalter, Byzantine, ca. 1100. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.733, fol. 38r.

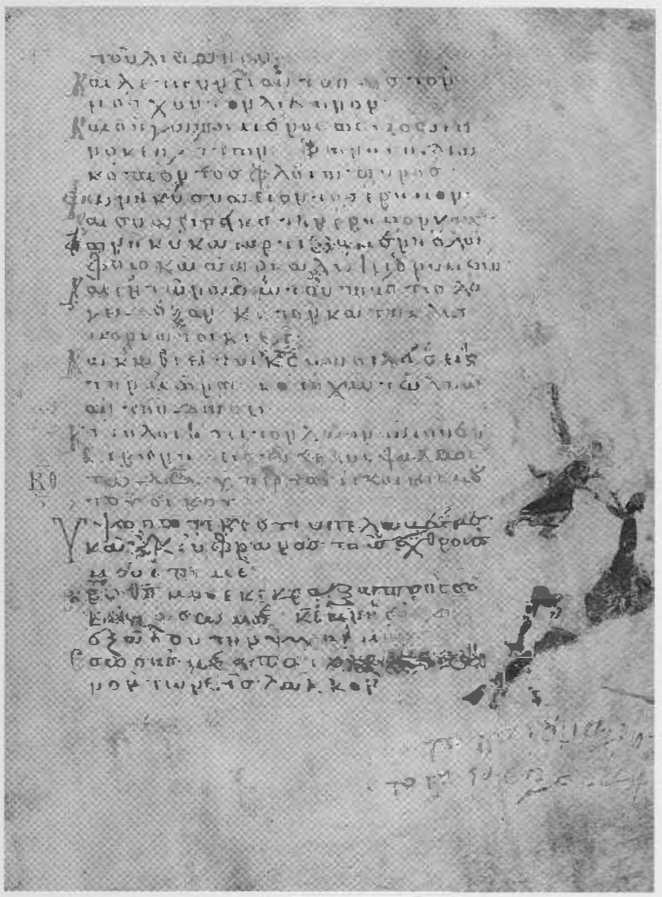


Fig. 2. Opening of Psalm 29 from Marginal Psalter, Byzantine, ca. 1100. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.733, fol. 1r.

In her publication of the manuscript, Miner adds in passing that inscriptions "have often been obliterated."[10] Precisely what this means is difficult to say, but it is of paramount significance in evaluating the attitude of the book's Palaeologan audience as well as the state of the presumed model.

The earlier marginal psalters that the Walters' manuscript most closely resembles, the Barberini and Theodore, contain inscriptions that identify the subjects and use a system of signs to denote which word or phrase each miniarure illustrates. The Walters' manuscript has few if any legends that are clearly contemporary with the text and miniatures.[11] The accidents to which the manuscript has been subject and the efforts to cover their effects ultimately fail to account for this lack of inscriptions. Short of incinerating the parchment, fire, or more accurately, high temperature, does not obliterate writing. In addition, many leaves escaped water damage yet have no trace of inscriptions. Since inscriprions were neither destroyed nor removed during conservation, the psalter must never have had a complete set defining the content of every miniature. We are left searching for a contemporary explanation for what appears to be a departure from the tradition of the marginal psalters.

In the normal course of creation, the scribe copies the text and rubrics, leaving spaces for headpieces or miniatures, which the illuminator then adds; finally, the scribe returns to copy the inscriptions.[12] Events followed a different course when the Walters' Marginal Psalter was made. Taken in isolation, one piece of evidence might suggest that work was suspended before inscriptions could be added to the miniatures. A leaf that stands at the mid-point of the psalms as marked for monastic use (Psalm 77) presents an anomaly. As he copied the text, the scribe began this psalm roughly one-third the way down the leaf, thereby leaving room for a large headpiece that would surround the title (fig. 1). Just what may have been envisioned can be imagined from the decoration found at this point in the Barberini, Theodore, and Kiev Psalters.[13] Instead of drawing and painting an ornamental frame, which would have been time consuming, the illuminator filled the blank space with an image of Christ enthroned that was probably in his source, though in its outside margin. Directly below Christ, the scribe copied the title ("A Psalm of Insrruction for Asaph") after the miniature was finished and at a scale to fir the remaining space. Even if the scribe and illuminator



Fig. 3. Page from Marginal Psalter, Byzantine, ca. 1100. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.733, fol. 49v.

were the same person, the usual order of production has been observed: text, miniature, rubric dependent on a painted addition; but there is no inscription in this case. Other evidence complicates this simple picture of a book left unfinished. When the scribe began work, he seems to have copied the text and titles at the same time, as one would expect. He wrote the title to Psalm 29, for example (fig. 2), in a neat hand that blends easily with the psalm text yet stands out by virtue of the color of the ink and some letter forms. The titles soon change to a considerably more cursive manner. The one on fol. 49v suggests that a large block of titles was left to be written after the miniatures were added (fig. 3). The title exhibits the more cursive manner, but of more diagnostic value is the psalm number (πγ', 83), which had to be written near the gutter because the miniature was in the way. The scribe returned to finish this and other titles after the miniatures had been painted, including that at Psalm 77. Attributing the lack of inscriptions to the press of time is not entirely convincing. It might be assumed that the model for the Walters' manuscript had inscriptions, for this model was supposedly similar to the Barberini and Theodore Psalters. The one trustworthy fact is that the Walters' Marginal Psalter was copied from the same source as the Kiev Psalter. A consideration of the Kiev volume reveals that the model for both manuscripts may, in fact, not have had inscriptions accompanying the illustrations.

The Kiev Psalter was written in 1397 in Kiev by the archdeacon Spyridon for Bishop Michael.[14] Its miniatures are systematically, and exclusively, related to words and phrases by means of lines. Such lines appear occasionally in the Theodore and Barberini Psalters, but in the eleventh century the symbols associated with written marginal commentary are more frequently employed as the means of linking pictures and text.[15] The lines of the Kiev system form a visually powerful link between pictures and words or phrases in the psalms. Impossible to ignore, they draw the eye from words and phrases to the miniature. Although the Walters' Marginal Psalter is incomplete in this regard, both means of identifying subjects were used.[16] The Kiev Psalter further differs in having inscriptions to nearly all the miniatures, and at about the same ratio of inscribed to not inscribed as the Barberini and Theodore Psalters. Nonetheless, a qualitative difference separates the earlier manuscripts and the later Kiev Psalter. The eleventh-century inscriptions range from proper names to more lengthy statements, usually with verbs that emphasize action: "Abraham sacrificing Isaac,"[17] "St. Peter weeping,"[18] "Moses leading the people,"[19] or "Joseph being sold by his brothers."[20] In each of these examples, the Kiev Psalter, in contrast, has at most a proper name. I, therefore, suggest that there were few if any inscriptions in the common pictorial source for the Kiev and Walters' manuscripts. This hypothesis would help to explain the character of the Kiev Psalter inscriptions, so different from those in the Barberini and Theodote Psalters. It would also account for the fact that there are no inscriptions in the Walters' manuscript.

The inscriptions in the Kiev Psalter deserve a closer look.[21] Many of them are vague, at least in the sample represented by those passages also found in the Walters' manuscript. Portraits of saints are often inscribed as "bishop," "hierarch," "holy martyrs," "venerable," "blessed,"[22] identifications that one might make based on costume alone. In the eleventh century, Theodore named the man holding a moneybag and serpent as Karnabades (fol. 44v, Psalm 36:35; possibly the evil king of Antiquity Καρναβών); in Kiev, he is the "ungodly" man, a word plucked directly from the psalm text.[23] Just as a later reader of the Walters' Marginal Psalter correctly identified Job and his wife (γυνή) on fol. 87, so Spyridon might have correctly identified figures through pose, gesture, or portrait, ones such as Basil the Great, Onouphrios, Zosimos, and Mary of Egypt, perhaps even John the Calybite.[24] And as a later reader of the Walters' Marginal Psalter incorrectly identified Daniel's Vision as

Jacob's Ladder, so some of Spyridon's identifications are suspect; they include Nikephoros on fol. 129 and John the Merciful on fol. 153. This final category of argument based on erroneous readings has meaning only from a modern, historically conscious viewpoint. Jacob's Ladder was widely understood as a type of the Incarnation used in connection with the Theotokos, and is therefore an acceptable interpretation of the passage.[25] Spyridon, in turn, has given to the saints names that have meaning for him and his readers. In the sample arbitrarily created by the extent of preservation of the Walters' Marginal Psalter little indicates that the common model had extensive inscriptions.

The absence of inscriptions in the Walters' and Kiev Psalters as well as their model can only be taken as a hypothesis, but it strikes me as the most reasonable one in the face of the evidence available. Furthermore, it helps put into perspective other qualities that the two manuscripts share. In their illustration, too, the later psalters depart from the tenth- and eleventh-century examples of the tradition.

Many saints dot the margins of the Barberini and Theodore Psalters, and a significant number of them appear at the beginnings of psalms. They are similar to figures in the late ninth-century Khludov Psaltet, which was known to the Stoudite monks in the eleventh century. The artist of the Khludov Psalter created "author portraits" of David, Moses, and the poor man standing near titles in which they are named (or can be construed as being named) as the speaker.[26] The Stoudite illuminators used saints in a similar fashion at the start of psalms with words like "prayer" and "instruction" in the title or verbs, such as "cry out" and "call out" in the opening line. Saints in this position subvert authorship and thereby suspend the historicity of the text by placing the psalms into the mouths of speakers who are clearly not the authors. This use of saints' portraits is in one sense liturgical, for it brings the singing of the text out of the past and closer to the lives of the men who used such books in their daily offices. When one turns to the Walters and Kiev Psalters, it is clear that most of the saints used in this way have been converted to images of David; the literal function of the figure as the speaker of record is reestablished, and it imposes a degree of conformity that renders inscriptions unnecessary.

In reducing the range of subjects, the maker of the source also emphasized Davidic over typological imagery. In the Khludov, as in the Theodore Psalter, Psalm 109:4 ("You are a priest forever, after the order of Melchisedek") is illustrated by a two-part composition.[27] The first part consists of David standing gesturing to the scene painted before him; he speaks with divine authority, of course, but he also serves as a kind of guide who explains the meaning of the text to the reader. The scribe of the Khludov Psalter added the inscription, "David prophesies that you are a priest after the order of Melchisedek." The Stoudite monk Theodore faithfully reproduced the composition but shortened the inscription to "David says," meaning he says the psalm verse indicated. Next to David in these manuscripts is the Communion of the Apostles and Melchisedek, holding a bowl and ewer. The "you" of Psalm 109:4 becomes Christ, and his relationship with Melchisedek plays on two of the meanings of the preposition κατά ("according to" and "following [in time]"). The designer of the image demonstrates the continuity of an office over time, bridging the period under Law to that of the New Dispensation. It is a typically rich invention that combines theology with a concern for ecclesiastical authority.[28] The Palaeologan manuscripts treat the illustration of this verse differently. Both the Walters and Kiev Psalters lack the Communion of the Apostles, the result of an editorial decision taken by the maker of their source. The illuminator of the Walters' manuscript represented (fol. 84v) two standing figures (now damaged), presumably David and Melchisedek. Spyridon edited further. On fol. 159, he portrayed only Melchisedek, now holding a scroll, as an illustration of the proper name in the psalm verse. Since Melchisedek is connected by a line to his name in the psalm verse, the inscription is hardly necessary.[29] The designer of the manuscript that appealed to two Palaeologan patrons created a work in which pictures went closely with the words. If this source was made at the Stoudios monastery in the eleventh century, it represented a dramatic departure from the two illustrated psalters that we can be certain the monks produced at that time. Perhaps, then, it was not, and the line of descent leading to the Walters' Marginal Psalter is more complex than has been envisioned.

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CENSUS OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Here follows a census of the illustrations in the Walters' Marginal Psalter. Psalm numbers and verses are given according to A. Rahls, Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes (Wurtemberg, 1935). In the descriptions, bishops, archbishops, and patriarchs are simply designated as priest. Quire numbering depends on the few numbers or traces of numbering that survives at fols. 7v, 15v, 23v, 45v, 60v, and 67v; although written by a later binder, the numbers likely reflect the original count. In the notes, K=Kiev Psalter.

Quires i–iii, and Psalms 1–28:5a, are lost.

δ'(IV) PSALM 28:5B–34:4A, 34:20–35:9A

Fol. 1: near Psalm 29:1–4, David drawn from Hades by an angel (K fol. 37v inscribed "David"). Fol. 2: a, near Psalm 30:2–4, a sainted priest prays to Christ (K fol. 38 inscribed "bishop"); b, near Psalm 30:6–8, a sainted priest prays to Christ (K fol. 38v inscribed "hierarch"). Fol. 3: near Psalm 30:17b–19a, Christ addresses David. Fol. 3v: near Psalm 31:2–3, a deacon and two priests, all nimbed, below Christ in a clipeus; a line runs to the word "blessed" of Psalm 3:1 (K fol. 40v inscribed "holy martyrs"). Fol. 4: near Psalm 31:6–7a, David addresses a group of men, and below, near Psalm 31:11, are a horse and mule(?), both redrawn. Fol. 4v: near Psalm 32:2–5a, three male saints each wearing a chlamys (K fol. 41v inscribed "Abibos, Samonas, Gurias"). Fol. 5: near Psalm 32:18–20a, a seated man addresses a soldier as a second man, in a tunic, stands by; a sign is drawn before Psalm 32:17 (K fol. 43 inscribed "Joseph," "Potiphar"). Fol. 5v: near Psalm 33:6–7a, Christ addresses the poor man; Christ is connected by a line to Psalm 33:4; later inscribed IC XC and πτοχος. Fol. 6v: a, Christ gestures over a monumental tomb; a line connects the miniature to "Lord" in Psalm 33:21; b, near Psalm 34:1–4a, David speaks to Christ; below, an angel spears two recumbent men, who are badly rubbed. Fol. 7: near Psalm 34:22–24, David prays to Christ (K fol. 46v inscribed "David").

ε'(V) PSALM 35:9B–39:18A

Fol. 8: a, near Psalm 35:10–13a, David prays to Christ represented in a clipeus at the intersection of the upright and crossbar of a cross; b, near Psalm 36:1b–3a, a sainted priest, who has been retouched (K fol. 48 inscribed "Gregory the Theologian"). Fol. 9: near Psalm 36:11, a man in a tunic pursues another who is lightly dressed; below, near Psalm 36:14, two men train arrows upwards (K fol. 49 inscribed "righteous," "sinner"). Fol. 9v: near Psalm 36:14b–19, an angel drives a lance into two men recumbent over a fire. Fol. 10: near Psalm 36:26b–28a, a sainted priest gives alms (K fol. 50 inscribed "almsgiver"). Fol. 10v: near Psalm 36:33, David points to a tree (K fol. 50v inscribed "David"). Fol. 11: near Psalm 36:34b–36, a man with wild hair holds a moneybag and snake (K fol. 50v inscribed "ungodly"). Fol. 11v: near Psalm 37:2–5, a man with a nimbus is dragged by a horse (K inscribed "St. Eleutherios"). Fol. 12: Psalm 37:12–13a, three seated kings address Job on the dungheap (K fol. 52 inscribed "emperors," "Job"); later inscribed οἱ βασιλ<εῖς> and Ιωβ. Fol. 13: near Psalm 38:2–3, David commends two men to Christ. Fol. 13v: near Psalm 38:8–9, a young man presents a sack to an older seated one; represented in the lower corner below Psalm 38:11, a man guides a loaded camel while another carries a basket. Fol. 14: Peter sits weeping near a tree; inscribed ὁ ἅ(γιος) Πέτρο(ς) in the same purple ink used for the line connecting the miniature to "attend to my tears" in Psalm 38:13. Fol. 15: near Psalm 39:11–13, a sainted priest prays to Christ (K fol. 55 inscribed "Basil the Great").

ς'(VI) PSALM 39:18B–44:14A, 45:10B–47:4

Fol. 22 is a replacement sheet glued to 17; bearing Psalm 44:14b–45:10a, it was added, in 1681, by the Economos Theodore.

Fol. 16: near Psalm 40:1–3a, a sainted man gives alms to two others (K fol. 56 inscribed "almsgiver"). Fol. 16v: near Psalm 40:7–8, a young man speaks to two older men, one of whom wears what looks like ecclesiastical costume (K fol. 56v inscribed "Judas," "Jews"). Fol. 17: near Psalm 40:14–41:2, David prays to Christ represented in a clipeus; in the lower margin, below Psalm 41:5b, a deer drinks from a stream issuing from a seated personification. Fol. 17v: near Psalm 41:6–8, David prays to Christ represented in a clipeus; a stream issuing from a jar held by a personification at David's feet runs down the entire margin (K fol. 58 inscribed "David"). Fol. 18: near Psalm 42:1–3a, a stylite saint in a landscape (K fol. 58v inscribed "St. Symeon the Stylite"). Fol. 18v: near Psalm 42:5b–43:4a, two young men in tunics simultaneously point up to Christ, represented in a clipeus, and down to two older men in tunics and capes; later inscribed δικαί(οι) (K fol. 59 inscribed "teachers of the Law"). Fol. 20v: near Psalm 43:25–27, David bows from the waist before an altar (K fol. 61 inscribed "David"). Fol. 21: near Psalm 44:6–8a, a nimbed figure in military dress, his face rubbed and redrawn, stands in triumph on two tiny figures (K fol. 61v inscribed "David"). Fol. 23: a, near Psalm 46:2–3a, three animated figures in tunics; b, near Psalm 46:5–6a, the Ascension.

[ζ'(VII)] PSALM 49:8–50:12, 51:6–52:5

Fol. 24: near Psalm 49:12–15, the Sacrifice of Isaac (K fol. 68 inscribed "Abraham"). Fol. 25: near Psalm 50:4–6a, Nathan confronts David, enthroned with an angel behind him; in the lower margin, David falls before Christ's feet (K fol. 69 inscribed "Prophet Nathan"). Fol. 26v: near Psalm 52:2b–5a, from a segment of heaven Christ observes a man giving alms.

Gathering (viii) is lost.

[θ'(IX)] PSALM 60:9B–63:2A, 67:13B–67:26A

Fols. 27 and 29 are separated.

Fol. 27: a, near Psalm 61:1–2, a nimbed figure in himation (K fol. 81v inscribed "Matthew") b, near Psalm 61:5–6, a young man stands in the center of group of four older men with their heads covered (to denote Jews), two of them badly rubbed; the central figure of the young man is inscribed Ιουδας (K fol. 81v inscribed "Judas"), and a line connects the men to "they took council" of Psalm 61:5. Fol. 28: a, near Psalm 62:1–2a, David hides in a cave; b, near Psalm 62:6a–7a, two men in a cave are attacked by foxes as a soldier observes from above. Fol. 28v: near Psalm 63:1–2, David shrinks from a soldier. Fol. 29: along the entire right margin of the leaf (Psalm 67:14–19a) runs a mountain, a golden figure at its foot and an image of the Theotokos and Child at the summit; in the lower margin lies a sleeping figure in an exotic cap with an angel behind him gesturing upwards, though away from the mountain (K fol. 88v inscribed "Daniel sees a vision"); a line connects the Theotokos to "God" of Psalm 67:17; a later hand has written ἡ κλίμαξ at the top of the mountain and Ἰακώβ near the figure of Daniel.

[ι'(X)] PSALM 68:26–70:7

Fol. 30v: in the lower margin, beneath Psalm 69:3a, two men bow before an altar, a city at their back; a blue line connects the city with the beginning of Psalm 68:36. Fol. 31v: near Psalm 70:5–7, a nimbed priest(?) Prays to Christ (K fol. 94v inscribed "bishop").

[ια'(XI)] PSALM 71:17B–72:13A, 72:27B–76:21

An irregular gathering ends the first half of the manuscript, as determined by the kathisma system: I–X, Psalm 1–Psalm 76; its make-up allows the second part, kathismata XI–XX, Psalm 77–Psalm 151, and odes, to begin on a full gathering.

Fol. 32: a, near Psalm 71:18–20, David gestutes upward to Christ in a clipeus while appearing to turn from him (K fol. 97v inscribed "David"); b, near Psalm 72:1–3, David points to a segment of heaven faintly drawn in black (K fol. 98 inscribed "David"); a line seems to run to Psalm 72:1 [title]. Fol. 32v: near Psalm 72:7–10, blood pours from the mouths of two men. Fol. 33v: near Psalm 73:6b–8a, a seated ruler gives an order to a soldier, as two more dig at the foot of a city in flames (K fol. 100v inscribed "Nebuchadnezzar"). Fol. 34: a, near Psalm 73:12b–16a, the Crucifixion (Christ and the cross have been excised); connected by a line to "in the midst of the earth" in Psalm 73:12; a later hand has added the inscriptions, ἡ στα̣υ[ρώσις], ΜΗΡ ΘΥ, Ἰω⟨άννης⟩; b (Miner 1955, fig. 22), at the bottom of the leaf, below Psalm 73:17, the Baptism, connected by a line to Psalm 73:14; another connects the sea dragons to Psalm 73:13b. Fol. 34v: near Psalm 73:21b–23, two men in short tunics raise their hands in prayer; a sign relates them to Psalm 73:21. Fol. 35v: near Psalm 74:9–10, an angel uses a sword to cut the horns from three men. Fol. 36: near Psalm 75:11–12a, a man is represented on horseback, his head bowed in sleep; above this figure is a large hole where a miniature was cut, possibly from the verso but resulting in the loss of a second rider: cf. K fol. 103v. Fol. 36v: near Psalm 76:106a, there is a large hole where there may have been a standing figure like that in K fol. 104, inscribed "venerable." Fol. 37v: running down nearly the entire lateral margin (Psalm 76:14b–21) is a mountain, at the top of which stands a crowd of men looking down to a bearded man and, below him, a young one; later inscribed Μωϋσῆς, Ἀαρών (K fol. 105 inscribed "Moses," "Aaron").

[ιβ'(XII)] PSALM 77–79:11B

Fol. 38: a, above Psalm 77:1 [title], Christ enthroned (no comparable image in K); b, across the bottom margin, beneath Psalm 77:4a, a council of four men with their heads covered (to denote Jews) enthroned in pairs to either side of a book on a lectern, and next to them a large nimbed figure holding a scroll, its inscription illegible (K fol. 105v inscribed "prophets," "teachers of the Law," and "Moses," on whose scroll is written "Let the heavens and earth hear"). Fol. 39: at the bottom of the leaf, beneath Psalm 77:15a, the Israelites cross the Red Sea with the Egyptian army in pursuit (K fol. 106v inscribed "Moses," "Aaron"). Fol. 39v: near Psalm 77:15b–19a, Moses strikes the rock as men drink from cups. Fol. 40: along the side margin and across the bottom, near Psalm 77:24–29, is the story of the quail and manna (Exodus 16:14–27); signs relate the angel handing a man bread to Psalm 77:25,

the falling quail to Psalm 77:27a, and a line connects the men with cups to Psalm 77:23. Fol. 41v: the miniature runs down the side margin and across the bottom (Psalm 77:43–49a); at the top David looks down and gestures; rivers flow from twin personifications at his feet, their flesh red, and terminate at a field with stalks; beyond the rivers is a seated ruler holding his head, as do two figures standing before him; a line runs from the plants to Psalm 77:46b, and a sign relates the ruler and men to Psalm 77:45 (K fol. 108v inscribed "David"). Fol. 42: across the bottom margin, below Psalm 77:55a, Pharaoh's army drowns in the Red Sea, as Moses, standing behind the Israelites, touches the sea with his staff; both a sign and line relate the scene to "enemies" in Psalm 77:53. Fol. 43v: a, running down two-thirds of the outer margin (Psalm 77:67b–78:1) is a mountain; at its base a man gestures upward to the summit, where the dove of the Holy Spirit descends from heaven toward a roundel with the Theotokos and Child; a sign of three dots relates it to "the mountain" of Psalm 77:68 (K fol. 110v inscribed "Mother of God" and "David"); b, near Psalm 78:1a, a figure prays to Christ in a clipeus (K fol. 111 inscribed "David"); c, across the bottom margin, below Psalm 78:1a, a city and its inhabitants are savagely attacked by soldiers. Fol. 45: near Psalm 79:2–3a, Christ sits in a glory above four fiery wheels; four nimbed figures stand shoulder to shoulder in the lower margin, below Psalm 79:4a; the first is a youth in a tunic and cape, the second is crowned, wearing a tunic and chlamys and holding a cross, the third and fourth wear a tunic and himation; the fourth holds a scroll. Fol. 45v: running the length of the outer margin (Psalm 79:4b–11a) is a landscape consisting of two rivers issuing from jars held by personifications; the rivers flow to a landscape with a lake or sea and a tall vine, up the base of which runs a fox; in the lower margin next to the landscape, beneath Psalm 79:11a, Christ addresses David.

[ιγ'(XIII)] PSALM 79:11B–87:9

Fol. 46v: in the lower corner, opposite Psalm 80:6a, stand three nimbed priests (K fol. 113v inscribed "Basil, Gregory, John Chrysostom"). Fol. 47: near Psalm 80:7–8, a young man with a basket on his back walks toward two well-dressed figures seated before a building (K fol. 113v inscribed "Joseph," "Potiphar"). Fol. 47v: a, near Psalm 80:17–81:3, a nimbed man points up to a bust of Christ (K fol. 114 inscribed "Asaph"); b, in bottom margin, below Psalm 81:3, a nimbed cleric distributes alms to two poorly dressed figures (K 114v inscribed "John the Almsgiver"). Fol. 49v: running the length of the side margin (Psalm 82:18b–83:6a) is a tree with birds flying about the leaves. Fol. 50v: near Psalm 83:12b–13, are two nimbed monks each holding a small cross (K fol. 117 inscribed "venerable"). Fol. 51: near Psalm 84:10–13a, the Visitation (K fol. 118 inscribed "Mother of God" and "Elizabeth"). Fol. 51v: near Psalm 85:1–3a, Christ leans out from a clipeus toward a poorly dressed man. Fol. 52: near Psalm 85:9–11a, Christ addresses a group of six men, four of whom have exotic hats, and two without nimbuses. Fol. 52v: near Psalm 85:15–86:2a, David raises his covered hands to a large cross with a clipeate portrait of Christ at the intersection of the upright and crossbar. Fol. 53: near Psalm 86:4b–87:1, David prays before a building that has the Theotokos and Child in a roundel over the door. Fol. 53v: near Psalm 87:3a–5b, a nimbed monk holding a cross gestures upward (K fol. 120 inscribed "Josiah").

ιδ'(XIV) PSALM 87:10–89:17, 90:13B–91:11

Fol. 54v: in the bottom corner, near Psalm 88:3b–5a, two nimbed men with crowns raise their hands toward Christ in a clipeus. Fol. 55v: near Psalm 88:13–17a, the Transfiguration; a line connects the miniature to the word "Thabor" in Psalm 88:13. Fol. 56: near Psalm 88:22–23, Samuel anoints David. Fol. 57: near Psalm 88:35b–37a, two figures crowned and nimbed, one young, the other old, raise their hands toward a segment of heaven from which the hand of God emerges (K fol. 124v inscribed "David" and "Solomon"). Fol. 57v: across the top margin, above Psalm 88:37b, are the sun and moon; a later hand has inscribed them ἥλιος and σελήνι. Fol. 58v: near Psalm 88:53–89:2a, David(?) in proskynesis on a hill at the top of which appears Christ gesturing from a clipeus. Fol. 59: near Psalm 88:10, an old man walking with a stick; he is connected by a line to the word "eighty" of Psalm 89:10. Fol. 60: near Psalm 91:2–5, is a nimbed priest with a book (K fol. 129 inscribed "St. Nikephoros").

ιε'(XV) PSALM 91:12–95:9A, 96:8B–100:8A

The lateral margin of fol. 61 is trimmed to the edge of the text. The recto bears Psalm 91:12–92:1a; offprinting appears on fol. 60v: a spot of green and what looks like a halo (K fol. 130 has "St. Onouphrios" in a landscape). On the verso is Psalm 92:1b–93:3a; offprinting of two halos appears on fol. 62 (K fol. 130v has the Miracle at Chonae, illustrating Psalm 92:3). On fol. 64v there is offprinting of what resembles the construction scene in K at fol. 134.

Fol. 63: near Psalm 93:23–94:2a, two young men in long tunics strike semantrons with mallets. Fol. 63v: near Psalm 94:5b–7, David in proskynesis before Christ depicted in a rectangle. Fol. 64v: near Psalm 95:4–8, three men worship a pair of nude statues, each holding a spear and

shield and supported on a raised platform; a later hand has inscribed the statues εἴδωλα. Fol. 66: near Psalm 97:9b–98:2, Christ enthroned with two cherubim at either side; the inscription written above Christ, – ὁ χερουβίμ, may or may not be contemporary (Kiev fol. 136v inscribed "Jesus Christ"). Fol. 66v: near Psalm 98:8b–99:2a, Chrysostom raises a cross in the presence of bishops and deacons, all standing on steps (K fol. 137 inscribed "John Chrysostom," "Elevation of the Holy Cross"). Fol. 67: near Psalm 100:2–3, David in proskynesis under a segment of heaven, from which emerges the hand of God. Fol. 67v: near Psalm 100:3b–5a, David in proskynesis under Christ in a clipeus that is connected by a line to "A perverse heart has not cleaved to me" of Psalm 100:4 (K 138 inscribed "David").

[ις'(XVI)] PSALM 100:8B–104:24A

Fol. 71 severely trimmed; offprinting on fol. 72 suggests the presence of a miniature on fol. 71v (K fol. 142v illustrates Psalm 102:20 with Christ enthroned worshiped by angels).

Fol. 68: near Psalm 101:1–3, Christ addresses a poorly clad man. Fol. 68v: running along the outer margin, near Psalm 101:6–12a, is a large tree; David stands at its base gesturing up to a large bird nesting at its top; a later hand has inscribed the bird κόραξ. Fol. 69v: a, at the lower corner of the leaf, near Psalm 101:25–27a, an angel drags a small nimbed figure from the arms of the giant Hades, while Christ, at the top of the leaf, near Psalm 101:20, leans out from a clipeus (K fol. 140 inscribed "David"); b, in the lower margin, below Psalm 101:27a, a nimbed monk sits in a landscape as a raven brings food (K fol. 140v inscribed "St. Paul of Thebes"). Fol. 70: near Psalm 101:29b–102:2, a figure with an exotic hat and cape gestures up to Christ, who leans out from a segment of heaven. Fol. 70v: running along the outer margin, near Psalm 102:4b–10, is a tree at the base of which stands an old man holding a staff and gesturing up to a small bird in its branches (K fol. 141v inscribed "old man"). Fol. 72: near Psalm 103:2–3, a landscape consisting of two hills forming a valley from which a river flows farther down the leaf; a line connects the miniature with Psalm 103:5. Fol. 72v: near Psalm 103:8b–12, a landscape similar to that of fol. 72, but from which two rivers flow. Fol. 73: near Psalm 103:16–22, a landscape with a deer beneath a large tree; a line connects the tree to "the house of the heron" in Psalm 103:17, and another from the hill to "There the sparrows will build ..." of Psalm 103:18. Fol. 73v: near Psalm 103:25–28, a series of related vignettes; a semi-nude figure with a steering oar sits on a sea creature in the ocean; connected by a line to the start of Psalm 103:25; a coiled sea monster spits out a nude man; connected by a line to "these things creeping..." of Psalm 103:27; three animals, one a griffin, spitting nude figures; finally, in the lower margin, below Psalm 103:28, a sea monster spits out a figure. Fol. 74v: near Psalm 104:1–3, a nimbed woman prays to a segment of heaven from which emerges the hand of God (corresponding leaf in K now lost). Fol. 75v: in the lower margin, below Psalm 104:24a, two vignettes; Joseph sold by his brothers and his journey by camel to Egypt; the first connected by line to Psalm 104:17 and the second to Psalm 104:18.

[ιζ'(XVII)] PSALM 104:24B–105:20, 105:47B–106:26A

Fol. 76 a: in the lower margin beneath Psalm 104:30, Joseph's family, in an oxcart lead by a small figure, travels toward a small building (Egypt)(K fol. 147 inscribes a figure in the cart as "Israel"); b, in the side margin near Psalm 104:24b–30a, two rivers, one red, the other green, issue from jars held by personifications; a line connects the red river to the word "waters" of Psalm 104:29. Fol. 76v: near Psalm 104:31–32, two men with their heads covered (to denote Jews) stand before a ruler seated in front of a building. Fol. 77: a, near Psalm 104:38–41a, the Israelites in an aureole, connected to the word "covering" of Psalm 104:39, and the pillar of fire, connected to the word "night" in the same verse; b, four men catch birds, connected by line ro "quail" of Psalm 104:40; c, at the bottom of the leaf, below Psalm 104:45, a man roasts birds on spits. Fol. 78: near Psalm 105:10–11, a figure falls headlong into the sea; four dots connect the image to Psalm 105:11. Fol. 78v: a, near Psalm 105:14b–16a, a crowd of figures moving; b, near Psalm 105:17–19a, a figure falls headlong into the earth; c, in the lower margin, below Psalm 105:20, a nimbed figure watches men with their heads covered throw gold into a fire; d, also in the lower margin, three figures in proskynesis before a statue on a column. Fol. 79v: near Psalm 106:8–9, a young man, nimbed and dressed as a monk, gives alms to a poorly clad man, badly rubbed and partly redrawn (K fol. 153 inscribed "St. John the Calybite").

[ιη'(XVIII)] PSALM 106:41–114:2A

Fol. 81v: running along the outside margin, near Psalm 107:6–10, the Ascension of Christ, connected by a line to Psalm 107:6; a later hand inscribed Christ IC XC and the angels holding the glory ἀγγέλων. Fol. 82: near Psalm 107:14–108:3, the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus in a cave (K missing leaf at this point). Fol. 82v: near Psalm 108:6–8, Judas hangs from a tree (K fol. 157 inscribed "Judas hangs himself"). Fol. 83: near Psalm 108:17, a man wearing a hat and brandishing a stick pursues two poorly dressed

men. Fol. 84v: a, near Psalm 109:1–2a, a nimbed priest prays to a segment of heaven from which the hand of God emerges (K fol. 159 inscribed "holy hierarch"); b, near Psalm 109:2b–5a, the Nativity; c, in lower margin, below Psalm 109:5a, a nimbed figure on a low platform gestures to another man, now badly effaced and lightly redrawn (K fol. 159v inscribed "Melchisedek"). Fol. 87: a, near Psalm 112:7–8, Job's wife holds out a stick or long-handled spoon to her husband, naked on the dung heap (K fol. 161v inscribed "Job"), connected by a line to Psalm 112:6; b, near Psalm 113:3–4, the Baptism. Fol. 88: near Psalm 113:15b–17, David gestures to a statue on a column, which has been effaced (K fol. 162v inscribed "David," "... idols"). Fol. 88v: near Psalm 113:20b–23, two nimbed figures, one young and dressed in a himation and the other older and dressed in tunic and long overgarment (K fol. 162v inscribed "Moses," "Aaron").

[ιθ'(XIX)] PSALM 114:2B–118:63

Psalm 118:64–118:77 now on replacement folio glued to 89.

Fol. 89v: a, near Psalm 115:2–7a, a bedridden man, with a servant looking on and a rich house in the background, prays to a segment of heaven from which emerges the hand of God; b, the lower part of the leaf is missing, where there was once a miniature (cf. K fol. 164: a youth standing before a water heater [*authepsa*]). Fol. 90v: near Psalm 117:9–14, three men march up a hill on which David waits to receive them; connected by a line to Psalm 117:10 (K fol. 165 inscribed "David"). Fol. 91: near Psalm 117:17–22, a man with gray hair and beard holds out his hands, above him are the gates of heaven in an aureole resting on angels who look down (K fol. 166 inscribes "Abraham"). Fol. 92: in the bottom margin, below Psalm 118:8, are five marching figures (K fol. 166v inscribed "all the saints").

[κ'(XX)] PSALM 118:92B–120:7

Fol. 97: near Psalm 118:94–96, David prays to a segment of heaven from which emerges the hand of God (K fol. 173 inscribed "David"). Fol. 99: near Psalm 118:127b–129, Zosimos averts his eyes while handing his outer garment to the naked Mary of Egypt; below, near Psalm 118:130–132, Zosimos, dressed as a priest, offers Mary communion with a spoon (K fol. 175v, inscribed "Mary of Egypt," "Zosimos"). Fol. 102v: near Psalm 120:1–4, a nimbed monk, partly effaced (K fol. 179v inscribed "blessed").

NOTES

1. On W.733, see D. Miner, "Since De Ricci—Western Illuminated Manuscripts Acquired since 1934," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 29/30 (1966/67): 72–75.

2. D. Miner, "The 'Monastic' Psalter of the Walters Art Gallery," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), 232–53. For the manuscripts most frequently cited, the nicknames, sigla, and references are: the Barberini Psalter (= B): Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 372, J. Anderson, P. Canart, C. Walter *The Barberini Psalter: Codex Vaticanus Barberinianus Graecus 372* (Zurich, 1989); the Khludov Psalter (= M): Moscow, Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei, gr. 129, M. Shchepkina, *Miniatiury Khludovskoi psaltyri: Grecheskii illiustrirovannyi kodeks IX veka* (Moscow, 1977); the Kiev Psalter (= K): St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia (Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia Biblioteka), cod. OLDP, F6, G. Vzdornov, *Issledovianie o Kievskoi Psaltyri* (Moscow, 1978); the Theodore Psalter (= L): London, British Library, Add. MS 19,352, S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen age*, II, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques, V (Paris, 1970), and *Theodore Psalter: Electronic Facsimile*, ed C. Barber (Urbana and London, 2000).

3. A. Cutler, "The Marginal Psalter in the Walters Art Gallery: A Reconsideration," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 35 (1976): 44, 52, 56–59; and Vzdornov, *Issledovianie*, 155.

4. Cutler, "Marginal Psalter," 40–43.

5. Cuttings were taken at fols. 34, 36, and 61; margins were severely trimmed at fols. 61 and 71. The later repairs on which miniatures were drawn are now kept separately as Suppl. 10.13 (from fols. 34, 36, and 89, the last text only). The drawing style of the restorer recalls that of an eighteenth-century pilgrim's guide, Mt. Athos, Iviron monastery, cod. 874: S. Pelekanides et al., *The Treasures of Mt. Athos*, II (Athens, 1975), 323–24, figs. 137–42.

6. Theodore was born in the town of Mani (see following note), which was located near the city of of Didymoteichon, near the present day border of Greece and Turkey. From the information he gives, the function economos, as well as that he deems unnecessary, Theodore was likely restoring the book for a community that knew him well.

7. ,αχιτα' ἐν μηνὶ μαΐου δ' ἔγραψα ἐγὼ Θεόδωρος οἰκονόμος ἐκ πόλεως Μάνης, καὶ καλότυχος ὅπου ἔγραψε ἐτοῦτο τὸ ψαλτήριον καὶ ἔχει τὴν μνήμην αἰώνιου.

8. *Catalogue of the Extraordinary, Curious, and Extensive Collection of Manuscripts of the Late Earl of Guilford* (London, 1830), 28, where the manuscript is dated thirteenth century and listed as lot 319, the number still visible, written in pencil, inside the cover. North had the psalter rebound in vellum with the title stamped on the spine; inside the cover is North's bookplate with his arms and motto, "La virtue est la seule noblesse." A brief description of North as a collector appears in A. Munby, *Phillipps Studies*, III (Cambridge, 1954), 56.

9. Scribbling was removed from fols. 32v, 39, 40v, 41, 43, 53, 57v, 64v, 66v, 67, 75v, 76v, 81v, 82, 83, 88v; photographic records were kept in the form of what appear to be negative photocopies.

10. Miner, "'Monastic' Psalter," 244.

11. Fols. 12, 64v, 66. An inscription above Joseph, on fol. 47, was removed, as was another above the aureole on fol. 91.

12. J. Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982): 97–101.

13. B fol. 130; L fol. 100; K fol. 105v.

14. Vzdornov, *Issledovianie*, 155.

15. For example: L fols. 84, 85, 91v, 107v, 113, 114, 128v, 170, 172, 174, 183v.

16. Miniatures related by sign: fols. 2, 5, 17v, 34v, 40, 41v, 42, 43v, 75v, 78, 84v, 91; related by line: fols. 3v, 5v, 6v, 14, 17v, 26v, 27, 29, 30v, 32, 34, 39, 40, 41v, 42, 55v, 59, 66, 67v, 70v, 72, 73, 73v, 75v, 76, 77, 81v, 83, 87, 90v.

17. L fol. 140v at Psalm 104:8–9 (cf. W fol.24 ; K fol.68 at Psalm 49:14).

18. L fol. 47v (cf. W fol. 14; K fol. 55).

19. L fol. 101 (cf. W fol. 39; K fol. 106v).

20. L fol. 140v (cf. W fol. 75v; K fol. 146v).

21. I thank Prof. George Majeska for his help with the Church Slavonic inscriptions.

22. K fols. 38, 94v; 38v, 159; 40v; 117.

23. Psalm 36:35: L fol. 44v; cf. K 50v; in the B, fol. 64v, the two magicians Iannis and Iambres (2 Timothy 3:8) are depicted.

24. Basil on fol. 55 of K (W fol. 15). John the Calybite, K fol. 159 (W fol. 84v), does not appear in L or B, and is represented beardless in Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, cod. W 521: N. Ševčenko, "The Walters 'Imperial' Menologion," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 51 (1993): fig. 30.

25. S. Der Nersessian, "Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Parecclesion," in *The Kariye Djami, IV, Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background*, ed. P. Underwood (Princeton, 1975), 311–18, 334–36.

26. Fols. 5v, 13v. 25, 55, 74v, 90v, 100, 140, 140v, 144.

27. M fol. 115, L fol. 152.

28. On this manuscript, see K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992).

29. For a full discussion of how to identify costume, see C. Walter, "Pictures of the Clergy in the Theodore Psalter" *Revue des études byzantines* 31 (1973): 229–42.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–3, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

The Walters' Horologion

NANCY P. ŠEVČENKO

The Walters' Horologion (W.534) is a tiny codex; barely 4 in. (101 mm) high, it nonetheless contains the many psalms, prayers, and other texts that make up the Byzantine monastic office of the Hours.[1] The Horologion as a distinct liturgical book is known as early as the ninth century, but early Horologia differ considerably in their choice of texts and the order in which the various offices are presented.[2] In the Walters' manuscript, the volume opens with Orthros (the daybreak service of Matins), then proceeds to Prime (the First Hour), Terce (the Third Hour), Sext (the Sixth Hour), and None (the Ninth Hour).[3] After None comes the office for the refectory meal, and the office of the Typika, originally a communion office for use in monasteries. The evening service of Vespers comes next, followed by Apodeipnon (Compline), and Mesonyktikon, the midnight office. Finally, there is Mesonyktikon for Saturday night, different because it leads into the Sunday morning services. The codex concludes with the poetic Canon for the separation of the soul from the body (the Canon for the one about to die). The Walters' Horologion is one of the few that has been adorned with miniatures.[4]

THE MINIATURES PREFACING THE BIBLICAL ODES

The largest group of miniatures in this manuscript are those associated with the nine biblical odes of Orthros.[5] The beginning of the volume has merely a simple inked headpiece introducing the Hexapsalmos, or Six Psalms of Orthros. The first miniature comes at the beginning of the first ode, a system that is repeated for each of the remaining odes. The images for this section derive from those that traditionally accompany the texts of the odes in Byzantine illuminated Psalters.[6]

Fol. 20v (fig. 1): Ode 1: The dance of the Hebrew women. The first ode (Exodus 15:1–19) is the song of Moses to God following the destruction of the armies of Pharaoh in the Red Sea. Although this ode is most often accompanied by an image of the crossing of the Red Sea, here what is depicted is the joyous dance of the Israelite women as described in two subsequent verses (Exodus 15:20–21) that are not actually part of the ode as used in Orthros. Five women have joined in a stately circle dance, grasping each other by the wrists. Two of the women are veiled. The veils are white with black stripes; they wrap tightly around the faces of the women and continue down to rest on the shoulder as a broad white collar with small white tassels. The dresses are long-sleeved and very high-waisted. Those of the young maidens on the right and left are light pink and magenta with yellow patterned hems and collars, and four-pointed designs on the material itself. The veiled woman in the center rear is dressed in deep vermilion; the one in front, in green patterned with red; the figure on the left front is very flaked but apparently also dressed in green. The background is gold.

The miniature, which is full-page, is framed by a narrow pink and magenta border, which sprouts leaf buds on its upper section and is topped by a small central triangle supporting a fully open green blossom with five rounded petals and a projecting center. Smaller blossoms, more like the traditional Byzantine corner palmettes, adorn the upper corners of the frame. The blossoms are extended by tiny tendrils, and simple painted scrollwork follows the contour of the frame in the left margin.

Because the subject chosen to illustrate Ode 1 is so often the crossing of the Red Sea, the iconography of the dance of Miriam and the Hebrew women never became as fixed as that of the Red Sea.[7] The number of figures varies from two to nine; occasionally, one or more of the women accompanies on musical instruments an animated version of the dance. Sometimes the dance is performed in a circle, as here.[8] What distinguishes the Horologion miniature is the costume of the women with their high-waisted, patterned dresses and turban-like head coverings.



Fig. 1. The dance of the Hebrew women, from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 20v.



Fig. 2. Moses praying, from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 24r.

Fol. 24r (fig. 2): Ode 2: Moses praying (Deuteronomy 32:1–43). Moses stands with his hands stretched out before him, his upper body turned to the right as he looks up toward the blue-green arc of heaven at the upper right. He wears a pale orange chiton under a yellow-tan himation. He has a full head of short light brown hair and a short beard. Above a high green groundline, the background is gold. The miniature is again framed by a narrow magenta and gray border, which is capped by a triangular pediment-like design on its upper edge. The pediment itself is topped by a gray trefoil leaf, and the upper corners sprout fully open blossoms with five rounded orange petals. Leaf buds and broad magenta and orange acanthus leaves sprout from the sides of the frame; spikier flowers grace its lower corners; and there is some inked scrollwork as before.

The second ode was most often accompanied by the scene of Moses receiving the law. That narrative is completely absent here, and Moses is simply addressing his song to the Lord (who is presumably in the arc of heaven, though no hand is visible) in a pose familiar from depictions of various prophet authors of the odes.[9]

The illustration to Ode 3, the ode of Hannah (1 Kings 2:1–10), has been lost. The text itself starts on fol. 31r.

Fol. 32v (fig. 3): Ode 4: Habbakuk seated (Habbakuk 3:2–19). Here, the miniature occupies only one half of the page. The prophet sits on a low platform, his body facing right but his head raised at an angle to look up to the right. His right arm is raised at the elbow and one of his fingers points to his ear; his left holds a scroll on his left knee. He is beardless and wears a green chiton under a magenta himation. The background is gold, above a green groundline. There is no arc of heaven or hand of God. Magenta acanthus leaves are knotted around the lateral sides of the frame, which is green on three sides, and orange on top.

Fol. 36r (fig. 4): Ode 5: Isaiah standing (Isaiah 26:9–20). Isaiah, a fine elderly figure with a ruddy complexion and long white locks and beard, stands frontally holding an open scroll in his left hand while his right hand gestures across his chest to the right. His eyes follow the direction of his hand. He wears a magenta himation over a green chiton. The frame here has been depicted as a piece of architecture: two slender green columns with polygonal bases and capitals,



Fig. 3. Habbakuk seated from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 32v.



Fig. 4. Isaiah standing from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 36r.

topped by tall narrow turrets, flank the prophet and support between them a pointed magenta trefoil arch sprouting leaves over the prophet's head. The upper half of the background is gold, but the groundline is brown.

The figure of Isaiah standing alone, without the usual personifications of Night and Dawn, and not in prayer but declaiming his text, is not a common one, though three-quarter length figures of the prophet holding a scroll can be found as early as the twelfth–thirteenth century.[10]

Fol. 38v (fig. 5): Ode 6: Jonah kneeling in prayer (Jonah 2:2–9). Jonah kneels, but not in proskynesis: his upper body remains erect. His hands are outstretched, and he looks up toward a blessing hand of God emerging from the arc of heaven at the upper right. Jonah has a full, round head of hair and a short beard; he wears a yellow-tan himation over a green chiton. Each corner of the frame has a four-petaled vermilion flower with a gold center, which appears not so much to be growing from the frame as pegged onto it like a corner boss. Graceful vermilion tendrils emerge from the blossoms, and carefully drawn green scrollwork outlines the frame on all four sides. The background is gold; the ground, magenta.

There is nothing in this image to suggest Jonah's encounter with the whale. There are manuscript parallels for a kneeling figure of Jonah,[11] although his erect, as opposed to rounded, back here suggests a derivation from those compositions that show him emerging upright from the mouth of the whale.

Fol. 40v (fig. 6): Ode 7: The three Hebrews praying (apocryphal: cf. Daniel 3).[12] The three youths stand one behind the other stretching out their hands before them and looking up to the hand of God emerging from the arc of heaven at the upper right. They wear long tunics with gold embroidered hems and rather stiff mantles fastened under the chin. The mantles have gold collars. Both the collars and the edges of the mantles have little tassels. The vermilion mantle of the foremost figure is folded back to reveal its lining, which is white with narrow gray stripes. Under it, he wears a green tunic; the others wear green or magenta mantles over yellow-tan and white tunics, respectively. On their heads are the usual miters; all have full heads of hair but are beardless. Unlike the prophets, who wear sandals, the Hebrews wear boots. The usual vermilion frame has green trefoil leaves at its four corners, and, again, the leaves



Fig. 5. Jonah kneeling in prayer from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 38v.



Fig. 6. The three Hebrews praying from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 40v.

are complemented by small vermilion tendrils, and the frame itself is bordered by green scrollwork.

This composition is nearly without parallel. This ode is not customarily illustrated: ode 8, with the scene of the three youths in the furnace, is illustrated instead.[13] One late twelfth-century Cypriot (?) manuscript, however, does show the three half-kneeling figures in their special garb addressing their prayers to an arc of heaven.[14]

Fol. 46r (fig. 7): Ode 8: The three Hebrews in the fiery furnace (apocryphal: cf. Daniel 3). The miniature is very flaked. Visible are the front three sides of a low hexagonal furnace that has flames licking up at the three figures and out of semicircular openings in its sides. Inside the furnace are the three Hebrews; the central figure is frontal, his arms out to the sides in the orans pose, while the two other figures are seen more from the side, hands outstretched, facing inward, eyes gazing upwards. They wear miters. Above them hovers the foreshortened figure of an angel, extending his arms protectively over the trio, head bent to the right, and green wings curved sharply forward. The green frame is intersected at the top by a second, triangular magenta border that passes under the left upper corner and over the right upper corner of the usual frame to form a sort of pediment over the figures. Vermilion palmettes adorn the corners; a flaked blossom caps the pediment, and leaf buds sprout from it.

Striking here is the illusionistic curve of the angel's wings and the way that the angel hovers over the scene.[15] The angel is more usually depicted standing directly behind the central figure.

Fol. 50v (fig. 8): Ode 9: The Virgin orans (Luke 1:46–55). The only ode derived from the New Testament, the Magnificat, is prefaced here by an impressive frontal image of the Virgin orans. The upper edges of the green frame are scalloped on the inside to form a sort of flattened trefoil arch over the head of the Virgin. She is an ample, tall figure, filling most of the space within the frame. Her tunic is green and dark blue-green, heavily flaked. Her blue-green maphorion falls in luxurious folds from her outstretched arms; it has a narrow decorated border and a fringe of tassels narrower than those in the garments of the previous figures. Her green head cloth is striped, and her eyes look off to the right at the opening words of her text. The ground is magenta, and the rest of the background, gold.



Fig. 7. The three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 46r.

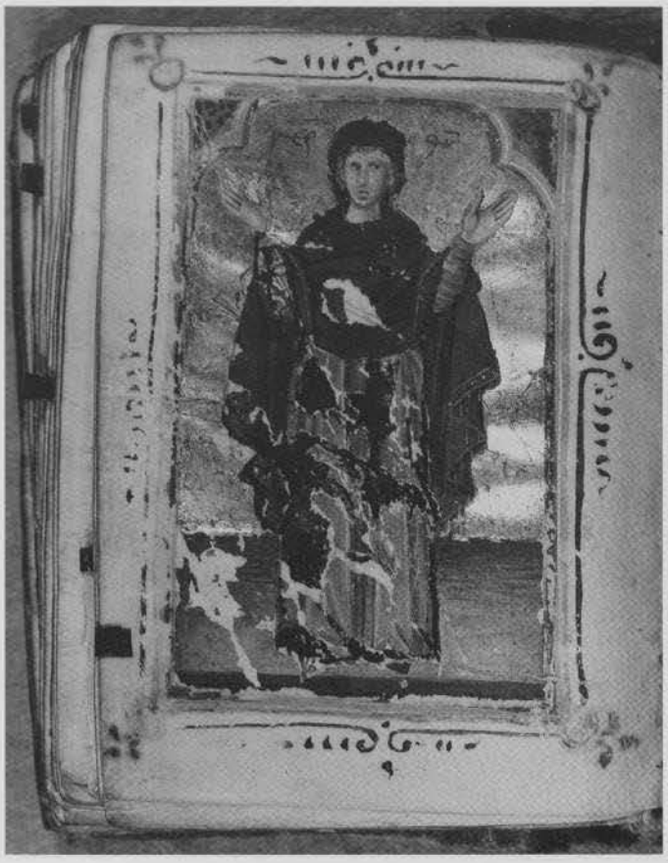


Fig. 8. The Virgin orans, from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 50v.

The frame has minimal buds at the four corners but is nicely outlined by magenta scrollwork.

The choice of the full-length orans Virgin to accompany the Magnificat is unusual. Half-length figures of the Virgin are slightly more common, as was the case with the prophet Isaiah.[16] The full-length orans Virgin is, of course, familiar enough from apse compositions or scenes of the Ascension.

Fol. 52r (fig. 9): (Ode 10): Zacharias standing (Luke 1:68–79). The ode, which is basically a continuation of the Magnificat, is not given a number on fol. 52v, where the text starts. Zacharias is a resplendent Old Testament priest, clad in a long green tunic with a yellow hem, over which he wears a short olive apron-like tunic belted at the waist, adorned with small circles and hemmed with pseudo-Hebrew characters. He has a vermilion mantle whose lining, vermilion with a pattern of little *Xs*, is visible under his outstretched right hand. He has a very long pointed beard, sunken cheeks, long locks falling to his shoulders, and wears a miter on his head. He is posed frontally, holds an open scroll in his left hand, and points with his right toward fol. 51v, which contains the end of the Magnificat text. The frame has again been transformed by architectural elements: its sides are two very narrow magenta columns with wide polygonal bases and odd knotted green forms right beneath the capitals. Instead of the pinnacles flanking Isaiah on fol. 36r, there are stiff vertical stems ending in vermilion trefoil leaves. Between the stems, the frame has been modified into a wide trefoil arch capped by incipient leaves and a central magenta trefoil leaf.

Like the figure of Isaiah on fol. 36r, this Zachariah is presented frontally under a quasi-architectural structure, and, like Isaiah, he resembles images of the High Priests in monumental painting more than he does any of his portraits in the manuscript tradition.

THE MINIATURES PREFACING THE LITTLE HOURS

Fol. 65r (fig. 10): First Hour (Prime): David praying before an altar. David appears to be standing inside a wooden crate, presumably meant to be a room, rendered by an artist with some rudimentary skill in perspective. The ceiling is brown, without beams or coffers. David stands, hands outstretched, looking up at an extremely large hand of God, which emerges from the upper right corner of the room.



Fig. 9. Zacharias standing, from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 52r.

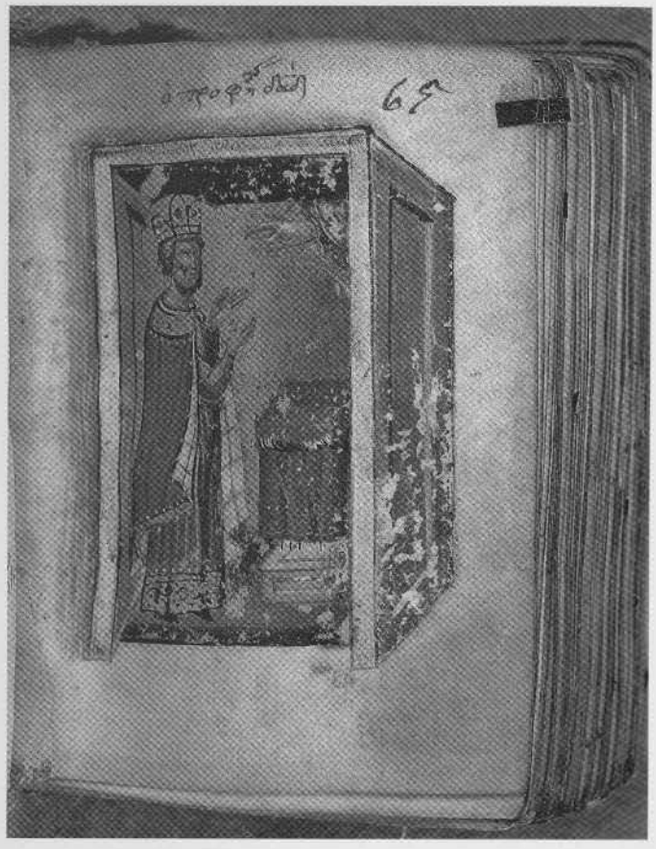


Fig. 10. David praying before an altar, from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 65r.

Before him is an altar on a podium, draped in a vermilion cloth with a rope-like black fringe at the upper edge of its front side and black tassels along the bottom. He wears a long and quite full green tunic with a gold embroidered hem. Over this he wears a vermilion mantle, gold-collared and turned back at both its front edges to reveal the lining, which is white and divided by narrow black lines into large squares. He has a rounded gray beard and a high crown composed of three tall pointed segments, each with a red stone in the center. The background is gold; the ground-line, green. The miniature is not framed, but a vermilion wash runs up the side and across the top of the structure.

The windowless, box-like structure could conceivably represent the Lord's house mentioned in Psalms 5:3 and 7, or the words "I will walk within my house with a perfect heart" from Psalm 100:2, both of these being psalms that open the office of Prime.[17] The structure also may be meant to evoke a monastic cell.

Fol. 76r (fig. 11): Third Hour (Terce): Pentecost. There are two miniatures for this Hour, one located on fol. 76r, more than a page before its opening words; the second, at the end of Psalm 50, the third of the three opening psalms for this Hour (fol. 85v). All of these psalms are penitential in tone, like the 50th, but the theme of Pentecost, connected with Terce through Peter's statement that the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles at the third hour (Acts 2:15), is developed at length in the troparia and prayers. The miniature is very flaked, but enough of the underdrawing remains to reveal that the composition is the rraditional one showing a high semicircular brown bench on which sit the twelve apostles holding books, six on each side. The arched space enclosed by the bench, which must have contained the figure of Kosmos, is almost entirely flaked. Green and magenta rays descend toward the figures from the blue-green arc of heaven at the top of the scene. There was apparently no architectural backdrop. The miniature has the usual magenta frame with a little pediment-like projection at the top center. The background is gold. The page has been cropped at the right. The verso of this page, and the recto of the next (fols. 76v and 77r) are blank, and the office of Terce starts only on fol. 77v, preceded by a strip of knotwork executed by the scribe in his usual btown ink.

Fol. 85v (fig. 12): Third Hour (Terce), Psalm 50: The Penitence of David. This well-preserved miniature comes at the end of Psalm 50, the psalm in which David confesses his sins and appeals to God for forgiveness. The prophet



Fig. 11. Pentecost, from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 76r.



Fig. 12. The Penitence of David, from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 85v.

Nathan, clad in a yellow-brown himation over a green chiton, stands at the left, holding in his left hand a scroll that curls at the far end but miraculously manages to stay open all on its own. With his right hand, Nathan blesses the nearly prostrate figure of David before him. David wears a vermilion tunic with a gold collar and the triple gold crown, no mantle, but the gold imperial loros. Behind him is the tripartite throne he has just vacated: a block-like, wooden bench with a straight back. Behind runs a gray wall, and behind the wall, on a considerably larger scale than either of the other two figures, is the figure of an archangel sheathing his sword. The angel is in military costume, with breastplate, green sash high on his chest, and a vermilion mantle slung over his left shoulder. He has green wings, curved forward. He looks intently off to the left. The frame is the usual magenta line with little leaf buds and triangular projections at the center of the top and sides. Gray trefoil leaves grow from the corners of the frame and from the projections.

There is nothing in this scene that would connect it directly to the theme of the descent of the Holy Spirit. It derives instead from illustrations to the penitential Psalm 50, familiar from innumerable illustrated psalters. The title to Psalm 50 makes specific reference to David's relationship with Bathsheba and to Nathan and is usually illustrated by showing his confrontation with Nathan as related in 2 Kings 12 (2 Samuel 12). David is generally shown sitting on his royal throne, addressed by Nathan, and then shown again, in proskynesis at the feet of Nathan.[18] Here, the penitent David is absent from his throne and has fallen on his hands at the feet of Nathan. In these psalter images, the angel is a relatively minor element of the composition, a small figure flying down from heaven, lance in hand but not in military attire.[19] Here, by contrast, the angel dominates the scene, his act of sheathing the sword neatly conveying the threat of punishment, the necessity of confession and the assurance that David's sins have been forgiven.[20]

Fol. 92v (fig. 13): Sixth Hour (Sext): The Crucifixion. The miniature is severely flaked. It is a simple three-figure composition. Christ is on a slightly truncated cross (that includes the titulus), his head bowed, his feet attached by two separate nails. He wears an olive-gray loincloth, and blood spurts from his right side and from his hands. The words IC XC are written on the arms of the cross. The Virgin (MP ΘY), in red-brown maphorion, stands at the left, erect but with head bowed and hand outstretched toward the cross. St. John, at the right, is more hunched, and he rests his head on his right arm. His knees are pressed



Fig. 13. The Crucifixion, from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 92v.

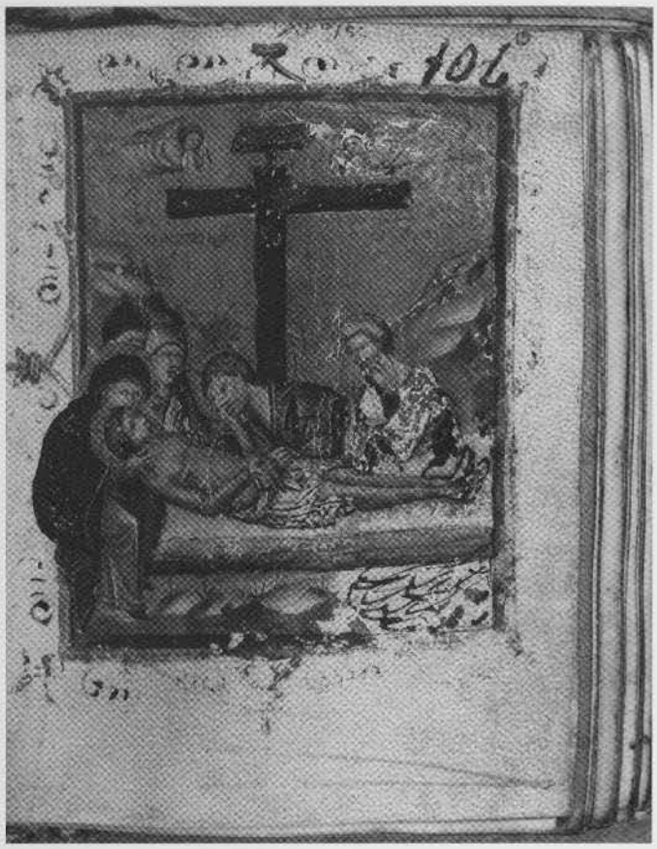


Fig. 14. The Lamentation, from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 106r.

together and slightly bent. His chiton is green; his himation, gray with magenta highlights, cascades dramatically behind him. The cross rests on a small mound, and in the background is a high wall, polygonal in its lower section; the wall is visible only in the underdrawing. The frame is the usual magenta border, with leaf buds and a triangular projection at the top that supports a trefoil leaf. Bits of scrollwork curl out from the corner leaves and the frame.

The Crucifixion is associated with Sext because the Crucifixion took place at the sixth hour of the day.[21]

Fol. 106r (fig. 14): Ninth Hour (None): The Lamentation (labeled, however, Ἡ Ἀποκαθέλοσις, the Deposition). The gray corpse of Christ is laid out on a brown and magenta slab, on green rocky terrain. His head and shoulders rest on the lap of the Virgin, who is seated at the far left, her hunched form breaking through the red frame of the miniature. She touches the locks on Christ's right shoulder with her right hand and appears to be kissing his left temple; the lower part of her face is hidden behind that of Christ. She wears a long red-brown maphorion and mantle over a green tunic. Christ wears a quite convoluted gray loincloth; his hands, still bloody from the nails of the cross, are crossed over his stomach, and blood continues to flow from the wound in his side. Bending over the corpse is the young St. John, dressed in green, and depicted on a significantly larger scale even than Christ. He holds his right hand up to his face. To the right of John, at the level of Christ's feet, is Joseph of Arimatheia, an elderly man with a long gray beard, apparently reaching to adjust Christ's loincloth. Behind the Virgin are two or possibly three more female figures, only their heads visible; they wear maphoria. Behind St. John rises a truncated cross, with titulus, isolated against the gold ground. To left and right of the cross are steep gray-green hillsides, and above its arms are two angels with veiled hands and robes tightly wound about their bodies. The composition is framed by a magenta border, which is broken to the left by the seated Virgin, and which projects into the usual little triangles on all four sides. The frame is surrounded by bits of scrollwork in black ink.

It was at the ninth hour that Christ gave up the ghost. The composition here depicts the moments after the deposition from the cross, before the body was carried to its tomb: the ladder used in the deposition is not in evidence, nor is there any sort of movement toward the tomb. The seated Virgin on the left is a feature that seems to enter the iconography of the Lamentation in the early fifteenth century. St. John, with his disproportionately large scale and his intense gaze, almost acts as a stand-in for the viewer.



Fig. 15. David praying before an altar, from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, midfifteemh century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 143v.



Fig. 16. David receiving the word of God, from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 158r.

The Office of the Typika and of the Refectory are without miniatures. The opening words of the Typika on fol. 119r are preceded by a strip of guilloche.

Fol. 143v (fig. 15): Vespers: David praying before an altar. Here once again, the frame has been modified into a piece of architecture. The form is basically the same as that on fols. 36r and 52r: slender magenta columns with polygonal bases and columns support a pair of green turrets, each topped by a gold trefoil leaf. Between them is a pointed magenta arch, bursting into buds on top and outlining a trefoil over the head of David (flaked). A green trefoil leaf surmounts the arch. The arc of heaven is under the arch, and from it emerges the large hand of God blessing David, who stands humbly at the left. He wears a green tunic with a gold hem, a vermilion, gold bordered mantle, and vermilion shoes. The cloak has flaked, so its pattern is unclear. David bends his crowned head and stretches out both his hands toward God. Before him is a squatish altar, its base decorated with a row of yellow circles with black centers. It is covered with a vermilion cloth on its sides and top, but the two are separated by a curving, wide fringe alternating blue-green, white, and red vertical stripes. The altar cloth itself is decorated with dots and rosettes and has a black fringe along the bottom. Atop the altar rests a closed book, yellow with magenta clasps. The background is gold; the groundline, green.

Fol. 158r (fig. 16): Apodeipnon (Compline): David receiving the word of God. David is again clad in a green tunic and a vermilion mantle that has a white lining decorated with large squares; be wears vermilion shoes and a high tripartite crown. His gesture this time is different in that his hands are crossed at the wrist before his chest. He stands on a low podium on a green ground. The huge blessing hand of God emerges from the arc of heaven inside the upper right corner of the frame. Before David is a pinkish windowless structure seen in perspective with a single high and rounded entrance through which one can glimpse part of an altar (or a bed?); the base is green with vermilion stripes; the top bas alternating vermilion and white sections. It is quite small in comparison to David. The background is gold. The frame has five-petaled magenta flowers with gold centers like those on fol. 24r, attached to its four corners, and the lower frame curves to form a trefoil: not above David but below his feet. The frame is neatly decorated at its top and sides with green scrollwork.



Fig. 17. David listening to the word of God, from the Walters' Horologion, Crete, mid-fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.534, fol. 206r.

The opening psalm of Compline has David saying "Stand in awe, and sin not: commune with your own heart upon your bed, and be still.... I will both lie down in peace and sleep: for thou, Lord, only makest me dwell in safety" (Psalm 4:4 and 8).[22] Perhaps this structure is intended to represent David's bedroom and perhaps, also to evoke a monastic cell. It should also be noted that confession usually followed Compline, and Psalm 50, included in Compline, is the quintessential confessional Psalm.

Fol. 206r (fig. 17): Mesonyktikon (Midnight Office): David listening to the word of God. There is no building in this composition: David, in his usual costume and crown, stands looking up at the hand of God. His hands are crossed again, but this time with one palm over the other. The frame is again given architectural elements, with twin narrow green columns on the sides supporting both the usual rectangular vermilion frame and a green pedimental arch intersecting the former and passing over the vermilion frame at the left and under it at the right. Both elements sprout leaf buds and large trefoil leaves. The groundline is as usual green; the background, gold.

There was apparently no miniature before Saturday Mesonyktikon. Before the Canon for the separation of the soul from the body, with which the manuscript ends, there was again a miniature, now unfortunately lost; its offset is visible on fol. 251r.

OTHER DECORATION

There are occasional strips of knotwork or guilloche in brown ink drawn *in negativo*, that is, with the design outlined on the white of the parchment, and the background filled in with brown ink. These were surely done by the scribe himself. Some of the larger initials were developed calligraphically by the scribe, and a few initials have been thickly gilded, though it is not clear that this gilding is contempotary.[23] If it is, it is more likely to have been done by the artist than by the scribe.

HOROLOGION ILLUSTRATION

Little is known about the traditions of Horologion illustration, as so few illustrated examples have survived. The most important of these is a late twelfth-cenrury Horologion on the island of Lesbos (Leimonos 295).[24] It contains the offices not just of Orthros and Vespers, but also those for each the twelve daytime Hours and of the twelve night Hours, along with poetic calendars and a number of other texts. It, too, begins with Orthros and has miniatures accompanying each of the odes, some of these having considerably more narrative content than those in the Walters' Horologion (Moses crossing the Red Sea, Moses receiving the Law; Jonah and the whale). It has the Crucifixion and the Deposition (rather than the Lamentation) for Sext and None, respectively, but lacks a miniature for Terce and, unlike the Baltimore manuscript, illustrates Vespers with an image of the three Marys at the Tomb, and Compline with an interesting miniature of unclear content (monks gathering at the entrance to a church while the semandron is being struck). Furthermore, each ode of the Canon for the separation of the soul from the body is accompanied by its own miniature.[25]

The images of David in prayer that accompany Prime, Vespers, Compline, and Mesonyktikon in the Walters' Horologion have no equivalent in the illustration of other Horologia. Images of this sort are common enough in the marginal psalrers,[26] but not in Horologia, and not with the architectural setting that is awarded them here. Their inclusion may have something to do with the origin of the manuscript.

LOCALIZATION AND DATING

The scribe of the Walters' Horologion has been identified by Georgi Parpulov with the priest Nicholas who was responsible for writing a manuscript of Homilies in the year 1449 (Var. gr. 1143, fol. 410r).[27] The Walters manuscript contains a number of Western, particularly Italian, elements, among them the brocaded and high-waisted dress of the Hebrew women, the stiff cloaks opened to reveal patterned linings, the soft drapery folds, the tasseled rather than jeweled edges to the garments, the somewhat furtive eyes with their sharp black pupils, the illusionistic curves of the angel's wings, the late Gothic architectural frames with their leaf buds and turrets, and, above all, the attempts at western forms of perspective in the depictions of the settings for David's prayers.[28] Many of these Italian elements can be found on Venetian Crete, where the painting style of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, sometimes referred to as "preCretan" to distinguish it from the fully integrated style of later Cretan painting, shows a small but growing number of Western elements emerging in icon and monumental painting.[29] Parallels for the flowers that adorn the Walters' miniatures can be found in Italian, especially Bolognese and Venetian, manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; although, despite its naturalistic growth, the vegetation in the Walters' Horologion does maintain the underlying symmetry characteristic of Byzantine ornament.[30] Particularly Cretan is the form of the Lamentation, with the Virgin seated at or beyond the far end of the slab, her head bent to kiss Christ's cheek and her hands supporting his neck—a type that seems to have emerged on the island in the fifteenth century. This image had a long career in later Cretan painting and established itself in Epitaphios iconography.[31] Cretan parallels can be found also for the striped headscarf of the Hebrew women.[32]

At the same time, the best parallels for the traditional ode images in this manuscript are still the small psalters of the so-called "Decorative style" known throughout the eastern Mediterranean much earlier, toward the end of the twelfth century.[33] The intimate portraits of the praying Old Testament figures, and even the colors used here, the special pinks and greens, may derive from that indigenous tradition.

USAGE

This manuscript was most likely intended for the private use of a monk: its minute dimensions and the inclusion of the Typika (an especially monastic office) and the Refectory office confirm this hypothesis.[34] A glance at the Byzantine monastic foundation documents (called *typika* but not related to the office of that name) can be helpful for determining when such a book would have been used. They reveal that the setting for the celebration of the Hours varied over time, and from one monastic institution to another; this celebration was sometimes private, sometimes communal.[35] The prescriptions for the eleventh-century Constantinopolitan monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis regarding the Hours is of some importance here: as a considerable number of monasteries adopted or adapted the Evergetis *typikon*, these prescriptions were transmitted widely, even if they may not always have been put into practice.[36] At the Evergetis, Orthros and Prime were evidently to be sung in the church, Orthros being immediately followed there by Prime.[37] But then, without talking with each other, "the brothers should go away to their cells and sing the obligatory office.... Going away to your cells you should carry out the whole obligatory canonical procedure, with the customary prayers and genuflections.... I mean the six psalms, the Third Hour and the Sixth according to custom when the semantra are struck."[38] This implies that the Hours of Terce and Sext were celebrated privately. The Ninth Hour is to be carried out in the same way.[39] Vespers follows, with Compline coming after dinner—these services by contrast are apparently celebrated in common, and in the presence of the abbot, as for Orthros.[40] After Compline, the monks again return to their cells, say a "night office," and sleep until woken for Mesonyktikon, which immediately precedes Orthros. By this time, the church has been lit, and the monks are once again assembled for Orthros.

Later *typika* are somewhat more specific regarding which Hours are to be sung in the cells, and which in common with the rest of the monastic brotherhood. The twelfth-century Phoberos monastery, which adapted the Evergetis *typikon*, says, "You must sing the Third and Sixth and Ninth Hour together in the church with their mesoria," while nonetheless still referring to offices that are to be recited in the cells.[41] The *typikon* of Mamas, followed by that of Heliou Bomon and that of the monastery of Machairas (thirteenth century), states that the Third, Sixth, Ninth and Midnight Hours are to be sung in the narthex, though again the monks are to carry out "canonical procedures" in the cells.[42] The late eleventh-century *typikon* of the Kecharitomene nunnery in Constantinople requires the singing of the Mesoria, or Intermediary Hours, as well as the Little Hours, but this is to be done "wherever the superior wishes, either in the dormitory or in the exonarthex of the church."[43] The office of the Typika is to be sung in the narthex.[44] The rise of the Mesoria and the increasing communalization of the offices has been outlined by Dirk Krausmüller, although we lack comparable evidence for the practices of the fifteenth century.[45] At any rate, the miniature preceding Prime in the Walters' Horologion (fol. 65r) shows David praying inside a room, not a church, which suggests that in the fifteenth century some offices were still being performed

by monks in their cells, as had been the situation much earlier, when the monks recited Prime on their return from Orthros to their cells.[46]

This miniature, however, may reveal elements of a quite different form of private devotion than is usually associated with a Byzantine liturgical book. The miniatures accompanying the Hours of Prime, Vespers, Compline, and Mesonyktikon are, as we have seen, unparalleled, and their relation to the texts of those Hours is elusive. To be sure, three of the other miniatures for the Hours reflect the connection made between the liturgical Hour and the hour at which a New Testament event took place (third hour of the day for Pentecost, the sixth hour for the Crucifixion, and the ninth hour for the death of Christ). But these four other miniatures, all involving David, do not clearly connect with or illustrate the content of the Hours they preface; they seem to be little more than studies in the gestures of prayer. Each of the David images shows a slightly different attitude of prayer. Before Prime, he is by an altar, both hands in front of him, and he looks up to the hand of God. Before Vespers, he is again before an altar but with bowed head, and hands again held out, but closer to his chest. Before Compline, he crosses his hands on his chest at the wrist and looks straight off to the right, neither up nor down. At the beginning of Mesonyktikon, he looks up confidently to the hand of God, his hands again crossed, but this time a bit higher, and not at the wrist but with one palm resting on the back of the other one.

The rubrics of the Walters' manuscript prescribe not only metanoias or deep prostrations, but also, for Prime at least, the raising of hands (fols. 64r, 75r).[47] The Evergetis *typikon* had stated some centuries earlier with relation to Prime that "All the prayers should be said with hands held up in accordance with the following: 'Lift up your hands in the sanctuaries, and bless the Lord' (Psalm 133:2) and 'The lifting of my hands as an evening sacrifice' (Psalm 140:2). and 'In every place lifting holy hands without anger or quarreling' (1 Timothy 2:8)."[48] And the *typikon* of the Kecharitomene in Constantinople speaks of the nuns at Prime as "standing with hands stretched out" as they recite a prayer three times, and later asserts, "you will pray all the prayers with hands stretched out."[49] More research into such texts could help clarify the gesrures depicted in the miniatures.[50]

But it may be no coincidence that one of the better parallels for the odd architecture in the Walters' Horologion is a Venetian panel showing five holy Dominican nuns at prayer inside their respective cells.[51] Texts outlining the proper positions for prayers, many of them illustrated, were being circulated in the West in this period by the Dominicans and others.[52] Perhaps this sequence of David images in the Horologion was inspired neither by the Byzantine tradition of marginal psalter illustration, with its monotonous depictions of David in prayer, nor by the texts of the Hours that they accompany, but by illustrated prayer manuals from the West, where each carefully delineated gesture was thought to foster a particular frame of mind.[53] If so, these David images transform this rarely illustrated Byzantine liturgical book into a quire different vehicle for devotion, one concerned not only with the impact of the biblical scenes on the monastic viewer, but also with guiding him or her to the proper performance of prayer.[54]

This tiny codex, then, fits nicely into the context of fifteenth-century Venetian Crete. The iconography of the ode miniatures is strongly Byzantine, despite the Western trappings, and reflects venerable local traditions of manuscript illustration. The New Testament scenes are also traditional feast scenes developed into devotional images. These are the most competently painted of all the miniatures, and they follow some recent iconographic trends. But there is an unusual spirit of experimentation in this little book, and the least successful miniatures, artistically speaking, may turn our to be the most interesting of all; the radical, if clumsy attempts at perspective and at the delineation of internal space show the influence of contemporary Italian, rather than Palaeologan painting, and the depictions of David at prayer in specific settings using a set of clearly represented gestures may well derive from the west as well. This illustrated Horologion is not, then, a representative of a lost genre of Byzantine manuscript illumination, but a unique work deeply rooted in its own time and space, the composite world of Crete in the mid-fifteenth century.

South Woodstock, Vermont

NOTES

1. A complete codicological description of the manuscript has been made by G. Parpulov in this volume. That information will not be repeated here. I wish to express a special debt of gratitude to Dr. Parpulov, who has helped me immeasurably in the preparation of this article. He is not responsible for its errors, however; for these I take full responsibility.

2. J. Mateos, "Un horologion inédit de S. Sabas. Le codex sinaïtique grec 863 (IXe siècle)," *Studi e Testi* 233 [= *Mélanges E. Tisserant* vol. III] (1964): 47–76; and K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*. Vol. 1: *From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 1990), no. 5. Another early Horologion is also on Mount Sinai, Sinai 864; it is only slightly later: Phountoules, *Doxologia* 113–15; Sr. M. Ajjoub, *Livre d'heures du Sinaï* (*Sinaiticus Graecus* 864) (Paris, 2004) [= *Sources chrétiennes* 483]. Both Sinai manuscripts reflect Palestinian monastic practices. G. Parpulov has kindly drawn my attention to another ninth-century Horologion in the psalter Turin, Bibl. Univ. B VII 30: G. Pasini, *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis* (Turin, 1749), I:no. 342.

3. The Greek text of the Horologion comes in many editions for liturgical use, usually as *To Mega Horologion*. English translation: *The Great Horologion, or, Book of Hours* (Boston, 1997). For the Twenty-Four-Hour Horologion with offices for every hour of the day and night, see I. Phountoules, *Eikositetraoron Horologion* (Thessalonike, 1977), and idem, *He eikositetraoros akoimetos doxologia* (Athens, 1963). For studies of the Horologion, cf. R. Taft, "Select Bibliography on the Byzantine Liturgy of the Hours," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 48 (1982): 358–70; R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1986); N. Borgia, "Ὡρολόγιον. 'Diumo' delle chiese di rito bizantino." *Orientalia christiana* 56:2 (1929): 152–254. Horologia frequently begin with the office of Mesonyktikon, which leads directly into Orthros. Here in the Walters' manuscript, Mesonyktikon is placed at the end of the evening offices rather than at the beginning of the morning one. Other anomalies are the placement of the Typika after None rather than after Sext. The Intermediate Hours, the Mesoria, are not included, although an important element of those services, the prayers of St. Basil, are here incorporated into Sext and None, and suggested for Terce. Because of the overwhelming role played by the Psalms in the liturgy of the Hours, Horologia were frequently combined with psalters.

4. None of the illustrated Horologia has been published in full. The earliest illustrated example is apparently Paris, B. N. gr. 331 of the late eleventh century, which has a headpiece for the beginning of Orthros (fol. 2r) containing busts of Christ, the Virgin and John the Baptist in roundels arranged to form a Deesis, and other roundels containing the two archangels and three prophets (?). Elsewhere on the same folio is a roundel with an image of Christ Emmanuel, and an initial *K* with a standing figure of David (?), (information kindly provided by G. Parpulov): H. L. Bordier, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883), 184; Phountoules, *Doxologia*, 70–74. There is no further illustration in the manuscript. The miniatures accompanying the text of the Canon for the separation of soul and body in a late twelfth-century Horologion on Lesbos (Leimonos 295) have been published by P. Vokotopoulos, "Ἡ εἰκονογράφηση τοῦ κανόνος εἰς ψυχορραγοῦντα στὸ Ὡρολόγιον 295 τῆς μονῆς Λειμῶνος," *Symmeikta* 9 (1994): 95–114. But the other miniatures in this manuscript still await publication (see note 24 below). There is a miniature showing an enthroned Christ opposite the beginning of the Horologion in a psalter/Horologion on Mt. Athos (Koutloumous 88, fol. 144v, first half of the fourteenth century?; unpublished; information from G. Parpulov), and one showing St. Saba standing before a lectern inserted before the beginning of the Horologion section of another psalter/Horologion, this one in Paris (B. N. gr. 12, fol. 217v); the Paris manuscript is dated 1419: I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of dated illuminated Greek manuscripts to the year 1453* (Leiden, 1981), no. 283, fig. 503. Another Horologion known to be illustrated forms part of a psalter of the late fifteenth century in the Biblioteca Casanatarense in Rome (II 240): *Biblioteca Casanatense*, ed. A. A. Cavarro (Florence, 1993), pls. 37–38; A. Muñoz, *Codici greci miniati delle minori biblioteche di Roma* (Florence, 1905), 89f; pls. 19–20. Here, the text of the Horologion is again preceded by an image of Christ enthroned, with a book on his lap (fol. 60v). The late fifteenth-century Horologion Escorial X.IV.16 has as a frontispiece (fol. 3v) an image of St. Pachomius' meeting with the angel: G. de Andrés, *Catálogo de los Códices Grieges de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial* (Madrid, 1965), 2:348–49, cat. 411.

5. The biblical odes of Orthros were gradually replaced by the Canon, a hymn of nine parts (also known as odes) addressed to the particular saint or feast celebrated on that day, and using the subject matter of each of the nine biblical odes as the departure point for the imagery of each of its parts. The biblical odes continued to be used during Lent. Their presence in the Walters' manuscript does not, however, indicate that this manuscript was intended solely for use during Lent. Some Horologia include calendars of one sort or another (the Lesbos Horologion contains the calendars of Sergios and of Christopher of Mitylene) to eliminate the necessity of turning to the multi-volume Menaia on a daily basis.

6. K. Weitzmann, "The Ode Pictures of the Aristocratic Psalter Recension," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976): 67–84, reprinted in his *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* (London, 1980), IV. A. Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium* (Paris, 1984).

7. For representations, see Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, passim.

8. See, for example, London, BL Add. 36928, fol. 279v: Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, fig. 178 (four women in a circle, plus a fifth); London, BL Add. 40753, fol. 146v (three women with headdresses, holding hands in a row): ibid., fig. 183; London, BL Add. 11836, fol. 298r (four women, one with a headdress): ibid., fig. 162; Athos, Lavra B 26, fol. 262r (six women with long hanging sleeves): ibid., fig. 52 and S. M. Pelekanides et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts* (Athens, 1979), III:fig. 78.

9. See esp. Palermo, BN cod. dep. mus. 4, fol. 288v (this folio now Philadelphia, Free Library, cod. Lewis 353): Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, fig. 241. The best parallels for the pose of this figure are in fact those representing Isaiah: London, BL Add. 40753, fol. 157v: ibid., fig. 188, and the figure of Isaiah in the Paris Psalter, Paris, BN 139, fol. 435v: ibid., fig. 257. See also J. Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books. A Study of Byzantine Manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets* (University Park/London, 1988), passim.

10. Athos, Lavra B 26, fol. 265v: Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, fig. 56; Athens, Benaki Museum 68 (vitr. 34.3), fol. 186r: ibid., fig. 354. On the latter manuscript, see also E. Lappa-Zizica and M. Rizou-Couloupou, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs du Musée Benaki* (10e–16e s.) (Athens, 1991), no. 33 (in Greek).

11. Athens, Benaki 68 (vitr. 34.3), fol. 187r, Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, fig. 355 and previous note; Athos, Vatopedi 851, fol. 188r: ibid., fig. 85 and Pelekanides, *Treasures*, 4:fig. 235. See also the odd half-kneeling poses of other prophets in Paris, BN suppl. gr. 1335: Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, figs. 274–76.

12. For the text of this ode and the next, see any Horologion, or *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English*, ed. L. C. L. Brenton (London, 1851, many times reprinted), The Apocrypha, 131–33.

13. The three Hebrews are shown standing before Nebuchadnezzar in Moscow, Historical Museum gr. 407, fol. 498v: Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, fig. 202.

14. Paris, BN suppl. gr. 1335, fol. 332r: ibid., fig. 278.

15. Compare the miniature in Athos, Eliaskete 1, fol. 267r:, where, as in the Horologion, the angel bends his head to one side: ibid., fig. 30.

16. Athos, Lavra B 26, fol. 268r: ibid., fig. 59; Palermo, BN cod. dep. mus. 4, fol. 293v: ibid., fig. 244. Cf. Athos, Vatopedi 851, fol. 190v: ibid., fig. 87.

17. Psalm 5:3, 7: "My voice shalt thou hear in the morning, O Lord: in the morning will I direct my prayer unto thee, and will look up.... But as for me, I will come into thy house in the multitude of thy mercy: and in thy fear will I worship toward thy holy temple."

18. On the iconography of this scene, see L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge, 1999), 74–75, 352–56. For examples without the seated David, ibid., 352n. 113. See also *King David in the Index of Christian Art*, ed. C. Hourihane (Princeton, 2002), "Rebuked by Nathan," 223–27.

19. In only a few other manuscripts is the angel fully armed, as here: Washington, Dumbarton Oaks gr. 3, fol. 27r: Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, fig. 323; and S. Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965): 157, 170; fig. 6, reprinted in her *Etudes byzantines et arméniennes* (Louvain, 1973); Sinai 61, fol. 77v: Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, fig. 398; Tomić Psalter, Moscow, Historical Museum Muz. 2752, fol. 84r: M. B. Shchepkina, *Bolgarskaia miniatiura XIV veka* (Moscow, 1963), pl. XII; A. Dzhurova, *Tomichov Psaltir* (Sofia, 1990). See also a fresco in the upper story of the narthex of St. Sophia in Ohrid of ca. 1345: S. Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka* (Belgrade, 1980), figs. 48–50. Usually the angel holds a lance, not a sword (but cf. Sinai 61 and the fresco at Ohrid). In the Paris Gregory, Paris, BN gr 510, fol. 143v, a caption calls the angel archistrategos. The angel derives from an Old Testament paraphrase, the *Palaia historica*: *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. III, s.v. Palaia; Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, 352 n. 112 citing A. M. Ishikuza.

20. In the words of Nathan: "Now therefore the sword (ῥομφαία) shall never depart from thine house," and then "The Lord also has put away thy sin" (2 Kings 12:10 and 13); the latter passage is sometimes written directly on the miniature. Cf. also the *Palaia historica* cited in the previous note.

21. "Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour" (Matthew 27:46; cf. Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44).

22. The next psalm for Compline includes the passage "I am weary with my groaning; all the night make I my bed to swim; I water my couch with my tears" (Psalm 6:6).

23. Gilded initials on fols. 65v, 93r, 106v, 144r, 199v, for the first psalms of Prime, Sext, None, Vespers and for the prayer to the Virgin during Compline, respectively.

24. See note 4 above. For the contents, see E. Follieri, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo* (Brussels, 1980), I:20, 26–28; Phountoulos, *Doxologia* (as in note 3), 74–78. I wish to thank Panayotis Nikolopoulos and Katie Kourdouli of the National Library of Athens for kindly putting a microfilm of the manuscript at my disposal.

25. The Canon miniatures have been published by P. Vokotopoulos, note 4 above. The Canon section may be an addition to the original codex.

26. K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in Ninth Century Byzantine Psalters* (New York, 1992), passim.

27. E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der Griechischen Kopisten* (Vienna 1981–), III:no. 528; pl. 293.

28. Garments and headdress: Paliotto del Beato Bembo: *Venezia e bisanzio*, ex. cat. (Venice, 1974), no. 86; fresco in the church of St. Nicholas at Treviso: *La Pittura nel Veneto. Il Trecento* (Venice, 1992), I:fig. 239. For the box-like interior on fol. 65r, cf. for example Paolo Veneziano's St. Nicholas panel in Florence: *Il Trecento*, I:fig. 17, and the sequence of interiors in the Murano panel of St. Catherine of Siena and four other Dominican saints in prayer: ibid., II:figs. 649–51 (and see note 52 below). The latter painting depicts an altar cloth with a border of alternating colors, similar to that in the Walters' manuscript on fol. 143v.

29. M. Vassilakis-Mavrakakis, "Western influences on the fourteenth-century art of Crete," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft* 32:5 (1982): 301–11; S. Papadaki-Ökland, "Δυτικότροπες τοιχογραφίες τοῦ 14ου αἰῶνα στὴν Κρήτη. Ἡ ἄλλη ὄψη μιᾶς ἀμφιδρομῆς σκέσης," in *Euphrosynon. Aphieroma ston Manole Chatzedake* (Athens, 1991), II:491–514; M. Konstantinoudake-Kitromilidou, "Ἐνθρονη βρεφοκρατοῦσα καὶ ἅγιοι. Σύνθετο ἔργο Ἰταλοκρητικῆς τέχνης," *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias* 17 (1993/94): 285–302 (with English summary). Compare the garments of the female saints at the church of the Virgin Gouverniotissa at Potamies: Vassilakis, "Western influences," fig. 2, and of Aaton at Selli, St. John (1411): I. Spatharakis, *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete* (Leiden, 2001), fig. 144. For the frames, see the polyptych in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Konstantinoudake-Kittomilidou, βρεφοκρατοῦσα, fig. 1. For the slender columns with their polygonal capitals and bases, see the columns dividing the line of saints (which incidentally includes St. Francis) in the church of the Presentation of the Virgin at Sklaverochori: M. Borboudakis, "Παρατηρήσεις στη ζωγραφική του Σκλαβεροχωρίου," in *Euphrosynon*, pls. 203–4. Equivalent to the angel wings are the startlingly illusionistic scrolls of the prophets in an otherwise quite Byzantine fifteenth-century Cretan Annunciation icon, M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Icons of the Byzantine Museum of Athens* (Athens, 1998) no. 39.

30. For parallels, see P. Palladino, *Treasures of a Lost Art. Italian Manuscript Painting of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, exh. cat. (New Haven/London, 2003), passim, esp. the works of Cristoforo Cortese, active the first half of the fifteenth century (nos. 37a–40). The scrollwork echoing the line of the frame in the Walters' manuscript is a common feature in many of these Italian manuscripts (where it usually hugs the inner, rather than the outer, frame). See also the matiegole and other fourteenth-century Venetian manuscripts: *Venezia e Bisanzio*, nos. 99–103; a fourteenth-century Book of Hours from Treviso (?), London, BL Add. 15265: J. Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London, 1985), 31–32, fig. 29; the Adimari Book of Hours, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum W.767 (Florence, 1460s): R. S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York, 1988; reprinted 2001), no. 116, and the Galen, Oxford, Bodl. Laud. gr. 56 (late fifteenth-century Florence or Rome): I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften, vols. I–III: Oxford, Bodleian Library* (Stuttgart, 1977–82), 3:no. 184.

31. Compare the Cretan Lamentation icon on Sinai (early fifteenth century): K. Manafis, *Sinai. Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine* (Athens, 1990), 123 and 202, fig. 75, and the sixteenth-century aer-epitaphios there: ibid., 244 fig. 2. The textile, like the Horologion, has St. John gazing into the face of Christ instead of kissing his hand.

32. Cf. the icon of the Birth of John the Baptist in Athens, Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Icons*, no. 33; that of the Old Testament Trinity (both fifteenth century), idem, no. 32; the Nativity at Kroustas (1347–48): Spatharakis, *Wall Paintings*, fig. 85; and the women in the scene of St. George and the Dragon in the church of the Virgin at Sklaverochori (early fifteenth century): Borboudakis, "Σκλαβεροχώρι," pl. 203.

33. A. W. Carr, *Byzantine Illumination 1150–1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition* (Chicago/London, 1987); Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, esp. Athos, Lavra B 26, Paris, BN suppl. gr. 1335, Florence, Laur. Plut. VI. 36.

34. Phountoules weighs this issue in his *Doxologia*, 79–81, without knowledge of the Baltimore manuscript, and comes to the opposite conclusion, that these Twenty-Four-Hour Horologia were used mainly for the communal services. The presence of a priest is mentioned for the evening offices from None on.

35. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. J. Thomas and A. C. Hero, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C., 2000). See also D. Krausmüller, "Private vs communal: Niketas Stethatos's Hypotyposis for Stoudios, and patterns of worship in eleventh-century Byzantine monasteries," in *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis*, eds. M. Mullett and A. Kirby (Belfast, 1997), 309–28. The variations in practice may help account for the many discrepancies among Horologia with regard to their content.

36. *Monastic Foundation Documents*, II:no. 22. On the liturgy of the Hours at the Evergetis, see J. Klentos, "The Synaxarion of Evergetis: algebra, geology and Byzantine monasticism," in *Work and Worship*, 329–55, esp. 344–52. For a translation of the first part of this important document, see R. Jordan, *The Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis. September to February* (Belfast, 2000).

37. *Monastic Foundation Documents*, II:473–74 (no. 22: 4).

38. It is not entirely clear what these six psalms are, as the so-called Hexapsalmos opens the service of Orthros. But three psalms are recited at the beginning of Terce and Sext, making for a total of six.

39. *Monastic Foundation Documents*, II:475 (no. 22:6).

40. The text mentions another "night office" after Vespers and before dinner. In the Walters' manuscript, vespers comes after dinner, not before.

41. Phoberos: *Monastic Foundation Documents*, III:895 (no. 30:9).

42. *Monastic Foundation Documents*, III:1015 (no. 32:31) and 1026–27 (no. 32:47); 1072 (no. 33:31) and 1082–84 (no. 33:46); and 1133 and 1135 (no. 34:35 and 42).

43. *Monastic Foundation Documents*, II:687 (no. 27:33).

44. *Monastic Foundation Documents*, II:687 (no. 27:33).

45. See note 35 above.

46. Krausmüller, "Hypotyposis," 310.

47. "Then we raise our hands high, saying the prayer...". There are also instructions for the elevation of the panagia during the Refectory office (fols. 137v, 139r) and for other gestures and movements.

48. Psalm 133 quoted here appears as part of Mesonyktikon, and Psalm 140 is part of Vespers. Prime also involves a number of prescribed meranoias or prostrations.

49. *Monastic Foundation Documents*, II:686 (no. 27:32).

50. It is interesting that there is no entry in the vast index to the four volumes of the Foundation Documents, for gesture or posture. But s.v. "ritual observances."

51. See note 28 above, and the note below.

52. W. Hood, "Saint Dominic's Manners of Praying: Gestures in Fra Angelico's Cell Frescoes at S. Marco, *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986): 195–206, and his *Fra Angelico at San Marco* (New Haven/London, 1993), esp. 195–207. See also Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1990), 289–320; Thomas Dale is currently investigating prayer gestures in the Veneto in the thirteenth century. I wish to thank him for generously sharing his thoughts with me.

53. See the studies cited in the previous note. To my knowledge, however, none of these western gestures of prayer (and their accompanying states of mind) are associated with specific Hours of the monastic day. The Dominicans were a strong presence in Crete from the early thirteenth century on: see M. Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, 2001), esp. 132–52.

54. On Byzantine manuscript images for private devotion, see esp. A. W. Carr, "Gospel Frontispieces From the Comnenian Period," *Gesta* 21 (1982): 3–20 and "Diminutive Byzantine Manuscripts," *Codices Manuscripti* 6 (1980): 130–61. Another potentially fruitful line of inquiry is suggested by the images of David in prayer accompanying The Penetential Psalms in 15th-century French Books of Hours. See. M.B. Owens, "The Image of King David in Prayer in Fifteenth-Century Books of Hours," *Imago Musicae* 6 (1989): 23–38.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–17, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

The Archimedes Palimpsest: A Progress Report

NIGEL WILSON

Seven treatises by the ancient Greek mathematician Archimedes survive in a fragmentary tenth-century manuscript whose text is now overlaid by a thirteenth-century Euchologion. The Archimedes Palimpsest is the unique source for The Method of Mechanical Theorems, Stomachion, *and for* On Floating Bodies *in Greek. Privately owned, the manuscript was deposited at the Walters Art Museum in January of 1999 for conservation, imaging, and scholarly study. This article provides a report on the progress of the project to date and details a number of recent discoveries.*

Archimedes is by common consent one of the greatest of all mathematicians, and his already secure reputation was further enhanced in 1907 when J. L. Heiberg, professor of Greek at the University of Copenhagen and an acknowledged expert on Greek mathematics, published a long article in a German periodical giving an account of a remarkable discovery made in Istanbul.[1] A German colleague, H. Schöne, had drawn Heiberg's attention to an entry in the printed catalogue of a manuscript collection in the Ottoman capital belonging to the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre, the daughter-house of a famous monastery in Jerusalem.[2] The author of the catalogue had noted that the lower script of the palimpsest Ms. 355 included a mathematical text, and he had the good sense to print a few lines of it that he was able to read. This tiny specimen was recognized by Heiberg as the work of Archimedes. Being engaged at the time in revising his edition of Archimedes' works,[3] he saw at once the potential importance of the palimpsest. After the failure of attempts to have it sent to Copenhagen on loan, a practice not uncommon in the nineteenth century, he went to Istanbul himself. His efforts were rewarded by a spectacular discovery; apart from portions of four known works by Archimedes, the palimpsest contained substantial passages of the lost treatise *Method* and of the essay *On Floating Bodies*, the latter previously known only from a medieval version in Latin, plus a fragment of a minor work called *Stomachion*, another part of which is preserved in Arabic. Of these three items, *Method* was the most striking, since it showed the author taking a vital step toward the invention of calculus.

The importance of the palimpsest can hardly be exaggerated; among those that have a lower script in Greek, it is by far the most significant to have come to light. Though Heiberg was able to study it again in 1908, further examination was a desideratum, particularly when the ultraviolet lamp became available as a means of reading palimpsests, removing the temptation to use the drastic and indeed often disastrous technique, all too often employed in the nineteenth century, of painting the leaves with chemicals. But at some unknown date, probably after the First World War, the manuscript left Istanbul in circumstances that remain completely mysterious and eventually turned up in the possession of a French family.

The possibility that a more accurate and complete transcription of the Archimedes text might be feasible became a virtual certainty in 1971 when, acting on a suggestion of my friend Professor G. J. Toomer of Brown University, I visited the Cambridge University Library and inspected a single palimpsest leaf with the shelf-mark Ms. 1879.23.[4] This was stated to contain an unidentified mathematical text. Transcription of almost all the text proved easy enough. The occurrence of a rare technical term proved that the text was Archimedes, and examination of the script showed at once that this was a leaf from the Istanbul palimpsest. What was more important was that with the ultraviolet lamp the few remaining gaps in the transcription could be filled. There was, therefore, every reason to hope that in passages where Heiberg had been unable to transcribe satisfactorily a substantially better text might be obtained. But though the location of the manuscript was known, the owners refused access. A further problem came to light: owing to inadequate storage conditions, mildew had done serious damage to the volume. The owners sought expert advice, but it is unclear what measures were taken to arrest the damage. After some considerable time, the family, which had made unsuccessful efforts to sell the manuscript



Fig. 1. Archimedes Palimpsest, fols. 93v–92r (pseudo-color). This image has been processed to reveal Archimedes' text, which appears in red. The bifolium has been rotated in order to show the original orientation of the Archimedes manuscript. The upper script is in black and runs at ninety degrees to Archimedes' text.

by private treaty to the Bibliothèque nationale and the British Library, sent it for auction, and at Christie's in New York on 29 October 1998, it fetched $2,000,000. The present owner has deposited the palimpsest at the Walters Art Museum for conservation and study, and one of the most fascinating scholarly projects imaginable is now well advanced.

The manuscript has a number of secrets to reveal. The upper script is a Euchologion, a collection of prayers for various occasions, copied probably at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century; there is what seems to be a later note of possession on fol. 1v, datable to 1229.[5] Further study of the individual items in this liturgical collection may conceivably give a clue as to its place of origin;[6] the handwriting has recently been described as characteristic of the Otranto district of Apulia in the heel of Italy, but with the proviso that identification of a local style does not guarantee origin in that same locality, because scribes sometimes traveled or emigrated.[7] Heiberg had inferred from a now lost possession note of the Lavra of St. Saba near Jerusalem that the palimpsest was produced there.[8] That would be a legitimate inference if the note had been in the same hand as the text of the Euchologion. But it was not; the printed catalogue is explicit in stating that the paper leaf in question (184) was written at the end of the sixteenth century, long after the making of the palimpsest, and so this note of possession gives no more than feeble support to Heiberg's suggestion. The fact is that we do not yet know where the palimpsesting took place.

The scribe of the prayer book used parchment taken from several manuscripts that had been discarded, whether because of damage or because they were thought to have no value any longer. The most substantial contribution came from the Archimedes text, but there are leaves taken from other books, and it will be convenient at this point to enumerate those that have so far been identified as coming from other manuscripts.

Pride of place goes to five leaves with parts of speeches by the Athenian orator Hyperides: 135/138, 136/137, 144/145, 173/176, and 174/175. These will be edited by Dr. N. Tchernetska of Trinity College, Cambridge. The script is very untidy and probably to be dated in the eleventh century. This is a remarkable find, since it had been thought that no copy of this author's work survived into the Byzantine period.[9]

Threeleaves, 119/122, 120/121, and 143/146 come from a book that contained a philosophical treatise. The script is a fine early minuscule without accents, probably of the late ninth century; it bears a strong resemblance to the hands seen in famous manuscripts of Greek lexica, Paris Coislin 347 and Rome Vallicelliana E.11. It is very hard to decipher; first impressions are that it was Neoplatonic.

Fols. 13/20 and 15/18 are from a liturgical book, perhaps of the late tenth century. The script is not very calligraphic. The text can be identified for the most part, but the poor state of preservation creates some difficulties. On 15/18, we find hymns for 3 May, as printed in the Roman edition of the Menaion.[10] 13/20 exhibits a more unusual text. It turns out to be part of a canon in honor of St. John Psichaites, the abbot of a monastery in Constantinople, which he rebuilt after its destruction by the Bulgarian Krum in 813. His feast was celebrated on 25 May. The printed text depends on two manuscripts, Meteora 150 and Messina gr. 121 (two others, from the Lavra on Mount Athos, could not be collated by the editor).[11] The present location of these witnesses is a hint that the saint was the subject of devotion in areas far removed from the capital, so that the relative rarity of the text fails to provide a precise indication of where copies were most likely to have supplied a need. There are textual divergences between the two manuscripts used; while some are minor matters of phrasing, others consist in the substitution of one stanza for another. The oddity of the text as found on leaf 13/20 is that it is a mixture; the stanzas appear to be the same as in the Meteora manusctipt but there are agreements in minor details with the Messina manuscript at pages 276.129/130, 131/132, 277.161/162, and 279.201.

23/26, 24/25, and 151/152 come from a tenth-century book with text in two columns and too faint to be read.

7/12, 8/11, and 9/10 are from yet another book, but the script is almost invisible.[12]

The Euchologion was therefore produced in a place that had once owned at least three unique classical texts, two of them of the highest importance. Where can that have been? Despite the note of possession pointing to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, nothing is known of the cultural history of that part of the Byzantine world in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century that could give strong support to the hypothesis of origin in that area. In all such questions, the assumption must be that, in default of evidence to the contrary, we are dealing with activity in or near the capital. Other centers that in certain periods were active enough to deserve consideration are Thessalonica and Palermo. Of these two, the latter is perhaps the more plausible candidate, since it was a flourishing cultural milieu under the Normans in the second half of the twelfth century. Interest in scientific matters is indicated by the fact that a copy of Ptolemy's *Almagest* was donated by the emperor Manuel Comnenus to a scholar who translated it into Latin in Sicily ca. 1160.[13] It is not difficult to imagine that the Archimedes text was another gift sent from the capital. But it is much less likely that the leaves from the codex of Hyperides found their way to Sicily through a similar chain of events.

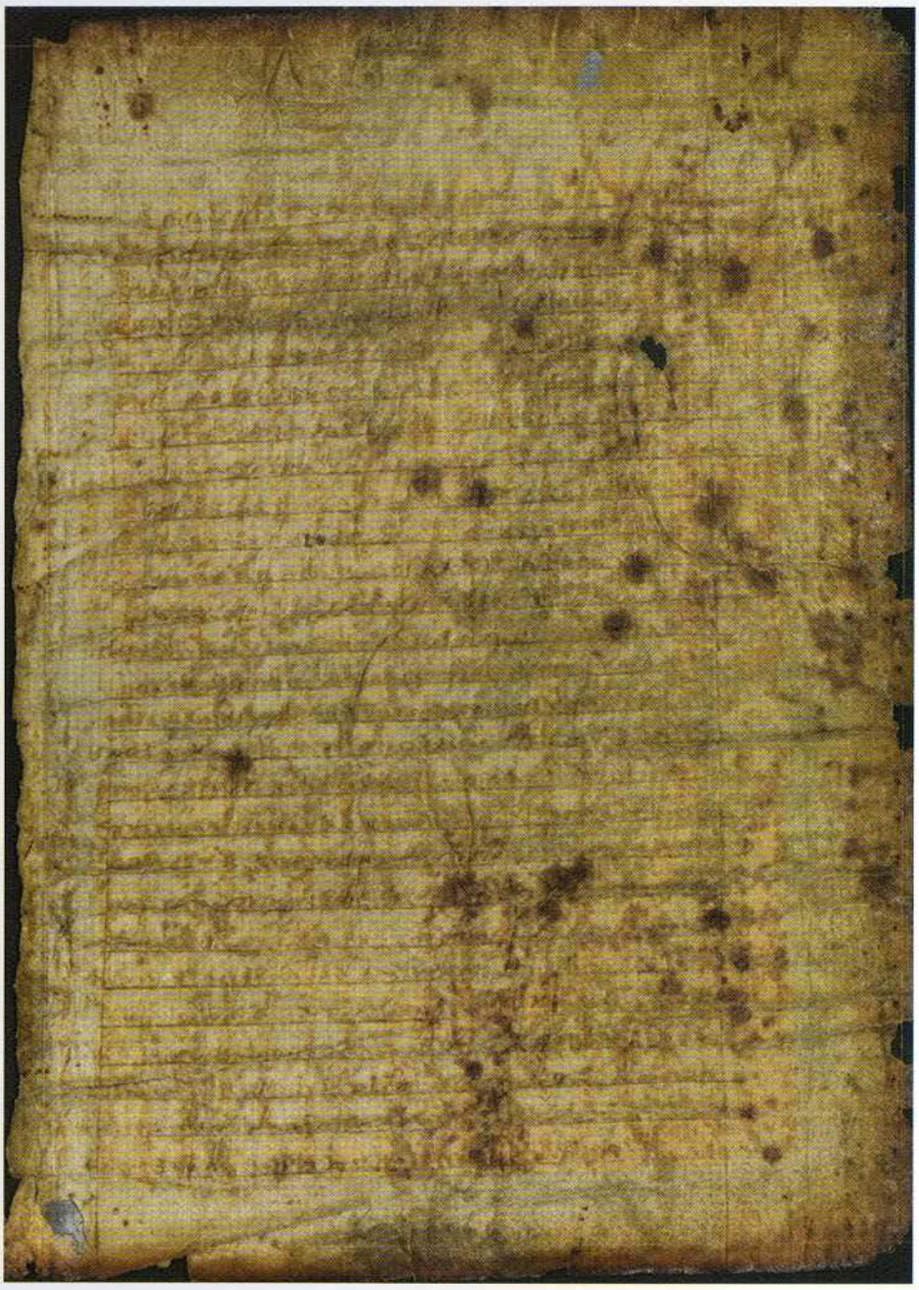


Fig 2. Archimedes Palimpsest, fol. 81v. An image taken in regular light. The undertext is barely visible. It is from Archimedes' *On Floating Bodies* 1.1–2 (Heiberg, 318–20), a page not read by Heiberg.

The Archimedes manuscript was produced in the tenth century, probably in the third quarter. Who commissioned it is a question that remains unanswered. Mathematicians capable of using the treatises cannot be identified in Byzantium ar that rime. This does not necessarily mean that there were none; it may simply be that our sources are defective. But as far as we can tell, the main intellectual endeavor of the period was one sponsored by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenirus (d. 959); it was an attempt to compile an encyclopedia, planned to comprise fifty-three sections.[14] A few of these have come down to us; it is not known whether the project was completed. The surviving parts consist of sets of excerpts taken from a wide range of authors, many of whom have subsequently been lost. The Archimedes codex does not conform to this pattern, since the treatises were transcribed in full. It may nevertheless be the case thar an attempt was made to assemble a full collection of Greek texts, with the recognition that some were not suitable for excerpting or abbreviation. Whether this copy of Archimedes originally contained all the extant works remains uncertain; as Heiberg saw,[15] the absence of some of them from the leaves that have been preserved does nor prove that they were not included.



Fig. 3. Archimedes Palimpsest, fol. 81v (pseudo-color). A digital image of the same folio processed to reveal the Archimedes text underneath, which appears in red.

The leaves of the Archimedes codex now measure approximately 300 x 195 mm; the original size may have been a trifle larger, since many manuscripts have suffered a slight reduction in size through being trimmed by a binder. Two columns of text occupy an area of 200 x 145 mm. The book was a high-quality product, and the margins may have been more generous than they now appear. There are thirty-five lines to the column. This format and layout are unremarkable. There is no evidence to indicate who the scribe was or where he worked. I have not given up hope of discovering his hand in another manuscript.[16] But even if he is eventually traced as the copyist of another book, it is far from certain that the identification will demonstrate precisely where he worked. The script, though not quite as elegant as some others of that period, proves that the scribe was an expert professional, and his hand maintains a uniform appearance throughout. I think it may be assumed that the scribe himself was responsible for the occasional enlarged initials or decoration in simple pen-work ornament. The titles are in capitals without ornamental features. There are numerous diagrams. On the pages that I have been able to study so far there is no sign of any annotations by the scribe or by any owner of the book.

A few features of the script are worth mentioning, in case identification of the hand becomes possible. A mildly cursive touch is occasionally seen in the form of theta (fol. 127v, column 2, last line). Upsilon is sometimes a trifle larger than it should be. The vertical stroke of psi does not rise as high as is normal. Capital upsilon is oddly shaped, resembling a reversed question mark (fols. 128r, column 1, line 1 and 129r, column 1, line 2 provide examples; neither of them is made obscure or doubtful by the script of the Euchologion). There are more abbreviations than was customary in most manuscripts of ancient texts written at that period. However, it should be noted that the contemporary scribe of a fragment of Anthemius preserved in Ms. Vaticanus gr. 218, fols. 1–2, uses even more, and perhaps one should infer that books written for experts in specialized subjects had a tendency to greater use of compendia. Among the rare compendia in the Archimedes text, one may note that the word for parallel is represented by the sign = accompanied by the appropriate sign for the required grammatical inflexion. The word *logos* is occasionally abbreviated in an unexpected way; one might expect a lambda surmounted by an omicron, but the position of the two letters is reversed.[17] The word *meizon* can also occasionally be represented by a large mu similar to a majuscule with a horizontal stroke above and a curved line descending from the center of the middle stroke (fol. 125r, column 1, line 3 from the bottom, and again a few lines later at fol. 132v, line 1). It may be worth noting that the diacritic used to accompany a numeral indicating a fraction looks like a circumflex accent (delta is so found on fol. 158r, column 1, line 9, and eta at fol. 159v, column 2, line 7). A correction of the word order is also undertaken in an unusual way on fol. 161v, column 2. The scribe at first wrote *ouk estin ara* and then realised that the correct order was *ouk ara estin*. Instead of writing beta and alpha above the words in question to indicate the true order, he wrote two strokes at an angle of forty-five degrees above the line between *ouk* and *estin* followed by one above *ara*. Then in the margin he wrote what seem to be three such strokes at the same angle.

The current project is a collaborative effort. It is directed by Dr. William Noel of the Walters Art Museum and managed by Michael B. Toth of R. B. Toth Associates. The texts are being studied by the present writer, Dr. Reviel Netz of Stanford University, and Dr. Natalie Tchernetska of Trinity College, Cambridge. The images are the product of new techniques developed by Dr. R. Easton and Dr. K. Knox of the Rochester Institute of Technology and Dr. W. Christens-Barry of Johns Hopkins University. There is reason to hope that the techniques are capable of still further improvement. The conservation of the badly damaged parchment leaves is being undertaken by Abigail Quandt of the Walters Art Museum, and the need to take every precaution means that the process is slow.

One unexpected moment in the history of the project was the recovery of the photos Heiberg had ordered in Istanbul. They were found in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, where they had been separated from other papers relating to Heiberg. Since the palimpsest has suffered a good deal since his examination of it, they are of value, especially as digital reproduction of these images has proved highly successful. Unfortunately, they were never a complete set. But they can help us in one important particular: at some point, the prayer book was tampered with in a very strange way, by the addition of four portraits of the Evangelists in Byzantine style, which were painted over the Archimedes text. Since the book contained liturgical texts and not the Gospels, the attempt to embellish the book, as one must suppose it to have been, can only be described as bizarre. When the pictures were added remains obscure; Abigail Quandt kindly informs me that she has detected in them a pigment not available until 1939. Whether or nor the details of this sordid episode are ever established, the fact remains that any information derived from Heiberg's publications or other materials is vital to us, as it is extremely difficult to see what lies beneath the forged miniatures. Two of the four pages in question were among those photographed by Heiberg.

As far as Archimedes is concerned, the results that may be expected from the project can be summarized as follows. It is obvious that they will not be of equal importance for all the treatises. One does not anticipate substantial improvements to the text of the four that were already well known, having been transmitted by what in effect are two sources. The first of these was a Byzantine manuscript of probably the ninth century, which was still extant in the Renaissance and belonged to the Venetian humanist Giorgio Valla (d. 1501); though lost now, it can be reconstructed from four copies made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is referred to as A, and the copies are D (Ms. Florence, Laur. 28.4), E (Ms. Venice Marcianus gr. 305), G (Ms. Paris gr.2360), and H (Ms. Paris gr.2361). Of these, D is especially interesting, because the scribe seems to have tried to imitate the archaic script of his exemplar.[18] The second source is a Latin version by William of Moerbeke made in 1269 when he was living in Virerbo. His autograph is Ms. Vaticanus Ortob.lat. 1850. The translation is extremely literal and in most passages permits a precise reconstruction of the Greek text that he had in front of him. In these treatises, Heiberg noted[19] that the palimpsest, while exhibiting a number of errors peculiar to itself, nevertheless was of value for establishing the text in many passages.[20] This means that it is worth looking closely at the points in the text where Heiberg declared himself unable to determine what the palimpsest reads. However, any improvements in the text of the four previously known treatises are bound to seem modest in

comparison with what can be achieved for the three that made Heiberg's discovery so notable.

First comes *On Floating Bodies*, which had been available in the Latin version. Heiberg recovered most of the Greek. It is now possible to make further advances. As a minor example, I cite a passage from fol. 169v.[21] The context deals with an object being immersed in water, so that part of it is moistened. Heiberg's Greek includes the word *temnesthai*, "cut," which neither the context nor the faintly visible script seem to justify. After lengthy examination of the passage, I realized that the correct transcription is *brekhesthai*, "moistened," and, on checking the Latin, was delighted to find that it indeed offers *humectetur*, which corresponds perfectly. But such refinements are not the whole story. Heiberg failed to read some folios because they were already too badly damaged. Significant progress is possible, partly because faint traces that by themselves scarcely permit reliable transcription can be seen as parts of words that can be predicted from the Latin version. Better still, one does not always need the help of the Latin in order to make out the text. A good example is the text on fol. 81v (figs. 2 and 3), near the beginning of the treatise. Heiberg printed the opening lines of the Greek and then had to content himself with the Latin. But the first column of this folio can be read without much difficulty, except that the last line has almost entirely disappeared, and it provides us with the original corresponding to volume 2, page 318, line 12–page 319, line 4, as far as Moerbeke's *superficiem esse*. The text continues on fol. 88r, of which I do not yet have a digital photo; after that, the second column of fol. 81v resumes at volume 2, page 319, line 12 *at itaque lineam ABGΔ*. It ends at page 320, line 2 *descripti circuli*. The Greek is once again legible without serious difficulty. This and some other less easily decipherable passages of Greek will be available for the next edition of the text.

Secondly, we have the *Stomachion*. This is an enigmatic text, of which a part is preserved in an Arabic version. The beginning is found in the palimpsest and is extremely badly damaged. How long this essay was we cannot estimate with any precision. At one time, it was thought to be no more than a description of a children's puzzle consisting of fourteen pieces of wood or ivory that fit together to form a square but may also be arranged in the shapes of many different objects. Thanks partly to the discovery that Heiberg misread a word that is actually *plethos*, "quantity/ large number," it is now possible to interpret the text as an essay in combinatorics.[22]

Finally, *Method*. Here, too, although not all the leaves have been restored and photographed digitally, there is already progress to report. An improved reading of proposition 14 has been possible.[23] It has implications for the understanding of Greek ideas about infinity. There will certainly be more to say.

This article is just a progress report. The imaging of the individual leaves continues, and even if the techniques used should turn out not to be capable of further refinement in the foreseeable future, the photographs that are still to be made will undoubtedly be of great value. The project is due for completion in 2007, when a considerably improved edition of Archimedes will be a realistic prospect, and this edition will not be the sole outcome of the collaborative enterprise.

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NOTES

1. *Hermes* 42 (1907): 235–303.

2. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Hierosolymitike Bibliotheke* (St. Petersburg, 1899), IV:329–31.

3. *Archimedis Opera omnia cum commentariis Eutocii* (Leipzig, 1880–81); the revised edition appeared in 1910–15.

4. The leaf was acquired from the executors of the eminent German biblical scholar C. Tischendorf, who had seen the manuscript when visiting the library in the 1840s; see his *Reise in den Orient* (Leipzig, 1846), translated into English by W. E. Shuckard (London, 1847), where it is mentioned on 274; see also P. E. Easterling, *Scriptorium* 16 (1962): 302, 307. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that Tischendorf stole it.

5. For this, and also an important discussion of the four miniatures that have been added to the manuscript, see J. Lowden in A. Eastmond and L. James, eds., *Icon and Word: the power of images in Byzantium* (London, 2003), 233–60.

6. Stephano Parenti is presently studying the Euchologion texts and scripts.

7. S. Lucà, *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 66 (1999): 57.

8. *Archimedis Opera omnia*, 3:lxxxviii.

9. My scepticism, which seemed well founded, was expressed in *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 16 (1975): 99–100.

10. *Menaion*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1888–1901), V:16–17.

11. G. Schirò and C. Nikas, eds., *Analecta hymnica graeca* IX (Rome, 1973), 274, line 92–279, line 212. See also 424.

12. Lowden, in *Icon and Word*, 234, suggests "a calligraphic style perhaps of the bouletée type."

13. C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the history of medieval science* II (New York, 1960), 164–65, 191.

14. For a good modern account, see P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), 280–88.

15. *Archimedis Opera omnia*, 3:lxxxviii.

16. I am less confident now about the sugestion I made in *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), 139, that he may have been one of the scribes in the mathematical Ms. Vaticanus gr. 218.

17. This practice is attested, without specific examples, by G. F. Cereteli, *Sokraščenija v' grečeskich' rukopisjach'* (2nd edition, St. Petersburg 1904, reprinted 1969), x, and N. P. Chionides and S. Lilla, *La brachigrafia italo-bizantina* (*Studie e Testi* 290) (Vatican City, 1981), 27. What Heiberg, *Archimedis Opera omnia*, 3:lxxv, says about abbreviations does not give the full picture, but later in the same volume he adds some more data at 89 n.1.

18. It is the subject of a paper by J. Irigoin, *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 54 (2000): 307–17. I do not follow his statement that the scribe of D began his work on the verso of the initial folio, leaving the recto blank because his exemplar was in very poor condition. The script on the recto is very faint, but can clearly be identified as the hand of John Thessalos Scutariota, as was proposed by Charles Graux in a letter to Heiberg, which the latter quotes in *Philologus* 42 (1884): 435. I examined the manuscript in Florence on 3 June 2003. I infer that the scribe's patron requested a copy that would resemble the old codex as far as possible, and that this wish was communicated just after the scribe had begun his work, so that only the first page is in his normal hand.

19. *Archimedis Opera omnia*, 3:lxxxviii–xc.

20. At ibid., 3:lv–lvi, he cites cases where the version has a superior reading to that of manuscript A; some of them were confirmed by the palimpsest.

21. *Archimedis Opera omnia*, 2:408, line 13.

22. See a forthcoming paper by R. Netz, F. Acerbi, and the present writer in *Sciamus*.

23. See the paper by R. Nerz, K. Saito, and N. Tchernetska in *Sciamus* 2 (2001): 9–29, and 3 (2002): 109–25.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–3, images taken by The Rochester Institute of Technology and The Johns Hopkins University. Copyright resides with the owner of the Archimedes Palimpsest.

CATALOGUE




Ο ΠΑΥΛΟΣ
Ο ΠΕΤΡΟΣ
Ο ΙΩ ΘΕΟ ΛΟΓΟΣ
Ο ΛΟΥ
ΚΑΣ Ο ΜΑΙ
ΘΑΔΔΑΙΟΣ Ο ΜΑ
ΚΟΣ

W.530c

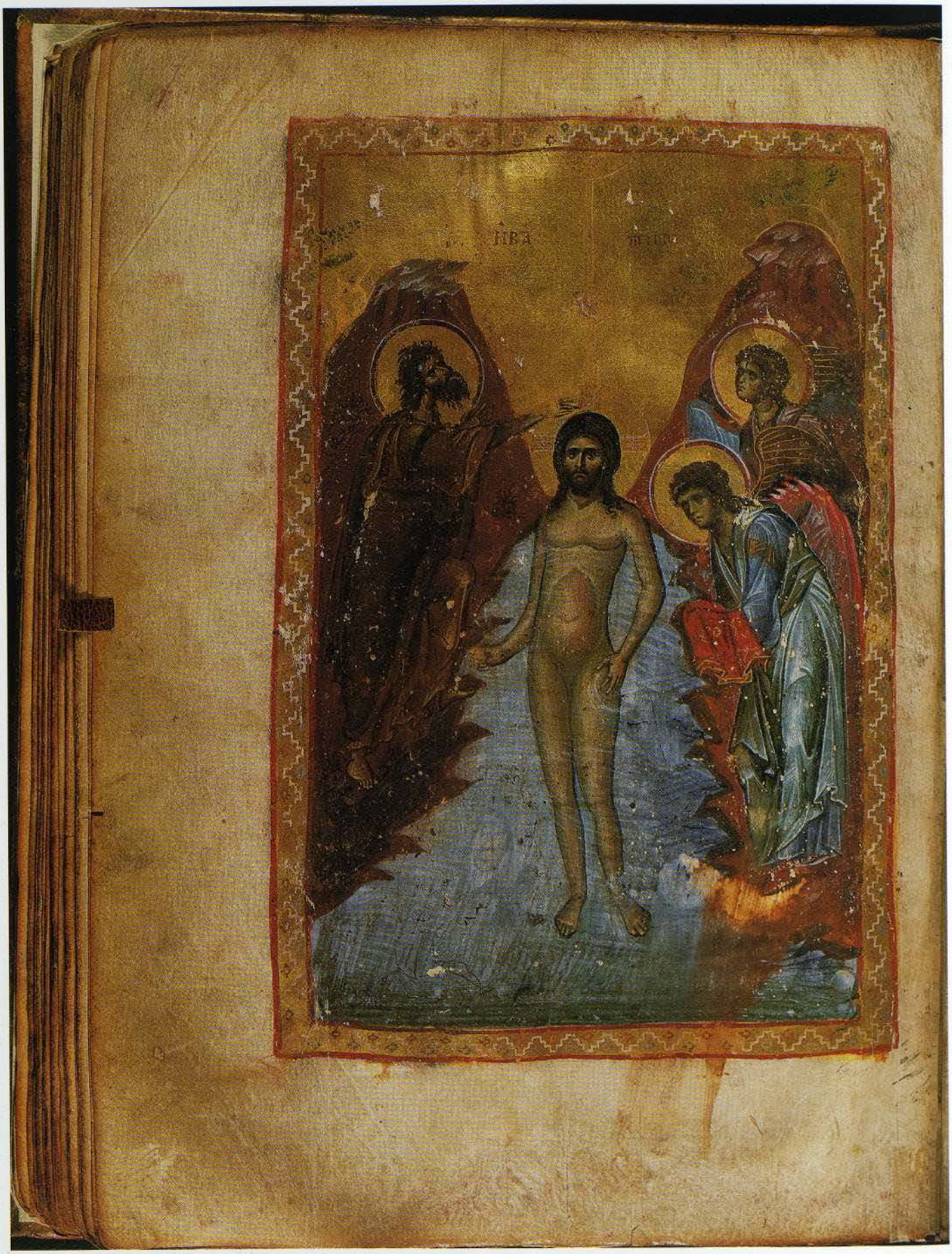
A Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum

GEORGI R. PARPULOV *with contributions by Nicolas Oikonomides†, Guy Petherbridge, Chris Clarkson, Abigail Quandt, Maria Mavroudi, and J. H. Young*

An avid collector of books, antiquities, and art, Henry Walters (1848–1931) acquired nineteen Greek manuscripts.[1] The records of these purchases do not survive, so their precise chronology is uncertain. Most probably, the present W.353, W.354, and W.475 came, separately or together, from the bookseller Leo Olschki (1861–1940) in Florence.[2] They form a sort of pendant to the great collection of incunabula that Walters bought from Olschki in 1905: all three were produced in Renaissance Italy, all contain literary texts of primarily philological interest, none is prominently decorated. In all these respects, they are distinct from the rest of Walters' Greek collection, which consists of illuminated biblical or liturgical texts, copied in the Greek East. Each manuscript from W.520 to W.535 (W.526 excepted) has an old label, now kept separately, with a short, handwritten description of its contents and decoration. The writing is in several different hands, but always in French, which indicates that Walters bought the books on his annual visits to Paris. W.525, W.532, and W.535 bear the bookplate of Léon Gruel (1841–1923), a Parisian bookbinder and art dealer. Gruel's shop remained active under his son Paul (d. 1954) and was most probably the seller of the other French-labeled volumes as well. W.526 was certainly purchased from the Byzantinist Thomas Whittemore (1871–1950), who in 1924 and 1930 sold to another Baltimore collector, Robert Garrett (1875–1951), further manuscripts from the monastery where W.526 was formerly kept.[3] The earlier provenance of several other Greek codices in the collection is also known, but that of W.522, W.523, W.525, W.527, W.528, W.534, and W.536 remains obscure.

W.526 was uninventoried at the time of Walters' death and was only subsequently listed as "additional ms 11." The rest of his Greek manuscripts bear old shelfmarks, consisting of a letter (G through J), a Roman numeral, and an Arabic digit. These numbers show that Greek items were not grouped together and that volumes of different formats (e.g., the present W.522 and W.523) apparently occupied the same shelf. To judge from surviving invoices, shelfmarks were not assigned in the order in which books were acquired: for instance, the present W.85, W.180, and W.302, all bought from Gruel in 1903, were respectively H.IV.25, I.III.22, and Add. ms 26. By 1937, this old inventory system had been supplanted by the current one, introduced by Dorothy Miner (1904–73), the first curator of manuscripts at the Walters.[4] It is to her initiative also that the collection owes its latest Greek acquisition, W.733.

The manuscripts' scholarly cataloging started shortly before Walters' death, when Seymour De Ricci (1881–1942) listed them in April 1931. In 1932–35, Kenneth W. Clark (1898–1979) made detailed descriptions of Greek New Testament texts at the Walters. Most of the museum's Greek codices were included in the large Byzantine exhibition mounted by Miner in 1947 at The Baltimore Museum of Art. Many were also shown in 1973 at Princeton, where Gary Vikan, now director of the Walters, honored his teacher Kurt Weitzmann with an exhibition of illuminated Greek manuscripts from American collections. A complete catalogue of the Byzantine manuscripts (excluding W.353, W.354, and W.475, which, albeit written in Greek, were copied in Italy) was conceived by Miner's successor Lilian M. C. Randall, who invited as collaborators for the project Anthony Cutler and Nicolas Oikonomides (1934–2000). I have made ample use of notes left by the latter. Of exceptionally great help were also the descriptions that Chris Clarkson, former Walters' conservator of manuscripts, and Guy Petherbridge made of the parchment and bindings of some of the Greek codices.



W.531 f.59v

The present catalogue covers all Greek manuscripts at the museum, except for the three papyri W.516, W.517, and W.519, which fall within the domain of papyrology rather than codicology.[1] De Ricci's census and the catalogue of the 1947 exhibition are not specially cited in the individual references for catalogue items. As they provide overviews of the collection by succinctly listing most of its contents, I draw the reader's attention to them all at once:

S. DE RICCI, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935), I:757–61; cf. E. BURIN and E. DOVE, "Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery: A Concordance," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 49/50 (1991/92): 83–96, esp. 89f. and 96;

Early Christian and Byzantine Art: An Exhibition Held at The Baltimore Museum of Art, exh. cat., Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1947), 135–49.

For New Testament manuscripts, which form the bulk of the Walters' Greek collection, I cite the numbers under which they are listed by:

K. ALAND, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd ed. (Berlin and New York, 1994).

Special mention should also be made of the following two valuable reference works that are not cited in the catalogue:

S. J. VOICU and S. D'ALISERA, *I.M.A.G.E.S.: Index in manuscriptorum graecorum edita specimina* (Rome, 1981), 192–94.

J.-M. OLIVIER, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs de Marcel Richard* (Turnhout, 1995), 135f.

The systems and types of ruling for parchment manuscripts are identified as in:

J.-H. SAUTEL, *Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin* (Turnhout, 1995) [= *Bibliologia*, 13].

The position of quire signatures and pagination numbers is indicated as follows:

S(upra) – top of the page, *I*(nfia) – bottom of the page;
i – internal page corner, *m* – mid-margin,
e – external page corner;
[for quire signatures]
1 – first page of the quire, *2* – first and last pages of the quire, *3* – last page of the quire.[6]

In the descriptions, abbreviated references are given to *all published photographs* of the illumination and miniatures (references to color photographs are marked in bold) and to the *principal editions* of text passages. When not cited in the special references after the respective entry, the full titles of such publications are listed in the general bibliography at the end of the catalogue. If the text found in a manuscript differs to some extent from the printed one, the corresponding reference is preceded by an ~. All measurements are given in millimeters.

This catalogue was written over my term as a Carol Bates fellow at the Walters' Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, where Abigail Quandt, William Noel, Cathleen Fleck, Lynn Ransom, and Martina Bagnoli provided me with constant and unfailing advice. The text benefited greatly from the careful proofreading of Angeliki Kokkinou, Deborah Horowitz, and William Noel. I undertook catalogue-related research with the help of Elisaveta Musakova at the National Library of Bulgaria (Sofia), Aikatherina Kourdouli ar the National Library of Greece (Athens), Agammemnon Tselikas, Maria Poliri, and Maria Litina at the Paleographic Archive of the Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece (Athens), Aikatherina Katsarou at the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies (Thessaloniki), and Father Philippos at Vatopedi (Mount Athos). I am especially grateful to the brotherhood and abbot of the last mentioned monastery for their great hospitality and kindness.

I ask any reader who might find the catalogue useful to note that it is dedicated to the memory of my beloved grandfather, Konstantin Tzitzelkov (1912–2003). Вечная память!

Walters Art Museum
Baltimore, Maryland

NOTES

1. On the history of Walters' art collection in general, see W. R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters: the Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore, 1999). On his manuscripts in particular: L. M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1989), I:xi–xiv.

2. On Leo Olschki, see C. Tagliaferri, *Olschki: Un secolo di editoria 1886–1986*, I: *La libreria antiquaria editrice Leo S. Olschki* (1886–1945) (Florence, 1986).

3. On Whittemore, see W. L. MacDonald, "Whittemore, Thomas," in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 33, ed. J. Turner (New York, 1996), 151f., with bibliography; R. Labrusse and N. Podzemskaia, "Naissance d'une vocation: aux sources de la carrière byzantine de Thomas Whittemore," *DOP* 54 (2000): 43–69. On Garrett's Greek manuscripts, now at Princeton University Library, see S. Korzabassi and N. P. Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Princeton, in press).

4. On Dorothy Miner, see "In Memoriam: Dorothy Miner," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 35 (1977): v–vii.

5. G. Malz, "Three Papyri of Dioscoros at the Walters Art Gallery," *American Journal of Philology* 60 (1939): 170–77; E. Heintsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragment der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Göttingen, 1961) [= *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Ser. III, 49], I:138, no. xlii, 8; R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor, 1965), 38, nos. 352–53.

6. This convention for indicating the position of quire signatures was first applied in A. D. Kominēs, *Patmiakē vivliothēkē ētoi neos katalogos tōn cheirographōn kōdikōn tēs Hieras Monēs Hagiou Iōannou tou Theologou Patmou* (Athens, 1988).

W.353 LETTERS OF PHALARIS

Parchment, i+44+i folios, 150 x 102 mm, second quarter of the fifteenth century, Italy

Text: Φαλάριδος ἐπιστολαί {cf. HERCHER, *Epistolographi graeci*, 409–59} [1r] α᾽ Φάλαρις Ἀλκιβόῳ {HERCHER, no. i}, [1r–v] β᾽ Μεγαρεῦσιν ὀνειδιστική {ii}, [1v] γ᾽ Τυρσινῶι {iii}, [1v–2r] δ᾽ Λυκίνωι {iv}, [2r] ε᾽ Λεοντίνοις {v}, [2r–v] ϛ᾽ Ζευξίππωι {vi}, [2v] ζ᾽ Εὐήνωι {vii}, [2v–3r] η᾽ Λακρίτωι {x}, [3r–v] θ᾽ Ἀγλαῶι {xii}, [3v–4r] ι᾽ Τεύκρωι, inc. Τὰ λύτρα {xv}, [4r] ια᾽ Ἡροδίκωι {xiii}, [4r] ιβ᾽ Εὐμήλωι {xiv}, [4r] ιγ᾽ Ἐριφοίτῃ {xvi}, [4v] ιδ᾽ Ἀμφινόμωι {xvii}, [4v–5r] ιε᾽ Τῆι γυναικὶ Ἐρυθίαι {xviii}, [5r–v] ις᾽ Μεσηνίοις {xxi}, [5v] ιζ᾽ Ἀνδρακλεῖ {xxii}, [5v–6r] ιη᾽ Παυρόλαι {xx}, [6r–v] ιθ᾽ Τῶι αὐτῶι {xix}, [6v–7r] κ᾽ Ἐριφραδεῖ {xxvi}, [7r–v] κα᾽ Ἀντιμάχωι {xxviii}, [7v] κβ᾽ Ξενοπείθηι {xxix}, [7v–8r] κβ᾽ Καταναίοις {xxx}, [8r] κδ᾽ Ἀριστοφήμωι {xxxii}, [8v] κε᾽ Κτησίππωι {xxxiii}, [8v–9v] κς᾽ Ταῖς Στησιχόρου θυγατράσι {xxxi}, [9v] κζ᾽ Πολυδεύκει {xxxiv}, [10r] κη᾽ Κλεομενίδει {xxxvi}, [10r–v] κθ᾽ Τῶι αὐτῶι {xxxvii}, [11r] λ᾽ Παυρόλα {xl}, [11r–v] λα᾽ Πολϋστράτωι {xxxix}, [11v] λβ᾽ Αἰγεσταίοις {xlvi}, [11v–12r] λγ᾽ Ἱππολυτίονι {xli}, [12r] λδ᾽ Τεύκρῳ {xliii}, [12r] λε᾽ Νικίᾳ {xliv}, [12r–v] λς᾽ Ἀδειμάντωι {xlv}, [12v] κη᾽ Ἀντισθενεῖ καὶ Θεοτίμωι {xlvii}, [12v] κζ᾽ Νεοκλεῖ {xlviii}, [12v–13r] κθ᾽ Ἐπισράτωι {xlix}, [13r] μ᾽ Ὀνήτορι {l}, [13r–v] μα᾽ Ἐτεονίκωι {li}, [13v] μβ᾽ Μεγαρεῦσιν {xlv}, [13v–14r] μγ᾽ Λεοντίνοις {liii}, [14r] μδ᾽ Τιμοσθένει {lv}, [14r] με᾽ Πολυστράτῳ καὶ Δαΐσκῳ {lviii}, [14r–v] μς᾽ Ναυσικλεῖ {lix}, [14v] μζ᾽ Ἐπιμάρχῳ {lxi}, [14v–15r] μη᾽ Τιμοσθένει {lxii}, [15r] μθ᾽ Ἐρσιλόχωι {lxxiv}, [15r–v] ν᾽ Αντισθένει {lxxv}, [15v] μα᾽ Δειμαράτωι {lxxvi}, [15v–16r] μβ᾽ Κλειανέτι (καὶ) Θεανεῖ {lxxx}, [16r–v] νγ᾽ Ἐνναίοις {lxxxi}, [16v–17r] νδ᾽ Τιμάνδρωι {xlv}, [17r–18v] νε᾽ Μεσηνίοις {lxxxiv}, [18v–20v] νς᾽ Ἀστυπαλαιεῦσιν {cxix}, [20v] νζ᾽ Τιμωνακτι {lxxxv}, [20v] νη᾽ Ἱέρωνι {lxxxvi}, [20v–21r] νθ᾽ Ἀρισταινέτωι {lxxxvii}, [21r] ξ᾽ Λυσικλεῖ {cxxiii}, [21r–v] ξα᾽ Ἐγγυίνοις {cvii}, [21v] ξβ᾽ Ἰμεραίοις {cviii}, [21v–22v] ξγ᾽ Λεωνίδαι {lxxxix}, [22r–v] ξδ᾽ Αὐτόνοηι {xcv}, [22v–23r] ξε᾽ Ἀλκάνδρῳ {xci}, [23r–v] ξς᾽ Στησιχόρῳ {xcii}, [23v–24r] ξζ᾽ Κλασθένει {cx}, [24r–v] ξη᾽ Ἀξιοχῶι {cxx}, [24v–25v] ξθ᾽ Ἰμεραίοις {xciii}, [25v–26r] ο᾽ Ἀβάριδι {xci}, [26r–27r] οα᾽ Πολυκλείτῳ {lxx}, [27r–28v] οβ᾽ Ἱμεραίοις {cxxi}, [28v–29r] ογ᾽ Στησιχόρωι {xciv}, [28v–29r] οδ᾽ Νικίππω {cxi}, [29r] οε᾽ Ἱερονύμωι {cxii}, [29r–v] ος᾽ Νικοφήμωι {xcvi}, [29v–30r] οζ᾽ Κρέβωνι {xcix}, [30r] οη᾽ Εὐκτήμονι {c}, [30v] οθ᾽ Ἐπιμάρχωι {xcviii}, [30v] π᾽ Πολυδεύκει {cvi}, [31r] πα᾽ Μεγακλεῖ {xi}, [31r] πβ᾽ Κλεοστράτωι {ix}, [31r–v] πγ᾽ Ἀμαίαι {viii}, [31v] πδ᾽ Πολυγνώτωι {xxxv}, [31v–32v] πε᾽ Παυρόλᾳ {xix}, [32v–33v] πς᾽ Παυρόλᾳ {lxvii}, [33v–34r] πζ᾽ Ἀντιμάχω {xxvii}, [34r–35v] πη᾽ Ἡγησίππωι {lxxvii}, [35v–36r] πθ᾽ Δημοτέλει {xxxviii}, [36r–37r] ϛ᾽ Στησιχόρω {lxxviii}, [37r–38r] ϛα᾽ Τῶ αὐτῷ {lxxix}, [38r–39r] ϛβ᾽ Ἰμεραίοις {liv}, [39r–v] ϛγ᾽ Ἀριστολόχωι {lx}, [39v] ϛδ᾽ Ἀριστολόχω {lxiii}, [39v–40r] ϛε᾽ Πελοπίδῃ {lxv}, [40r–v] ϛς᾽ Ἀριδαμάντι (καὶ) Θρασυβούλῳ {lxiv}, [40v–41v] ϛζ᾽ Τηλεκλείδη {lxvi}, [41v–42r] ϛη᾽ Παυρόλαι {lxviii}, [42r–43r] ϛθ᾽ Ἐρυθίαι {lxix}, [43r] ρ᾽ Ἱμεραίοις {lxxxviii}, colophon: Τέλος.

Blank Pages: 43v, 44r–v.

Diacritics and Punctuation: rounded breathing marks; small circumflexes. – Commas and periods. – Mute iota subscribed. – Occasional diaereseis over υ. – Καὶ sometimes abbreviated.

Script: Angular Humanist hand with few ligatures and predominantly majuscule forms. Triangular δ, often heightened γ and τ. – Titles written mostly in *AuszeichnungsMajuskel* imitating Classical inscriptions.

Ink: grayish light brown. Titles and initials in vermilion.

Parchment: palimpsest, taken from a much larger manuscript written in Gothic script and in two columns. The original text is very thoroughly erased. – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Goat-like parchment. The surface has been greatly disturbed, most notably in the text area. 'Medium' weight (0.09–0.17 mm)."

Ruling: none visible. – 19 lines to a page; justification ca. [95 x 63 mm]; interlinear distance 5 mm.

Quires: 5 x 8 (fol. 40), 4 (44).

Quire Signatures: scribal, *l/3*: β (16v).

Foliation: in brown ink, renewed in darker brown, *Se*, continuous.

Binding: probably Italian, s. XVI–XVII; folded vellum with paper pastedowns and flyleaves (no watermarks visible).

Marks: [**spine**] capital letters in dark brown ink: ΦΑΛΑΡΙΔΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ; two library labels, now damaged and illegible; [**back pastedown**] in dark brown ink, s. XVIII–XIX: "epistule no. 99"; [**front pastedown**] in blue ink: "22017," [**i recto**] in pencil, three different hands: "Phalaris, Cod. ms. gr. XIV saec.," "Phalaris, no. 11," "Phalarius," [**back pastedown**] in pencil: "244," "C," "roso," [**front pastedown**] in pencil: "I.IV.12" (old Walters shelfmark), bookplate with "ex libris Henry Walters."

Provenance: [Maggs Brothers, London] – purchased probably from Leo Olschki, Florence.

Dating: The epistles are not ordered the way they are in their first printed editions of 1498 [GOFF[3], no. P-545] and 1499 [PAPADOPOULOS, no. 2141], so our manuscript was evidently not based on these and therefore probably predates them. – The writing resembles that of Georgios Chrysokokkes (*RGK* II:no. 95, III:no. 127), who copied Classical manuscripts for Italian patrons between 1419 and 1428. – The use of palimpsested parchment with Latin text suggests that the book was produced in the West, most probably Italy.

Reference:
Maggs Brothers, *Choice and Rare Books, No. 244* (London, 1909), 57, cat. 294.

W.354 THUCYDIDES, HISTORY

Paper, ii+341+ii folios, 282 x 202 mm, ca. 1500, Venice

Text: [**2r–338r**] *Thucydides' History*, colophon: **Τέλος σὺν Θεῷ**; [**339r–v**] *Table of Contents for the Speeches*: **Δημηγορίαι παρὰ Θουκυδίδου συγγεγραμμέναι**, with quire numbers indicated.

Apparatus: Subject headings for paragraphs in the side margins throughout.

Blank Pages: 1r–v, 338v, 340r–v, 341r–v.

Diacritics and Punctuation: rounded breathing marks; long and prominent accent marks; circumflexes curled at both ends. – Commas and periods. – Mute iota omitted. No diaereseis. – No abbreviations. – Direct speech marked with comma-like signs in the left margin.

Script {MURPHY, fig. 2}: the characteristic hand of Damiano Guidotto (*RGK* I:no. 89, II:no. 119), on which: MURPHY, 487.

Ink: dark brown, with titles and subject headings sometimes added in light brown (fols. 2r–128r); light brown (fols. 128v–339v).

Paper: folded *in folio*; chaindistance ca. 38 mm; watermarks similar to PICCARD, *Werkzeugen und Waffen*, nos. XI, 2227, 2234, and 2235.

Ruling: (fols. 128–229 only) hardpoint; system unclear; type uncodified: a wide column for the text and a narrow column for the subject headings in the outer margin, with lines for the text drawn separately in each. – 30 per page (fols. 2r–128r) and 28 per page (fols. 128v–339v); justification [205 x 100–105 mm]; interlinear distance 8 mm.

Quires: 42 x 8 (fol. 336), 5 (341).

Quire Signatures: scribal, Greek numerals *1m1*, continuous.

Foliation: in pencil, perhaps by L. Olschki, *Se*, continuous; flyleaves numbered A through D.

Binding: early nineteenth-century, probably by Charles Lewis (1786–1836), London (acc. to C. CLARKSON); brown "russia" leather over squared wooden boards; five raised bands on the rounded spine; pastedowns and flyleaves of unwatermarked paper; edges of bookblock trimmed and gilded.

Marks: [**2r**, upper margin] in dark brown ink: "Thucididus" – [**339v**, lower margin] in dark brown ink: "Pertinet ad locum S. Francisci a Vinca" – [second and third compartments of spine] tooled in gold in capital letters: "Thucididis opera," "cod. ms" – [**A recto**] in pencil: "This M.S. was formerly in the library of the wealthy Monastery of S. Francesco della Vigna, in Venice. I bought it fm an old Priest named P. Bravia—a Canon of that Church—into whose hands it appears to have passed on the dissolution of the above mentd monast[y] at the close of the last century. I obtained fm him 3 or 4 other Gk. MSS, all of which are marked as belongg to that Monastic Library. / Bought at Venice, Nov. 1st 1832. W.S. / Professor Sarti—Sub-Librarian of the Vatican—to whom I showed one of these MSS pronounced it to be the writing of a Greek scribe, probably in the early part of the 15th Century." – [**front pastedown**] etched bookplate with coat of arms and "Ex libris Walteri Sneyd" – [**back pastedown**] in pencil: "211," "roso" – [**front pastedown**] in pencil, by several different hands: "29118," "428," "39," "Thucydides, Opera Graecae. MS on paper (339 leaves) written in neat small italics by a Greco-Italian scribe. Inscription at end: 'Pertinet ad locum S. Francisci a Vinca' (Venetiarum)?," "I.II.17" (old Walters shelfmark).

Provenance: Monastery of S. Francesco della Vigna, Venice – P. Bravia, Venice – 1832: sold to Rev. Walter Sneyd (d. 1888), London – 1903: sold (Sotheby's, December 16, no. 780) to Maggs (their no. 211) – purchased by H. Walters probably from Leo Olschki, Florence (his no. 29118).

Dating: see MURPHY, 481 and 493.

Reference:

D. J. MURPHY, "Greek Epigrams and Manuscript of Damiano Guidotto of Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 12 (1998): 476–94, esp. 487–91.

W.475 PREFACES TO HOMER

Paper, iii+8+i folios, 311 x 210 mm, ca. 1488, Florence

Text: [**1r–7r**] *Biography of Homer. Attributed to Herodotus:* Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνασῆος ἐξήγησις περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ὁμήρου γενέσιος καὶ βιοτῆς {WEST, 354–402, for other eds. cf. ibid., 316}; [**7r–8r**] *Epistolary Preface to Homer's Works by Demetrios Chalcondyles:* Δημήτριος ὁ Χαλκονδύλης τοῖς ἐνταξομένοις εὖ πράττειν {LEGRAND, 13–15}; [**8v**] *Chalcondyles' Introduction to the First Book of the Iliad:* no title given {CHALCONDYLES, fol. 43r}.

Apparatus: twenty-three short scholia in the margins of Herodotus' text (fols. 2r–7r).

Diacritics and Punctuation: rounded breathing marks; long and prominent accents. – Commas, high points, and periods. – Mute iota subscribed; ι and υ written mostly with diaeresis. – Καὶ mostly abbreviated; common endings sometimes abbreviated but mostly written in full. – Homeric quotations marked with ~ in the left margin. – The text initials on fols. 7r and 8v and the title on fol. 8v were never added by the scribe.

Script {LUCK, figs. 1–2}: one hand throughout, incl. the scholia (which are written in darker ink). A humanist hand, similar to those of Demetrios Chalcondyles (*RGK* I:no. 105, II:no. 138, III:no. 171) and Demetrios Damilas (*RGK* I:no. 93, II:no. 127, III:no. 160).

Ink: dark brown. – Marginal scholia in even darker, almost black ink. – Titles (fols. 1r, 7r) and initial H (fol. 1r) in light brown (perhaps originally carmine) ink.

Paper: folded *in folio*; chaindistance 33 mm; watermarks (fols. 5–8; ill. LUCK, fig. 3) similar to BRIQUET, nos. 2540-42 and to PICCARD, *Waage*, nos. VI.624–28, 638–45.

Lines: 30 per page; justification ca. [220 x 120 mm]; interlinear distance 7 mm.

Quires: 1 x 8 (fol. 8).

Quire signatures: none.

Foliation: current, *Se:* continuous – s. XVIII–XIX in., *Im:* fols. 122–29 (= fols. 1–8).

Binding: English, ca. 1835 (acc. to C. CLARKSON): half dark brown roan over cardboard; paper flyleaves without watermarks.

Marks: **[back of front cover]** "28317" (Olschki's), "428," "38," and "T.II.19" (old Walters shelfmark); **[back of front cover]** round lithographed bookplate with coat of arms and "Ex libris Walteri Sneyd"; [fol. **1r**, above the title] "5"; [fol. **7r**, above the title] "6"; **[running up the spine]** tooled in gold in capital letters: "Herodoti vita Homeri. Cod. m.s. Græce."

Provenance: Abbot Matteo Canonici (d. 1805), Venice – 1835: sold to Rev. Walter Sneyd (d. 1888), London – 1903: sold (Sotheby's, December 16, no. 367) to D. Renshaw – purchased by H. Walters probably from Leo Olschki, Florence.

Dating: Watermarks similar to ours are attested in Greek manuscripts dated 1489 and 1491 (HARLFINGER, *Wasserzeichen*, Balance 35). Chalcondyles' preface (fols. 7r–8r) was written specially for the 1488 printed edition of Homer. Since the scribe's hand is very similar to those of Chalcondyles and of Damilas, who is known to have worked for Chalcondyles, our manuscript must itself have been produced ca. 1488. There are no printers' marks in the margins, so this was possibly a presentation copy that might slightly predate the printed edition.

Reference:

G. LUCK, "A Late Greek Manuscript in The Walters Art Gallery," *Journal of The Walters Art Gallery* 41 (1983): 67–70 with figs. 1–3.

Other Bibliography:

D. CHALCONDYLES, ed. *[Homeri Opera]* (Florence, 1488) [PAPADOPOULOS, no. 2741].

E. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hellenique, ou Description raisonnée des ouvrages publies en grec par des Grecs aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1885; repr. Brussels, 1963).

M. L. WEST, ed., *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, MA, 2003) [=*Loeb Classical Library*, no. 496].

W.520 GOSPEL LECTIONARY [ALAND | 1629 + (| 1882)]

Parchment, i+179 folios, 300 x 230 mm, second half of the tenth century, Byzantine Empire

Ornament: **[1r]** {WEITZMANN, *Buchmalerei*, II:fig. 686; SPATHARAKIS, fig. 528} *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (63 x 153), *Initial E* (25 diam.); **[50r]** {WEITZMANN, fig. 685} *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (65 x 152), *Initial E* (ca. 22 diam.); **[58r]** *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (64 x 143), *Initial T*; **[94r]** *Interlace Headband, Initial* Π; **[95v]** *Headband* (14 x 74), *Initial E*; **[121v]** *Headband* (11 x 66), *Two Initial Ts*; **[137v]** *Headband* (8 x 86), *Initial E*; **[142r, 143r]** *Interlace Headbands, Initial Ts*; **[152r]** *Headband* (13 x 70); **[159v]** *Headband* (11 x 66), *Initial T*; **[162v]** *Headband* (10 x 88), *Initial E*; **[165r]** *Headband* (9 x 69), *Initial E*; **[166r]** *Interlace Headband, Initial T*; **[167r]** *Interlace Headband, Initial T*; **[171v]** *Interlace Headband with Two Serpents' Heads*; **[173v]** *Headband* (13 x 78), *Initial A with a Bird*; **[178v]** *Headband* (11 x 86); **[179v]** *Tailpiece*; **[2r, 9v]** *Initial Θs*; **[3r, 4v, 6r, 7v, 8v, 10v, 15r, 16v, 19v, 21v, 22v, 30v, 34r, 37r, 37v, 40r, 42r, 46r, 47r, 52r, 55r, 55v, 56v, 57r, 57v, 58v, 59v, 61r, 61v, 62r, 64r, 66v, 67v, 68r, 69v, 70r, 71r, 72r, 75v, 76r, 76v, 78r, 79r, 80r, 95r, 97r, 106r, 108r, 110r, 112v, 114v, 116r, 117v, 119r, 120r, 120v, 121r, 122v, 128r, 130v, 131r, 132r, 133r, 135v, 140r, 141v, 143v, 146r, 148r, 150v, 151r, 152v, 155v** (twice), **156r, 156v, 157v, 158r, 161v, 171r, 172r, 174v, 175v, 176r,**

176v] *Initial Ts*; [**9r**] *Initial O* (26 diam.); [**11v, 13v, 18r, 18v, 24r, 25v, 33v, 45v, 51v, 60v, 63r, 66r, 71v, 74v, 77v, 78v, 81v, 82r, 87r, 135r, 137r, 138v, 159r, 164r**] *Round Initial Es* (22–26 diam.); [**12r, 12v, 17r, 18v, 24v, 29r, 30r, 31v, 39r, 41r** (twice), **43r, 44r, 50v, 52v, 64v, 72r, 73r, 73v, 79v, 81r, 132v, 139r, 140v, 146v, 161r, 166v**] *Oblong Initial Es*; [**20v, 32v**] *Initial Es with a Peacock*; [**26r**] *Initial T Coming out of a Jar*; [**44v, 48v, 53v**] *Initial Es with a Blessing Hand*; [**96v**] *Initial M* (20 x 12); [**99v**] *Initial K with a Bird*; [**144v**] *Initial B*; [**149v**] *Initial A with a Bird*; [**151v**] *Initial A*; [**153v**] *Initial E with a Peacock and an Outstretched Hand*; [**168r**] *Initial E with a Hand Holding a Candle (?).*

Text (cf. GREGORY, 343–86; SCRIVENER, 1:80–89): [**1r–49v**] *Readings for the Weeks of John,* colophon: Χ(ριστ)ῷ ἄνακτι δόξα καὶ κράτος πρέπει· [**1r–2r**] Τῇ ἁγία καὶ μ(ε)γ(άλῃ) Κυριακῇ· Jn 1: 1–17, [**2r–v**] Τῇ ἐπαύριο(ν) τ(οῦ) Πάσχ(α)· Jn 1:18–28, [**2v–4v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς διακινησίμου· μνήμη τῆς ὑπ(ερ)αγί(ας) Θ(εο)τ(όκου· Lk 24: 12–35, [**4v–6r**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς διακινησίμ(ου)· Jn 1:35–51, [**6r–7v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς διακ(ινησίμου)· Jn 3:1–15, [**7v–8r**] Τῇ παρασκε(υῇ) τῆς διακινησίμ(ου)· Jn 2:12–22, [**8v–9r**] Τῷ σα(ββάτῳ) τῆς διακιν.· Jn 3:22–33, [**9r–10v**] Κυ(ριακῇ) τὸ ἀντίπασχα· Jn 20:19–31, [**10v–11v**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς β᾽ ἑβδ(ομάδος)· Jn 2:1–11, [**11v–12r**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς β᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 3:16–21, [**12r–v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς β᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 5: 17–24, [**12v–13v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς β᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 5:24–30, [**13v–15r**] Τῇ παρασκε(υῇ) τῆς β᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 5:30–6:2, [**15r–16r**] Τῷ σα(ββάτῳ) τῆς β᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 6:14–27, [**16r–v**] Κυ(ριακῇ) γ᾽ ἀπὸ τὸ Πάσχ(α)· Mk 15:43–16:1 Καὶ [διαγενομένου], end lost; [**17r**] beginning lost: Jn 4:50–54, [**17r–18r**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 6:27–33, [**18r**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 6:35–39, [**18r–v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 6:40–44, [**18v–19v**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ (sic) τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 6:48–54, [**19v**] Τῷ σα. τῆς γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 15:17 and ζήτ(ει) εἰς α᾽ εὐαγγέ-(λιον) τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) παθῶ(ν), [**19v–20v**] Κυ. δ᾽· Jn 5:1–15, [**20v–21v**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 6:56–69, [**21v–22v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 7:1–13, [**22v–23v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς μεσον᾽ [i.e., μεσοπεντηκοστῆς]· Jn 7:14–30, [**24r–v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 8:12–20, [**24v–25v**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 8:21–30, [**25v–26r**] Τῷ σα. τῆς δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 8:31–42 ἥκω, [**26r–29r**] Κυ. ε᾽· Jn 4:5–42, [**29r–30r**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 8:42–51, [**30r–v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 8:51–59, [**30v–31v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 6:5–14, [**31v–32v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 9:39–10:9, [**32v–33v**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 10:17–28 δίδωμι αὐτοῖς, [**33v–34r**] Τῷ σα. τῆς ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 10:27–38, [**34r–37r**] Κυ. ς᾽· Jn 9:1–38, [**37r–v**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς ς᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 11:47–54, [**37v–39r**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς ς᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 12:19–36, [**39r–40r**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς ς᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 12:36–47, [**40r–41r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς ς᾽ ἑβδ.· ἡ ἀνάληψις τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶ(ν) Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ· Mk 16:9 and ζήτ(ει) ἀναστ(άσιμον) ἑωθινὸν γ᾽; Εἰς τ(ὴν) λειτουργίαν· Lk 24:36–53, [**41r**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τ(ῆς) ς᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 14:1 and ζήτ(ει) εἰς τ(ὸ) α᾽ εὐαγγέλιον τῶ(ν) παθ(ῶν), τέλο(ς)· καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί (Jn 14:11), [**41r–42r**] Τῷ σα. τῆς ς᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 14:10–21, [**42r–43r**] Κυ. ζ᾽, τῶν ἁγίω(ν) π(ατέ)ρων τῶ(ν) ἐν Ν(ικαίᾳ)· Jn 17:1–13, [**43r–44r**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς ν᾽ [i.e., πεντηκοστῆς]· Jn 14:27 μὴ ταρασσέσθω–15:7, [**44r–v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς ν᾽· Jn 16:2–13 ἀλήθειαν, [**44v–45v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς ν᾽· Jn 16:15–23, [**45v–46r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς ν᾽· Jn 16:23 ἀμὴν –33 ἔχητε, [**46r–47r**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ν᾽· Jn 17:18–26, [**47r–v**] Τῷ σα. τῆς ν᾽· Jn 21:14–22 μένειν, end lost, [**48r–v**] beginning lost, Jn 7:42 ἐκ τοῦ–8:12, [**48v–49v**] Τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς ν᾽· Mt 18:10–20; [**50r–57v**] *Readings for the Weekends of Matthew*, end lost: [**50r–v**] Σά(ββατον) α᾽ μετὰ τὴν ἁγίαν ν᾽· Mt 5:42–48, [**50v–51v**] Κυ(ριακῇ) α᾽, μνήμ(η) τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) πάντω(ν)· Mt 10:32–33, 37–38, and 19:27–30, [**51v–52r**] Σά. β᾽· Mt 7:1–8, [**52r–v**] Κυ. β᾽· Mt 4:18–23, [**52v–53v**] Σά. γ᾽· Mt 7:24–8:4, [**53v–54v**] Κυ. γ᾽· Mt 6:22–33, [**54v–55v**] Σά. δ᾽· Mt 8:14–23, [**55v–56v**] Κυ. δ᾽· Mt 8:5–13, [**56v–57r**] Σά. ε᾽· Mt 9:9–13, [**57r–v**] Κυ. ε᾽· Mt 8:28–9:1, [**57v**] Σά. ς᾽· Mt 9:18 ἐπί[θες], rest missing; [**58r–81v**] *Readings for the Weekends of Luke*, end lost: [**58r–v**] Σάββατον πρώτον (sic) κ(α)τ(ά) Λου(κᾶν)· Lk 4:31–36, [**58v–59v**] Κυ(ριακῇ) α᾽· Lk 5:1–11, [**59v–60v**] Σά. β᾽· Lk 5:17–26, [**60v–61r**] Κυ. β᾽· Lk 6:31–36, [**61r–v**] Σά. γ᾽· Lk 5:27–32, [**61v–62r**] Κυ. γ᾽· Lk 7:11–16, [**62r–63r**] Σά. δ᾽· Lk 6:1–10, [**63r–64r**] Κυ. δ᾽· Lk 8:5–8 (om. ταῦτα... ἀκουέτω), 9–15, [**64r–v**] Σά. ε᾽· Lk 7:1–10, [**64v–66r**] Κυ. ε᾽· Lk 16:19–31, [**66r–v**] Σά. ς᾽· Lk 8:16–21, [**66v–67v**] Κυ. ς᾽· Lk 8:27–35, 38–39, [**67v–68r**] Σά. ζ᾽· Lk 9:1–6, [**68r–69v**] Κυ. ζ᾽· Lk 8:41–56, [**69v–70r**] Σά. η᾽· Lk 9:37–43, [**70r–71r**] Κυ. η᾽· Lk 10:25–37, [**71r–v**] Σά. θ᾽· Lk 9:57–62, [**71v–72r**] Κυ. θ᾽· Lk 12:16–21 with add. {GREGORY, 356}, [**72r**] Σά. ι᾽· Lk 10:19–21, [**72r–73r**] Κυ. ι᾽· Lk 13:10–17, [**73r–v**] Σά. ια᾽· Lk 12:32–40, [**73v–74v**] Κυ. ια᾽· Lk 14:16–24 and πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσι κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί {GREGORY, 357}, [**74v–75v**] Σά. ιβ᾽· Lk 13:19–29, [**75v–76r**] Κυ. ιβ᾽· Lk 17:12–19, [**76r–v**] Σά. ιγ᾽· Lk 14:1–11, [**76v–77v**] Κυ(ριακῇ) ιγ᾽· Lk 18:18–27, [**77v–78r**] Σά. ιδ᾽· Lk 16:10–15, [**78r–v**] Κυ. ιδ᾽· Lk 18:35–43, [**78v–79r**] Σά. ιε᾽· Lk 17:3–10, [**79r–v**] Κυ. ιε᾽· Lk 19:2–10, [**79v–80r**] Σά. ις᾽· Lk 18:2–8 τάχει, [**80r–81r**] Κυ. ις᾽, τ(ῆς)

χανα(ναίας)· ἐκ τ(οῦ) κατ(ὰ) Λου(κᾶν)· Mt 15:21–28, |81r–v| Σά. ιζ'· Lk 20:46–21:4 with add. {GREGORY, 359}, |81v| Κυ. ιζ'· Lk 18:10–14 ταπεινῶν, rest missing; **|82r–129v|** *Readings for Paschal Week*, beginning and end lost: |82r| beginning lost: Mt 24:34 [γενε]ὰ–35, |82r–87r| Τῆ ἁγία κ(αί) μ(ε)γ(άλῃ) γ'· Mt 24:36–26:2, |87r| Τῆ ἁγία κ(αί) μγ. δ'· Mt 26:6 and ζήτει τῆ μεγάλη ε', |87r–94r| Τῆ ἁγία κ(αὶ) μγ. ε'· Mt 26:1–20, Jn 13:3–17, Mt 26:21–39, Lk 22:43–44, Mt 26:40–27:2, **|94r 95v|** Ἀκολουθ(ία) τ(οῦ) νιπτῆρος τῆ ἁγία μγ. ε'· Jn 13:1–11, Εὐαγγέ(λιον) β' μετ(ά) τὸ νίψασθ(αι)· Jn 13:12–17, |95v–121v| Εὐαγγέλια τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶ(ν) Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ· α' Jn 13:31–18:1, β' Jn 18:1–28, γ' Mt 26:57–75, δ' Jn 18:28–19:16, ε' Mt 27:3–32, ϛ' Mk 15:16–32 πιστεύσωμεν αὐτῶ, ζ' Mt 27:33–54, η' Lk 23:32–49, θ' Jn 19:25–37, ι' Mk 15:43–47, ια' Jn 19:38–42, ιβ' Mt 27:62–66, **|121v–128r|** *Readings for the Hours of Good Friday:* τῆς α' ὥρ(ας)· Mt 27:1–32 incl. cross-reference to ε' τοῦ πάθους; τῆς γ' ὥρ(ας)· Mk 15:1–32 incl. cross-reference to ϛ' τοῦ πάθους; τῆς ϛ' ὥρ(ας)· Lk 22:66–23:49, τῆς θ' ὥρ(ας)· Jn 18:28–19:37 incl. cross-references to δ' and θ' τοῦ πάθους, |128r–129v| Τῆ ἁγία κ(αί) μγ. παρασκε(υῇ) ἑσπ(έρας)· Mt 27:1–25 τούτου, rest missing; **|130r–173r|** *Menologion*: **|130r–137v|** *September*: beginning lost, Jn 10:9 εἰσέλθη-17; γ' τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομρ. Ἀνθ(ί)μ(ου)· ζήτ(ει) σεπτεμβρίου β', δ' τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομρ. Βαβῦλα καὶ τῶν νηπίω(ν)· Lk 10:1–3.10–12, ε' τοῦ ἁγί(ου) προφήτ(ου) Ζαχαρί(ου)· Lk 4:22 and ζήτ(ει) ἰουνίου ιδ', ϛ' σύναξ(ις) τ(οῦ) ἀρχ(αγγέλου) Μιχα(ὴλ) τ(οῦ) Χονιατ(οῦ)· ζήτ(ει) ὀκτοβρίου ιη', ζ' τῶν ἁγίω(ν) Σώζοντ(ος) καὶ Εὐψύχ(ου), ζήτ(ει) εἰς κ' τ(οῦ) αὐτ(οῦ) μηνό(ς), η' τὸ γενέσιον τῆς παναγί(ας) Θ(εο)τ(ό)κου εἰς τ(ὸν) ὄρθ(ρον)· Lk 1:39–49.56, εἰς τὴν λειτουρ(γίαν)· Lk 10:38–42, 11:27–28, θ' τ(ῶν) ἁγίω(ν) καὶ δικαίω(ν) Ἰωακὶμ κ(αὶ) Ἄνν(ης)· Lk 8:16 and ζ(ή)τ(ει) σά(ββατον) ϛ' τοῦ κατὰ Λου(κᾶν), ι' τοῦ ἁγίου Κουρνοὺτ(ου)· ζ(ή)τ(ει) σά(ββατον) ζ' τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Ματθ(αῖον), σά(ββατον) προ τῆς ὑψώσεως· ζήτ(ει) τῇ β' τῆς ϛ' ἑβδομά(δος), κυ(ριακή) προ τῆς ὑψώσεω(ς)· Jn 3:13–17, ιβ' εἰς τ(ὴν) προσκύνησιν τῶν τιμίω(ν) ξύλω(ν)· Jn 11:47 and ζήτ(ει) τῇ β' τῆς ϛ' ἑβδο(μάδος). ιγ' εἰς τ(ήν) παραμο(νὴν) τῆς ὑψώσεως· Jn 12:25 and ζήτ(ει) τῇ γ' τῆς ϛ' ἑβδ. ἀπὸ τὸ μέ(σον), ιδ' ἡ ὕψωσις τ(οῦ) τιμί(ου) στ(αυ)ροῦ εἰς τ(ὸν) ὄρθ(ρον)· Jn 12:28 and ζή(τει) τῇ γ' τῆς ϛ' ἑβδ. ἀπὸ τὸ μέσ(ον) - εἰς τ(ὴν) λειτουργίαν· intr. passage {GREGORY, 367} and Jn 19:6.9–11 ἄνωθεν.13–20.25–28.30–35 μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ - Σά(ββατον) μετ(ὰ) τὴν ὕψωσιν· ζήτ(ει) ιβ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός - Κυ(ριακὴ) μετ(ὰ) τὴν ὕψω(σιν) κ(αί) μνήμη Συμεῶ(ν) τ(οῦ) συγγενοῦς τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ· ζήτ(ει) τῇ γ' κυρ. τῶν νηστειῶ(ν), ιε' τῶν ἁγίω(ν) μ(α)ρ(τύρων) Ἀκακίου και (sic) Νικίτ(α)· Mt 10:16–22, ις' τῆς ἁγίας μ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Εὐφημίας· Lk 7:36–50, ιζ' τῶν ἁγίων Παντολέοντος καί Εὐλαμπίου· ζήτει ὀκτοβρίω εἰς τ(ὴν) κε', κ' τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) μρ. Εὐσταθ(ίου) κ(αὶ) τ(ῆς) συνόδ(ου)· Lk 21:12 19, κδ' τ(ῆς) ἁγίας πρωτομρ. Θέκλ(ας)· ζήτει σα. ιζ' τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Λουκᾶ(ν), κϛ' ἡ μετάστασις τοῦ Θεολό(γου)· Jn 21:14 and ζήτ(ει) τῶ σα. τ(ῆς) ν', λ' τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) Γρηγορί(ου) τῆς Μ(ε)γ(άλης) Ἀρμενίας· ζήτ. τῇ μ(ε)γ(άλῃ) γ';
|137v–142r| *October*: α' τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) ἀπο(στόλου) Ἀνανίου καὶ Ῥωμάν(ου) τοῦ Κονδ(άκου)· ζήτ. σεπτεμ. β', β' τοῦ ἁγί(ου) Κυπριαν(οῦ) καὶ Ἰούστ(ης)· ζήτ. σεπτεμβρίω β', γ' τοῦ ἐν ἁγί(οις) π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶ(ν) Διονυσί(ου) Ἀρεοπαγείτ(ου)· Mt 13:45–54 αὐτῶν, ϛ' τοῦ ἁγί(ου) καὶ πανευφή(μου) ἀπο(στόλου) Θωμᾶ· ζήτ. κυ. τῶ ἀντ(ί)πασχ(α), ζ' τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) μ(α)ρ(τύρων) Σεργί(ου) καὶ Βάκχου· ζήτ. σεπτεμ. κ', ια' τῶν ἁγίω(ν) πατριαρχῶ(ν) Νεκταρίου, Ἀσαρκί(ου), Ἀττίκου καὶ Σισιννί(ου) (sic)· Mt 5:14–19, ιβ' τῶν ἁγίω(ν) μρ. Πρόβ(ου), Ταράχ(ου) καὶ Ἀνδρονίκου· ζήτ. σεπτεμβρί(ου) κ'· ιη' τοῦ ἁγί(ου) καὶ πανευφή(μου) ἀπο(στόλου) καὶ εὐαγγε(λίστου) Λουκά· Lk 10:16–21, κα' τοῦ ὁσ(ίου) π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Ἱλαρίονο(ς) (sic), καὶ εἰς λοιποὺς ὁσ(ίους)· Lk 6:17–23 οὐρανῶ, κδ' τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) μρ. Ἀρέθ(α) καὶ τῶ(ν) συν (sic) αὐτῶ· ζήτ. σα. ια' τοῦ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Λου(κᾶν), κε' τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) νοταρίω(ν) Μαρκιαν(οῦ) καὶ Μαρτ(υ)ρί(ου)· Lk 12:2–12, κϛ' τοῦ ἁγίου μ(ε)γ(αλο)μ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Δημητρίου (sic)· ἐκ τ(οῦ) κατ(ὰ) Λουκᾶν· Mt 8:23–27;
|142r–v| *November*: α' τῶν ἁγίων ἀναργύρων Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ· Mt 10:1.5–8, ϛ' τ(οῦ) ἐν ἁγίοις πρς. ἡμῶ(ν) Παῦλου τ(οῦ) ὁμο(λογητοῦ)· ζήτ. ὀκτοβρίου ιη' (corr. to ϛ'), ια' τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) Μηνᾶ· ζήτ. ἀπριλί(ου) κγ', ιγ' τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) Ἰω(άννου) τ(οῦ) Χρ(υσοστόμου)· ζήτ. σεπτ. β', ιδ' τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) ἀπο(στόλου) Φιλίππ(ου)· Jn 1:44 and ζήτ. κυ(ριακῇ) α' τῶν νηστειῶν, ις' τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) ἀπο(στόλου) καὶ εὐαγγελιστ(οῦ) Ματθαῖου· Mt 9:9 and ζήτ. σά(ββατον) ε' ἀπὸ τῆ(ς) ν' [i.e., πεντηκοστῆς], ιζ' τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) Γρηγορί(ου) τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ· ζήτ. εἰς τ(ὴν) α' τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός,

κ᾽ τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) πατριαρχ(ῶν) Μαξίμ(ου) κ(αὶ) Γενναδί(ου)· ζήτ. ὀκτοβρίου ια᾽, κα᾽ τὰ εἰσόδια τ(ῆς) παναγίας Θ(εο)τ(ό)κου· Lk 10:38 and ζήτ(ει) σεπτεμβρίου η᾽, κε᾽ τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) π(ατέ)ρων Κλήμεντ(ος) Ῥώμ(ης) καὶ Πέτρου Ἀλεξανδ(ρείας)· Jn 15:17 and ζήτ. σα. γ᾽ απο τὸ Πάσχα, λ᾽ τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) ἀπο(στόλου) Ἀνδρέ(ου)· Jn 1:35 and ζήτ. τῆ δ᾽ τῆς διακινησίμου;

[**143r–152r**] *December*: δ᾽ τῆς ἁγίας μ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Βαρβάρας· Mk 5:24–34 εἰρήνην, ε᾽ τοῦ ὁσ(ίου) πρς. ἡμῶν Σάβα (sic)· Mt 11:27 and ζήτ. ἰαν(ουαρίου) κ᾽, ς᾽ τ(οῦ) ὁσ(ίου) πρς. ἡμῶν Νικο(λάου)· Lk 6:17 and ζήτ. ὀκτοβρί(ου) κα᾽, ιγ᾽ τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) μ(α)ρ(τύρων) Εὐστρατί(ου), Αὐξεντί(ου) καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν· ζήτ. σεπτεμβρί(ου) β᾽, ιδ᾽ τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) μ(α)ρ(τύρων) Θύρσου, Φιλίμωνο(ς) καὶ τῶ(ν) λοιπ(ῶν)· ζήτ. σεπτεμ. κ᾽.κ᾽ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου του Θεοφόρου· Mk 9:33–41, σά(ββατον) προ τ(ῆς) Χ(ριστο)ῦ γεννήσεως· ζήτ. σα. ιβ᾽ κα᾽τ(ά) Λ(ουκᾶν), κυραικῆ προ τῆς Χ(ριστο)ῦ γεννήσεως, μνήμ(η) τῶν ἁγίων π(ατέ)ρων· Mt 1:1–25, κδ᾽ εἰς παραμο(νὴν) τῆς Χ(ριστο)ῦ γεννήσεως· Lk 2:1–20, κε᾽ ἡ σ(ωτή)ριος γέννησις Χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡμῶ(ν) εἰς τ(ὸν) ὄρθρο(ν)· Mt 1:18 and ζήτ. τῆ κυ(ριακῆ) τῶν ἁγίω(ν) π(ατέ)ρων επι (sic) τέλ(ος), εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν· Mt 2:1–12, τῆ ἐπαύριον τ(ῆς) Χ(ριστο)ῦ γεννήσεως σύναξ(ις) τ(ῆς) ἁγίας Θ(εοτό)κου· Mt 2:13–23, κζ᾽ τοῦ ἁγί(ου) πρωτομ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Στεφάν(ου)· ζήτ. κυριακ(ῆ) ιγ᾽ ἀπο τῆς ν᾽, κθ᾽ τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) νηπίω(ν) κ(αὶ) τ(οῦ) ὁσ(ίου) Μαρκέλλ(ου)· ζήτ. κς᾽ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός, σά(ββατον) μετ(ὰ) τὴν Χ(ριστο)ῦ γέννησιν· Mt 12:15–21, κυ(ριακῆ) α᾽ μετ(ά) τήν Χ(ριστο)ῦ γέν(νησιν) μνήμη Δα(υῒ)δ τ(οῦ) προφήτ(ου) τ(οῦ) μνήστορο(ς)· Mt 2:13 and ζήτ. τῆ ἐπαύριο(ν) τ(ῆς) Χ(ριστο)ῦ γεννήσεω(ς), σά(ββατον) β᾽ πρω (sic) τῶν Φώτω(ν)· Mt 3:1–6, κυ(ριακή) β᾽ προ τῶν Φώτ(ων)· Mk 1:1–8;

[**152r–159v**] *January*: α᾽ εἰς τὴν περιτο(μὴν) τοῦ Κ(υριο)ῦ ἡμῶ(ν) Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ κ(αὶ) τ(οῦ) ἐν ἁγί(οις) πρς. ἡμῶ(ν) Βασί(λειου) ἀρχ(ι)επισκόπ(ου) Καισαρεί(ας)· Lk 2:20–21.40–52, ε᾽ εἰς τ(ὴν) παραμονὴν τῶ(ν) Φώτω(ν)· Lk 3:1–18, ς᾽ τά ἁγία θεοφάνεια εἰς τ(ὸν) ὄρθ(ρον)· Mk 1:9–11, εἰς τὴν λειτουργία(ν)· Mt 3:13–17, ζ᾽ σύναξ(ις) τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) Ἰω(άννου) τ(οῦ) βαπτιστοῦ· Jn 1:29–34, σά(ββατον) μετά τα φώτα (sic)· Mt 4:1–11, κυ(ριακὴ) μετὰ τά φώτα· Mt 4:12–17, ι᾽ τ(οῦ) ἐν ἁγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς ἡμῶ(ν) Γ̈ρηγορίου Νύσ(σης)· Mt 4:25–5:12 ού(ρα)νοῖς, ιδ᾽ τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) Ἀββάδω(ν)· ζήτει ι᾽ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός, ιζ᾽ τ(οῦ) ὁσ(ίου) πρς. ἡμῶ(ν) Ἀντονί(ου) (sic)· Lk 6:17 and ζήτ. ὀκτοβρίου εἰς τὴν κα᾽, ιη᾽ τῶν ἁγίω(ν) π(ατέ)ρων ἡμῶ(ν) Ἀθανασί(ου) καὶ Κυρίλλ(ου)· ζήτ. ὀκτοβρίου εἰς τ(ὴν) ια᾽, κ᾽ τ(οῦ) ὁσ(ίου) πρς. ἡμῶ(ν) Εὐθ(υ)μίου· Mt 11:27–30, κβ᾽ τοῦ ἁγί(ου) Τιμοθ(έ)ου καὶ Ἀναστασίου· ζήτ. κυριακῆ τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) πάντω(ν), κγ᾽ τοῦ ἁγί(ου) ἱερομ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Κλήμεντ(ος) ἐπισκόπ(ου) Ἀγκύρ(ας)· Jn 15:17 and ζήτει σά. γ᾽ ἀπο τὸ Πάσχα, κε᾽ τοῦ ἁγί(ου) Γρηγορί(ου) τ(οῦ) Θεολόγου· ζήτ. τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) μηνό(ς) εἰς τ(ὴν) ι᾽, κζ᾽ ἡ ἐπάνοδο(ς) τοῦ λειψάν(ου) τ(οῦ) Χρ(υσοστόμου)· ζήτ. σεπτεμβρίου β᾽, κθ᾽ ἡ ἐπάνοδ(ος) τ(οῦ) λειψάν(ου) τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) Ἰγνατί(ου)· ζήτ. δεκεμβρί(ου) κ᾽, λα᾽ τῶν ἁγίω(ν) καὶ θαυματουργῶ(ν) Κύρ(ου) κ(αὶ) Ἰω(άννου)· ζήτ. νοεμβρί(ου) α᾽;

[**159v–162v**] *February*: α᾽ μνήμη τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) μ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Τρύφωνος· ζήτ. σα. ι᾽ ἐκ τ(οῦ) κατ(ὰ) Λ(ουκᾶν), β᾽ εἰς τὴν ὑπαπαντ(ὴν) τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ εἰς τ(ὸν) ὄρθ(ρον)· Lk 1:39 and ζήτ. σεπτεμβρίου η᾽, εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν· Lk 2:22–40, γ᾽ τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) καὶ δικαίω(ν) Συμεὼ(ν) καί Ἄνν(ης)· Lk 2:25 and ζήτ. εἰς τ(ὴν) ὑπαπαντ(ὴν) ἀπὸ τὸ μέσον, κγ᾽ τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Πολυκάρπου· Jn 12:24–36 γένησθε, κδ᾽ ἡ εὕρησις τ(ῆς) τιμίας κάρας τ(οῦ) Προδρόμου· Mt 11:2–15;

[**162v–165r**] *March*: θ᾽ τῶν ἁγίω(ν) τεσσαράκοντ(α) μ(α)ρ(τύρων)· Mt 20:1–16 with add. as on fol. 74v above {GREGORY, 357}, κβ᾽ μνήμη Θωμᾶ πατριάρχ(ου)· ζήτ. σεπτεμ. β᾽, κε᾽ εἰς τ(ὴν) εὐαγγελισμὸ(ν) τῆς ὑπ(ερ)αγίας Θ(εο)τ(ό)κου εἰς τ(ὸν) ὄρθ(ρον)· Lk 1:39 and ζήτ. σεπτεμ. η᾽, εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν· Lk 1:24–38;

[**165r–166r**] *April*: α᾽ τ(ῆς) ὁσ(ίας) Μαρίας τ(ῆς) Αἰγυπτίας· Lk 15:4–7 μετανοοῦντι, κβ᾽ τ(οῦ) ὁσ(ίου) πρς. ἡμῶν Θεοδώρ(ου) τ(οῦ) Σικαιώτ(ου)· ζήτ. σεπτεμβρίου β᾽, κγ᾽ τοῦ ἁγίου μ(ε)γ(αλο)μ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Γεωργί(ου)· ζήτ. σα. γ᾽ ἀπο το Πάσχα, κε᾽ τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) ἀπο(στόλου) καὶ εὐαγγε(λιστοῦ) Μάρκ(ου)· ζήτ. ὀκτοβρίου ιη᾽, κς᾽ τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) ἱερομ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Βασιλέως· ζήτ. σα. γ᾽ ἀπο το Πάσχ(α);

[**166r–167r**] *May*: α᾽ τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) προφήτ(ου) Ἱερεμίου· ζήτ. ἰουνίω εἰς τ(ὴν) κθ᾽, β᾽ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασί(ου)· ζήτ. ὀκτοβρίω ια᾽, η᾽ τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) ἀπο(στόλου) καὶ εὐαγγελιστ(οῦ) Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ Θεολό(γου)· Jn 19:25–27, 21:24–25, ια᾽ τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) Μωκί(ου) κ(αὶ) τὸ γενέθλιον τ(ῆς) πό(λεως)· Jn 15:9 and ζήτ. εἰς

τ(ὸ) α᾽ εὐ(α)γ. τῶν παθ(ῶν), ιβ᾽ τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) π(ατέ)ρων ἡμῶ(ν) Ἐπιφανί(ου) καὶ Γερμανοῦ· ζήτ. ὀκτοβρίω ια᾽. ιε᾽ τ(οῦ) ὁσ(ίου) πρς. ἡμῶ(ν) Παχωμί(ου)· ζήτ. ἰανουαρίου κ᾽, κα᾽ τῶ(ν) ἐν ἁγίοις βασιλέω(ν) Κωνσταντίνου) καὶ Ἑλέν(ης)· Jn 10:2–9, κγ᾽ τ(οῦ) ὁσ(ίου) Συμεὼ(ν) τ(οῦ) στυ(λίτου)· ζήτ. ὀκτοβρίου κα᾽;
[167r–171v] *June*. δ᾽ τ(οῦ) ὁσ(ίου) πρς. ἡμῶ(ν) Μητροφάν(ου)· ζήτ. σεπτεμ. β᾽, ια᾽ τῶν ἁγίω(ν) ἀπο(στόλων) Βαρθολομαίου καὶ Βαρνάβα· ζήτ. νοεμβρίω α᾽, ιδ᾽ τῶν ἁγίω(ν) προφητ(ῶν) Ἠλιοῦ (sic) καὶ Ἐλισσαίου· Lk 4:22–30, κδ᾽ τὸ γενέσιον τοῦ Προδρό(μου)· Lk 1:1–25.57–68.76.80, κθ᾽ τῶν ἁγίω(ν) καὶ κορυφαίων ἀπο(στόλων) Πέτρου κ(αί) Παύλου, καὶ εἰς ἐγκαίνια· Mt 16:13–19, λ᾽ τῶν ἁγίω(ν) ιβ᾽ ἀπο(στόλων)· ζήτ. κυ. α᾽ κατ(ὰ) Λου(κᾶν);
[171v] *July*, end lost: α᾽ τῶν ἁγίω(ν) ἀναργύρω(ν) Κοσμᾶ κ(αὶ) Δαμιανοῦ· ζήτ. νοεμβρί(ου) α᾽, β᾽ τὰ κατα-θέσια τοῦ μαφορί(ου) τ(ῆς) ἁγί(ας) Θ(εο)τ(όκου· Lk 1:39 and ζήτ. σεπτ. η᾽, η᾽ τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) μ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Προκοπίου· ζήτ. σεπτεμβρίου κ᾽, ια᾽ τ(ῆς) ἁγίας μ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Εὐφημί(ας), τ(οῦ) ὄρ(ους) τῶ(ν) π(ατέ)-ρων· ζήτ. σεπτεμ. ις᾽, ιε᾽ τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) μ(α)ρ(τύρων) Κηρύκ(ου) καὶ Ἰουλήτ(ης)· ζήτ. σά. ι᾽ κατ(ὰ) Λ(ουκᾶν), ις᾽ τῶ(ν) ἁγίω(ν) χλ᾽ π(ατέ)ρων τῶ(ν) rest missing;
[172r–173r] *August*, beginning lost: **[κθ᾽]** Mk 6:14–30, λα᾽ τὰ κατ(α)θέσια τ(ῆς) τιμί(ας) ζώνης· ζήτ. κυ. ιε᾽ κατ(ὰ) Λ(ουκᾶν);
[173v–178r] Εὐαγγέλια ἑωθινὰ ἀναστάσιμα· α᾽ Mt 28:16 and ζήτ. τῶ ἁγίω σα. ἐπι τέλους, β᾽ Mk 16:1 and ζήτ. κυριακῆ γ᾽ ἀπο το (sic) Πάσχ(α), γ᾽ Mk 16:9–20, δ᾽ Lk 24:1–12, ε᾽ Lk 24:12 and ζήτ. τῆ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) διακι-νησίμ(ου), ς᾽ ζήτ. εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν, ζ᾽ Jn 20:1–10, η᾽ Jn 20:11–18, θ᾽ Jn 20:19 and ζήτ. κυρι. τὸ ἀντίπασ-χα. ι᾽ Jn 21:1–14, ια᾽ ζήτ. τῶ σαββάτω τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς;
[178v–179v] Ἀκολουθειαι (sic) εἰς διαφόρους ἡμέρ(ας), with cross-references to readings elsewhere in the book: εἰς ἐγκαίνια ναοῦ, εἰς μνήμην φόβου καὶ ἐπιδρομὴν ἐθνῶν καὶ εἰς πειρασμό(ν), εἰς (σ)χ(ῆμα) μοναχ(ῶν), εἰς (σ)χ(ῆμα) γυναικῶν, εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας, εἰς κοιμηθ(έντας), εἰς τ(οὺς) ιβ᾽ ἀπο(στόλους), εἰς τ(οὺς) ο᾽ ἀπο(στόλους), εἰς μ(ά)ρ(τυρας), εἰς ἱερομ(ά)ρ(τυρας), εἰς ἱεράρχας, εἰς (πρωτο)ιεράρχην, εἰς ὁσ(ίους), εἰς ἁγίας γυναῖκ(ας), εἰς προφήτ(ας), εἰς ἀσωμάτους;
[179v] ***scribal colophon*** {CLARK, pl. lxxi}: Πένητα σώζε Χ(ριστ)ὲ τῶ γεγραφότι Θεοδώρω μοναστ(ῆ) καὶ ξένω τῶν δικαίων.

Single Leaf in Sofia, National Library, Ms gr. 2, 300 x 226 mm (originally between fols. 16 and 17 of W.520): **[1r–v]** Mk 16:1–8; **[1v]** Τῆ β᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 4: 46–49.

Diacritics and Punctuation: biangular breathing marks; small circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted. – No diaereseis. – Small commas and middle points. – No abbreviations in the Gospel text except for **κ(αὶ)** and the *nomina sacra*. Numerous abbreviations in the liturgical notes. – Ekphonetic notation throughout. – Old Testament quotations not marked.

Script {HATCH, pl. lxviii, and CLARK, pl. liii: fol. 115r; STOIANOV, fig. 1} (see also CRISCI, *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 [1985]: 103–45, esp. 130 and 132): upright pointed majuscule (*majuscola ogivale diritta, spitztbogige senkrechte Unziale*), sometimes called "Slavonic uncial." – Gospel text copied by a single hand. A second, contemporary hand (B) added the ekphonetic notation and the titles, liturgical notes and initials. There are occasional small corrections to the Gospel text (fols. 35v, 39v, 68r, and 101v), in brown ink, probably done by hand B.

Ink: dark brown. – Titles, liturgical notes, and initials in vermilion, magenta or (very rarely: fols. 97r, 120r) blue. Ekphonetic notation and quire signatures in vermilion.

Parchment: of noticeably varying thickness, with occasional small defects (fols. 23, 29, 34, 37, 67, 120, 135, 143, 164, 167, and 179). – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Goat-like; careful selection; hair removed; follicles mainly removed; both sides polished; 'medium' to 'heavy' (0.13–0.23 mm) in weight."

Ruling: hardpoint; system 1; type C 22C2a. – 21 x 2 lines per page; justification [205–210 x 150 (66 + 22 + 62) mm]; interlinear distance ca. 10 mm; writing standing on the ruling lines.

Quires: 2 x 8 (fol. 16), 7 (23: fol. 23 single, text missing), 3 x 8 (47), 2 (49: text missing), 10 x 8 (129), 7 (136: fol. 136 single, text missing), 4 x 8 (168), 6 (174), 5 (179: fols. 175–77 singles).

Quire Signatures: Greek numbers surrounded by colored circles, *Se1*: α' (f. 1r), β' (9r), γ' (Sofia, Gr. 2, fol. 1r), δ' (24r), ε' (32r), ς' (40r), η' (50r), ια' (58r), ιβ' (66r), ιγ' (74r), ιζ' (82r), ιη' (90r), ιθ' (98r), κ' (106r), κα' (114r), κβ' (122r), κε' (137r), κς' (145r), κζ' (153r), κη' (161r), κθ' (169r), λ' (175r).

Pagination: probably done by F. I. Uspenskii in 1898 (see MOŠIN, in *Ohrid: Recueil de travaux*, 165–66, with n. 6), in blue ink, *Sm*, continuous.

Foliation: probably by Dorothy Miner, in pencil, *Se*, continuous.

Binding: postByzantine, with modern repairs: red velvet (added probably by Gruel) over squared wooden boards, flat spine, raised endbands, pastedowns and flyleaf of unwatermarked paper. – The book block has been trimmed, but a few folios (e.g., 129–30) still have prickings extant on all three sides. – [Notes by G. PUTHERBRIDGE]: "Four sewing stations, ca. 41, 108, 175, and 244 mm from head. Possibly original, but with some parts hitched and some overcast." – "From X-rays we see that the previous binding had ring and edge-tin fastenings at the head and tail. The pins in the upper board are now missing, except that at the tail-edge, which has been hammered in, probably by Gruel. The lower board shows pairs of holes for anchoring the ring-straps." – "Twelve nail (?) holes form a square in the upper board, possibly indicating the former presence of a metal emblem (?)."

Marks: [**179v**] pale brown ink, copy of the colophon in minuscule hand, s. XII–XIII, [**178r**, upper and lower margin] same hand and ink: Κ(ύρι)ε καλὴ ἡ στήψις και. | Κ(ύρι)ε καλὴ ἡ στήψις καὶ ευλογημ(έν)η – [**179v**] vermilion ink, paschal table for the years ς̅ψκε–ς̅ψλζ (1217–27); probably the same hand has added in vermilion liturgical notes in the upper margins of each reading for the Mt and Lk weekends, starting with ἦχ(ος) πλ(άγιος) δ', ἑωθ(ινὸν) α' [51v] and ending with ἦχ(ος) πλ(άγιος) δ', ἑωθ(ινὸν) ια' [81v], as well as the following: [**168v**, lower margin] (as transcribed by N. OIKONOMIDES) Διαταγὴ εἰς τ(ὴν) ψήραν. Γράφε εις λευκας ξήλον καὶ θές εἰς τ(ὸ) γέν(η)μᾶν σου. Ἡ Θ(εοτό)κος ἤρχετο προς τὸν Κ(ύριο)ν καὶ πάντα εἰρηνεῦν· φύλαξόν μοι τὸ γένημαν ὥς τῆς κηβοτοῦ τὸ ξύλον καὶ ὡς το Σινὰ τὸ ὄρος, Μαύρε καλὲ. Ψήρα ἐπικατάρατος ὄρκίζω σε εἴς τὸ ονομαν τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ· μη μοῦ αδικείσῆς το γένημαν ἡ δε αδικείσῆς τουτ(ὸν) φέρην ἐχω ἀργυρον στόμαν καὶ χαληνώσην σε εἴς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς καὶ τοῦ Ὑιοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πν(εύματο)ς, νῦ(ν). – [**176v**, lower margin] brown ink, s. XII–XIV (transcr. OIKONOMIDES) + Τὸν Γρὶμάλδον λήτρ(ας) γ' (ἡμισειαν), τον Μιχαηλ τοῦ ... μου λυτρὰν μίαν, τὸν Μὶχάὴλ τ(ὸν) Μαγκυπα λήτραν μιαν, τὸν Βοτήσήανον ... (erased), [**179r**, lower margin] same hand and ink (transcr. OIKONOMIDES) + Τὸν Γρὶμάλδον λήτρ(ας) ... (erased) + Πανσέ(βαστε) σε(βας)τ(ὲ) ... [κε]φαλὴ μ... – [**178v**, upper margin] brown ink: + Καγῶ Θεοχάρις ποιῶ τον στ(αυ)ρόν μου + + + – [**175r**, lower margin] black ink, inexperienced hand (transcr. OIKONOMIDES) + εμ(εῖς) πολέμουμ(εν) σιφόνηαν περη του γοματηου ὁ ταὶ Βασήλ(ης) καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ωται Προῶδιος να τνεχομεν καὶ να εχη ο Βασιλη(ς) τα διω μιριτ(ι)κα και .. γ' καὶ υτις ἐβρυθη απ εμας τ(ους) τρις ανφιβάλη αν ... – [**73r**, outer margin] dark brown ink, inexperienced hand (transcr. OIKONOMIDES) + Εβὰκεληων τουτον μετα .. κονονα ... προκημενον αιξ αρχ(ῆς) ... ην τον λαον στηχοσεν κα.ετο.. υιοι Θ(εο)υ – [**137v** upper margin, **144v** upper margin, **160v** outer margin, **166v** upper margin] additional liturgical notes in the margin, by two different hands – [**121v, 137v, 156r, 164r, 166v**] ornament or initial letters copied in the margin in black ink, by different hands – [**169r**, lower margin] pale brown ink: **Гропница** – [**back pastedown**] dark brown ink: **Гропнин** – [**179v**, outer margin] black ink: **Гкрокнин** – [**1r**] in dark blue ink: "49" – [**58r**] in black ink and in pencil: "9" (two times) – [**173v**, outer margin next to initial] in pencil: "oiseau," [**179v**, outer margin] in pencil: "signature du scribe" – [**front pastedown**] in pencil: "G.VII.8" (old Walters shelfmark) – [**passim**] stains from wax drops.

Lost Marks: [**49v**, lower page; **103v**, lower margin] two erased long notes in black ink, illegible under ultra-violet light – [**178**] lower margin of folio cut out – [**179**] the paschal table continued on both sides of one more folio, of which only the stub with the beginnings of the lines remains after fol. 179.

Provenance: in the church of St. Nicholas of Gropnica in or near Ohrid (Ohrid, Naroden muzej, mss. 3, 6, 35, and 37 also belonged to this church: see MOŠIN, in *Ohrid: Recueil de travaux*, 185, 188–90, 206–8; cf. MUNK,

Minijatura u Jugoslaviji, pls. xxi, xxii) – no. 49 in the library of the metropolitan church of St. Clement, Ohrid (seen there by F. I. Uspenskii in 1898) – purchased by H. Walters probably from Gruel, Paris.

Dating: Except for those on fols. 2r, 3r, 7v, 8v, 9r, 9v, and 58r, which are outlined in magenta and on 94r, outlined in vermilion, all the ornamented initials are thinly outlined in brown ink, evidently by the scribe himself (who also supplied with elegant decorative extensions the κ(αὶ) abbreviations found in the lowermost text line of some pages). The initials were then colored by the rubricator (cf. above under "Script"): the vermilion used for the ekphonetic signs and the titles is also found throughout the ornamentation. The headpieces are outlined in vermilion, the headbands, in brown or vermilion, the quire signatures, in brown. Script and ornament are doubtless contemporary. – There are very few dated examples of upright pointed majuscule, of which closest to W.520 is cod. London, BL, Harley 5598, a. 995 (*Paleogr. Soc.*, I:pls. 26–27; SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus*, fig. 60). The headbands on fols. 137v, 173v, and 178v are of the "fret-saw" (*Laubsäge*) type that is only attested in the tenth century (see WEITZMANN, *Buchmalerei*, 18–22, with figs. 116–17, 121–32, 141–44, 148–49, 156–59). The three headpieces (1r, 50r, 58r) appear to echo the "flower-petal" (*Bluttenblatt*) ornament of the second half of the tenth century; cf. esp. 58r with cod. Lavra A 19, a. 992 (LAKE, III:pl. 162; SPATHARAKIS, fig. 57). – W.520 can be generally dated to the **second half of the tenth century** (see also CRISCI, *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 [1985]: 132).

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K. W. CLARK, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 347f. with pls. liii and lxxi.

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M. STOIANOV, *Codices graeci manuscripti Bibliothecae "Cyrilli et Methodii" Serdicensis* (Sofia, 1973), 25f. with pl. 1.

I. SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453* (Leiden, 1981), 73 with fig. 528, cat. 301.

K. WEITZMANN, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts. Addenda und Appendix* (Vienna, 1996), 92 with figs. 685–88.

W.521 "IMPERIAL" MENOLOGION

Parchment (fols. 12–21, 23–33, 35–177, 192–254) and paper (fols. 1–11, 22, 34, 178–91, 255–95), i+295+i folios, 300 x 230 mm, second quarter of the eleventh century, Constantinople (parchment folios) and late sixteenth century, Eastern Mediterranean (paper folios)

Illustrations: (see also ŠEVČENKO, 46–58): [**25r**] {VIKAN, *Amer. Collections*, fig. 17; ŠEVČENKO, fig. 6; DER NERSESSIAN, in *Vizantiia, Iuzhnye slaviane*, 98; *Arts of the MA*, pl. ii, cat. 3; MOSCHONAS, *Analekta* 12 (1963): fig. 1} *Martyrdom of Sts. Theopemptus and Theonas* (78 x 150); [**28r**] {ŠEVČENKO, figs. 1 and 8; MOSCHONAS, fig. 2} *Death of St. Paul of Thebes* (75 x 147); [**36r**] {*Walters Art Gallery*, **119**; ŠEVČENKO, fig. 10; SPATHARAKIS, fig. 533; *Early Chr. and Byz. Art*, pl. xcix, cat. 707; DIEHL, *Byzantium*, 237; MOSCHONAS, fig. 3} *Martyrdom and Burial of the Prophet Micah* (82 x 151); [**38r**] {WEITZMANN, *Studies*, fig. 262; ŠEVČENKO, fig. 12; MOSCHONAS, fig. 4} *Baptism of Christ* (80 x 151); [**48v**] {ŠEVČENKO, fig. 14; WEITZMANN, *AJA* 51 (1947): pl. cix.b; MOSCHONAS, fig. 5; IDEM, *Revue* (1946), 4} *John the Baptist Preaching* (77 x 151), [**50v**] {ŠEVČENKO, fig. 16; MOSCHONAS, fig. 6} *Martyrdom of St. Zoticus* (77 x 152); [**56v**] {ŠEVČENKO, fig. 18; MOSCHONAS, fig. 7} *Martyrdom of St. Polyectus* (77 x 148); [**61r**] {ŠEVČENKO, *DOP* 16 (1962): fig. 7; ŠEVČENKO, fig. 20; MOSCHONAS, fig. 8; WALTER, *REB* 31 (1973): fig. 5} *St. Marcianus* (77 x 147); [**70v**] {ŠEVČENKO, fig. 22; MOSCHONAS, fig. 9} *St. Theodosius* (76 x 150); [**86r**] {ŠEVČENKO, fig. 24; MOSCHONAS, fig. 10} *Martyrdom of St. Tatiana* (77 x 152); [**88r**] {ŠEVČENKO, fig. 26; DER NERSESSIAN, 96; MOSCHONAS, fig. 11} *Martyrdom of Sts. Hermolus and Stratonicus* (77 x 157); [**92v**] {ŠEVČENKO, fig. 28; MOSCHONAS, fig. 12} *Martyrdom of the Monks of Sinai and Raithu* (75 x

150); [**96r**] {D'Aiuto, *RSBN* 39 (2002): fig. **11**; Vikan, fig. 19; Ševčenko, fig. 30; Moschonas, fig. 13} *St. John Kalybites* (77 x 152); [**105r**] {Ševčenko, fig. 32; Moschonas, fig. 14} *Veneration of the Chains of St. Peter* (81 x 147); [**113v**] {Ševčenko, fig. 34; Moschonas, fig. 15} *Death of St. Antony* (78 x 152); [**129v**] {Ševčenko, fig. 36; Moschonas, fig. 16} *St. Athanasius* (74 x 150); [**151r**] {Spatharakis, fig. 534; Ševčenko, fig. 38; Moschonas, fig. 17} *St. Cyril of Alexandria* (75 x 147); [**155v**] {Ševčenko, fig. 40; Moschonas, fig. 18; idem, *Revue* (1946), 5} *St. Theodotus* (73 x 149); [**158v**] {Ševčenko, fig. 42; Moschonas, fig. 19} *St. Euthymius* (77 x 154); [**200r**] {Ševčenko, fig. 44; Moschonas, fig. 20} *Martyrdom of St. Neophytus* (72 x 150); [**203v**] {Galavaris, *Hellenikè techné*, fig. **63**; Randall, *Masterpieces*, pl. **4**; Vikan, fig. 18; Ševčenko, fig. 46; Diringer, *Illuminated Book*, fig. ii-25.c; Moschonas, fig. 21} *Martyrdom of St. Timothy* (77 x 152); [**207v**] {Ševčenko, fig. 48; Moschonas, fig. 22} *Martyrdom of St. Clement of Ankara* (78 x 149); [**228r**] {Ševčenko, fig. 50; Moschonas, fig. 23} *Death of St. Eusebia/Xene* (75 x 146); [**234v**] {Ševčenko, *DOP* 16 (1962): fig. 9; Ševčenko, fig. 52; Weitzmann, *Studies*, fig. 265; Moschonas, fig. 24} *St. Gregory of Nazianzus* (72 x 145).

Single leaf (not seen by me) in **Berlin**, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. graec. in fol. 31, 303 x 220 mm: [1r] {Harlfinger, fig. 8; Ševčenko, fig. 4} *St. Silverster* (77 x 144).

Text: (see also Halkin, *AnBoll* 57 [1939]: 232–36; idem, *Ménologe*, 14–18): [**1r–v**] *Table of Contents*: Πίναξ τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου; [**1v–11r**] Μηνὶ ἰανουαρ(ίῳ) πρώτ(ῃ)· Ἀμφιλοχίου ἐπισκόπ(ου) Ἰκονίου εἰς τ(ὸν) βίον κ(αὶ) εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ὁσ(ίου) π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Βασιλ(είου) ἐπισκόπ(ου) Καισαρί(ας) Καππαδοκί(ας). Δέσποτ(α), εὐ(λ)ό(γησ)ον {*CPG* 3253, *BHG* 247–52, 254–55: Combefis, *Amphilochii Opera*, 155–88, 197–206}; [**Berol. gr. 2° 31, 1r–v; 12r–22r**] Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ β'· Βίος καὶ πολίτεια τοῦ ὁσ(ίου) π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Σιλβέστρου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ῥώμης {*BHG* 1632e: Halkin, *Ménologe*, 20–33}; [**23r–24v**] *Life of the Prophet Malachias*, beginning lost {*BHG* 1014e: Halkin, *Ménologe*, 34–37}; [**25r–27v**] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ δ'· Ἄθλησις τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐνδόξων τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ μ(α)ρ(τύρων) Θεοπέμπτου καὶ Θεωνᾶ {*BHG* 2444: Halkin, *JÖB* 30 (1981): 152–55}; [**28r–35v**] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ ε'· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Παύλου τοῦ Θηβαίου {*BHG* 1468c: Halkin, *Ménologe*, 47–58}; [**36r–37v**] Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρα· Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἔνδοξον προφήτην Μιχαίαν {*BHG* 1281e: Halkin, *Ménologe*, 69–72}; [**38r–48r**] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ ς'· Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου λόγος εἰς τὰ ἅγια φῶτα {*CPG* 3010 (39), *BHG* 1838b: *PG* 36:336–60, *SC* 358:150–96 plus Halkin, *Ménologe*, 75}; [**48v–50r**] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ ζ'· Ὑπόμνημα εις (sic) τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἔνδοξον τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ προφήτην, πρόδρομόν τε καὶ βαπτιστὴν Ἰωάννην {*BHG* and *Nov. auct.* 838e: Halkin, *Ménologe*, 76–79}; [**50v–56r**] Μ[η](νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ η'· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία (καὶ) μαρτύριον τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ζωτικοῦ τοῦ πτωχοτρόφου {*BHG* and *Nov. auct.* 2479: Aubineau, *AnBoll* 93 (1975): 71–84}; [**56v–60v**] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ θ'· Ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μάρτυρος τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ Πολυεύκτου {*BHG* 1568d: Halkin, *Ménologe*, 84–91}; [**61r–70r**] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ ι'· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσ(ίου) π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Μαρκιανοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ οἰκονόμου τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλη(σίας) {*BHG* 1034b: Halkin, *Ménologe*, 100–113}; [**70v–74v, 83r–85v**] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ ια'· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσ(ίου) π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ κοινοβιάρχου {*BHG* 1778b: Halkin, *Ménologe*, 125–37}; [**75r–82v**] *Fragment from the Life of St. Euthymius*, beginning and end missing {*BHG* 648e incl. 648d: Halkin, *Ménologe*, 138–49; cf. Noret, *AnBoll* 104 (1986): 453–55}; [**86r–87v**] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ ιβ'· Ἄθλησις τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἐνδόξου παρθενομάρτυρος Τατιανῆς {*BHG* and *Nov. auct.* 1699d: Halkin, *Ménologe*, 150–53}; [**88r–92r**] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ ιγ'· Ἄθλησις τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐνδόξων τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ μαρτύρων Ἑρμύλου καὶ Στρατονίκου {*BHG* and *Nov. auct.* 745b: Halkin, *AnBoll* 89 (1971): 40–45; idem, *Ménologe*, 157–64}; [**92v–95v**] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ ιδ'· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ ἄθλησις τῶν ὁσίων π(ατέ)ρων ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν Σινᾷ καὶ Ῥαϊθοῖ ἀναιρεθέντ(ων) {*BHG* 1307d: Halkin, "Moines," 267–73}; [**96r–104v**] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ ιε'· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ διὰ Χ(ριστὸ)ν πτωχοῦ {*BHG* 869b: Halkin, *Ménologe*, 173–85}; [**105r–113r**] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ ις'· Λόγος εἰς τὴν προσκύνησιν τῆς τιμίας ἁλύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλω(ν) Πέτρου {*BHG* 1486a: Halkin, *Ménologe*, 197–212}; [**113v–129r**] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ ιζ'· Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν π(ατέ)ρα ἡμῶν (καὶ) θαυματουργὸν Ἀντώνιον {*BHG* 141d: Halkin, *Ménologe*, 228–48}; [**129v–150v**] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ ιη'· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκ(ό)π(ου) Ἀλεξανδρείας {*BHG* 183a: Halkin, *Ménologe*, 249–77}; [**151r–155r**] Τῇ αὐτῇ

ἡμέ(ρᾳ)· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας {*BHG* 2096: HALKIN, *Ménologe*, 278–84}; [155v–158r] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτῷ ιθ'· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Θεοδότου ἀρχ(ι)επισκ(ό)π(ου) πόλεως Κυρηνίας τῆς Κύπρου {*BHG* 2437: HALKIN, in *ANTIΔΩPON*, 1:170–74}; [158v–199v] Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κ'· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσ(ίου) π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Εὐθυμίου {*BHG* 649a: HALKIN, *Ménologe*, 297–339}; [200r–203r] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτ(ῷ) κα'· Ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Νεοφύτου {*BHG* and *Nov. auct.* 1326b: HALKIN, *BZ* 75 (1982): 2–5}; [203v–207r] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτ(ῷ) κβ'· Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἔνδοξον ἀπόστολον τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ Τιμόθεον {*BHG* 1848b: HALKIN, *Ménologe*, 345–51}; [207v–227v] Μη(νὶ) τῷ αὐτ(ῷ) κγ'· Ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομ(ά)ρ(τυρος) Κλήμεντος ἐπισκ(ό)π(ου) Ἀγκύρας καὶ Ἀγαθαγγέλου, lacking text after fol. 207 {*BHG* 354d: ~ *PG* 114:816A–B ἑλκύσαι [πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν], 837D τοῖς ἄλλοις-893A ἀνεχόμεθα plus HALKIN, *Ménologe*, 352f.}; [228r–234r] Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κδ'· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τῆς ὁσίας Εὐσεβίας τῆς μετονομασθείσης Ξένης {*BHG* 634a: HALKIN, *Ménologe*, 355–63}; [234v–258r] Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτ(ῷ) κε'· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσ(ίου) π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου ἀρχ(ι)έπισκ(ό)π(ου) Κω(ν)σταντινουπό(λεως) τοῦ θεολόγου {*BHG* 723: *PG* 35:244–304}; [258r–267r] Τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ κς'· Βίος κ(αὶ) πολιτεία τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος, τῆς συμβίου καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Ἰωάννου. Εὐ(λ)ό(γησον), δέσποτα {*BHG* 1878: *PG* 114:1014–43}; [267v–272r] Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κζ'· Ὑπόμνημα τύπον ἱστορίας κεφαλαιώδους ἐπέχον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τοῦ θείου κ(αὶ) ἱεροῦ Χρυσοστόμ(ου). Εὐ(λ)ό(γησον), δέσποτα {*BHG* and *Nov. auct.* 877: HALKIN, *SH* 60:474–86}; [272r–277r] Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κη'· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Ἐφραὶμ τοῦ Σύρ(ου). Εὐ(λόγησ)ον, δέσποτ(α) {*BHG* 584: *PG* 114:1253–68}; [277r–285r] Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λ'· Ἰωάννου τοῦ μακαριοτάτου Εὐχαΐτων λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους π(ατέ)ρας καὶ διδασκάλους Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον, Βασίλειον τὸν μέγαν καὶ Γρηγόριον τὸν θεολόγον. Εὐ(λ)ό(γησον), δέσποτα {*BHG* 747: LAGARDE, *AbhGöttGesWiss* 28 (1882): 106–19, no. 178}; [285v–291v] Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λα'· Βίος κ(αὶ) μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγί(ων) κ(αὶ) ἐνδόξ(ων) θαυματουργ(ῶν) Κύρου κ(αὶ) Ἰω(άν)νου. Δέσποτα, εὐ(λ)ό(γησ)ον, colophon: τέλος μηνὸς ἰαννουαρίου {*BHG* 471: *PG* 114:1232–49}; [291v–294v] Φευρ(ουαρίῳ) ιβ'· Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπ(ου) Κωνστ(α)ν(τινου)πόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμ(ου) ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν Μελέτιον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἀντιοχείας καὶ εἰς τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν συνελθόντων. Εὐ(λ)ό(γησον), δέσποτα {*CPG* 4345, *BHG* 1244: *PG* 50:515–20}.

Blank Pages: 11v, 22v, 295r–v.

Diacritics and Punctuation: biangular breathing marks, small circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted. – Occasional double accents over μέν and δὲ. – No diaereseis over ι and υ, except for disassociation. – High points and periods. – Καὶ occasionally abbreviated; final ν or ς often abbreviated at the end of a text line. – Quotations marked with ┤ in the left margin. – Fols. **1–11, 22, 34, 178–91, 255–94**: rounded breathing marks, small circumflexes; mute iota omitted; diaereseis used only for disassociation; commas, high points, and periods; καὶ and common endings sometimes abbreviated.

Script {D'AIUTO, "Elementi," pl. i; ŠEVČENKO, fig. 1}: one hand through all the parchment folios (incl. fols. 75–82): Regular calligraphic minuscule with occasionally heightened τ, γ, β, and κ and characteristic εν and στ ligatures. – Fols. **1–11, 22, 34, 178–91, 255–94**: small sloping minuscule with heightened τ.

Ink: medium brown to dark brown; initials and titles in magenta. – Fols. **1–11, 22, 34, 178–91, 255–94**: black; initials and titles in vermilion.

Parchment: high quality, with very few defects (e.g., fols. 12, 61, 173, 245, 253: lower margins, 209: outer margin). – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Careful selection; hair removed; follicles mainly removed; polished surface. A wide variety of thicknesses, ranging from 'medium' to 'very heavy' in weight (0.14–0.32 mm)."

Paper: folded *in folio*; chaindistance 30 mm; watermarks (fols. 1, 3–5, 9, 11, 22, 178, 181–82, 185–86, 191, 258, 260, 263, 268, 271, 274, 276–78, 280, 282, 286, 288, 290, 292, 294) very similar to BRIQUET, no. 568; LIKHACHEV, pl. 4, no. 808; MAREȘ, *Filigranele*, no. 1002 – MAREȘ incl. also the corresponding countermarks, found on fols. 6, 7, 10, 34, 179, 180, 183, 190, 255–58, 261–62, 264, 279, 281, 283–85, 287, 293, 295 – fragments of watermarks (in

the strips of paper added to the outer margins of fols. 110, 186–87, 257, 265, 290) similar to BRIQUET, no. 563; PICCARD; *Anker*, nos. V.104–6; and LIKHACHEV, pl. 4, nos. 1858, 1935, and 624.

Ruling: hardpoint; system 1; type B 12C2. – Fols. **1–11, 22, 34, 178–91, 255–95**: hardpoint; system unclear, type 00D1. – 26 lines per page in two columns; justification [205–210 x 140 (60+20+60)–150 (65+23+62) mm], interlinear distance 8 mm. – Fols. **1–11, 22, 34, 178–91, 255–94**: 26 lines per page in one column, justification [225 x 153–155 mm], interlinear distance 9 mm.

Quires: 10 (fol. 10), 1 (11), 7 (18: fol. 18 single, text missing), 8 (26: fol. 22 replaced with paper), 1 (27), 6 (33), 1 (34), 5 x 8 (74), 8 (82: fols. 76 and 81 singles), 11 x 8 (170), 7 (177: fol. 171 single), 1 (178), 8 (186), 5 (191: fol. 188 single), 7 x 8 (247), 7 (254: fol. 248 single), 1 (255), 4 x 10 (295).

Original Order of Parchment Folios: lacuna, Berolin. graec. 2° 31, fols. 12–21, lac, 23–33, lac, 35–74, lac, 83–177, lac, 75–82, lac, 192–207, lac, 208–54, lac.

Quire Signatures: in dark brown ink, (occasionally erased) Armenian numerals *Im2*: ա (fol. 18v), բ (19r, 26v), գ (27r), դ (35r, 42v), ե (43r, 50v), զ (51r, 58v), է (59r, 66v), ը (67r, 74v), թ (75r, 82v), ժ (83r, 90v), ժա (91r) – in dark gray ink, Greek numerals *Im2*: α' (18v), β' (19r, 27v), γ' (28r), δ' (35r, 42v), ε' (43r, 50v), ϛ' (51r, 58v), ζ' (59r, 66v), η' (64r, 74v: corrected in black ink to θ'), θ' (75r, 82v), ι' (83r, 90v), ια' (91r, 98v), ιβ' (99r, 106v), ιγ' (107r, 114v), ιδ' (115r, 122v), ιε' (123r, 130v), ιϛ' (131r, 138v), ιζ' (139r, 146v), ιη' (147r, 154v), ιθ' (155r, 162v), κ' (163r, 170v), κα' (171r), κβ' (192r, 199v), κγ' (200r, 207v), κδ' (208r, 215v), κε' (216r, 223v), κϛ' (224r, 231v), κζ' (232r, 239v), κη' (240r, 247v), κθ' (248r) – in black ink, by the hand that copied fols. 1–11, 22, 34, 178–91, 255–94, Greek numerals *Im2*: α' (fol. 11v), β' (18v), γ' (26v), δ' (34v), ε' (42v), ϛ' (50v), ζ' (58v), η' (66v), θ' (74v), ι' (82v), ια' (90v: corrected from ι'), ιβ' (98v), ιγ' (106v), ιδ' (114v), ιε' (122v), ιϛ' (130v).

Catchwords: in black ink, by the hand that copied fols. 1–11, 22, 34, 178–91, 255–94, *Im3*.

Pagination: pre-1866 (the year when Berol. gr. 2° 31 was acquired); pale brown ink, the same hand added page numbers to the table of contents of fol. 1r, *Se*: 1 (fol. 1v)–17 (11r), 21 (12v)–577 (294v).

Foliation: current, in pencil, probably by Dorothy Miner, *Se*.

Binding: a. 1963, red leather over squared wooden boards, flat spine, parchment flyleaves. – There has been noticeable trimming (cf. the size of Berol. gr. 2° 31); only fol. 252 preserves some prickings in its outer margin. – Photograph of the manuscript's old binding which remains in the Patriarchal Library of Alexandreia: MOSCHONAS, *Analekta* 12 (1963): 20bis. – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Original sewing stations visible; V-nicks; 29, 84, 146, 212, 272 mm from head."

Marks: [**210v**, lower margin] in gray ink: σηχωραίση • Θ(εὸ)ς τον κοπιοῦντα κὲ ⁂ινερτοῦντα (rest lost in trimming) – [**1r**, upper margin] in black ink: Ἀριθ(μὸς) 32. (the same hand corrected some of the page numbers added to the table of contents on fols. 1r–v) – [**front pastedown**] in pencil: "Manuscrit byzantin," "G.III.3" (old Walters shelfmark), and plate with profile portrait of H. Walters and "1848–1931. Ex libris Henry Walters" – [**verso of back flyleaf**] in pencil: "Rehinged, resewn and rebound in new poplar boards covered with English oasis by Mary Brune, June–July 1963 at the Walters Art Gallery. Inaccurate order of gatherings corrected."

Lost Marks: the lower margin of fol. 1 and most of the lower margin of fol. 127 have been cut out.

Provenance (see HALKIN, *Ménologe*, 8f.): no. 32/33 in the Library of the Greek Patriarchate of Alexandria in Cairo (seen there by A. Mavrommatis in 1895 and by C. R. Gregory in 1901; reported lost to C. Schmidt in 1914) – purchased by H. Walters probably from Gruel, Paris.

Dating: see D'AIUTO, "Elementi," 735–38 – Fols. **1–11, 22, 34, 178–91, 255–94**: MARES, no. 1002 is attested in 1589; BRIQUET, no. 568, in 1591–93 and 1597 (BRIQUET, *Filigranes*, 1:44); LIKHACHEV, no. 808, in 1580–90. The supplementary watermarks (cf. above) are attested from 1563 to 1578.

Iconography: on similarly illustrated manuscripts: DELIYANNI-DORIS, in *RBK*, VI:144–47. – On martyrdom scenes: MIJOVIĆ, *Menolog*, 157–252. – On dormition scenes: WALTER, *EChRev* 8 (1976): 120f.; IDEM, *Art and Ritual*, 137–44.

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W.522 GOSPEL BOOK [ALAND 2370]

Parchment, i+291+i folios, 99 x 67 mm, late eleventh century (fols. 1–246, 262–91) and early fourteenth century (fols. 247–61), Byzantine Empire

Illustrations: **|1r|** {DOBRYNINA, *Rukopis' 1072 g.*, 101, fig. 74} *Mission of the Apostles:* Χ(ριστὸ)ς εὐλογ(ῶν) [τοὺς ἀπο]στόλ[ους] (ca. 65 x 48); **|1v|** {DOBRYNINA, 102, fig. 75} *Patriarchal Cross (crux gemina):* Χ(ριστὸς) χ(άριν) χ(ριστιανοῖς) χ(αρίζει) (see WALTER, *REB* 55 [1997]: 212) (ca. 65 x 40); **|11v|** *Matthew Seated Writing:* inscription illegible (67 x 40); **|12r|** *Nativity* (36 x 36); *Christ's Genealogy:* Ὁ προπάτωρ Ἀβραάμ, Ὁ πρ(ο)φ(ήτης) Δα(υί)δ, Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς; *Matthew Standing Writing (Historiated E):* Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Ματθαῖος; **|89v|** {CARR, 148, pl. 15} *Mark Seated Writing:* Ὁ ἅγιος Μάρκος (62 x 41); **|90r|** {DOBRYNINA, 105, fig. 76} *Christ:* inscription illegible (39 x 39); *St. John the Baptist:* Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Πρ(ό)δ(ρομος); *Mark Standing (Historiated A):* Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Μάρκος; **|141v|** *Luke Seated Writing:* inscription illegible (63 x 43); **|142r|** *Birth of John the Baptist:* ... τοῦ Προδ[ρόμου] (40 x 40); *Annunciation of Zacharias:* Ζαχαρί(ας) ὁ Πρ(ο)φ(ήτης), Ὁ (rest trimmed); *Luke Standing (Historiated E):* Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Λουκᾶς; **|230v|** *John Standing with Prochorus:* ... Θεολό(γος) (68 x 40); **|231r|** {CUTLER, pl. 9; CLARK, pl. liv; BUCHTHAL, *Latin Kingdom*, pl. 141e; CARR, 148, pl. 16} *Christ:* inscription illegible (38 x 38), *John Standing Blessing (Historiated E):* Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Θεολόγος.

Ornament: **|2r–3v|** *Rectangular Text Frames* (64 x 45, 63 x 46, 69 x 42, 69 x 42); **|4r|** *Cross-Shaped Text Frame* (70 x 47); **|4v–9r|** *Arch-Covered Canon Table Frames* (ca. 78 x 45).

Text: **|2r–3v|** *Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus:* Ὑπόθεσ(ις) κανόνων τ(ῆς) τ(ῶν) εὐαγγελιστῶν συμφωνίας {*CPG* 3465: GREGORY, 863f.; SODEN, 388f.; ~*PG* 22:1276–77}, inc. Εὐσέβιος Καρπιανῷ, des. τῶν ἐνεχθεισῶν φωνῶν τοῖς εὐαγγελισταῖς; **|4v–9r|** *Canon tables;* **|9v–10r|** *Preface to Mt:* Ὑπόθ(εσις) εἰς τ(ὸ) κ(α)τ(ὰ) Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον {SODEN, 311, no. 108 and 303, no. 82}, inc. Ἰστέον ὅτι, des. Πν(εύματο)ς ἐμφανίζει; **|10r–11r|** *Chapters List for Mt:* Τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Ματθ(αῖον) εὐαγγε(λίου) τὰ κεφάλ(αια) {SODEN, 405–7}; **|12r–87v|** *Gospel of Mt:* Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον, colophon: Τέλο(ς) τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ματθαίου; **|87r–88r|** *Preface to Mk:* Ὑπόθεσις τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου {SODEN, 314f.}, inc. Κατὰ Μάρκον, des. ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ; **|88r–89r|** *Chapters List for Mk:* Τοῦ κ(ατὰ) Μάρ[κον] [rest trimmed away] {SODEN, 407–9}, colophon: Τέλο(ς) τ(ῶν) κεφαλαί(ων) τ(οῦ) κ(α)τ(ὰ) Μάρκ(ον) εὐα(γγελίου); **|90r–138r|** *Mk:* Εὐα(γγέλιον) κατὰ Μάρκον, colophon: Τέλο(ς) τοῦ κατα Μάρκον εὐα(γγελίου); **|138r–139r|** *Preface to Lk:* Ὑπό(θεσις) εἰς τὸ κατά Λουκᾶν εὐαγγέ(λιον) {SODEN, 315}, inc. Κατὰ Λουκᾶν, des. βλεπόντ(ων) τ(ῶν) μαθητ(ῶν); **|139r–140v|** *Chapters List for Lk:* Τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Λουκᾶν εὐα(γγελίου) τά κεφάλαι(α) {SODEN, 409–11}, colophon: Τέλος τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Λου(κᾶν) εὐα(γγελίου) τά κεφά(λαια); **|142r–228r|** *Lk:* Εὐαγγέλιον κατ(ὰ) Λουκᾶν, colophon: Τέλο(ς) τὸ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιο(ν); **|228r–229r|** *Preface to Jn:* Ὑπόθ(εσις) τοῦ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Ιω(άννην) εὐαγγελίου {SODEN, 315f.}, inc. Κατὰ Ιωάννην, des. ἐν ᾧ καὶ πέπο(ν)θεν; **|229v–230r|** *Chapters List for Jn:* Τοῦ κατὰ Ιω(άννην) εὐαγγελίου τά κεφάλαια {SODEN, 411}; **|230r|** *Verses to Jn:* Ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τ(ὸν) ἅγιον Ἰω(άννην) τ(ὸν) εὐαγγελιστὴν (καὶ) θεολόγο(ν) {SODEN, 379, no. 12; KOMINĒS, 274, no. 5}; **|231r–291v|** *Jn:* Εὐα(γγέλιον) κατὰ Ἰωάννην, ends with Jn. 21:3 (ἐπία[σαν οὐδέν]), rest missing.

Apparatus: chapter numbers given in the outer margin; chapter titles written in the upper and occasionally (fols. 49v, 63r, 66r, 67r, etc.) lower margin. – Section numbers and the number of the corresponding canon table given in the side margin. – Old Testament quotations marked with > in the left margin. – Beginning and end of liturgical readings marked within the text with αρχ(ή) and/or τέ(λος), or just ~. – Liturgical use indicated for the first reading in each Gospel: **[12r] Κυ(ριακὴ) πρὸ τῆς Χ(ριστο)ῦ Γεννή(σεως) τ(ῶν) Ἁγίων Π(ατέ)ρων, [90r] Κυριακὴ πρὸ τῶν Φώτων, [142r] Εὐ(αγγέλιον) εἰς τὸ γενέ(σιον) τοῦ Προδρόμου τῆς λειτουργίας, [231r] Τῇ ἁγίᾳ κ(αὶ) μ(ε)γ(άλῃ) Κυρι(ακῇ) τοῦ Πάσχ(α).** – Fols. **247–61** have no apparatus whatsoever.

Diacritics and Punctuation: angular breathing marks, small circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted. – No diaeresis over ι and υ. – High points and periods. – **Καὶ** and common endings very often abbreviated. – Fols. **247–61**: no abbreviations (except for the *nomina sacra*), always diaeresis over ι and υ.

Script: one hand throughout the original manuscript: somewhat florid *Perlschrift* with occasionally heightened η, τ, γ, or (majuscule) δ (minuscule δ used indiscriminately along with this uncial form); characteristic initial α; characteristic στ, ετ, and θε ligatures. – Titles of Gospels in epigraphic uncials (*Auszeichnungs-Majuskel*). Liturgical directions in epigraphic (fols. 90r, 231r) or Alexandrian (fols. 12r, 142r) uncials. Chapter lists and titles, preface titles, and epigram to Jn (fol. 230r) in Alexandrian uncials. – I attribute the script to the band that copied Cod. Harvard Houghton gr. 3, a. 1105 (SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus*, no. 119; ANDERSON, *OCA* in press). – Fols. **247–61**: archaizing hand imitating the original one.

Ink: medium brown to dark brown. – Eusebius' letter, titles, and numbers in canon tables, section numbers and section marks in magenta. – Paragraph initials, preface titles, Gospel titles, liturgical notes, and chapter titles gilded. – Fols. **247–61**: light brown ink; paragraph initials in magenta.

Parchment: good quality, thin and smooth. – Fols. **247–61**: thinner parchment of lighter, creamy color. – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Carefully selected; hair removed; follicles almost completely removed; both surfaces smooth, some show a polish; 'medium' (0.09–0.20 mm) in weight."

Ruling: hardpoint; system 1; types B 14C1 (fols. 10–89, 172–226), C-P2 14C1 (fols. 90–129, 227–46, 262–91), C 14C1 (fols. 130–71), unclear (fols. 247–61). – 25 lines per page; justification [70 x 38 mm]; interlinear distance 3 mm. – Fols. 99, 100, 104, 105, 109, 115, and 129 were originally ruled for a larger manuscript (interlinear distance 7 mm) and then re-ruled for the present one. Their original ruling type is impossible to determine.

Quires: 1 (fol. 1), 8 (9), 2 (11), 7 x 10 (81), 8 (89), 5 x 10 (139), 2 (141), 8 x 10 (221), 9 (230: fol. 229 single), 2 x 10 (250), 8 (258), 3 x 1 (261), 3 x 10 (291)

Quire Signatures: *Ii2* (mostly trimmed away but partly preserved on fols. 42r, 52r, 61v–62r, 71v, 82r, 100r)

Foliation: current (*Se*) – earlier, s. XX (*Ie*): fols. a (= fol. 1), 1–23 (= 2–24), 24–44 (= 26–46), 45–61 (= 48–64), 62–83 (= 66–87), 90–286 (= 95–291), fols. 25, 47, 65, 88–94 unnumbered – s. XVI–XVII (Im) on the first recto of each bifolium: αι–ααιιι (fols. 2–5), βι (10), γι–γιιιι (12–16), δι–διιιι (22–26), etc. to ωιιιι (216), then αι (222) to θιιιι (286)

Binding: early twentieth-century (probably Gruel's): green velvet over wooden boards, bronze clasp, modern parchment flyleaves. – The quire fols. 259–61 is bound upside down. – It is just possible that the present fol. **1r** was originally a verso: the folio is 4 mm narrower than the rest, and its present outer margin is obviously cut. – The entire book block has been trimmed, and fols. 88r and 142r have lost text. – [Note by G. PETHERBRIDGE]: "Originally sewn at three stations, of which knife cut nicks are still visible and have been used in the later Western sewing with the stations, however, increased to five."

Marks: [back of front cover] in pencil: "no. 1028" (probably Gruel's) and "G.IV.9" (old Walters shelfmark).

Provenance: purchased by H. Walters probably from Gruel, Paris.

Dating: The other known manuscript by the scribe of W.522 is dated a. 1105 (cf. above, under "Script"). – Most of the miniatures are so abraded that their style if difficult to judge. Iconographically (cf. below), they gravitate rather towards the eleventh than the twelfth century – The shape and corner ornaments of the frames (esp. fols. 12r, 90r, 141v, 142r) are closely paralleled in codd. Vat. Barber. Gr. 320, a. 1077 (?) (CUTLER, *Psalters,* figs. 287–89) and Dumbarton Oaks 3, a. 1084 (DER NERSESSIAN, *DOP* 19 [1965]: figs. 1–4, 8–11, 13, 15, 17–18, 22–25, 31). – I therefore date the manuscript **ca. 1080–1100.** – Because it deliberately imitates the original one, the hand of fols. 247–61 is difficult to date, but in general this type of mannered archaizing script can be ascribed to the early fourteenth century: cf. TURYN, *Italy,* pls. 79, 81, 126, 136, 141, 142; IDEM, *Great Britain,* pls. 46, 54, 62; KOMINĒS, *Facsimiles,* pl. 30.

Iconography: Decorative curtains held by a lion's mask [11v, 89v, 149v] are also found in codd. Athos Iveron 2, s. XI (*Treasures,* II:figs. **9–10**); Paris, BN Coislin 21, s. XI (OMONT, *Miniatures,* pl. lxxxiii); Parma Palat. 5, s. XI (ELEUTERI, *Manoscritti,* **iv**); Istanbul. Topkapı 34, s. XI (MUÑOZ, *SB* 1 [1924]: figs. 1–4); British Library Add. 24381, a. 1088 (GALAVARIS, *Homilies,* fig. 94); Milan Ambros. G 88 sup., s. XI (ibid., fig. 299); Istanbul Patr. 16, s. XI (ibid., fig. 61); Vat. gr. 1156, s. XI (SPATHARAKIS, *ΔΧΑΕ* 10 [1980–81]: figs. 23a, 24a, 26a) and its copy Petrop. NLR gr. 118, s. XIV (ibid., figs. 23b, 24b). This seems to have been a short-lived fashion. – On John dictating to Prochorus [230v]: ŠEVČENKO, in *Monē Iōannou tou Theologou: 900 chronia,* 169f.; SMIRNOVA, *Rukopisi,* 243–47. The Evangelist is most often shown standing and looking up (HUNGER, in *RBK,* II:466). The closest (down to the small building in the background) parallel for our miniature is in cod. Athos Dionysiou 587, s. XI (*Treasures,* I:fig. **189**). – On New Testament scenes as Gospel headpieces [12r, 142r]: MEREDITH, *JWCI* 29 (1966): 424ff.; CARR, 137 n. 8; HUNGER, in *RBK,* II:456f.; see also the partially overpainted miniatures of Iveron 2105 (NΣ 507), s. XII (GALAVARIS, *Iveron Mss,* 79–85, figs. **51–53, 55**) – Bust images of Christ as Gospel headpieces [90r, 231r] are also found in codd. Dumbarton Oaks 3, a. 1084 (*Mt. Athos Treasures in Russia,* **142**, cat. ii.10; CUTLER, *DOP* 37 [1983]: fig. 1; POPOVA, *VV r* 60 [2001]: fig. 15; MOKRETSOVA et al., *Materialy,* figs. viii.1–3); Budapest NL gr. 1, s. XI (CSAPODI-GÁRDONYI, *Buchmalerei,* pl. **18**; KUBINYI, *Libri,* fig. 2); Toronto Univ. 3009, s. XI (VIKAN, *Amer. Collections,* fig. 47; CLARK, pl. lii), Moscow, Hist. Mus, Syn. gr. 518 (*Mt. Athos Treasures in Russia,* **59**, cat. i.25; POPOVA, *Muzei* 7 [1987]: 141 and **143**; EADEM, *ZLU* 15 [1979]: figs. 7–8; EADEM, *VV r* 60 [2001]: fig. 16; SHCHEPKINA, *Bolgarskaia miniatiura,* 43), Vat. Palat. gr. 189, s. XI (CARR, fig. 11), and Vat. Ross. 136 and 138, s. XI (GALAVARIS, *Prefaces,* figs. 94 and 96; NELSON, *ArtHist* 12 [1989]: fig. 14). They became popular in the second half of the twelfth century: CARR, *Byz. Illumination,* passim; HUNGER, in *RBK,* II:457. – On the Genealogy of Christ [12r] in manuscript illustration: DER NERSESSIAN, *DOP* 19 (1965): 179f.; EADEM, *JÖB* 21 (1972): 113f.; TSUJI, *DOP* 29 (1975): 188ff. – On the cross as apotropaion [1v]: WALTER, *REB* 55 (1997): 201–3; the closest parallels for our manuscript are in codd. Berlin Univ. 3807, s. XI (STUHLFAUTH, *ArtBull* 15 [1933]: fig. 6; CUTLER, *Psalters,* fig. 99) and Dumb. Oaks 3, a. 1084 (DER NERSESSIAN, *DOP* 19 [1965]: fig. 1; CUTLER, *Psalters,* fig. 318) – The Mission of the Apostles [1r] is not found elsewhere as a Gospel frontispiece. It might originally have been at the end of the volume, with the cross facing outwards (as fol. 292v*), as it usually is in other manuscripts (WALTER, loc. cit.), or it might have faced the beginning of Acts in a now lost companion volume to W.522: an identical scene serves as Acts frontispiece in cod. Vatopedi 966, s. XIV, fol. 204v (unpubl.).

References:

K. W. CLARK, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 348–50 with pl. liv.

A. WEYL CARR, "Diminutive Byzantine Manuscripts," *Codices Manuscripti: Zeitschrift für Handschriftenkunde* 6 (1980): 130–61, esp. 133 with figs. 15 and 16.

A. CUTLER, "The Dumbarton Oaks Psalter and New Testament. The Iconography of the Moscow Leaf," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983), 35–45, esp. 38f.; repr. in IDEM, *Imagery and Ideology in Byzantine Art* (London, 1992), no. viii.

W.523 GOSPEL BOOK [ALAND 2369]

Parchment, 335 folios, 218 x 155 mm, tenth century, twelfth century (fol. 4), thirteenth–fourteenth century (fols. 2–3, 258, 262bis), Byzantine Empire

Illustrations: |**4v**| {DIRINGER, *Illuminated Book*, fig. ii-21.a} *John Seated Resting, Under an Ornamented Canopy Supported by Two Columns*: ὁ ἅ(γιος) ... (rest illegible); in the book: Jn 1:1 Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγο(ς) ... (rest illegible) (156 x 120).

Ornament: |**1r–v**| *Rectangular Text Frames* (153 x 85); |**2r–3v**| *Five Drawn Interlace Paragraph Marks, One* |**3r**| *Ending with a Snake's Head*; |**5r**| *Initial B*; |**99r**| {WEITZMANN, *Buchmalerei*, fig. 631} *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (81 x 34), *Initial A*; |**159r**| {CLARK, pl. lv} *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (77 x 31), *Initial E*; |**257v**| *Drawn Interlace Paragraph Mark with Two Snakes' Heads, Drawn Bird*; |**258r–v**| *Four Drawn Paragraph Marks*; |**260r**| *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (80 x 29), *Initial E*; |**262bis r–v**| *Two Drawn Paragraph Marks*.

Traces of Lost Ornament: |**1v–2r**| off-prints of arch-covered canon table frames; |**5r**| upper part of folio (where the headpiece would have been) cut out, along with the outer margin.

Text: |**1r–v**| *Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus*: Ὑπόθεσις κ[ανό]νων τῆς τῶν εὐαγγελισ[τῶν συμ]φωνίας {*CPG* 3465: GREGORY, 863f.; SODEN, 388f.; ~*PG* 22:1276–77}, text slightly defective: folio damaged in the middle, inc. Εὐσέβιος Καρ[πιανῷ], des. ἔρρωσο ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ; |**2r–3v**| *List of Gospel Readings for the Feast Days from September 1 to January 21* {~ GREGORY, 365–75}; |**5r**: lower margin| *List of Gospel Readings for the Feast Days January 22–30* {~ GREGORY, 375}, text defective: page's right margin cut off; |**5r–98r**| *Gospel of Mt*: title cut out; |**99r–158r**| *Mk*: Εὐ-αγγέλιον κατ(ὰ) Μάρκον; |**159r–257v**| *Lk*: Ευαγγέλιον κατ(ὰ) Λουκᾶν; |**257v–258v**| *List of Gospel Readings for the Feast Days February 1–June 29* {~ GREGORY, 376–81}; |**260r–332r**| *Jn*: Εὐαγγέλιον κατ(ὰ) Ἰωάννην, colophon: Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην στίχων βτ'; |**262bis r–v**| *List of Gospel Readings for the Feast Days July 1–August 31* {~ GREGORY, 381–84}.

Traces of Lost Text: |**4r**| partly legible offset of a text in Alexandrian *Auszeichnungs-Majuskel* that was written evidently in gold ink: τέλο[ς] τοῦ κατὰ Λ[ου]κᾶν ἁγίου εὐαγγε(λίου), decorative waving line, τὸ κεφ(άλαια) τοῦ κατὰ Ἰω(άννην) ἁγίου [εὐ]αγγελ(ίου), chapters list illegible, four verses to John: des. ...άν

Originally Blank Pages: 4r, 98v, 158v, 259r–v, 332v.

Apparatus: chapter numbers given in the left margin; chapter numbers and titles written in the upper or (sometimes) lower margin. – Section numbers and the number of the corresponding canon table given in the left margin. – Liturgical lections marked within the text with ἀρχ(ή) and τέλος. Liturgical use indicated for all lections in the left or upper margin, or next to the Gospel titles. Introductory phrases (τῷ κ(αιρ)ῷ or εἶπ(εν) ὁ Κ(ύριο)ς) sometimes also written there. – Old Testament quotations marked with > in the left margin.

Diacritics and Punctuation: rough breathing marks rounded; soft breathing marks ^-shaped; small circumflexes. – Mute iota adscribed or (less often) omitted. – Diaereseis over ι and υ only for disassociation – High points, commas, periods, and interrogation marks. – Καὶ very often abbreviated; common endings sometimes abbreviated. – Fols. **2–3, 258, 262bis**: numerous abbreviations.

Script: one hand throughout the original manuscript: sloping cursive minuscule (*minuscola corsiveggiante inclinata*) with long, usually hooked downstrokes. Majuscule κ, ν, θ, ζ, and c used along with the minuscule forms. Few ligatures, most characteristically ει, εγ, εσ, ελ, ετ, and εχ, as well as lunate sigma ligated with subsequent vowel. – Eusebian letter in Alexandrian *Auszeichnungs-Majuskel*. – Gospels titles in "hollow" uncials. Chapter titles and lection notes in simple small majuscules. – Fols. **2–3, 258, 262bis**: inelegant minuscle with numerous majuscule forms and heart-shaped β.

Ink: medium brown. – Eusebian letter in magenta. – Gospel titles gilded. – Section initials in text originally in magenta "hollow" uncials, later filled with gilding. – Ἀρχ(ή) and τέ(λος), chapter numbers and titles, lection notes, and section numbers originally in magenta, later gilded. – Fols. **2–3, 258, 262bis**: grayish ink. Initial letter of

each entry and τέ(λος) for the corresponding lection in vermilion. Decorated paragraph marks partly colored in the same vermilion.

Parchment: of high quality, light, smooth, and markedly thin. – Fols. **2–3, 258, 262bis** are slightly (ca. 6 mm) narrower, slightly thicker and of rougher texture, esp. on the flesh side. – Fol. **4** is very slightly larger and noticeably thicker. – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Carefully selected; hair removed; follicles removed; partial polish to surface; 'medium' to 'thick' (0.10–0.26 mm) in weight."

Ruling: hardpoint; system 1; types 20C1 (fol. 1), 40C1 (fol. 3), C 24C1 (fols. 5–28, 53–60, 100–107, 124–31, 140–55), C 26C1 (fols. 29–52), B 36C1 (fols. 61–99, 108–23, 132–39, 156–257, 259–62, 263–332). – 19 lines per page; justification [135 x 76 mm]; interlinear distance 8 mm. – Fols. 2, 258, and 262bis are not ruled. – Fols. **2–3, 258, 262bis**: 23–37 lines per page; no clear justification.

Quires: 4 x 1 (fol. 4), 11 x 8 (92), 7 (99: 94 single), 7 x 8 (155), 6 (161), 12 x 8 (255), 10 (264), 6 x 8 (312), 2 (314), 4 (318), 8 (326), 6 (332).

Quire Signatures: none.

Foliation: *Ie*, incl. fols. 213bis, 220bis, 262bis.

Marks: [**27v, 39r, 134r, 168r, 238v, 265r, 270r, 278r, 306r**] correction to the Gospel text in the scribe's hand; [**17r, 17v, 19r, 29r, 42r, 55r, 68r, 77r, 83r, 84v, 86r,** etc.] additional notes on the liturgical use of lections by some four different hands, two using brown ink, the other two, black; [**127r, 171v**] corrections to the Gospel text by a later hand, using black ink; [**94v, 98v,** etc.] short phrases from the Gospel text copied in the margin by two different hands, both using black ink; [**259r**] addition to the Menologion in red ink: lection for May 2; [**259r**] same hand as the preceding note, but in brown ink: + δημητρί(ου) αλη... (?); [**304v**] very inexperienced hand, in brown ink: το(ν) ζωνωπιον σου στάβρον απαυστος προσκυνωμ(εν) Χ(ριστ)ε ὁ Θεος τήν τρί(την) {cf. FOLLIERI, *Initia Hymnorum*, IV:208}; [**98v**] very inexperienced hand, in black ink: + Αρχη του ευαγγελιου Ι(ησο)υ Χ(ριστο)υ υου του Θ(εο)υ. εχυ φυλλα τσε' 345 (Arabic numerals added below in pencil, s. XX). – [**back of front cover, supra**] label with the old Walters shelfmark, now almost entirely removed, so that only the initial letter "G" remains (acc. to CLARK, 350, the no. was G.IV.4).

Binding: early twentieth-century (probably Gruel's): tooled leather over squated wooden boards; five brass bosses on each cover; slightly raised endbands. – The pastedowns are fragments from University of Chicago, Regenstein Library, Cod. 138, s. XIV that was formerly with Gruel (see CLARK, 252 and 350f.) The front one contains Lk 11:54 στόματος–12:6 τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ, the back one, Lk 7:38 αὐτοῦ καὶ –7:45 αὕτη δὲ. – Pasted on the back of the front cover, *infra*, is a rectangular etched bookplate with a coat of arms and the name "Benigne Charles Fevret de St-Memin" (left France 1790, d. 1802). – The book block has not been trimmed, and prickings are still extant in the outer and lower edges of many of the leaves. The lower outer corners of fols. 49–104 are eaten by a rodent. – Fol. **4** has been noticeably trimmed to fit the rest of the book. – [Notes by C. CLARKSON]: "Seemingly two previous sewings: four V-nicks at 25, 78, 132, and 182 mm from head. A bifolium (fols. 258 and 262 bis) added at the second Greek sewing." – "Certainly re-used Greek boards, cut down."

Provenance: purchased by H. Walters from Gruel, Paris – (Févret de Saint-Mémin's bookplate must have been added by the dealer and has no connection to the earlier history of the manuscript: see E. JEAUNEAU, *Revue des études Augustiniennes* 38 [1982]: 114f.).

Dating: Fol. 4 did not originally belong to the codex and was probably inserted there by Gruel. On the miniature's dating, see below, "Iconography." – The closest parallels for W.523's sloping cursive known to me are codd. Paris. Coislin 10 (RONDEAU, *OCA* 219:fig. 3), Coislin 48 (AGATI, *Bouletée*, pl. 170), Sinait. gr. 1112 (WEITZMANN and GALAVARIS, *Sinai*, figs. 18–20), Paris. gr. 933 (AGATI, pl. 168), Paris. gr. 379 (HATCH, *Facsimiles*, pl. xl), Paris. Coislin 370 (AGATI, pl. 20b), Venet. Marc. gr. 359 (FOTI, *Cultura e scrittura*, pl. 8), scribe A2 of the *Codex Palatinus* (*CGLPhD* 15), Florent. Laur. Plut. 32,9 (TESI, *Laurenziana*, pl. **xxxii**), Laur. Plut. 59,9 (PRATO, *Tra riflessione e dibattito*, II:152, pl. ii.b), the marginal text in Vat. gr. 754 (RONDEAU, *OCA* 219:figs. 2, 11, 17, and 24; AGATI, *Scriptorium* 55 [2001]: pl.

12; MERCATI, *ST* 158:pl. ix), and the marginal text in Paris. Coislin 195 (HATCH, *Facsimiles*, pl. ix). None of these manuscripts is precisely dated, but CAMERON, *Anthology*, 97–120 argues on extra-paleographic grounds that the *Palatinus* was copied ca. 930–40. AGATI, *Scriptorium* 55 (2001): pls. 5–6 demonstrates that this type of sloping uncial is closely related to an exclusively tenth-century script, the *bouletée*. EADEM, *"Bouletée,"* 242–57 examines some similar hands as examples of *"bouletée italique."* – The ornament is of the "fret-saw" (*Laubsägen*) type (WEITZMANN, *Buchmalerei*, 18–22) that only occurs in the tenth century: one of its typical representatives, Vat. gr. 1675, has 1018 as *terminus ante quem* (WEITZMANN, 18 n. 98; cf. SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus*, no. 41). – The interlace-and-zoomorphic ornament executed by the scribe of fols. **2r–3v, 257v–258v, 262bis r–v** is generally datable to the thirteenth or fourteenth century: cf. HARLFINGER, *Specimina*, pl. 151; SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus*, pls. 335 and 352; TURYN, *Italy*, pls. 49, 246b, 255b; KOMINÈS, *Facsimiles*, pl. 27; BICK, *Schreiber*, pl. xxi; ASTRUC et al., I:pl. 38.

Iconography: The type of the seated Evangelist meditating in a high-backed chair (cf. HUNGER, in *RBK*, II:461 [type 2.b] and 474) is once found for Matthew, in Paris. Coislin 195, s. X (FRIEND, *ArtSt* 5 [1927]: fig. 99; OMONT, *Miniatures*, pl. lxxxi), but is otherwise exclusively attested for John (ANDERSON, *Cruciform Lectionary*, 10). Examples are very numerous; dated ones are found in St.-Petersburg, NL gr. 72, a. 1061 (PUTSKO, *RESEE* 10 [1972]: fig. 4; *Iskusstvo Vizantii*, II:38, cat. 490; SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus*, fig. 134), Athens, NL Megales tou Genou Scholes 2, a. 1063 (DIEHL, *ArtSt* 5 [1927]: fig. 6: miniature now missing), Nicea/Iznik, narthex mosaics in the Church of the Dormition (destroyed 1922), a. 1065–67 (LAZAREV, *Istoriia*², fig. 266), Palermo, Capella Palatina mosaics, a. 1143 (KITZINGER, *Mosaici in Sicilia*, I:fig. 42), Paris. suppl. gr. 612, a. 1164 (SPATHARAKIS, fig. 296), London, BL Butney 20, a. 1285 (NELSON, *Hagiopetrites*, pl. 85), and Göttingen, Theol. 28, a. 1290 (ibid., pl. 59); cf. also Vat. lat. 5974, s. XII (BUCHTHAL, *Latin Kingdom*, pl. 48.a; FOLDA, *Crusaders*, 345, fig. 9.4f). – Frames with an ornamented canopy upon columns occur with Evangelist portraits in Athens, Byz. Mus., Ms. 205, a. 1154 (SPATHARAKIS, fig. 289) and in several twelfth-century manuscripts grouped by SPATHARAKIS, *JÖB* 49 (1999): 267–88, esp. figs. 3, 10, 15–16, 23–24. One of these, Sinait. gr. 157, datable ca. 1150 (ibid., 280 and 282), provides also the closest stylistic parallel for the miniature in W.523. Accordingly, I date the latter miniature to the **mid-twelfth century**.

Note: I attribute to the painter of the W.523 miniature the three evangelist portraits in Moscow, Hist. Mus., Syn. gr. 47 (*Mt. Athos Treasures in Russia*, **147**, cat. ii.14) cum Moscow, Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 1607, no. 3, *olim* Dresden A-100 (BRUCK, *Handschriften Sachsen*, 16, fig. 15; MOKRETSOVA et al,. *Materialy*, figs. xiii.1-2). The fourth Evangelist portrait from this volume is now Moscow, Hist. Mus., Syn. gr. 225, fol. 45v (*Iskusstvo Vizantii*, II:48, cat. 500).

References:

K. W. CLARK, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 350–51 with pl. lv.
K. WEITZMANN, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts. Addenda und Appendix* (Vienna, 1996), 80 with fig. 631.

W.524 GOSPEL BOOK [ALAND 2373]

Parchment, i+254+i folios, 175 x 122 mm, tenth century, Byzantine Empire

Illustrations: [**6v**] {WEITZMANN, "Byz. NT," fig. 12; IDEM, *Buchmalerei*, fig. 677; VIKAN, fig. 5; NELSON, fig. 49} *Luke Seated Writing, Paul Seated Speaking*: + Ο Α(ΓΙΟΣ) ΛΟΥΚΑΣ + Ο Α(ΓΙΟΣ) ΠΑΥΛΟΣ (ca. 154 x 98); [**89v**] {WEITZMANN, "Byz. NT," fig. 10; IDEM, *DOP* 26 (1972): fig. 43; BELTING, *ZfKg* 38 (1975): fig. 4; NELSON, fig. 48; *Encycl. of World Art*, XVI:fig. 128} *Mark Seated Writing, Peter Seated Speaking*: + Ο Α(ΓΙΟΣ) ΜΑΡ[ΚΟΣ] + Ο Α(ΓΙΟΣ) ΠΕΤΡΟΣ (151 x 120); [**146r**] {WEITZMANN, "Byz. NT," fig. 16; IDEM, *Buchmalerei*, fig. 678; *Early Chr. and Byz. Art*, pl. c, cat. 695; DIRINGER, *Illuminated Book*, fig. ii-19.a; WILLOUGHBY, *McCormick NT*, III:pl. lxxx} *James Preaching*: + Ο Α(ΓΙΟΣ) ΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ (142 x 107); [**231r**] {WEITZMANN, "Byz. NT," fig. 14} *Prochorus Seated Writing, John Standing*: + Ο Α(ΓΙΟΣ) ΠΡΟΧΩΡ[Ο]Σ + Ο Α(ΓΙΟΣ) ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ (154 x 106).

Single leaves (not seen by me) in the collection of the late Dr. Siegfried Amberg-Herzog, Haus Klostermatt, Kölliken, Switzerland: **[no. 501]** {*Icones suisses,* fig. 1; WEITZMANN, "Byz. NT," fig. 13; VIKAN, fig. 6} *Annunciation*: Ο ΧΑΙΡΕΤΙΣΜΟΣ; **[no. 502]** {*Icones,* fig. 4; WEITZMANN, "Byz. NT," fig. 15; IDEM, *Buchmalerei,* fig. 679} *Anastasis*: Η ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ; **[no. 503]** {*Icones,* fig. 3; WEITZMANN, "Byz. NT," fig. 11} *Baptism of Christ*: + Η ΒΑΠΤΙ[ΣΙΣ]; **[no. 504]** {*Icones,* fig. 2; WEITZMANN, "Byz. NT," fig. 9} *Nativity*: + Η ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤ[ΟΥ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΙΣ].

Ornament: [**1r, 1v**] *Rectangular Text Frames* (135 x 85); [**2r–3v**] {2v: WEITZMANN, "Byz. NT," fig. 8} *Arch-Covered Canon Table Frames* (150 x 75; 150 x 85; 145 x 60; 145 x 59); [**7r**] {WEITZMANN, "Byz. NT," fig. 1, cf. fig. 3} *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (35 x 75), *Initial B*; [**90r**] {ibid., fig. 2; CLARK, pl. lvi; WEITZMANN, *Buchmalerei,* fig. 680} *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (30 x 74), *Initial A*; [**147r**] *Initial O*; [**149r**] {WEITZMANN, "Byz. NT," fig. 5; IDEM, *Buchmalerei,* fig. 681; VIKAN, fig. 7; PERRIA and IACOBINI, *RSBN* 31 (1994): pl. xx.1; IACOBINI and PERRIA, *Vangelo di Dionisio,* 63, fig. 19} *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (35 x 75), *Initial E*; [**232r**] {WEITZMANN, fig. 7} *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (32 x 75), *Initial E*, [**247r**] *Initial O*.

Text: [**1r–v**] *Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus* {*CPG* 3465: GREGORY, 863f.; SODEN, 388f.; ~*PG* 22:1276–77}, text defective: upper outer corner of folio torn; inc. Εὐσέ[βιος Καρπιανῷ], des. αὐτοὺς εὑρήσις (sic) ἔρρωσο ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ; [**2r–3v**] *Canon Tables I–VI* (VII–X lost); [**4r–5v**] *Chapters List for Mt*: Τοῦ κατα Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγελί-ου τὰ κεφαλαια {SODEN, 405–7}; [**5v**] *Verses to Mt*: Ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τ(ὸν) ἅγιον Ματθαῖον {KOMINĒS, 264, no. 4}; [**7r–14v, 17r–87r**] *Mt*: Εὐαγγέλιον κατα Ματθαῖον; [**15r–16v**] *Preface to Mt* {SODEN, 317f.; *SC* 159:289–93; ~*PG* 88:288A–293A}, beginning and end lost, inc. δι᾽ οὗ ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς τὸν κόσμον, des. καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ εἰς οὐ(ρα)νοὺς; [**87v–88v**] *Chapters List for Mk*: Τοῦ κατα Μάρκον Εὐαγγε(λίου) τα κεφάλαια {SODEN, 407–9}; [**88v**] *Verses to Mk*: Ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Μάρκον {KOMINĒS, 268, no. 7; NELSON, 77f., with transl.; ~ SODEN, 379, no. 10}; [**90r–142v**] *Mk*: Εὐαγγέλιον κατα Μάρκον; [**143r–144v**] *Chapters List for Lk*: Τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν Εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφάλαια {SODEN, 409–11}; [**145r**] *Verses to Lk*: Ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Λουκᾶν {SODEN, 379, no. 11; KOMINĒS, 271, no. 4; NELSON, 78, with transl.}; [**147r–148r**] *Preface to Lk*: Κοσμὰ (sic) Ἰνδικοπλεύστου {SODEN, 319; *PG* 88:289B–292A; *SC* 159:299–301}, inc. Οὗτος ὁ Λουκὰς (sic), des. καὶ πληρο(ύν)τ(ι). Ἀμ(ήν); [**148v** blank]; [**149r–228v, 238r–240v, 246r–v, 249r–251r**] *Lk*: Εὐαγγέλιον κατα Λουκὰν, folios bound out of order, text complete; [**232r–237v, 241r–245v, 253r–254v**] *Jn*: Εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην, folios bound out of order, text lacks Jn. 5:5–37 (εἰς τὴν το πώποτε ἄκε]) and Jn. 6:36–52 ([ἑτε. Πᾶν ὃ το λέγοντες), and ends with Jn. 6: 68 (ἀπεκρίθη), rest missing; [**247r–248v**] *Preface to Jn*: Κοσμὰ Ἰνδικο-πλεύστου {SODEN, 320; *PG* 88:292B–293A; *SC* 159:303–5}, inc. Οὗτος ὁ θεολόγος, des. καὶ Καινὴ Διαθήκη; [**248v**] *Verses to Jn*: Ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τον ἅγιον Ἰωάννην {KOMINĒS, 274, no. 5; ~ SODEN, 379, no. 12}; [**251v**] *Chapters List for Jn*: Τοῦ κατὰ Ἰω(άννην) Εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφάλ(αια) {SODEN, 411}.

Originally Blank Pages: 6r, 89r, 145v, 146v, 148v, 231v.

Apparatus: chapter numbers and titles written in the upper or lower margin. Beginning of chapters marked with – in the left margin. – Section numbers and the number of the corresponding canon table written in the left margin. Sections separated by + within the text. – Old Testament quotations marked with > in the left margin. – Beginning and end of liturgical readings marked with ἀρχ(ή) and τέ(λος) in the side margin. – Variant readings occasionally noted with asterisks within the text and written in the lower margin (e.g., 22v, 38v, 47r, 66v, 67r, 70v, etc.).

Diacritics and Punctuation: biangular breathing marks, small circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted. – Initial iota always written with diaeresis. – High points and periods. – Καὶ often abbreviated.

Script (cf. AGATI, 87): two collaborating scribes. Principal hand: a slightly angular version of the *minuscule bouletée* with characteristic σα, σε, σω, ετ, επ, πτ, and ον ligatures. – Titles of Mt and Jn (fols. 7r, 232r) in the hollow *Auszeichnungs-Majuskel* characteristic of the tenth century. Titles of Lk and Mk (fols. 90r, 149r), Eusebius' letter (1r–v), chapters lists, verses, and chapter titles in Alexandrian *Auszeichnungsmajuskel*. – Supplementary hand (fols. **229r–**

230v, 232r–237v, 241r–245v, 253r–254v): very similar to the principal one, yet the script is smaller, more carefully spaced, and more rounded.

Ink: dark brown (light brown on fols. **229r–230v, 232r–237v, 241r–245v, 253r–254v**) – Eusebius' letter, chapter titles, and initial letters of liturgical readings in the text in magenta. – Titles and numbers in canon tables, Gospel titles, chapter numbers, and initial letters of Ammonian sections in the text gilded. – Chapters lists and verses in vermilion.

Parchment: of good quality, smooth and without defects. – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Goat-like; originally carefully selected but the present state is tragic; hair removed; follicles manily removed; both surfaces smooth; 'medium' (0.11–0.18 mm) in weight."

Ruling: hardpoint; system 1; types 40D1 (fols. 4–5), 46D1 (7–67, 69–72, 189–210, 219–30, 232–37, 253–54), 46C1 (68–69, 73–88, 90–187, 211–18, 238–40, 246–52); no ruling on fols. 6, 89, 231. – 21 lines per page; justification ca. [115 x 75 mm]; interlinear distance 5 mm. – Fol. 146 has vague ruling, perhaps 00D1, justification ca. [140 x 95 mm], interlinear distance 8 mm.

Quires: 3 x 1 (fol. 3), 2 (5), 1 (6), 8 (14), 2 (16), 2 x 8 (32), 8 (40: 35 and 38 singles), 3 x 8 (64), 8 (72: 67 and 70 singles), 2 x 8 (88), 1 (89), 6 x 8 (137), 1 (138), 6 (145: 140 and 143 singles), 1 (146), 2 (148), 7 x 8 (204), 6 (210: 206 and 209 singles), 2 x 8 (226), 2 x 2 (230), 1 (231), 4 (235), 2 x 2 (239), 1 (240), 4 (244), 1 (245), 4 (249), 3 x 1 (252), 2 (254).

Original Order of Folios: 1–3, lacuna, 4–5, lac., 15–16, lac., no. 504, 7–14, 17–88, lac., 89, no. 503, 90–145, 147–48, 6, no. 501, 149–204, 228, 205–10, 227, 211–26, 246, 252, 249, 238–39, 250, 240, 251, 247–48, 231, no. 502, 232–33, 241–44, 234, 237, 235, 229, 253, lac., 254, 230, 236, lac., 245, lac.; fol. 146 evidently belonged to a lost volume of the Acts and Epistles, that formed a pair with the present one.

Quire Signatures: none extant.

Foliation: current (*Se*) – earlier, s. XX (*Ie*): fols. 1–5, 7 (= 6), 8–17 (= 7–16), 16bis–17bis (= 17–18), 18–86 (= 20–88), 86–113 (= 89–116), 115–43 (= 117–145), 144–201 (= 147–204), 203–9 (= 205–11), 211–17 (= 212–18), 217–29 (= 219–31), 1–23 (= 232–54).

Marks: [**145v**] crude drawing of a spiral in black ink; [**89r**] (transcribed by J. H. YOUNG) 1) Νὰ ἀποσταλῇ εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν Σύνοδον τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἔνθα θὰ παραμένῃ, ἐν καιρῷ δὲ καὶ ὅπως αἱ κοιναὶ ἀνάγκαι τῷ ἐπιβάλωσιν, θὰ διατεθῇ παρ' ἐμοῦ αὐτοπροσώπως. 2) Ὁ ὑπουργὸς Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, λαμβάνων γνῶσιν ἀμέσως μετὰ τὴν λήψιν παρόντος παρὰ ἱερᾶς Συνόδου, ἐξουσιοδοτῆται ὅπως ἔχῃ ὑπ' ὄψει καὶ ἀποφασίσῃ ἐν καιρῷ ποῦ Ἐθνικῶς συμφέρει νὰ κατατεθῇ, ἂν τουναντίον καὶ διὰ λόγους ἀνεξαρτήτους τῆς θελήσεώς μου δὲν δυνηθῶ νὰ πραγματοποιήσω τὴν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ παραγράφῳ διάθεσιν, βεβαιωθέντος τοῦ τοιούτου ἐπισήμως. [6–7 words densely blotted out by the note's original writer] (διεγράφησαν ἐντύχως). Ἀηδονοχώριον 21 Δ(εκεμ)βρίου 1907 [illegible signature]
[**6r**] "coll. R. Forrer," [**89r, 146v**] "coll. Forrer," [**back of front cover**] "manuscrit du X^e siècle" and "J.111.22" (old Walters shelfmark)

Binding: early twentieth-century: fawn velvet over wooden boards, rebacked with leather; modern parchment flyleaves and pastedowns. – The entire book block has been trimmed, partly to eliminate damage that the leaves' margins (incl. those of the miniatures) had suffered through fire. – [Note by G. PETHERBRIDGE]: "No early binding details visible enough to make a statement."

Provenance: December 1907: in a Greek village named Aidonochori – in the collection of Dr. Robert Forrer (d. 1947), Strasbourg – 1928: seen by H. R. Willoughby "in a Paris bookstore" (WILLOUGHBY, *McCormick NT*, III:235) – purchased by H. Walters probably from Gruel, Paris.

Dating: although the miniatures are on separate unruled leaves with blank backs, there is no reason to assume they are not contemporary with the script: the chapter lists, the epigrams, and the miniatures' legends are all written in the same vermilion ink. – The ornament must be the work of the scribes: the John headpiece (**232r**) differs in

style and palette from the other three, just as the script in the John Gospel differs from the principal scribe's hand. – Both hands belong to the *minuscule bouletée* type, dated examples of which range from 914 to 984.

Iconography: on portraits of the Evangelists with accompanying figures: NELSON, 75–91, with bibl. – On John with Prochorus in particular cf. above, under "W.522." – On New Testament scenes as Gospel frontispieces: MEREDITH, *JWCI* 29 (1966): 424ff.; HUNGER, in *RBK*, II:456f.

References:

K. W. CLARK, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 351–52 with pl. lvi.

Les Icones dans les collections suisses (Geneva, 1968), cat. 1–4.

TH. JIRAT-WASIUTYNSKI, in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts in American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. G. Vikan, exh. cat., Princeton University Art Museum (Princeton, 1973), 62–65, cat. 5.

K. WEITZMANN, "An Illustrated Greek New Testament of the Tenth Century in the Walters Art Gallery," in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, eds. U. E. McCracken et al. (Baltimore, 1974), 19–38; repr. in WEITZMANN, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* (London, 1980), no. ix.

R. S. NELSON, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (New York, 1980) [= *Monographs on Archeology and the Fine Arts*, XXXVI], 76–79.

M. L. AGATI, *La minuscola "bouletée"* (Vatican City, 1992), 87f.

K. WEITZMANN, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts. Addenda und Appendix* (Vienna, 1996), 90f. with figs. 677–81.

W.525 GOSPEL BOOK, ACTS, AND EPISTLES [ALAND 2374]

Parchment, iii+252+ii folios, 165 x 115 mm, ca. 1300, Byzantine Empire

Illustrations: [**9r**] {BUCHTHAL and BELTING, pl. 6.a} *Matthew Seated Writing*: Ὁ ἅγ(ιος) Ματθαῖος, in the book: Mt 1:1 βί[βλος] (ca. 137 x 89); [**56r**] {BUCHTHAL and BELTING, pl. 6.b; HOFFMANN, 297; DIRINGER, *Illuminated Book*, fig. ii-21.b} *Mark Seated Writing*: Ὁ ἅγ(ιος) Μάρκος (138 x 89); [**87r**] {BUCHTHAL and BELTING, pl. 7.a; BUCHTHAL, in *Pächt Geburtstag*, 42, fig. 3; BERKOWITZ, fig. 50Λ} *Luke Seated Writing*: Ὁ ἅγ(ιος) [Λουκᾶς], in the book: Lk 1:1 ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ (140 x 93); [**138v**] {BUCHTHAL and BELTING, pl. 7.b; *Early Chr. and Byz. Art*, pl. xcvi, cat. 723} *John Seated Meditating*: Ὁ ἅγ(ιος) Ἰω(άννης) ὁ [Θεο]λόγ(ος) (ca. 141 x 89).

Ornament: [**10r**] *Hollow Headpiece* (32 x 64), *Initial B*; [**57r**] {BUCHTHAL and BELTING, pl. 5.a} *Hollow Headpiece* (43 x 62), *Initial A*; [**88r**] {BUCHTHAL and BELTING, pl. 5.b; BERKOWITZ, fig. 50B; *In the Beginning*, 24, cat. 9} *Hollow Headpiece* (41 x 63), *Initial E*; [**139r**] {CLARK, pl. lvii} *Hollow Headpiece* (43 x 63), *Initial E*; [**192r**] *Hollow Headpiece* (34 x 63), *Initial T*; [**342r**] *Headband in Vermilion Ink* (10 x 65).

Text: [**1v–2r**] *Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus*: Ευσέβιος Καρπιανῷ ἀγαπητ(ῷ) ἀδελφῷ ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν {*CPG* 3465: GREGORY, 863f.; SODEN, 388f.; ~*PG* 22:1276–77}, inc. Ἀμμώνιος μέν, des. ἔρρωσο ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ; [**3r–7v**] *Canon Tables*; [**8r–v**] *Chapters List for Mt*: Κεφαλαια τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγε(λίου) {SODEN, 405–7}; [**10r–54v**] *Mt*: + Εὐα(γγέλιον) τὸ κατα Ματθ(αῖον); [**55r–v**] *Chapters List for Mk*: Τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Μάρκ(ον) ἁγίου Εὐα(γγελίου) τὰ κεφάλαια {SODEN, 407–9}; [**57r–85r**] *Mk*: + Εὐα(γγέλιον) τὸ κατα Μάρκ(ον); [**85v–86v**] *Chapters List for Lk*: Τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Λου(κᾶν) ἁγίου Εὐα(γγελίου) τὰ κεφάλαια {SODEN, 409–11}; [**88r–137r**] *Lk*: + Εὐ(αγγέλιον) τὸ κατ(ὰ) Λουκᾶ(ν); [**137r**] *Chapters List for Jn*: Τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Ἰω(άννην) ἁγίου Εὐα(γγελίου) τὰ κεφάλαια {SODEN, 411}; [**139r–171v**] *Jn*: + Εὐα(γγέλιον) τὸ κατ(ὰ) Ἰω(άννην); [**172r–181r**] *List of Gospel Reading for the Movable Feasts* (type *e*): Συναξάριον καὶ δήλωσις των καθημερινῶν εὐαγγελίων τοῦ ὅλου χρ(όν)ου καὶ τῶν ιβ' μηνῶν, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῆ(ς) ἁγ(ίας) καὶ μεγάλ(ης) κυ(ριακῆς) τοῦ Πάσχ(α) {~ GREGORY, I:344–64}; [**181v–191r**] *List of Gospel Readings for the Immovable Feasts*: Συναξάριον

σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ μηνὸς Σεπτ(εμβρίου) μέχρι μηνὸς Αὐγ(ού)στου {~ GREGORY, I:365–86}; [192r–236v] *Acts*: + Πράξεις τ(ῶν) ἀπο(στόλων), colophon: Τέλος εἴληφαν Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων / ταύτας συγγράψας Λουκᾶς ὁ θειγόρος {~ SODEN, I.1, 385, no. 64}; *Catholic Epistles*: [236v–240r] Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολὴ καθολική; [240r–244r] Πέτρου ἐπιστολὴ καθολικὴ πρώτ(η), colophon: Ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης; [244r–246v] Πέτρου ἐπιστολ(ὴ) καθολικὴ δευτέρα; [246v–251r] Ἰωάννου ἐπιστο(λὴ) καθολικὴ πρώτη; [251r–v] Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολὴ καθολικὴ δευτέρα; [251v–252r] Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολὴ καθολικὴ τρίτη; [252r–253r] Ἰούδα ἐπιστολή; *Pauline Epistles*: [253r–268v] Παύ(λου) ἀπο(στόλου) ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, colophon: Ἡ πρὸς Ῥωμ(αίους) ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Κορίνθ(ου) διὰ Φοίβης τῆς διακόνου τῆς ἐν Κεχρεαῖς ἐκκλη(σίας); [268v–283v] Παύ(λου) ἀποστόλου ἐπιστο(λὴ) πρὸ(ς) Κορινθίους α', colophon: Ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Φιλίππ(ων) διὰ Στεφανᾶ καὶ Φουρτουνάτου καὶ Ἀχαικοῦ καὶ Τιμοθ(έου); [284r–294r] Παύ(λου) ἀποστόλ(ου) πρὸς Κορινθ(ίους) β', colophon: Ἡ πρὸ(ς) Κορινθ(ίους) β' ἐγρ(άφη) ἀπ(ὸ) Φιλίππ(ων) διὰ Τίτου καὶ Λουκ(ᾶ); [294v–299v] Παύλ(ου) ἀπο(στόλου) ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Γαλάτας; [299v–305r] Παύλ(ου) ἀπο(στόλου) ἐπιστολὴ πρὸ(ς) Εφεσίους, colophon: Πρὸ(ς) Ἐφε(σίους) ἐγρ(άφη) ἀπ(ὸ) Ρώμ(ης) διὰ Τυχικοῦ; [305r–308v] Παύλ(ου) ἀπο(στόλου) ἐπιστολ(ὴ) πρὸς Φιλιππησίους, colophon: Πρὸ(ς) Φιλιππη(σίους) ἐγρ(άφη) ἀπ(ὸ) Ρώμ(ης) δι' Ἐπαφροδίτου; [309r–312v] Παύλ(ου) ἀπο(στόλου) ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Κολασσαεῖς, colophon: Πρὸς Κολα(σσαεῖς) ἐγρ(άφη) ἀπ(ὸ) Ρώμ(ης) δια Τυχικοῦ καὶ Ὀνησίμου; [312v–316r] Παύλ(ου) ἀπο(στόλου) ἐπιστολ(ὴ) πρὸ(ς) Θεσσαλο(νικεῖς) πρώτ(η), colophon: Πρὸ(ς) Θεσσαλο(νικεῖς) α' ἐγρ(άφη) ἀπὸ Ἀθην(ῶν); [316r–317v] Παύλου ἀπο(στόλου) ἐπιστολ(ὴ) πρὸς Θεσσαλονικῆς β', colophon: Αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστο(λὴ) ἐγρ(άφη) ἀπ(ὸ) Ρώμ(ης); [318r–322r] Παύλου ἀπο(στόλου) πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστο(λὴ) α', colophon: Πρὸς Τιμόθεον πρώτ(η) ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Λαοδ(ικείας), ἥτις ἐστι μητρόπο(λις) Φρυγίας τῆς Πακατιανῆς; [322r–325r] Παύλου ἀπο(στόλου) ἐπιστο(λὴ) πρὸ(ς) Τιμόθεον β', colophon: Πρὸ(ς) Τιμόθ(εον) β' ἐγρ(άφη) ἀπὸ Ρώμης ὅτε ἐκ β' παρέστη Παύλος τῷ Νέρωνι; [325r–326v] Παύλ(ου) ἀπο(στόλου) ἐπιστολὴ πρὸ(ς) Τίτον; [327r–v] Παύλου ἀπο(στόλου) ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Φιλήμονα; [327v–340r] Παύλου ἀπο(στόλου) ἐπιστο(λὴ) πρὸς Ἑβραίους, colophon: Ἡ πρὸ(ς) Ἑβραί(ους) ἐγρά(φη) ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας διὰ Τιμοθ(έου); [342r–346r] *List of Acts and Epistles Readings for the Movable Feasts*: Συναξάριον σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ ἁγ(ίῳ), τοῦ Ἀπο(στόλου) καὶ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, περιέχ(ον) τὰ προκεί(μενα) τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, τὰ ἀντ(ι)φώ(να), τὰς ἀρχὰς μιᾶς ἑκάστης ἡμέρ(ας), ὡσαύτ(ως) καὶ τὸ Εὐα(γγέλιον), ἀρχόμενα ἀπὸ τῆ ἁγία κ(αὶ) μ(ε)γ(ά)λ(ῃ) Κυρι(α)κ(ῇ) τ(οῦ) Πάσχα μέχρι τοῦ μ(ε)γ(ά)λ(ου) Σαββάτου; [346r–352v] *List of Acts and Epistles Readings for the Immovable Feasts*: Συναξάριον σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ τοῦ ὅλου χρ(όνου), ἀρχόμενον ἀπ(ὸ) μη(νὸς) Σεπτ(εμβρίου) μέχρι τὲ(λος) Αὐγούστου.

Originally Blank Pages: iii r–v, 1r, 2v, 9v, 56v, 87v, 137v, 138v, 191v, 340v, 341r, 341v.

Apparatus: [Gospels] chapter numbers given in the left margin; chapter numbers and titles written in the upper or lower margin. – Section numbers and occasionally, canon table numbers, given in the outer margin. Beginnings of sections marked with red high points within the text. – Old Testament quotations not marked. – [Gospels, Acts, and Epistles] Beginning and end of liturgical readings marked with ἀρχ(ή) or special marks and τὲ(λος) in the side margin. Liturgical use of readings and introductory phrases (τῶ καιρῶ ἐκείνω, etc.) written in the upper, lower, or outer margin next to each reading.

Diacritics and Punctuation: rounded breathing marks; small or (occasionally) wide circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted. – No diaeresis over ι or υ. – Double accent over δὲ. – Commas, high points, and periods. – Καὶ, δὲ, and common endings sometimes abbreviated.

Script: one hand throughout: small upright archaizing script; majuscule β, δ, η, α, θ, and c used along with the minuscule forms; lower hastae of ν and ρ hooked; θ, ο, λ, and χ often enlarged. – Titles of Gospels and Acts in epigraphic *Auszeichnungs-Majuskel*. Chapters lists and chapter titles in Alexandrian *Auszeihnungs-Majuskel*.

Ink: [8r–171v, 192r–352v] dark brown; titles, initials and apparatus in vermilion; [1v–7v] vermilion; [172r–191r] medium brown; titles and apparatus in pale magenta.

Parchment: fols. 9, 56, 87, and 138 are noticeably thicker. – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Carefully selected; hair removed; follicles mainly removed; polished surfaces; 'medium' weight (0.10–0.20 mm)."

Ruling: hardpoint; system 1; types 30C1 (fols. 1–2), U 10/1 (fols. 3–7), U 30/2 (fol. 8), 33C1d (fols. 10–55, 57–86, 88–137, 139–71), 32C1 (fols. 172–352); fols. 9, 56, 87, and 138 not ruled. – 36 (fols. 208r–327v: 37–38) lines per page, justification [105–108 x 62 mm], interlinear distance 3 mm.

Quires: 1 (fol. ii), 8 (8), 1 (9), 5 x 8 (49), 6 (55), 1 (56), 3 x 8 (80), 6 (86), 1 (87), 5 x 8 (127), 10 (137), 1 (138), 2 x 8 (162), 9 (171), 2 x 8 (187), 4 (191), 18 x 8 (335), 6 (341), 8 (349), 3 x 1 (352).

Quire Signatures *le1*: α (10r) through κ (163r) in brown ink, [α] (192r) through ιθ (336r) in vermilion ink.

Foliation: *Se* (foliated July 7, 1964).

Binding: early twentieth-century, by Léon Gruel, Paris: brown morocco with gilt silver studs along the edges, small gilt silver corner bosses of cherubim, blind-stamped symbols of the Evangelists in neo-Gothic style on both covers, two gilt silver clasps (lower one now missing), spine with five raised bands and the name "Gruel" stamped in gold at the bottom, two paper flyleaves on each side (watermarked with a Britannia inside an oval). – Leaves trimmed and gilt-edged. Prickings still partially extant on some folios (e.g., 34 lower margin, 250 outer margin). Fol. 138 re-hinged March 12, 1965. – Fols. 9v, 56v, 87v, and 138v have off-prints of the headpieces from fols. 10r, 57r, 88r, and 139r. – [Note by G. PETHERBRIDGE]: "Original binding features not visible because of modern binding." – [Note by A. QUANDT]: "There is an unusual amount of staining on the versos of all the miniatures and heavy soiling of all the outer margins on the rectos, which have both been reduced by scraping of the surface. The pronounced curl of the miniatures also suggests the presence of adhesive residue on the reverse from an earlier mounting. Knowing what was done to so many medieval manuscripts in the 18th and 19th centuries I would not discount the possibility of the miniatures having not only been turned around from their original orientation (heavy trimming has now removed much of that evidence) but also mounted separately for a period of time. I would expect the restoration of the miniature on fol. 9r to be contemporary with that mounting, rather than something Gruel did prior to rebinding."

Marks: [341r] Сыа вжтвна книга глемаа Тетроєѵглъ и Ѧпл҃ъ повези и оуправи Нукифѡр старц҃ъ да є ѕ него за ѵатыниѣ докле є живъ, а по см҃рти негови да є шпет монастирска, такоже є и вила. Ѧщє сє хто ѿ вратїа покѳси да є прода, или посвои, или ѿ моне҃тирь изѵади, да мѕ є Прѵ҃тыа соупарница и стыѣ хтитори, да моу нї є просто, нъ проклеть. Iн҃ сє сїа лѣ҃ зр҃ѵѕ, мц҃а Сеп҃ а҃. Тѡж лѣ҃ прѣстави ѿц҃ъ наш игѵмн҃ъ Їларїѡн їер҃мѡх. – A blessing hand is drawn in the same ink as the above note next to some liturgical readings in the left margins of fols. 44v, 45v, 48v, etc. – [ii verso] etched bookplate with two seated men, the initials "LG," and a pencil-written no. "1482"; lithographed bookplate with profile portrait and "1848–1931 / ex libris Henry Walters" – [i verso] in pencil: "no. 1482" and "I.VII.19" (old Walters shelfmark).

In translation, the note on fol. 341r reads: "This divine book named Tetraevangelion and Apostle was bound and repaired by the *geron* Nicephorus, so as to be with him for reading as long as he lives, and after his death belong again to the monastery, as it did earlier. If someone of the brethren be tempted to sell it, or appropriate it, or take it out of the monastery, may the Immaculate [Virgin] and the holy founders [of our monastery] be his adversaries, [and] may he not be forgiven, but damned. / The present was written in the Year 7136, 1st [day of the] month of September [i.e., A.D. 1628]. In that same year our father the abbot Hilarion the *hieromonk* passed away." – Hilarion is most probably the abbot of Chiladari who died on August 24, 7136 [A.D. 1628] (BOGDANOVIĆ, *Katalog Hilandara*, 119). – Nicephorus evidently counted September 1 as the last day of the old year, not the first day of the new one.

Provenance: ca. 1628: in the Chilandari Monastery, Mount Athos – purchased from Léon Gruel, Paris (his no. 1482) (d. 1923).

Dating: pigments of the same hue as the ones used for the headpieces are also found in the miniatures. The execution of the headpieces ornament is by far not as careful as that of the miniatures, and therefore perhaps not by the same band, but like the ornament, the images must be contemporary with the book's copying. The closest

known parallel for them is in Florence, Laur. Plut. VI.28 (BUCHTHAL and BELTING, 18–21), but neither the script nor the miniatures there are by the same hand as in our manuscript, and its dating to 1285 is doubtful and was not accepted by TURYN, *Italy*. – Among manuscripts with script very similar to W.525, the following are dated: *olim* Smyrna, St. John the Baptist Church, a. 1298 (PAPADAKE-OEKLAND, *ΔΧΑΕ* 8 [1975–76]: pls. 14–17) and Athens, Benaki Vitr. 30,5, a. 1300 (LAPPA-ZIZÊKA and RIZOU-KOUROUPOU, cat. 109, with figs. 153–55). I date W.525 to the **end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century**. – [Note by A. QUANDT]: "In the miniature on fol. 9r, the Evangelist's nose, the adjacent part of the cheek, the back of his neck, and the draperies on his buttocks and legs have been overpainted to cover earlier losses of pigment."

Iconography: on the Evangelist with thumb raised to his chin to signify thought **[138v]**: BUCHTHAL and BELTING, 19–20, with pls. 4a, 15, 27 [now Getty Ms 65], 66e, 66h.

References:

K. W. CLARK, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 353–57 with pl. lvii.

In the Beginning Was the Word: Opening Exhibition of Written and Printed Biblical and Liturgical Texts from the Eighth Century to the Present, exh. cat., National Cathedral (Washington, DC, 1965), 23, cat. 9.

D. S. BERKOWITZ, *In Remembrance of Creation: Evolution of Art and Scholarship in the Medieval and Renaissance Bible* (Waltham, MA, 1968), 30, cat. 50.

K. HOFFMANN, *The Year 1200: A Centennial Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Vol. I: Catalogue*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1970), 296–97, cat. 290.

H. BUCHTHAL and H. BELTING, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople: An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy* (Washington, DC, 1978) [= *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, 16], 109–10 with pls. 5–7.

W.526 GOSPEL BOOK [ALAND 1531]

Parchment, i+258 folios, 168 x 110 mm, late thirteenth century (fols. 2–259), and probably fifteenth or sixteenth century (fol. 1), Eastern Mediterranean

Illustrations: [1v] *Virgin Eleousa*: Μ(ήτ)ηρ Θ(εο)ῦ (ca. 118 x 75); [3v] {SPATHARAKIS, fig. 595} *Matthew Seated Writing*: Ὁ ἅγ(ιος) Ματθαίο(ς) (ca. 105 x 77); **[74v]** *Mark Seated Writing*: Ὁ ἅγ(ιος) Μαρκο(ς) (110 x 82); **[122v]** *Luke Seated Writing*: Ὁ ἅγιος Λουκᾶς (110 x 85); **[201v]** {DIRINGER, *Illuminated Book*, fig. ii-27.d} *John Seated Writing*: Ὁ ἅγ(ιος) Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Θεολόγ(ος) (ca. 115 x 80).

Ornament: [2r] *Headband* (12 x 65); **[4r]** {SPATHARAKIS, fig. 596} *Headpiece* (58 x 63), *Initial B*; [73r] *Headband* (13 x 71); **[75r]** *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (59 x 68); **[120v]** *Headband* (9 x 68); **[123r]** *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (53 x 68); **[200r]** *Headband* (15 x 68); **[202r]** {CLARK, pl. lviii} *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (55 x 70), *Initial E*.

Text: **[2r–3r]** *Chapters List for Mt*: Τοῦ κατα Ματθαῖον ἁγίου Εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφάλαια {SODEN, 405–7}; **[4r–72v]** *Mt*: Τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον; **[73r–v]** *Chapters List for Mk*: Τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Μάρκον Εὐα(γγελίου) τὰ κε(φάλαια) {SODEN, 407–9}; **[75r–120r]** *Mk*: Τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον; **[120v–122r]** *Chapters List for Lk*: Κεφάλαια τοῦ κ(α)τὰ Λουκᾶν ἁγ(ίου) Εὐα(γγελίου); **[123r–199v]** *Lk*: Τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἅγ(ι)ον Εὐαγγέλιον, colophon: Τέλ(ος) τοῦ κατα Λουκᾶν ἁγ(ίου) Εὐα(γγελίου) οὗ οἱ στί(χοι) βω᾽· ἐκδοθέντος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁγ(ίου) Λουκᾶ μετὰ χρόνους ιε᾽ τῆς Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἀναλή(ψεως); **[200r]** *Chapters List for Jn*: Τοῦ κ(α)τὰ Ἰω(άννην) ἁγίου Εὐαγγελίου τα κεφάλαια; **[202r–256r]** *Jn*: Τὸ κατὰ Ἰω(άννην) ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον, colophon: Τέλος τοῦ κατα Ἰω(άννην) ἁγίου Εὐα(γγελί)ου· ἐγράφη δὲ παρὰ τοῦ αὐ᾽τοῦ ἀποστόλου μετὰ χρόνους τριακονταδύο τῆς τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἀναλ(ήψεως)· ἔχον τίτλους ιθ᾽, κε(φάλαια) ολβ᾽ καὶ στί(χους) [blank]; **[256r–v]** *Verses to Jn*: Στί(χοι) εἰς τ(ὸν) ἅγ(ιον) Ἰω(άννην) τὸν Θεο-

λόγον {SODEN, 378, no. 8; KOMINÉS, 273f., no. 4; FOLLIERI, *BollBad* 10 (1956): 80, no. 9; MERCATI, *Byzantion* 29/30 (1959/60): 186, no. 4}, inc. Βροντίης, des. αὐτογενέθλον; [256v] *Note on Gospel Readings*: Συναξάριον σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ ἐν ἐπιτόμω κατὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τοῦ ἑκλογαδίου· πρὸς τὸ συντόμως εὑρίσκειν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας Εὐαγγέλιον, inc. Ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Μεγάλης Κυριακῆς, des. οἱ ἀμφότεροι ὡς ἡ του συναξαρίου περιέχει ἀπογραφή; [256v] {CLARK, pl. lxxi} ***Scribal Colophon***: Πόνος Θεοδούλου καὶ Θεοῦ Λόγου λόγοι. Εὐχεσθ(ε) πάντ(ες) ἐμοὶ τὸ παναθλίω ἱερο(μονά)χ(ῳ); [257r] *List of Gospel Readings for Important Feast*: text defective at the beginning, inc. Εὐα(γγέλιον) κ(α)τὰ Μα(τθαῖον), κε(φάλαιον) σκς'· Τῶ καί(ρῳ) ἐφανέρω(σαν), τέ(λος) βιβλία. Ἀμ(ήν), and then lists readings εἰς τ(ὸν) Χρ(υσόστομον), εἰς τ(ὴν) Εἴσοδ(ον), εἰς τ(ὸν) ἅγ(ιον) Σάββα, εἰς τ(ὸν) ἅγ(ιον) Νικόλ(αον), εἰς τ(ὸν) ἅγ(ιον) Ἀντόνιον, εἰς τ(ὴν) Εὕρε(σιν) ·:(ῆς) κεφαλ(ῆς) τοῦ Προδ(ρόμου), εἰς τὴν Γέννη(σιν) τοῦ Προδ(ρόμου), εἰς τ(οὺς) ἁγ(ίους) Ἀπο(στόλους), εἰς τ(ὴν) Ἀποτομ(ὴν) τοῦ Προδ(ρόμου), εἰς μ(ά)ρ(τυρας), εἰς ὁσ(ίους), and εἰς ἀποστ(ό)λ(ους); [257r–259r] *List of Gospel Readings for the Immovable Feasts*: Εὐα(γγέλια) τοῦ ὅλου χρόνου τ(ῶν) ἑορτ(ῶν) {~ GREGORY, 365–86}, monocondyle colophon: Τέλος ἠληφ(εν) ὁσιος πίναξ οὗτος +.

Originally Blank Pages: 1r, 74r, 200v, 201r, 259v; lower half of 182v [no Gospel text lacking].

Apparatus: chapter numbers written in the left margin; chapter numbers and titles written in the lower or (less often) upper margin. – Section numbers written in the left margin. Beginning of sections sometimes indicated within the text with ÷ or a colon. – Old Testament quotations not marked. – Beginning and end of liturgical readings marked within the text with ἀρχ(ή) and τέ(λος). Liturgical use of readings noted in the upper, lower, or outer margins.

Diacritics and Punctuation: rounded breathing marks, small circumflexes. – Double accents over δὲ. – Mute iota subscribed in red ink, probably by the original scribe, or omitted altogether. – Commas, high points, and (in red) colons. – Common endings sometimes abbreviated.

Script: one hand throughout the original manuscript: archaizing *Perlschrift* imitation with a large admixture of majuscule letter forms, incl. φ, θ, η, γ, δ, and κ (the last two used indiscriminately along with the minuscule δ and κ), 3-shaped ζ, minuscule β, and few ligatures. On fols. 257r–259r the ductus changes, as the characters become smaller and abbreviations numerous, but the hand is most likely still the same. – Gospel titles in epigraphic *Auszeichnungsmajuskel*.

Ink: mostly medium brown with occasional corrections in the text in black ink; black on fols. 168r infra–182v. – Titles, paragraph initials, colophons, liturgical notes, ἀρχ(ή), τέ(λος), and the scribal colophon in very pale magenta that is sometimes difficult to read. On fols. 257r–259r bright carmine is used along with this magenta.

Parchment: with occasional small holes and defects (fols. 53, 56, 63, 101, 105, 145, 194, 197, 223, 242, and 255). – Fol. 1 is ca. 10 mm shorter and ca. 3 mm narrower than the rest, fols. 257–259 are ca. 6 mm shorter and ca. 2 mm narrower.

Ruling: hardpoint; system 10; type B 44C1. – Fol. 1 is not ruled. – 26 lines per page; justification ca. [112 x 68 mm]; interlinear distance 5 mm. – Fols. 257r–259r: ca. 32 per page; justification ca. [137 x 68 mm]; interlinear distance 5 mm.

Quires: 2 x 1 (fols. i–1), 2 (4), 2 x 8 (19), 7 (26: fol. 24 single), 19 x 8 (178), 4 (182), 2 x 8 (199), 2 (201), 7 x 8 (257), 2 (259).

Quire Signatures: *Ii1* and *Ie3*: Greek numbers in black ink, hand s. XVI–XVII, probably contemporary with the present binding.

Foliation: black ink, hand s. XIX (*Se*): fols. 1–191, 193–259 (no text lacking between fols. 191 and 193).

Binding {back cover: *Bookbinding*, pl. xxiv, cat. 103}: perhaps sixteenth-century (acc. to G. PETHERBRIDGE); tooled dark red goatskin over squared wooden boards; five sewing stations ca. 10, 22, 76, 129, and 140 mm from headcap; lacing tunneled; flat spine; raised endbands; two pins with fastening braids; turn-ins trimmed straight, at the

corners overlapping and diagonally cut. – Decoration: type 11 (FEDERICI and HOULIS, 66, fig. 37); front cover: tools identical with Vat. gr. 2523 (ibid., 47) in the inner frame, and similar to Vat. gr. 2129 (ibid., 56, fourth from above) in the outer frame. – Fol. i r (parchment flyleaf) and 259v were originally pasted to the front and back cover. The book block has not been noticeably trimmed, some folios differ slightly in size from the rest, and the prickings are mostly extant. – The fore-edge and top-edge are decorated with drawn ornament. On the bottom-edge, this decoration has evidently been scraped off. – [Notes by G. PETHERBRIDGE]: "The spine folds are pierced rather than having V-shaped nicks; sewn with link stitch (restricted view); unbleached linen threads, S-twist, medium thickness, 2-ply." – "Radiographs of the upper and lower boards indicate that the volume preserves its original sewing and that boards from another volume (whose approximate dimensions one can reconstruct from the position of its clasp strap anchorage holes at head, tail and fore-edge to have been 180 x 135 mm and which had grooved edges) were cut down at fore-edge, head and tail and reused for this volume (reutilizing the original board attachment system). The re-used binding may have had a textile covering (indicated by the linen spine lines extending to fore-edge on both boards - characteristic of Greek textile-covered, particularly silk-covered bindings, but uncommon under leather covers). On the upper board, radiographs show holes left by the nails used to secure a central applied metal (?) plaque (possibly with four bosses – indicated by four symmetrically placed larger holes) and four applied corner plaques on the upper board. The lower board retains the holes left by the nails of four former corner bosses, a possible central boss and a central applied plaque. None of this previous furniture is evident on the exterior of the present covering."

Marks: [259v] Mt 1:1 Βίβλος– 1:2 Ἰακὼβ [δὲ] (archaizing hand, dark brown ink, s. XIII–XIV) – [**passim**] notes on the liturgical use of Gospel readings added in the lower and (less often) upper and outer margins (medium magenta ink, hand s. XIV) – [122r] in black ink: Етоуто то χαρτι εινε τоυ Παπαζαφίρι και το επροση-λοσεν εις το νανο [sc. ναόν], [three lines below] δευτε followed by an illegible scribble that stands perhaps for προσκυνήσωμεν – [2r] half-illegible round stamp of the Skete of St. Andrew and in black ink: "Ipиобр. въ 1900 г.," [i r and 1r] elliptical stamp with "Библіотека Русскаго на Аѳонѣ Андреевскаго скита," [**back of front cover** and i r] in blue pencil: "No. 754" – [**back of front cover** and i r] in pencil: "Add. Ms 11."

Provenance: property of Sophia Negroponte, Constantinople (seen by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1885; cf. OLIVIER, *Répertoire*, 389) – 1900: acquired by the Russian Skete of St. Andrew, Karies, Mt. Athos (cod. 754 in its library; seen there by C. R. Gregory on March 26, 1902) – purchased by H. Walters from Thomas Whittemore.

Dating: the headpieces must be the work of the scribe, since they are drawn in part in the same pale magenta ink as the one used for titles in the text. The Evangelist portraits are clearly painted by a professional artist, but are parts of regular quires, and fols. 200–201 in particular demonstrate that the scribe anticipated the presence of miniatures and that they must have been executed at the time of the text's copying. The miniature with the Virgin [1v] differs from them in style and must have been added later. – Theodoulos' script is similar to Vat. Ottob. gr. 381, a. 1281 (TURYN, *Vaticani*, pl. 37), and to the hand of Theodore Hagiopetrites, active 1277–1308 (NELSON, *Hagiopetrites*, passim). The Evangelist portraits resemble in style the miniatures of Sinait. gr. 61, a. 1274 (CUTLER, *Psalters*, figs. 397–411). I date W.526 to the **late thirteenth century.** – I am unable to date precisely the image of the Virgin [1v], which is quite peculiar in style. It was probably added when the manuscript received its present binding, since a worm channel that starts in the front cover also goes through fol. 1 and the rest of the bookblock. If the binding is sixteenth-century, the miniature most likely dates from that same time.

Iconography: a Virgin Eleousa holding the Child on her right side, with the right hand over His head, is very uncommon. The only parallels known to me are two Dalmatian icons of the late thirteenth century: GAMULIN, *Madonna*, 128f. with pls. **iv–v**.

References:

A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, "Συνοπτικὴ ἔκθεσις παλαιογραφικῶν ἐρευνῶν ἔν τε Κωνστ/πόλει καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις τοῦ Πόντου διὰ τὴν Μαυρογορδάτειον Βιβλιοθήκην," *Syggramma periodikon. Ho en Kōnstantinoupolei Hellēnikos philologikos syllogos* 16 (1885): supplement [= *Palaiographikon deltion* (1885)], 4.

C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1909), III:1155, cat. 1530.

K. W. CLARK, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 355–57 with pls. lvii and lxxi.

The History of Bookbinding 525–1950 A.D.: An Exhibition Held at the Baltimore Museum of Art, November 12, 1957 to January 12, 1958, exh. cat., Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1957), 43 with pl. xxiv, cat. 103.

I. SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453* (Leiden, 1981), 81–82, with figs. 595–96, cat. 335.

W.527 GOSPEL BOOK [ALAND 2368]

Parchment, i+135+i folios, 204 x 150 mm, ca. A.D. 1000, Byzantine Empire

Illustrations: [1v] {VIKAN, *Amer. Collections,* fig. 10; *Early Chr. and Byz. Art*, pl. xcvi, cat. 714; WEITZMANN, *Buchmalerei,* fig. 641; DIRINGER, *Illuminated Book,* fig. ii-16.c} *Mark Seated Thinking:* Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Μάρκος (123 x 82).

Single leaf: (studied on a microfilm taken in 1971), inserted horizontally between fols. 3v and 4r of the twelfth-century Gospelbook Cod. 56, Docheiarou Monastery, Mt. Athos, Greece {VIKAN, *Amer. Collections,* fig. 11; WEITZMANN, *Buchmalerei,* fig. 640}: *Matthew Seated Writing:* Ὁ ἅ(γιος) Ματθαῖος.

Ornament: |2r| *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (34 x 84), *Initial A.*

Text: [2r–39v] *Mk*: Τὸ κατὰ Μάρκο(ν) ἅγιον Εὐ(α)γ(γέλιον)· τὴν Κυ(ριακὴν) πρὸ των Φῶτων. Κε(φάλαι-ον) α': Mk 1:1–14:3 πολιτε[λοῦς]; [40r–59v] Lk: 2:41 αὐτοῦ–8:16 εἰσ[πορευόμενοι]; [60r–72v] Lk 9:41 πότε – 12:42 οἰ[κονόμος]; |73r–v| Jn. 8:19 Π(ατέ)ρα μου· εἰ ἐμὲ–8:33 Ἀβρα[άμ]; |74r–v| Jn. 10:4 ὅτ᾽ ἀν-10:18 ἀ[π᾽ ἐμοῦ]; [75r–v] Jn. 8:5 [λιθο]βολεῖσθαι–8:19 ὕτε τὸν; |76r–v| Jn. 9:29 ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς–10:3 αὐτὰ. Καὶ; |77r–135v| Mt 9:6 ἀφιέναι to the end.

Original Order of Folios: lacuna, 77–135, 1–39, lac, 40–59, lac, 60–72, lac, 75, 73, lac, 76, 74.

Apparatus: Ammonian sections marked with a paragraph initial and (sometimes) interval within the text. – Old Testament quotations not marked.

Diacritics and Punctuation: breathing marks biangular or (much less often) rounded; very small circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted. – Double accent over δὲ. – No diaeresis over ι or υ. – High points and periods. – Καὶ sometimes abbreviated; ν at the end of a line replaced by ¯.

Script: one hand throughout: *Perlschrift*; almost pure minuscle; 3-shaped ζ; characteristic σε ligature. – Title |2r| in somewhat lax *Auszeichnungsmajuskel.*

Ink: medium to dark brown. – Paragraph initials in magenta; Gospel title |2r| in gold over magenta.

Parchment: of high quality, white and smooth. – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Goatlike; carefully selected; hair removed; follicles only partially removed in some areas; flesh side polished; hair side partially polished; 'medium' to 'thick' in weight (0.14–0.26 mm)."

Ruling: hardpoint; system 1; types V 00A1 (fol. 1), D 34D1 (fols. 2–9, 18–135), 34C1 (fols. 10–17). – 20 lines per page; justification [128 x 85 mm]; interlinear distance 7 mm.

Quires: 1 (fol. 1), 4 x 8 (33), 7 (39: fol. 34 single), 2 x 8 (55), 9 (64: fol. 58 single), 8 (72), 4 (76), 6 (82: fols. 81 and 82 singles), 2 x 8 (98), 8 (106: fols. 101, 102, 103, and 104 singles), 8 (114: fols. 108 and 113 singles), 2 x 8 (130), 5 (135: fols. 131–33 singles).

Quire Signatures: Greek numerals in pale brown ink, s. XIV–XVI, *lm1*: ζ (107r), η (115r), θ (123r), ι (131r), ια (1r), ιβ (10r), ιγ (18r), ιδ (26r), ιε (34r), ιη (40r), τθ (48r), κ (56r), κβ (65r), λα (75r) – Greek numerals in vermilion ink, s. XVI, same hand that added the apparatus (see below, "Marks"), *li1*: δ (83r), ε (91r), ϛ (99r) – Cyrillic numerals in black ink, *le3* or *li3* and (sometimes) *lm1*: г (82v), д (90v), ѕ (98v), ѕ (99r, 106v), ꙁ (114v), и (115r, 121v), ѳ (130v), і (135v), ıа (9v), вı (17v), гı (25v), дı (33v), ни (47v), ѳı (55v), кд (64v), кв (72v), лв (74v).

Foliation: current, probably by Dorothy Miner (*Se*): 1–36, 36bis, 37–135 – earlier, in pencil (*Ie*): 1–76, 76bis, 77–135.

Binding: Armenian (acc. to G. PETHERBRIDGE); tooled brown leather over thin squared boards; ridgeless spine; covers decorated type 6 (FEDERICI and HOULIS, 66, fig. 37); holes for three bosses along the outer edge of each cover; thin parchment pastedowns and flyleaves. – All folios have been noticeably trimmed, and even the earlier pencil foliation has sometimes been damaged (fols. 67–72). – [Notes by G. PETHERBRIDGE]: "Originally sewn at four stations (see V-nicks), at 22, 78, 131, and 185 mm from head. Now bound to a reused Armenian cover (cf. Venice, San Lazzaro, Ms 1580) whose boards were shorter and wider than the Greek manuscript, so that the head edge of the Greek manuscript was trimmed flush with that of the Armenian boards. The Armenian covers' leather, originally moulded over the projecting endbands, has been trimmed off, but the characteristic shaping of the leather turn-ins on the inside joints of the covers is still visible on the boards, now covered by modern parchment pastedowns, as are the remains of blue and red striped woven silk textile doublures (note that the joints of both W.527 and San Lazzaro 1580 have split and have been repaired)." – "Mark miniature has a thread sewn through the top of the leaf, which may have secured a miniature protector" (curtain).

Marks: [passim] chapter numbers and titles, section numbers, ἀρχ(ὴ) and τέλ(ος), and (sometimes) the opening phrases of liturgical readings added in carmine ink, hand s. XVI – [39v upper margin] Κεφ(άλαιον) 14 Μάρκου, [77r upper margin] Κατὰ Ματθαῖον Κεφ(άλαιον) Θ: both in black ink, s. XIX – [back of front cover]: in pencil: "G.VII.6" (old Walters shelfmark) and a bookplate with a profile portrait of H. Walters and "1848–1931. Ex libris Henry Walters."

Provenance: perhaps at some point in the Monastery of Docheiarou, Mt. Athos – purchased probably from Gruel, Paris (his no. 964 1028).

Dating: miniature and headpiece must be contemporary with the text: (1) the magenta used in the headpiece and for the miniature's frame is exactly the same hue as the paragraph initials in the text; (2) the gilding of the inscription and the halo in the miniature also seems identical in shade with the gilding in the headpiece and Gospel title; (3) the parchment used for the miniature is of the same texture and thickness as that used for the text. – Mark's figure is not unfinished, but was, rather, meant to be painted in wash. There is some abrasion of the pigment on the Evangelist's face, hair, arms, and feet. – The *Perlschrift* and ornament of W.527 are closely paralleled in Moscow, Muz. 3644, a. 999 (SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus*, fig. 62; WEITZMANN, fig. 669). In style, the miniature is generally close to the painterly manner of tenth-century works, e.g., Paris gr. 70, a. 964 (OMONT, *Miniatures*, pl. lxxix). I date W.527 to the **end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century.**

References:

K. W. CLARK, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 357f.

TH. JIRAT-WASIUTYNSKI, in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts in American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. G. Vikan, exh. cat., Princeton University Art Museum (Princeton, 1973), 70f., cat. 7.

K. WEITZMANN, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts. Addenda und Appendix* (Vienna, 1996), 82 with figs. 640–41.

W.528 GOSPEL BOOK [ALAND 2372]

Parchment, 234 folios, 230 x 165 mm, early thirteenth century, Greece

Illustrations: [115v] {CARR, fig. 9B3; DEMUS, fig. 2} *Luke*: ● ἅ(γιος) Λ(ουκᾶς) [above the frame], Lk 1:1 ΕΠΙΔΗΠΕΡ ΠΟΛΛ[ΟΙ] [in the book] (142 x 108).

Ornament: [2r] {CARR, fig. 9B1; BUCHTHAL, fig. 57} *Square Headpiece* (97 x 100), *Two Partridges Flanking a Vase, Bird Perched on a Flower, Initial B with a Griffin*; [69v] {CARR, fig. 9B6} *Tailpiece with Three Crosses* (62 x 102); [70r] {CARR, fig. 9B2; BUCHTHAL, fig. 58; NELSON, *WJbKg* 41 (1988): 156, fig. 13} *Square Headpiece* (99 x 99), *Two Birds Flanking a Plant, Bird Perched on a Flower, Initial A*; [116r] {CARR, fig. 9B4; BUCHTHAL, fig. 59; DIRINGER, *Illuminated Book*, fig. ii-7.b} *Square Headpiece* (100 x 100), *Two Birds Flanking a Vase, Peacock Perched on a Flower, Initial E with a Feline*; [188r] {CARR, fig. 9B5; BUCHTHAL, fig. 60} *Square Headpiece* (102 x 99), *Two Peacocks Flanking a Fountain, Bird Perched on a Flower, E with (perhaps) a Griffin*.

Text: [2r–69v] *Matthew*: Τὸ κατὰ Ματθ(αῖον) ἅγιον Εὐα(γγέλιον)· κεφά(λαιον) α', lacuna: fol. 17v des. Mt 9:2 παραλυτικὸν, fol. 18r inc. Mt 9:33 καὶ ἐκβληθέντος; [70r–114v] *Mark*: Τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον ἅγ(ιον) Εὐα(γγέλιον)· κεφά(λαιον) α', end lost: des. Mk 16:17 ἐκβαλλοῦσι; [116r–187v] *Luke*: Τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἅγιον Εὐα(γγέλιον)· κεφ(άλαιον) α', end lost: des. Lk 24:29 μεῖνον; [188r–234v] *John*: Τὸ κατὰ Ἰω(άννην) ἅγιον Εὐα(γγέλιον)· κεφά(λαιον) α', end lost: des. Jn 18:31 εἶπον οὖν αὐτ(ῷ).

Blank Pages: 1r–v (flyleaf), 115r.

Apparatus: chapter numbers written in the outer margin; chapter numbers and titles written in the lower or upper margin. – Section numbers written in the outer margin. – Old Testament quotations not marked.

Diacritics and Punctuation: rounded breathing marks; very small circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted. – Occasional diaereseis over ι and υ. – High points, commas, low points, interrogation marks, and colons. – Common endings, καὶ and δὲ often abbreviated at the end of a line.

Script: one hand throughout: "epsilon"-style with occasionally enlarged λ, χ, ε, θ, and δ. Minuscule and majuscule forms of δ, γ, σ, θ, and κ used interchangeably; both minuscule and (more rarely) heart-shaped β; both closed φ and open φ. Ligatures mostly of ε with a subsequent consonant and of minuscule δ with a subsequent vowel. – Gospel titles in elaborate *Auszeichnungs-Majuskel* with many letters involved.

Ink: black. – Titles, paragraph initials, chapter and section numbers, and the first page of each Gospel in gold over magenta ink.

Parchment: of good quality, with no significant defects. – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Goat-like; originally it appears to have been a reasonable selection, now extremely cockled and distorted; hair removed; follicles partially removed; both sides polished; 'medium' to 'heavy' (0.14–0.30 mm) in weight."

Ruling: hardpoint; system 9; type 32C1 (the ends of the vertical ruling lines are quite far from the folios' upper and lower edges) – fol. 115 unruled. – 23 lines per page; justification [147–50 x 98–100 mm]; interlinear distance 7 mm.

Quires: 1 (fol. 1: flyleaf), 8 (9), 6 (15), 6 (21: fols. 18–19 singles, text missing), 3 x 8 (45), 8 (53: fols. 47 and 52 singles), 8 (61), 8 (69: fols. 63 and 68 singles), 5 x 8 (109), 5 (114: fol. 110 single, text missing), 1 (115), x 8 (227), 7 (234: fol. 228 single, text missing).

Quire Signatures: original; separately for each Gospel, with a cross, abbreviated name Μ(α)τ(θαῖος), Μά(ρκος), Λ(ου)κ(ᾶς), or Ἰω(άννης), and a Greek numeral, all *Sm1*.

Foliation: in pencil, probably by Dorothy Miner (*Se*), incl. the flyleaf as fol. 1.

Binding: Greek, perhaps seventeenth-century (acc. to G. PETHERBRIDGE), similar to Athens, NL 166 and 2676 (CHATZINIKOLAOU and PASCHOU, cat. nos. 40 and 38): tooled brown goatskin over grooved boards, with prominent brown calf repairs on exterior of upper and lower covers; many quires fortified with paper at the gutter; raised endbands; paper pastedowns; parchment flyleaf (fol. 1: probably added by Gruel); trace of pins and fastening

braids. – Covers decorated type 11 (FEDERICI and HOULIS, 66, fig. 37), with an ornamented cross in the middle of the front one, and a rosette in the middle of the back one. Tooling quite worn. – Prickings survive in all three margins of most folios, but the quire signatures are always partly trimmed and sometimes fully lost. – [Notes by G. PETHERBRIDGE]: "Sewing at four stations, averaging 33, 88, 140, and 195 mm from the headcap. V-shaped knife-cut preparatory sewing nicks in spine folds of gatherings. Sewn with link stitch (restricted view). There seems to be a second sewing phase utilising the earlier sewing nicks. The earlier holes have not been used constistently for the present endbanding. Unbleached linen S-thread." – "Radiographic examination indicates that both boards are of the same wood species and the lower board, contrary to usual practice, is cut with the grain parallel to the head and tail." – "There is physical evidence that this volume has had a second binding phase: there are earlier endband sewing holes in the spine center-folds of some gatherings, e.g., fols. 112–13; an inscribed pastedown is unlikely to have been included as part of a first binding. The layout of the cover design with center and corner pieces (a post-Byzantine development under Islamic influence) and the debased form of the fleur-de-lis tool would suggest that the present binding was executed in the 17th century."

Marks: [passim] small corrections of orthography and punctuation in the Gospel text by a single hand in pale brown ink – [passim] s. XVI, vermilion ink: ἀρχ(ὴ) and τέλ(ος) added into the Gospel text; notes on the liturgical use of the readings added in the outer margins – [back pastedown] s. XVIII, black ink, written before the sheet was used for binding: + Γράφεις, [προσφιλέστατ]έ μοι Γεώ(ργιε), ὅτι ὁ μ(ητ)ροπο(λίτης) τῆς Ἄρτας Γαβριὴλ [γ]υρ[ίζ]οντας ἀπὸ τ(ὴν) Κωνσταντιν[ούπολιν] ἀγριώτερος κ(αὶ) ἀτυχώτερος ἐγίνετο παρὰ το [....]. καὶ τοῦτο ἀληθ[ῶς] τὸ λέγεις. Διατί λέγουσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι πῶς ἡ συνήθεια ἐστι πρᾶγμα δύσκολο μεταγι[...]ειν, κ(αὶ) αὐτός ἐσυνήθισεν εἰς τὴν κακίαν κ(αὶ) εἶν(αι) ἀδύνατον νὰ γίνη καλὸς ἄν(θρωπ)ος: + Περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἄρτης ποιμ(ένος) Λιγάβρου μᾶλλον ἢ Γαβριήλου προσφιλέστατέ μοι Γεώργιε γράφεις, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Βασιλευούσης π(ῶς) ἀνιὼν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὡμὸς καὶ ἀπηνὴς ἢ προτερ(ον) ἐγίνετο, καὶ σαφῶς λέγεις. Οἱ γ(ὰρ) σοφοὶ δυσμετάβλητον εἰν(αι) τὴν ἕξιν ἀποφαίνοντ(αι), κ(αὶ) αὐτὸν ἐν ἕξει τὴν κακίαν κτησάμενον ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι οὐχ οἷον τε: + [234v: upper margin] erased note, relatively legible under UV-light but still incomprehensible to me, ending with "ετως 1829" – [front pastedown] gray ink (transcribed by N. OIKONOMIDES): Διμιτρίου Κ[..]ουτρ[...] and a crude drawing of a centaur (?) in the same ink – [115r] offprint of a note from the preceding, now lost page: visible under UV-light but illegible to me – [front pastedown] drawings and a note in dark blue ink that I cannot read – [back pastedown] s. XIX, black ink (fully visible but only partly legible to me): Διὰ τῆς παρούσης ὁμολογίας ... ἐστι φαινομένος ... γεγραμμένος ... ἐδανίσθεν παρὰ τοῦ κύρος ... γρόσι κατ' ἀριθμου 8000 ... – [back pastedown] s. XIX ex., in blue ink (transcr. OIKONOMIDES): Νικόλαος Ι. Πακούλης / Τουρσουλάρη / Νικολ. Ἀναστασίου Μπαϊσλάρη – [front pastedown] in pencil: "G.V.13" (old Walters shelfmark) – [passim] occasional spots from wax and soot.

Note: for a list of metropolitans of Arta (among whom there is no Gabriel Ligabros) see: ATESĒS, *Ekklēsiastikos pharos* 56 (1974): 123–29.

Provenance: purchased by H. Walters probably from Gruel, Paris.

Dating: the miniature [115v] is almost entirely overpainted, and its blue pigment has left several offsets on the facing fol. 116r. Very similar colors are used for the tailpiece [69v], which is entirely new and partly covers the three red crosses with which the scribe ended his text. The palette of the miniature and the tailpiece differs noticeably from that of the four headpieces and initials. These, especially the initials, were evidently anticipated by the scribe, who left sufficient space for them, and must be contemporary with the text's copying. On their dating, see CARR, 105–25. – Fol. 115 certainly belonged to the manuscript from an early date, and the faded inscription with the name of St. Luke above the frame is in magenta ink and perhaps in the scribe's hand. The overpainted miniature and the new tailpiece are probably early twentieth-century.

Iconography: the "restorer" of the miniature evidently followed the original underdrawing, since the pose of the Evangelist and esp. the peculiar position of his left foot are paralleled in several manuscript whose script and ornament are very close to those of W.528: cf. BUCHTHAL, figs. 76, 78, and 84.

References:

K. W. CLARK, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 358–59.

O. DEMUS, "Studien zur byzantinischen Buchmalerei des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 9 (1960): 77–89, esp. 80–84.

H. BUCHTHAL, "Studies in Byzantine Illumination of the Thirteenth Century," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 25 (1983): 27–102, esp. 68–70.

A. W. CARR, *Byzantine Illumination 1150–1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition* (Chicago and London, 1987), 210.

W.529 GOSPEL BOOK {ALAND 647=2371}

Parchment, i+298+i folios, 250 x 190 mm, mid-eleventh century, Byzantine Empire

Illustrations: [**9v**] {VIKAN, *Amer. Collections*, fig. 70} *Matthew Seated Writing*: Ὁ ἅγιος Ματθαῖος (ca. 175 x 112); [**87v**] {SPATHARAKIS, fig. 585} *Mark Seated Writing*: Ὁ ἅγιος Μάρκος (ca. 177 x 118); [**138v**] *Luke Seated Writing*: Ὁ ἅγιος Λουκᾶς (ca. 173 x 111); [**218v**] *John Seated Writing*: Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Θεολό(γος) (170 x 107).

Ornament: [**4v–7r**] *Canon Table Frames with Two Columns, a Decorated Canopy, and a Pair of Birds Each* (173 x 112, 180 x 115, 180 x 114, 179 x 110, 179 x 112, 180 x 113, 180 x 117, 178 x 110, 185 x 120, 183 x 120); [**7v**] *Interlace Headband* (ca. 5 x 113); [**10r**] {SPATHARAKIS, fig. 586} *Square Hollow Headpiece* (ca. 57 x 57), *Initial B*; [**87r**] *Gilded Interlace Hollow Headpiece* (ca. 40 x 55), *Initial O* (20 diam.); [**88r**] *Square Hollow Headpiece* (60 x 58), *Initial Λ*; [**135r**] *Gilded Initial O* (23 diam.); [**139r**] *Square Hollow Headpiece* (56 x 56), *Initial E*; [**219r**] *Square Hollow Headpiece* (58 x 58), *Initial E*; [**274v**] *Gilded Initial O* (28 diam.); [**276r**] *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (68 x 106); [**288v**] *Gilded Interlace Headband* (ca. 4 x 115); [**291r**] *Gilded Interlace Headband* (ca. 5 x 110).

Text (see also KERAMEUS, 253–55): [**1r–2r**] *Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus*: Ὑπόθεσις κανόνων τῆς τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν συμφωνίας {*CPG* 3465: GREGORY, 863f.; SODEN, 388f.; ~*PG* 22:1276–77}, inc. Εὐσέβιος Καρπιανῷ, des. ἔρρωσο ἐν Κυρίῳ; [**2v–7r**] *Canon Tables*; [**7v–8v**] *Chapters List for Mt*: Τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφάλαια {SODEN, 405–7}; [**10r–82r**] *Mt*: Εὐαγγέλ(ιον) τὸ κατ(ὰ) Ματθαῖον, colophon: Τέλος τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγελίου; [**82r–84v**] *Preface to Mt*: Ματθαῖος· Κοσμᾶ Ἰνδικοπλεύστου {SODEN, 317f.; *SC* 159:289–93; ~*PG* 88:285D–293A}, inc. Οὗτος, des. Ἀμήν; [**85r–v**] *Preface to Mt*: no title {SODEN, 311}, inc. Ἰστέον, des. Εὐαγγέλιον and *Preface to the Gospels* {SODEN, 303, no. 82; NELSON, *Preface*, 6, with transl.; ~ *PG* 7:886}, inc. Τέσσαρα δέ, des. ἐμφανίζει; [**86r–v**] *Chapters List for Mk*: Κεφάλαια τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον Εὐαγγελίου {SODEN, 407–9}; [**88r–134v**] *Mk*: Εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ Μάρκ(ον), colophon: Τέλος τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Μάρκον Εὐαγγελίου; [**138r–v**] *Preface to Mk*: Μάρκος· Κοσμᾶ Ἰνδικοπλεύστου {SODEN, 318f.; *SC* 159:295–97; *PG* 88:289A–B}, inc. Οὗτος, des. καὶ πληρώσαντι. Ἀμήν; [**138v**] *Preface to Mk*: no title {SODEN, 311}, inc. Ἰστέον, des. δεικνύς; [**136r–137v**] *Chapters List for Lk*: Κεφάλαια τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν Εὐαγγελ(ίου) {SODEN, 409–11}; [**137v**] *Verses to Lk*: no title {KERAMEUS, 254; KOMINĒS, 271f., no. 5; IOANNIDĒS, 62; ~ SODEN, 380, no. 18; ~ FOLLIERI, *BollBad* 10 (1956): 154, no. 16}, inc. Λουκᾶ, des. Θεοφάνης; [**137v**] *Verses to Lk*: no title KOMINĒS, 270, no. 2; FOLLIERI, 80, no. 8; IOANNIDĒS, 62; ~ SODEN, 378, no. 7; ~ MERCATI, *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60): 186, no. 3}, inc. Λουκᾶς, des. φαάνθη; [**139r–215r**] *Lk*: Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν, colophon: Τέλος τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν Εὐαγγελίου; [**215v–216v**] *Preface to Lk*: Λουκᾶς· Κοσμᾶ Ἰνδικοπλεύστου {SODEN, 319; *PG* 88:289B–292A; *SC* 159:299–301}, inc. Οὗτος, des. πληροῦντι. Ἀμήν; [**216v**] *Preface to Lk*: no title {SODEN, 311}, inc. Ἰστέον, des. ἤρξατο; [**217r**] *Chapters List for Jn*: Κεφάλαια τοῦ κατὰ Ἰω(άννην) Εὐαγγελίου {SODEN, 411}; [**217v**] {CLARK, pl. lxxi} *Verses to Jn, **containing the name of the manuscript's donor or scribe*** Μανουήλ: no title {KERAMEUS, 254f.; CLARK, 359; IOANNIDĒS, 62; ~ SODEN, 380, no. 19; ~ FOLLIERI, 154, no. 17; ~ KOMINĒS, 274, no. 6}, inc. Βροντῆς, des. λόγοις; [**219r–274r**] *Jn*: Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην; [**274v–275v**] *Preface to Jn*: Ἰωάννης· Κοσμᾶ Ἰνδικοπλεύστου {SODEN, 320; *PG* 88:292B–293A; *SC* 159:303–5}, inc. Οὗτος,

des. διαθήκη; [275v] *Preface to Jn*: no title {SODEN, 311}, inc. Ἰστέον, des. γενεάν; [276r–291r] *List of Gospel Readings for the Movable Feasts* (type *k*): Ἐκλογάδιον τῶ(ν) τεσσάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν διά τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ τέλους τὴν περικοπὴν ἑκάστου εὐαγγελιστοῦ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν κεφαλαίων παρασημείωσιν ἀκριβῶς διαγορεῦον· περιέχει δὲ τὴν ἀρχ(ὴν) ἀπὸ τῶ ἁγίω Πάσχ(α), τελειοῦν ἐν τῶ μηνολογίω {~ GREGORY, 344–64 and 384–86}; [291r–298v] *List of Gospel Readings for the Immovable Feasts*: Συναξάριον σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ μηνὸς Σεπτεμβρίου μέχρι μη(νὸς) Αὐγούστου {~ GREGORY, 365–76}, end lost: ends with February 28 and the title for March.

Lost Text (acc. to KERAMEUS, 254): [87bis r] *Verses to Mk* {KERAMEUS, 254; IOANNIDĒS, 62 ~ KOMINĒS, 286, no. 8; ~ SODEN, 380, no. 17; ~ FOLLIERI, 154, no. 15}; [87bis v] *Verses to Mk* {KERAMEUS, 254; KOMINĒS, 266f., no. 2; FOLLIERI, 79, no. 7; IOANNIDĒS, 62; ~ SODEN, 378, no. 6; ~ MERCATI, 186, no. 2}.

Blank Pages: 9r, 87r, 138r, and 218r.

Apparatus: chapter numbers written in the left or middle margin; chapter numbers and titles written in the upper margin. – Section numbers and the number of the corresponding canon table written in the left/middle margin. – Old Testament quotations marked with > in the left margin. – Beginning and end of liturgical readings marked with ἀρχ(ή) in the left/middle margin and τέ(λος) at the end of paragraphs. Liturgical use of readings noted in lower or (less often) upper or left/middle margin.

Diacritics and Punctuation: biangular or angular breathing marks; small circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted or (less often) adscribed, sometimes in "uppercase" position. – Diaeresis over ι or υ only for disassociation. – High points and periods. – Καὶ sometimes abbreviated; ν at the end of a line sometimes replaced with ˜.

Script {CLARK, pl. lix: fol. 40v}: one hand throughout, although the ductus and the carefulness of the writing vary somewhat: very regular, usually vertical or sometimes slightly sloping calligraphic minuscule with angular letter forms; occasionally slightly enlarged ὁ, 3-shaped ζ, and occasional appearances of majuscule β, δ, θ, and ε; characteristic ligatures of κ with preceding vowel (the κ gets enlarged), of ε with subsequent ν or ρ (only the upper half of ε is retained and enlarged in the shape of a hook), and το or πο juxtapositions (the ο gets enlarged). – Gospel and preface titles, and titles of sections in the Synaxarion and Menologion in epigraphic *Auszeichnungs-Majuskel*. Other titles, liturgical notes, chapters lists, verses, Eusebian letter, and Ἰστέον-prefaces in Alexandrian *Auszeichnungs-Majuskel*.

Ink: pale to dark brown. – Titles, Eusebian letter, verses, chapters lists, and Ἰστέον-prefaces in gold. – Liturgical notes in magenta.

Parchment: fols. 9, 87, 138, 218 are noticeably thicker; 9v, 87r–v, 138r–v, and 218r–v are coloured in purple. – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Parchment affected by mould of purple color. Carefully selected; hair removed completely; follicles mainly removed; 'medium' to 'heavy' in weight (0.16–0.25 mm). Full-page illumination on heavier parchment (0.35–0.38 mm), hook guard inserted."

Ruling: hardpoint; system 1; type 34C2 (fols. 1, 8, 10–86, 88–137, 129–217, 219–98), V 34C2 (fols. 2–6), PC2 34D2 (fol. 7), V 22A1 (fols. 9, 87, 138, 218). – 26 lines per page; justification [153 x 106 (45+16+45) mm]; interlinear distance 7 mm.

Quires: 1 (fol. 1), 6 (7), 1 (8: fols. 1 and 8 were probably originally a bifolium), 9 (17: fol. 9 single), 8 (25), 8 (33: fols. 28 and 31), 4 x 8 (65), 8 (73: fols. 68 and 71 singles), 8 (81), 5 (86: fol. 82 single, text missing), 1 (87), 4 x 8 (119), 8 (127: fols. 122 and 125 singles), 8 (135), 9 (144: fols. 137, 138, and 143 singles), 2 x 8 (160), 8 (168: fols. 162 and 167 singles), 5 x 8 (208), 8 (216: fols. 210 and 215 singles), 2 x 1 (218), 8 (226: fols. 220 and 225 singles), 2 x 8 (242), 8 (250: fols. 245 and 248 singles), 8 (258), 8 (266: fols. 260 and 265 singles), 9 (275: fols. 267, 272, and 275 singles), 2 x 8 (291), 7 (298: fol. 292 single, text missing).

Quire Signatures: scribal, a cross *Sm1*.

Foliation: current, in pencil, probably by Dorothy Miner (*Se*); earlier, in soft pencil, probably by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (the volume was unfoliated when Gregory examined it in 1886) (*Ie*): 1–86 (=1–86), 1 fol. unnumbered, 89–206 (=88–205), 1 fol. unnumbered, 207–21bis (=207–22), 222–97 (=223–98).

Binding: early twentieth-century: olive brown velvet over squared wooden boards; paper pastedowns and flyleaves; gutters of last two gatherings fortified with paper. – No substantial trimming: some folios preserve their prickings on all three sides. – [Note by G. PETHERBRIDGE]: "The original sewing nicks were mutilated by the tension of sewing on cords, but the manuscript was sewn at three stations (primary sewing): the center V-nicks can be seen in the spine fold of fol. 148, and a tail endband sewing nick can be seen at fol. 154."

Marks: [**58r, 61r, 65r, 125v, 126v, 127r, 252v, 294r, 295r, 297v, 298v**] black ink: short notes in Arabic in the outer margin, next to section titles – [**passim**] faded Gospel text reinforced in black ink – [**88v, 89r, 139r**] dark brown ink: crude ornamental drawings in the margins, inspired by the manuscript's original ornament – [**87v bis**: now lost] note by patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem dated March 23, 1522 and stating that the book belongs to the Holy Sepulchre (see KERAMEUS, 253) – [**78v**, inner margin] an elegant hand s. XVI has added in black ink Mt 27:35 ἵνα πληρωθῇ το κλῆρον – [**8r**] (as transcribed by IOANNIDĒS, 62; KERAMEUS, 253) dark brown ink: Τὸ παρὸν θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον ἔλαβεν ἀναγνῶναι ὁ ταπεινὸς καὶ ἀνάξιος δοῦλος τοῦδε θείου καὶ ἱεροῦ Εὐαγγελίου Μάξιμος ἱεροδιάκονος. Ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένον κατὰ τὸ ατϛ' [1390] ἔτος ἀπὸ Χ(ριστο)ῦ. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος αψοε' [1775] κατὰ μῆνα Ἰαννουάριον. The same hand has left short notes on the order of liturgical readings on fols. 78v, 79v, 253r, 269r – [**back of front cover**] "J.III.23" (old Walters shelfmark) and plate with "Ex Libris Henry Walters."

Provenance: 1522: owned by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem – no. 520/275 at the library of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre, Constantinople (seen there by E. Ioannidis in 1864, by C. R. Gregory on September 6, 1886, and by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1891) – purchased by H. Walters probably from Gruel, Paris.

Dating: the miniatures' frames have the same ornament and palette as the book's headpieces, which were certainly executed together with the text's copying. [Note by G. PETHERBRIDGE]: "The folio with the miniature of St. Matthew is prepared with a red background, the presence of which in the fold extension around the back of this gathering (between fols. 17 and 18) indicates that the illumination was painted before the gathering was assmebled."– The idiosyncratic script is somewhat similar to that of Codd. Naples, Bibl. Naz. II.C.26, a. 1045 (LAKE, IX:pls. 660–61), Patmos 245, a. 1057 (KOMINĒS, *Facsimiles*, pl. 8; LAKE, I:pls. 40–41), Athens, NL Megales tou Genou Scholes 2 and Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, no. 79.31, a. 1063 (DIEHL, *ArtSt* 5 [1927]: fig. 7; KAVRUSHOFFMANN, *DOP* 50 [1996]: figs. 7–8), and Paris, BN Ms gr. 922, a. 1060–67 (OMONT, *Onciale*, pl. 46). The miniatures are close in style to the murals of St. Sophia in Ohrid, datable 1037–56 (MILLET, *Jugoslavie*, I:pls. 1–12; HAMMANN-MACLEAN and HALLENSLEBEN, *Monumentalmalerei*, pls. 4–28). I date the manuscript to the mid-eleventh century, **ca. 1040–60** (cf. PRATO, *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 [1979]: 181).

Iconography: the Evangelist seated frontally towards the viewer with a volume in his lap [**9v**] is a relatively rare figure type: Athos Philotheou 33 (*Treasures*, I:fig. **305**; DÖLGER, *Mönchsland*, pl. 90; WEITZMANN, *Buchmalerei*, fig. 302; IDEM, *Studies*, fig. 89), Vatican. gr. 1522 (*Vangeli dei popoli*, fig. **200**; WEITZMANN, figs. 21 and 23; ROSENBAUM, *ArtBull* 38 [1956]: fig. 10), Oxford, Bodl. Canon. gr. 110 (HUTTER, *Corpus*, I:pl. ii and figs. 15 and 18; WEITZMANN, figs. 72 and 74), Athos Lavra A 86 (WEITZMANN, fig. 316), all s. X; W.532 (see below), s. XI; Athos Koutloumousiou 61, ca. 1070 (*Treasures*, I:fig. **300**; SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus*, fig. 157; NELSON, *Preface and Miniature*, fig. 68; GALAVARIS, *Prefaces*, fig. 26); Athos Lavra A 7, s. XII? (*Thēsauroi*, III:fig. **13**; NELSON, fig. 67; GALAVARIS, fig. 31); Athos, Vatopedi 939, s. XII ex. (*Thēsauroi*, IV:fig. **275**; CARR, *Byz. Illumination*, fig. 10F3); Lagoudera frescoes, a. 1192 (NIKOLAÏDĒS, *DOP* 50 [1996]: fig. 53); Athos Lavra A 118, miniatures s. XIII (*Thēsauroi*, III:fig. **67**); Sinait. gr. 166, miniatures s. XIII? (WEITZMANN and GALAVARIS, *Sinai*, fig. 51); on later examples: BUCHTHAL, *Musterbuch*, 52–54 with figs. 42, 46, 50, 56, 58, and 59; cf. also Mosq. Syn. gr. 518, s. XI ex. (POPOVA, *ZLU* 15 [1979]: fig. 5; EADEM, *Muzei* 7 [1987]: 138), London, V and A Museum, no. 8980E, s. XI ex. (WILLIAMSON, *Treasury*, 158f. and pl. **14**; PUTSKO, *ΠΚΗΘ* [1996]: 229), and Patmos 98, s. XIII ex? (JACOPI, *Clara Rodos* 6–7 [1932–33]: fig. 84).

References:

EMM. IOANNIDĒS, ["Περὶ δεκατεσσάρων Εὐαγγελίων ἐκ μεμβράνης"], *Syggramma periodikon. Ho en Kōnstantinoupolei Hellēnikos philologikos syllogos* 2 (1864): 62, cat. 3.

A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Hierosolymitikē vivliothēkē hētoi katalogos tōn en tais vivliothēkais tou hagiōtatou apostolikou te kai katholikou orthodoxou patriarchikou thronou tōn Hierosolymōn kai pasēs Palaistinēs apokeimenōn hellēnikōn kōdikōn* (St.-Petersburg, 1899; repr. Brussels, 1963), IV:253–55, cat. 275.

C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1909), I:209, cat. 647.

H. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte. I.Teil: Untersuchungen. 1. Abteilung: Die Textzeugen* (Göttingen, 1911), 151, cat. ε1161.

K. W. CLARK, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 359f. with pls. lix and lxxi.

J. C. ANDERSON, in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts in American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. G. Vikan, exh. cat., Princeton University Art Museum (Princeton, 1973), 148f., cat. 40.

I. SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453* (Leiden, 1981), 80, with figs. 585–86, cat. 329.

W.530: The leaves 530a–g are at present kept in individual folders but were purchased by H. Walters, probably from Gruel in Paris, as an album. The latter, now empty, is bound in red velvet over cardboard and consists of cardboard leaves on which the miniatures were once stuck. The original Walters shelfmark, "G.IV.19" is written in pencil on fol. i r, supra.

W.530a LEAF FROM A GOSPEL LECTIONARY [ALAND l 1222]

Parchment, 1 folio, 270 x 190 mm, second quarter of the eleventh century, probably Constantinople

Illustrations: {*Glory of Byzantium*, **frontispiece** and **102**; *Walters Art Gallery*, **119**; VIKAN, *Amer. Collections*, figs. 12–13; RANDALL, *Masterpieces*, pl. 3; *From Icon to Image*, pl. v; MILLIKEN, *Pages*, pl. vii; *Arts of the MA*, pl. ii.2; VIKAN, in *Byzantium: A World Civilization*, 101: fig. 18; WEITZMANN, fig. 639; CAPPS, *AllenMusBull* 15.2 (1958/59): fig. 2; *Early Chr. and Byz. Art*, pl. xcvi, cat. 701; DIRINGER, *Illuminated Book*, fig. ii-16.a} *St. Mark Seated Thinking.* Ὁ ἅγιος Μάρκο(ς) (198 x 150); other side of leaf blank.

Parchment: of high quality.

Ruling: none.

Parent Manuscript: Athens, National Library of Greece, Ms 2552 (formerly Serres, Prodromos Monastery, Ms A3), Gospel Lectionary, parchment, 305 x 220, 174 fols., linn. 23 x 2 [207 x 140 (60+20+60)], ruling 56C2f.

Dating: the miniature is extremely similar in style to those of the Moscow "Imperial" Menologion, Historical Museum, Syn. gr. 183 (*Glory of Byzantium*, 101f.: cat. 56; *Mt. Athos Treasures in Russia*, 125–130, cat. ii.6), and must be the work of the same painter. The Moscow manuscript belonged to the same set as W.521, on whose date, see above.

Iconography: on the Evangelist type: HUNGER, in *RBK*, II:460f.

References:

C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1909), III:1269, cat. 1222.

CHRISTOPHOROS [DIMITRIADĒS], "Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς παρὰ τὰς Σέρρας ἱ. Μονῆς τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου ἐπὶ μεμβράνης χειρογράφων," *Neos Poimēn* 2 (1920): 198f., cat. 3.

K. W. CLARK, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 360.

TH. JIRAT-WASIUTYNSKI, in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts in American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt*

Weitzmann, ed. G. Vikan, exh. cat., Princeton University Art Museum (Princeton, 1973), 72f., cat. 8.

A. MARAVA-CHATZINIKOLAOU and CHR. TOUFEXI-PASCHOU, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece* (Athens, 1978), I:79–81 with figs. 131–42, cat. 17.

K. WEITZMANN, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts. Addenda und Appendix* (Vienna, 1996), 92f. with fig. 639.

K. CORRIGAN, in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261*, eds. H. Evans and W. Wixom, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1997), 102f., cat. 57.

W.530b LEAF FROM A PSALTER [RAHLFS 1010]

Parchment, 1 folio, 117 x 91 mm, 1087–88, Byzantine Empire

Illustrations: {*Glory of Byzantium*, **360**; CALKINS, *Illuminated Books*, fig. 117; SPATHARAKIS, fig. 204; VIKAN, *Amer. Collections*, fig. 39; CAPPS, *AllenMusBull* 15.2 (1958/59): fig. 1; WEITZMANN, fig. 1; IDEM, *DOP* 30 (1976): fig. 9; BELTING, *JÖB* 21 (1972): fig. 13; CUTLER, fig. 71; *Early Chr. and Byz. Art*, pl. xcvii, cat. 699; DIRINGER, *Illuminated Book*, fig. ii-19.a; FIACCADORI, *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano* 7 (1993): 168, fig. 4; *Old Masters and the Bible*, cat. 29} *Moses Receiving the Law*: Ὁ προ(οφήτης) Μωϋσῆς ἐκ χειρὸ(ς) Κ(υρίο)υ δεχόμε(νος) τ(ὰς) πλάκ(ας). Ὁ προφ(ήτης) Μωϋσῆς ἀποκομίζων ταύτ(ας) τ(ῷ) λαῷ (70 x 60, incl. frame).

Text: Ps 76:13–21.

Apparatus: *kathismata* numbered at the end: δόξα. κάθ(ισμα) ι' after Ps 76.

Diacritics and Punctuation: rounded breathing marks; small circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted. – Diaereseis over ι and υ only for disassociation. – Occasional superscriptions and abberviated endings at the end of a line. – Each psalm verse started on a new line with an initial; verses ended with colons; psalms ended with :~.

Script: elegant *Perlschrift* with occasionally hightened ι, occasionally broadened υ, and mostly majuscule η; α and ω sometimes ligated with a preceding consonant from below. – The same scribe copied, in my mind, codd. Vienna, Theol. gr. 336, a. 1077 (HUNGER, *Studien zur gr. Paläographie*, pl. v; BUBERL and GERSTINGER, *Handschriften*, II, pl. xii.4) and Athens, MIET, Pezarou 50. – Inscription to the miniature in Alexandrian *Auszeichnungs-Majuskel*.

Ink: light brown; verse initials in gold over magenta; titles, δόξα, and κάθ(ισμα) in magenta; inscription to the miniature in vermilion.

Parchment: of high quality.

Ruling: hardpoint; type P3dV 64A1pq – 22 text lines; justification [62 x 53 mm]; interlinear distance 3 mm.

Quire Signatures: scribal, in magenta: cross *Si1* – in dark brown ink, s. XVI?: Greek numerals *Ie2*.

Parent Manuscript: Mt.-Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, Cod. 761, Psalter, a. 1087–88, parchment (fols. 231–37 paper), 118 x 97, 230 fols. (foliated 1–199, 206–37; W.530b originally fol. 111), linn. 19 [70 x 55], ruling P2 24C1 and P2 44C1. Contents (excl. later additions on fols. 1–2, 10r, and 231–37): [**3r–4v**] Paschal tables for the years ,ϛφϱϛ'-,ϛχιθ'; [**5r–7v**] Πρόγραμμα εἰς Δα(υὶ)δ τὸν προφήτ(ην), inc. Μετὰ τὸν Μωϋσέα, des. ψαλμοὺς ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα {*CPG* 4542.1: *PG* 55:531–34} and [**7v–8r**] inc. Μέσος δὲ αὐτῶν, des. τῷ Κ(υρί)ῳ διετέλου(ν) {*PG* 84:24C}; [**8r–v**] Πε(ρὶ) τῆς ἐκθέσεως τῶν ψαλμῶν, inc. Πολλῆς τοίνυν, des. ἐν τοῖς προφήταις {*CPG* 6202a: *PG* 84:25A; *CPG* 2238: *PG* 27:56A–57A}; [**8r–9v**] Τίνες ἡρμήνευσαν) τὸ ψαλτ(ήριον) κ(αὶ) πόσοι κ(αὶ) πότε, inc. Πρώτη ἐστὶν, des. τῇ πρὸς Ακτία {*CPG* 2249: *PG* 28:433B–436B, *PG* 84:28C–29B}; [**9v–10r**] Ἑρμηνεία τοῦ δ(ι)αψά(λματος) τοῦ ἁ(γίου) Γρηγ(ορίου) τοῦ Νύ(σσης), inc. Προϊούσης

γαρ, des. τῶ πν(ευματ)ικῶς ἐνηχοῦντι {*PG* 84:28}; [**10v**] blank; [**11r–14v**] miniatures; [**15r–111r**] Pss 1–76; [**112r–206r**] **Pss 77–151**; [**206r**] Ἑρμηνεία τοῦ ἀλληλούϊα, inc. Τὸ ἀλληλούϊα κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐβραΐδα φωνήν, des. οὕτ(ως) θεοπρέπως λογίζεσθαι {unpubl.}; [**206v**] miniature; [**207r–229r**] Biblical Odes I–IX, XI–XIV {~ RAHLFS, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 341–65}; [**229r–230r**] Οἱ Μακαρισμοὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ) κατ(ὰ) Ματθαίο(ν)· Ἐν τ(ῇ) βασιλεία σου μνήσθητ(ι) ἡμ(ῶν). Κ(ύρι)ε. Mt 5:3–12; [**230r**] Δό(ξα) κ(αὶ) νῦν. Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θ(εό)ς, etc. {*Hōrologion*, 164}, end missing, des. Καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Μεγάλ(ον).

Note: It seems that the painter of fols. 111v and 206v left the other miniatures (fols. 11r–14v) unfinished, and these were later colored by another hand.

Dating: from the Paschal tables of Vatop. 761. These tables have justification [75 x 55] and ink very similar to those used for the text, and are therefore an original part of the manuscript. They are complete at the beginning. – The change of ruling on fol. 111/W.530b (cf. the rest of the manuscript), adapted to the miniature, shows that the scribe and the painter worked side by side.

Iconography: on Moses Receiving the Law as illustration to Ps 77: BELTING, *JÖB* 21 (1972): 23–32; BUCHTHAL, *Jewish Art* 12/13 (1987): 12–14; on the scene in general: FIACCADORI, *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano* 7 (1993): 170–89 with figs. 2–14 and 24–25.

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G. MILLET, "Le Psautier arménien illustré: Le Psautier arménien et le Psautier byzantin," *Revue des études arméniennes* 9 (1929): 162–81.

K. WEITZMANN, "The Psalter Vatopedi 761: Its Place in the Aristocratic Psalter Recension," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 10 (1947): 21–51; repr. in IDEM, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* (London, 1980), no. iii.

R. G. CALKINS, *A Medieval Treasury: An Exhibition of Medieval Art from the Third to the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca, 1968), 110f., cat. 18.

S. GARDNER, in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts in American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. G. Vikan, exh. cat., Princeton University Art Museum (Princeton, 1973), 108f., cat. 23.

I. SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453* (Leiden, 1981), 35, with figs. 202–4, cat. 106–7.

A. CUTLER, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium* (Paris, 1984) [= *Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques* XIII], 26–29 with figs. 61–77, cat. 15.

P. K. CHRISTOU et al., *Hoi thēsauroi tou Hagiou Orous. Eikonographēmena cheirographa* (Athens, 1991), 4:117–19 and 292–95.

H. EVANS, in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261*, eds. H. Evans and W. Wixom, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1997), 360f., cat. 241.

CH. MAVROPOULOU-TSIOUMI, in *Treasures of Mount Athos: Catalogue of the Exhibition*, exh. cat., Museum of Byzantine Culture (Thessaloniki, 1997), 203, cat. 5.6.

S. N. KADAS, *Ta sēmeiomata tōn cheirographōn tēs Hieras Megistēs Monēs Vatopaidiou* (Mt. Athos, 2000), 135, cat. 761.

Other Bibliography:

Hōrologion to mega periechon hapasan tēn anēkousan autō akolouthian kata tēn taxin tēs Anatolikēs Ekklēsias kai tōn hypokeimenōn autē euagōn monastēriōn, 6th ed. (Athens, 1977).

W.530c LEAF FROM A PSALTER AND NEW TESTAMENT [RAHLFS 1429; ALAND 2191]

Parchment, 1 folio, ca. 147 x 100 mm, late eleventh century (principal text and miniature), fifteenth century (apparatus), Byzantine Empire

Illustrations: {VIKAN, *Amer. Collections*, fig. 37; DUSHMAN, *Æthelwold*, fig. 120; *Early Chr. and Byz. Art*, pl. xcvii, cat. 706; DIRINGER, *Illuminated Book*, fig. ii-19.c} *Sts. Paul, Peter, John, Luke, Matthew, and Mark*: ὁ ἅ(γιος) Παῦλος, ὁ ἅ(γιος) Πέτρο(ς), ὁ ἅ(γιος) Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Θεολόγο(ς), ὁ ἅ(γιος) Λουκᾶς, ὁ ἅ(γιος) Ματθαῖος, ὁ ἅ(γιος) Μάρκος (129 x 71).

Text: Jn 21:16 **Λέγει αὐτῶι· Ποίμαινε**-21:25 **Ἀμήν.**

Apparatus (all added): ἀρ(χή) and τέ(λος) within the text; liturgical notes in the outer margin; endnote to Jn: **τέλος τοῦ κατὰ Ἰω(άννην) ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου, στίχοι ,βτ', ἃ καὶ ἐξεδόθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μ(ε)τ(ὰ) χρόνους λβ' τ(ῆς) τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἀναλή(ψεως)** (cf. SODEN, I:297, no. 42).

Diacritics and Punctuation: rounded breathing marks; small circumflexes. – Mute iota adscribed. – No diaereseis over ι and υ. – Commas, high points, periods, and question marks. – Common endings sometimes abbreviated.

Script: elegant sloping cursive. Mostly majuscule α, η, θ, and κ; closed ω; compound ου; occasionally enlarged κ, δ, ζ, and ω; occasionally spectacle-shaped β.

Supplementary Hand (that added the apparatus): elegant minuscule, close to the Hodegon style; the scribe signed his name in the lower margin of Vatop. 762, fol. 16v; he is probably identical with Gregory Alyatēs (*RGK* III:no. 145).

Ink: pale brown; paragraph initials in gold (without underlying magenta).

Parchment: of high quality, exceptionally white and thin.

Ruling: hardpoint; type 42D1b (originally 44D1). – Page ruled for 33 lines, 24 written; justification [115 x 60 mm]; interlinear distance 3 mm.

Parent Manuscript: Mt.-Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, Cod. 762, Psalter, Gospels, Acts, and Epistles; parchment (fols. 2–3, 5–16, and 332–47 paper), 162 x 107 mm, 352 fols. (foliated 1–162, 163, 164–350; W.530c originally fol. 211), linn. 33, justification [115 x 60–62], ruling 44D1. Contents (excl. later additions on fols. 1v–16v and 330r–47v): [**17r–v**] miniatures; [**18r–88r**] **Ψαλτήριον τοῦ Δα(υῒ)δ·** [**18r–82r**] Pss 1–151 and [**82v–88r**] Biblical Odes I–IX {*Hórologion*, 64–78; RAHLFS, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 341–59}; [**88v–89v**] miniatures; [**90r–126v**] *Mt.* **Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον**; [**127r–v**] originally blank; [**128r–148v**] *Mk.* **Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον**; [**149r–v**] miniatures; [**150r–184r**] *Lk.* **Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν**; [**184v**] originally blank; [**185r–v**] miniatures; [**186r–211r**] *Jn.* **Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην**; [**212r–248v**] *Acts.* **Πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων**, [**249r–315v**] *Pauline Epistles.* **Τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου ἐπιστολαί**; [**315v–329v**] *Catholic Epistles.* **Ἀρχὴ τῶν ἑπτὰ καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν**; [**330r–331r**] miniatures.

Dating: on fol. 184r of Vatop. 762, there is, infra, a small elegant drawing of a male head that was certainly done by the scribe. Thus, it is very likely that the person who copied the text also executed the miniatures, or at least the underdrawings for them. – The script is very similar to the hand that copied codd. Sinait. gr. 347 (WEITZMANN and GALAVARIS, *Sinai*, fig. 188: mistakenly labeled "cod. 342"), London, BL Add. 11870 (BUCKTON, *Byzantium*, **156**, cat. 169; ŠEVČENKO, *Menologion*, fig. 3D2), and Paris. Coislin 79 (OMONT, *Onciale*, pls. 47–48; SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus*, II:figs. 175–76). The last manuscript is datable a. 1074–78 (see SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus*, I:30).

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H. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer*

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K. W. CLARK, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 361.

C. L. BRUNO, in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts in American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. G. Vikan, exh. cat., Princeton University Art Museum (Princeton, 1973), 106f., cat. 22.

CHR. MAUROPOULOU-TSIOUMĒ, "Παράστασιη τῆς ἐπουρανίου Ἱεροσαλὴμ στό χειρόγραφο 762 τῆς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου." *Klēronomia* 6 (1974): 105–11.

IDEM, "Εἰκονογραφικὰ θέματα απὸ τὸν κώδικα ἀρ. 762 τῆς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου." *Klēronomia* 6 (1974): 375–79.

P. K. CHRISTOU et al., *Hoi thēsauroi tou Hagiou Orous. Eikonographēmena cheirographa* (Athens, 1991), 4:120–23 and 295–99.

S. N. KADAS, *Ta sēmeiomata tōn cheirographōn tēs Hieras Megistēs Monēs Vatopaidiou* (Mt. Athos, 2000), 135f., cat. 762

W.530d–e TWO LEAVES FROM A GOSPEL BOOK [ALAND 1474]

Parchment, 2 folios, ca. 226 x 153, second quarter of the twelfth century, probably Constantinople

Illustrations: |**d**| {*Dorothy Miner Memorial*, fig. 2; CAPPS, *AllenMusBull* 15.2 (1958/59): fig. 10; DIRINGER, *Illuminated Book*, fig. ii-16.d; *Early Chr. and Byz. Art*, pl. xcvi, cat. 718} *Mark Seated Thinking* (162 x 118, incl. frame); |**e**| {*Glory of Byzantium*, **94**, cat. 48; CALKINS, *Treasury*, fig. 19; VIKAN, *Amer. Collections*, fig. 63; CAPPS, *AllenMusBull* 15.2 (1958/59): fig. 9; DIRINGER, *Illuminated Book*, fig. ii-17.c} *Matthew Seated Dipping His Pen*: Ματθαῖος (162 x 116, incl. frame); back sides both blank.

Inscriptions: |**d**| above frame, pale brown ink, inexperienced hand, s XIII–XIV: + ὁ ἅ(γιος) ἀπό(στολος) καὶ εὐα(γγελιστὴς) Μάρκος; |**e**| above frame, magenta ink, Alexandrian *Auszeichnungs-Majuskel*, evidently in the scribe's hand (cf. NELSON, *Hagiopetrites*, fig. C-10): see above.

Parchment: of good quality, with a light defect in the outer margin of fol. **d**.

Ruling: hardpoint; type 30C1; ruled for 19 text lines with justification [155 x 115 mm]; interlinear distance 9 mm.

Quire Signatures: dark gray ink, s. XVI?: Greek numbers *Im3*: α (**e**), ιε (**d**) (both in the lower margins under the miniatures).

Parent Manuscript (studied on microfilm): Mt.-Athos, Lavra A44, Gospel Book, parchment, 228 x 165, i+416 fols., linn. 19. |**1r–v**| blank; |**1r–2v**| Τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Ματθαῖον εὐα(γγελίου) τὰ κε(φάλαια), |**3r–115v**| Ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον, |**116r–v**| Τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Μάρκον εὐ(α)γ(γελίου) τὰ κεφάλαια, |**117r–v**| blank, |**118r–187v**| Τὸ κατ(ὰ) Μάρκ(ον) ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον, |**188r–189v**| Τὰ κεφάλαια τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Λουκ(ᾶν) ἁγ(ίου) εὐαγγελ(ίου), |**190r**| blank, |**190v**| miniature, |**191r–310r**| Ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον κατ(ὰ) Λουκᾶν, |**310v**| blank, |**311r**| Τοῦ κατὰ Ἰω(άννην) εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφά(λαια), |**312r –400v**| Ἅγιον εὐαγγέλ(ιον) κατ(ὰ) Ἰω(άννην), |**401r–416v**| Ἐκλογάδ(ιον) τῶν τεσσάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν διά τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ τέλους τὴν περικοπὴν ἔχον ἑκάστου εὐαγγελιστοῦ ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν τ(ῶν) κεφα(λαίων) παρασημείωσιν ἑκάστου εὐαγγελίου ἀκριβῶς διαγορεύο(ν), incl. Εὐαγγέλια διάφορα εἰς ἑορτ(ὰς) ἁγίων and Μηνολόγιον τοῦ ὅλ(ου) χρόνου, |**417r–v**| originally blank.

Dating: the miniatures are attributable to the "Kokkinobaphos Master" (first identified by ANDERSON, *DOP* 36 [1982]: 89–92); two other manuscripts with illustrations attributed to him are datable: Vatican. Urbin. gr. 2, *ca.* a. 1125 (SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus*, 41, with figs. 251–54, cat. 135), and Oxford, Christ Church gr. 32, *ca.* a. 1139 (HUTTER, *Corpus*, IV:64–69 with figs. 345–56 and pls. iii and iv, cat. 24).

Iconography: on the thinking Evangelist [**d**]: HUNGER, in *RBK*, II:460f.; on the Evangelist dipping his pen [**e**]: ibid., 461.

References:

H. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte. I.Teil: Untersuchungen. 1. Abteilung: Die Textzeugen* (Göttingen, 1911), 169, cat. ε2017.

C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1909), III:1150, cat. 1474.

SPYRIDON and S. EUSTRATIADES, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos* (Cambridge, 1925; repr. New York, 1969) [= *Harvard Theological Studies* XII], 6, cat. 44.

R. G. CALKINS, *A Medieval Treasury: An Exhibition of Medieval Art from the Third to the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca, 1968), 111f., cat. 19, with fig. 19.

G. VIKAN, in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts in American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. G. Vikan, exh. cat., Princeton University Art Museum (Princeton, 1973), 138f., cat. 36.

R. S. NELSON, *Theodore Hagiopetrites: A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator* (Vienna, 1991) [= *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenhschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften* 217; *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik* IV], pls. 78 with fig. C-6, 80 with fig. C-10, and 81 with fig. C-11.

J. C. ANDERSON, "A Twelfth-Century Leaf from the Byzantine Courtly Circle in the Freer Gallery of Art (Freer 33.12)," *Gesta* 35 (1996): 145f. with fig. 5 and n. 9.

IDEM, in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261*, eds. H. Evans and W. Wixom, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1997), 94f, cat. 48.

W.530f–g TWO LEAVES FROM A GOSPEL BOOK [ALAND 1498]

Parchment, 2 folios, ca. 250 x 167 mm, late thirteenth century, Byzantine Empire

Illustrations: [**f**] {LOWDEN, **285**; VIKAN, *Amer. Collections*, fig. 95; WEITZMANN, fig. 5; DIRINGER, *Illuminated Book*, fig. ii-21.c; POPOVA, *Iskusstvo Novgoroda i Moskvy*, 196} *Luke Seated Writing*: ὁ ἅγ(ιος) Λουκᾶς, in the book: Lk 1:1 Επιδειπερ πο[λλοί] (170 x 129, incl. frame); other side blank; [**g**] {LOWDEN, **285**; DIRINGER, fig. ii-17.d; WEITZMANN, fig. 4; POPOVA, 197} *John Seated Holding a Book*: ο αγ(ιος) Ιω(άννης) ὁ Θεολόγος, on the scroll: Jn 1:1 Εν αρχὴ ην ο λόγος (165 x 131, incl. frame); other side: {LOWDEN, **285**; VIKAN, fig. 96; *Early Chr. and Byz. Art*, pl. ciii, cat. 735; BELTING, *Illuminierte Buch*, fig. 6; DIRINGER, fig. ii-20.d} *Christ Appearing to His Disciples*.

Parchment: of good quality, smooth and without defects.

Ruling: hardpoint; type D 32D1, ruled for 25 text lines with justification [180 x 115 mm]; interlinear distance 7 mm.

Parent Manuscript (studied on microfilm): Mt.-Athos, Lavra, Cod. Λ76, Gospel Book, parchment, 253 x 168, i+221+i fols. (foliated 1–99, 99bis–182, 184–91, 191bis–218), linn. 42 (fols. 1–7) and 25 (fols. 9–217). [**1r–4v**] Συναξάριον σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτ(οῦ) περιέχ(ον) πᾶσ(αν) τὴν ἀκολουθ(ίαν) τῶν ἑβδομάδ(ων) πα-σῶν, ἀρχόμενον ἀπ(ὸ) τοῦ κατὰ Ἰω(άννην) ἁγ(ίου) εὐα(γγελίου), [**4v–7v**] *List of Gospel Readings for the Immovable Feasts* (title illegible on film), end missing: ends with July 9, [**8r–v**] blank, [**9r**] Ὑπόθεσις τοῦ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Ματθ(αῖον) εὐα(γγελίου) {SODEN, 314f.}, [**9r–10r**] Τοῦ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Ματθ(αῖον) εὐα(γγελί)ου τὰ κεφά-λ(αια), [**10v**] miniature, [**11r–69v**] Τὸ κατα Ματθαιον ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον, colophon: Τέλος τοῦ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Ματθ(αῖον) εὐαγγελ(ίου), [**69v–70r**] miniatures (lower half of 70r blank), [**70v**] Ὑπόθε(σις) (εἰς) τὸ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Μάρ(κον) εὐα(γγέλιον) {SODEN, 314f.}, [**70v–71r**] Τοῦ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Μάρκ(ον) εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφάλαια, [**71v**] miniature, [**72r–106v**] Το κατα Μάρκον ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον, end missing, des. Mk 16:10 μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ, [**107r**] blank, [**107v–108r**] Τοῦ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελ(ίου) τὰ κεφάλ(αια), [**108v**] Ὑπόθε(σις) εἰς τ(ὸ) κ(α)τ(ὰ)

Λου(κᾶν) εὐα(γγέλιον) {SODEN, 315}, [109r–170v] Τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶ(ν) ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιο(ν), colophon: Τέλο(ς) σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ τοῦ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Λουκ(ᾶν) ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου, [171r–217v] Τὸ κατὰ Ἰω(άννην) ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον, colophon: Τέ(λος) τοῦ κατὰ Ἰω(άννην) εὐα(γγε)λ(ίου).

Single Leaves from the Same Manuscript:
St.-Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Ms gr. 305 (not seen by me), 233 x 158 mm, 8 fols.: [1r] miniature, [1v–8r] canon tables, [8v] miniature.
Paris, École Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Ms 2 (studied on photographs), 247 x 167 mm, 1f.: [r] miniature, [v] Ὑπόθεσ(ις) εἰς τ(ὸ) κ(α)τ(ὰ) Ἰω(άννην) εὐαγγέλιον {SODEN, 315f.), end lost, des. ἀληθὴς ἐστι βρῶσις.
Present whereabouts unknown, formerly Chicago, Prof. Harold R. Willoughby, then Boston, R. Willoughby (studied on photographs), 248 x 168 mm, 1f.: [r] *Preface to Jn* {SODEN, 316}, beginning lost, inc. καὶ τὸ αἷμα μου, [r] Τοῦ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Ἰω(άννην) εὐα(γγελί)ου τὰ κεφάλ(αια), [v] miniature.

Companion Volume (not seen by me): Moscow, Historical Museum, Ms muz. 3648 (bought in 1835 from the Lavra, Mt.-Athos), Acts and Epistles, parchment, 251 x 175, 273 fols., linn. 25 [180 x 117–123], ruling C 32C1. The scribe is the same as in Lavra A76. The miniatures, although quite similar in style to the Walters Evangelist portraits, are probably by a different painter.

Dating: in spite of the different techniques of execution, I attribute all miniatures to a single hand; the dating argued for the Evangelist portraits by WEITZMANN, 97f. also holds, therefore, for the rest of the miniatures.

Iconography: on the scene of Christ's appearance to the Apostles: WEITZMANN, 95f.

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W.531 GOSPEL BOOK [ALAND 2375]

Parchment, ii+233+ii folios, 320 x 230 mm, mid-twelfth century, Byzantine Empire

Illustrations: [**59v**] {ROBB, *Illuminated Ms*, fig. 32; FELICETTI-LIEBENFELS, *Geschichte*, pl. 16; *Arts of the MA*, pl. vi, cat. 11; LAZAREV, *Istoriia*[1], pl. 143 б and г; ALPATOV and BRUNOV, *Geschichte*, II:82, fig. 189} *Baptism*: ἡ Βάπτισις (248 x 165); [**60r**] *Mark Seated Thinking*: ὁ ἅγιος Μάρκος, in the book: Mk 1:1 + Αρχη τοῦ ἐβανκελιου [ῦ ος γὲγαρ[πται] (ca. 248 x 166); [**102v**] {CUTLER and NESBITT, *Arte bizantina*, **336**; LAZAREV, pl. 143 a and в; BELTING, *ZfKg* 41 (1978): 237, fig. 21} *Annunciation*: ὁ Χαὶρετησμός (248 x 160); [**103r**] {CUTLER and NESBITT, **337**} *Luke Seated Writing*: no inscription, in the book: Lk 1:1 + **Επι**[δὴπερ] (173 x 160); [**173v**] {*Glory of Byzantium*, **96**, cat. 51; VIKAN, *Amer. Collections*, fig. 76; *Early Chr. and Byz. Art*, pl. cv, cat. 732; TALBOT RICE, *Last Phase*, fig. 27; CAPPS, *AllenMusBull* 15 (1957/58): fig. 14; DIRINGER, *Illum. Book*, fig. ii-20.c; MATTHIAE, *RLASA* n.s. 18 (1971): fig. 61; BELTING, 234, fig. 17} *Raising of Lazarus*: η ἐγερσις του Λαζάρου (235 x 163); [**174r**] {VIKAN, fig. 77; BUCHTHAL, *DOP* 15 (1961): fig. 6; *Early*, pl. cv, cat. 732} *John Seated Holding a Scroll*: ο ἅγιος Ἰω(άννης) ο Θεολόγος (242 x 168).

Ornament: [**61r**] *Hollow Headpiece* (35 x 155), *Initial A*; [**175r**] *Headpiece* (62 x 70), *Initial E with Two Falcons, a Hare, and a Patridge*.

Text: [**1r–58v**] *Mt*, beginning lost, inc. 5:12, endnote: εὐαγγέ(λιον) κατ(ὰ) Ματθ(αῖον); [**59r**] *Chapters List for Mk*: Τὰ κε(φάλαια) τοῦ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Μάρκ(ον) εὐαγγελ(ίου) {SODEN, 407–9}; [**61r–101r**] Mk: Τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον ἅγῖον εὐαγγέλῖον, endnote: εὐαγγέ(λιον) κ(α)τ(ὰ) Μάρκον; [**101v**] *Chapters List for Lk*: Κε(φάλαια) τοῦ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Λουκᾶν ἁγ(ίου) εὐα(γγελίου) {SODEN, 409–11}; [**103r–172v, 176r–179v**] *Lk*: + Τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἅγῖον εὐ(αγγέλιον)· Κε(φάλαιον) α'; [**175r**] *Chapters List for Jn*: Κε(φάλαια) τοῦ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Ἰω(άννην) εὐαγγε(λίου) {SODEN, 411}; [**175r–v, 180r–232v**] *Jn*: Εὐαγγέλιον κ(α)τ(ὰ) Ἰω(άννην), end lost, des. 21:17 αὐτῶ [τὸ].

Apparatus: chapter numbers and titles written in the upper margin. – Section numbers and the number of the corresponding canon table written in the vertical margins. – Old Testament quotations marked with ε in the left or middle margin. – Beginning and end of liturgical readings marked with ἀρχ(ή) and τέ(λος) within the text. Liturgical use of readings and their beginning noted in the lower, upper, or outer margins.

Diacritics and Punctuation: rounded breathing marks; small circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted. – Diaeresis over ι common. – Double accent over δὲ (hand A only) – Commas, high points, question marks, and periods. – Common endings often abbreviated at the end of a line. – Καὶ and preposition ἐπὶ often abbreviated (hand A only).

Script: two hands: **A** (fols. 1–101, 119, 122, 131, 171–72, 175–79, 211, 218) florid, widely spaced minuscule with often enlarged γ, τ, κ, φ, and (heart-shaped) β; majuscule η, often umbilical θ, ϡ-shaped ξ, and lunate ε; τ in the

articles τοῦ, τῷ, and τὸ often superscribed; -ον ending often superscribed, with the ν involved in the o. Chapters lists in Alexandrian *Auszeichnungs-Majuskel*. – **B** (fols. 103–18, 120–21, 123–30, 132–70, 180–210, 212–17, 219–32) "epsylon"-style (CANART, *Scrittura e civiltà* 5 [1981]: 17–76) of the bold, blocky version (CARR, *Byz. Illumination*, 126–28) with enlarged τ, φ, (heart-shaped) β, (3-shaped) ζ, and (double-3-shaped) ξ; majuscle η. – Liturgical notes in one hand throughout, perhaps identical with **A**: sloping cursive with predominantly majuscule letter forms and numerous abbreviations.

Ink: (hand **A**) dark brown, (hand **B**) black. – Chapters lists, liturgical notes, ἀρχ(ή) and τέ(λος) in magenta. – Gospel titles, chapter titles, and section numbers in gold over magenta.

Parchment: of medium quality, with a number of defects in the margin (fols. 64, 70, 98, 140, 156, 160, 161, 174, 223, 230), some even reaching into the text field (fols. 15, 120, 166, 167) – fols. 1–102, 119, 122, 131, 171–79 are noticeably thicker and smoother than the others. – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Goat-like; rough selection; various weights; scars and scrapes; hair and follicles only partially removed; both sides polished; 'medium' to 'very heavy' (0.12–0.36 mm)."

Ruling: hardpoint; system 1; types *~53B2d* with a superfluous extra vertical line 6–10 mm inside the left text column, and ruled for 27 text lines, of which only the first 23 are written (fols. 1–57), *22E2b* (fols. 58–72), *20C2* (fols. 73–96, 98, 101, 171–72, 176–78), *20E2* (fols. 97, 99–100, 102), *32C2* (fols. 103–70, 175, 180–232); fol. 173 unruled, fol. 174 ruled with a rectangular frame for the miniature – linn. *23* (fols. 1–92), *24* (fols. 93–96, 103–70, 180–232), *25* (fols. 97–102, 171–72, 175–79) – justification [220–30 x 140–50 (ca. 60+20+65) mm] – interlinear distance 10 mm.

Quires: 1 (fol. 1), 9 x 8 (72), 8 (80: fols. 75 and 78 single), 2 x 8 (96), 6 (102), 2 x 8 (118), 4 (122), 8 (130), 8 (138: fols. 131 and 138 single), 4 x 8 (170), 6+3 (179: fols. 173–74 bifolium, fol. 175 single), 7 (186: fol. 186 single), 5 x 8 (226), 6 (232).

Quire Signatures: possibly original, in magenta ink, Greek numerals *Ii2*: κθ (218v), λ (219r) – later, in brown ink, Greek numerals *Ii2*: ϛ (41v), ια (80v), κϛ (194v), κζ (195r), κθ (219r) – illegible remains of signatures in brown, *Ii* on fols. 118v, 123r, 138v, 146v, 147r, 155r, 171r, 179v.

Foliation: current, from 1972, in pencil *Se*: continuous, incl. 63bis – older, from April 8, 1935, in pencil *Se*: 1–3 (=173–75), 4–60 (=1–57), 61–66 (=59–63bis), 67 (=58), 68–75 (=65–72), 76 (=64), 77–176 (=73–172), 177–233 (=176–232) – yet earlier, perhaps by Gruel, in pencil *Ie*: two unnumbered (=173–74), 1 (=175), 2–57bis (=1–57), 58–63 (=59–63bis), 64 (=58), 65–72 (=65–72), 73 (=64), 74–118bis (=73–118), 119–72 (=119–72), 173–229 (=176–232).

Marks: [**174r**, lower margin] in medium brown ink: Ἰω(άννης) – [**125r**, central margin] dark brown ink, s. XIII?: phrase omitted by the original scribe added to the New Testament text – [**144v, 211r**: lower margins) black ink, s. XVI?: chapter titles added – [**174v**] in gray ink: + Μνήσ(θη)τ(ι) Κ(ύρι)ε κ(αὶ) συγχωρη(σον) τὴν ψυχην της δούλ(ης) σοῦ Ἄννης τὴς Ἀρβενούπουλὸς καὶ Κω(ν)στ(α)ν(τίνου) τοῦ Καλιγᾶ τοῦ Κυβασενοῦ κ(αὶ) τῆς θηγατερός του Τζανούλὰς μετα τον αγ(ιων) ἀγγέλ(ων) να ἐχη τον ἁγ(ιον) Γριγο(ριον) τὸν Νύσῃ βοηθον κ(αὶ) προστάτην ἐν ημέρα κρήσεος τῆς Δευτέρας παρουσί(ας) ὁτι ἐσκέπασε το εβαγγέλιον ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς να σὺγχωρήσ(η) αὐτοῦς; [**188r**, lower margin] same hand and ink: pericope note added, with incipit – [**WAM curatorial file**] pencil-written note, in Dorothy Miner's hand: "From monastery of Trabizond. Mr. Walrers pd. £ 10,000 for it, ~~about~~ in ~~1929 or~~ 1930 ~~(same~~ (year asfter Byz. exhib). Turkish soldier bought it from the monastery. Kelekian sold another manuscript from same source to Lodge and Walters bought this from Gruel." – [**back pastedown**] in pencil: "Resewn, with order of leaves corrected; rebound, using old covers; by Deborah Evetts, New York – May–July 1972"; [i recto] in pencil: "refoliated after rebinding and rearrangement of leaves, 1972. Old Walters foliation remains in brackets. New foliation adjacent with final – dash: upper right corner."

Binding: light brown leather over squared wooden boards, with (original) blind and gold tooling. "The old sides have been removed from their original boards and replaced on new boards with a new calf back." Paper pastedowns and flyleaves, all added at restoration. "The new sewing utilizes 4 out of the 5 old sewing positions." (Quotes are from D. Evetts' conservation report of 1972.) – Noticeable trimming, with many of the quire signatures and marginal lines of the ruling lost. – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Previous sewing at five stations and two endband tie-down stations: 22, 50, 111, 164, 224, 281, and 300 mm from headcap."

Provenance: probably identical with a Gospel book [ALAND 2343] seen at the Monastery of St. George Περιστερᾶς near Trebizond by M. Mynas on February 6, 1845 and by Th. Kluge in the winter of 1911–12 – in the possession of a certain Pellikidis (see LAZAREV, *Istoriia*[1], 111 and 314 n. 29), Trabzon (seen there by M. Alpatov in the autumn of 1924) – 1930 (?): purchased by H. Walters probably from Gruel, Paris.

Dating: scribe **A** worked after scibe **B**: on fols. 119, 122, 131, 211, and 218 he neatly supplemented (or perhaps, replaced) the text copied by **B** on the adjacent folios, and in the margins of fols. 125v, 132r, and 189r, added phrases that **B** had omitted from the text. – The illuminated ornament may have been the work of scribe **A**, since in the first gathering of Jn, he only did the first leaf (fol. 175), where the headpiece and initial are found. – The painter worked after scribe **B**: on fol. 103r, the picture's frame slightly covers the edges of the Gospel title and of the liturgical note in the upper margin. He might have worked in parallel with scribe **A**: the illustrated fols. 59, 60, and 102 are integral to gatherings copied by **A**. – Hand **B** finds dated parallels only after a. 1153: see CARR, *Byz. Illumination*, 127f.; GAMILLSCHEG, *JÖB* 37 (1987): 313–21. Hand **A**, in its turn, is quite similar to the script of the Octateuch Istanbul, Topkapı Saray, Ms G.I.8 (CUTLER and SPIESER, *Byzance*, fig. **281**; SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus*, figs. 568–71; LOWDEN, *Octateuchs*, figs. 3, 14, 15, and 109; ANDERSON, *DOP* 36 [1982]: fig. 37). The ornament (fols. 61r, 175r) is closely paralleled in Oxford, Christ Church gr. 32, *ca.* a. 1139 (HUTTER, *Corpus*, IV.2, figs. 348, 351, 354, and 355), Paris, BN gr. 1208 (CUTLER and SPIESER, fig. **302**), and Vatic. gr. 1162 (*Marien-homilien*). All these manuscripts were illustrated by the "Kokkinobaphos master," whose activity is datable ca. 1125–50 (see above, under "W.530d–e"; on the dating of the Octateuchs' script cf., however, PERRIA in *Studi in onore de' Maffei*, 221). The style of the miniatures is similar to the frescoes of Pherai, ca. a. 1152 (SINOS, *Klosterkirche*). – I date W.531 to the **middle of the twelfth century**.

Iconography: on the combination of Evangelist portraits with select New Testament scenes: MEREDITH, *JWCI* 29 (1966): 424ff. The Raising of Lazarus accompanying Jn [173v–174r] is only found in W.531: HUNGER, in *RBK*, II:457. In the Annunciation scene [102v], the Holy Spirit is portrayed in the form of a dove (b/w the letters ι and ϱ of the inscription χαιρετησμός). The closest parallel for this detail, as well as for the "hanging" garden in the background on the left [102v], is found in the Sinai Annunciation icon (*Glory of Byzantium*, 374f., cat. 246). – On the Evangelist holding a scroll [174r]: HUNGER, in *RBK*, II:463; BUCHTHAL, *Musterbuch*, 42–45 with figs. 36, 37, 39, 40, 45, 51, and 52; SPATHARAKIS, *Evangelist*, figs. 27, 28, 31–39.

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K. W. CLARK, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 361f.

D. CHARALAMBOUS-MOURIKI, in *Byzantine Art: A European Art: Ninth Exhibition Held under the Auspices of the Council of Europe* (Athens, 1964), 320f. and 545, cat. 319.

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I. KOLIA, "Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς μονῆς ἁγίου Γεωργίου τοῦ Περιστερεώτη (στὴν ἐπαρχία τῆς Τραπεζούντος)," in *Aphierôma ston kathēgētē Lino Politē* (Thessaloniki, 1979), 213, cat. 2.

A. W. CARR, in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261*, eds. H. Evans and W. Wixom, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1997), 97, cat. 51.

W.532 GOSPEL BOOK [ALAND 1356]

Parchment, i+303+i folios, 345 x 245 mm, late eleventh century, Byzantine Empire

Illustrations: [16v] *Matthew Seated Writing*: ὁ ἅ(γιος) Ματθαῖος (231 x 194, incl. frame); [97v] *Luke Seated Dipping His Pen*: ὁ ἅ(γιος) Λουκας (231 x 194, incl. frame); **[150v]** {VIKAN, *Amer. Collections*, fig. 74; BERKOWITZ, pl. 46; *Early Chr. and Byz. Art*, pl. civ, cat. 733; *In the Beginning*, 22, cat. 4} *Mark Seated Thinking*: ὁ ἅ(γιος) Μάρκος (230 x 192, incl. frame); [239v] *John Seated Thinking*: ὁ ἅ(γιος) Ἰω(άννης) (230 x 194).

Ornament: [1v–2r] *Ornamented Frames for the Letter of Eusebius, with Pairs of Peacocks on Top* (217 x 165; 222 x 165); [3v–4r, 5v–6r, 7v–8r, 9v–10r] {8r: VIKAN, *Amer. Collections*, fig. 75} *Canon Table Frames, Each with Two Columns and a Pair of Birds* (ca. 250–55 x (at the base) 190–95); **[11r]** *Headband* (16 x 70), *Initial E*; **[14r]** *Headband* (18 x 74); [17r] *Square Hollow Headpiece* (69 x 70), *Initial B*; **[94r]** *Headband* (15 x 73); **[94v]** *Headband* (16 x 75), *Initial O*; [95v] *Headband* (15 x 75); [98r] *Square Hollow Headpiece* (69 x 72), *Initial A*; **[146r]** *Headband* (13 x 75), *Initial O*; **[147v]** *Headband* (16 x 71); **[151r]** *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (83 x 69), *Initial E*; **[236v]** *Initial O*; **[238v]** *Headband* (20 x 72); [240r] *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (82 x 67), *Initial E with a Blessing Hand*.

Text (see also KERAMEUS, 205f.): **[1v–2r]** *Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus*: Ὑπόθεσις κανόνων τῆς τῶν εὐαγγελιστ(ῶν) συμφωνί(ας) {*CPG* 3465: GREGORY, 863f.; SODEN, 388f.; ~*PG* 22:1276–77}, inc. Εὐσέβιος Καρπιανῷ, des. ἔρρω(σο) ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ; **[3v–4r, 5v–6r, 7v–8r, 9v–10r]** *Canon Tables I–X*; **[11r–14r]** *Preface to Mt*: Πρόγραμμα εἰς τὸ(ν) εὐαγγελιστὴν Ματθαῖον {SODEN, 316–18; *SC* 159:287–93; ~*PG* 88:285C–293A}, folios out of order, inc. Ἔλθωμεν λοιπὸν, des. καὶ πληροῦντι. Ἀμήν.; **[14r–15r]** *Chapters List for Mt*: Τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖου ἁγίου εὐαγγε(λίου) τα κεφάλ(αια) {SODEN, 405–7}; **[17r–94r]** *Mt*: Εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ κατ(ὰ) Ματθαῖον; [94r–v] *Verses to Mt*: Στίχ(οι) εἰς τὸν εὐαγγε(λιστὴν) Ματθαῖον {KOMINĒS, 264f., no. 5; ~SODEN, 380, no. 24}; [94v–95r] *Preface to Mk*: Πρόγραμμα εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Μάρκον {SODEN, 318f.; *SC* 159:295–97; *PG* 88:289A–B}, inc. Οὗτος, des. καὶ πληροῦντι. Ἀμήν; [95r] *note*: Ἔχει δὲ τὸ κα(τὰ) Μάρκον εὐαγγὲ(λιον) στί(χους) .αχ᾽, τίτλους μη᾽, κε(φάλαια) σλζ᾽; [95v–96r] *Chapters List for Mk*: Τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον ἁγ(ίου) εὐαγγε(λίου) οἱ τίτλοι {SODEN, 407–9}; [98r–145v] *Mk*: Εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ κατα Μάρκον, lacks Mk 7:8 ἐντολὴν–7:35 διηνοί]χθησαν; endnote: Ἔχει δὲ τὸ βιβλίον ,βω᾽, κε(φάλαια) τμβ᾽, τίτλους πγ᾽; [146r] *Verses to Mk*: Στίχοι εἰς τὸν εὐα(γγελιστὴν) Μάρκ(ον) {SODEN, 381, no. 25; KOMINĒS, 267f., no. 5}; [146r–147v] *Preface to Lk*: Πρόγραμμα εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶ(ν) {SODEN, 319; *PG* 88:289B–292A; *SC* 159:299–301}, inc. Οὗτος, des. πληροῦντι. Ἀμήν; **[147v–149r]** *Chapters List for Lk*: Τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφάλ(αια) {SODEN, 409–11}; **[151r–236v]** *Lk*: Εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τ(οῦ) κατα Λουκᾶν; [236v] *Verses to Lk*: Στί(χοι) εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶν {SODEN, 381, no. 26; KOMINĒS, 270f., no. 3}; **[236v–238r]** *Preface to Jn*: Πρόγραμμα εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰω(άννην) {SODEN, 320; *PG* 88:292B–293A; *SC* 159:303–5}, inc. Οὗτος, des. διαθήκη; [238r] *note*: Ἔχει δὲ τὸ βιβλίον στίχ(ους) ,βτ᾽, κε(φάλαια) σλβ᾽, τίτλου(ς) ιη᾽; [238v] *Chapters List for Jn*: Τοῦ κατὰ Ἰω(άννην) εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφάλ(αια) {SODEN, 411}; **[240r–301v]** *Jn*: Εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τ(οῦ) κατα Ἰω(άννην); **[302r]** *Verses to Jn*: Στί(χοι) εἰς τ(ὸν) εὐαγγε(λιστὴν) Ἰω(άννην) {SODEN, 381, no. 27; KOMINĒS, 275, no. 7}; **[302r–303r]** Πε(ρὶ) τῆς μοιχαλίδος· Jn 7:53–8:11.

Originally Blank Pages: 1r, 2v–3r, 4v–5r, 6v–7r, 8v–9r, 10v, 15v–16r, 96v–97r, 149v–150r, 238v–239r, 303v.

Apparatus: chapter numbers written in the left or middle margin; chapter numbers and titles written in the upper margin. – Section numbers and the number of the corresponding canon table written in the left/middle margin. – Old Testament quotations marked with biangular breathing marks in the left margin. – Beginning and end of liturgical readings marked with ἀρχ(ή) and τέ(λος) within the text. Liturgical use of readings noted in the upper or (less often) left/middle margin.

Diacritics and Punctuation: biangular or angular breathing marks; small circumflexes. – Mute iota adscribed in "superscript" or omitted. – No diaeresis over ι or υ. – Double accent over μὲν. – High points and periods. – Καὶ often abbreviated; common endings sometimes abbreviated at the end of a line.

Script: large, rounded *Perlschrift* (also known as "liturgical minuscule"). Occasionally enlarged κ, occasionally heightened τ, occasionally circular θ, often majuscule η, α often with a crossbar, occasionally open ρ; ε often ligated to a subsequent consonant, with only its hook written. – Eusebian letter, preface and chapter titles, and verses in Alexandrian *Auszeichnungs-Majuskel.* Gospel titles in epigraphic *AuszeichnungsMajuskel.*

Ink: very dark brown (often faded on the leaves' hair side). Verses, stichometric notes, chapters lists, Gospel, preface, and chapter titles, liturgical notes, chapter and section numbers, ἀρχ(ή) and τέ(λος), and paragraph initials in gold over magenta. – Verses and title on fol. 302r in magenta.

Parchment: of high quality, thin and supple, but with occasional defects in the margin (fols. 14, 162, 172, 194, 234, 245, 266). – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Calflike; carefully selected, probably all of the same animal type; hair and follicles mainly removed; both sides smooth; 'medium' to 'heavy' in weight (0.14–0.26 mm)."

Ruling: hardpoint; system 1; types *54C2* (fols. 11–14, 66–67, 70–71, 82, 87, 91–95, 98, 100, 102, 120, 130), *P2 54C2* (fols. 15, 17–65, 68–69, 72–80, 84–85, 89–90, 96, 99, 101, 106, 108, 111, 113–14, 119, 121–22, 125–26, 128–29, 134–36, 143–44, 146, 149, 152–55, 158–63, 166–71, 174–78, 180–81, 183–86, 188–89, 191–92, 195, 198, 204–5, 210, 212–13, 215, 217, 219–22, 224–25, 228–30, 232–38, 240, 247–50, 253–64, 266, 269, 271, 273, 275–76, 279–80, 282–85, 287–96, 299, 303), *P3d 54C2* (fols. 81, 83, 86, 88, 115–18, 123–24, 127, 187, 190, 211, 214, 251–52, 274, 277), *P1a 54C2* (fols. 103, 105, 107, 109–10, 112, 131–33, 137–42, 145, 147–48, 151, 156–57, 164–65, 172–73, 179, 182, 193–94, 196–97, 199–203, 206–9, 216, 218, 223, 226–27, 231, 241–46, 265, 267–68, 270, 272, 278, 281, 286, 297–98, 300–302), and *uncodified:* quatrefoil written surface ruled D1 (fols. 1–2); fols. 3–10, 16, 97, 150, and 239 unruled. – 22 lines per page; justification ca. [230 x 165 (67+30+67) mm]; interlinear distance 12 mm.

Quires: 5 x 2 (fol. 10), 5 (15: fol. 13 single), 1 (16), 10 x 8 (96), 1 (97), 2 x 8 (113), 6 (119: text lost), 3 x 8 (143), 9 (152: fol. 150 single), 10 x 8 (232), 6 (238), 1 (239), 8 x 8 (303).

Quire Signatures: scribal, in dark brown ink, Greek numerals *Se1*, extant on fols. 57r (ϛ), 73r (η), 98r (ια), 106r (ιβ), 161r (ιθ), 280r (λγ, with δ added above in magenta), 288r (λδ), 296r (λε) – in very pale yellowish-brown ink, Armenian letters *Im1*: բ (25r) through ե (49r), է (65r) through ժ (89r), ի (106r) through ձ (144r), ղ (150r), ն (153r) through շ (209r), ո (233r), ս (239r), վ (248r) through ք (296r).

Original Order of Folios: 1–11, 13, 12, 14–96, 150, 98–116, lacuna, 117–49, 97, 151–303.

Foliation: current, by Dorothy Miner, in pencil, *Se*, continuous – older, in pencil, *Ie*: fols. 1–15 (=1–15).

Marks (as transcribed by N. OIKONOMIDES): [**1r**] inexperienced hand, in brown ink: + Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Καλή; [**239v**] very inexperienced hand, in bluish black ink; outer margin Εγω εφτ|ηασε του|ν.τ για πα|ρον ερεζ το|υμα ο Βαν|κελης; in John's book: Jn 1:1 εν αρχη εν ου λογος; [**303r**] in black ink: + Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος ἀφιερώθ(η) εἰς τὸν ἅγιον κ(αὶ) ζωοδόχον Τάφον τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ δια ψυχηκὴν σ(ωτη)ρί(αν) καί μνημοσύν(η)ν τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου κυ(ρίου) Μουσα κ(αὶ) τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Σεημγω, κ(αὶ) Φουρτζάλα, Σουλεμάν, Ἰωσήφ, Νάσαρα. καὶ ὅπιος εἴθελε ξυλεῶσοι αὐτῶ ἀπὸ τ(ὸν) ἅγιον Τάφον, ἢ πολ(ή)σοι αὐτῶ ἢ κλέψει, ἢ ἄλλον τί, να ἔχει τ(ὴν) ὀργ(ὴν) τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ κ(αὶ) τὰς ἁσαρὰς τ(ὸν) τιη' θεοφόρ(ων) π(ατέ)ρων κ(αὶ) πάντ(ων) κ(αὶ) πασῶν. Ἐν ἔτι ζ^{ω} ν^{ο}, (ἰ)ν(δικτιόνος) ιε'. [monocondyle:] + Γερμανὸς ἐλέω Θ(εο)ῦ πατριάρχης Ἱερου(σαλήμ). [**303r**] in black ink: + Σωφρόνιος π(ατ)ριάρχης της ἁγί(ας) πολ(εως) Ἰ(ερουσα)λήμ; [**4v**] in black ink: + Κἀγὼ π(ατ)ριαρχης Σωφρόνιος τῆς ἁγίας πολ(εως) Ἰ(ερουσα)λὴμ ἀφιέρωσα τῶ παρὸν τετραβάγγελον ης τον αγι(ον) κ(αὶ) ζωοδόχον Τἀφον τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ ἐντὸς τῆς ἁγι(ας) πόλ(εως) Ἰ(ερουσα)λὴμ κ(αὶ) εἴ της το ἤθελε κλἔψη ἢ κόψη τὸ φύλω ἔχωμεν τον ἀφωρισμένον κ(αὶ) ἀσυχώρετων παρα Θ(εο)υ παντοκρἄτορος, τιη' θεοφωρων π(ατέ)ρων, εν το νὶν κ(αὶ) εν το μἔλωντι εώνι ἀμήν. ἐτος ,ζπζ' :~ [added later, in black ink:] 1579 Μνήσθιτη Κ(ύρι)ε τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλον σου Κωνσταντίνου ἱερέος Ἐλεν(ας) πρεσβυτέρ(ας), Θεοδόρου ἱερεος, Σταματη καί Σταματιου ιερεος, Θεοδόρ(ας)

κ(αὶ) των τέκον. Γεωργίου Νικολαου ἱερεος, Ιω(άν)νου; [5r] Arabic notes (as transcribed by M. MAVROUDI): above the signature of Patriarch Sophronios:

صفرونيوس برحمة الله تعالى البطريرك الاورشليم
هذا الانجيل المبارك وقف على القيامة المقدسة بمدينة القدس الشريف
فكلمن (=فكل من) يخرجه منها ام يغيره ام يسرقه
او يستبد له او يستعيره وما يرده لمكانه يكون ذلك الانسان
كاين (=كائنا) من كان محروم مفذوذ من مجد الله ومن الا (=آلاء) المقدسين
وحن الحقير ايضا والبركة على اولاد الطاعة

Text on the right hand side margin, written sideways:

تحريرا في ثاني وعشرين شهر آب المبارك
من شهور سنة سبعالاف وخمسة وتسعين لابنا ادم عليه السلام
وذلك في حضور الاب السيد البطريرك الاورشليم
كير صفرونيوس بمدينة طرابلس المحروسة الواضع
خطيه الكريم فيه ادام الله تعالى ريلسة وثبت
كرسي قداسة ويرحم ضعف التلاميذ يبرك له
صلواته المقدسة امين امين امين

[4v] in black ink: Ἕως ἔτος 1845 παρῆλθον ἔτη χρόνοι ἀπὸ τὸ ἄνωθεν ἔτος 7087, 266· ἐπί Σωφρονί(ου) Ἱ(εροσο)λήμων. [16v, lower margin] thoroughly erased long note, illegible under UV-light; [front pastedown] etched bookplate with two seated men, the initials "I.G" and a pencil-written "no. 1432"; printed bookplate "Ex Libris Henry Walters"; [i verso] in pencil: "H.VII.6" (old Walters shelfmark).

As translated by M. MAVROUDI, the Arabic notes on fol. 5r read: "Sophronios, by the mercy of the Almighty God Patriarch of Jerusalem donated this Blessed Gospel to the [church of the] Holy Resurrection in the illustrious city of Jerusalem and whoever takes it [=the Gospel book] from it [=the church of the Resurrection] or alters it or steals it or seizes it or borrows it and does not return it to its place, this man, whoever it may be, will be excommunicated and excluded from the glory of God and from the blessings of the Saints and even from the Mercy [extended] to the vile; and the blessing is upon the children of obedience." "Issued on the twenty-second of the blessed month August from among the months of the year seven thousand and seventy five of our father Adam, peace be upon him [i.e., A.D. 1567], in the presence, moreover, of the Father Lord Patriarch of Jerusalem *kyr* Sophronios in the divinely guarded city of Tripolis, who placed his signature with his noble handwriting on it [=the document], may the Almighty God perpetuate in leadership and maintain the [Patriarchal] throne in holiness and have mercy on the weakness of the disciples and bless for him [the Patriarch] bis [=the Patriarch's] holy prayers. Amen, amen, amen."

Binding: Greek, re-covering probably mid-sixteenth century (acc. to G. PETHERBRIDGE): blind-tooled brown goatskin over squared flush-grooved wooden boards, later covered with red velvet; traces of metal attachments: [front cover] rectangular plaque ca. 215 x 140 mm, [back cover] six separate plaques that evidently represented the Cross, Mary, John, the sun, the moon, and the skull of Adam; small parts of a gilded metal frame remain along the outer edge; flat spine, raised endbands; modern parchment pastedowns and flyleaves. Repaired by Mary Brune in 1965. – [Notes by G. PETHERBRIDGE]: "Sewing at five stations, averaging 25, 95, 171, 245, and 318 from the headcap.

Originally probably sewn with a traditional Greek link stitch but now sewn on thick 3-ply hemp cords. Sewn with 2 (side by side but separate) thin semi-bleached linen or hemp threads, S-twist." – "Under the frayed edges of the silk covering can be seen part of the blind tooling of the leather cover. Diagonally intersecting fillets produce a diced pattern of diamond shapes. Further details obscured."

Provenance: 1541/42: given to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (seen there by Patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem in 1578/79 and 1586/87; by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1897, and by C. R. Gregory in May 1906) – ca. 1918: taken to Damascus by Patriarch Damianus of Jerusalem – purchased by H. Walters from Gruel, Paris (his no. 1432).

Dating: although the Evangelist portraits are on separately inserted unruled folios, the ornament of their frames is by the same hand as that of the headpieces and initials in the text. The painter's brushwork and palette are distinct from that of the ornamentist. Both ornament and miniatures seem to be contemporaneous with the script. – Dated parallels for the latter are Petrop. NLR, С-Пб.А.Б I.2, a. 1033 (CERETELI and SOBOLEVSKI, *Exempla minuscules*, II:pl. xi; LAKE, VI:pls. 430–31), London BL Add. 5153, a. 1033 (LAKE, II:pl. 124; *RGK* I:no. 153), Athens, NL Ms 179, a. 1049 (LAKE, X:pl. 708), Vat. gr. 463, a. 1062 (LAKE, VII:pl. 528; SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus*, II:figs. 135–37), Paris. gr. 710, a. 1065 (LAKE, IV:pls. 294–95; OMONT, *Facsimilés datés*, pl. xxxi). The style of the miniatures (soft treatment of hair and draperies; faces with large, almond-shaped eyes and slightly aquiline noses) points, however, to a date later in the century: cf. esp. the illustrations of Paris. Coislin 79, a. 1074–78 (SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus*, figs. 173–74) and Florence, Laur. Plut. 7.24, a. 1091 (ibid., fig. 208). I date W.532 to the late eleventh century, **ca. 1070–1100**.

Iconography: on the frontally seated Evangelist Matthew **[16v]** see under "W.529" above.

References:

A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Hierosolymitikē vivliothēkē hētoi katalogos tōn en tais vivliothēkais tou hagiōtatou apostolikou te kai katholikou orthodoxou patriarchikou thronou tōn Hierosolymōn kai pasēs Palaistinēs apokeimenōn hellēnikōn kōdikōn* (St.-Petersburg, 1897; repr. Brussels, 1963), III:204–6, cat. 7.

C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1909), I:257 and III:1141, cat. 1356.

H. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte. I.Teil: Untersuchungen. 1. Abteilung: Die Textzeugen* (Göttingen, 1911), 137, cat. ε1087.

K. W. CLARK, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 363–65.

In the Beginning Was the Word: Opening Exhibition of Written and Printed Biblical and Liturgical Texts from the Eighth Century to the Present, exh. cat., National Cathedral (Washington, D.C, 1965), 21, cat. 4.

D. S. BERKOWITZ, *In Remembrance of Creation: Evolution of Art and Scholarship in the Medieval and Renaissance Bible* (Waltham, MA, 1968), 28, cat. 46.

TH. JIRATWASIUTYNSKI, in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts in American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. G. Vikan, exh. cat., Princeton University Art Museum (Princeton, 1973), 154–57, cat. 43.

A. W. CARR, *Byzantine Illumination 1150–1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition* (Chicago and London, 1987), 158f. n. 10.

W.533 ACTS AND EPISTLES [ALAND 1022]

Parchment, i+360+i folios, 232 x 166 mm, early twelfth century (fols. 1–266, 269–313), fourteenth century (fols. 314–60), fifteenth century (fols. 267–68), Byzantine Empire

Illustrations (see also ANDERSON, 35–38): **[1r]** *Christ and the Apostles* (diam. 64); **[89r]** {ANDERSON, fig. 10; NERSESSIAN, fig. 1; WALTER, *REB* 48 (1990): fig. 5} *James Standing* (ca. 48 x 47); **[98r]** *Peter Standing* (62 x 50); **[107v]** {CLARK, *Catalogue*, pl. lx; IDEM, *Praxapostoloi*, pl. iii; METZGER, 137, no. 44; NERSESSIAN, fig. 2} *Peter Standing* (60 x 52); **[116r]** *John Standing* (52 x 37); **[125r]** {ANDERSON, fig. 1; NERSESSIAN, fig. 3} *John Standing* (57 x50); **[127r]** {NERSESSIAN, fig. 4} *John Standing* (55 x 39); **[129r]** {NERSESSIAN, fig. 5} *Jude Standing* (49 x 40); **[133v]** {NERSESSIAN,

fig. 6} *Paul Standing* (51 x 42); [165r] {ANDERSON, fig. 13; NERSESSIAN, fig. 7} *Paul and Sosthenos Standing* (47 x 48); [216v] {ANDERSON, fig. 12; NERSESSIAN, fig. 12; *Early Chr. and Byz. Art*, pl. xcvii, cat. 720} *Paul Speaking to the Galatians* (52 x 52); [227v] *Paul Standing* (52 x 46); [239r] {ANDERSON, fig. 13; NERSESSIAN, fig. 8; WEITZMANN, *Ars Islamica* 10 (1943): fig. 2; WALTER, *REB* 48 (1990): fig. 3} *Timothy and Paul Standing, Inspired* (46 x 42); [247v] *Timothy and Paul Standing, Inspired* (54 x 51); [254v] *Paul Standing, Speaking to the Thessalonians* (35 x 71); [255v] {ANDERSON, fig. 2; NERSESSIAN, fig. 9} *Three Medallions with Busts of Silas, Paul, and Timothy* (21 [diam.] x 116); [262v] {NERSESSIAN, fig. 10; WEITZMANN, *Ars Islamica* 10 (1943): fig. 3} *Timothy, Silas, and Paul Standing* (37 x 57); [276v] *Paul Standing* (51 x 45); [283r] *Bust of Paul* (34 x 37); [287r] {NERSESSIAN, fig. 11; WEITZMANN, *Ars Islamica* 10 (1943): fig. 3} *Paul Standing Speaking, Timothy Standing* (41 x 46); [291r] {ANDERSON, fig. 19; NERSESSIAN, fig. 13; KRAUSE, *Chrysostomos*, fig. 138} *Paul Standing Speaking to the Jews, A Bust of Christ in Heaven* (63 x 63).

Traces of Lost Illustrations: [195v] the miniature has been cut out along its frame, and the gap filled with a piece of parchment; [267v] empty space left for a miniature (ca. 45 x 45), evidently to replace the one on the lost original folio.

Ornament: [1r] *Headpiece with Flower-Petal Ornament* (55 x 117), *Initial T* (almost completely abraded); [313v] *Four Ornamental Rosettes and a Blooming Cross, Drawn in Magenta*; [314r] *Headband Drawn in Red Ink* (16 x 109).

Text: [1r–89r] *Acts*: no title; colophon: Τέλος τῶν Πράξεων τῶν ἁγί(ων) ἀπο(στόλων); [89r–v] *Preface to James*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολῆς {SODEN, 334}, inc. [Ἐ]πειδὴ αὐτὸς Ἰάκωβος ταύτην, des. τὴν ἐπιστολήν; [90r–98r] *James*: Ἐπιστο(λὴ) τ(οῦ) ἁγ(ίου) ἀποστόλ(ου) Ἰακώβου καθολικῆ, colophon: Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐπιστολῆ· στίχων σμβ'; [98r–99r] *Preface to I Peter*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς Πέτρου πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς {SODEN, 335}, inc. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτὸς, des. τὴν ἐπιστολήν; [99r–107v] *I Peter*: Πέτρου ἐπιστολὴ α', colophon: Πέτρου ἐπιστολὴ καθολικὴ α'· ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης· στίχων σλς'; [107v–108v] *Preface to II Peter*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς Πέτρου β' ἐπιστολῆς {SODEN, 335}, inc. Ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταύτην πάλιν, des. τὴν ἐπιστολήν; [108v–114r] *II Peter*: Πέτρου ἐπιστολὴ α', colophon: Τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλ(ου) Πέτρου β' ἐπιστολή; [114r–115v] *Preface to I John*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς Ἰωάννου πρώτης ἐπιστο(λῆς) {SODEN, 336–37}, inc. Ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰω(άννης), des. τῶν εἰδώλων; [115v–124v] *I John*: Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολὴ α', colophon: Ἰωάννου εὐαγγελιστοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρώτ(η)· ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου· στίχων cοδ'; [124v–125r] *Preface to II John*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς Ἰωάννου β' ἐπιστολῆς· ταύτη ὡς πρεσβύτερος γράφει Κυρία καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς {SODEN, 337}, inc. Ὁρῶν τὰ τέκνα, des. τὴν ἐπιστολήν; [125r] *Chapters List for II John*: Κεφάλαια Ἰωάννου ἐπιστο(λῆς) δευτέρ(ας) {SODEN, 460}; [125r–126r] *II John*: Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολὴ β', colophon: Τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλ(ου) Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολὴ δευτέρη· στίχ(ων) λ'; [126r–v] *Preface to III John*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῆς γ' {SODEN, 338}, inc. Ἔστιν ἐπιστολὴ, des. τὰ κάλλιστα; [126v] *Chapters List for III John*: Κεφάλαια Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῆς γ' {SODEN, 460}; [126v–128r] *III John*: Ἐπιστολὴ Ἰωάννου καθολικῆ γ', colophon: Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰω(άννου) ἐπιστολ(ῆ) γ'; [128r–v] *Preface to Jude*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς Ἰοῦδα ἐπιστολῆς {SODEN, 338–39}, inc. Ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολήν, des. τὴν ἐπιστολήν; [128v–131r] *Jude*: Ἰούδα ἐπιστολὴ καθολικὴ, colophon: Ἐπιστολὴ Ἰοῦδα· στίχων ξη'; [131r–133v] *Preface to Romans*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῆς {SODEN, 339–40}, inc. Ταυτην ἐπιστέλλει, des. τὴν ἐπιστολήν; [133v–163v] *Romans*: Πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστ(ολή), colophon: Πρὸ(ς) Ῥωμαίους· ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Κορίνθ(ου) διά Φοίβης τῆς διακό(νου)· στί(χων) ϙκ'; [163v–165r] *Preface to I Corinthians*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Κορινθίου(ς) πρώτης ἐπιστολ(ῆς) {SODEN, 340–41}, inc. Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει, des. τὴν ἐπιστολήν; [165r–194v] *I Corinthians*: Πρὸς Κορινθίους α', colophon: Πρὸς Κορινθίους α'· ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Φιλίππων δια (sic) Στεφανᾶ, καὶ Φουρτουνάτου, καὶ Ἀχαϊκοῦ, κ(αὶ) Τιμοθίου. Στίχ(ων) ωο'; [194v–195v] *Preface to II Corinthians*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Κορινθίους β' ἐπιστο(λῆς) {SODEN, 341–42}, inc. Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει, des. τὴν ἐπιστολήν; [195v–216r] *II Corinthians*: Προς Κορινθίους β', colophon: Πρὸς Κορινθίους β' ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Φιλίππω(ν) δια Τίτου καὶ Λουκᾶ· στίχων φϝ'; [216r–v] *Preface to Galatians*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Γαλάτας β' ἐπιστο(λῆς) {SODEN, 342–43 + ANDERSON, 36}, inc. Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει, des. ἔχει γραμμένον; [216v–226v] *Galatians*: Πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐπιστο(λή), colophon: Πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμ(ης)· στί(χων) cϝγ'; [226v–227v] *Preface to Ephsians*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιστο(λῆς) {SODEN, 343 + ANDERSON, 36}, inc. Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει, des. δια κινναβάρεως γεγραμμένον; [227v–238r] *Ephesians*: Προς Ἐφεσίους, colophon: Πρὸ(ς) Ἐφεσίους ἐγράφη ἀπὸ

Ῥώμης δια Τυχικοῦ· στίχω(ν) τιβ'; [**238v–239r**] *Preface to Philippians*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολ(ῆς) {SODEN, 343–44; ANDERSON, 37 and 36}, inc. Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει, des. δια (sic) κιναβάρε(ως) γεγραμμὲ(νον); [**239r–246v**] *Philippians*: Πρὸς Φιλιππησίους, colophon: Πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολὴ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης δι' Ἐπαφροδίτου· στίχων cη'; [**246v–247v**] *Preface to Colossians*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Κολασσαεῖς ἐπιστολ(ῆς) {SODEN, 344 (des. ἀναγνωσθῆναι); ANDERSON, 37}, inc. Ταῦτην ἐπιστέλλει, des. ὁ ἀπόστολος; [**247v–254v**] *Colossians*: Πρὸ(ς) Κολασσαεῖς ἐπιστολ(ή), colophon: [Π]ρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης διά Τυχικοῦ κ(αὶ) Ὀνησίμου· στίχων cη'; [**254v–255v**] *Preface to I Thessalonians*: no title {SODEN, 345; ANDERSON, 39}, inc. [Ὁ] ἀπόστολος, des. διά κινναβάρεως γεγραμμένον; [**255v–261v**] *I Thessalonians*: no title, colophon: Πρός Θεσαλονικεῖις (sic) α' ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν· στίχ(ων) ρϝγ'; [**261v–262v**] *Preface to II Thessalonians*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Θεσαλονικεῖς β' ἐπιστολ(ῆς) {SODEN, 345–46}, inc. Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει, des. δεδήλωκ(εν); [**262v–265v**] *II Thessalonians*: Πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς β', colophon: Πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς β' ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν· στίχ(ων) ρς'; [**265v–266v**] *Preface to I Timothy*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολῆς {SODEN, 347–48}, inc. Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, des. τὴν ἐπιστολήν; [**266v–267r**] *Chapters List for I Timothy*: Κεφάλαια τῆς προς Τιμόθεον πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς {SODEN, 467}, des. ιζ' Π(ερὶ) καθαρᾶς ὑπακοῆς ἄχρι τέλους; [**267v–275r**] *I Timothy*: Προς (sic) Τιμόθεον πρώτη ἐπιστολὴ (sic) Παῦλου; [**275r–276r**] *Preface to II Timothy*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Τιμόθε(ον) β' ἐπιστολ(ῆς) {SODEN, 348–49}, inc. Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει, des. τὴν ἐπιστολήν; [**276r–v**] *Chapters List for II Timothy*: Κεφάλαια τῆς προς Τιμόθε(ον) β' ἐπιστο(λῆς) {SODEN, 467–68}; [**276v–282r**] *II Timothy*: Πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολὴ β'; [**282r–283r**] *Preface to Titus*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς προς Τίτον ἐπιστο(λῆς) {~ SODEN, 349}, inc. Ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐπιστέλλει, des. τὴν ἐπιστολήν; [**283r**] *Chapters List for Titus*: Κεφάλαια τῆς πρὸς Τίτον ἐπιστο(λῆς) {SODEN, 468}; [**283r–286v**] *Titus*: Ἐπιστο(λὴ) πρὸ(ς) Τίτον; [**286v–287r**] *Preface to Philemon*: Ὑπόθεσ(ις) τ(ῆς) πρὸ(ς) Φιλήμ(ο)ν(α) {SODEN, 349}, inc. Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει, des. τὴν ἐπιστολήν. Ἡ μ(ὲν) οὖν περιοχὴ τῆς ἐπιστο(λῆς) τοῦτον ἔχει τ(ὸν) τρόπον, ἡ δὲ ἀνακεφαλαίωσις ἔστιν οὕτως· [**286v–287r**] *Chapters List for Philemon*: Κεφά(λαια) τ(ῆς) Φιλήμο(να) ἐπιστο(λῆς) {SODEN, 468}; [**287r–288r**] *Philemon*: Ἐπιστολὴ (sic) πρὸς Φιλήμον(α); [**288v–289r**] *Preface to Hebrews*: Ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸ(ς) Ἑβραίους ἐπιστο(λῆς) {SODEN, 346}, inc. Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει, des. τὴν ἐπιστο(λήν); [**289r–290v**] *Chapters List for Hebrews*: Τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς κεφάλαια κβ' {SODEN, 468–69}; [**291r–313v**] *Hebrews*: Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἑβραίους; [**314r–337r**] *List of Acts and Epistles Readings for the Movable Feasts with Troparia for Feast Days and Psalm Verses that Accompany the Lections*: no title {troparia ~ *Hōrologion*, 461–78, 441–59; psalm verses and lections list ~ *Apostolos*, passim; lections list ~ GREGORY, I:344–62}; [**337v–360v**] *List of Readings for the Immovable Feasts, again with Troparia and Psalm Verses*: Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ ἁγίω τοῦ μηνολογίου {troparia ~ *Hōrologion*, 199–440; psalm verses and lections list ~ *Apostolos*, passim; lections list ~ GREGORY, I:365–86}.

Apparatus: chapter numbers and titles written usually in the upper margins, numbers repeated in the outer margin. When the chapter titles are listed before an epistle (*I and II Tim, Titus, Phil, Hebr*), only the numbers are written in the outer margin. – Old Testament quotations sometimes marked with > in the left margin. The Old Testament book they come from is always named in the outer margin. – Beginning and end of liturgical reading marked with ἀρχ(ὴ) and τέλ(ος) within the text. Liturgical use of each reading noted in the lower or (sometimes) upper margin, up to fol. 257v. – These liturgical notes were reinforced in carmine ink or supplemented (esp. after fol. 258r, where there are no original ones) by the hand that added fols. **314–60**. It also wrote in the upper left corner of most recto pages the abbreviated title of the respective New Testament text, and added the large initial Π on fol. 255v.

Diacritics and Punctuation: usually rounded but sometimes biangular breathing marks. Usually small but sometimes broad circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted. – No diaeresis over ι and υ. – Almost no abbreviations in the New Testament text, except for an occasional καὶ and the *nomina sacra*. Numerous abbreviations in the titles and the liturgical notes. – Fols. **314–60**: rounded breathing marks, small circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted. – No diaeresis over ι and υ. – Almost no abbreviations. – Fols. **267–68**: rounded breathing marks, small circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted. – No diaeresis over ι and υ. – Almost no abbreviations.

Script (ANDERSON, figs. 1–2): one hand throughout the original manuscript: large, regular, thick-stroked, very slightly sloping *Perlschrift* with 3-shaped ζ and a characteristic ἐν compound. The ductus on fols. 254–56 is more cursive (ANDERSON, 22–23), and abbreviations for the ending -ων become numerous, but this change is seen coming on the preceding few folios, and the hand must still be the same. – Prefaces, titles, colophons, and chapter titles in Alexandrian *Auszeichnungs-Majuskel*. – Fols. **314–60**: small, uneven, slightly sloping minuscule with high lunar σ, ζ, τ, majuscule γ, and ε compounded with subsequent consonants; characteristically shaped β. – Fols. **267–68**: uneven script of the Hodegon type, widely spaced letters with few ligatures, of which the αρ and εξ ones are characteristic, lunar ε.

Ink: medium brown, incl. liturgical notes. Titles, colophons, chapter titles and numbers, paragraph initials, ἀρχ(ὴ) and τέλ(ος) in magenta. Notes on Old Testament quotations in magenta or brown. – Fols. **314–60**: gray. Titles, feast days, initials, and explanatory notes in carmine. – Fols. **267–68**: black. Titles and liturgical notes in carmine.

Parchment: fols. **314–60** are lighter, thinner, and smoother – fols. **267–68** are medium thick, with very light and smooth flesh side. – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Goat-like; carefully selected; hair mainly removed; follicles partially removed; surfaces highly polished; 'medium' to 'heavy' in weight (0.11–0.23 mm)."

Ruling: hardpoint; systems 1 (fols. 1–266, 269–313), 13? (fols. 314–60), and 12 (fols. 267–68: 267r ruled directly); types 44C1 (fols. 1–266, 269–313), D 22D1 (fols. 314–60), and 00D1? (fols. 267–68). – 25 lines per page; justification [180–175 x 120–110]; interlinear distance 7 mm. – Fols. **314–60**: 29 per page; justification ca. [176 x 105]; interlinear distance 5 mm. – Fols. **267–68**: 22 per page; justification [177 x 112 mm]; interlinear distance 8 mm.

Quires: 20 x 8 (fol. 160), 8 (168: fols. 163 and 165 singles), 9 x 8 (240), 8 (248: fols. 242 and 247 singles), 8 (256: fols. 250 and 254 singles), 8 (264), 6 (270), 8 (278), 2 x 6 (290), 2 x 8 (306), 7 (313: fol. 307 single), 3 x 8 (337), 5 (342: fol. 340 single), 2 x 8 (358), 2 x 1 (360).

Quire signatures: *Ii1* (in light brown ink; completely trimmed away: only vertical strokes that surmounted the Greek letters remain on fols. 25r, 33r, and 161r; the pen's thickness and the ink's color seem identical with those of the original scribe); *Ii3* (Greek numbers in light brown ink: quire 40 numbered *Ii1*), *Im3* (Greek numbers in black ink, mostly trimmed away but partly preserved on fols. 16v, 32v, 40v, 112v, 176v, etc.): neither hand is identifiable with the ones that copied text in the book. – Fols. **314–60** have no quire signatures.

Foliation: current (*Sm*), in pencil, by Dorothy Miner – earlier (*Se*), in dark brown ink, perhaps by S. Lampros: fols. 1–140 (=1–140), 142–361 (=141–360)

Binding: early twentieth-century: blind-stamped polished calf leather over thin rounded wooden boards; raised endbands; flat spine; parchment pastedowns and flyleaves. – Prickings survive sometimes in the lower margin, but the book block has been significantly trimmed, damaging some of the chapter titles in the upper margin (even the uppermost horizontal ruling line is sometimes missing) and many of the quire signatures (see above). – The edges of the book block are decorated with two concentric circles in brown ink, the inner one colored in red, flanked on the sides by ornamental motifs drawn also in brown ink, probably s. XVI–XVII. These were not affected by the modern re-binding. – [Note by G. PETHERBRIDGE]: "Originally sewn at five stations, averaging 13, 60, 113, 164, and 215 mm from the headcap."

Marks: [**360v**] crude drawing of a ship; [**back of front cover**] "G.V.15" (old Walters shelfmark) and pasted bookplate "Ex Libris Henry Walters." – There are drops of wax on many of the pages.

Provenance: no. 24 in the library of the Iviron Monastery on Mt. Athos, Greece (seen there by S. Lampros, and by C. R. Gregory on March 17, 1902) – purchased by H. Walters probably from Gruel, Paris.

Dating: the miniatures were executed at the same time as the text. On fols. 253r–256v, the text lacks magenta titles and initials, and the script changes probably because of faster writing (see above, "Script"), while pictures have been supplied in the blank spaces left for this purpose: the scribe must have been in a hurry to finish the last pages of the quire and hand it over to the painter. Also, some miniatures [**89r, 107v, 116r, 129r,** and **133r**] have frames outlined over the gold background in ink of the same magenta color as the one used for the titles and initials:

magenta was otherwise not part of the painter's palette, who used, instead, carmine, e.g., for the outlines of the halo and the book's edges on fol. **89r**. (Many of the miniatures also have frames in carmine: I am not sure if these were drawn by the painter or added much later by the scribe of fols. 314–16.) – The script of W.533 is very close to the *Perlschrift*, a style of writing that went out of use after the mid-twelfth century (CANART and PERRIA, in *Paleografia e codicologia greca*, 84–86). The headpiece's ornament [**1r**] is very similar to dated eleventh-century examples: cf. SPATHARAKIS, *Corpus*, figs. 146, 152, 155, 162, 169, 176, and esp. 165. I attribute to the painter of W.533 the miniatures on fols. 121v–144v of Athens, NL 93 (CHATZINIKOLAU and PASCHOU, *Catalogue*, figs. 643–50) and some of those in Athos, Pantokrator 234 (*Thēsauroi*, III, figs. 246–49, 251–57). The Pantokrator manuscript cannot be earlier than 1102 or 1117 (ANDERSON, 18). I date W.533 to the **early twelfth century** (cf. ANDERSON, 18–21; PRATO, *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 [1979]: 181). – The hand that wrote fols. **314–60** and some of the rubrication in the rest of the manuscript (cf. above, "Apparatus") is generally similar to TURYN, *Britain*, pl. 79; IDEM, *Italy*, II:pls. 137, 196, 198, 210–11; *RGK* II:pl. 105, all with dates in the fourteenth century. – The hand that copied fols. **267–68** also added the last entry of the Menologion on fol. 360v, and is therefore later. It is very similar to London, BL Burney 49, a. 1430 (*New Pal. Soc.*, pl. 229; *RGK* I:pl. 228).

Iconography: author portraits inserted into the left side of the text column are also found in Jerusalem, Taphou 53 and St.-Petersburg, RNLgr. 266, a. 1053 (VOKOTOPOULOS, *Jerusalem*, 68f., no. 14, with bibliography), Athos, Pantokrator 234, s. XII (*Thesauroi*, III:figs. 245–57), and Sinait. gr. 275, miniatures s. XIII ex–XIV in (WEITZMANN and GALAVARIS, *Sinai*, figs. 341–84; cf. ANDERSON, 32).

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W.534 HOROLOGION

Parchment, 260 folios, 92 x 73 mm, mid-fifteenth century, probably Crete

Illustrations: [**20v**] *Israelite Women Dancing* (72 x 53); [**24r**] *Moses Praying*: Ὁ προφήτ(ης) Μωυσῆς (67 x 38); [**32v**] *Habakkuk Praying*: Ὁ προφήτ(ης) Ἀβακοῦμ (45 x 43); [**36r**] *Isaiah Standing*: Ἡσαί(ας) ὁ προφήτ(ης) (ca. 75 x 44); [**38v**] *Jonah Praying*: Ὁ προφήτ(ης) Ἰωννάς (62 x 44); [**40v**] *The Three Youths Praying*: Οἱ τρεῖς παῖδες (63 x 45); [**46r**] *The Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace*: Οἱ ἅγιοι τρεῖς παῖδες (65 x 51); [**50v**] *The Virgin Orans*: Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ (77 x 48); [**52r**] *Zacharias Standing*: Ὁ προφήτ(ης) Ζαχαρί(ας) (ca. 70 x 42); [**65r**] *David Praying*: Ὁ προφήτ(ης) Δα(υΐ)δ (ca. 68 x 40); [**76r**] *Pentecost*: Ἡ Πεντηκοστὴ (ca. 77 x 60); [**85v**] {DIRINGER, *Illuminated Book*, fig. ii-27.a} *Penitence of David* (71 x 50); [**92v**] *Crucifixion*: Ὁ β(ασιλεῦς) τ[(ῆς) δ(όξης)], Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς, Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ, Ἰω(άννης) (75 x 57); [**106r**] *Lamentation of Christ*: Ἡ ἀποκαθέλοσις (62 x 54); [**143v**] *David Standing and Praying before an Altar* (80 x 47); [**158r**] *David Standing Praying*: Ὁ προφ(ήτης) Δα(υΐ)δ (ca. 81 x 53); [**206r**] *David Standing Praying*: Ὁ προφ(ήτης) Δα(υΐ)δ (80 x 40).

Traces of Lost Illustrations: between fols. 36 and 37, there is a stub of a now lost curtain (see under "Binding" below) placed between fols. 30 and 31 – **[251r** supra] offprint, apparently from a picture on the now missing facing page (there is a lacuna in the text between fols. 244 and 245, where the conjoint folio would have been).

Ornament: [1r] *Drawn Interlace Headpiece* (17 x 41), [24v] *Initial Π*, [47v] *Initial E*, [65v] *Gilded Initial T*, [77v] *Drawn Interlace Headpiece* (ca. 9 x 39), [80r] *Initial Π*, [93r] *Gilded Initial O*, [106v] *Gilded Initial Ω*, [119r] *Interlace Headband*, [131v] *Initial E*, [134v] *Initial Y*, [144r] *Drawn Headband* (8 x 38), *Gilded Initial E*, [158v] *Drawn Interlace Headband* (19 x 35), *Initial E*, [162v, 173v] *Initial Πs*, [186v] *Initial K*, [199v] *Gilded Initial A*, [206v] *Drawn Interlace Headband* (15 x 45), [234r] *Drawn Headband* (12 x 39), [234v] *Initial C*.

Text: [1r] Ὡρολόγιον σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ ἁγίω περιέχον ἅπασαν ἀκολουθ(ίαν) τοῦ νυχθημέρ(ου)· [1r–64v] *Matins*: *Τρισάγ(ιον)*. Παναγία Τρ[ιὰς], Lk 2:14, Ps 50:17, Pss 3, 37, and 62, Δό(ξα), Καὶ νῦν. Ἀλλη(λούϊα) γ'. Pss 87, 102, and 142. Δόξα, Καὶ νῦν. Ἀλληλούϊα *τρίς. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔστιν ἑορτὴ ἐπίσημος ἢ κυριακή, ψάλλεται* Ps 117: 27a.26a. *Εἶτα λέγομεν στίχ(ους)* Ps 117: 1a.10b.23b, *καὶ ψάλλομεν τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπολυτίκιον. Εἰ δὲ ἔστιν νηστεία, ἄδεται τὸ* Ἀλληλούϊα, ἀλλη(λούϊα) *καὶ στίχ(ους)* Is 26:10b.11b.17b. *Καὶ ψάλλεις τὰ τοῦ ἤχου τριαδικά·* [13v–18r] *Τριαδικὰ κατ' ἦχον* {*Hōrologion*, 57–60: in slightly different order}, [18r–20r] Ps 50, [21r–23v] Ὠδ(ὴ) α'· Ὠδ(ὴ) Μωυσέως ἐν τῇ Ἐξόδω: Ex 15:1–19, [23v–30v] Ὠδ(ὴ) Μωυσέως ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίω. Ὠδ(ὴ) β': Deut 32:1–42 κε[φαλῆς], end lost, [31r–32v] Ὠδ(ὴ) γ'· Ἄννης τῆς μ(ητ)ρ(ὸ)ς Σαμουήλ: 1 Reg 2:1–10, [33r–35v] Ὠ[δ(ὴ)] δ'· Ἀββακοὺμ τοῦ προφήτου: Hab 3:2–19, [36v–39r] Ὠδ(ὴ) ε'· Ἰσαίου προφήτου: Is 26:9–20, [39r–40r] Ὠδ(ὴ) ς'· Ἰωνᾶ τοῦ προφήτου: Jon 2:3–10, [41r–45v] Ὠδ(ὴ) ζ'· Ὠδ(ὴ) τῶν ἁγί(ων) τριῶν παίδων: Dan 3:26–51, [46v–47r] Ὕμνος τῶν ἁγί(ων) τριῶν παίδων· Dan 3:52–56, [47v–50r] Ὠδ(ὴ) η'· Τὸν Κ(ύριο)ν ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας {*Hōrol.*, 75f.; ~ Dan 3:57–88}, [51r–v] Ὠδ(ὴ) θ'· Ὠδ(ὴ) τῆς ὑπεραγί(ας) Θ(εοτό)κου· Lk 1:46–55, [52v–53v] *no title*: Lk 1:68–79, [53v–54r] Δόξα. Καὶ νῦν. *Καὶ εἰ ἔστι κυριακή, λέγει ὁ ἱερεύς·* Ἅγιος Κ(ύριο)ς ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν). *Καὶ λέγομεν τὸ ἐξαποστελάριον εἰς τὸν ἑνεστῶτα ἦχον. Εἰ δὲ ἔστιν ἄλλη, λέγομεν τὸ φωταγωγικὸν τοῦ ἤχου·* [54r–55v] *Photagogika* {*Hōrol.*, 79} with note *Δεῖ εἰδέναι ὅτι τῇ δευτέρα λέγομεν*, etc. {~78} *Εἶτα τοὺς αἰνεῖτας εἰς τὸν ἦχ(ον)·* [55v–59v] Pss 148–50. [59v–64v] Δόξα Π(ατ)ρὶ καὶ Υἱῶ καὶ ἁγίω Πν(εύματ)ι· καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶ(νας) τ(ῶν αἰώνων). Σοὶ δόξα πρέπει., etc. {84}, Δόξα σοι τῶ δείξαντι τὸ φῶς. Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις, etc. {85, ~ RAHLFS, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 364f.} *Καὶ ψάλλονται ἀπὸ στίχου στιχ(ι)ρ(ὰ) τῆς (Ὀκτω)ήχ(ου), εἰ δὲ ἔστι (Τεσσαρακοστ)ή, τὸ ἰδιόμελον καὶ τὸ μαρτ(υριακὸν).* Ps 89:14–16. Ps 89:17. Δόξα. Καὶ νῦν. *Θ(εοτόκιον). Εἶτα ὁ ταχθεὶς λέγει οὕτως·* Ps 91:2–3. Ἅγιος ὁ Θ(εό)ς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Καὶ τροπ(ά)ρ(ιον) τῆς ἡμέρας. Καὶ πληρουμένης τῆς ἐκτενῆς, λέγ(ει) ὁ ἱερε(ὺς)·* Σοφία. Ὁ ὢν, etc. *Ὁ λαός·* Ἐπου(ρα)νίε βασιλεῦ, etc. {*Hōrol.*, 86f.}, incl. τὴν ἁγίαν μονὴν ταύτην. *Καὶ ἀρχόμεθα τὴν πρώτην ὥραν. Εἰ δὲ ἔστι τεσσαρακοστ(ή), αἴρομεν τὰς χεῖρας εἰς ὕψος, λέγοντες (καὶ) τ(ὴν) παροῦσαν εὐχ(ήν)·* Κ(ύρι)ε καὶ δέσποτα, etc. {87} *Καὶ λέγομεν ταύτην ἐκ τρίτου, ποιοῦντες καὶ τὰς τρεῖς μεγάλας μετανοίας. Εἶτα τὰς ιβ', διὰ τὸ ἰσάζειν. Εἶτα πάλιν τὴν εὐχήν. Εἶθ' οὕτως·* [65v–75v] *Prime*: Δεῦτε, etc. {88} *Μετανοί(ας) γ'*. Pss 5, 89, and 100. Δόξα. Καὶ ν(ῦν). Ἀλλη(λούια) *γ' καὶ μετανοί(ας) τρ(εῖς). Εἶτα ἀπολ(υ)τ(ίκιον) τῆς ἡμέρας. Εἰ δὲ ἔστι (Τεσσαρακοστ)ή, ψάλλει ὁ κανονάρχος τὸ προκείμενον·* Τὸ πρωὶ, etc. {91} *Καὶ ἡμῶν ἀποκρινομέν(ων) τὸ αὐτό, ποιοῦμεν μετάνοιαν. Στίχ(ους)·* Ps 5:2a, Ps 5:3b. Δόξα. *Τὸ αὐτό.* Καὶ νῦν. Τί σε καλέσωμεν, etc. {91} Ps 118:133–36, Ps 70:8. *Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Καὶ τροπ(ά)ρ(ιον)·* Ταχὺ προκατάλαβε, etc. {92} Τὸ Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέ(ησον) *μ'*. Ὁ ἐν παντὶ, etc. {93f.} Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον. Δόξα Π(ατ)ρὶ καὶ Υἱῶ καὶ ἁγίω Πν(εύματ)ι· (καὶ) νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἄξιον ἐστὶν ὡς ἀληθῶς, μακαρίζειν σε τὴν Θ(εοτό)κον. Τὴν τιμιωτέραν, etc. {94} Ἐν ὀνόματι Κ(υρίο)υ εὐλόγησον, π(άτ)ερ. Ps 66:2. *Καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν εὐχ(ήν), μυστικῶς·* Κ(ύρι)ε καὶ δέσποτα, etc. {94} *Εἶθ' οὕτως· Τὰς δώδεκα μετανοίας Εἶτα αἴρομεν εἰς ὕψος τὰς χεῖρας, λέγοντες (καὶ) τὴν εὐχ(ήν). Καὶ αὖθις· Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέ(ησον) *ιβ'. Καὶ ἡ εὐχ(ή)* Χ(ριστ)έ, τὸ φῶς, etc. {95} *Ἐκτενῆ. Καὶ ἀπόλυσ(ις).* [77v–92r] *Terce*: Ὥρα τρίτη· Δόξα σοί, ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοί. Βασιλεῦ οὐ(ρά)νιε.

Τρισάγιον. Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *ιβ'. Εἶτα* Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν *γ'.* Pss 16, 24, and 50. [**86r–92r**] Κ(ύρι)ε, ὁ τὸ πανάγιον, etc. {103} Στίχ(οι)· Ps 50:12.13. *Καθ' ἓν στίχον μετάνοιαν, ἀντιφωνεῖται δὲ καὶ τὸ* Κ(ύρι)ε, ὁ τὸ πανάγιον σου Πν(εῦμ)α. Δόξα. Καὶ νῦν. *Μετὰ μέλους·* Θ(εοτό)κε, σὺ εἶ ἡ ἄμπελος, etc. Κ(ύριο)ς ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς εὐλογητός, etc. {104} Ἅγιος ὁ Θ(εό)ς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς *ἐκ τρίτου.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Καὶ κοντ(ά)κ(ιον) τῆς ἡμέρας. Εἰ δ' οὖν·* Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Χ(ριστ)έ, etc. Ταχεῖαν καὶ σταθηρὰν, etc. Ἡ ἐλπὶς καὶ προστασία, etc. {104f.} Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *μ'. Καὶ ἡ εὐχ(ή)·* Ὁ ἐν παντὶ, etc. {105} Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *τρίς.* Δό(ξα). Καὶ νῦν. Τὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν χερου(βίμ). Ἐν ὀνόμ(α)τ(ι) Κ(υρίο)υ εὐλόγησον, π(άτ)ερ. Ps 66:2a. *Καὶ τὰς τρεῖς μεγάλας μετανοίας μετὰ τῆς εὐχ(ῆς)* Κ(ύρι)ε καὶ δέσποτα, etc. {105f.} *Εἶτα τὰς ιβ' μετανοίας καὶ ἡ εὐχ(ή). Εἶτα ἡ παροῦσα·* Δέσποτα Θεέ, etc. {106} *Εἰ βούλει, λέγε καὶ τ(ὴν) παροῦσαν·* Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὴν σὴν, etc. {109} |**93r–105v**| *Sext:* Δεῦτε, etc. {88} Pss 53, 54, and 90. Δόξα. Καὶ νῦ(ν). Ἀλλη(λούια) *γ' καὶ μετανοί(ας) γ'. Τροπάριον τῆς ἡμέρας. Εἰ δὲ ἔστι (Τεσσαρακοστ)ῆ·* Ὁ ἐν ἕκτῃ, etc. {113} *Στίχ(οι)·* Ps 54:2.17. *Εἶτα τὸ αὐτό. Εἶθ' οὕτως·* Ὅτι οὐκ ἔχομεν, etc. Ταχὺ προκαταλαβέτωσαν, etc. {113} *Τὸ Τρισάγιον:* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Καὶ τὰ παρόντα τροπάρια·* Σ(ωτη)ρίαν εἰργάσω, etc. Δόξα. Τὴν ἄχραντον, etc. Καὶ ν(ῦν). Εὐσπλαγχνίας ὑπάρχουσα, etc. {114} Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέ(ησον) *μ'. Ἡ εὐχ(ή)·* Ὁ ἐν παντὶ, etc. {115} Δόξα. Καὶ νῦν. Τὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν χερουβίμ. Ἐν ὀνόματι Κ(υρίο)υ εὐλόγησον, π(άτ)ερ. Ps 66:2a. *Καὶ τὴν εὐχήν, μυστικῶς·* Κ(ύρι)ε καὶ δέσποτα, etc. {116} *Εἶτα τὰς ιβ' μεγάλας μετ(α)ν(οίας). Καὶ ἡ εὐχή·* Θεὲ καὶ Κ(ύρι)ε τῶν δυνάμεων, etc. {115f.} *Ἱστέον, ὅτι εἰ ἔστι* Θ(εὸ)ς Κ(ύριο)ς, *ψάλλονται τὰ τυπικὰ σὺν ἅμα τῆς τριτέκτης ὥρας. Εἰ δ' οὖν, μετὰ ιης ἐνάτης.* [**106v–119r**] *None: Μετὰ τὸ εὐλογῆσαι τὸν ἱερέα, ἀρχόμεθα ἡμεῖς·* Δόξα σοί, ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοί. Βασιλεῦ οὐ(ρά)νιε, παρά(κλητε). *Τρισάγιον:* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *ιβ'.* Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν *τρεῖς.* Pss 83–85. Δόξα. Καὶ νῦν. Ἀλλη(λούια) *γ' καὶ μετανοί(ας) γ'.* Ὁ ἐν τῇ ἐννάτῃ, etc. {140} Ps 118:169.170. *Καὶ πάλιν* Ὁ ἐν τῇ ἐννάτῃ. Δόξα. Καὶ νῦν. *Μετὰ μέλους·* Ὁ δι' ἡμᾶς, etc. Μὴ δὴ παραδώῃς, etc. {140f.} Ἅγιος ὁ Θ(εό)ς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς *γ'. Μετανοί(ας) τρεῖς.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Τροπ(ά)ρ(ιον)·* Βλέπων ὁ ληστὴς, etc. Δό(ξα). Ἐν μέσω δύο, etc. (Καὶ) νῦ(ν). Τὸν ἀμνὸν καὶ, etc. {141f.} Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *μ'.* Ὁ ἐν παντὶ, etc. {142} Τὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν χερου(βίμ). Ἐν ὀνόματι Κ(υρίο)υ εὐλ(όγησον), π(άτ)ερ. Δι' εὐχῶν τῶν ἁγίων π(ατέ)ρων ἡμῶν. *Καὶ ποιοῦμεν τὰς μεγάλας τρεῖς μετανοίας, λέγοντες (καὶ) τὴν εὐχὴ(ν) μυστικῶς* Κ(ύρι)ε καὶ δέσποτα, etc. {116} *Καὶ αὖθις αἱ ιβ' μετάνοιαι καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ* Δέσποτα Κ(ύρι)ε, etc. {145} [**119r–134r**] *Typika:* Ἀρχὴ τῶν τυπικῶν· Ps 102. Δόξα τῷ Π(ατ)ρὶ καὶ τῷ Ὑιῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πν(εύματ)ι. Ps 145. Καὶ νῦν (καὶ) ἀεὶ (καὶ) εἰς τοὺς αἰῶ(νας) τ(ῶν) αἰώ(νων). Ὁ μονογενὴς, etc. {122} *Εἶτα ἐπισυνάπτει τ(οὺς) Μακαρισμούς·* Ἐν τῇ βασιλεία σου μνήσθητι ἡμῶν, Κ(ύρι)ε. Mt 5:3–12. Δόξα Π(ατ)ρὶ (καὶ) Ὑιῷ (καὶ) ἁγίῳ Πν(εύματ)ι. Καὶ νῦν (καὶ) ἀεὶ (καὶ) εἰς τούς αἰῶ(νας). Μνήσθητι ἡμῶν, etc. {123} *Εἰ ἔστι* Θ(εὸ)ς Κ(ύριο)ς, *λέγομεν ἀπόστ(ο)λ(ον) τῆς ἡμέρας (καὶ) εὐα(γγέλιον). Εἶτα·* Χορὸς ὁ ἐπ(ουρά)νιος, etc. Ps 33:6. Χορὸς ἁγίων, etc. {123} Nicene Creed, incl. τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Π(ατρ)ὸς ἐκπορευόμενον. Ἄνες, ἄφες, etc. {123} Mt 6:9–13. *Εἰ δ' οὐκ ἔχ(ει), λέγομ(εν) τὰ παρόντα kontakia* {125f., in slightly different order} Δό(ξα). (Καὶ) ν(ῦν). Τὴν τιμιωτέραν. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *μ'. Μετανοί(ας) γ'.* Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα Κ(υρίο)υ εὐλογημένον. Ps 33. *Καὶ ἀπόλυσις.* [**134v–143r**] *Refectory: Εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, λέγομεν τὸν παρόντα ψαλμ(όν)·* Ps 144. Δόξα. Καὶ νῦν. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον. Εὐλόγησον. Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ, υἱὲ τοῦ (Θεο)ῦ, εὐλόγησον, etc. {131} *Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀριστῆσαι ὑψοῦμεν τὴν παναγίαν.* Διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῆς πανυπερευλογημένης δεσποινης ἡμῶν Θ(εοτό)κου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρί(ας), Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. Ἀμήν. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θ(εὸς), ἡ ἐλπὶς ἡμ(ῶν), δόξα σοι. Δόξα σοι. Δόξα Π(ατ)ρὶ καὶ Ὑιῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πν(εύματ)ι· καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον. Κ(ύρι)ε, εὐλόγησον. Εὐλογητὸς Χ(ριστὸ)ς ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς, ὁ ἐλεῶν, etc. Δόξα σοι, Κ(ύρι)ε, etc. {131} Δό(ξα). Καὶ νῦ(ν). Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέ(ησον). Εὐλόγησον. *Καὶ ὑψῶν τὴν παναγίαν, λέγ(ει)·* Μέγα τὸ ὄνομα. *Καὶ ὁ λαός* Τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος. *Εἶτα ἀποτελεῖ στ(αυ)ρὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ παναγιαρίου μετὰ τῶν δύο χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, λέγων·* Παναγία Θ(εοτό)κε, βοήθει ἡμῖν. *Καὶ μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι ἄξιοι, ψάλλοντες·* Μακαρίζομέν σε, etc. Ἄξιον ἐστὶν, etc. Τὴν τιμιωτέραν, etc. {132f.} *Ἐξερχομένοι τῆς τραπέζης λέγο-*

μεν οὕτως· Ἐλεήμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων, etc. {133} Ps 121. *Τὸ Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Καὶ κοντάκην τῆς ἡμέρας.* Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, Χ(ριστ)έ, etc. {SIMONOF, 365}, des. βασι[λείας], end lost. Ps 21:27. Δόξα. Καὶ νῦ(ν). Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέ(ησον). Εὐλόγησον. Χ(ριστ)έ υἱὲ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ, εὐλόγησον, etc. {*Hōrol.*, 131} *Εἰς δὲ τὴν παναγίαν λέγομ(εν)·* Γέγονεν ἡ κοιλία σου, etc. *Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀριστῆσαι λέγ(ει)·* Εὔφρανας ἡμᾶς, etc. {156f.} Δόξα. Καὶ νῦ(ν). Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέ(ησον). Εὐλόγησον. *Ὁ ἱερεύς·* Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς, etc. {157} [**144r–157v**] *Vespers.* Ἀρχ(ὴ) τοῦ ἑσπερινοῦ· Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν, etc. {146} Ps 103. Δόξα. Καὶ νῦν. Ἀλληλούϊα. Δόξα σοι ὁ Θ(εό)ς, *τρίς. Μετανοί(ας) γ'. Εἶτα συναπτὴ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ αὖθις ἡ συνήθ(ης) στιχολογία·* τὸ Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐκέκραξα *εἰς τὸν ἦχον.* Pss 140, 141, 129, and 116. *Εἶτα ψάλλονται τὰ προσόμ(ια) τῆς ἡμέρας.* Δόξα, *εἰ ἔχει ἰδιόμελον. Εἰ δ' οὖν·* Δόξα. Καί νῦ(ν). θ' (?). Φῶς ἱλαρὸν, etc. {150} Εἶτα τὰ προκείμενα· {151f., in slightly different order} *Εἶτα λέγομεν·* Καταξίωσον, Κ(ύρι)ε, etc. {153} *Εἶτα λέγομ(εν) τὰ ἀποστιχ(α)· στίχ(ος) τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τοὺς παρόντ(ους) στίχ(ους)·* Ps 122:1–2.3. Δό(ξα), *εἰ ἔχει. Εἰ δ' οὖν* Δόξα. Καὶ νῦ(ν). θ'. Lk 2:29–32. *Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Ἀπολυτίκην τῆς ἡμέρας.* Δόξα. (Καὶ) ν(ῦν). θ'. Σοφία. Ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς, etc. Ἐπου(ρά)νιε βασιλεῦ, etc. {155} Τὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν χερουβίμ. *Καὶ γίνεται ἀπόλυσις. Εἰ δ' ἔστιν ἄλλη, μετὰ τὸ τρισάγιον, τροπ(ά)ρ(ιον) ἦχο(ς) β'·* Θ(εοτό)κε παρθένε, etc. Δόξα. Βάπτιστα, etc. Ἱκετεύσατε, etc. Καὶ νῦν. Ὑπό τὴν σὴν, etc. {154f.} *Τὸ* Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *μ'.* Δόξα. Καὶ ν(ῦν). Ἐν ὀνόμ(α)τ(ι) Κ(υρίο)υ εὐλ(όγησον). Ps 66:2a. *Καὶ λέγομ(εν) (καὶ) τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν προγεγραμμένην ἐν τῷ νοΐ·* Κ(ύρι)ε καὶ δέσποτα τῆς ζωῆς μου. *Εἶτα τὰς μετανοί(ας). Εἶθ' οὕτως· Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Τὸ* Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέ(ησον) *ιβ'.* Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα Κ(υρίο)υ εὐλογημένον, *τρίς.* Εὐλογήσω τὸν Κ(ύριο)ν. *Ταῦτα γὰρ προεγράφησαν. Καὶ γίνεται ἀπόλυσις.* [**158v–205v**] *Compline.* Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ τῶν ἀποδείπνων· *Μετὰ τὸ εὐλογῆσαι τὸν ἱερέα ἀρχόμεθα·* Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θ(εὸς) ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι. Βασιλεῦ οὐ(ρά)νιε. *Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Τὸ* Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *ιβ'. Τὸ* Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν *τρίς. Καὶ μετανοίας τρεῖς.* Pss 4, 6, and 12. Δό(ξα). Καὶ νῦ(ν). Ἀλλη(λούϊα) *γ'. Μετανοί(ας) γ'.* Pss 24, 30, and 90. Δό(ξα). Καὶ ν(ῦν). Ἀλλη(λούϊα) *γ'. Μετανοί(ας) γ'. Εἶθ' οὕτως· Ἀρχόμεθα μετὰ μέλους, ἐν ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ στίχῳ μετανοίαν α'·* Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θ(εό)ς, etc. {164f.} *Εἶτα τροπ(ά)ρ(ιον) ἦχος πλ(άγιος) β'·* Τὴν ἡμέραν διελθῶν, etc. Τὴν ἡμέραν παρελθῶν, etc. Τὴν ἡμέραν διαβὰς, etc. {165} Ἡ ἀσώματος φύσις, etc. {165f.} Nicene Creed. *Καὶ τὰ παρόντα·* Παναγία Δέσποινα, etc. {167} *Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Καὶ τροπ(ά)ρ(ια)·* Φώτησον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, etc. Δόξα. Ἀντιλήπτωρ τῆς ψυχῆς, etc. Καὶ νῦν. Ὅτι οὐκ ἔχομεν, etc. {167f.} *Ἕτερα στιχ(η)ρ(ὰ) παρ' ἕτερα νυκτί·* Τῶν ἀοράτων, etc. Ὡς φοβερὰ, etc. Δάκρυα μοι, etc. Τὴν ἀκαταίσχυντον, etc. {168} Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *μ'. Καὶ ἡ εὐχή·* Κ(ύρι)ε, Κ(ύρι)ε, ὁ ῥυσάμενος ἡμᾶς, etc. {169} Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμ(εν) *γ'.* Pss 50 and 101. Prayer of Manasseh {RAHLFS, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 362f.} *Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Καὶ τὰ παρόντα τροπ(ά)ρ(ια)·* Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, etc. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, etc. Τῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας, etc. {*Hōrol.*, 173} *Τὸ* Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *μ'.* Δόξα. Καὶ ν(ῦν). Τὴν τιμιωτ(έ)ρ(αν). Ἐν ὀνόμ(α)τ(ι) Κ(υρίο)υ εὐλ(όγησον), π(άτ)ερ. Δι' εὐχῶν τῶν ἁγίων π(ατέ)ρων ἡμῶν. *Καὶ ἡ εὐχή·* Δέσποτα Θ(ε)έ, etc. {173} Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμ(εν) *γ'.* Pss 69 and 142. Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις, etc. {175; ~ RAHLFS, 364f.} *Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Εἶτα τροπ(ά)ρ(ιον) ἦχ(ος) πλ(άγιος) β'·* Κ(ύρι)ε τῶν δυνάμεων, etc. {*Hōrol.*, 176} *Εἶτα τοὺς στίχ(ους), ἐφ' ἑνὶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ στίχῳ μετάνοιαν μίαν·* Ps 150:1. Κ(ύρι)ε τῶν δυνάμεων, μεθ' ἡμ(ῶν). Ps 150:2. Κ(ύρι)ε τῶν δυνάμεων, μεθ' ἡμῶ(ν). Ps 150:3. Κ(ύρι)ε τ(ῶν). Ps 150:4. Κ(ύρι)ε τῶν δυνάμεων, με(θ' ἡμῶν). Ps 150:5–6. Κ(ύρι)ε τῶν δυνάμεων. Ps 150:1. Κ(ύρι)ε τῶν δυνάμεων. Δόξα τῷ Π(ατ)ρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πν(εύματ)ι. Κ(ύρι)ε, εἰ μὴ, etc. Πολλὰ τὰ πλήθη, etc. Παναγία Θ(εοτό)κε, τὸν χρόνον, etc. Τὴν πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα, etc. {177} *Τὸ* Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *μ'. Καὶ ἡ εὐχή·* Ὁ ἐν παντὶ, etc. {177f.} Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *γ'.* Δόξα. [Κ]αὶ ν(ῦν). Τὴν τιμιωτ(έ)ρ(αν). Ἐν ὀνόμ(α)τ(ι) Κ(υρίο)υ εὐλόγησον, π(άτ)ερ. *Ὁ ἱερεύς·* Ps 66:2. *Αἱ τρεῖς μεγάλαι μετανοίαι μετὰ τ(ῆς) εὐχῆς·* Κ(ύρι)ε καὶ δέσποτα, etc. {178} *Εἶτα τὰς ιβ' καὶ πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν εὐχήν. Καὶ αὖθις Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *ιβ'. Καὶ ἡ παροῦσα εὐχὴ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θ(εοτό)κου·* Ἀσπιλε, ἀμόλυντε, etc. {178f.} Καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν, etc. {179} *Εἶτα γίνεται ἀπόλυσις οὕτως·* Δέσποτα πολυέλεε, etc. {180f.} *Καὶ γίνεται τελεία συγχώρησις.* Πάντων προστατεύεις, etc. {182} Δεῖξον τὰ βουλεύματα, etc. {unpubl.} Σκέπη καὶ ἀντίληψις, etc. {*Mēnaion*, Oct. 20th} [**206v–233v**] *Nocturns.* Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ τοῦ μεσονυκτικοῦ· *Μετὰ τὸ εὐλο-*

γῆσαι τ(ὸν) ἱερέα ἀρχόμεθα· Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θ(εὸς) ἡμ(ῶν), δόξα σοι. Βασιλεῦ οὐ(ρά)νιε. *Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. Ὅτι σου ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία. *Τὸ* Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέ(ησον) ιβ'. Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν γ'. Ps 50:3a. Ps 118:1–72. Δό(ξα). Καὶ νῦν. Ἀλλη(λούϊα) *γ'. Μετανοί(αις) γ'.* Ps 118:73–131. Δό(ξα). Καὶ ν(ῦν). Ἀλλη(λούϊα) *γ'.* Ps 118:132–76. Δό(ξα). Καὶ ν(ῦν). Nicene Creed. *Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Καὶ τά παρόντα τροπ(ά)ρ(ια)·* Ἰδοῦ ὁ νυμφίος, etc. Δόξα. Τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, etc. (Καὶ) νῦ(ν). Σὲ τὸ ἀπόρθητον, etc. {*Homl.*, 15f.} Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέ(ησον) *μ'.* Ὁ ἐν παντὶ, etc. {16} Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *γ'.* Τὴν τιμιωτ(έ)ρ(αν) τ(ῶν) χερουβὶμ καὶ ἐνδοξοτέραν. Ἐν ὀνόμ(α)τ(ι) Κ(υρίο)υ εὐλόγησον, π(άτ)ερ. Ps 66:2. *Καὶ ποιοῦ(μεν) τὰς τρεῖς μεγάλας μετανοίας. λέγοντες τ(ὴν) εὐχ(ήν)·* Κ(ύρι)ε καὶ δέσποτα, etc. {17} *Εἶθ' οὕτως· ποιοῦ(μεν) τὰς δώδεκα μεγάλας μετανοί(ας) μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς εὐχ(ῆς). καὶ αὖθις·* Δέσποτα Θ(ε)έ, etc. {18} Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν *γ'.* Pss 120 and 133. Δό(ξα). (Καὶ) νῦ(ν). *Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Καὶ τροπάρια·* Μήσθητι, Κ(ύρι)ε, etc. Ὁ βάθει, etc. Μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων, etc. Μακαρίζομέν σε πᾶσαι, etc. {20} *Τὸ* Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *ιβ'. Καὶ ἡ εὐχ(ή)·* Μνήσθητι, Κ(ύρι)ε, τῶν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι, etc. {21} *Καὶ γίνεται ἀπόλυσις καὶ εὐθ(ὺς) ἡ συγχώρησις οὕτως·* Εὐξώμεθα ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων βασιλέων ἡμῶν. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου στρατοῦ αὐτῶν. Ὑπέρ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν. Ὑπέρ τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ ἡμῶν ἀδελφότητος. Etc. {~ 22f.} **[234r–250v]** *Saturday Nocturns:* Ἕτερον μεσονυκτικὸν τοῦ σαββάτου· *Μετὰ τὸ εὐλογῆσαι τὸν ἱερέα ἀρχόμεθα·* Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θ(εὸς) ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι. Βασιλεῦ οὐ(ρά)νιε. *Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέ(ησον) *ιβ'. Τὸ* Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν *γ'.* Ps 50:3. Pss 64, 65, and 66. Δό(ξα). (Καὶ) νῦ(ν). Ἀλλη(λούϊα) *γ'.* Ps 67. Δόξα. Ps 68 (lacks vv. 5 ἥρ[παζον]–13). Ps 69. Δόξα. Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θ(εόν), Π(ατέ)ρα, παντοκράτορα. *Τρισάγιον.* Παναγία Τριάς. Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν. *Καὶ τροπ(ά)ρ(ια)·* Ἄκτιστε φύσις, etc. Τὰς ἄνω δυνάμεις, etc. Τῆς κλίνης καὶ τοῦ ὕπνου, etc. {34} *Τὸ* Κ(ύρι)ε, ἐλέησον *μ'. Καὶ ἡ εὐχή·* Ὁ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ (καὶ) πάσῃ ὥρα. Δόξα. Καὶ νῦν. Τὴν τιμιωτ(έ)ρ(αν). Ps 66:2a. *Καὶ ἡ εὐχ(ή)·* Μεγαλύνω[ν] μεγαλύνω σε, etc. {35f.} **[251r–260r]** *Canon at the Separation of the Soul from the Body:* Κανὼν εἰς ψυχορραγοῦντα, ποίημα Ἀνδρέου Κρήτης. Ὠδὴ α'· ἦχ(ος) πλ(άγιος) β'· Ὡς ἐν ἠπείρῳ. Δεῦτε συνάχθητε, etc. {GOAR, 585–87}.

Blank Pages: 76v, 77r, 260v.

Diacritics and Punctuation: rounded breathing marks, wide circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted. – Diaereseis over ι and υ common. – Upper and lower points. – Κ(αὶ) and common endings occasionally abbreviated. – Except when they are sung antiphonally (Pss 140 etc. on fols. 148v–152r), psalms are written in continuous paragraphs, not in verses.

Script: one hand throughout. Somewhat similar to the Hodegon style. Characteristically shaped δ with sharply pointed downstroke. E often joined in ligature to a subsequnt consonant, with only the upper half of the ε re-tained. – I attribute the script to the Nicholas (*RGK* III:no. 528) who copied Vat. gr. 1143.

Ink: grayish-brown. Initials, titles, and headpieces in vermilion. – The initial E on fol. 158v and some of the small initials on fol. 171v were re-done in bright red (158v) and dark blue (171v) by someone other than the scribe or the painter.

Parchment: goatskin, generally of medium quality (rough and/or dark spots common), with ocassional small holes (fols. 21, 96, 141, 160, 172). – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Goat; reasonable selection; hair often remains in follicles; follicles intact; both surfaces polished; 'medium' weight (0.12–0.20 mm)."

Ruling: hardpoint; system unclear; type not codified by Leroy: a simple rectangle delimiting the written surface. – 15 (unruled) lines per page; justification ca. [60–65 x 35–40 mm].

Quires: 6 (fols. 1–6: fols. 5–6 singles), 3 x 8 (30), 7 (37: fol. 37 single), 4 x 8 (69), 9 (78: fol. 76 single), 8 x 8 (134), 7 (141: fol. 135 single, text missing), 7 (148: fol. 144 single), 8 (156), 8 (164: fols. 159 and 162 singletons), 10 x 8 (244), 6 (250), 10 (260).

Quire Signatures: scribal, *Ie1*: fully preserved on fols. 62r (ι), 95r (ιδ), 103r (ιε), 111r (ις), 119r (ιζ), 127r (ιη), 157r (κ).

Foliation: in black ink, s. XIX: *Si*, continuous.

Binding: Greek, s. XVI–XVII (acc. to G. PETHERBRIDGE), mended in June 1935 by Liz Bentzel: green patterned silk (now very worn and soiled) over flush-grooved wooden boards; paper pastedowns (probably added later); raised endbands; flat spine; traces of clasps on the back cover; three chain-stitches distanced ca. 18-30-26-22 mm (from the bottom up); blue silk curtains bound in front of each miniature. – Although many of the quire signatures are lost, there does not seem to have been substantial trimming. – [Notes by G. PETHERBRIDGE]: "Sewn with link stitch at three stations, averaging 21, 48, and 78 mm from the headcap. Sewing seems to be original. Linen S-twist thread." – "An earlier covering phase is evidenced by the presence of fragments of red silk under the turn-ins of the upper board. Radiographic examination reveals nail holes left by either four corner bosses and a central boss or an applied metal (?) plaque. The same nail hole pattern is found on both the upper and lower boards." – "Radiographs show two sets of triangularly disposed holes in the lower board and the corresponding two tie pin catch holes in the fore-edge of the upper board. The lost fastenings appear to have dated from the red silk covering phase."

Marks: [front pastedown] in dark gray ink, s. XVIII: ...στί, περίοι(ως) οἱ πλανῆτες περιάγ[ουσιν] | ...νθά-την. Ἐγγύτερον μὲν τοῦ ἡλίου ὁ ἑρμῆ[ς] | ἡ ἀφροδίτη, καὶ μεθ' αὐτήν ἡ γῆ, πλανή... | τὸν Κοπέρνικον. Εἶτα ὁ ἄρης, μεθ | ..ς, μετὰ δὲ τὸν δία ὁ κρόνος. – [back pastedown] same hand and ink: ...μένες | ...ὰ, οὐ κατηγόρου ...σάντην μετά | εοε' ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ Νικόλαος ὁ Κοπέρνικος, ὁ | πόλεως τῆς περιουσίας τὴν ἀρχήν ταύτην περ... | ἀνακαινίσας Ἔρεην, Κεπλέρον (καὶ) Νεύτονα | ...αδοὺς ἔχει ἀστρονόμους κα(ὶ) ἔλιπε δέ πονή.... | ... κινήσεως τῆς ὀγδόης σφαίρας .... | Κεφ(άλαι)ον ιβ' – [front pastedown] in pencil: "1.VIII.8" (old Walters shelfmark).

Traces of Lost Marks: [260r, infra] traces of washed black ink, probably from a thoroughly erased note.

Provenance: purchased by H. Walters probably from Gruel, Paris.

Dating: miniatures and text are doubtless contemporaneous: the legend ἀποκαθέλωσις in the upper margin of fol. 106r is in the scribe's hand. Nicholas's one signed manuscript (cf. under "Script" above), Vat. gr. 1143, a. 1449 provides a *terminus ad quem* for W.534.

Iconography: on illustrations of the Biblical Odes [20v, 24r, 32v, 36r, 38v, 40v, 46r, 50v, 52r]: BAUMSTARK, *RQ* 21 (1907): 157–75; WEITZMANN, *DOP* 30 (1976): 67–84; WALTER, *BγzSl* 51 (1990): 43–52. – On the Dance of Miriam [20v]: STEPPAN, *CA* 45 (1997): 144–48. – For New Testament scenes preceding the canonical hours' texts [76r, 92v, 106r], the only parallel is the Horologion Lesbos, Leimonos Monastery, Cod. 295, s. XII ex. (text descr. in PHOUNTOULĒS, *Akoimētos doxologia,* 74–78; miniatures to be published by VOKOTOPOULOS): [p. 142 (the manuscript is paginated)] Crucifixion, [172] Deposition: ἡ ἀποκαθήλωσις, [200] The Two Maries at the Empty Tomb: ὁ λίθος. The Leimons manuscript also has full-page illustrations before each of the Biblical Odes, incl. Zach [pp. 14, 17, 22, 23, 25, 27, 31, 33, 34]. – On the Penitence of David [85v]: CUTLER, *Psalters*, figs. 145, 175, 180, 208, 230, 252, 268, 301 (now New York, Metr. Mus., inv. 2001.730), 323, 343, 377, 398, and 413; DUFRENNE, *Tableaux synoptiques*, under "Ps 50"; DER NERSESSIAN, *DOP* 19 (1965): 169f.; CUTLER, *Jrnl. of Jewish Art* 6 (1978): 51–53; ESZLARY, *Acta Historiae Artium* 8 (1962): 215–39.

Bibliography:

Hōrologion to mega periechon hapasan tēn anēkousan autō akolouthian kata tēn taxin tēs Anatolikēs Ekklēsias kai tōn hypokeimenōn autē euagōn monastēriōn, 6th ed. (Athens, 1977).

A. SIMONOF, *Mega proseuchētarion periechon hieras proseuchas en pasē peristasei kai rhēmata hiera*, new ed. (Thessaloniki, 2001).

W.535 GOSPEL LECTIONARY [ALAND I 1029]

Paper, 425 folios, 394 x 270 mm, 1594, Buzău (text); *ca.* 1596, Moscow (miniatures)

Illustrations: [**8v**] {VIKAN, fig. 3.2} *John Standing Inspired, Prochorus Seated Writing*: ὁ ἅγ(ι)ος Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Θεολόγος, ὁ ἅγ(ι)ος Προχορως, on the leaf held by Prochorus: Jn 1:1 Εν ἀρχῆ ἦν ο λ●γος, καὶ ὁ λογος η[ν] (237 x 145–50); [**9r**] {VIKAN, fig. 3.2} *Anastasis*: Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς, ὁ ὢν (100 x 68); *Sermon of John the Baptist*: ὁ ὢν (77 x 67); [**10v**] *Christ Appearing to His Disciples*: Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς, ὁ ὢν (80 x 71); [**11r**] {DIRINGER, *Illum. Book*, fig. ii-27.e} *Sermon of John the Baptist*: **Гд̑ Сава҃ѳ, Іоаннъ** (84 x 69); [**12r**] {VIKAN, fig. 3.3} *Road to Emmaus, Peter at the Tomb*: **Іс̄ Хс̄**, ὁ ὢν, **Петръ** (sic) (82 x 71); [**14r**] *Jesus Coming to John in the Desert* (82 x 73); [**16r**] *Christ Addressing Nicodemus*: **Іс̄ Хс̄**, ὁ ὢν, **Никодим** (82 x 70); [**17r**] {VIKAN, fig. 3.4} *Christ Driving the Merchants from the Temple*: ὁ ὢν (82 x 70); [**18r**] *Christ and John Baptising*: **Іс̄ Хс̄**, ὁ ὢν, **Іоаннъ** (80 x 71); [**19r**] {VIKAN, fig. 3.5} *Doubting Thomas*: **Іс̄ Хс̄**, ὁ ὢν (83 x 78); [**20r**] *Wedding of Cana*: **Іс̄ Хс̄**, ὁ ὢν, [**Мр̄**] **ѳѵ̈**, **Іс̄ Хс̄**, ὁ ὢν (83 x 73); [**21r**] *Pencil-Drawn Frame for Miniature* (75 x 68); [**26r**] {VIKAN, fig. 3.6} *The Women at the Tomb*: **Недѣла мироносиц** (75 x 65); [**31v**] *Healing of the Paralytic*: **Кн[з̑]да кѣпель Гѣ изцели рослобленаг(о)** (75 x 65); [**35r**] {VIKAN, fig. 3.7} *Christ Teaching* (75 x 66); [**39r**] *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*: **Недѣла самарискаіа**; [**48r**] {VIKAN, fig. 3.8} *Healing of the Blind Man*: **Іс̄ Хс̄**, ὁ ὢν (82 x 75); [**58r**] "*Father, the Time Has Come*": **Гѣ Сава҃ѳ, Іс̄ Хс̄**, ὁ ὢν (83 x 75); [**67v**] {GRATZIOU, *Matthaios von Myra*, fig. 25; VIKAN, fig. 3.9} *Matthew Seated, Inspired by an Angel*: **дѣхъ**, ὁ ἅγ(ιος) **Ματθαῖος**, in the book: Mt 1:1 Ματθα(ιου)· Βίβλος γεννέσε[ω]ς Ἰ](ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ὑιο[ῦ] Δα(υἵ)δ ὑι●ῦ Ἀβρα]άμ. Ἀβραὰμ ἐ[γ]έν[νησ]ε τὸ[ν] (242 x 148, incl. frame); [**68r**] {GRATZIOU, fig. 25; VIKAN, fig. 3.9} *Parable of the Lost Sheep*: **Іс̄ Хс̄** (90 x 79); [**73r**] *All Saints*: **Іс̄ Хс̄**, in Christ's book: Jn 7:24 **Не на лица**, on the Baptist's scroll: Jn 1:29 **Агнецъ божиї з̑а[ши]ї** (87 x 78); [**77r**] *Christ Healing the Sick, Calling of Peter and Andrew, Calling of James and John* (77 x 68); [**82r**] "*See the Birds of Heaven*" (79 x 70); [**87r**] *Christ Healing the Centurion's Servant* (77 x 67); [**92r**] *Christ Exorcising the Demoniacs* (88 x 81); [**98r**] *Healing of the Man with Palsy*: **Іс̄ Хс̄**, ὁ ὢν (88 x 80); [**102v**] *Christ Healing Two Blind Men*: **Іс̄ Хс̄** (88 x 75); [**107r**] {VIKAN, fig. 3.11} *Feeding of the Five Thousand*: **Іс̄ Хс̄**, ὁ ὢν (91 x 92); [**113r**] *Christ Walking on Water with Peter*: **Гѣ ходеи по морѣ с Петром, Іс̄ Хс̄**, ὁ ὢν, **апостол Пе(т)ръ** (94 x 87); [**125r**] *Parable of the Talents* (83 x 75); [**129v**] *Christ and the Rich Man Seeking Eternal Life* (86 x 75); [**134v**] *Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen* (75 x 67); [**142r**] *Parable of the King's Wedding* (75 x 68); [**148v**] *Christ Addressing the Pharisees about the Great Commandment* (87 x 78); [**154v**] *Parable of the Talents* (74 x 66); [**158v**] {VIKAN, fig. 3.14} *Luke Seated Writing, with His Symbol, the Calf*: ὁ ἅγ(ιος) Λουκᾶς, in the book: Lk 1:1 Επειδήπερ πολλ●ι επεχείρισαν αναταξασθαι (240 x 150, incl. frame); [**159r**] {VIKAN, fig. 3.14} *Herod's Feast* (81 x 73); [**169v**] {VIKAN, fig. 3.15} *Christ Addressing His Disciples* (74 x 66); [**174v**] *Christ Raising the Son of the Widow of Nain* (74 x 68); [**179v**] *Parable of the Sower* (87 x 75); [**185r**] *Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus* (86 x 75); [**190r**] *Christ Exorcising the Gadarene Demoniacs* (77 x 66); [**195v**] *Healing of the Woman with the Issue of Blood, Raising of the Daughter of Jairus* (73 x 66); [**201v**] *Parable of the Good Samaritan* (82 x 75); [**207v**] *Parable of the Abundant Harvest* (88 x 77); [**212r**] *Christ Healing a Deformed Woman* (74 x 68); [**217r**] *Parable of the Invitation to Supper* (86 x 75); [**222r**] *Christ Healing Ten Lepers* (75 x 67); [**226v**] *Christ and the Ruler Seeking Eternal Life* (76 x 65); [**231v**] *Christ Healing a Blind Man* (73 x 67); [**236r**] {MINER, 102, fig. 13} unfinished underdrawing for the scene on 236v (75 x 67); [**236v**] {MINER, 101, fig. 12} *Christ and Zacchaeus* (74 x 65); [**241v**] *Christ and the Canaanite Woman* (74 x 68); [**242v**] *Parable of the Publican and the Pharisee* (73 x 67); [**247r**] *Parable of the Prodigal Son* (82 x 72); [**257r**] *Christ Addressing the Apostles* (74 x 66); [**268v**] *Christ Addressing the Apostles, God the Father in Heaven* (74 x 68); [**272v**] {VIKAN, fig. 3.17} *Mark Seated, with His Symbol, the Lion*: ὁ ἅγ(ιος) Μαρκος, on the scroll and in the book: Mk 1:1 Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ· ἰδοὺ ἐγω αποστέλλω τ●ν ἄγγελον μου (242 x 152, incl. frame); [**278r**] *Christ Addressing the Apostles, Christ Exorcising a Demoniac* (82 x 73); [**280r**] *Christ, James, and John Talking; Christ Addressing the Apostles* (74 x 66); [**281r**] *Raising of Lazarus* (75 x 66); [**285r**] *Entry into Jerusalem* (76 x 66).

Note: the Russian phrases on fols. 26r, 31v, 39r, and 113r, somewhat carelessly written and in part (26r, 31v) covered by the miniaturists' pigments, are instructions for the painter rather than explanatory legends for the viewer. There are traces of what must have been similar instructions, now erased and illegible under UV-light, in the outer margin of fols. 21r, 25r, 27v, 28r, 29r, 30r, 30v, 34r, 36v, 37v, and 38r, all exactly next to the beginning of a pericope.

There are also Cyrillic inscriptions, now overpainted and illegible, under the miniatures on fols. 48r, 58r, 92r, and 107r. Finally, there are remains of letters, now trimmed off, in the upper margin above the miniatures on fols. 217r, 222r, and 241v.

Ornament: |9r| {VIKAN, fig. 3.2} *Headpiece* (118 x 119) {VIKAN in *Byz. Legacy*, fig. 7}, *Initial E*; |68r| {GRATZIOU, *Matthaios von Myra*, fig. 25; VIKAN, fig. 3.9} *Headpiece* (113 x 117), *Initial E* {GRATZIOU, fig. 36}; **|126r|** *Headpiece* (ca. 52 x 67); **|159r|** {VIKAN, fig. 3.14} *Headpiece* (102 x 150), *Initial T*; **|242v|** *Headband* (14 x 70); **|269r|** *Gilded Headband*; |273r| {VIKAN, fig. 3.17} *Π-Shaped Headpiece* (101 x 150), *Initial T* {GRATZIOU, fig. 35}; **|285r|** *Initial Π with Two Birds*; |340r| *Gilded Headpiece*; **|362r|** *Gilded and Wash-Colored Headpiece*; |374r| *Headpiece* (48 x 70). *Gilded initial letters (usually E or T) at the beginning of each pericope. Gilded headband at the beginning of each month in the Menologion.*

Unfinished Ornament: |315v| *Space Left for a Headpiece.*

Text (cf. GREGORY, 343–86; SCRIVENER, I:80–89): **|9r–66v|** *Readings for the Weeks of Jn*: **|9r–10r|** Τῇ ἁγία καὶ μεγαλῇ Κῦρ(ιακῇ) τοῦ Πάσχα· Jn 1: 1–17, |10r–11r| Εἰς τὸν ἑσπερι(νὸν), μετὰ τὴν εἴσοδον· Jn 20:19–25, **|11r–12r|** Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) διακαιν(ησίμου)· Jn 1:18–28, **|12r–14r|** Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) διακαιν.· Lk 24:12–35, **|14r–15v|** Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) διακαιν.· Jn 1:35–51, **|15v–17r|** Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) διακαιν.· Jn 3:1–15, **|17r–18r|** Τῇ ϛ᾽ τ(ῆς) διακαιν.· Jn 2:12–22, **|18r–19r|** Τῷ σα(ββάτῳ) τ(ῆς) διακαιν.· Jn 3:22–33, **|19r–20r|** Κυριακῇ τοῦ ἀντιπάσχα· τοῦ ὄρθρου ζήτει ἑωθ(ινὸν) α᾽· τῆς λειτουργ(ίας)· Jn 20:19–31, **|20r–21r|** Τῇ β᾽ τῆς β᾽ ἑβδ(ομάδος)· Jn 2:1–11, **|21r–v|** Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) β᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 3:16–21, **|21v–22v|** Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς β᾽ ἑβδομάδος.· Jn 5: 17–24, **|22v–23v|** Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) β᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 5:24–30, **|23v–25r|** Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς β᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 5:30–6:2, **|25r–26r|** Σαββάτῳ β᾽· Jn 6:14–27, **|26r–27v|** Κυρ(ιακῇ) γ᾽, τῶν μυροφόρων· εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον ζ(ή)τ(ει) ἑωθινὸν γ᾽· τῆς λειτουργί(ας)· Mk 15:43–16:8 **|27v–28r|** Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.: Jn 4:46–54, **|28r–29r|** Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 6:27–33, **|29r–v|** Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 6:35–39, **|29v–30r|** Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 6:40–44, **|30r–v|** Τῇ παρα(σκευῇ) τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 6:48–54, **|30v–31v|** Σαββάτῳ γ᾽· Jn 15:17–16:2, **|31v–33r|** Κυρ(ιακῇ) δ᾽, τοῦ παραλύτου· εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον ζ(ή)τ(ει) ἑωθινὸν δ᾽· τῆς λειτουργί(ας)· Jn 5:1–15, **|33r–34r|** Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 6:56–69, **|34r–35r|** Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 7:1–13, **|35r–36v|** Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς μεσοπεντηκοστῆς· Jn 7:14–30, **|36v–37r|** Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 8:12–20, **|37r–38r|** Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς δ᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Jn 8:21–30, **|38r–39r|** Σα(ββάτῳ) δ᾽· Jn 8:31–42 ἥκω, **|39r–42v|** Κυρ(ιακῇ) ε᾽, τῆς σαμαρείτιδος· εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον ζ(ή)τ(ει) ἑωθιν(ὸν) ε᾽· τ(ῆς) λειτουργ(ίας)· Jn 4:5–42, **|42v–43v|** Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 8:42–51, **|43v–44r|** Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 8:51–59, **|44r–45r|** Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 6:5–14, **|45r–46v|** Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 9:39–10:9, **|46v–47r|** Τῇ παρα(σκευῇ) τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Jn 10:17–28 δίδωμι αὐτοῖς, **|47r–48r|** Τῷ σαββάτῳ τῆς ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 10:27–38, **|48r–51r|** Κυρ(ιακῇ) ϛ᾽, τοῦ τυφλοῦ· ζ(ή)τ(ει) ἑωθιν(ὸν) ϛ᾽ τοῦ ὄρθρου· τ(ῆς) λειτουργί(ας)· Jn 9:1–38, **|51r–52r|** Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ϛ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 11:47–54, **|52r–53v|** Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ϛ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 12:19–36, **|53v–54v|** Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς ϛ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 12:36–47, **|54v–56r|** Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ἀναλήψεως· τοῦ ὄρθρου ζ(ή)τ(ει) ἑωθ(ι)ν(ὸν) γ᾽· τ(ῆς) λειτουργ(ίας)· Lk 24:36–53, **|56r–v|** Τῇ παρα(σκευῇ) τῆς ϛ᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Jn 14:1–11, **|56v–57v|** Σαββάτῳ ϛ᾽· Jn 14:10–21, **|57v–59r|** Κυριακῇ ζ᾽, τῶν ἁγίων π(ατέ)ρων· τοῦ ὄρθρου ζ(ή)τ(ει) ἑωθ(ι)ν(ὸν) ι᾽· τ(ῆς) λειτουργ(ίας)· Jn 17:1–13, **|59r–60r|** Τῇ β᾽ τῆς ζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 14:27 μὴ ταρασσέσθω–15:7, **|60r–61r|** Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 16:2–13 ἀλήθειαν, **|61r–v|** Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς ζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 16:15–23, **|61v–62v|** Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 16:23 ἀμὴν–33 ἔχητε, **|62v–63v|** Τῇ ϛ᾽ τῆς ζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Jn 17:18–26, **|63v–64v|** Σαββάτῳ τῆς ἁγίας Πεντηκοστ(ῆς)· Jn 21:14–25, **|64v–65r|** Κυρ(ιακῇ) τῆς ν᾽ [i.e., Πεντηκοστῆς], τοῦ ὄρθρου· Jn 20:19–23, **|65r–66v|** Τῆς λειτουργί(ας)· Jn 7:37–8:12; **|68r–158r|** *Readings for the Weeks of Mt*: **|68r–69r|** Τῇ β᾽ τῆς πρώτης ἑβδομάδος μετὰ τὴν Πεντηκοστὴν ἤτοι τοῦ ἁγίου Πν(εύματο)ς· Mt 18:10–20, **|69r–70v|** Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς α᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Mt 4:23–5:13, **|70v–71r|** Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) α᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 5:20–26, **|71r–v|** Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) α᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 5:27–32, **|71v–72r|** Τῇ παρα(σκευῇ) τ(ῆς) α᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 5:33–41, **|72v–73r|** Σαββάτῳ α᾽· Mt 5:42–48, **|73r–v|** Κυρ(ιακῇ) α᾽, τῶν ἁγίων πάντων· Mt 10:32–33.37–38, 19:27–30, **|73v–74r|** Τῇ β᾽ τῆς β᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 6:31–34, 7:9–11, **|74r–v|** Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) β᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 7:15–21, **|74v–75r|** Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς β᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Mt 7:21–23, **|75r–v|** Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) β᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 8:23–27, **|75v–76r|** Τῇ παρα(σκευῇ) τῆς β᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Mt 9:14–17, **|76r–v|** Σα. β᾽· Mt 7:1–8, **|76v–77v|** Κυρ. β᾽· Mt 4: 18–23, **|77v–78v|** Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 9:36–10:8, **|78v–79r|** Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 10:9–15, **|79r–v|** Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 10:16–22, **|79v–80v|** Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 10:23–31, **|80v–81r|** Τῇ ϛ᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 10:32–36, 11:1, **|81r–82r|** Σαββάτῳ γ᾽· Mt 7:24–8:4, **|82r–83r|** Κυριακῇ γ᾽· Mt 6:22–33, **|83r–84r|** Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 11:2–15, **|84r–v|** Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 11:16–20, **|84v–85r|** Τῇ δ᾽

τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 11:20–26, [**85r–v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 11:27–30, [**85v–86r**] Τῇ ϛ᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 12:1–8, [**86r–87r**] Σαββάτ(ῳ) δ᾽· Mt 8:14–23, [**87r–88r**] Κὺρ. δ᾽· Mt 8:5–13, [**88r–v**] Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 12:9–13, [**88v–89v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 12:14–16.22–30, [**89v–90v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 12:38–45, [**90v–91r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 12:46–13:3, [**91r–v**] Τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 13:3–12, [**91v–92r**] Σαββάτ. ε᾽· Mt 9:9–13, [**92r–v**] Κυριακ. ε᾽· Mt 8:28–9:1, [**92v–94r**] Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ϛ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 13:10–23, [**94r–v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς ϛ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 13:24–30, [**94v–95v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ϛ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 13:31–36, [**95v–96r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ϛ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 13:36–43, [**96r–97r**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ϛ᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Mt 13:44–54, [**97r–v**] Σαββάτ. ϛ᾽· Mt 9:18–26, [**97v–98r**] Κυριακῇ ϛ᾽· Mt 9:1–8, [**98r–v**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς ζ᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Mt 13:54–58, [**98v 99v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 14:1–13, [**99v–100v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 14:35–15:11, [**100v–101v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 15:12–21, [**101v–102r**] Τῇ παρα. τῆς ζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 15:29–31, [**102r–v**] Σαββάτω ζ᾽· Mt 10:37–11:1, [**102v–103r**] Κυριακῇ ζ᾽· Mt 9:27–35, [**103r–v**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς η᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 16:1–6, [**103v–104r**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς η᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 16:6–12, [**104r–105r**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς η᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 16:20–24, [**105r–v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς η᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 16:24–28, [**105v–106r**] Τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) ϛ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 17:10–18, [**106r–107r**] Σα. η᾽· Mt 12:30–37, [**107r–v**] Κυρ. η᾽· Mt 14:14–22, [**107v–108v**] Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) θ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 18:1–11, [**108v–109v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) θ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 18:18–22, 19:1–2.13–15, [**109v–110v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς θ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 20:1–16; [**110v–112r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς θ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 20:17–28, [**112r–v**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς θ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 21:12–14.17–20, [**112v–113r**] Σαββάτω θ᾽· Mt 15:32–39, [**113r–114r**] Κυριακῇ θ᾽· Mt 14:22–34, [**114r–v**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς ι᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 21:18–22, [**114v–115r**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς ι᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 21:23–27, [**115r–v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς ι᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 21:28–32, [**115v–116r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς ι᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 21:43–46, [**116r–117r**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ι᾽ ἑβδομ(ά)δ.· Mt 22:23–33, [**117r–v**] Σαββάτω ι᾽· Mt 17:14–23, [**117v–118v**] Κυριακῇ ι᾽· Mt 17:14–23, [**118v–119v**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς ια᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 23:13–22, [**119v–120r**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ια᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 23:23–28, [**120r–121r**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ια᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 23:29–39, [**121r–122v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς ια᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 24:13–28, [**122v–124r**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ια᾽ ἑβδ.· Mt 24:27–33.42–51, [**124r–125r**] Σαββάτω ια᾽· Mt 19:3–12, [**125r–126r**] Κυριακῇ ι᾽· Mt 18:23–35; [**126r–157v**] Τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον· [**126r–v**] Mk 1:9–15, [**127r–v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιβ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 1:16–22, [**127v–128r**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς ιβ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 1:23–28, [**128r–v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ιβ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 1:29–35, [**128v–129r**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ια᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Mk 2:18–22, [**129r–v**] Σαββάτω ιβ᾽· Mt 20:29–34, [**129v–130v**] Κυριακῇ ιβ᾽· Mt 19:16–26, [**130v–131r**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς ιγ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 3:6–12, [**131r–132r**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς ιγ᾽ ἐβδ.· Mk 3:13–21, [**132r–v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς ιγ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 3:20–27, [**132v–133r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ιγ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 3:28–35, [**133r–134r**] Τῇ παρα. τῆς ιγ᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Mk 4:1–9, [**134r–v**] Σαββάτω ιγ᾽· Mt 22:15–22, [**134v–135v**] Κυριακῇ ιγ᾽· Mt 21:33–42, [**135v–136v**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς ιδ᾽ ἑβδομάδ.· Mk 4:10–23, [**136v–137v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιγ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 4:24–34, [**137v–138r**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιδ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 4:35–41, [**138r–140r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς ιδ᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Mk 5:1–20, [**140r–141r**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ιγ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 5:22–24.35–6:1, [**141r–142r**] Σαββάτ. ιδ᾽· Mt 23:1–12, [**142r–143r**] Κυριακῇ ιδ᾽· Mt 22:2–14, [**143r–144r**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς ιε᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 5:22–34, [**144r–v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς ιδ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 6:1–7, [**144v–145v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιε᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 6:7–13, [**145v–147r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς ιε᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 6:30–45, [**147r–v**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τ(ῆς) ιε᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Mk 6:45–53, [**147v–148v**] Σαββάτω ιε᾽· Mt 24:1–13, [**148v–149v**] Κυριακῇ ιε᾽· Mt 22:35–46, [**149v–150v**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς ις᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 6:54–7:8, [**150v–151v**] Τῇ δ᾽ (sic) τῆς ις᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 7:5–16, [**151v–152v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς ις᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 7:14–24, [**152v–153r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ις᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 7:24–30, [**153r–154r**] Τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) ιε᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 8:1–10, [**154r–v**] Σαββάτω ις᾽· Mt 24:34–38.42–44, [**154v–156r**] Κυριακῇ ις᾽· Mt 25:14–30 and add. Ταῦτα λέγων, etc. {GREGORY, 352}, [**156r–157r**] Σαββάτ. ιζ᾽· Mt 25:1–13, [**157r–v**] Κυριακῇ ιζ᾽· Mt 15:21–28; [**157v–158r**] [Χ]ρὴ γινώσκειν ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο τῆς χαναναίας γίνεσθαι ἐξώπασχ(α) πολλάκ(ις), διὰ τοῦτο ὃ δε μὲν οὐ χωρεῖ ἀναγινώσκεσθαι εἰς τὸ σαββατοκυρίακον (sic) τοῦ Ματθαίου, ὅτι σπανείως ἀναγινώσκεται ιζ᾽ τοῦ Ματθαίου κυριακῇ, ἀναγινώσκεται (δὲ) εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκ(ᾶν) τῇ πρότη (sic) τοῦ φαρισαίου καὶ τοῦ τελώνου κυριακῇ· εἴπερ ἄρα λείψει εἰς τὸ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Λουκᾶν κυριακῇ, διὰ τὸ μὴ κύνεσθαι τὸ Πάσχα, [**158r**] [Τ]ὸ δὲ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ἀναγινώσκεται ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς τῆς μετὰ τὴν Ὕψωσιν β᾽ ἐν ὅλαις ἑβδομάσι ιβ᾽, ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς δὲ τ(ῆς) ιγ᾽ ἑβδομ(ά)δ(ος) τὸ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Μάρκον ταῖς πέντ(ε) ἡμέραις, τοῖς δὲ σάββασι καὶ ταῖς κυριακαῖς πάλιν ὁ Λουκᾶς; [**159r–271v**] *Readings for the Weeks of Lk*: [**159r–v**] Τῇ δευτέρα τῆς α᾽ ἑβδομάδ(ος) τοῦ νέου ἔτους· Lk 3:19–22, [**159v–160v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς α᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 3:23–4:1, [**160v–161v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) α᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 4:1–15, [**161v–162v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς α᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Lk 4:16–22, [**162v–163v**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς α᾽ ἑβδομ.· Lk 4:22–30, [**163v–164r**] Σαββάτω α᾽· Lk 4:31–36, [**164r–165r**] Κυριακῇ

α᾽· Lk 5:1–11, **[165r–166r]** Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) β᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 4:38–41, [**166r–v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) β᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 5:12–16, **[166v–167r]** Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) β᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 5:33–39, [**167r–168r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς β᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 6:12–19, [**168r–v**] Τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) β᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 6:17–23, [**168v–169v**] **Σαββάτω β᾽**· Lk 5:17–26, **[169v–170r]** Κυριακῇ β᾽· Lk 6:31–36, **[170r–v]** Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 6:24–30, **[170v–171v]** Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς γ᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Lk 6:37–45, [**171v–172v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 6:46–7:1, [**172v–173v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 7:17–30, **[173v–174r]** Τῇ παρα. τῆς γ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 7:31–35, **[174r–v]** **Σαββάτω γ᾽**· Lk 5:27–32, **[174v–175r]** Κυριακῇ γ᾽· Lk 7:11–16, **[175r–176v]** Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 7:36–50, **[176v–177r]** Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 8:1–3, [**177r–v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 8:22–25, [**177v–178r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 9:7–11, [**178r–v**] Τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 9:12–19, [**178v–179v**] Σαββάτω δ᾽· Lk 6:1–10, [**179v–180v**] **Κυριακῇ δ᾽**· Lk 8:5–8.9–15, [**180v–181r**] Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Lk 9:18–22, [**181r–v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 9:23–27, [**181v–182v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 9:43–50, [**182v–183r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 9:49–56, [**183r–184r**] Τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) ε᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 10:1–15, [**184r–185r**] Σα. ε᾽· Lk 7:1–10, [**185r–186v**] Κυριακῇ ε᾽· Lk 16:19–31, [**186v**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς ς᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 10:22–24, [**186v–187v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ς᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 11:1–10, [**187v–188r**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ς᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 11:9–13, [**188r–189r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ς᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 11:14–23, [**189r–v**] Τῇ παρα. τῆς ς᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 11:23–26, [**189v–190r**] Σαββάτω ς᾽· Lk 8:16–21, [**190r–191r**] Κυριακῇ β᾽· Lk 8:27–35.38.39, [**191r–192r**] Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 11:29–33, [**192r–v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς ζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 11:34–41, [**192v–193r**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς ζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 11:42–46, [**193r–194r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς ἑβδόμης ἑβδομάδ.· Lk 11:47–12:1, [**194r–195r**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ζ᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Lk 12:2–12, [**195r–v**] **Σαββάτω ζ᾽**· Lk 9:1–6, [**195v–197r**] Κυριακῇ ζ᾽· Lk 8:41–56, [**197r–198r**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς η᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 12:13–15.22–31, [**198r–v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) η᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 12:42–48, [**198v–199v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) η᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 12:48–59, [**199v–200v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς η᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 13:1–9, [**200v–201r**] Τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) η᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 13:31–35, [**201r–v**] **Σαββάτω η᾽**· Lk 9:37–43, [**201v–203r**] **Κυριακῇ η᾽**· Lk 10:25–37, [**203r–v**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς θ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 14:1.12–15, [**203v–204v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς θ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 14:25–35, [**204v–205r**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς θ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 15:1–10, [**205r–206r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) θ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 16:1–9, [**206r–207r**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τ(ῆς) θ᾽ ἑβδομάδος· Lk 16:15–18 and 17:1–4, [**207r–v**] Σα. θ᾽· Lk 9:57–62, [**207v–208r**] Κυριακῇ θ᾽· Lk 12:16–21 and add. Ταῦτα λέγων, etc. {GREGORY, 356}, [**208r–v**] Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ι᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 17:20–25, [**208v–209v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ι᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 17:26–37 and 18:18, [**209v–210r**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ι᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 18:15–17.26–30, [**210r–v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ι᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 18:31–34, [**210v–211v**] Τῇ ς᾽ τ(ῆς) ι᾽ ἑβδομάδ.· Lk 19:12–28, [**211v–212r**] Σα. ι᾽· Lk 10:19–21, [**212r–213r**] Κυρ. ι᾽· Lk 10:25–37, [**213r–v**] Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ια᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 19:37–44, [**213v–214r**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ια᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 19:45–48, [**214r–v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ια᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 20:1–8, [**214v–215v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ια᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 20:9–18, [**215v–216r**] Τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) ια᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 20:19–26, [**216r–217r**] Σαββάτ. ια᾽· Lk 12:32–40, endnote: Τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον λέγεται καὶ τῇ κυρ(ιακῇ) τῶν πρωπ(ατέ)ρων, [**217r–v**] Κυρ. ια᾽· Lk 14:16–24, [**217v–218v**] Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ιβ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 20:27–44, [**218v–219v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιβ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 21:12–19, [**219v–220r**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιβ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 21:5–8.10.11.20–24, [**220r–v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ιβ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 21:28–33, [**220v–221r**] Τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) ιβ᾽ ἑβδ.· Lk 21:37–22:8, [**221r–222r**] Σα. ιβ᾽· Lk 13:19–29, [**222r–v**] Κυριακῇ ιβ᾽· Lk 17:12–19, [**222v–223v**] Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ιγ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 8:11–21, [**223v–224r**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιγ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 8:22–26, [**224r–v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιγ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 8:30–34, [**224v–225r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ιγ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 9:10–16, [**225r–v**] Τῇ ς᾽ τ(ῆς) ιγ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 9:33–41, [**225v–226v**] Σα. ιγ᾽· Lk 14:1–11, [**226v–227v**] Κυρ. ιγ᾽· Lk 18:18–27, [**227v–228r**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς ιδ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 9:42–10:1, [**228r–229r**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιδ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 10:2–11, [**229r–v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιδ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 10:11–16, [**229v–230v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ιδ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 10:17–27, [**230v–231r**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ιδ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 10:24–32, [**231r–v**] Σα. ιδ᾽· Lk 16:10–15, [**231v–232r**] Κυρ. ιδ᾽· Lk 18:10–14, [**232r–v**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς ιε᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 10:46–52, [**232v–234r**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιε᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 11:11–23, [**234r**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς ιε᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 11:22–26, [**234r–235r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ιε᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 11:27–33, [**235r–v**] Τῇ ς᾽ τ(ῆς) ιε᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 12:1–12, [**235v–236v**] Σαββάτω ιε᾽· Lk 17:3–10, [**236v–237r**] Κυρ. ιε᾽· Lk 19:1–10, [**237r–v**] Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ις᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 12:13–17, [**237v–238v**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ις᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 12:18–27, [**238v–239v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ις᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 12:28–37, [**239v–240r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς ις᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 12:38–44, [**240r–241r**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τ(ῆς) ις᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 13:1–9, [**241r–v**] Σα. ις᾽· Lk 18:1–8 τάχει, [**241r–242v**] Κυρ. ις᾽· Mt 15:21–28, [**242r–v**] Ἀναγινώσκεται (δέ) ἡ τοιαύτη τῆς χαναναίας κυρ(ιακὴ) ἐὰν μὴ κύνηται ἡ απόκρεως διὰ τὸ ἐξώπασχα κ(αὶ) λείψη εἰς τὸ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Λουκᾶν κυρ(ιακή)· εἰ γοῦν μέλλ(ει) ἀναγινωσθῆναι ἡ τοιαύτη κυριακὴ, ἂς ἀναγνωσθῶσι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὄπισθ(εν) αἱ πέντε ἡμέραι, μετὰ τοῦ σαββάτ(ου), [**242v–243r**] Κυρ. τοῦ τελώνου κ(αὶ) τοῦ φαρισαίου· Lk 18:10–14, [**243r–v**] Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ιζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 13:9–13, [**243v–244r**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς ιζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 13:14–23, [**244r–245r**] Τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 13:24–31, [**245r–v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ιζ᾽

ἑβδ.· Mk 13:31–14:2, [**245v–246r**] Τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς ιζ᾽ ἑβδ.· Mk 14:3–9, [**246r–247r**] Σαββάτω ιζ᾽· Lk 20:46–21:4 and Ταῦτα λέγων, etc. {GREGORY, 359}, [**247r–248v**] Κυρ. τοῦ ἀσώτου· Lk 15:11–32, [**248v–249v**] Τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ἀποκρέου· Mk 11:1–11, [**249v–252r**] Τῇ γ᾽ τῆς ἀποκρέου· Mk 14:10–42, [**252r–254v**] Τῇ δ᾽ τῆς ἀποκρ.· Mk 14:43–15:1, [**254v–255v**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς ἀποκρέου· Mk 15:1–15, [**255v–256v**] Τῇ ϛ᾽ τ(ῆς) ἀποκρέου· Mk 15:20.22.25.33–41, [**256v–257r**] Σα. τῆς ἀποκρέου· Lk 21:8.9.25–27.33.34–36, [**257r–258v**] Κυρ. τῆς ἀποκρέου· Mt 25:31–46, [**258v–261v**] Τῇ β᾽ τῆς τυροφά(γου)· Lk 19:29–40 and 22:7–8.39, [**261v–264r**] Τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) τυροφάγ.· Lk 22:39–23:1, [**264r–267r**] Τῇ ε᾽ τῆς τυροφά· Lk 23:1–43.44–56, [**267r–268v**] Σαββάτω τῆς τυροφάγου· Mt 6:1–13, [**268v–269r**] Κυριακῇ τῆς τυροφάγου· Mt 6:14–21; [**269r–271v**] Εὐαγγέλια ἀναγινωσκόμενα εἰς τὰς πανιχίδας (sic) τῆς πρώτης εὐδομάδος (sic) τ(ῶν) νιστειῶν· [**269r–271r**] Τῇ β᾽ ἑσπέρας· Lk 21:8–36, [**271v**] Τῇ γ᾽ ἑσπέρας· ζήτ(ει) σα. τ(ῆς) τυροφάγ. Ματθ.; τῇ δ᾽ ἑσπέρ.· ζήτ. τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιε᾽ ἑβδ. Μάρκ.; τῇ ε᾽ ἑσπέρ.· ζήτ. τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ϛ᾽ ἑβδ. Λκ.; τῇ παρα. ἑσπέρ.· ζήτ. σεπτεβρίω β᾽ Ἰω., ἕως τὸ Jn 15:7. [**273r–373r**] *Readings for Lent*: [**273r–274r**] Σαββάτω πρώτω τῶν νηστειῶν· Mk 2:23–3:5, [**274r–v**] Κυρ. α᾽ τῶν νηστει.· Jn 1:44–52, [**274v–275v**] Σα. β᾽ τῶν νηστει.· Mk 1:35–44, [**275v–276r**] Κυρ. β᾽ τῶν νηστει.· Mk 2:1–12, [**276v**] Σα. γ᾽ τῶν νηστει.· Mk 2:14–17, [**277r–v**] Κυρ. γ᾽ τῶν νηστει.· Mk 8:34–9:1, [**277v–278r**] Σα. δ᾽ τῶν νηστειῶν· Mk 7:31–37, [**278r–279r**] Κυρ. δ᾽ τῶν νηστει.· Mk 9:17–31, [**279r–v**] Σα. ε᾽ τῶν νηστειῶν· Mk 8:27–31, [**279v–281r**] Κυρ. ε᾽ τῶν νηστειῶν· Mk 10: 32–45, [**281r–284r**] Σαββάτω τοῦ Λαζάρου· Jn 1:1–45, [**284r–285r**] Κυρ. τῶν Βαΐων, τοῦ ὄρθρου· Mt 21:1–11.15–17, [**285r–286v**] τῆς λειτουργί(ας)· Jn 12:1–18, [**286v–289r**] Τῇ ἁγ(ιᾳ) κ(αὶ) μ(ε)γ(ά)λ(ῃ) β᾽· Mt 21:18–43, [**289r–291v**] Τῇ ἁγια (καὶ) μεγάλῃ β᾽, εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν· Mt 24:3–35, [**291v–296v**] Τῇ ἁγία (καὶ) μεγάλῃ γ᾽, εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον· Mt 22:15–24:2, [**296v–301r**] Τῇ ἁγία κ. μεγάλῃ γ᾽, εἰς τὴν λειτουργ.· Mt 24:36–26:2, [**301r–304r**] Τῇ ἁγία (καὶ) μεγάλῃ δ᾽, εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον· Jn 12:17–50, [**304r–v**] Τῇ ἁγ. κ. μεγλ. δ᾽, εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν· Mt 26:6–16, [**304v–307v**] Τῇ ἁγ. κ. μγλ. ε᾽, εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον· Lk 22:1–39, [**307v–308r**] Εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ νιπτῆρος· Jn 13:1–11, [**308r–v**] Εὐα. β᾽ τοῦ νιπτῆρος· Jn 13:12–17, [**308v–315v**] Τῇ ἁγ. κ. μγλ. ε᾽, εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν.· Mt 26:1–20, [**315v–340r**] Εὐαγγέλια ιβ᾽ τῶν ἁγίων παθ(ῶν)· α᾽ Jn 13:31–18:1, β᾽ Jn 18:1–28, γ᾽ Mt 26:57–75, δ᾽ Jn 18:28–19:16, ε᾽ Mt 27:3–32, ϛ᾽ Mk 15:16–32 πιστεύσωμεν αὐτῷ, ζ᾽ Mt 27:33–54, η᾽ Lk 23:32–49, θ᾽ Jn 19:25–37, ι᾽ Mk 15:43–47, ια᾽ Jn 19:38–42, ιβ᾽ Mt 27:62–66, [**340r–355r**] Εὐαγγέλια τῶν ὡρ(ῶν) τῆς ἁγίας (καὶ) μεγάλης παρασκευῆς· [α᾽] Mt 27:1–56, ὥρα γ᾽· Mk 15:1–41, ὥρα ϛ᾽· Lk 22:66–23:49, ὥρα θ᾽· Jn 18:28–19:37, [**355r–360r**] Τῇ ἁγ. κ. μγ. παρα. ἑσπ(έρας)· Mt 27:1–38, Lk 23:39–43, Mt 27:39–54, Jn 19:31–37, Mt 27: 55–61, [**360r–v**] Τῷ ἁγίω (καὶ) μεγάλω σαββάτω πρωΐ· Mt 27:62–66, [**360v–362r**] Τῷ ἁγίω κ(αὶ) μεγάλω σαββάτ(ῳ) ἑσπέρας· Mt 28:1–20; [**362r–373r**] Εὐαγγέλια ἑωθινὰ ἀναστάσιμα ια᾽· [α᾽] Mt 28:16–20, β᾽ Mk 16:1–8, γ᾽ Mk 16:9–20, δ᾽ Lk 24:1–12, ε᾽ Lk 24:12–35, ϛ᾽ Lk 24:36–53, ζ᾽ Jn 20:1–10, η᾽ Jn 20:11–18, θ᾽ Jn 20:19–31, ι᾽ Jn 21:1–14, ια᾽ Jn 21:15–25;

[**374r–421r**] *Menologion*: Μηνολόγιον σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ ἁγίῳ· [**374r–382r**] *September*: α᾽ ἀρχ(ὴ) τ(ῆς) ἰνδικτι(όνος) κ(αὶ) μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Συμε(ὼν) τοῦ Στυλίτου, κ(αὶ) ἡ σύναξις τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θ(εοτό)κου· Lk 4:16–22, καὶ μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου πρς. ἡμῶν Συμεὼν τοῦ ἐν τῇ μάνδρα· ζήτ(ει) δεκε(μβρίου) ε᾽, β᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. μ(ε)γ(α)λ(ο)μ(ά)ρ(τυρ)ος Μάμαντος· Jn 15:1–11, κ. τοῦ ἐν ἁγ. πρς. ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰω. τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ· ζήτ. νοε(μβρίου) ιγ᾽ τ(ῆς) λειτουργ(ίας), γ᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. ἱερομρ. Ἀνθίμ(ου)· ζήτ. νοε. ιγ᾽ τ(ῆς) λειτργ., δ᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. ἱερομρ. Βαβῦλα· ζήτ. τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ. Ματθ., ε᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. προφήτ(ου) Ζαχαρίου τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς τοῦ τιμίου Προδρό(μου)· ζήτ. τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ια᾽ ἑβδ. Ματθ., ϛ᾽ ἡ ἀνάμνησ(ις) τοῦ θαύμ(α)τ(ος) τοῦ ἀρχ(ι)στρατ(ή)γ(ου) Μιχαὴλ ἐν ταῖς Χών(αις)· ζήτ.νο. η᾽ τ(ῆς) λειτργ., ζ᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. μρ. Σώζοντ(ος)· ζτ. μαρτ(ύ)ρ(ον), η᾽ τῆς ὑπεραγ(ίας) δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου, τοῦ ὄρθρ(ου)· Lk 1:39–49.56, τῆς λειτουργίας· Lk 10:38–42, 11:27–28, θ᾽ τῶν ἁγ(ίων) κ(αὶ) δικ(αίων) θεοπ(ατέ)ρων Ἰωακεὶμ κ. Ἄννης· ζήτ. σαββάτω ϛ᾽ τοῦ Λου(κᾶ), ι᾽ εἰς τὴν προσκύνησιν τῶν τιμί(ων) ξύλ(ων)· ζήτ. σαββάτ(ω) ζ᾽ Ματθαίου, ια᾽ εἰς τὴν προσκύνησιν τῶν τιμίω(ν) ξύλων· ζήτει τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) β᾽ ἑβδ. Ἰω., ιβ᾽ εἰς τὴν προσκύνησιν τῶν τιμ(ίων) ξύλων· ζήτ. τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ϛ᾽ ἑβδ., ιγ᾽ εἰς τ. προσκύν. τ. τιμί(ων) ξύλ(ων)· ζήτ. τῇ β᾽ τῆς ϛ᾽ ἑβδ. Ἰω., ἐκ τοῦ μέ(σου)· Jn 12:25, σαββάτ. πρὸ τῆς ὑψώσε(ως)· ζήτ. σαββτ. ζ᾽ Ματθ., κυρ. πρὸ τῆς ὑψώσεως· Jn 3:13–17, ιδ᾽ ἡ ὕψωσις τοῦ τιμίου κ. ζωοποιοῦ στ(αυ)ροῦ, τοῦ ὄρθρ(ου)· Jn 12:28–36 γένησθε - εἰς τ(ὴν) λειτγ.· intr. passage {GREGORY, 367} and Jn 19:6.9–11 ἄνωθεν.13–20.25–28.30–35 μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ - Σά. μ(ε)τ(ὰ)

τ(ὴν) ὕψωσιν· ζήτ. τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ. Ἰω. - Κυρ. μ(ε)τ(ά) τ. ὕψωσιν· ζήτ. τῇ κυρ. γ᾽ τῶν νηστεί(ων), ιε᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. μγλμρ. Νικήτ(α)· ζήτ. τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ. Ματθ., ις᾽ τῆς ἁγί(ας) μγλμρ. Εὐφημί(ας)· ζήτ. τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), κ᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. μγλμρ. Εὐσταθ(ίου)· ζήτ. τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιβ᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), κγ᾽ ἡ σύλληψις τοῦ τιμίου ἐνδό(ξ)ου προφή(του) προδρόμ(ου) κ. βαπτιστοῦ Ἰω(άννου)· ζήτ. τῇ κδ᾽ τοῦ Ἰουν(ίου) εἰς τ(ὸ) γενέθλιον τὸ εὐα(γγέλιον) τῆς λειτουργίας ἀπο τὸ Lk 1:5, κδ᾽ τ(ῆς) ἁγί(ας) πρωτ(ο)μρ. Θέκλης· ζήτ. σα. ιζ᾽ τοῦ Ματθ., κς᾽ ἡ μετάστασ(ις) τοῦ ἁγ. Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ ἀποστ(ό)λ(ου) (καὶ) εὐ(αγγελίστ)ου Θεολό(γ)ου· ζήτ. ἑωθ(ινὸν) ια᾽, τῆς λειτγ.· Jn 19:25–28 and 21:24–25, κη᾽ τοῦ ὁσίου πρς. ἡμ(ῶν) κ. ὁμολο-γ(ή)τ(ου) Χαρίτωνο(ς)· ζήτ. τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) β᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), λ᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. ἱερομάρτ(υ)ρ(ος) Γρηγ(ο)ρ(ίου) τ(ῆς) Μ(ε)γ(ά)λ(η)ς Ἀρμενί(ας)· Mt 24:42–47;

[382r–383r] *October*: α᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. ἀποστ(ό)λ(ου) Ἀνανία· ζήτ. ἔμπροσθεν εἰς τ(ὴν) η᾽ νο(εμβ)ρ(ίου) τ(ῆς) λειτργ., β᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. ἱερομρ. Κυπριανοῦ· ζήτ. εἰς τ. ιγ᾽ νο. τ(ῆς) λειτργ., γ᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. ἱερομρ. Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγήτου· ζήτ. τῇ ς᾽ τ(ῆς) ς᾽ ἑβδ. Ματθ., ς᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. ἐνδό(ξ)ου ἀ(π)οστό(λου) Θωμᾶ· ζήτ. τῇ κυρ. τοῦ ἀντ(ί)πασχ(α), ζ᾽ τῶν ἁγ(ίων) μρ. Σεργ(ίου) κ. Βάκχου· ζήτ. τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιβ᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), ιβ᾽ τῶν ἁγ(ίων) μρ. Πρόβ(ου), Ταράχ(ου) κ. Ἀνδρονίκου· ζήτ. τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιβ᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), ιγ᾽ τῶν ἁγ(ίων) ἱερομρ. Κάρπ(ου) κ. Παπύλ(ου)· Mt 7:12–21, ις᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. Λογγίνου τοῦ ἑκατοντάρχου· ζήτ. εὐα. ζ᾽ τῶν ἁγ(ίων) παθῶν, ιη᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. ἀποστόλ(ου) καὶ εὐα(γγελίστ)ου Λουκᾶ· ζήτ. νο. η᾽ τ(ῆς) λειτργ., κγ᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. ἀ(π)οστ(όλου) Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου· ζήτ. τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ζ᾽ ἑβδ. Ματθ., κς᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. μγλμρ. Δι-μητρ(ίου) τοῦ μυροβλήτ(ου)· ζήτ. σα. γ᾽ Ἰω.;

[383r–387v] *November*: α᾽ τῶν ἁγ. ἀναργ(ὐ)ρ(ων) Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιαν(οῦ)· Mt 10:1.5–8, β᾽ τῶν ἁγ. μρ. Ἀκινδύνου κ. τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ· ζήτ. κυρ. τ(ῶν) ἁγ. πάντ(ων), γ᾽ τῶν ἁγ. μρ. Ἀκεψιμᾶ, Ἰωσὴφ κ. Ἀειθαλᾶ· ζήτ. παρα. τῆς ζ᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), ς᾽ τοῦ ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) πρς. ἡμ(ῶν) Παύλ(ου) τ(οῦ) ὁμολ(ο)γ(η)-τ(οῦ) π(ατ)ριάρχ(ου) Κωνσταντινουπόλ(εως)· Lk 12:8–12, η᾽ ἡ σύναξις τῶν ἐπ(ουρα)νίων πασῶν δυνάμεων, εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον· ζήτ. τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) α᾽ ἑβδ. Ματθαίου, τῆς λειτουργίας· Lk 10:16–21, ιβ᾽ τοῦ ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) πρς. ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰω(άνν)ου τοῦ ἐλεήμονο(ς) π(ατ)ριάρχ(ου) Ἀλεξανδρ(είας)· Mt 5:14–20, ιγ᾽ τοῦ ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) πρς. ἡμῶν Ἰω(άνν)ου τοῦ Χρυσο(στόμου), εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον· Jn 10:1–9, εἰς τὴν λειτουργ(ίαν)· Jn 10:9–17, ιδ᾽ τ(οῦ) ἁγ. ἀποστ(ό)λ(ου) Φιλίππου· ζήτ. κυρ. α᾽ τῶν νηστει(ῶν), ιε᾽ τῶν ἁγ. ὁμολογητ(ῶν) Γουρία, Σαμονᾶ, κ. Ἀβίβου· ζήτ. σαββάτ. ιζ᾽ τοῦ Λου(κᾶ), ις᾽ τ(οῦ) ἁγίου ἐνδό(ξ)ου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐα(γγελιστ)οῦ Ματθαίου· ζήτ. σα. ε᾽ Ματθ., ιζ᾽ τοῦ ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) πρς. ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματουργ(οῦ)· ζήτ. νο. α᾽, κα᾽ ἡ ἐν τῷ ναῷ εἴσοδος τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θ(εο)τ(ό)κου, τοῦ ὄρθρ(ου)· ζήτ. σεπτεβρίω η᾽, κη᾽ τῶν ἁγίων ἱερομαρτρ. Κλήμεντ(ος) Ῥώμης (καὶ) Πέτρου Ἀλεξανδρ(είας)· ζήτ. σα. γ᾽ Ἰω., λ᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. ἐνδό(ξ)ου ἀποστ(ό)λ(ου) Ἀνδρέου τοῦ προτοκλήτου, εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον· ζήτ. κυρ.β᾽ τοῦ Ματθ., εἰς τὴν λειτουργ(ίαν)· ζήτ. τῇ δ᾽ τῆς διακαινησίμ(ου);

[387v–397v] *December*: δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ἁγ. μγλμρος. Βαρβάρ(ας)· ζήτ. τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ιε᾽ ἑβδ. Μάρκ., ε᾽ τοῦ ὁσίου κ. θεοφόρου πρς. ἡμ(ῶν) Σάβα τοῦ ἡγιασμ(ένου), εἰς τὸν ὄρθρ(ον)· Lk 6:17–23, τῆς λειτουργί(ας)· Mt 11:27–30, ς᾽ τοῦ ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) πρς. ἡμ(ῶν) Νικολάου ἀρχ(ι)επισκόπου Μύρω(ν) τῆς Λυκί(ας), εἰς τ(ὸν) ὄρθρον· ζήτ. νο. ιγ᾽ τοῦ ὄρθρ., εἰς τ(ὴν) λειτουργ(ίαν)· ζήτ. εἰς τ(ὴν) ε᾽ τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ), τοῦ ὄρθρ., θ᾽ ἡ σύλληψις τῆς ἁγ. Ἄννης· ζήτ. σα. ς᾽ τοῦ Λου(κᾶ), ιβ᾽ τοῦ ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) πρς. ἡμ(ῶν) Σπυρίδωνος τοῦ θαυματουργ(οῦ)· ζήτ. νο. ιγ᾽ τ(ῆς) λειτουργ., ιγ᾽ τῶν ἁγ. μ(α)ρ(τύρων) Εὐστρατίου κ. τῶν σὺν αὐτ(ῷ)· ζήτ. σα. ιζ᾽ τοῦ Λου(κᾶ), ιζ᾽ τῶν ἁγ. τρι(ῶν) παίδ(ων) κ. Δανιήλ τοῦ προφήτ(ου)· ζήτ. τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) ζ᾽ ἑβδ. τοῦ Λου(κᾶ), κ᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. ἱερομρ. Ἰγνατ(ίου) τ(οῦ) Θεοφόρ(ου)· ζήτ. τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) ιγ᾽ ἑβδ. τοῦ Λου(κᾶ), κυρ. τῶν ἁγ. προπατόρων· ζήτ. κυρ. ια᾽ τοῦ Λου(κᾶ), σαββάτ. πρὸ τ(ῆς) Χ(ριστο)ῦ γεννήσεως· ζήτ. τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) ιβ᾽ ἑβδ. τοῦ Λου(κᾶ), κυρ. πρὸ τῆς Χ(ριστο)ῦ γεννήσεως· Mt 1:1–25, εὐαγγέλια τῶν ὡρῶν τῆς παραμονῆς τῆς ἁγίας Χυ. τοῦ Θυ. ἡμῶν γεννήσεως· ὥρ(α) α᾽· ζήτ. κυρ. πρὸ τ(ῆς) Χυ. γεννήσεως, ἀπὸ *Τοῦ δὲ Ιυ Χυ* etc., ὥρα γ᾽· Lk 2:1–20, ὥρα ς᾽· ζήτ. τῇ κε᾽ τ(ῆς) λειτουργ., ὥρ(α) θ᾽· ζήτ. τῇ κς᾽ τ(ῆς) Θ(εοτό)κου, εἰς τὴν λειτουργ. τῆς παραμον(ῆς) τ(ῆς) Χῦ. γεννήσεως· ζήτ. ὥρ(α) γ᾽, κε᾽ ἡ κ(α)τ(ά) σάρκα γέννησις τοῦ Κυ. κ. Θῦ. κ. Σ(ωτή)ρ(ο)ς ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰῦ. Χῦ., εἰς τὸν ὄρθρο(ν)· Mt 1:18–25, τῆς λειτουργίας· Mt 2:1–12, κς᾽ ἡ σύναξις τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θ(εοτό)κου· Mt 2:13–23, κζ᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. πρωτομρ. κ. ἀρχ(ι)διακ(όν)ου

Στεφάνου· ζήτ. κυρ. ιγ᾽ τοῦ Ματθ., **κη᾽** τῶν ἁγ. μρ. δυσμυρίων· ζήτ. τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) θ᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), **κθ᾽** τῶν ἁγ. νηπί(ων)· ζήτ. ὄπισθεν εἰς τ(ὴν) κς᾽ τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ), **λ᾽** τῆς ἁγ. μρ. Ἀνυσίας· ζήτ. κυρ. ι᾽ Λου(κᾶ), σά. μ(ε)τ(ά) τ(ὴν) Χῦ. γέννησιν· Mt 12:15–21, κυρ. μ(ε)τ(ὰ) τ(ὴν) Χῦ. γέννησ(ιν)· ζήτ. ὄπισθεν εἰς τ(ὴν) κς᾽ Ματθ., σά. πρώ (sic) τῶν Φώτ(ων)· Mt 3:1–6, Ἱστέον ὅτι εἰ μ(ὴ) εἰσὶ δύο κυρ(ιακαὶ) μ(ε)τ(α)ξὺ τ(ῆς) Χ(ριστο)ῦ γενν(ήσεως) κ(αὶ) τῶν Φώτ(ων), ἀναγινώσκεται τῇ α᾽ κυρ(ιακῇ) εὐα(γγέλιον) κ(α)τ(ά) Ματθ(αῖον) *Ἀναχωρησάντ(ων) τῶν μάγων* κ(αὶ) τῇ ἄλλη κυρ(ιακῇ) εὐα(γγέλιον) κ(α)τ(ὰ) Μάρκ(ον) *Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)οῦ.* Εἰ (δὲ) τύχ(ῃ) ἓν σαββάτ(ον) κ(αὶ) μία κυρ(ιακὴ) μ(ε)τ(α)ξὺ τῶν Χ(ριστο)ῦ γενν(ήσεως) κ(αὶ) τῶν Φώτ(ων), ἀναγινώσκεται τὸ μ(ὲν) σάββατ(ον), σαββάτ(ῳ) μ(ε)τ(ὰ) τὴν Χ(ρισο)ῦ γέννησιν, τῇ (δὲ) κυρ(ιακῇ), πρὸ τ(ῶν) Φώτων· Mk 1:1–8;

[397v–404v] *January*: α᾽ ἡ περιτομὴ τοῦ Κυ. ἡμῶν Ἰῦ. Χῦ. κ. μνήμ(η) τοῦ ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) πρς. ἡμ(ῶν) Βασιλείου τοῦ μ(ε)γ(ά)λ(ου)· Lk 2:20–21.40–52, **β᾽** τοῦ ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) πρς. ἡμ(ῶν) Σιλβέστρου πάπ(α) Ῥώμ(ης)· ζήτ. τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) διακ(ι)ν(ησίμου), **γ᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. προφ(ήτου) Μαλαχίου· ζήτ. τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ι᾽ ἑβδ. Ματθ., δ᾽ ἡ σύναξις τ(ῶν) ἁγ. ἀποστόλ(ων)· ζήτ. τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) διακν., **εὐαγγέλια τῶν ὡρῶν τῇ παρ(αμον)ῇ τῶν ἁγ. θεοφα(νίων)**· ὥρα α᾽· ζήτ. σά. πρὸ τ(ῶν) φώτ(ων), ὥρ(α) γ᾽· ζήτ. κῦρ. πρὸ τ(ῶν) φώτ(ων), ὥρ(α) ς᾽· ζήτ. τῇ ς᾽ τ(ῶν) ἁγ. θεοφα(νίων), τοῦ ὄρθρ(ου), ὥρ(α) θ᾽· τὸ αὐτ(ὸ) (δὲ) λέγ(ε)τ(αι), κ(αὶ) εἰς τ(ὴν) λειτ(ου)ργ(ίαν) τῶν ἁγ. θεοφα(νίων) (marg. ἤγουν τῇ παρα(μονῇ) ἑσπέρ(ας)· Lk 3:1–18, **ς᾽** τὰ ἁγ. θεοφάνεια τοῦ Κυ. ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰῦ. Χῦ. εἰς τ(ὸν) ὄρθ(ρον), λέγεται (δὲ) κ(αὶ) εἰς τ(ὴν) ἁγ. μ᾽· Mk 1:9–11, τ(ῆς) λειτουργί(ας)· Mt 3:13–17, **ζ᾽** ἡ σύναξις τοῦ τιμίου κ. ἐνδ(ό)ξου προδρόμ(ου) κ. βαπτιστοῦ Ἰω(άννου)· Jn 1:29–34, **η᾽** μεθέορτων (sic) τῶν Φώτων· ζήτ. τῶ σαββ(ά)τ(ῳ) τ(ῆς) διακ., **θ᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. μρ. Πολυεύκτου· ζήτ. τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ιβ᾽ ἑβδ., ι᾽ μεθέορτον· ζήτ. τῇ τῇ (sic) β᾽ τ(ῆς) α᾽ ἑβδ., καὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) Γ᾽ρηγο(ρίου) Νύσσης· τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) α᾽ ἑβδ. Μ(α)τθ., ἀπὸ τὸ *καὶ ἠκολούθησαν etc.*, σά. μ(ε)τ(ά) τὰ Φῶτ(α)· Mt 4:1–11, κυρ. μ(ε)τ(ὰ) τά Φῶτα· Mt 4:12–17, ια᾽ μεθέορτο(ν) τῶν Φώτ(ων)· ζήτ. τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) α᾽ ἑβδ. Λουκᾶ, καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου πρς. ἡμ(ῶν) Θεοδοσίου τοῦ κοινοβιάρχ(ου)· ζήτ. ὄπισθεν δικεβρ(ίῳ) (sic) ε᾽ τ(ῆς) λειτγ., **ιβ᾽** μεθέορτ(ον) τῶν Φώτ(ων)· ζήτ. τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) α ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), **ιγ᾽** μεθέορτ(ον) τῶν Φώτ(ων)· ζήτ. τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) ια ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), **ιδ᾽** τῶ(ν) ἁγ. Ἀββ(ά)δ(ων)· ζήτ. σα. ια᾽ τοῦ Λου(κᾶ), ιε᾽ τῶν ὁσί(ων) π(ατέ)ρων ἡμ(ῶν) Παύλ(ου) τ(οῦ) Θηβαίου κ. Ἰω(άννου) τ(οῦ) Καλυβίτ(ου)· ζήτ. σα. ια᾽ τ(οῦ) Λου(κᾶ),**ις᾽** ἡ προσκύνησ(ις) τ(ῆς) τιμί(ας) ἁλύσε(ως) τοῦ ἁγ. ἀποστόλ(ου) Πέτρου· ζήτ. ἐωθ. ια᾽, **ιζ᾽** τ(οῦ) ὁσ(ίου) πρς. ἡμῶν Ἀντωνίου τοῦ μ(ε)γ(ά)λ(ου)· ζήτ. ὄπιθ(εν) δκ. ε᾽ τοῦ ὄρθρ(ου), τ(ῆς) (δὲ) λειτ(ουρ)γ(ίας) ζήτ. εἰς τ(ὸν) ὄρθρ(ον), κ(αὶ) τ(οῦ) ὄρθρ(ου) ζήτ. τ(ῆς) λειτ(ουρ)γ(ίας), **ιη᾽** τῶν ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) π(ατέ)ρων ἡμ(ῶν) Ἀθανασίου κ. Κυρίλλ(ου) Ἀλεξανδρ(είας)· ζήτ. ὄπισθ(εν) νο(εμβρίῳ) ιβ᾽, **κ᾽** τοῦ ὁσίου κ. θεοφόρ(ου) πρς. ἡμῶν Εὐθυμ(ίου) τοῦ μ(ε)γ(ά)λ(ου)· ζήτ. τῇ ιζ᾽ τοῦ δκ., κα᾽ τ(οῦ) ὁσίου πρς. ἡμ(ῶν) Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογ(ή)τ(ου)· ζήτ. νο. ς᾽, **κβ᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. ἀποστόλ(ου) Τιμοθ(έου) κ. τοῦ ἁγ. ὁσ(ιο)μρ. Ἀναστασίου· ζήτ. κυρ. τῶν ἁγ(ίων) πάντων, **κγ᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. ἱερομρ. Κλήμεντ(ος) πάπ(α) Ῥώ(μης)· ζήτ. σά. α᾽ τ(ῆς) νηστεί(ας), **κε᾽** τοῦ ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) πρς. ἡμ(ῶν) Γρηγο(ρίου) ἀρχ(ι)επισκ(όπου) Κωνστ(α)ντ(ινου)πόλ(εως) τοῦ Θεολό(γου)· ζήτ. ιγ᾽ νο(εμ)βρ. ὄρθρ. κ. λειτγ., **κζ᾽** ἡ ἐπάνοδ(ος) τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) πρς. ἡμῶν Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ Χρυσοστόμ(ου)· ζήτ. ιγ᾽ νο(εμβ)ρ., **κθ᾽** ἡ ἐπάνοδ(ος) τοῦ λειψάν(ου) τοῦ ἁγ. ἱερομρ. Ἰγνατίου τοῦ Θεοφόρ(ου)· ζήτ. τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) ιγ᾽ ἑβδ. τ(οῦ) Λου(κᾶ), **λα᾽** τῶν ἁγ. μαρτ(ύρων) Κύρου κ. Ἰω(άννου)· ζήτ. τῇ α᾽ νο(εμβρίου);

[404v–407r] *February*: α᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. μρ. Τρύφωνος· ζήτ. σά. ι᾽ Λουκᾶ, **β᾽** ἡ ὑπαπάντη τοῦ Κυ. κ. Θῦ κ. Σ(ωτή)ρ(ο)ς ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰῦ. Χῦ., τοῦ ὄρθρου· Lk 2:25–32, τῆς λειτουργίας· Lk 2:22–40, γ᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. Συμε(ὼν) τοῦ Θεοδόχου· ζήτ. εἰς τὰς β᾽ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, γ᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. μεγαλομρ. Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στρατηλάτου· ζήτ. τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ. Ματθ., **η᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. μεγαλομρ. Νικηφόρου· ζήτ. τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιβ᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), ια᾽ τοῦ ἁγ. ἱερομαρτ. Βλασίου· ζήτ. νο. α᾽, **ιζ᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. μεγλμρ. Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τήρων(ος)· ζήτ. σά. **ιζ᾽** Λου(κᾶ), **κδ᾽** ἡ εὕρησις τ(ῆς) τιμί(ας) κεφα(λῆς) τοῦ Προδρόμου, εἰς τ(ὸν) ὄρθρον· ζήτ. τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), εἰς τ(ὴν) λειτγ.· ζήτ. τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ. Μτθ.;

[407r–v] *March*: ς᾽ τῶν ἁγ. μβ΄ μαρτύρων τῶν ἐν τῶ Ἀμμορίω· ζήτ. τῇ δ᾽ τῆς θ᾽ ἑβδ. Μτθ., **θ᾽** τῶν ἁγ. μεγαλμαρτρ. τεσσαράκοντ(α) τῶν ἐν Σεβαστεία· τῇ πόλ(ῃ) μαρτυρησάντ(ων)· ζήτ. τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) θ᾽ ἑβδ. Μτθ., **κε᾽** ὁ εὐαγγελισμ(ὸς) τ(ῆς) ὑπ(ερ)αγ(ίας) Θ(εο)τ(ό)κου, εἰς τ(ὸν) ὄρθ(ρον)· ζήτ. ὄπισθεν σεπτεμβρίω η᾽, **κς᾽** ἡ σύναξις τοῦ ἀρχ(α)γγέλου Γαβριὴλ· ζήτ. νο. η᾽, **λ᾽** τοῦ ὁσίου Ἰω(άννου) τῆς Κλίμακος· ζήτ. δικεβρ. ε᾽ τ(ῆς) λειτουργ.;

[407v–409v] *April*: α᾽ τ(ῆς) ὁσί(ας) Μαρί(ας) τ(ῆς) Αἰγυπτί(ας)· Jn 8:3–11, **κβ᾽** τοῦ ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) Θεοδ(ώ)ρ(ου) τοῦ Σικεώτ(ου)· ζήτ. νο. ιγ᾽ τῆς λειτουργ(ίας), **κγ᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. κ. ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτρ. Γεωργ(ίου), εἰς τὸ ὄρθρον· Lk 21:12–19, εἰς τὴν λειτουργ.· Jn 15:17–16:2, **κε᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. ἀποστόλ(ου) κ. εὐαγγελιστοῦ Μάρκ(ου)· ζήτ. η᾽ νο. τ(ῆς) λειτγ.; [409v–410r] *May*: **α᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. προφήτ(ου) Ἱερεμίου· ζήτ. τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) α᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), **β᾽** τῶν ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) π(ατέ)ρων ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου κ. Κυρίλλου· ζήτ. νο. ιβ᾽, **η᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. ἐνδόξου πανευφήμου ἀποστ(ό)λ(ου) κ. εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ Θεολ(όγου), τοῦ ὄρθρ(ου)· ζήτ. ἐωθ. ια᾽. τ(ῆς) λειτουργ(ίας)· ζήτ. κς᾽ σεπτ., κα᾽ τῶν ἁγ. βασιλέ(ων) κ. ἰσαποστ(ό)λ(ων) Κωνστ(αν)τ(ίνου) κ. Ἑλέν(ης)· ζήτ. νο. ιγ᾽, **κε᾽** ἡ τρίτ(η) εὕρεσις τ(ῆς) τιμί(ας) κεφα(λῆς) τοῦ Προδρόμ(ου), τοῦ ὄρθρ(ου)· ζήτ. τῇ ε᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ. Λοῦ(κᾶ), τ(ῆς) λειτουργ.· ζήτ. τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ. Μτθ.;

[410r–415v] *June*: **β᾽** τοῦ ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) πρς. ἡμ(ῶν) Νικηφόρου Κωνσταντινουπόλ(εως)· ζήτ. νο. ς᾽, **η᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. μεγλμρ. Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στρατηλάτου· ζήτ. ὄπισθεν ἀπρ. κγ᾽ τοῦ ὄρθρ(ου), **θ᾽** τοῦ ἐν ἁγ(ίοις) Κυρίλλ(ου) Ἀλεξανδρ(είας)· ζή νο. ιβ᾽, **ια᾽** τῶν ἁγ. ἀποστόλ(ων) Βαρθολομ(αίου) κ. Βαρνάβ(α)· ζήτ. νο. η᾽ τοῦ ὄρθρ(ου). **ιδ᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. προφήτ(ου) Ἐλισσαίου· ζήτ. τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) α᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), **ιθ᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. ἀποστόλ(ου) Ἰούδ(α) ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Κυ.· Jn 14:21–24, **κδ᾽** τὸ γενέθλιον τοῦ τιμίου ἐνδόξου προφήτ(ου), προδρόμ(ου) κ. βαπτιστοῦ Ἰω(άννου), τοῦ ὄρθρου· Lk 1:24–25.57–68.76.80, εἰς τὴν λειτουργείαν· Lk 1–25.57–68.76.80, **κη᾽** τῶν ἁγίων ἀναργύρων Κύρου κ. Ἰω(άννου)· ζήτ. νο. α᾽, **κθ᾽** τῶν ἁγίων κ. πανευφήμ(ων) ἀποστόλ(ων) Πέτρου κ. Παύλ(ου), τοῦ ὄρθρου· ζήτ. ια᾽ εὐαγγέλιον τ(ῶν) ἁγ. Παθῶν, τ(ῆς) λειτουργ.· Mt 16:13–19, **λ᾽** τῶν ἁγ. κ. πανευφήμ(ων) ἀποστόλ(ων) τῶν δώδεκα· ζήτ. τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ. Μτθ.;

[415v–416r] *July*: **α᾽** τῶν ἁγ. ἐνδόξ(ων) ἀναργύρων Κοσμ(ᾶ) κ. Δαμιανοῦ· ζήτ. νο. α᾽, τὰ καταθέσια τ(ῆς) τιμί(ας) ζώνης· ζήτ. σεπτεβρίω η᾽, **η᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. μγλμρ. Προκοπ(ίου)· ζήτ. σά. ζ᾽. Μτθ.᾽, **ια᾽** τῆς ἁγ. μγλμρ. Εὐφημί(ας)· ζήτ. τῇ β᾽ τῆς δ᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), **ιε᾽** τῶν ἁγ. μαρτρ. Κηρύκ(ου) κ. Ἰουλήττης· ζήτ. σά. ιζ᾽ Λου(κᾶ). **ις᾽** τῶν ἁγ. π(ατέ)ρων τ(ῶν) ἐν τ(αῖς) συνόδ(οις)· ζήτ. νο. ιβ᾽, **ιζ᾽** τ(ῆς) ἁγ. μγλμρ. Μαρίν(ης)· ζήτ. τῇ β᾽ τ(ῆς) ιε᾽ ἑβδ τοῦ Μθ., **κ᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. προφήτ(ου) Ἠλιοῦ· ζήτ. τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) α᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), **κβ᾽** τῆς ἁγ. κ. ἰσαποστ(ό)λ(ου) Μαρί(ας) τῆς Μαγδαλην(ῆς)· ζήτ. τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) δ᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), **κε᾽** τῆς ἁγ. Ἄννης τ(ῆς) μ(ητ)ρ(ό)ς τ(ῆς) Θ(εοτό)κου· ζήτ. σά. ς᾽ Λου(κᾶ), **κζ᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. μγλμαρτρ. Παντελεήμονος· ζήτ. ἀπριλλ. κγ᾽ τῆς λειτουργί(ας);

[416r–421r] *August*: **α᾽** τῶν ἁγ. Μακκαβαί(ων)· ζήτ. τῇ δ᾽ τ(ῆς) γ᾽ ἑβδ., **β᾽** ἡ ἀνακομιδ(ὴ) τοῦ λειψάνου τ(οῦ) ἁγ. προτ(ο)μρ. (sic) Στεφά(ν)ου· ζήτ. κὺρ. ιγ᾽ Ματθ., ς᾽ ἡ φρικτὴ μ(ε)τ(α)μόρφωσις τ(οῦ) Κυ. κ. Θῦ. κ. Σ(ωτή)ρ(ο)ς ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰῦ. Χῦ.· Lk 9:28–36, εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν· Mt 17:1–9, **ζ᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. μρ. Δομετίου, μεθέορτον· Mk 8:34.35, 10:29–31, **θ᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. ἀποστόλ(ου) Ματθαία· ζήτ. νο. η᾽ τῆς λειτουργί(ας), **ιγ᾽** τοῦ ὁσίου πρς. ἡμ(ῶν) Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ· ζήτ. νο. ς᾽, **ιε᾽** ἡ κοίμησις τ(ῆς) ὑπεραγί(ας) Θ(εοτό)κου· ζήτ. σεπτεβρ. η᾽ ὄρθ(ρου) τὲ κ. λειτουργί(ας), **ις᾽** ἡ ἐξέδεσης ἀνακομιδ(ὴ) τοῦ ἁγ. μανδ(υλίου)· Lk 9:51–57, 10:22–24, 13:22, **ιη᾽** τῶν ἁγ. μρ. Φλόρ(ου) κ. Λαύρου· ζήτ. τῇ παρα. τ(ῆς) ζ᾽ ἑβδ. Λου(κᾶ), **κα᾽** τοῦ ἁγ. ἀποστόλ(ου) Θαδδαίου· ζήτ. τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ιγ᾽ ἑβδ. τοῦ Μθ., **κε᾽** τῶν ἁγ. ἀποστόλ(ων) Βαρθολομαίου (καὶ) Τίτου· ζήτ. νο. ιβ᾽, **κθ᾽** ἡ ἀποτομ(ὴ) τοῦ τιμίου ἐνδόξου προφήτ(ου) προδρόμ(ου) κ. βαπτιστοῦ Ἰω(άννου), εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον· ζήτ. τῇ γ᾽ τ(ῆς) ζ᾽ ἑβδ. Μτθ᾽, εἰς τ(ὴν) λειτουργ(ίαν)· Mk 6:14–30, **λ᾽** μεθέορτον· Lk 3:19–23, **λα᾽** τὰ καταθέσια τ(ῆς) τιμί(ας) ζώνης· ζήτ. σεπτε. η᾽ τῆς λειτουργ(ίας);

[421r–v] Gospel readings for various occasions, with cross-references to readings elsewhere in the book: εἰς ἐγκαίνιαν ναοῦ, εἰς σχῆμα μοναχ(ῶν), εἰς σχῆμα μοναχ(ῆς), εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας, εἰς ἀσθενοῦσαν, εἰς κοιμηθέντας, εἰς σεισμόν, εἰς ἐμπρησμόν, εἰς ἀνομβρίαν κ. ἐπινίκια βασιλ(έων), εἰς ἐπιδρομὴν ἐθνῶν, εἰς ἐπέλευσιν τῶν σαρακηνῶν, εἰς πᾶσαν αἴτησιν; ἐπι (sic) ἐξομολ(ο)γουμ(έ)ν(ων), ἐπὶ ἐξομολ(ο)γουμ(έ)ν(ων) γυναικῶν, endnote: τέλος (καὶ) τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ χάρις;

[422r] {CLARK, pl. lxxii} ***scribal colophon***: Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν θεῖον (καὶ) ἱερὸν ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ (καὶ) εὐτελοὶς ἐπισκόπου Μπουζέου Λουκᾶ τοῦ κυπρίου ἐν ἡμέραις τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου αὐθεντὸς ἡμῶν Ἰω(άννου) Μιχαὴλ βοεβόνδ(α), ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ αφϛδ$^{\omega}$ ἰν(δικτιῶ)νος ζ᾽, μηνὶ ἰουνίω δ^{η}, ἡμέρ(α) γ^{η}. + Οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες εὔχεσθέ μοι διὰ τὸν Κ(ύριο)ν.

Blank Pages: 67r, 373v.

Diacritics and Punctuation: rounded breathings marks, small circumflexes. – Commas and high points. – Mute iota usually omitted. – Occasional diaereseis over υ. – Καὶ often abbreviated.

Script: the characteristic archaizing calligraphy of Luke of Buzău, on which see ZOUMBOULI, *Luc de Buzau*, 68–72.

Ink: very dark brown. – Titles, initials letters, and punctuation marks in gold over magenta (or occasionally, in plain magenta).

Paper: folded *in folio*; chaindistance 31 mm; watermarks and countermarks very similar to MARES, *Filigranele*, no. 1006.

Ruling: hardpoint; pattern and sytem unclear – 21 lines per page in two columns; justification ca.[247 x 145 mm]; interlinear distance 12 mm.

Quires: 7 (fol. 7), 10 x 8 (87), 7 (94), 2 x 8 (110), 7 (117), 17 x 8 (253), 7 (260), 8 (268), 9 (277), 4 x 8 (309), 7 (316), 5 x 8 (356), 7 (363), 8 (371), 2 (373), 3 x 8 (397), 1 (398), 4 (402), 2 x 8 (418), 4 (422), 3 (425).

Quire Signatures: scribal, in dark brown ink *Im2* (fols. 9r–371v), *Im1* (fols. 372r–419r), να and νβ repeated twice (fols. 398r–399r, 402r–403r).

Foliation: in pencil, done by D. Miner in August 1976, *Se*, continuous – older, in blue ink, *Se*, fols. 1 (=8), 63 (= 68).

Binding: original, s. XVI ex.; pasted down by Liz Bentzel in May 1935; patterned red silk over squared wooden boards, spine with six raised bands; traces of now lost metal attachments and clasps; pastedowns of yellow silk; paper flyleaves (fols–7, 423–25) with watermarks and countermarks identical to HEAWOOD, no. 2222; edges tooled with ornamental patterns and gilt: no secondary trimming. – [Notes by C. CLARKSON]: "Previous (original) sewing at 46, 110, 176, 240, 303, 366, and 395 mm (110 coincides with a present station)." – "The extant pattern of the edges' tooling suggests that only part of the text block survives (probably just over one half)."

Marks: in pencil, in a mixture of Greek and Cyrillic characters, in the lower margins of fols. **[49r]** ω слепим, **[50r]** ω слепиц, **[74r]** неделіа всехъ, **[93r]** ѡ бесномъ, **[100r]** а раслабеньномъ, **[101v, 102r]** ѡ і, **[108r]** ω пѧти тысѧчъ, **[108r]** ω піате тѣ, **[112v]** ω Петре караб, **[114r]** illegible, **[123r]** ω талаѳте – **[front pastedown]** lithographed bookplate with two seated men and the initials "LG" – [1v, supra] in pencil: "H.VII.2" (old Walters shelfmark) – [1r, supra] in pencil: "W.535 (de R. 13)."

Provenance: in the sacristy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre Jerusalem (seen there by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1896) – purchased by H. Walters from Gruel, Paris.

References:

A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Hierosolymitikē vivliothēkē hētoi katalogos tōn en tais vivliothēkais tou hagiōtatou apostolikou te kai katholikou orthodoxou patriarchikou thronou tōn Hierosolymōn kai pasēs Palaistinēs apokeimenōn hellēnikōn kōdikōn* (St.-Petersburg, 1897; repr. Brussels, 1963), III:199f., cat. 4.

C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1909), I:460, cat. 1029.

K. W. CLARK, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago, 1937), 367–71, with pl. lxxii.

D. MINER, "More about Medieval Pouncing," in *Homage to a Bookman: Essays on Manuscripts, Books and Printing Written for Hans P. Kraus on His 60th Birthday, Oct. 12, 1967*, ed. H. Lehmann-Haupt (Berlin, 1967), 87–107, esp. 101–6.

G. VIKAN, "Walters Lectionary W.535 (A.D. 1594) and the Revival of Deluxe Greek Manuscript Production after the Fall of Constantinople," in *The Byzantine Tradition after the Fall of Constantinople*, ed. J. J. Yiannis (Charlottesville, 1991), 181–268 = G. VIKAN, "Τὸ εὐαγγελιστάριο τῆς πινακοθήκης Walters W.535 (1594 μ.Χ.) καὶ ἡ ἀναβίωση τῆς παραγωγῆς ἑλληνικῶν πολυτελῶν χειρογράφων μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωση," in *Ἡ βυζαντινὴ παράδοση μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωση τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης*, ed. J. J. Yiannis (Athens, 1994), 227–322 [the illustrations in the Greek version are of better quality].

A. DŽUROVA, "Le synthèse slavo-byzantine dans le manuscrits grecs dits de "grande luxe," créés en Valachie et en Moldavie aux XVIe–XVIIe siècles," in *The Greek Script in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Athens, 2000), 499–521.

W.536 ARCHIERATIKON (PONTIFICAL)

Paper, 111 folios, 193 x 135 mm, ca. 1597–99, Moscow (fols. 1–110), and seventeenth century, Russia, Romania, or Greece (fol. 111)

Illustrations: [72v] {GRATZIOU, fig. 64} *St. Gregory Pope of Rome:* ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος (148 x 79, incl. frame).

Ornament: [30r] {GRATZIOU, fig. 13} *Headpiece* (frame: 55 x 68), *Initial O*; [74r] {ibid., fig. 15} *Headpiece with Birds* (frame: 37 x 68); [passim] *ornamented initial letters at the beginning of most prayers.*

Text: [1r–29r] *Presbyterial Prayers from the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom,* beginning lost, inc. τῶν θείων Σου μυστηρίων etc. {GOAR, 511}, *ὁ διάκονος·* Εὐλόγησον etc., *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς* Εὐλογημένη etc. {52μ}, *Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου α'* {52f.π–ρ}, *Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου β'* {53σ}, *Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου γ'* {53υ}, *Εὐχὴ τῆς εἰσόδου* {54A}, *Εὐχὴ τοῦ τρισαγ(ίου) ὕμνου* {55G}, *Εὐχὴ τοῦ εὐα(γγελί)ου* {74}, *Εὐχ(ὴ) τ(ῆς) ἐκτενοῦς ἱκεσίας* {56R}, *Εὐχὴ κατηχουμένων* {56f.S}, *Εὐχ(ὴ) πιστῶν α', μετὰ τὸ ἀπλωθῆναι τὸ εἱλητόν* {57T}, *Εὐχὴ πιστῶν β'* {57f.X}, *Εὐχ(ὴ) τοῦ χερουβικοῦ· ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχεται* {58A}, *Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὴν τῶν θεί(ων) δώρων ἀπόθεσιν* {59E}, *Ἐκφώ(νησις)* {60E}, Εἰρήνη πᾶσι, *ὁ διάκονος·* Αγαπήσωμεν etc., Τὰς θύρας etc., Στῶμεν καλῶς etc. {60E–H}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐκφωνεῖ·* Ἡ χάρις etc., Ἄνω σχῶμεν etc., Εὐχαριστήσωμεν etc. {60Θ}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς κλίνας ἐπεύχεται·* Ἄξιον etc. {60f.Θ}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχεται·* Μετὰ τούτων etc. {61I–K}, ὁμοίως κ(αὶ) etc. {61Λ}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχεται·* Μεμνημένοι etc. {61f.Λ}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς κλίνας ἐπεύχεται·* Ἔτι etc. {62M}, *καὶ ἀνιστάμενος σφραγίζει τρὶς τὰ ἅγ(ια) δῶρα. λέγ(ων)* Καὶ ποίησον etc., Τὸ δὲ etc., Μεταβαλὼν etc. {62N}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς κλινόμ(εν)ο(ς) ἐπεύχετ(αι)* Ὥστε γενέσθαι etc. {ibid.}, *ὁ διάκονος τὰ δίπτυχα τῶν κεκοιμημένων. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερε(ὺς) κλινόμ(εν)ο(ς) ἐπεύχε(ται)·* Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου etc. {~63P-Σ}, incl. μνήσθητι, Κ(ύρι)ε, Ἱεροθέου ἱερομονάχου κ(αὶ) τῶν γεννητόρων αὐτοῦ κ(αὶ) ἀνάπαυσον αὐτοὺς etc., *ὁ διάκονος τὰ δίπτυχα τῶν ζώντων, ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς κλίνας ἐπεύχετ(αι)·* Μνήσθητι, Κ(ύρι)ε, τῆς πόλεως etc. {63T-Φ}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχεται μυστικ(ῶς)* Σοὶ etc. {64X}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς κλί(νας) ἐπεύχετ(αι)·* Εὐχαριστοῦμεν etc. {65Ψ}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς κλί(νας) ἐπεύχεται·* Πρόσχες etc. {ibid}, *Εὐχὴ τῆς ἁγίας μεταλή(ψεως)* {67rr}, *ὁ διάκονος·* Μετὰ φόβου etc., *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς·* Σῶσον ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς etc., *ὁ διάκονο(ς)·* Ὀρθοὶ etc., *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς·* Ὅτι σὺ etc. {67●o-tt}, *Εὐχὴ ὀπισθάμβωνος ἐκφωνουμένη παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως* {68tt}, *Εὐχὴ ἐν τῷ συστεῖλαι τὰ ἅγ(ια)* {68yy}; [30r–71r] *Presbyterial Prayers from the Liturgy of St. Basil:* Λειτουργία τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου· Εὐχὴ τῆς προθέ(σε)ως {135e–f}, *ὁ διάκονος·* Εὐλό(γησον), δέσποτα, *ὁ ἱερεὺς·* Εὐλογημένη etc. {135g–h}, *Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου πρώτου* {135–136 l–m}, *Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου β'* {136o–p}, *Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου γ'* {136r–t}, *Εὐχὴ τῆς εἰσόδου* {136–137u}, *Εὐχ(ὴ) τοῦ τρισαγίου ὕμνου* {137x–y}, *Εὐχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου* {74}, *Εὐχὴ τῆς ἐκτενοῦς ἱκεσίας* {137β–γ}, *Εὐχὴ κατηχουμένων, πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας ἀναφορᾶς* {138ε}, *Εὐχ(ὴ) πιστῶν α', μετ(ὰ) τὸ ἀπλωθῆναι τὸ εἱλητόν·* {138θ}, *Εὐχὴ πιστῶν β'* {138f.μ–ν}, *Εὐχὴ τοῦ χερουβικοῦ* {139π–Α}, *Εὐχ(ὴ) μετὰ τὴν τῶν θεί(ων) δώρ(ων) ἀπόθεσιν* {140E}, *Ἐκφώ(νησις)* {60F}, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν, *ὁ διάκονος·* Αγαπήσωμεν etc., Τὰς θύρας etc., *ὁ λαὸς τὸ* Πιστεύω, *ὁ διάκονος·* Στῶμεν καλῶς etc. {140f.F–H}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς·* Ἡ χάρις etc., Ἄνω σχῶμεν etc., Εὐχαριστήσωμεν etc. {141K}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς κλίν(ας) ἐπεύχετ(αι)·* Ὁ ὢν etc. {141L–M}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς κλίνας ἐπεύχετ(αι)·* Μετὰ τούτων etc. {142N}, *μυστικῶς·* ὁμοίως κ(αὶ) etc. {143Q}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς κλίν(ας) ἐπεύχετ(αι)·* Τοῦτο etc. {143T}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς κλίν(ας) ἐπεύχετ(αι)·* Διὰ τοῦτο etc. {144T}, *κ(αὶ) σφραγίζει τὰ ἅγ(ια) δῶρα, λέγ(ων)* Τὸν μὲν etc., Τὸ δὲ etc., Τὸ ἐκχυθὲν etc. {144x–y}, *ὁ ἀρχιερε(ὺς) κλίνας τὴν κεφάλ(ην) ἐπεύχετ(αι)* Ἡμᾶς δὲ etc. {144y}, *ὁ διάκο(νος) τὰ δίπτ(υ)χ(α) τῶν κεκοιμ(ημέ)ν(ων),* Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου etc. {145f.A–E}, incl. μνήσθητι, Κ(ύρι)ε, Ἱεροθέου ἱερομονάχου κ(αὶ) τῶν γεννητόρων αὐτοῦ κ(αὶ) ἀνάπαυσον αὐτοὺς etc., *ὁ διάκονος τὰ δίπτυχα τῶν ζώντων. ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχεται·* Μνήσθητι, Κ(ύρι)ε, πάσης etc. {147Z}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς κλίνας ἐπεύχετ(αι)* Ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς etc. {147f.I–K}, *ὁ λαὸς τὸ* Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τ(οῖς), Ὅτι σου etc., *ὁ διάκονος* Τὰς κεφαλάς etc. *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχετ(αι)·* Δέσποτα etc. {148N}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχεται·* Πρόσχες etc. {ibid.}, *Εὐχὴ τῆς ἁγίας μεταλή(ψεως)* {148f.Σ–T}, *Εὐχ(ὴ) ὀπισθάμβωνος ἐκφωνουμ(έν)η* {149Y}, *Εὐχ(ὴ) ἐν τῷ συστεῖλαι τὰ ἅγ(ια)* {149Φ–Ω}; [74r–89v] *Presbyterial Prayers from the Liturgy of the Presanctified:* Τῶν προηγιασμένων· *ὁ διάκονος·* Εὐλόγησον etc., *ὁ ἱερεὺς·* Εὐλογημένη etc. {162c}, *Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου α'* {163i, g}, *Εὐχὴ*

ἀντιφώνου β' {163m, k}, *Εὐχ(ὴ) ἀντιφώνου γ'* {163–164q, 163o}, *Εὐχ(ὴ) τῆς εἰσόδου* {164x}, *Εὐχὴ τῆς ἐκτεν(οῦς) ἱκεσίας* {164γ–δ}, *Εὐχ(ὴ) κατηχουμένων* {165ε}, *ὁ διάκονος·* Ὅσοι etc. {165η}, *Εὐχ(ὴ) ὑπὲρ τῶν προς* (sic) *τὸ ἅγιο(ν) φώτισμα εὐτρεπιζομ(έν)η* {165θ}, *ὁ διάκονος·* Ὅσοι etc. {ibid.}, *Εὐχὴ πιστῶν α'* {166ι–κ}, *Εὐχὴ πιστῶν β'* {166λ–μ}, *Εὐχ(ὴ) χερουβικοῦ οὐ λέγετ(αι) ὁ διάκ(ονος)* {166ξ}, *Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὴν τῶν θεί(ων) δώρ(ων) ἀπόθεσ(ιν)* {166–167o, π}, *ὁ λαός·* Π(άτ)ερ ἡμ(ῶν), Ὅτι σου etc. {167ρ}, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς κλίν(ας) ἐπεύχετ(αι)·* Ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς etc. {167τ–υ}, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχετ(αι)·* Πρόσχες etc. {167f.φ}, *ὁ διάκονος·* Πρόσχωμεν, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς·* Τὰ προηγιασμένα etc. {168ψ}, *Εὐχὴ τῆς ἁγίας μεταλ(ήψεως)* {ibid.}, *Εὐχὴ ὀπισθάμβωνος ἐκφωνουμ(έν)η* {168A}, *Εὐχὴ λεγομέ(ν)η ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ* {168Γ}; [**90r–107v**] *Ordination Rites*: [**90r–91r**] *Τάξις γινομέν(η) ἐπὶ χειροτ(ο)ν(ία) ἀναγνώστου καὶ ψάλτου· Προσαγόμενος* etc. {194a–d}, *εὔχεται οὕτως·* Κ(ύρι)ε etc. {194e}, *καὶ δίδο(ν)τ(αι) αὐτῷ* etc. {194–195f}, des. *πληθυντικῶς*; [**91r–93r**] *Τάξις γινομ(ὲν)η ἐπὶ χειροτονία ὑποδιακόνου· Τοῦ ἀρχιερέως* etc., *εὔχεται οὕτως·* Κ(ύρι)ε etc., *Εἶτα δίδωσιν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ νίπτετ(αι), λέγ(ων) τὸ* etc. {203}; [**93r–97v**] *Τάξις γινομ(έν)η ἐπὶ χειροτονία διακόνου· Μετὰ τὸ* etc., *εὔχεται οὕτως·* Ἡ θεία etc., *καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ* Κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέ(ησον) etc., *εὔχεται οὕτως·* Κ(ύρι)ε etc., *καὶ ὁ διάκο(νος) ταῦτα τὰ διακονικὰ λεπτῇ τῇ φωνῇ·* Ἐν εἰρήνῃ etc., *Ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχων τὴν χεῖρα ἐπικειμέν(ην) εὔχεται οὕτως·* Κ(ύρι)ε etc., *Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀμὴν* etc. {208f.}; [**97v–102v**] *Τάξις γινομ(έν)η ἐπὶ χειροτονία πρεσβυτ(έ)ρ(ου)· Μετὰ τὸ* etc.,*ἐκφωνεῖ·* Ἡ θεία etc., *καὶ λέγουσι τὸ* Κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέησον etc., *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχεται·* Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἄναρχος etc., *Ὁ δὲ πρώτος τῶν ἱερέ(ων) λέγει τὰ διακονικὰ ταῦτα, λεπτῇ φωνῇ·* Ἐν εἰρήνῃ etc., *Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχων τὴν χεῖρα ἐπικειμένην εὔχεται οὕτ(ως)·* Ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς etc., *Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀμὴν* etc. {242f.}; [**103r–107v**] *Τάξις γινομένη ἐπὶ χειροτονία ἐπισκ(ό)που· Μετ(ὰ) τὴν* etc., *εὔχεται οὕτ(ως)·* Δέσποτα etc., *Εἶτα εἷ τῶν ἀρχιερέων λέγει λεπτῇ φωνῇ ταῦτα·* Ἐν εἰρήνῃ etc., *Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχων τὴν χεῖρα ἐπικειμένην εὔχεται οὕτ(ως)·* Κ(ύρι)ε etc., *Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀμὴν* etc. {249–251}; [**108r–111v**] *Prayer of Absolution*: *Εὐχὴ συγχωριτικὴ·* Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ὲ ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν, υἱὲ κ(αὶ) λόγε τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ τοῦ ζῶντος etc. {536f.}.

Apparatus: the final parts of prayers, to be said in a loud voice, are marked with *ἐκφώ(νησις)*.

Blank Pages: 29v, 71v, 72r, 73r–v (interior of the leaf cut out and filled with silk to protect the miniature on 72v).

Diacritics and Punctuation: rounded breathing marks, circumflexes with a double curve. – Mute iota subscribed or rarely, omitted. – Diaeresis over ι and υ mostly for disassociation. – Commas and periods. – Abbreviations rare: usually for καὶ, δὲ, and at the end of a line, for common endings.

Script {POLITIS, figs. 15–16}: the typical *Schörklerschrift* (GRATZIOU, 99f.) of Matthaios of Myra (fl. 1596–1624), on which: ZOUMBOULI, *Luc de Buzau*, 93–103; 155f., with figs. 43–63. – Fols. **111r–v**: another hand, archaizing liturgical script like that of Luke of Buzău (cf. above, under "W.535").

Ink: very dark brown; titles and rubrics in gold over orange ink.

Paper: folded *in quarto*; fols. 1–29: watermarks very similar to BRIQUET, no. 568, chaindistance 28 mm – fols. 30–110: watermarks generally similar to BRIQUET, no. 9665; chaindistance 27 mm – fol. **111**: paper noticeably smoother, with no watermark or chains visible.

Ruling: none visible; 14 lines/page; justification ca. [123 x 67 mm] – Fol. **111r**: 17 lines, justification ca. [132 x 85 mm].

Quires: 6 (fol. 6), 1 (7), 2 x 8 (23), 2 x 1 (25), 4 (29), 5 x 8 (69), 1 (70), 6 + 2 (78: fols. 72–73 conjoint), 10 (88), 6 (94), 10 (104), 6 (110), 1 (111).

Quire Signatures: none.

Foliation: in pencil, probably by D. Miner, *Sr.*: continous.

Binding: modern, of thick acid-free paper; leaves evidently not trimmed, edges gilt and tooled with a floral pattern. – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Previous (original) sewing: piercings appear at 18, 50, 151, 175, and 193 mm from head."

Marks: [21r, 58r] the name Ἱεροθέος is written over an erasure, most probably not by the original scribe – in black ink, a single hand s. XVII–XVIII: [21r] {POLITIS, fig. 16} Ἀναστασίας μοναχῆς, ἀρχόντησα, [29r, lower margin] Ἱερεμίου μοναχοῦ· Ἀδὰμ, [111r, above the page's first line (σου, ἐπάκουσόν μου etc.): Ρωδάμης.

Provenance: acquired by H.Walters.

Dating: see GRATZIOU, 21 and 149. – I consider the miniature [72v] contemporary with the text's copying. It is unlikely that it was added in Lviv, since its style is very close to Moscow icons of ca. 1600 (TURNER, ed. *Dict. of Art*, 29:779, with bibl.). Cf. esp. the icons commissioned in Moscow by Bishop Arsenius of Elasson (VOCOTOPOULOS, *ΔΧΑΕ* 16 (1991/92), 167–70, with further bibliogr.).

Iconography: on author portraits before the text of the liturgies in Byzantine and early Russian manuscripts: SMIRNOVA, *Rukopisi*, 269–74. Additional examples (excl. liturgical rolls) are the Greek Euchologia Erlangen, Univ. Lib. ms 1234, a. 1025 (*Rom und Byzanz: Schatzkammerstücke*, 202; LUTZE, *Bilderhandschriften*, 249: fig. 125), Vatic. gr. 1554, s. XI (GRABAR, *Provenence italienne*, fig. 282), Moscow, State Lib. of Russia, ф. 270-Ia, no. 15/Greek ms 27, s. XI (PUTSKO, *VV* 43 [1982]: fig. 1; MOK KRETSOVA et al., *Materialy*, fig. ii.1), Paris. gr. 391, s. XI ex. (unpubl.), Athos, Lavra B 7, ca. 1125–50 (GALAVARIS, in *Byz. East, Latin West*, 359, fig. 2), and the Russian Sluzhebnik New York, NYPL, s.n., s. XIV (KOVALIV, *Molytovnyk*, figs. 33 and 35). – Post-Byzantine examples are numerous. St. Gregory, who was considered the author of the Liturgy of the Presanctified, is portrayed in codd. Athos, Panteleimonos 426, s. XVI ex. (GRATZIOU, fig. 61), Bucarest, Museum of Art, Ms 19, a. 1631 (TUGEARU et al., *Miniatura*, 156; BRĂTULESCU, *Miniaturi*, pl. xv), Meteora, Ag. Stephanou, Ms 103, a. 1632 (VEES and SOPHIANOS, *Cheirographa*, III:pls. 54–55), Meteora, Metamorphoseos, Ms 223, a. 1635 (ibid., I:pl. lxxv), Dionysiou 488, a. 1653 (*Treasures*, I:fig. 180), Xeropotamou 85, a. 1663 (ibid., fig. 415), Bucarest, Museum of Art, Ms 23, a 1693–97 (TUGEARU et al., *Miniatura*, 212), and Iviron 1420m, s. XVII (*Treasures*, II:fig. 186).

References:

L. POLITIS, "Un copiste éminent du XVII[e] siècle: Matthieu métropolite de Myra," in *Studia Codicologica*, ed. K. Treu (Berlin, 1977) [= *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, vol. 124], 375–94 with figs. 1–16, esp. 391, with figs. 15–16.

O. GRATZIOU, *Die dekorierten Handschriften des Schreibers Matthaios von Myra (1596–1624): Untersuchungen zur griechischen Buchmalerei um 1600* (Athens, 1982) [= *Sonderheft der Zeitschrift Mnemon*, no. 1], 21f. and 149 with figs. 13, 15, and 64.

W.733 PSALTER

Parchment, i+102+i folios, 216 x 172 mm, ca. 1300 (fols. 1–21, 23–95, 97–102), Byzantine Empire; sixteenth century (fols. 22, 96), Eastern Mediterranean

Illustrations: (only when a miniature is visibly connected, directly or by means of a reference mark, to a specific psalm verse, are such verses cited below. For descriptions of the scenes that are not readily identifiable, see ANDERSON in this volume) [1r] {CUTLER, fig. 22} Ps 29:4; [2r] lower scene: Ps 30: 7b; [3r]; [3v] {CUTLER, *DOP* 34/35 (1980/81): fig. 29}; [4r]; [4v] {CUTLER, fig. 3}; [5r] Ps 32:17; [5v] {MINER, fig. 7} Ps 33:5; [6v] {MINER, fig. 1} upper scene: Ps 33:21a; [7r] Ps 34:22; [8r] upper scene {CUTLER, fig. 26}; [9r] {MINER, fig. 2} upper scene: Ps 36:11b; lower scene: Ps 36:14 ἐνέτειναν, etc.; [9v] {MINER, fig. 4} Ps 36:15; [10r]; [10v]; [11r]; [11v]; [12r] {MINER, fig. 8} Ps 37:12: *Job and His Friends*: οἱ βασιλ(εῖς), Ἰῶβ; [13r]; [13v] {VZDORNOV, 68; MINER, fig. 20}; [14r] Ps 38:13 τῶν δακρύων, etc.: *Peter's Repentance*: ὁ ἅ(γιος) Πέτρο(ς); [15r] {MINER, fig. 13}; [16r] {MINER, fig. 5}; [16v]; [17r]; [17v] Ps 41:7b; [18r] Ps 42:1: *Stylite*; [18v] {CUTLER, fig. 9} upper scene: δικαίοι; [20v] Ps 43:26b; [21r] {CUTLER, fig. 20}; [23r] lower scene: Ps 46:6: *Ascension*; [24r] {CUTLER, fig. 14}: *Abraham's Sacrifice*; [25r] {ESZLÁRY,

Acta Historiae Artium 8 (1962), fig. 14; MINER, fig. 16; QUANDT and WALLERT, fig. 2} *Penitence of David*; [**26v**] {CUTLER, fig. 11} Ps 52:3; [**27r**] {CUTLER, fig. 10} upper scene: *St. Matthew*: ὁ ἅ(γιος) **Μ**ατθ(αῖος), lower scene: Ps 61:5: *Judas and the Chief Priests*: Ἰούδας; [**28r**] Ps 62:11b (text on 28v); [**28v**] {LOWDEN, **275**; MINER, fig. 9}; [**29r**] {LOWDEN, **275**; MINER, fig. 17} Ps 63:17 τὸ ὄρος, etc.: *Vision of Daniel*; [**30v**] {CUTLER, fig. 2} Ps 68:36 καὶ οἰκοδομηθήσονται, etc.; [**31v**]; [**32r**] {CUTLER, fig. 4} lower scene: Ps 72:1; [**32v**]; [**33v**] {CUTLER, fig. 24}; [**34r**] Ps 73:12b: *Crucifixion*; Ps 73:13b–14a: *Baptism* {MINER, fig. 22}; [**34v**] Ps 73:21; [**35v**] {MINER, fig. 10}; [**36r**] {CUTLER, fig. 17}; [**37v**] {*Serbische Psalter*, pl. v.2}; [**38r**] upper scene {MINER, fig. 11}; lower scene, on the scroll: ὁ νόμος...; [**39r**] Ps 77:12: *Crossing of the Red Sea*; [**39v**] {CUTLER, fig. 15} Ps 77:16: *Moses Striking Water from the Rock*; [**40r**] {MINER, *JWAG* 29/30 (1966/67): fig. 4; *Sotheby and Co.*, pl. ii; MINER, fig. 19} Ps 77:25.27.23b; [**41v**] {LOWDEN, **275**; MINER, *JWAG* 29/30 (1966/67): fig. 5} Ps 77:44.47–48a.45; [**42r**] {LOWDEN, **275**} Ps 77:53b: *Crossing of the Red Sea*; [**43v**] {ROBB, *Illuminated Ms*, fig. 22} uppermost scene: Ps 77:68b, lowermost scene {*Serbische Psalter*, pl. vii.3}; [**45r**]; [**45v**]; [**46v**] {QUANDT and WALLERT, fig. 4; CUTLER, *DOP* 34/35 (1980/81): fig. 31}; [**47r**] {VZDORNOV, **71**; CUTLER, fig. 13} Ps 80:7; [**47v**] {CUTLER, fig. 1}; [**49v**]; [**50v**]; [**51r**] {CUTLER, fig. 5} *Visitation*; [**51v**]; [**52r**] {CUTLER, fig. 8} Ps 85:9; [**52v**]; [**53r**] Ps 86:5; [**53v**]; [**54v**]; [**55v**] {MINER, fig. 12} Ps 88:13b: *Transfiguration*; [**56r**] {CUTLER, fig. 25} *Samuel Anoints David*; [**57r**]; [**57v**] Ps 88:37b–38a: *Sun and Moon*; [**58v**] {CUTLER, fig. 7}; [**59r**] Ps 89:10 ἐὰν δὲ, etc.; [**60r**]; [**63r**] {VIKAN, fig. 52}; [**63v**] {CUTLER, fig. 16}; [**64v**]; [**66r**] Ps 97:9 (?); [**66v**] {CUTLER, *DOP* 34/35 (1980/81): fig. 12} *Elevation of the Cross*; [**67r**]; [**67v**] Ps 100:4a; [**68r**]; [**68v**]; [**69v**] {VIKAN, fig. 51; MINER, fig. 15; *Byz. Art European Art*, fig. 278; *Early Chr. and Byz. Art*, pl. xciv, cat. 698} right-hand scene: Ps 101:25; [**70r**]; [**70v**] {QUANDT and WALLERT, fig. 3} Ps 102:5b; [**72r**] {CUTLER, fig. 18}; [**72v**] {CUTLER, fig. 19} Ps 103:10b; [**73r**] {MINER, fig. 14} Ps 103:17b–18; [**73v**] {CUTLER, fig. 27} Ps 103:25; [**74v**]; [**75v**] left-hand scene: Ps 104:17b; right-hand scene: Ps 104:18b; [**76r**] upper scene: Ps 104:29a; lower scene {CUTLER, fig. 21}: Ps 104:23a (text on 75v); [**76v**] Ps 104:31; [**77r**] {CUTLER and NESBITT, *Arte bizantina*, **345**} upper scenes {CUTLER, fig. 6}: Ps 104:39.40; [**78r**] Ps 105:11a; [**78v**] uppermost scene: 105:14b–15a; middle scene: Ps 105:17; lower two scenes {*Serbische Psalter*, pl. xi.4} [**79v**]; [**81v**] {QUANDT and WALLERT, fig. 1} Ps 107:6: *Ascension*; [**82r**] *Seven Sleepers of Ephesus*; [**82v**] {CUTLER, fig .12} Ps 108:6b: *Judas' Suicide*; [**83r**] {MINER, fig. 6} Ps 108:16 καὶ κατεδίωξεν, etc.; [**84v**] middle scene: Ps 109:3b: *Nativity*; lowermost scene: Ps 109:4b; [**87r**] Ps 112:7: *Job and His Wife at the Dungheap*; lower scene: *Baptism*; [**88r**]; [**88v**]; [**89v**] {CUTLER, fig. 23}; [**90v**] Ps 117:10; [**91r**] upper scene {QUANDT and WALLERT, pl. **9**}: Ps 117:20; [**92r**]; [**97r**]; [**99r**] *Zosimus Meets Mary of Egypt*; *Mary of Egypt's Communion*; [**102v**].

Traces of Lost Illustrations: [**3r**] thoroughly erased image in the lower outer corner: lemma points to Ps 30:18b; [**34r**, outer margin] Christ's figure and cross cut out of the miniature; [**36**] circular hole in the outer margin; [**35v**, outer margin] indistinct offset of a lost miniature from fol. 36r; [**36v**, outer margin] the upper part of a halo and a head remain from a cut out miniature; [**61**] entire outer margin cut out; [**60v**] illegible offset of a lost miniature from fol. 61r; [**62r**, outer margin] illegible offset of a lost miniature from fol. 61v; [**64v**, outer margin] offset of a miniature (similar to Kiev Psalter, fol. 134r infra) from the lost facing page; [**65r**, top outer margin] offset of a halo from a miniature on the lost facing page; [**71**] entire outer margin cut out; [**72r**] offprint of a halo, probably from a lost miniature from fol. 71v; [**80v**, lower margin] offset from a miniature from the lost facing page; [**90v**] lower half of the folio tom out, incl. part of the miniature.

Ornament: Pss 37–40, 44, 46, 61, 63, 69, 70, 73–77, 80–89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 97–102, 104–14, 116, 117, 118:1, 118:132, 119, and 120 begin with three-line (or less often four-line) drawn ornamented initials.

Traces of Lost Ornament: [**61v, 71v**] initials to Pss 94 and 103 lost with the excised outer margins.

Unfinished Ornament: [**38r**] the upper third of the page was left free of text; the painter placed there a disproportionately small picture, anticipating, evidently, that it would be framed by an ornamental headpiece to Ps 77.

Text: [**1r–6v**] Pss 28:5 τοῦ Λιβάνου–34:4 ἐντρα[πήτωσαν], [**7r–23v**] Pss 34:20–47:4, [**24r–25v**] Pss 49:8–50:12, [**26r–v**] Pss 51:6 [γλῶσ]σαν–52:5, [**27r–28v**] Pss 60:9 ἡμέραν–63:2 ἐξελοῦ, [**29r–v**] Ps 67:13 [διε]λέσθαι–26 ἐχό[μενοι], [**30r–31v**] Pss 68:26–70:7, [**32r–v**] Pss 71:17 αὐτόν–72:13 ἐ[δικαίωσα], [**33r–59v**] Pss 72:27 ἐξολό-

θρευσας–89:17, |60r–64v| Pss 90:13 λεόντα–95:9 προσώπου, |65r–78v| Pss 96:8 ἕνεκεν–105:20; |79r–80v| Pss 105:47 [ὁ]νόματι–106:26 καταβαίνουσιν ἕως τῶν, |81r–96v| Pss 106:41–118:77 οἰκτιρ[μοί], |97r–102v| Pss 118:92 ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει–120:7 κακοῦ.

Replaced Folios: |22| Pss 44:14 |περι|βεβλημένη–45:10 τ(ῆς) γ(ῆς), |96| Ps 118:63 φοβουμένων–77 οἰκτιρ[μοί].

Fragments: the damaged fols. 34, 36, and 89 were repaired with (now detached) parchment fragments that contain: [ex fol. 34] Ps 4:2–7 fragm., Ps 5:2–5 fragm.; [ex fol. 36] Ps 7:2–7 fragm., other side illegible; [ex fol. 89] Ps 5:10–11 (rest covered by a paper strip), Ps 6:5–11 almost complete.

Apparatus: *Doxai* and *kathismata* always noted. *Kathismata* numbered at their ends, e.g., [4r, after Ps 31] δό(ξα). κάθ(ισμα) δ'. – Reference marks (most of them now barely visible) between miniatures and psalm verses: usually three or four dots next to the image and to the verse, or lines connecting the two.

Diacritics and Punctuation: rounded breathing marks, small circumflexes. – Mute iota omitted. – Diaeresis over ι or υ only for disassociation. – Most psalm verses begun with a red initial in a new paragraph. Verses divided with upper dots. Psalms ended with :~. – Abbreviations rare: usually for καὶ, δὲ, and at the end of a line, for common endings. – Fols. **22** and **96**: rounded breathing marks, small circumflexes; mute iota subscribed; diaereseis over ι or υ common; psalm text in one block; commas, high points, and :~ at the end of a psalm. Καὶ and common endings sometimes abbreviated.

Script: {VZDORNOV, 68 and 71; CUTLER and NESBITT, *Arte bizantina*, 345; ROBB, *Illuminated Ms*, fig. 22; CUTLER, fig. 1; VIKAN, fig. 51; ESZLARY, *Acta Historiae Artium* 8 (1962): fig. 14; MINER, *JWAG* 29/30 (1966/67): figs. 4 and 5; *Sotheby and Co.*, pl. ii} one principal hand (*A*) throughout, archaizing script: indiscriminately majuscule or minuscule δ, η, β, κ, and ε; occasionally open ρ, φ, and σ; occasionally cross-shaped ψ; occasionally enlarged θ, ω, υ, and ου-compound; ligatures relatively rare (see also CUTLER, 40–42). – Two supplementary hands added some of the initials and Psalm titles: (*B*) slightly sloping, small, pointed cursive in very pale vermilion (cf. below), added titles for Pss 61, 62, and 63 (fols. 27r–28v), verse initials for Pss 30:5–35:13b (fols. 2r–8r) and Pss 61:8b.9b, 62:3.7.12b (fols. 27v–28v), and psalm initials for Pss 62, 62, 77, 78, 79, 80 and 81 (fols. 28r, 28v, 36v, 43v, 45r, 46v, 47v); (*C*) (CUTLER, fig. 4) rapid cursive with heart- or spectacleshaped β and pointed υ, added the psalm numbers from Ps 72 (fol. 28r) onward, most verse initials from fol. 23r onward, psalm titles and all initials from fol. 29r onward, and in the margins of fols. 28v, 66v, and 80r, phrases from the psalm text that *A* had inadvertently omitted. – A third supplementary hand (*D*), possibly much later, added in the margins (fols. 18r–v, 20v, 23r) the numbers of Pss 42–44, and 46. – Fols. **22** and **96**: inelegant minuscule with occasionally majuscule η, γ, and δ; φ sometimes with a ribbon.

Ink: text in light brown. – Hands *A* and *C*: initials, titles, psalms numbers, δό(ξα) and κάθ(ισμα) in bright vermilion. – Hand *B*: verse initials in very pale vermilion or less often, grayish violet; psalm initials in very pale vermilion. – Fols. **22** and **96**: dark brown; psalm titles and initials in yellowish light brown.

Parchment: probably calfskin; high quality: thin and light, with no defects. – Fols. **22** and **96**: goatskin; flesh side noticeably darker, no defects.

Ruling: hardpoint; system 1; types D 21D1b, perhaps originally D 22D1 (fols. 1–7), P1a 32C1 (fols. 8–21, 23–95, 96–102). – Fols. **22** and **96**: hardpoint, type V 20A1. – Fols. 1–7: 28 lines per page; justification [145 x 83 mm], interlinear distance 5 mm. Fols. 8–21, 23–95, 96–102: 23 lines per page; justification [136 x 85 mm]; interlinear distance 6 mm. – Fols. **22** and **96**: 19 lines per page; justification ca. [140 x 85 mm], lines not ruled.

Quires: 7 (fol. 7: fol. 2 single, text missing), 8 (15), 8 (23: fols. 17 and 22 singles), 3 (26: fol. 26 single, text missing), 3 (29: fol. 28 single, text missing), 2 (31), 6 (37: fols. 32 and 37 singles, text missing), 8 (45: fols. 39 and 44 singles), 8 (53), 7 (60: fol. 55 single, text missing), 7 (fol. 67: fols. 63, 64, and 65 singles, text missing), 8 (75: fols. 70 and 73 singles), 5 (80: fol. 76 single, text missing), 8 (88: fols. 83 and 86 singles), 8 (96: fols. 89 and 96 singles), 6 (102).

Quire Signatures: in dark brown ink, s. XVI?, *Im3*: δ (7v), ε (15v), ϛ΄ (23v), θ (29v), ιβ (45v), ιγ (53v), ιδ (60v), ιε (67v), ις΄ (75v), ιη (88v).

Foliation: in pencil, probably by D. Miner, *Se*, continuous.

Binding: Italian, ca. 1800 (acc. to C. CLARKSON), gold tooled vellum over cardboard; brown panel on spine with title ΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΥΙΔ; cardboard pastedowns and flyleaves. – Substantial trimming: the upper marginal line of the ruling is mostly lost, as occasionally are the lower and the outer marginal lines. – The manuscript is currently disbound for conservation. – [Note by C. CLARKSON]: "Sewn with chain-stitch at six stations. At least one previous sewing indicated by some other piercings in spine fold." – [Note by G. PETHERBRIDGE]: "Interesting punctures/ piercing of parchment in upper spine corners of gatherings; perhaps to hold the gatherings together while ruling."

The parchment fragments that were glued to fols. 34, 36, and 89 seem to come from the lost initial folios W.733: the hand is very similar to *A*; on the best preserved fragment [ex fol. 89], text lines were originally ca. 80 mm long, and the interlinear distance is ca. 5 mm. However, upper points in the fragments are in vermilion ink rather than, as elsewhere in W.733, brown.

Marks (as transcribed by N. OIKONOMIDĒS): inscriptions added to the miniatures, by two or three later hands, in brown and black ink: **[5v]** Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς, πτοχός; **[29r]** ἡ κλίμαξ, Ἰακώβ; **[34r]** ἡ σταύ[ρωσις], Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ, Ἰω(άννης); **[37v]** Ἀαρών, Μωϋσῆς; **[52r]** Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς, ἔθνη; **[57v]** ηλιος, σελίνι; **[64v]** εἴδολα; **[66r]** ὁ χερουβίμ; **[68v]** κόραξ; **[81v]** [χορὸς] ἀγγέλων,Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς;**[82v]** ἡ ἀγχόνη; **[87r]** γυνη, Ἰῶβ – **[33v, 34r,** upper margin] brown ink: illegible monocondyle – **[102v,** upper margin] monocondyle, in brown ink: + Γρηγόριος ἱερομονάχος – **[96r,** lower margin] in brown ink ,αχπα' ἐν μηνὶ Μαΐου δ' ἔγραψα ἐγὼ Θεόδωρος οἰκονόμος ἐκ πόλεως Μάνης καὶ καλότυχος ὁπου ἔγρανε ἐτοῦτο τὸ ψαλτήριον καὶ ἔχει τὴν μνήμην αἰώνιον – **[76v,** lower margin] gray ink: "1724, ii Agosto. Theodosio Cacuri Dattene" (*sc.* d' Attene) – **[96v,** inner margin] in black ink, s. XVIII: του τουρκου κρασι φορτομιτα .λς΄ γροσια. πσαραδια .. φροτοματι .. γροσι παρ, etc. – **[6r, 16r, 23v,** lower margins] brown ink, s. XVIII: drawn ornamented bands and [23v] drawing of a smoking man – **[38r,** supra] red ink, s. XVIII: unfinished drawing of a warrior saint (?) – **[80v,** lower margin] black ink: crude drawing of a ship – **[passim]** the original text has been occasionally reinforced in black ink. – A number of late scribblings in the margins were erased by Dorothy Miner. – **[front pastedown]** dark brown ink: "Payne"; plate with coat of arms of Frederick North ("La vertue est la seule noblesse") and no. "319" in dark brown ink; in pencil: "W. Suppl. 14 = 10.733. Purchased July 1, 1946. Sir Thomas Phillipps sale." – **[spine]** oblong paper label with printed no. "10384."

Provenance: no. 319 in the library of Frederick North, fifth Earl of Guilford (d. 1827); his sale, London, December 1830 – [Payne and Foss, London] – no. 10384 in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps (d. 1872), Middle Hill and Cheltenham, England; sold 1946 – [W. H. Robinson Ltd.] – purchased by the Walters Art Gallery at Sotheby and Co., London, July 1, 1946.

Dating: on fol. 32r {CUTLER, fig. 4}, a large initial O originally written by *B* was overwritten by *C*. On fol. 58v {ibid., fig. 7}, an ornamented initial K executed by *C* overlies the edge of the miniature. On fols. 51r {ibid., fig. 5} and 84v, miniatures overlie the edge of the text. Hence, the painter worked after *A* and before *C*. (He might have been identical with *B*, whose pale vermilion and violet inks are similar ot the ones used for the miniatures' underdrawings.) Without the rubrics added by *C*, the psalter would have been incomplete and unusable. *A*, *B*/the painter, and *C* must, therefore, have worked in rapid succession. – The style of the miniatures is idiosyncratic and the manuscript can only be dated on the basis of the script. The latter's best dated parallels (just as with W.525, copied by a very similar hand) are *olim* Smyrna, Church of St. John the Baptist, Lectionary, a. 1298 (PAPADAKE-OEKLAND, *ΔΧΑΕ* 8 [1975/76]: pls. 14–17) and Athens, Benaki Vitr. 30,5, a. 1300 (LAPPA-ZIZIKA and RIZOU-KOUROUPOU, cat. 109, with figs. 153–55). Two parchment samples from W.733 were radiocarbon-dated 1165–1280 and 1170–1270 (see QUANDT and WALLERT, 16 with n. 1). I nonetheless date the manuscript **ca. 1300**. – Dated parallels for the hand that wrote fols. **22** and **96** include Paris gr. 1375, a. 1540 (*RGK* I:no. 222) and Patmos cod. 633, a. 1588, cod. 858, a. 1588, and cod. 615, a. 1598 (KOMINES, *Facsimiles,* pls. 61, 62, and 65).

Iconography: In general, see DUFRENNE, *Tableaux*. The closest iconographic parallel for W.733 is the Kiev Psalter, St. Petersburg, NLR, Ms ОАДП F 6, a. 1397; facsimile: *Kievskaia Psaltir'*, descriptions of the miniatures: VZDORNOV, 105–45.

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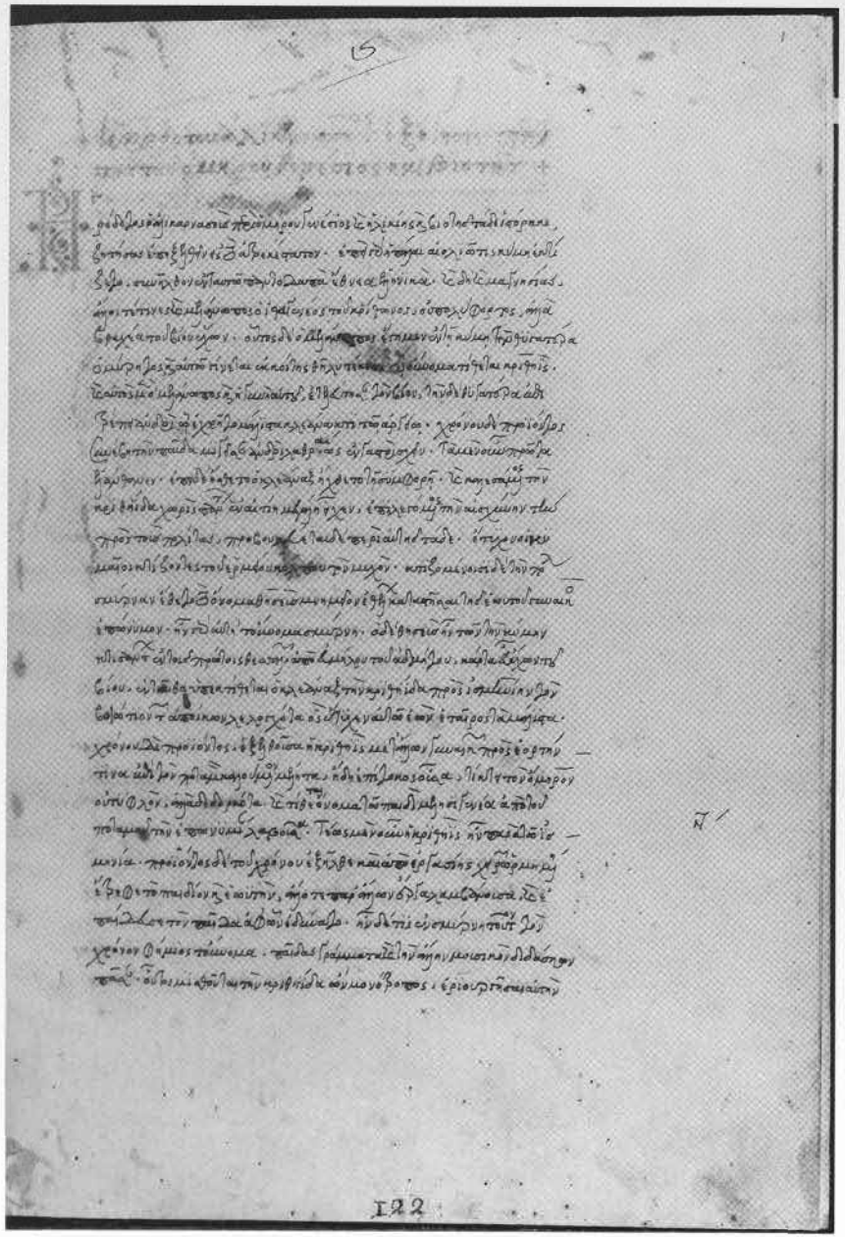
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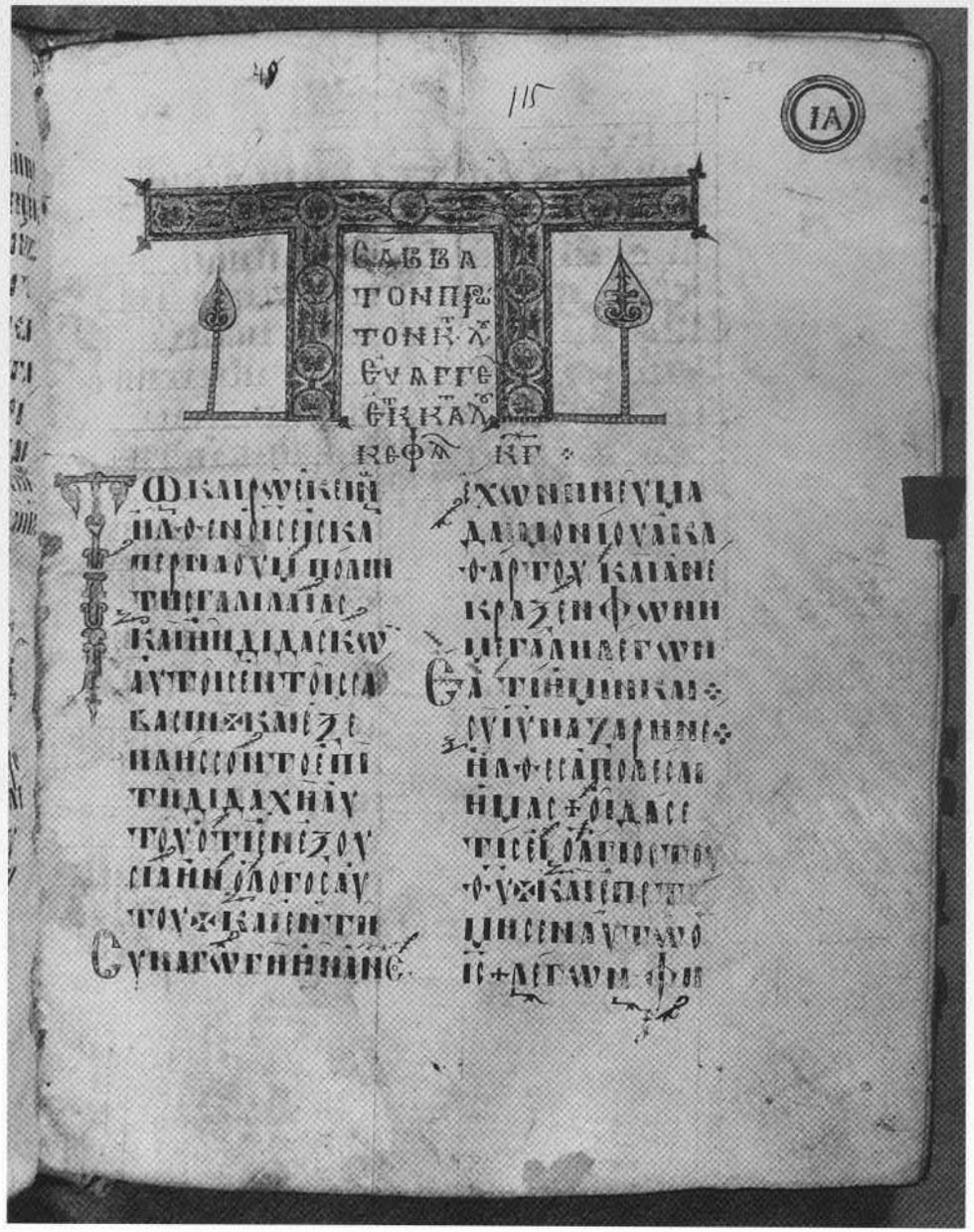
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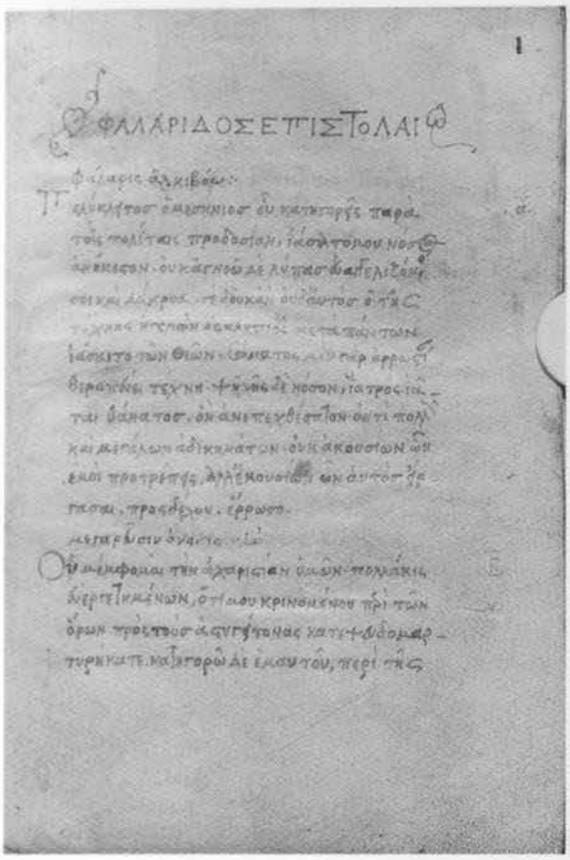
J. LOWDEN, in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. H. Evans, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 2004), 274–76, cat. 160.



W.475 f.1



W520 f.58



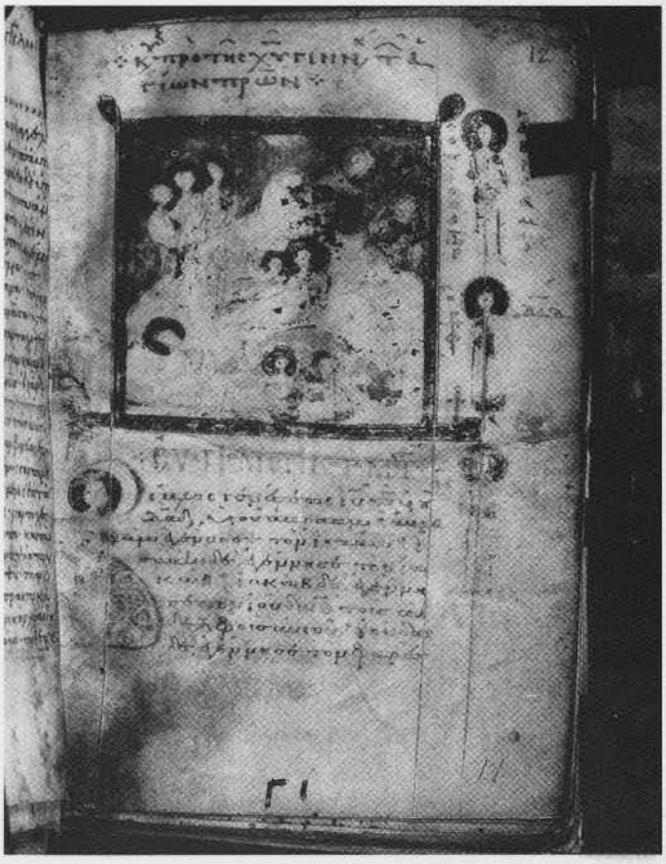
W.353 f.1



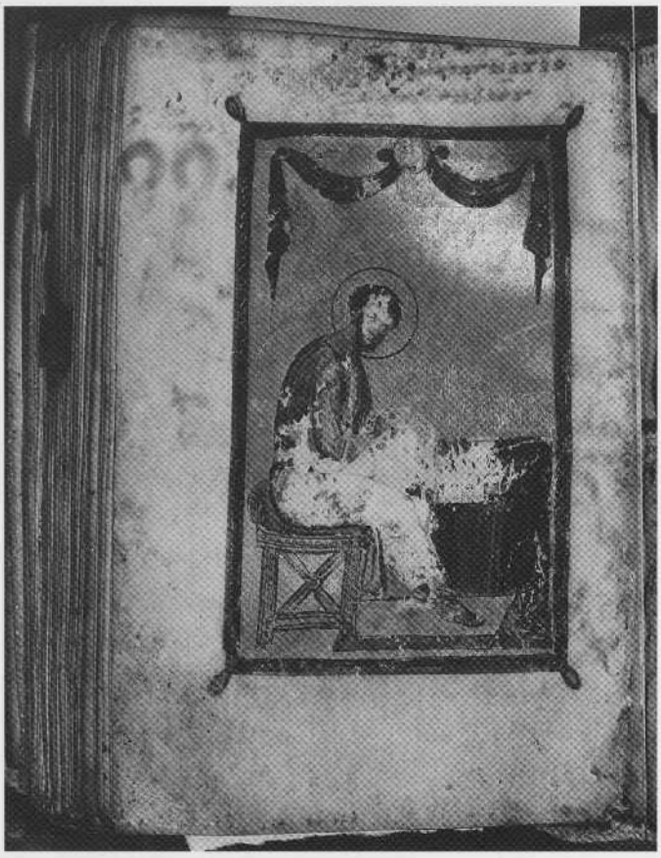
W.520 f.153v



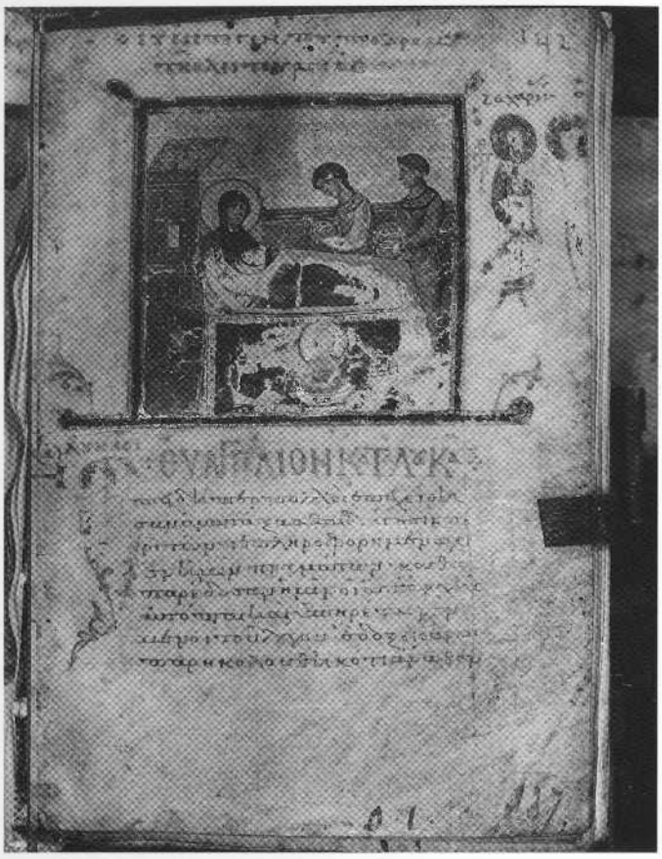
W.522 f.11v



W.522 f.12



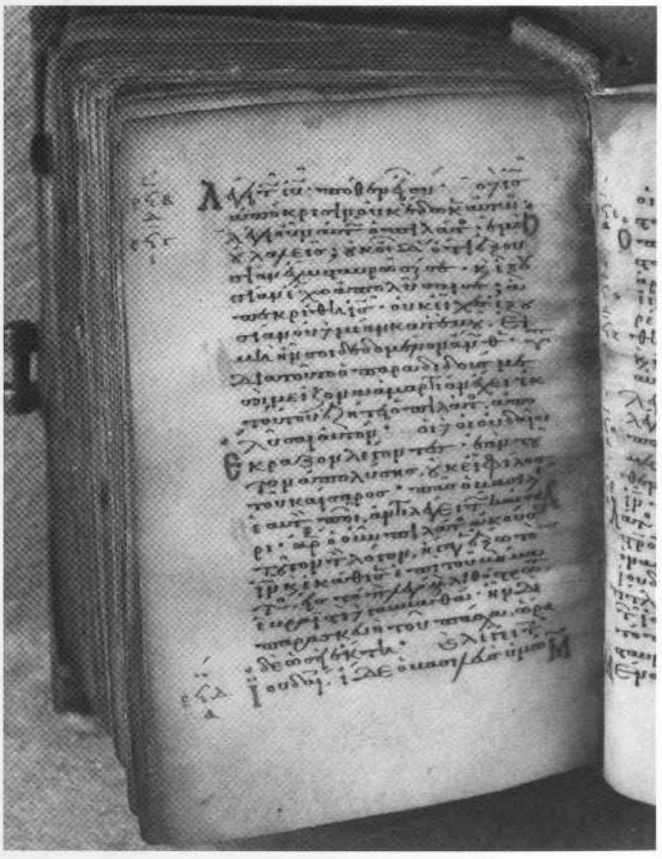
W.522 f.141v



W.522 f.142



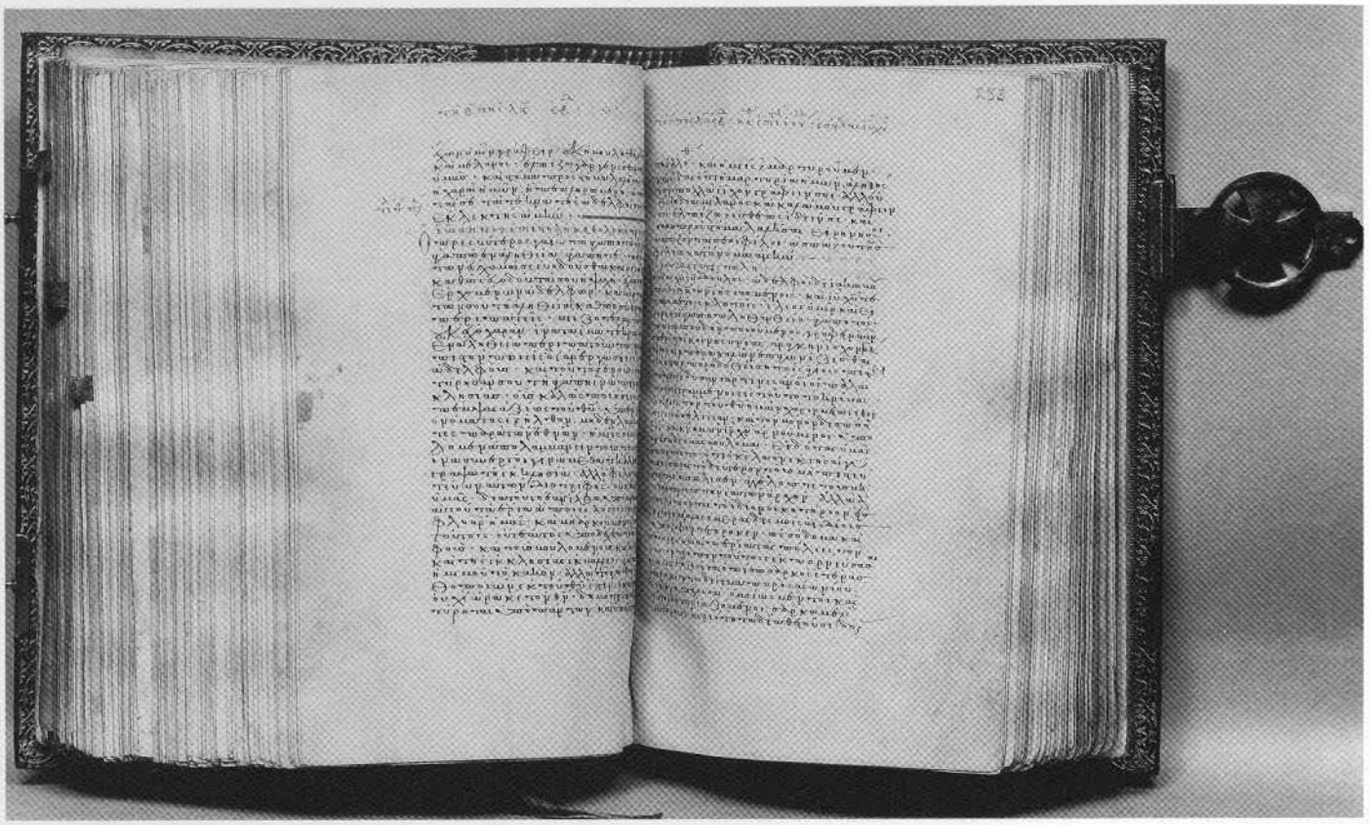
W.522 f.230v



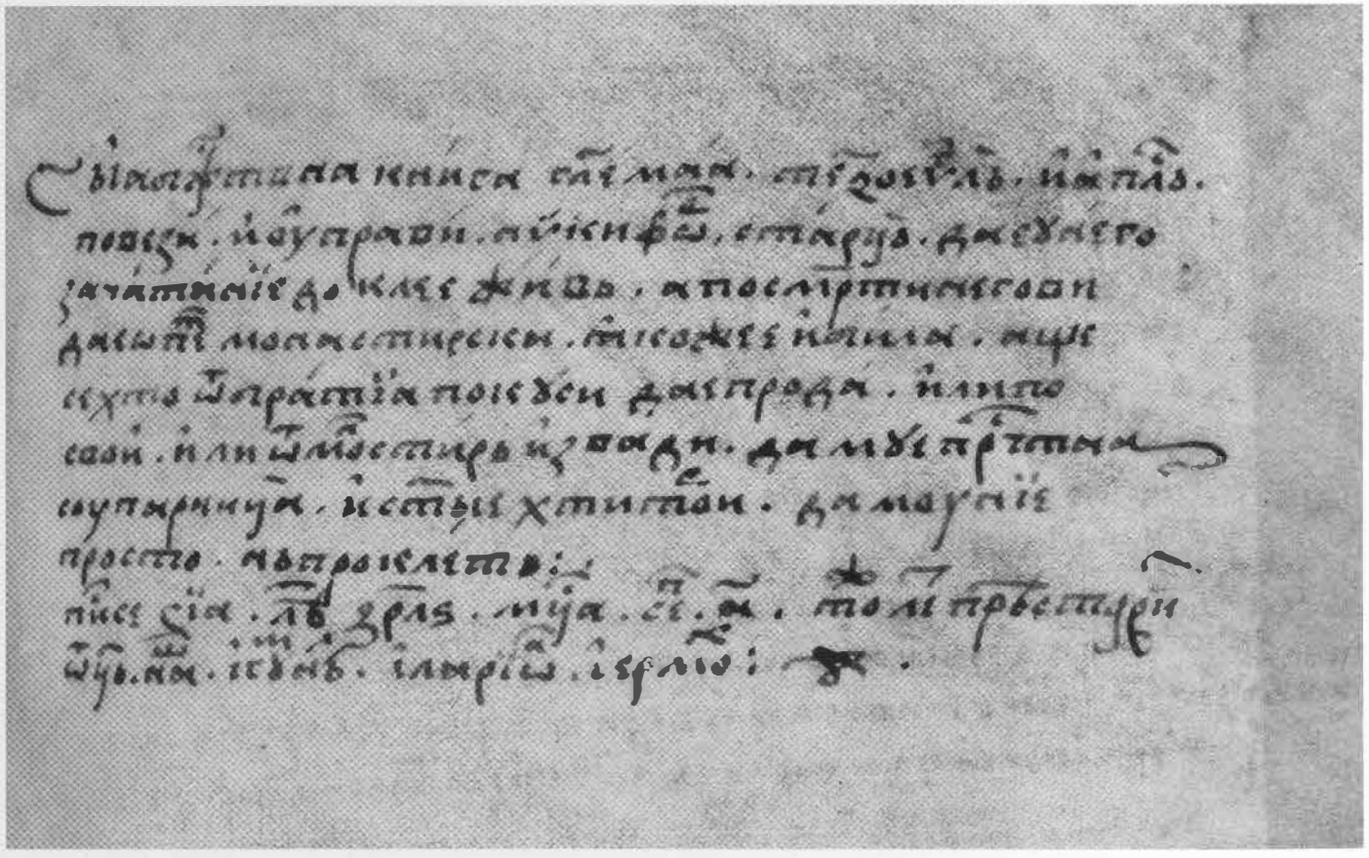
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W.523 f.4v



W.525 f.251v–252



W.525 f.341



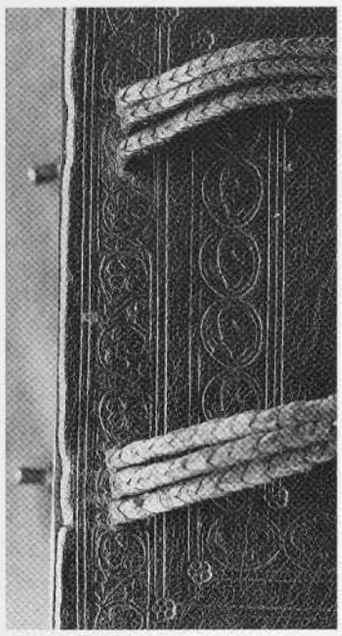
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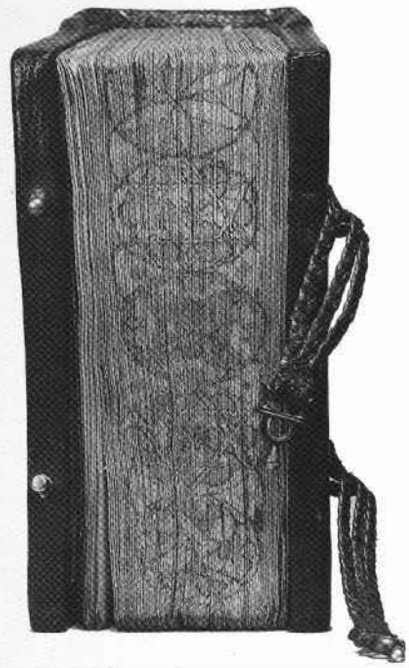
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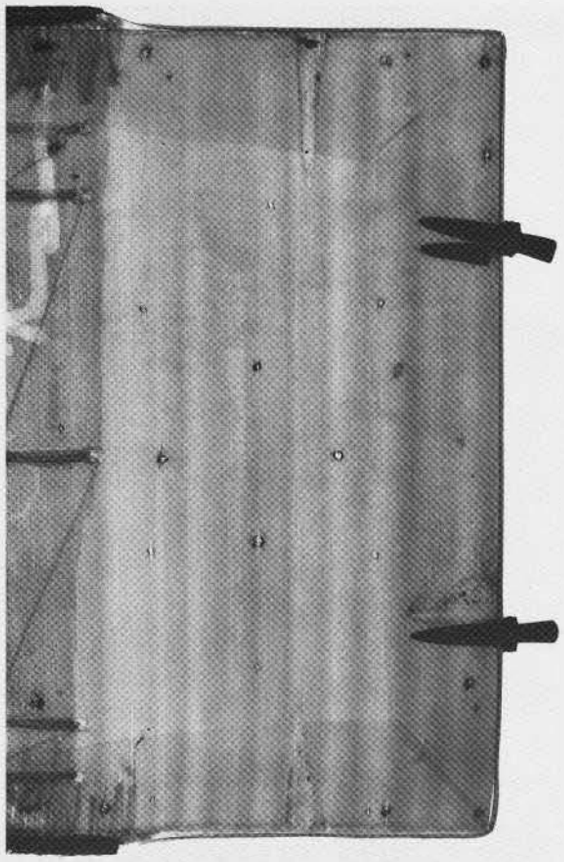
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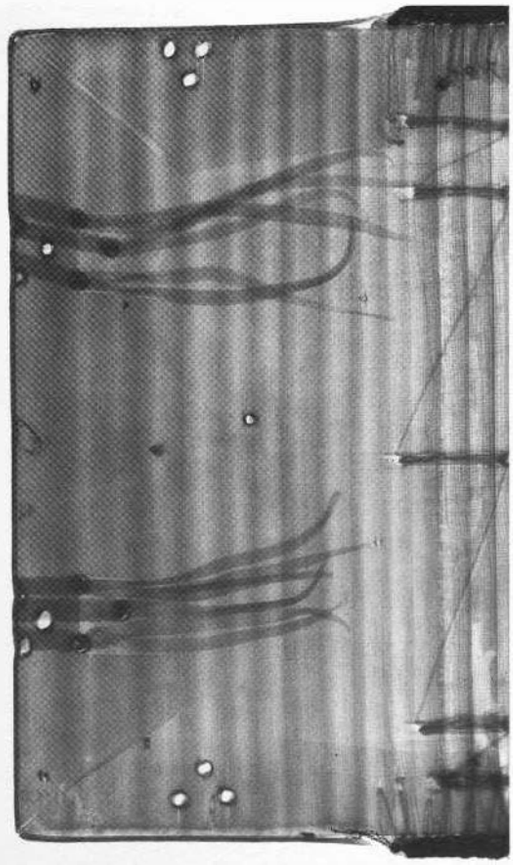
W.526 back cover, detail



W.526 front edge



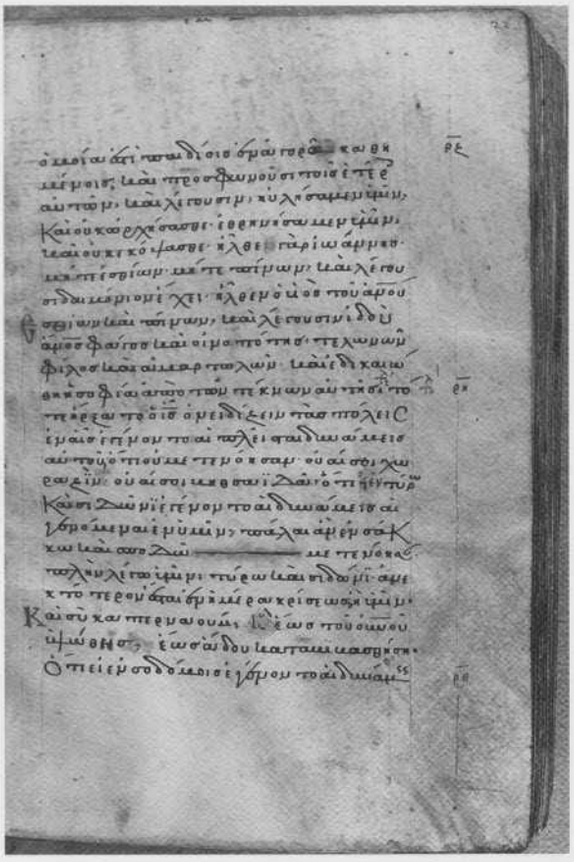
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W.526 x-ray photograph of back cover



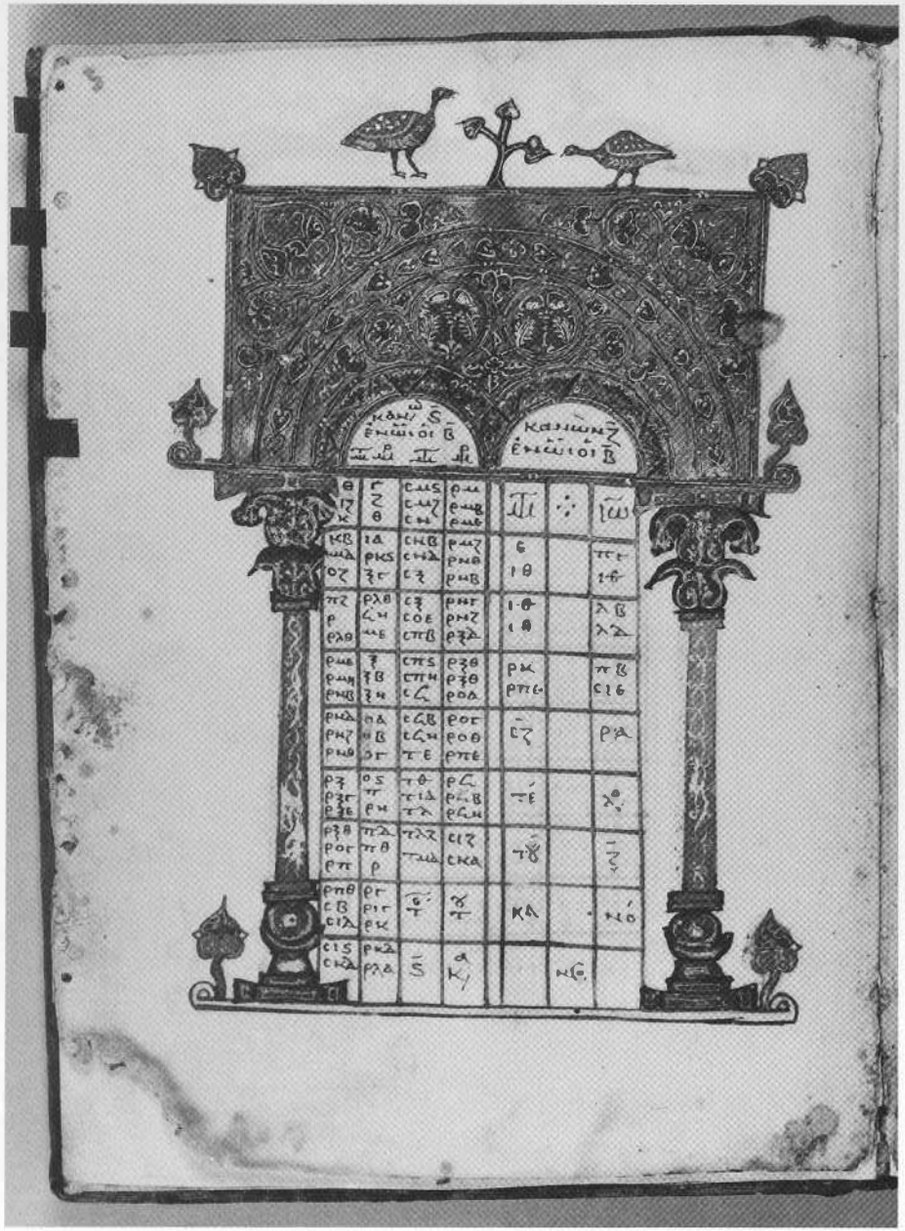
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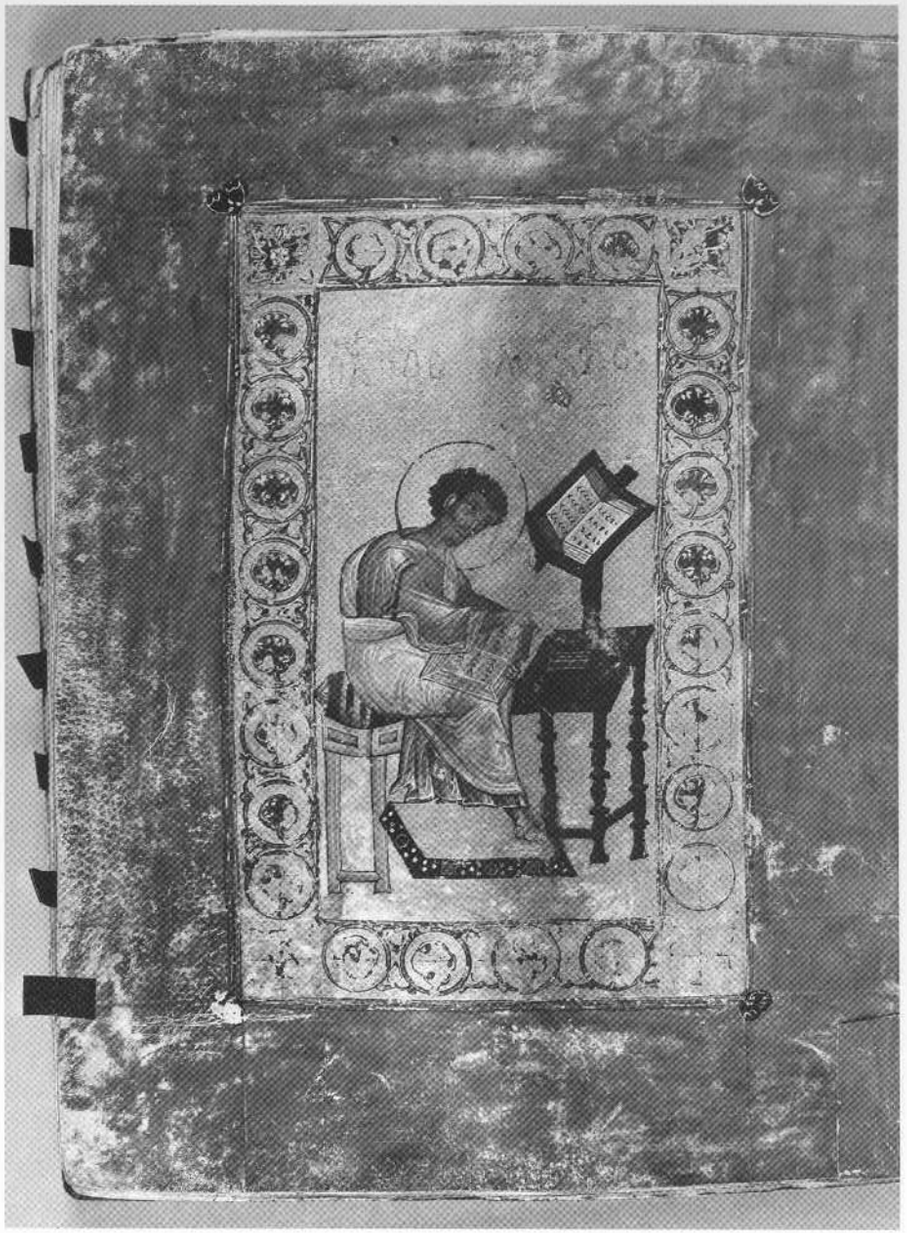
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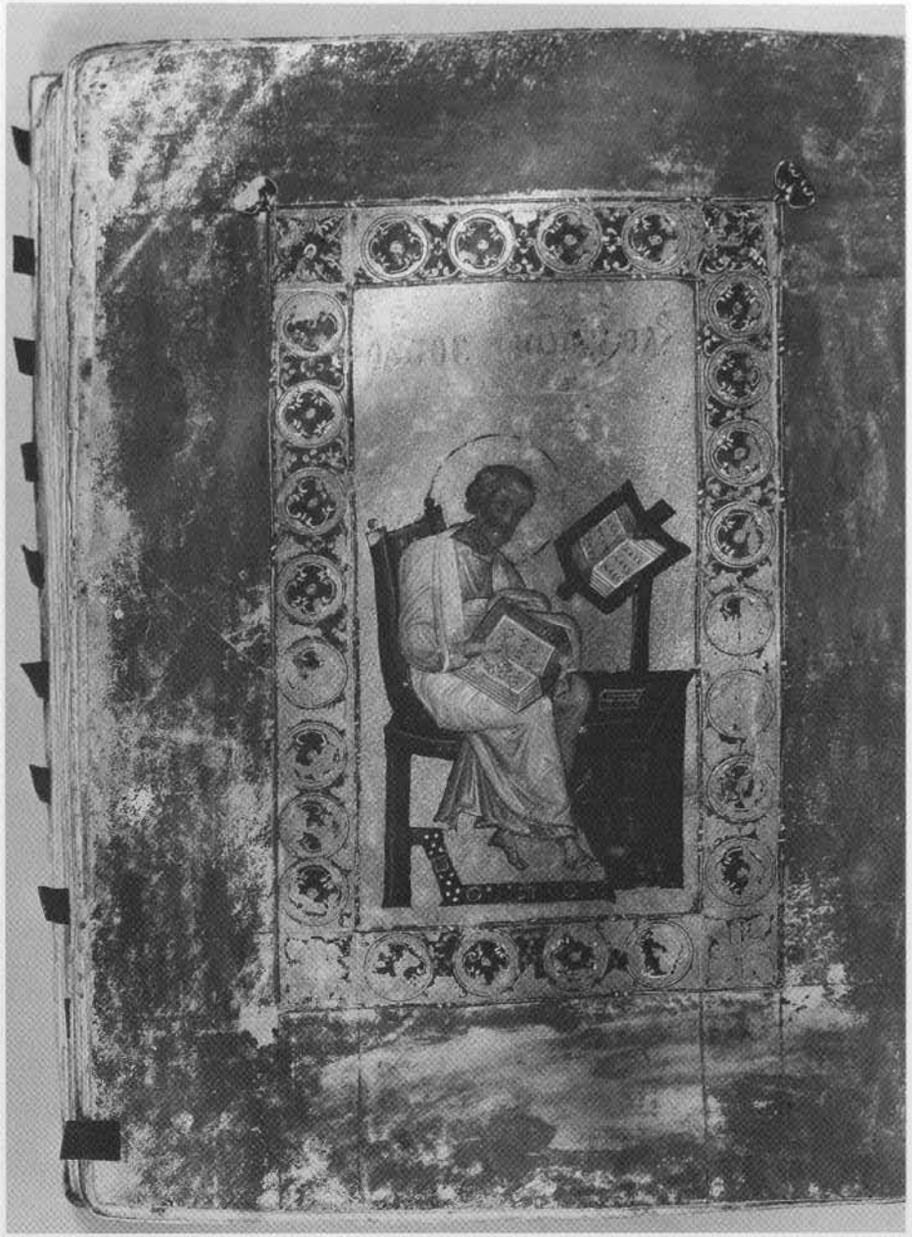
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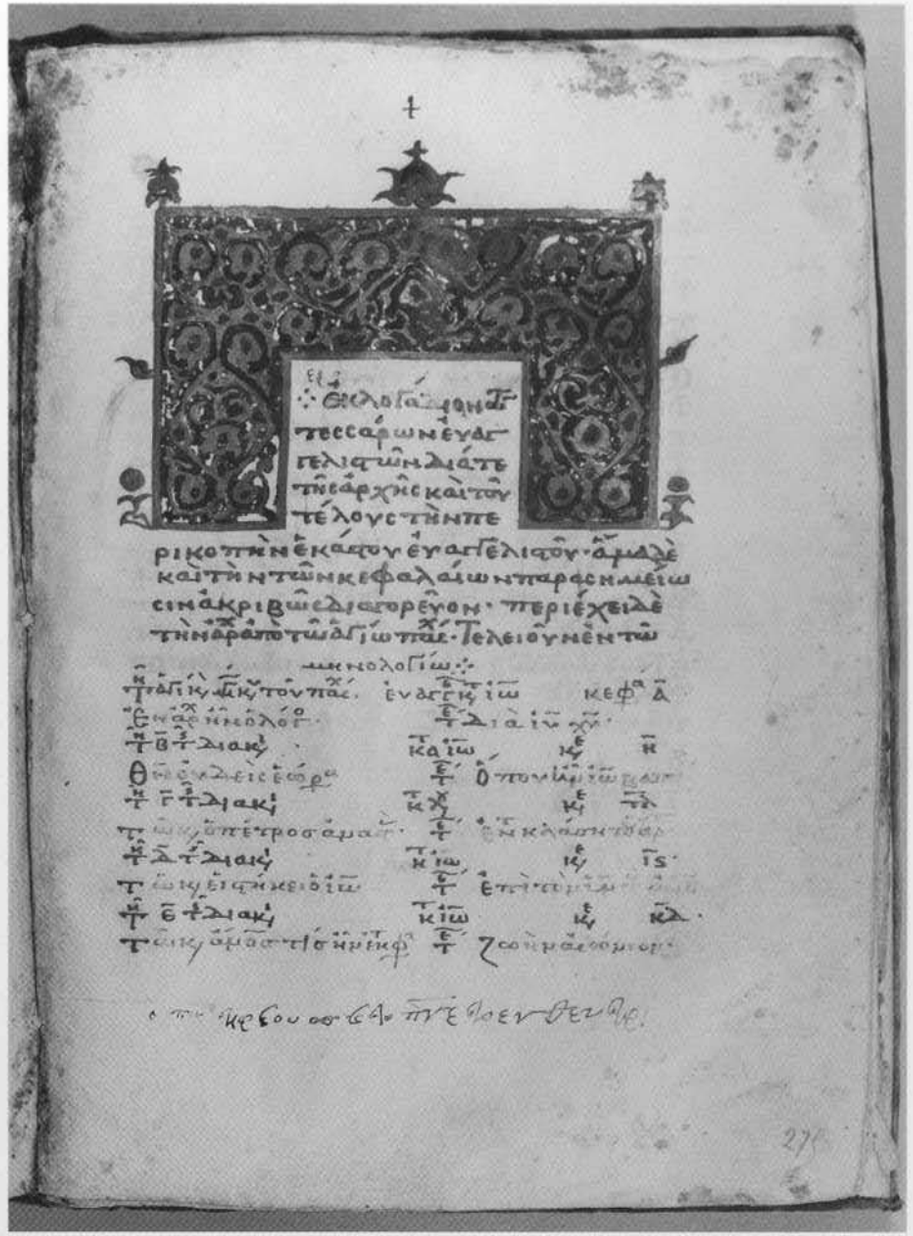
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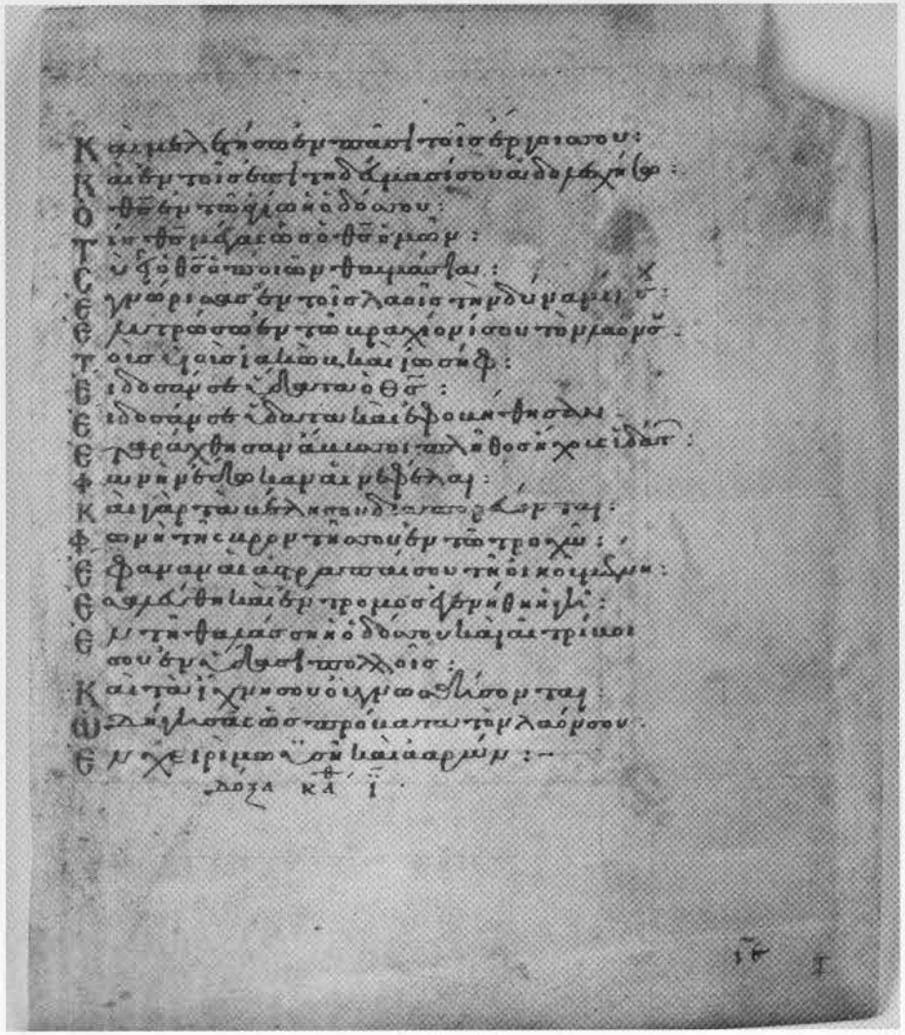
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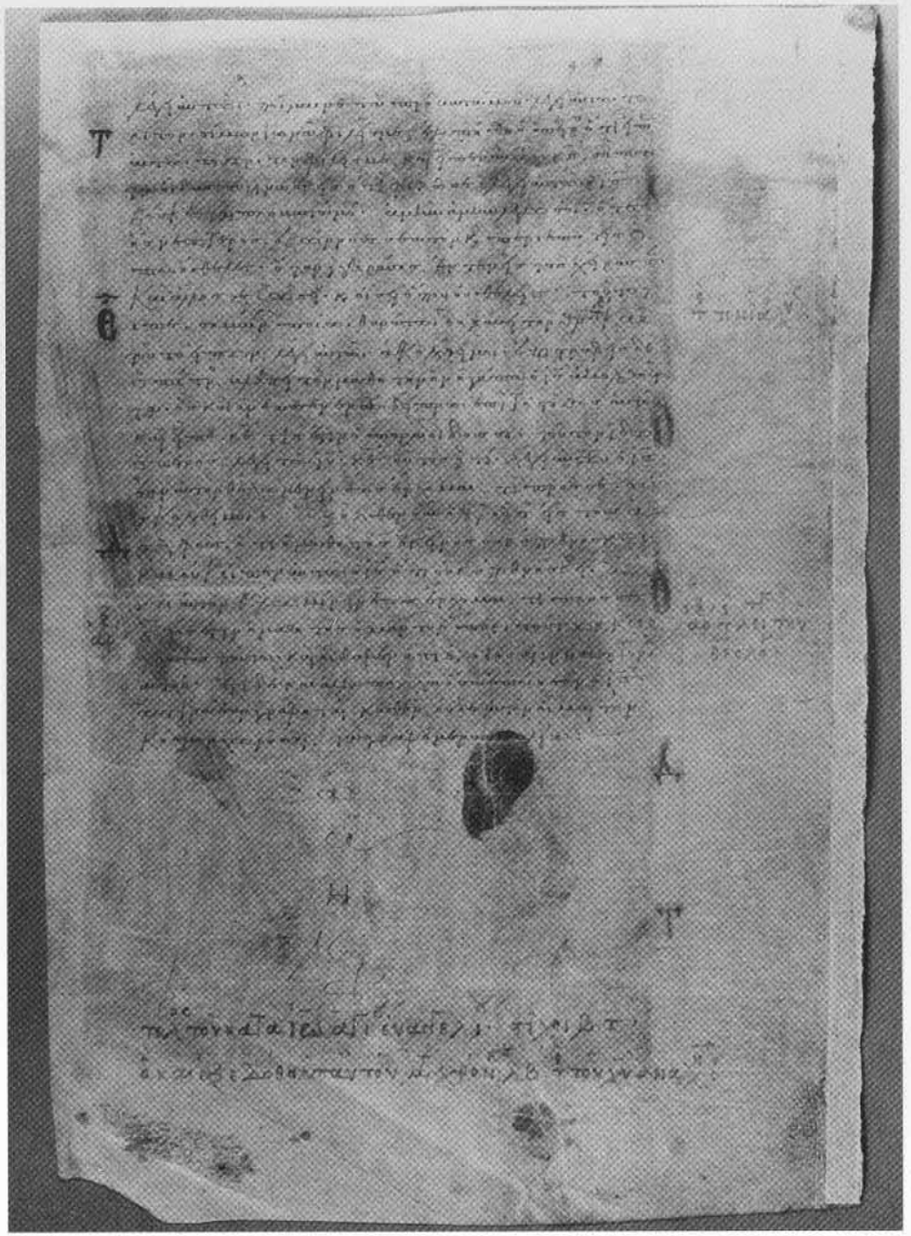
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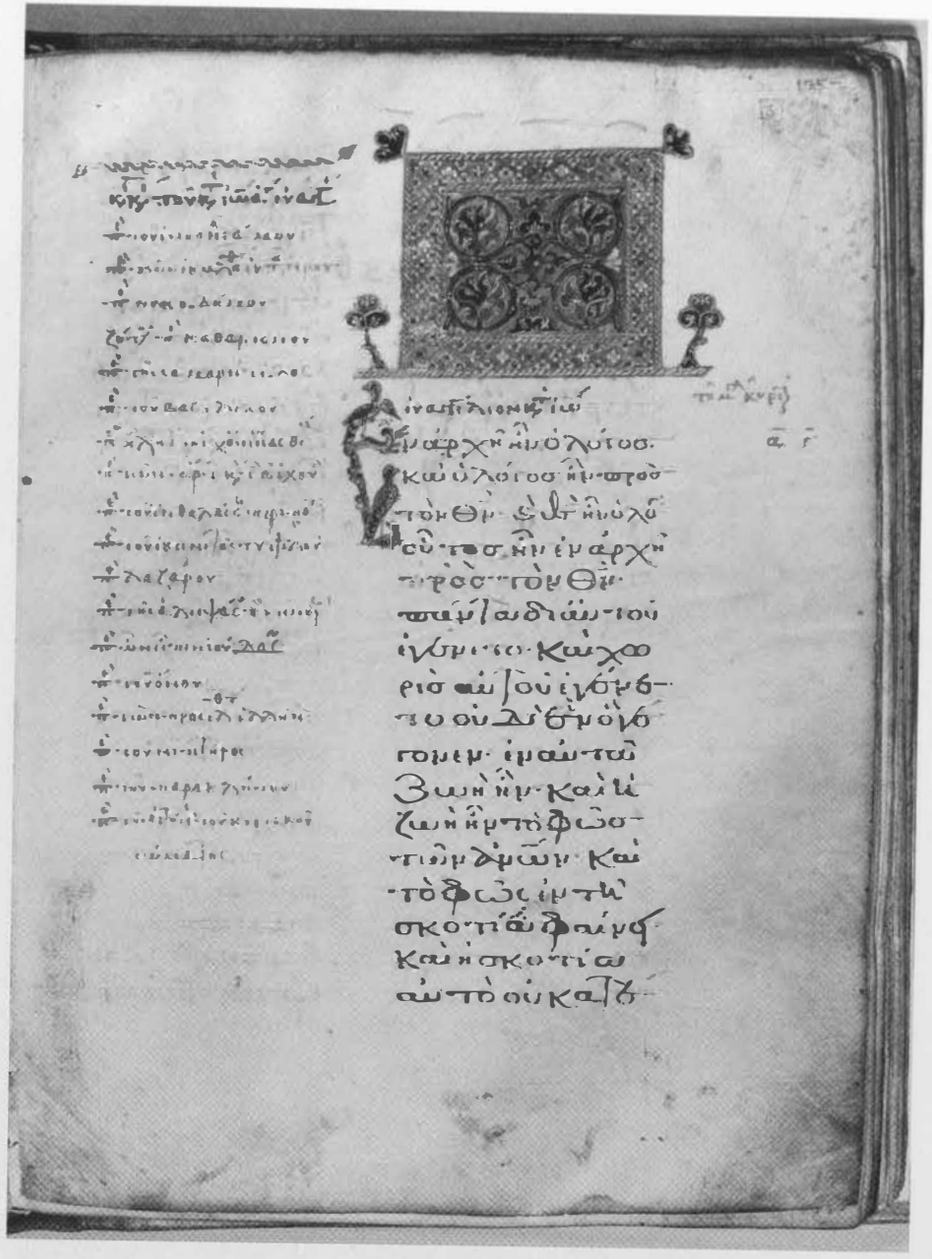
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W.530b text side



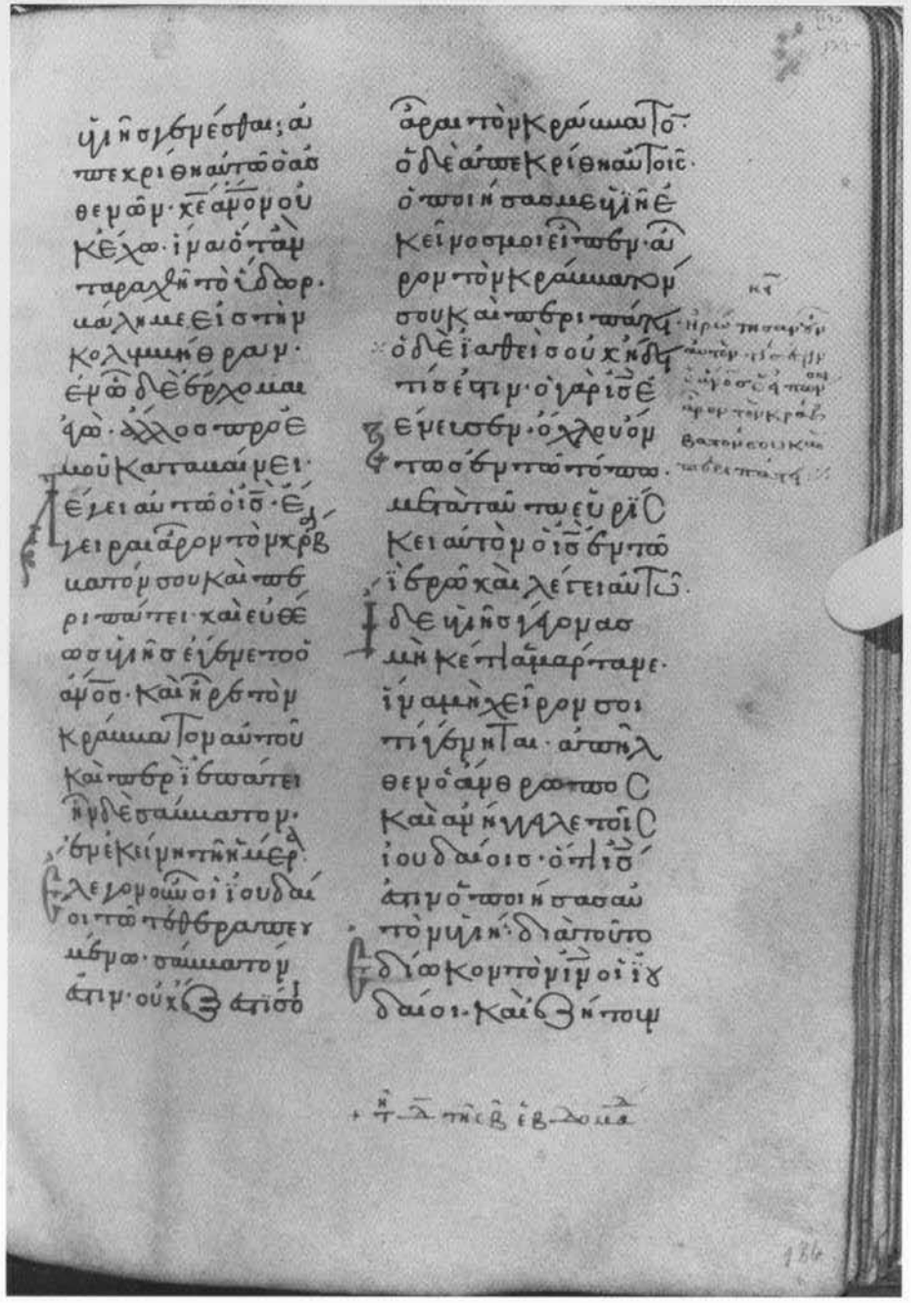
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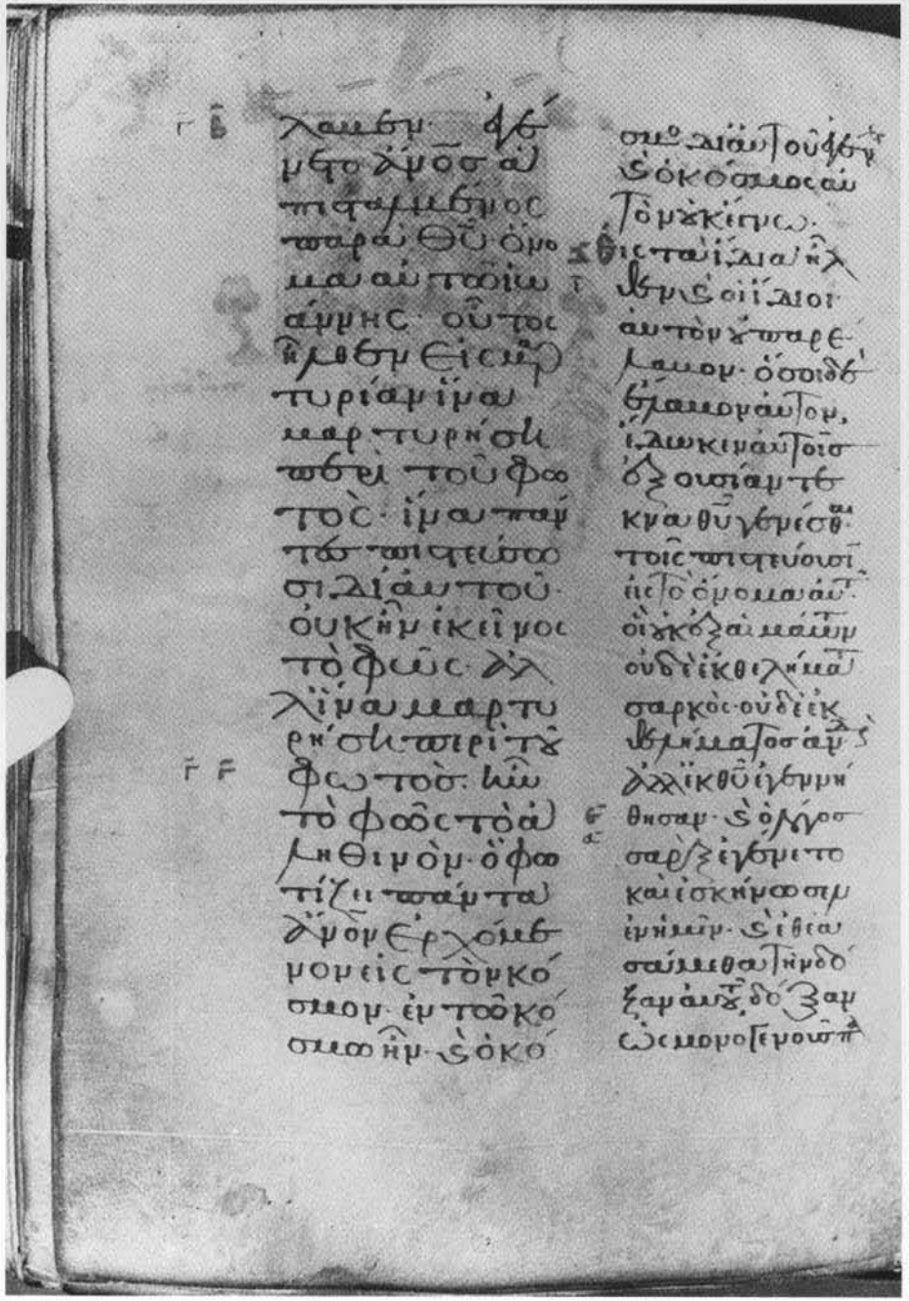
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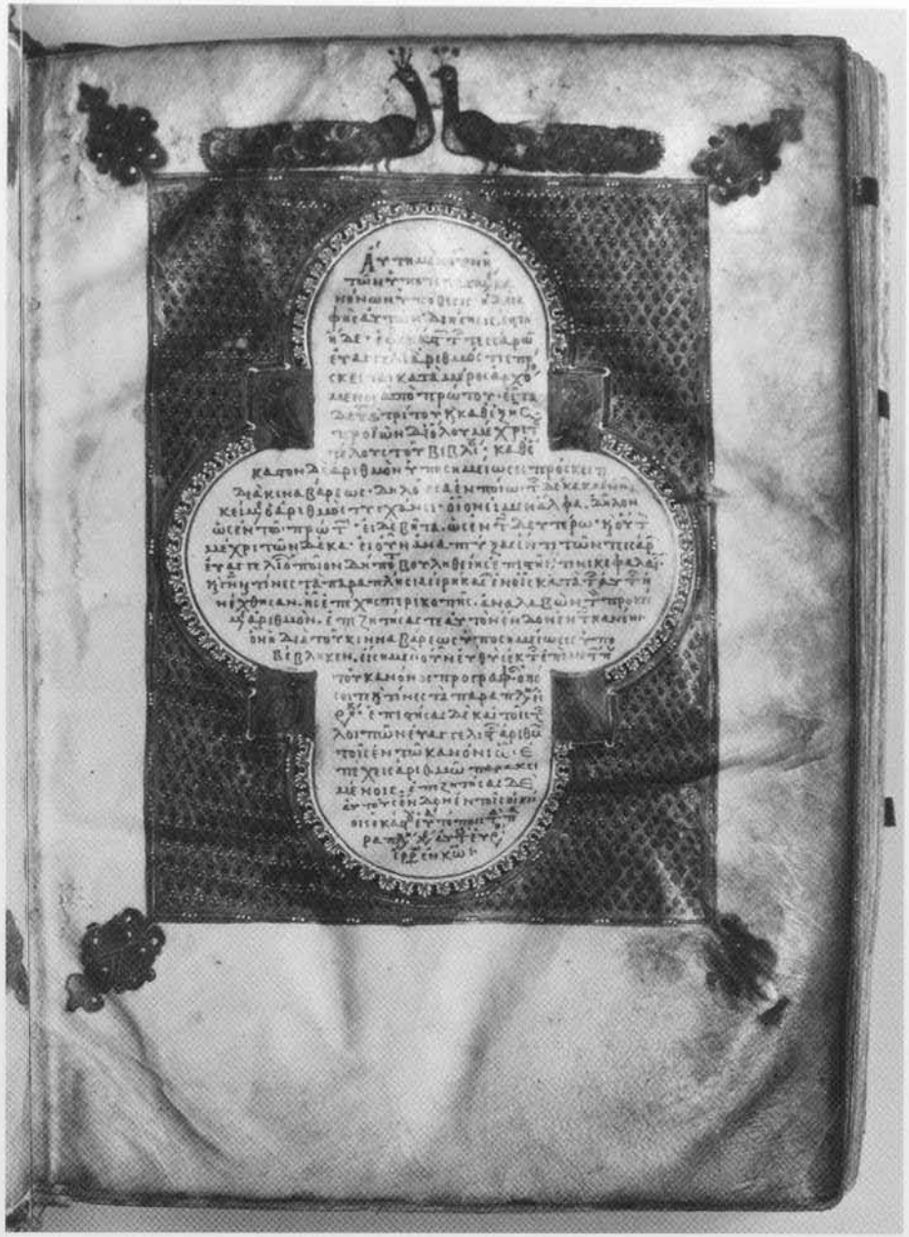
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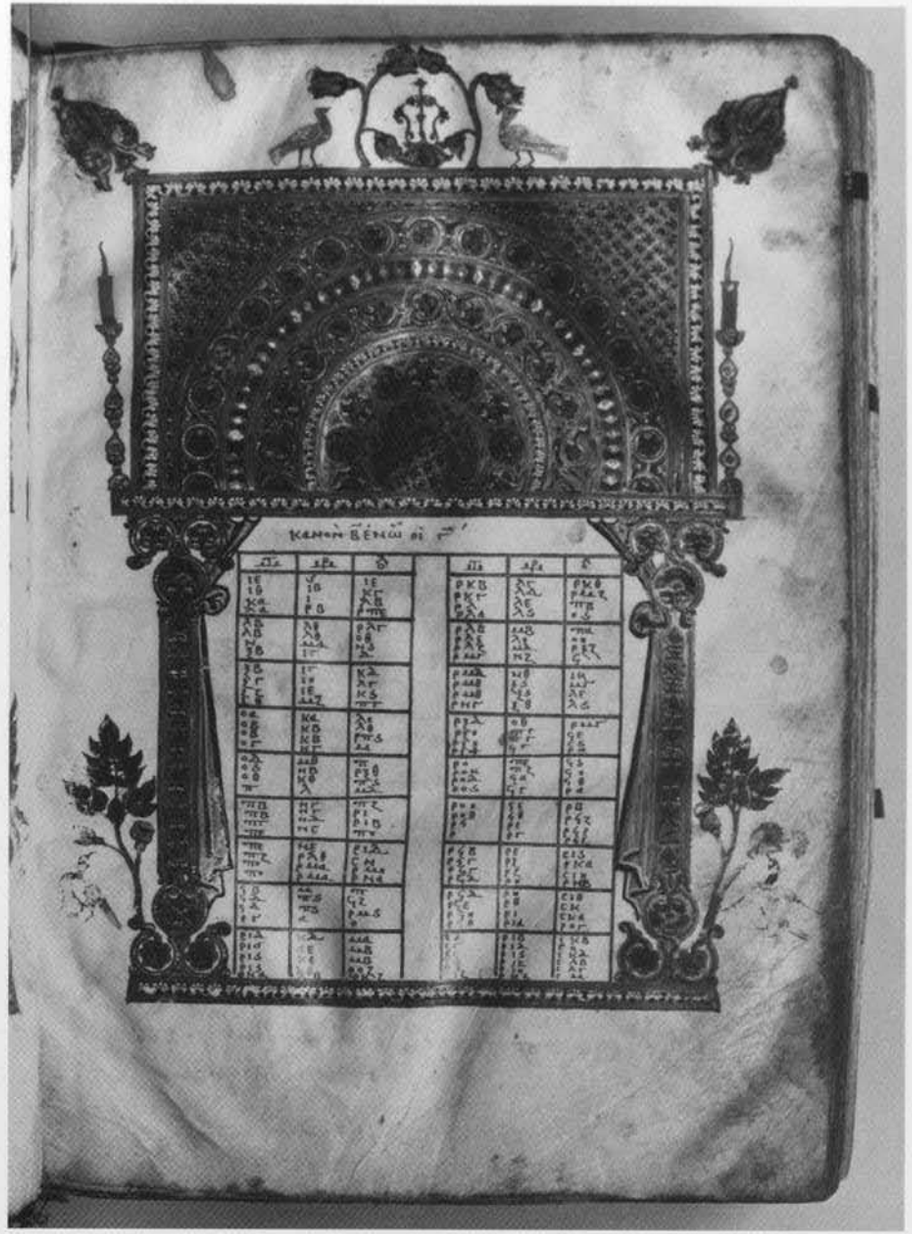
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W.531 f.175v



W.532 f.2



W.532 f.4



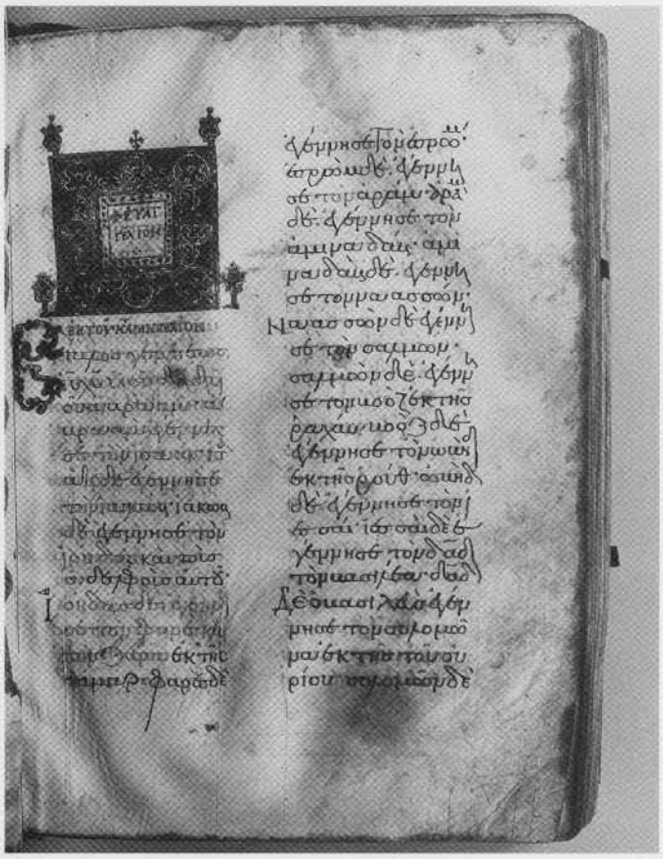
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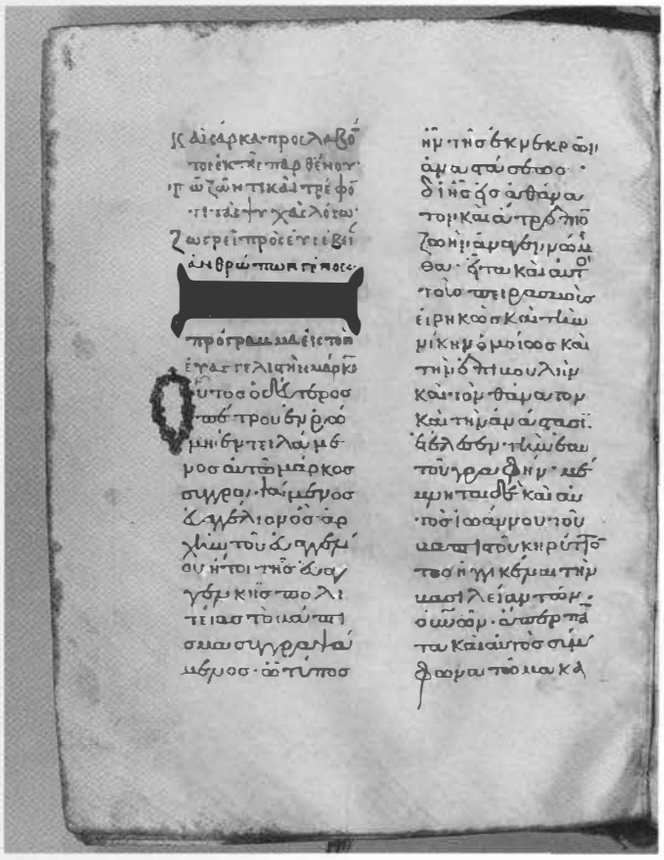
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W.532 f.239v

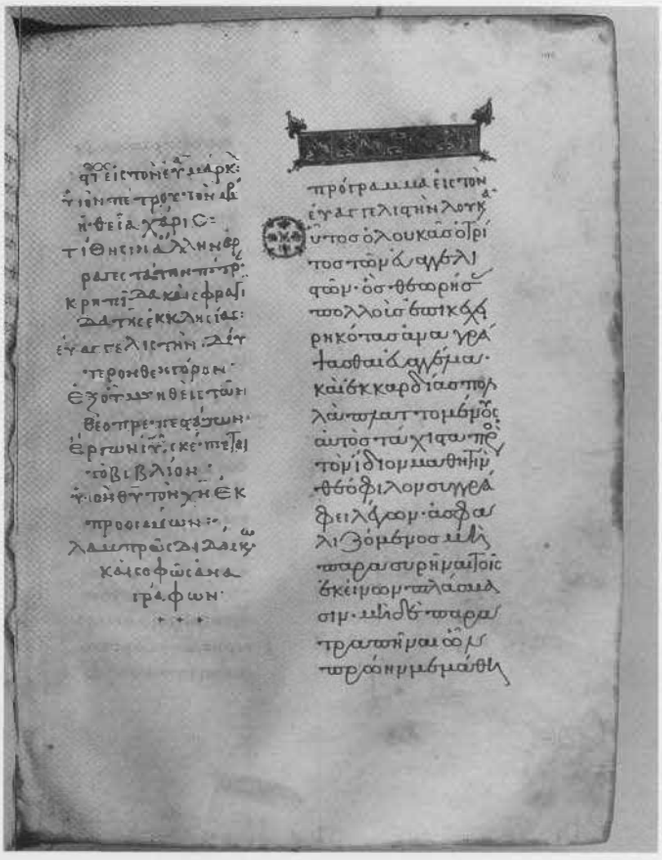
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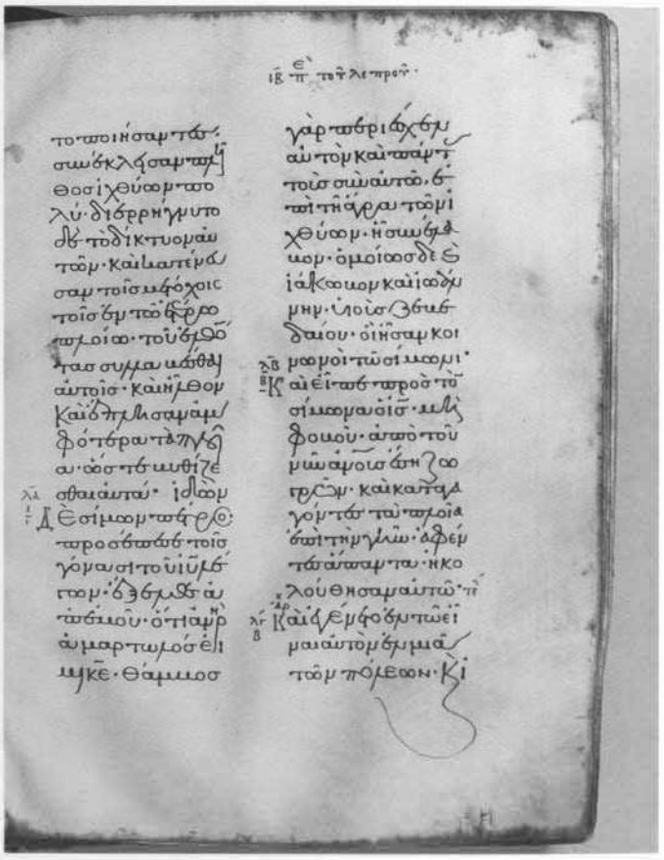
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W.532 f.94v



W.532 f.146



W.532 f.166



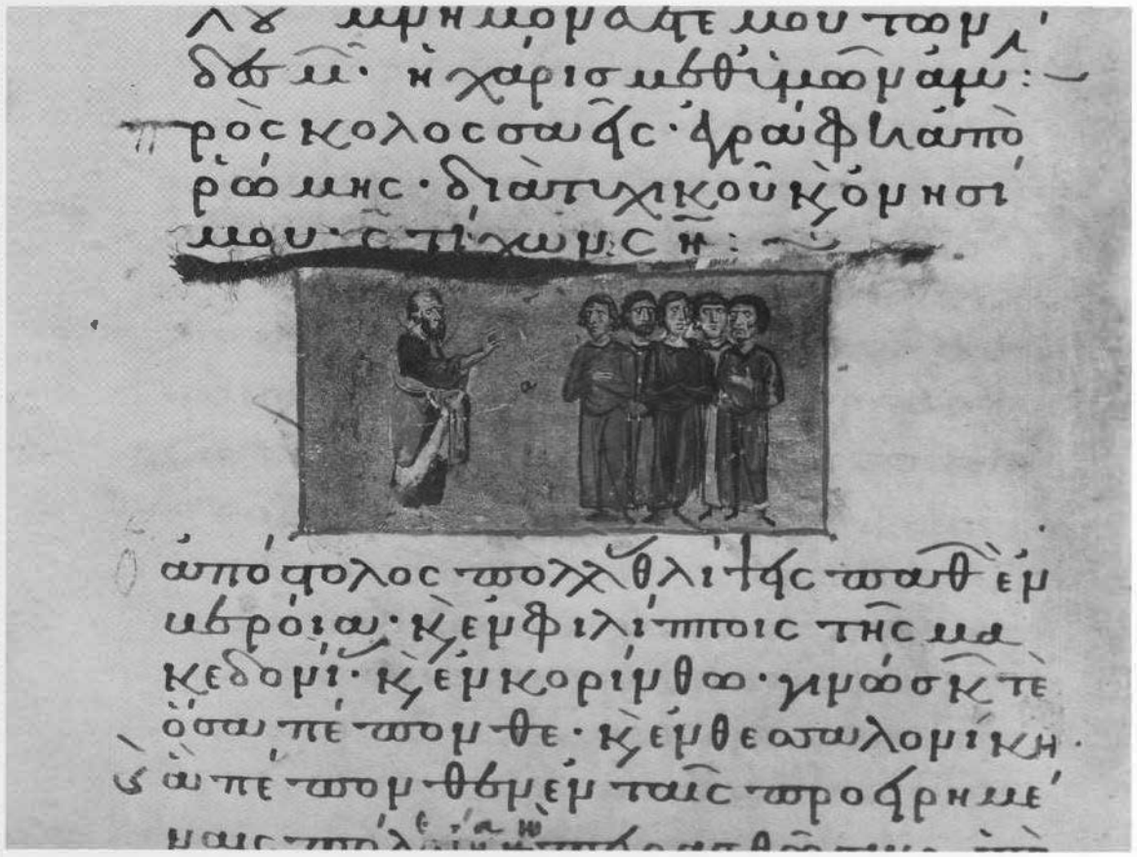
W.533 f.1



W.533 f.98



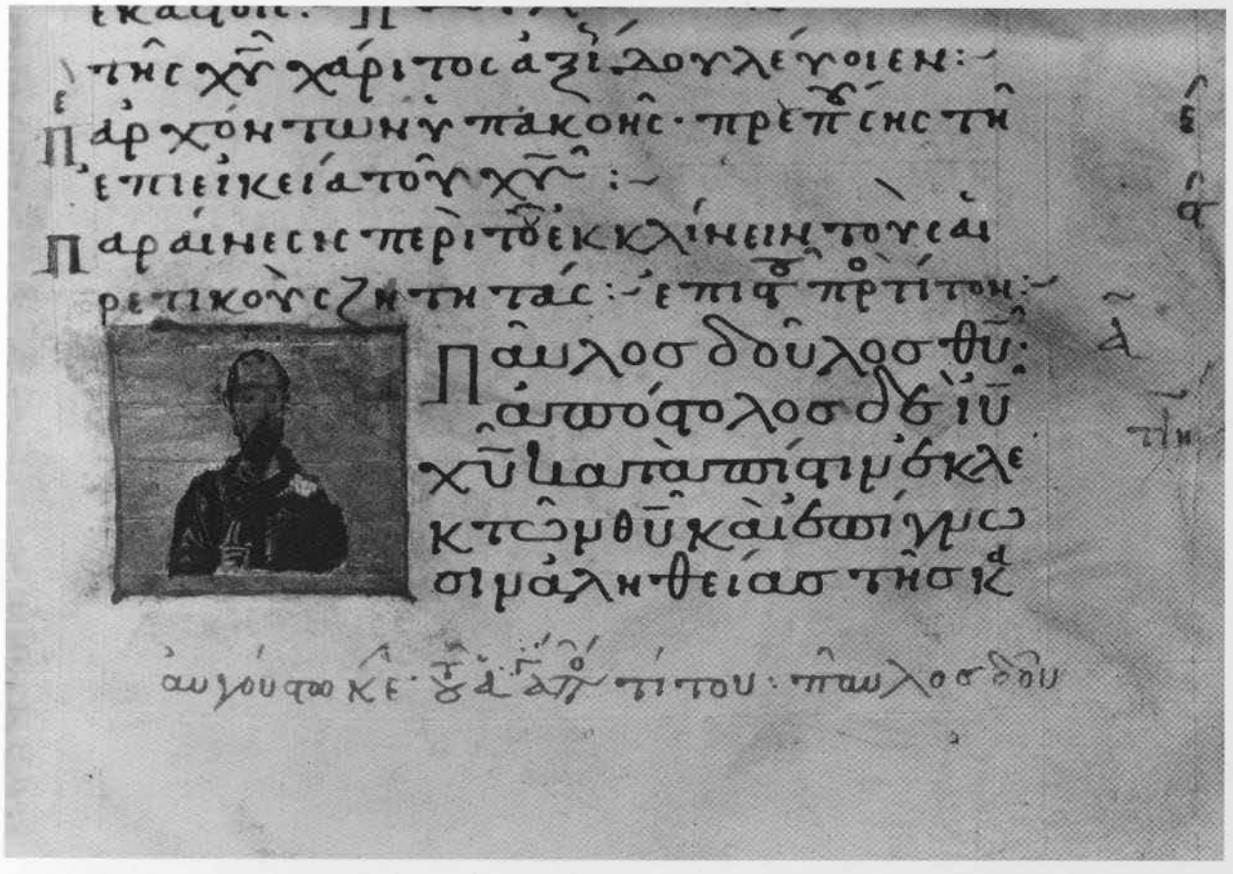
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W.533 f.254



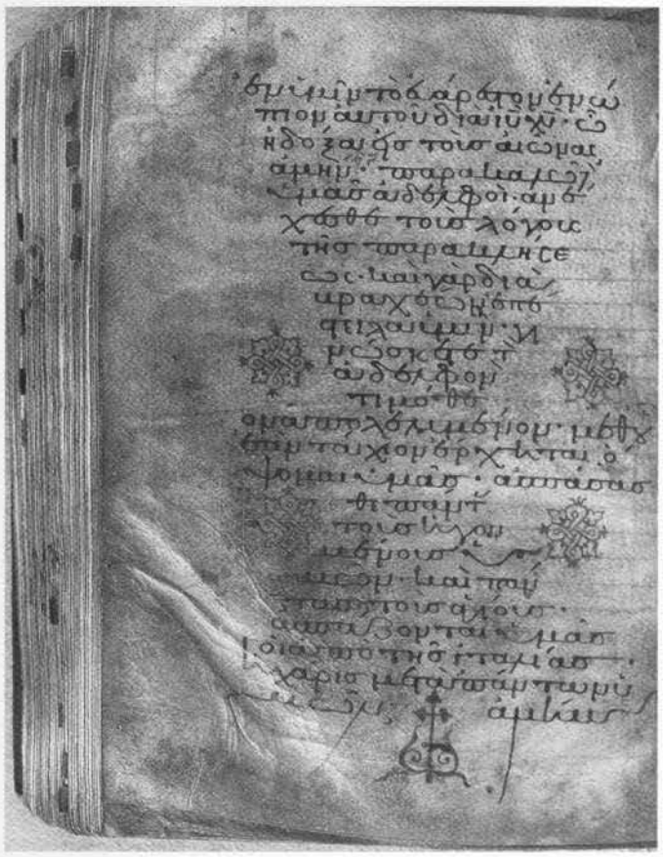
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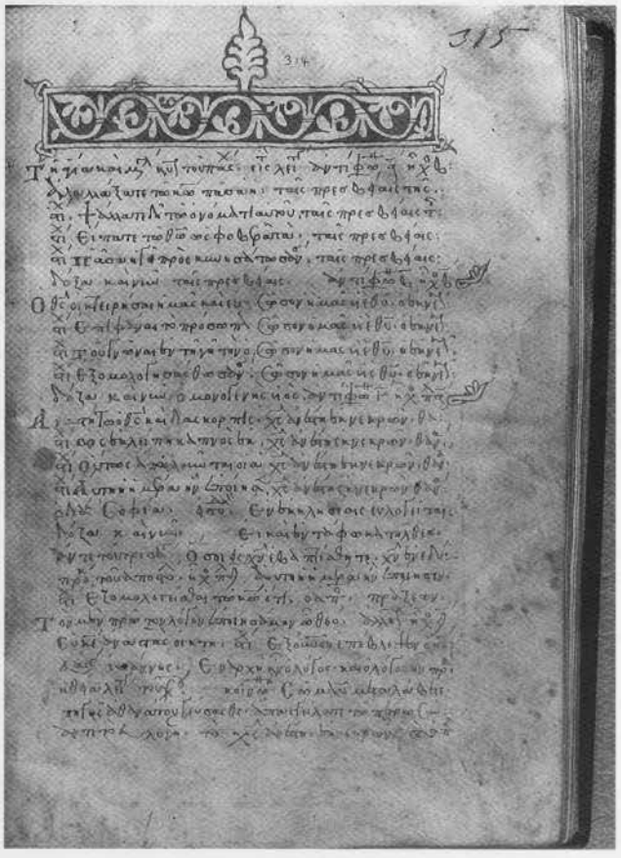
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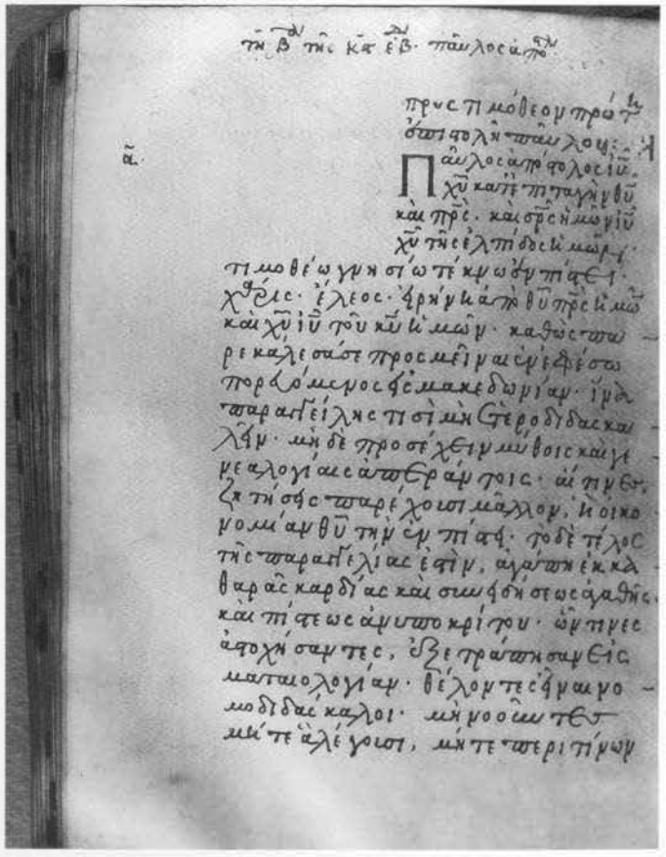
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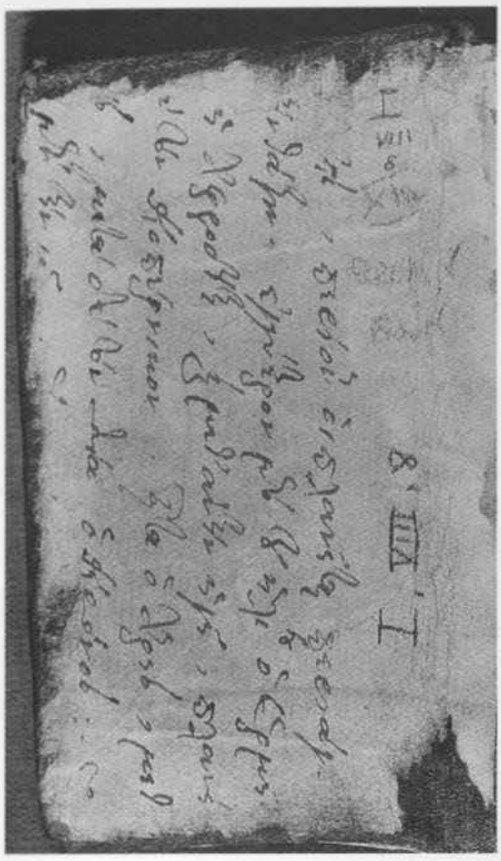
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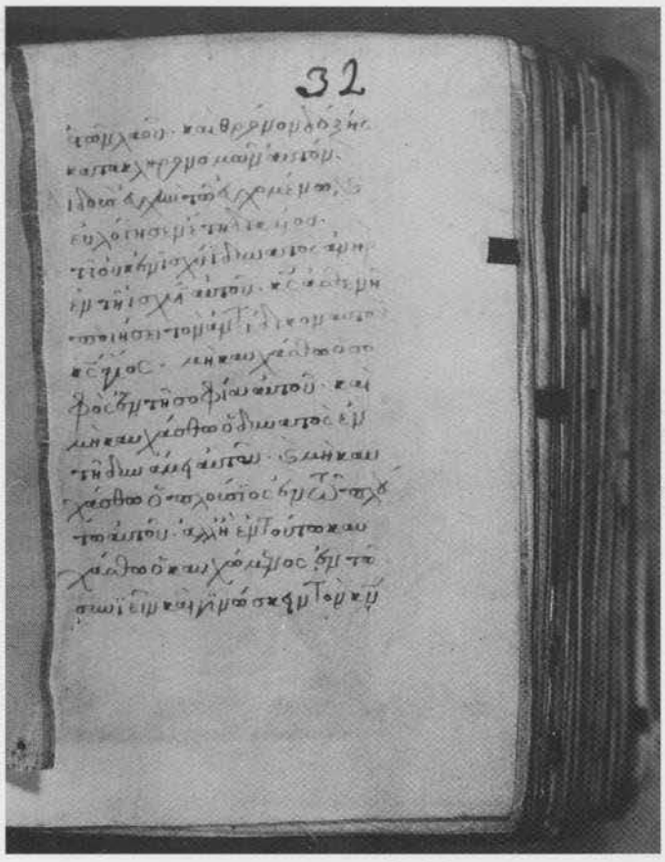
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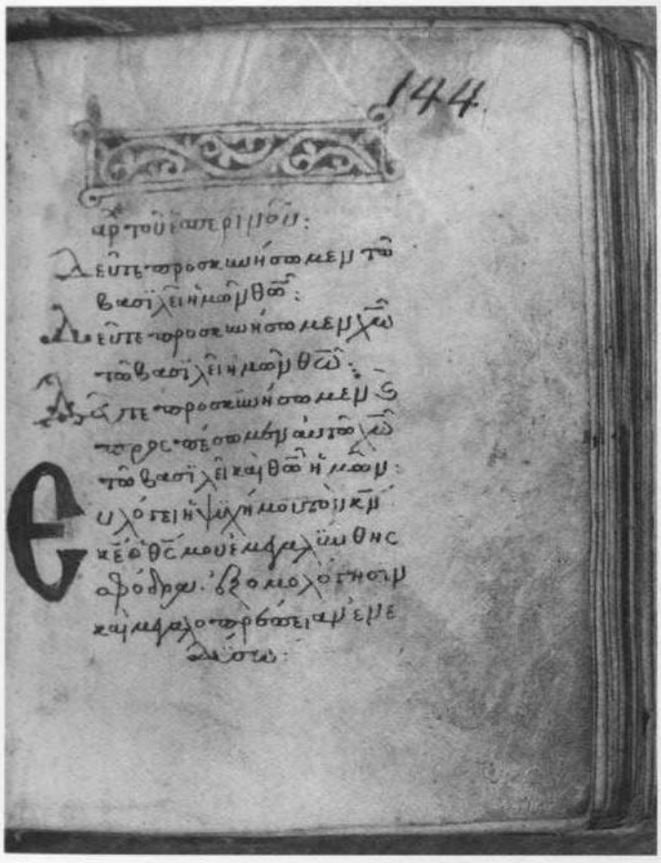
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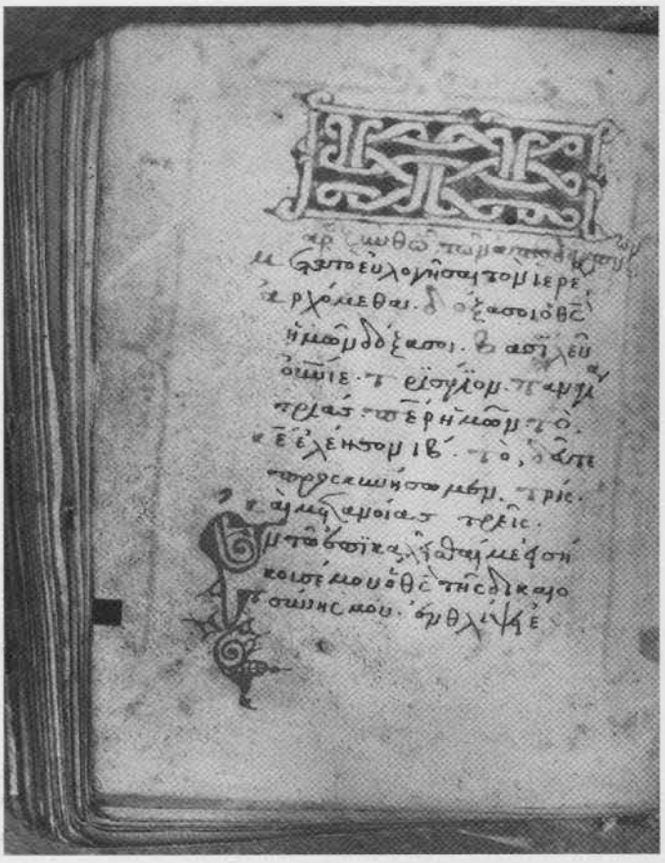
W.534 front pastedown



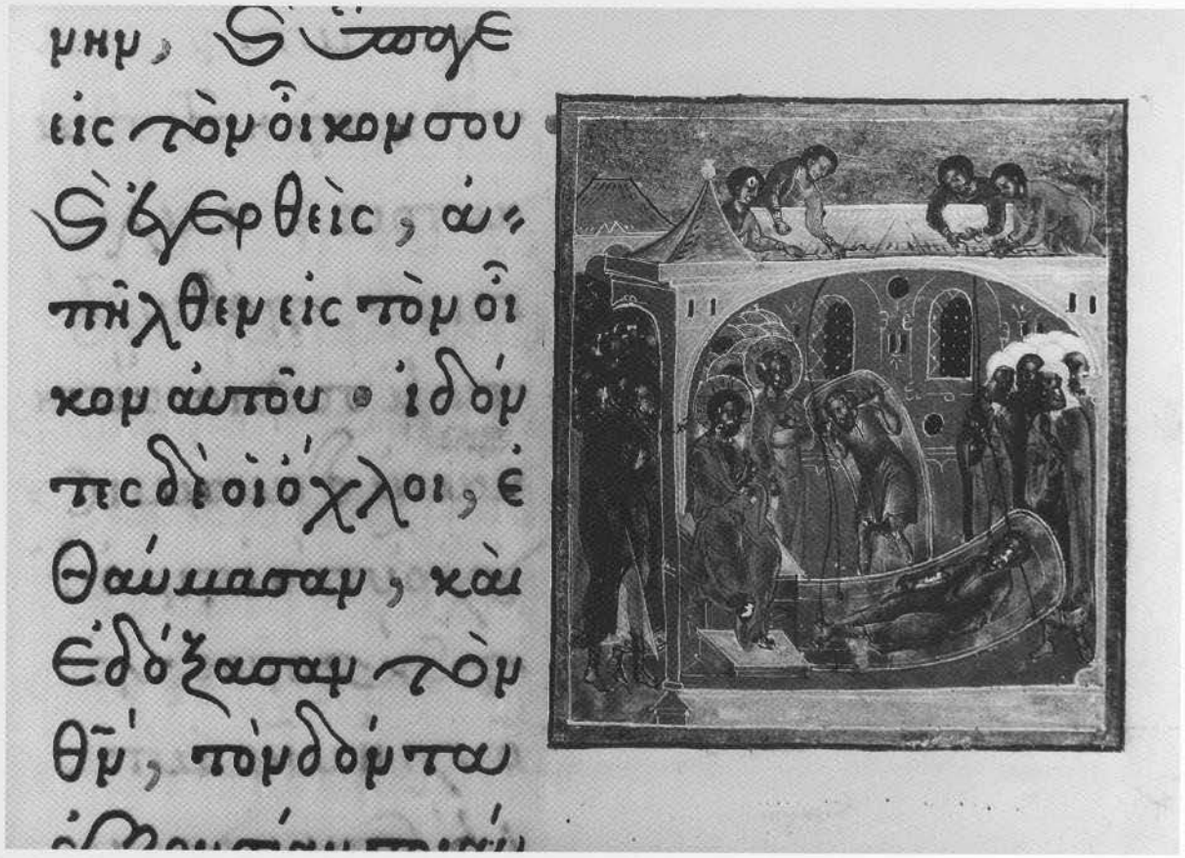
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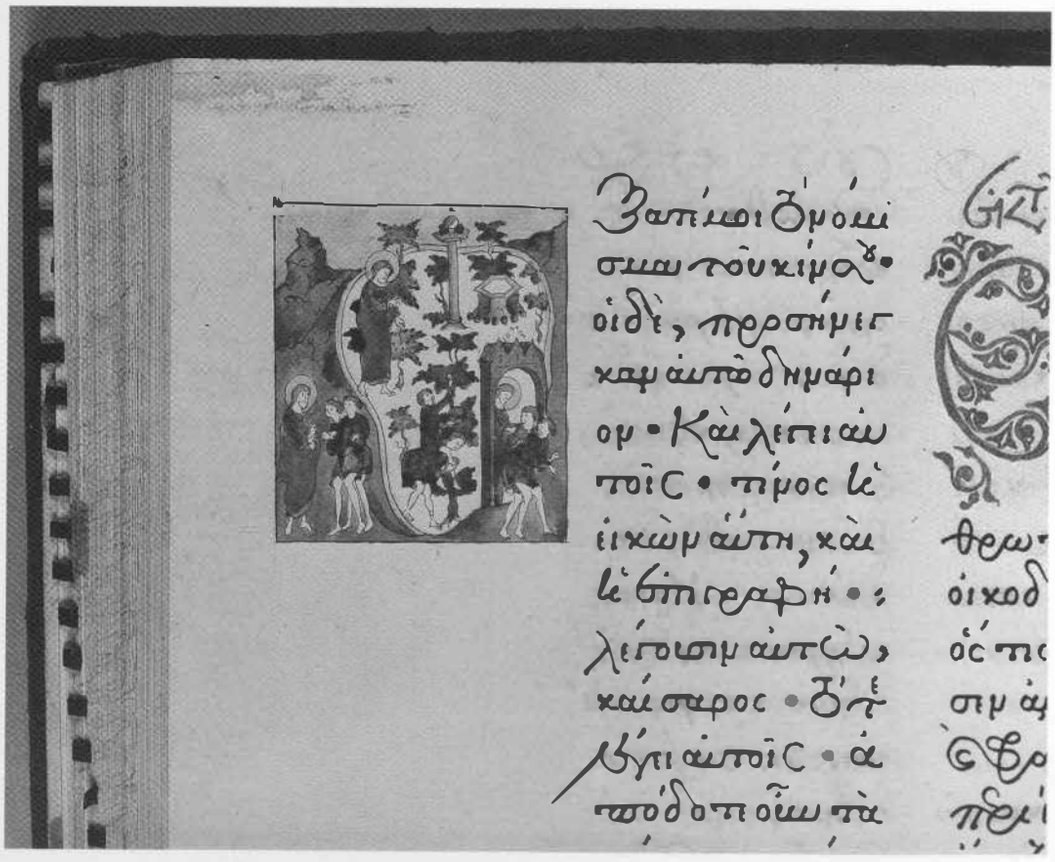
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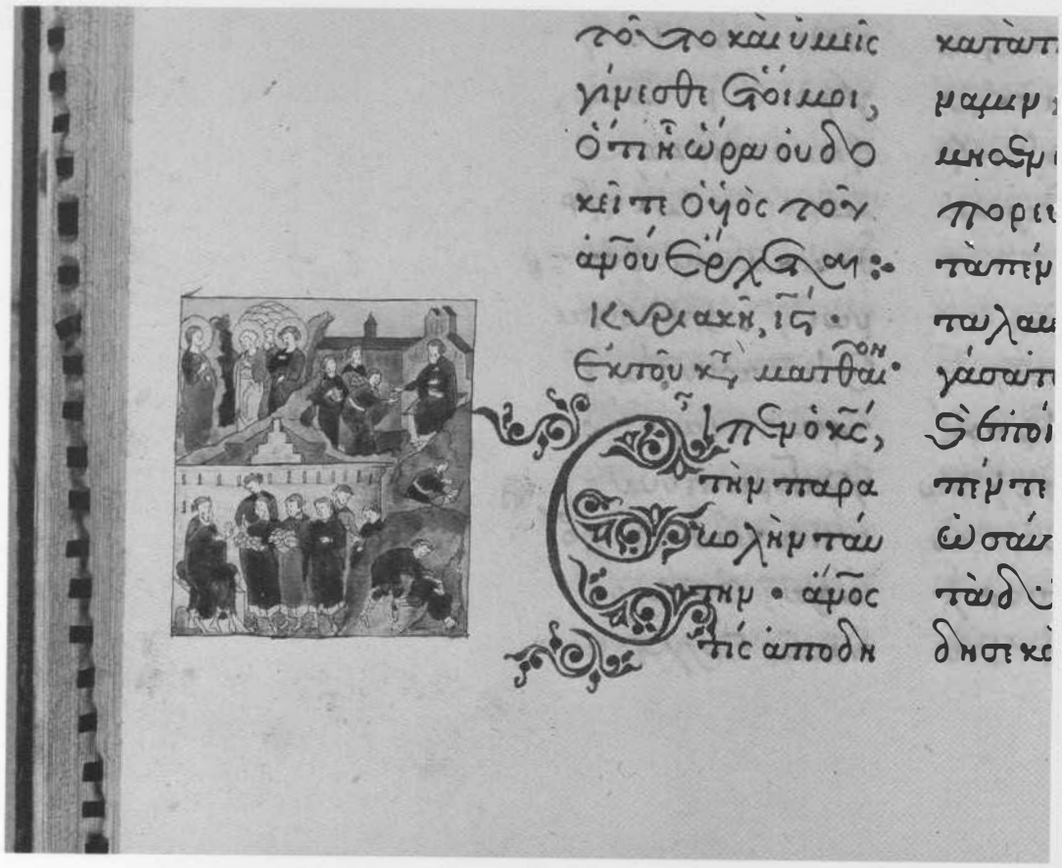
W.534 f.158v



W.535 f.98



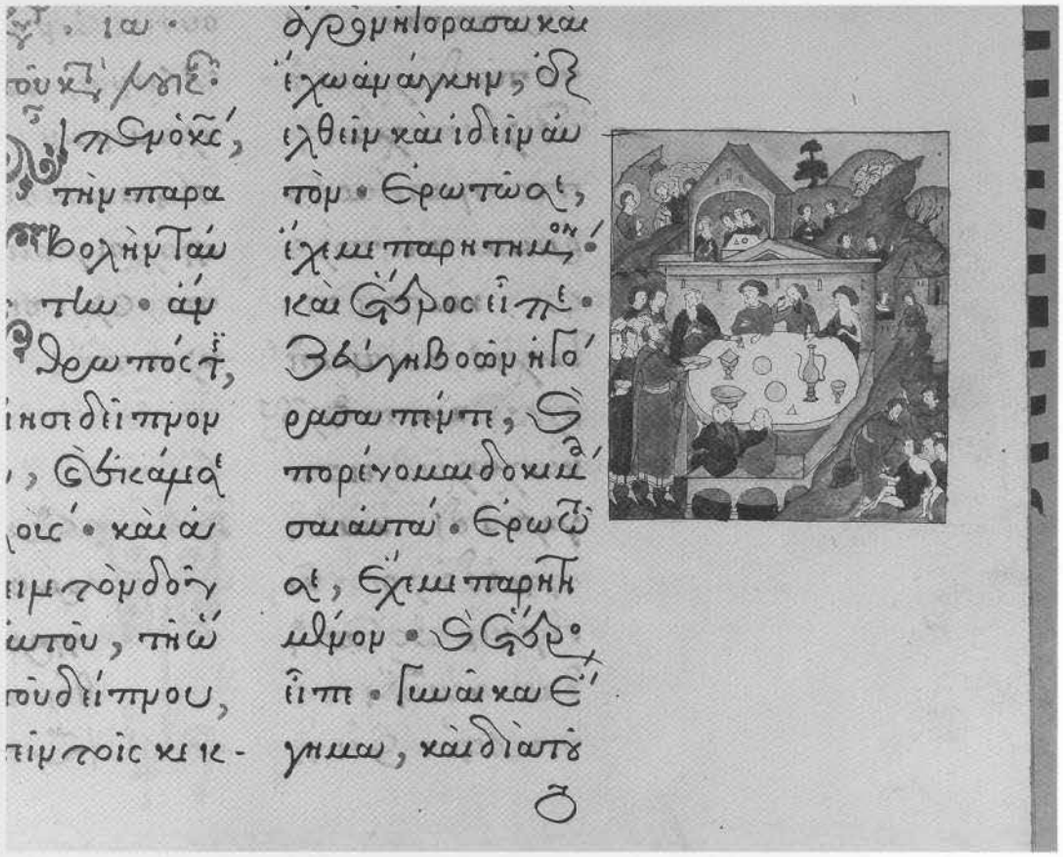
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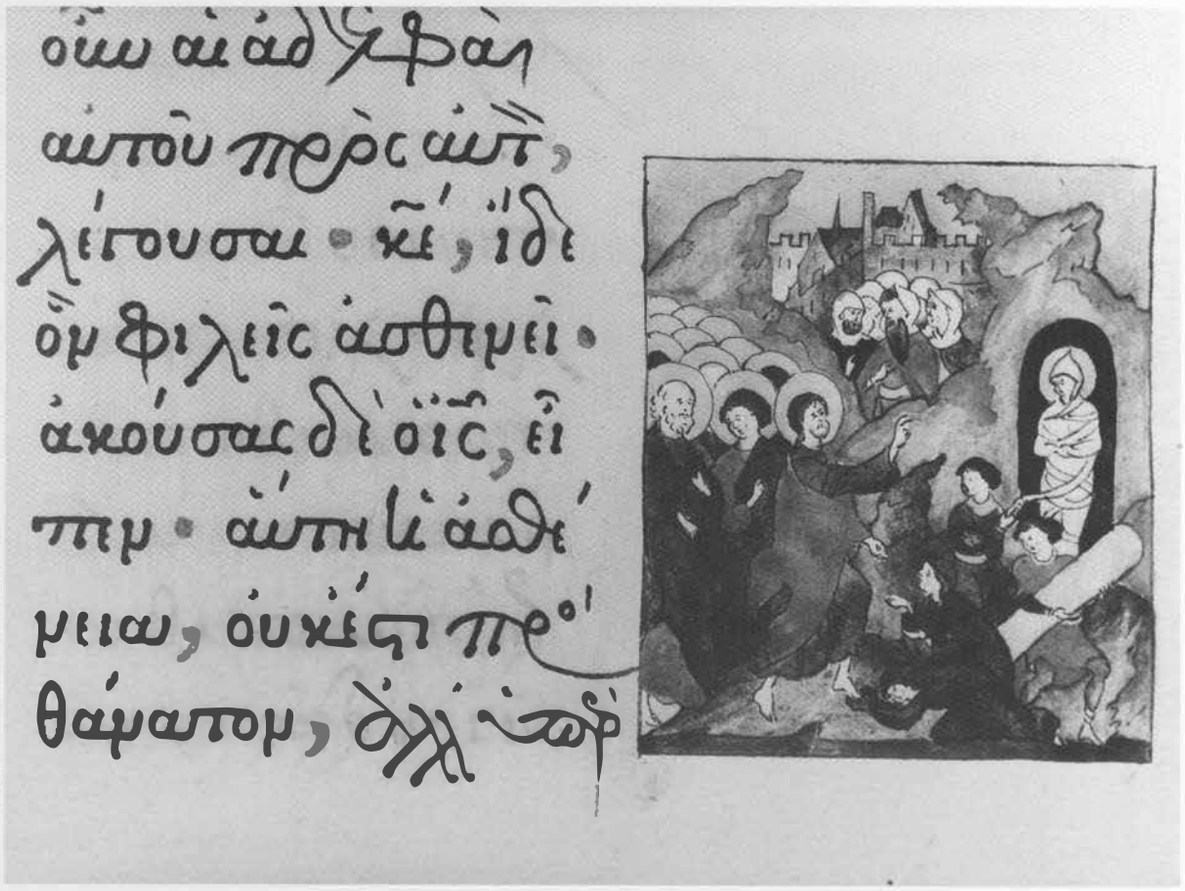
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W.535 f.242v



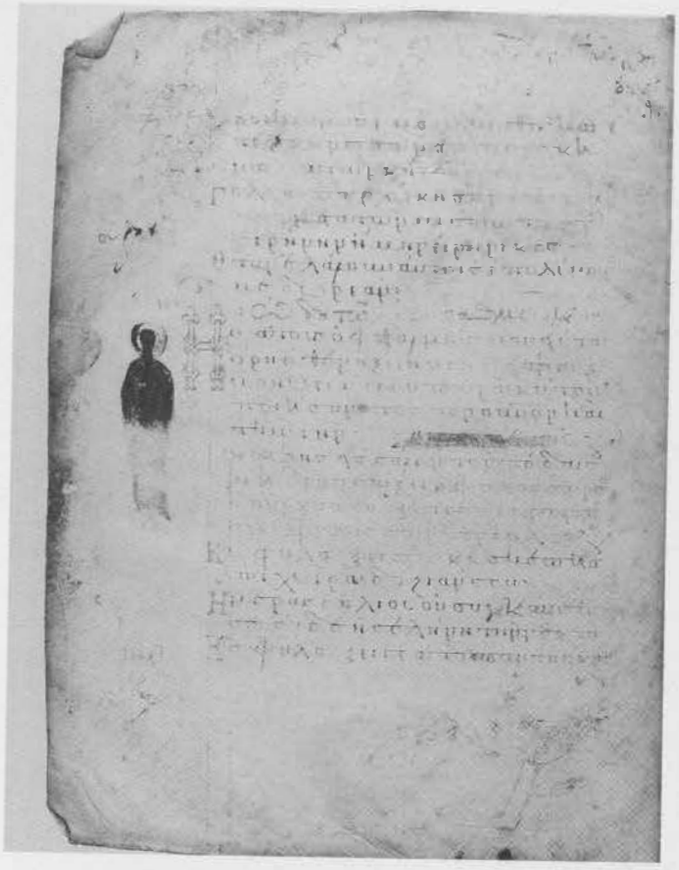
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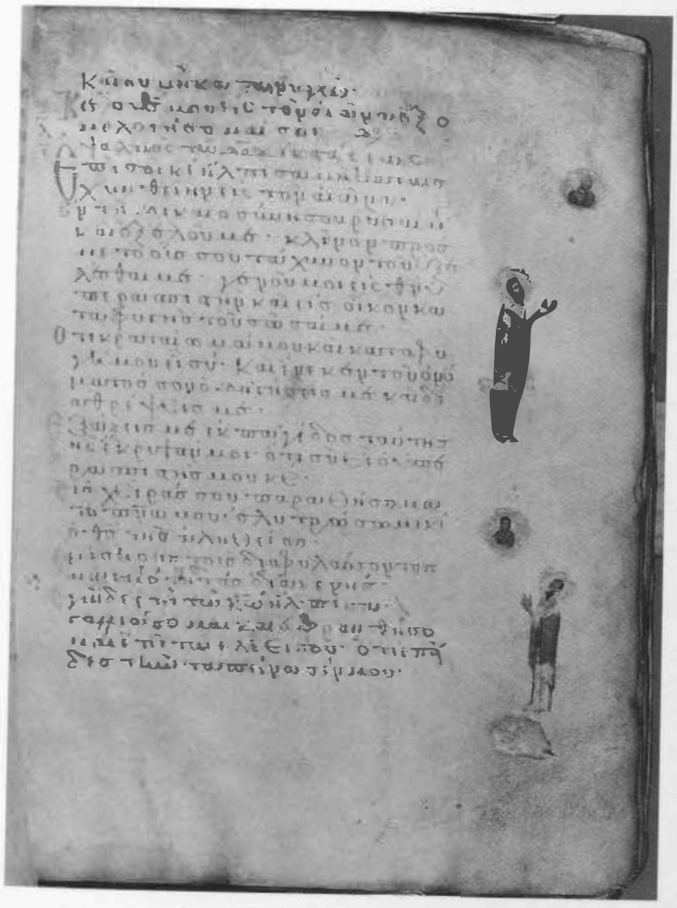
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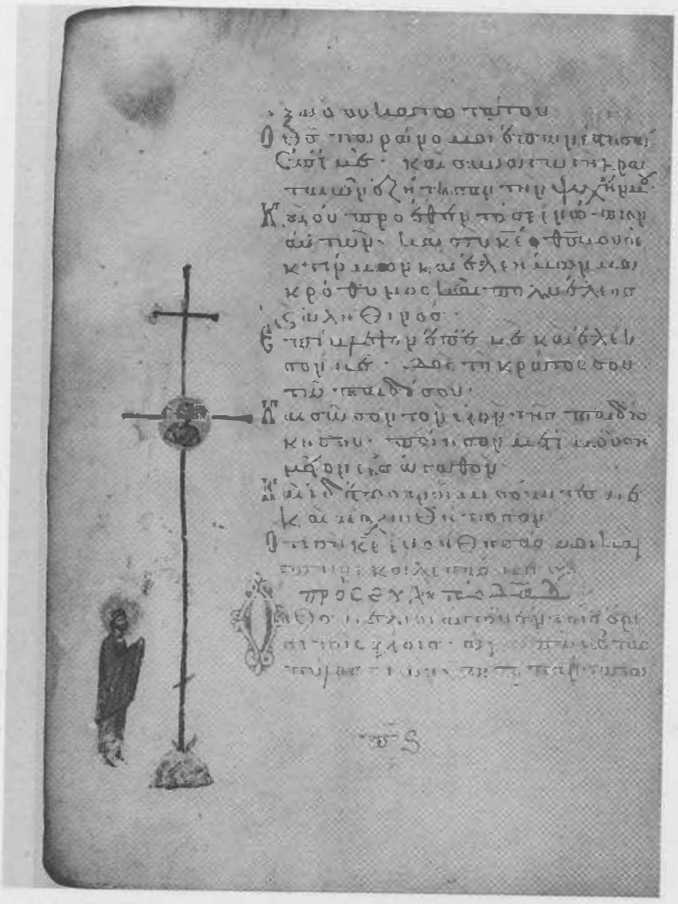
W.733 fragment removed from f.34



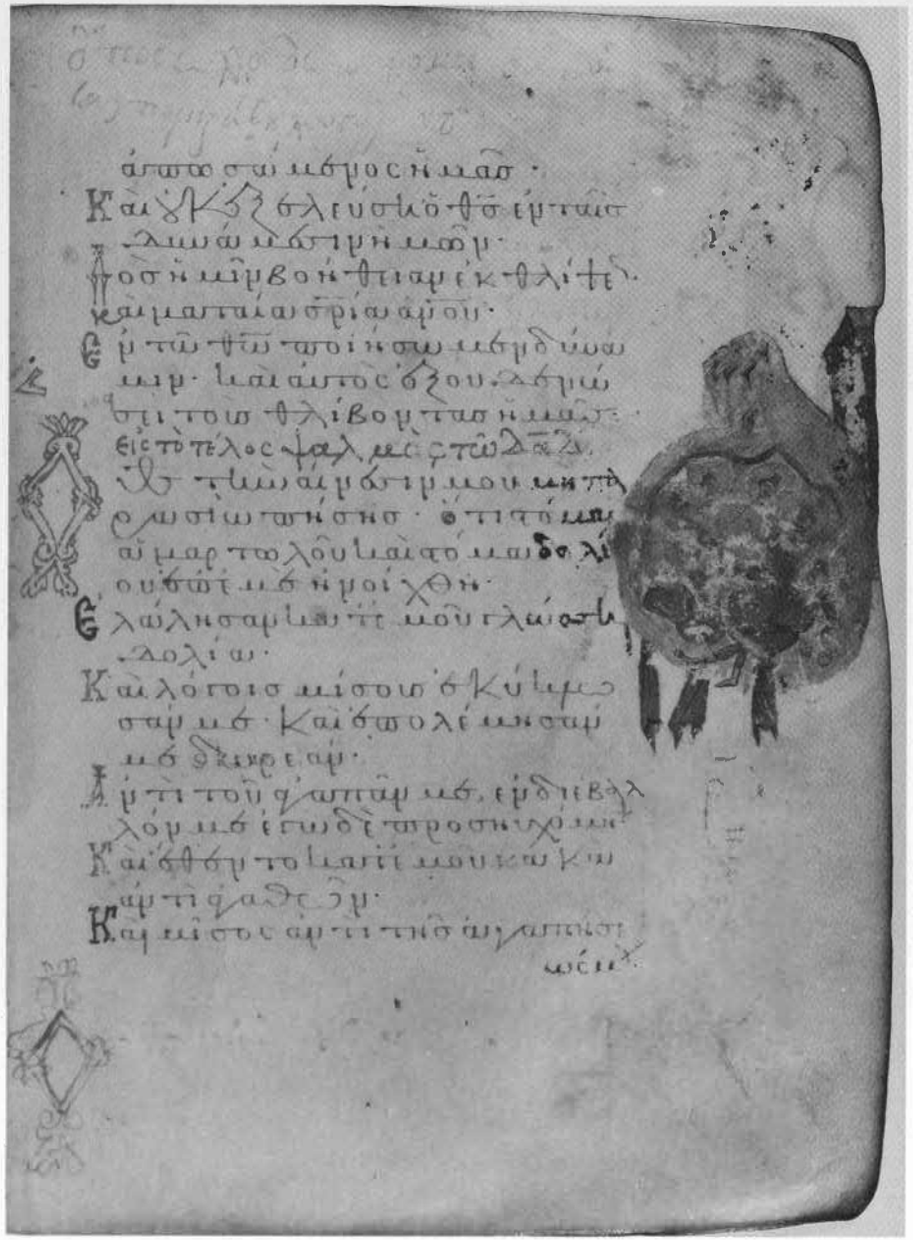
W.733 f.102v



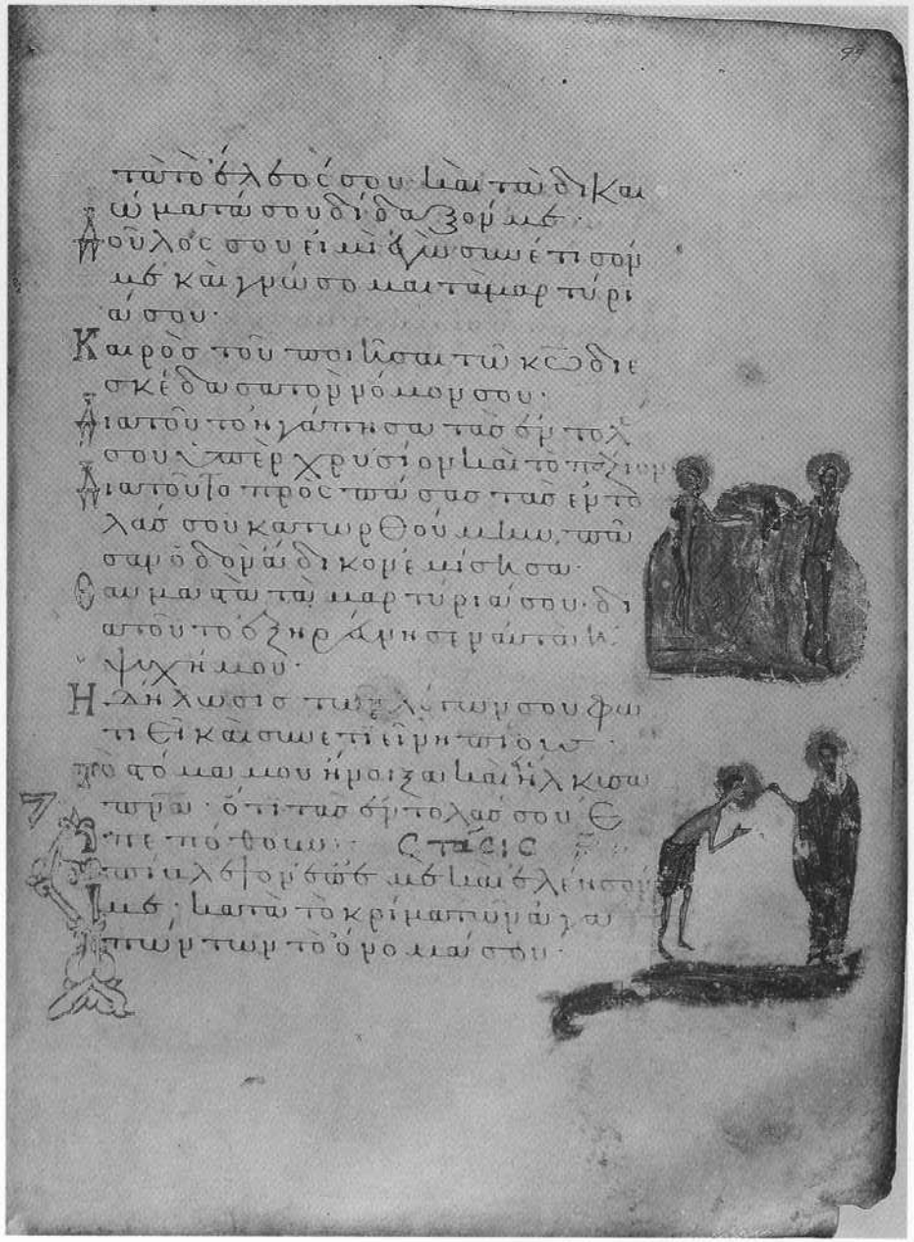
W.733 f.2



W.733 f.52v



W.733 f.82



W.733 f.99

Bibliographic Abbreviations

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AllenMusBull	*Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*
AnBoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*
ArtBull	*Art Bulletin*
ArtHist	*Art History*
ArtSt	*Art Studies: Medieval, Renaissance and Modern*
BHG	*Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd ed., ed. F. Halkin [= *Subsidia hagiographica*, 8A]
BollBad	*Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*
BSl	*Byzantinoslavica*
CA	*Cahiers archéologiques*
CGLPhD	*Codices graeci et latini photographice depicti*
CPG	*Clavis patrum Graecorum*, ed. M. Geerard
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
EChRev	*Eastern Churches Review*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JWAG	*Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana analecta*
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, seria Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne
RBK	*Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, eds. K. Wessel and M. Restle
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
RESEE	*Revue des études sud-est européennes*
RGK	*Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*, ed. E. Gamillscheg [= *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik der Östereichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, III]
RIASA	*Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte*
RQ	*Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde*
RSBN	*Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*
SB	*Studi bizantini*
SC	*Sources chretiennes*
ST	*Studie testi (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)*
VVr	*Vizantiiskii vremennik*
WJbKg	*Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*
ZfKg	*Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*
ZLU	*Zbornik za likovne umetnosti*
ΔΧΑΕ	*Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*
ПКНО	*Pamiatniki kul'tury: Novye otkrytiia*

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SHORT NOTES *and* RECENT ACQUISITIONS



A Devotional Ethiopian Icon Acquired in Honor of the Director (36.16)

C. GRIFFITH MANN

When the fifteenth-century monastic saint Maba Seyon was a child, a wandering priest spent the night with his family. The next morning, the priest left the house, forgetting to take with him the icon of Mary and Christ that he had hung above his bed the night before. When Maba Seyon discovered the painting, he "pressed it to his breast, and kissed it, and rejoiced in it exceedingly; and he would not give it to any person, but hung it about his neck."[1] After Maba Seyon's father informed the priest of the boy's attachment to the painting, the priest remarked, "Though it may be pleasing unto him, yet unto me would the picture [say], Let me not pass out of thy memory; let the child whom it hath pleased have it, for through it he shall be safe in judgment."[2] The incident, described by Maba Seyon's hagiographer, reveals that by the fifteenth century a special connection existed between Ethiopian Christians and their icons, especially those that were small enough to be easily portable. They fired remembrance, gave pleasure, and offered assurances.

On the occasion of Gary Vikan's ten-year anniversary as director of the Walters Art Museum, the institution acquired a diptych icon (acc. no. 36.16; fig. 1) that reflects the exuberant character of Ethiopian panel painting in this period. The fact that the museum's Ethiopian collection, which occupies



Fig. 1. *Icon of St. George and the Virgin and Child*, early sixteenth century, tempera on panel. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 36.16.



Fig. 2. Detached leaf from a prefatory cycle, early fifteenth century, ink and paint on parchment. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.839.

the core of the installation of the arts of Orthodox Christian cultures, was developed under Dr. Vikan's directorship makes this acquisition a particularly appropriate celebration of his decade-long tenure. It also marks an important new addition to the Ethiopian collection, in which it will stand out as an intact, early example of a diptych icon designed for personal use. Although its gesso exterior has worn away with frequent handling, the images of St. George and the enthroned Virgin and Child on the interior are remarkably well preserved. Their figures appear against a vivid red ground. Pointed trefoil arches cap the green band that frames each composition. Yellow and red interlace designs embellish the upper corners of both panels. Judging by the burnished exterior, the icon was once a cherished possession that offered its owner protection while traveling and the solace that "he would be safe in judgment."

This icon type, with its combined images of St. George and the Holy Mother of God, first appeared in Ethiopia at the end of the fifteenth century. Like the Walters' icon, these paintings were typically created for personal use and were consequently made in readily portable sizes. Representations of St. George were extremely popular because he occupied a special status in Ethiopian devotion. Inscriptions on icons refer to St. George as "St. George the Martyr," and "George, Head of the Martyrs."[3] The cult of St. George in Ethiopia, however, derived its primary strength from the saint's connection to the Virgin. In the *Miracles of Mary*, Mary speaks the following words to a Christian youth cured of illness: "Saint George follows me always. He never parts from me wherever I go. I send him everywhere for help."[4] Remarking on the concurrence of the Feast of the Assumption of the Mother of God and the feast of the translation of the body of St. George, the Ethiopic Synaxary (1559–81) asserts that, "those who know his love for Mary have his image painted with an image of Mary so that it may be a port of salvation for those who pray in his name. May his benediction be with us forever and ever. Amen."[5]

Diptych icons featured St. George together with Mary because this saint, more than any other, was understood as her special messenger. In icons that served as instruments for personal prayer, as well as protection, St. George's presence offered a special guarantee that their owner's petitions would reach Mary and Christ. In the Walters' icon, St. George holds his spear aloft while his white horse rears beneath him. The youthful warrior exudes an air of steadfast confidence that indicates his potential for vigorous action. The patterned saddle blanket and horse trappings call attention to George's special status by outfitting his mount like a nobleman's steed. In addition to animating St. George, the windswept green cloak connects the saint to Christ, whose garment similarly unfurls behind his back in the facing panel.

The composition of the facing panel is remarkably concentrated because Mary and Christ appear without the archangels that traditionally flank their throne. The iconography of this image reflects the Ethiopian knowledge of fifteenth-century Italian devotional paintings, which often feature objects, such as flowers, that help to express the intimacy of the bond between Mary and Christ. Indeed, the first dated painting in which Mary presents Christ with a flower is Fre Seyon's signed panel at the monastery of St. Stephen, at Lake Tana. Painted during the reign of Zara Ya'eqob (1434–68), this icon was among the first to introduce the flower motif. The sprig of flowers alluded to a verse recited as part of the Sunday readings in the *Weddase Maryam* (Praise of Mary): "Mary you are the flower of delicious perfume which has blossomed from the tree of Jesse."[6]

The association of this iconography with the artistic production of the Lake Tana region is striking. Although the palette of the Walters' diptych is unusual, some of the closest parallels for the ornamental framework of its panels can be found in manuscripts produced in the Lake Tana region.[7]

Particularly similar are the large format Gospel books of the type represented by Walters W.839, a detached leaf from a prefatory cycle (fig. 2). Both the icon and the manuscript illumination use a trefoil frame to present their subjects and fill the open upper corners with an interlaced design. While the design in the manuscript is relatively simple, the decoration in the icon features two interlacing colors, red and yellow, that are animated by leaf-like flourishes. The more developed rendition of this motif in the icon suggests that the painting should be dated to the end of the fifteenth century. Although common in manuscripts, this method of framing and decorating figural compositions is unusual among painted icons. Together with the vibrancy of the palette, the embellishment of the surface contributes to the unique character of the diptych. Its likely association with Lake Tana provides the Ethiopian collection with a fascinating icon from a region already well represented by illuminated manuscripts.

The Walters Art Museum
Baltimore, Maryland

NOTES

1. E. A. Wallis Budge, ed. and trans., *The Lives of Maba Seyon and Gabra Krestos* (London, 1898), 30.

2. Ibid., 31.

3. Signed panel by Takla Matyam: "Saint George the Martyr. May this prayer keep Eksabet and me the sinner, its painter Takla Maryam, And forget not the one who commissioned the painting, Zena Hawareyat Salutation to George, head of the martyrs." *African Zion: the Sacred Art of Ethiopia*, ed. R. Grierson, exh. cat. (New Haven, 1993), 186–87, cat. no. 84.

4. M. Heldman, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Fre Seyon. A Study in Fifteenth-century Ethiopian Art, Patronage and Spirituality* (Wiesbaden, 1994), 175.

5. Ibid., 176.

6. *African Zion*, 93, cat. no. 4.

7. The closest parallels for the color scheme of the Walters' icon can be found in a fifteenth–sixteenth-century triptych in the Institute for Ethiopian Studies (IES 5093), which also includes "flying robe" warrior saints and a curved throne for the Virgin and Child.

"May their prayers protect us": Illuminating the Gospels in Sixteenth-Century Ethiopia (W.850)

C. GRIFFITH MANN

The Stephanite monasteries of Agame, concentrated in the rugged mountains of north-eastern Ethiopia, specialized in the production of manuscripts with bold, full-page paintings and complex, interlaced decoration. Centered at the monastery of Dabra Garzen at Gunda Gunde and in surrounding communities, the Stephanite monks lived according to rules established by their founder Abuna Estifanos († ca. 1450).[1] The religious life of their order was based on a literal interpretation of evangelical texts, the observation of strict apostolic rules, and the valorization of asceticism and manual labor.[2] Artistically, one of the most significant consequences of their focus on the evangelical roots of Christianity was a special emphasis on illuminated Gospel books. Walters W.850 (fig. 1), which is one of only two Stephanite manuscripts in the United States, embodies the distinctive character of the Gospel books the order produced.[3] The volume, which was acquired in 1998, anchors the museum's collection of Ethiopian manuscripts. The daring compositions and ornamental interlace of its illuminations exemplify the Stephanite contribution to Ethiopian art at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries.[4]

The distinct tradition of illumination the Stephanites developed departed in important respects from established practices for Ethiopian Gospel book production. This was especially true of their Gospel openings, which combined

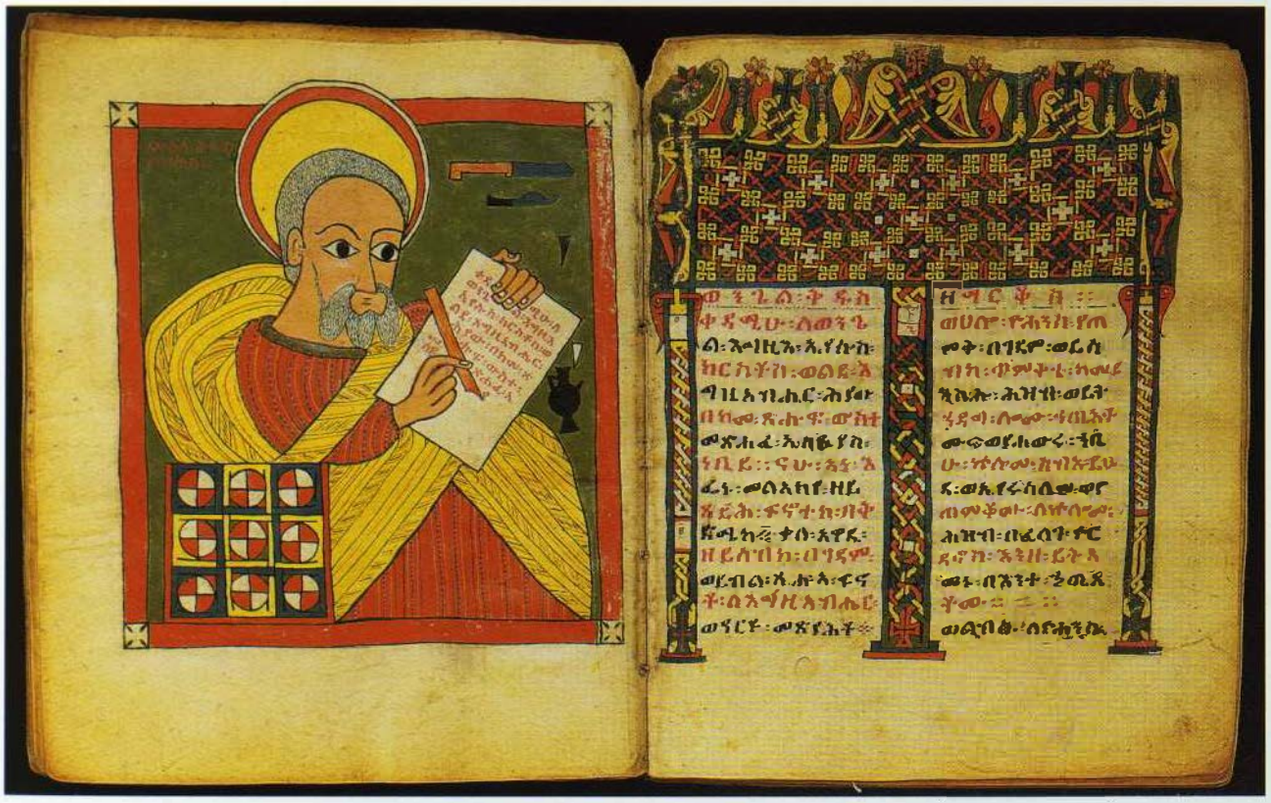


Fig. 1. Portrait of Mark the Evangelist, ca. 1520–50, ink and paint on parchment. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.850, fols. 60v–61r.



Fig. 2. Portrait of Abakerazun, 15th century, ink and paint on parchment. New York, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Spencer Collection, Ethiopic Ms. 7, fols. 4v–5r..

bold Evangelist portraits with exuberant, interlaced designs. The blue, red, yellow, and green paints used in these illuminations are typical of Stephanite workshops. Their painters also excelled at using the compass and straight-edge to create mesmerizing designs of interweaving lines.[5] Known as a *harag*, after the Ge'ez word for the tendril of a climbing plant, these ornamental headpieces are unique to Stephanite illumination.[6]

One of the first securely dated manuscripts to combine full-page portraits with such interlaced decoration is now in the New York Public Library (Spencer Collection, Ethiopic Ms. 7). The New York manuscript, which contains the lives of Estifanos, founder of the order, and Abakerazun, abbot of Dabra Garzen, was produced at the monastery shortly after 1479.[7] The pairing of the Abakerazun image with the interlaced headpiece on the facing text page (fig. 2) provides an early model for the more ambitious format used in W.850, represented here by the opening of the Gospel of Mark (fig. 1). The fully developed Evangelist portrait, with its detailed representation of writing tools and the dense interlace of the headpiece, suggests that W.850 should be dated to the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The illuminator's elaboration on the basic compositional format of the New York manuscript further indicates that he was comfortable enough with this tradition to experiment with new additions. By adding the opening verses from the facing Gospel text to the parchment on which Mark writes, the illuminator of W.850 skillfully connected the pictorial and textual content of facing pages.

Such unified compositions should perhaps be understood as another hallmark of Stephanite illumination. W.850 is particularly remarkable in this respect; four of its seven narrative illuminations are pendants.[8] Of these, the Crucifixion, which has been composed across facing folios at the end of the Gospel of John (fig. 3), is the most impressive. The two-folio format of this scene is rare, but not without precedent in Stephanite illumination.[9] The composition features monumental images of St. John and the Virgin Mary, both depicted with tears running down their cheeks, across from an image of the crucified Christ. The inscription above St. John, whose halo has been reduced to accommodate the text, transforms the scene into a moving request for intercession: "A picture of the Mother of Our Lord and His disciple John, whom He loved, as they stood beneath the cross. May their prayers protect us. Amen."[10]



Fig. 3. The Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist facing the Crucifixion, ca. 1520–50, ink and paint on parchment. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.850, fols. 196v–197r.

The intensity of this depiction, with its enlarged grieving figures and accompanying inscription, suggests that the Stephanite monks who produced this book treated their illuminations as embedded icons. This allowed the codex to function both as a repository for the sacred Gospel texts and as a vessel for devotional paintings that could be venerated by the monastic community.

At the same time, the ornamental headpieces and inter-marginal columns of the Gospel incipits provided an architectural framework that enshrined the Gospel text. Insights into the function of this decoration can be found in contemporary sources, particularly the travel diaries of the Portuguese chaplain Francesco Alvarez, who described his own encounters with Stephanite monks in the early sixteenth century.[11] As a Catholic priest, Alvarez was a keen observer of religious ceremony, and he noted that Gospel readings were often proclaimed from the thresholds between the sacred space of the monastic enclosure and the exterior of the building; "They always stand in churches; at matins they only say one single lesson: this is said by a priest or a monk, rather shouted than intoned, and he reads this lesson before the principal entrance [of the church]."[12]

With this in mind, it is tempting to see the elaborate headpieces at the beginning of each Gospel text as monumental portals through which readers passed as they read further into the Gospel narrative. For monks accustomed to reading the Gospels aloud before the entrances of their churches, the correspondence between the interlaced decoration of Stephanite Gospel incipits and the interlaced designs on the windows and doors of the monastic churches at Gunda Gunde undoubtedly had more than decorative significance.[13] Seen in this light, the elaborate *harags* of Stephanite Gospel books emerge as vivid reminders of the connection between the embellishment of the word of God and the setting of its performance. Produced by monks who specialized in illuminating the Gospel text, W.850 reflects the artistic accomplishments of Ethiopian monastic life at one of its most inventive moments.

The Walters Art Museum
Baltimore, Maryland

NOTES

1. For the monastery at Gunda Gunde, see A. Mordini, "Il Convento di Gunde Gundiè," *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 12 (1953): 29–70.

2. On the Stefanites, see T. Tamrat, "Some Notes on the Fifteenth-Century Stephanite 'heresy' in the Ethiopian Church," *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 22 (1966): 103–15; and G. Haile, "The Cause of the Estifanosites: A Fundamentalist Sect in the Church of Ethiopia," *Paideuma* 19 (1983): 93–119.

3. For this manuscript, see K. Holbert, ed. *Ethiopian Art: The Walters Art Museum* (Lingfield, 2001): 104–7, cat. no. 14.

4. On the manuscript production of this order, see C. Zanotti-Eman, "The Hatag of the Manuscripts of Gunda Gundi," in *Aspects of Ethiopian Art from Ancient Axum to the Twentieth Century*, ed. P. B. Henze (London, 1993), 68–72; M. Heldman, "An Ewostatian Style and the Gunda Gunde Style in 15th-century Ethiopian Manuscript Illumination," in *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art* (London, 1989), 5–14; and J. Mercier, ed. *L'Arche éthiopienne, art chrétien d'Éthiopie 27 septembre 2000–7 janvier 2001* (Paris, 2000), 84–91.

5. For the introduction of these techniques into Ethiopia, see Mercier, *L'Arche éthiopienne*, 85.

6. On this decoration, see C. Zanotti-Eman, "Lineal Decoration in Ethiopian Manuscripts," in *African Zion. The Sacred Art of Ethiopia*, ed. R. Grierson, exh. cat. (New Haven, 1993), 63–67. On the ornamentation of Ethiopian texts in general, see S. Uhlig, "Funktion und Bedeutung der Ornamente in Äthiopischen Kodizes," in *Proceedings*, 56–58; and C. F. Perczel "Ethiopian Illuminated Ornament," in *Proceedings*, 59–62.

7. *African Zion*, 190–91, cat. no. 91.

8. Fols. 2v–3r connect the Adoration of the Shepherds with the Enthroned Virgin and Child, and fols. 196v–197r connect St. John and the Virgin Mary with the Crucifixion.

9. A similarly expanded Crucifixion appears in a detached bifolium in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich (inv. No. 86-307 644). For this leaf, see Mercier, *L'Arche éthiopienne*, 90.

10. The inscription is written in red on the green ground inside the frame.

11. F. Alvarez, *The Prester John of the Indies: A True Relation of the Lands of Prester John, Being the Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520*, eds. G. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford (Cambridge, 1961), 1:170.

12. Ibid., 1:77.

13. For diagrams and drawings of these architectural features, see Mordini, "Il Convento di Gunde Gundiè," figs. 16–19.

More Pieces of the Conradin Bible Puzzle (W.152) Coming Together

CATHLEEN A. FLECK AND FLORA WARD

The Walters Art Museum has recently acquired six illustrations removed in the nineteenth century from the extraordinary Conradin Bible (W.152), a thirteenth-century Italian treasure in the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books.[1] The cuttings represent a magnificent curved dragon from a lower border (fig. 1);[2] an initial *V* containing the bust of Jeremiah looking heavenward from the beginning of the Book of Jeremiah, "V[erba Ieremiae]" (fig. 2);[3] a *D* containing a half-length figure of Solomon with a sword of justice from the beginning of the Book of Wisdom, "D[iligite iustitiam]" (fig. 3);[4] a *D* containing a fool holding a pot and sponging his face from the beginning of Psalm 52, "D[ixit insipiens]" (fig. 4);[5] and the colorful foliate letters *D* and *V* (figs. 5–6).[6] Though sadly fragmentary, these important acquisitions enrich our knowledge of the fascinating history of this beautiful codex, renowned for its connection to Conradin (r. 1252–68), the last heir of the Hohenstaufen dynasty to claim the kingdom of southern Italy.

The Conradin Bible was intended to be a single, sumptuously illuminated volume comprising some 500 folios. Typical of most thirteenth-century Italian Bibles, it contains no full-page miniatures; its decoration, which is non-narrative, is confined to the space of the initials and lower and/or side margins. With remarkable intensity and coherence of design, the artisrs of the Conradin Bible filled the margins at the start of each book of the Bible with figures, often holding attributes, against a solid-colored background. Their expressive gestures and vivid coloring enhance the biblical text. In addition to the marginal scenes, historiated initials depicting biblical figures begin the text of each book of the Bible and mark divisions in the Psalms, while ornamental foliate, or leaf-design, initials commence the traditional prologues to the books.

The Walters' acquisition of six illustrations from the Conradin Bible represents an important moment in the Bible's history, which has been no less dramatic than the life of its purported owner. According to an inscription that has since been removed from the Bible, this manuscript was sent from Italy to the young Conradin in Germany. At the time, he was awaiting the proper moment to claim his throne in Naples.[7] His tragic beheading in Naples in 1268, after his defeat at the hands of Charles of Anjou, enhances the mystique of the manuscript's record. While many of the decorated pages that mark major divisions of the text have been preserved, over 400 undecorated pages of text have been lost, with only 164 whole folios remaining extant.[8] Between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Conradin Bible seemingly underwent two separate episodes of dismemberment, first of marginal scenes and figures and then of initials and dragons. Consequently, the text is fragmentary, and its

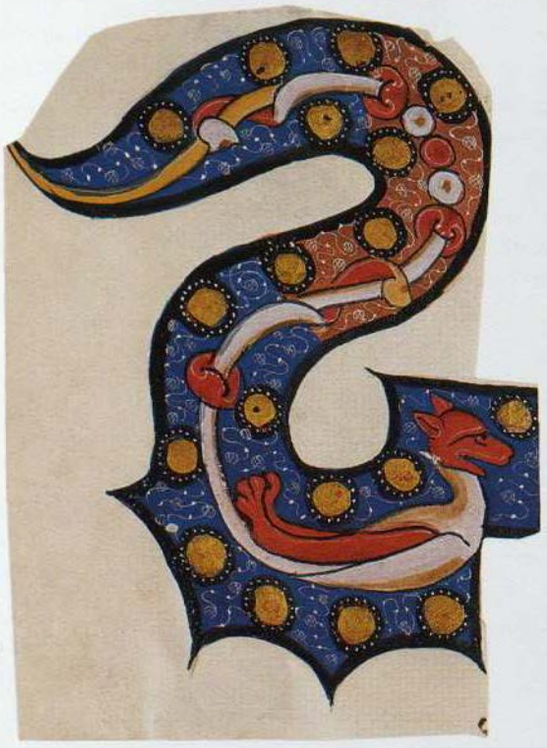


Fig. 1. Curved dragon, cutting from the Conradin Bible, Italian, thirteenth century, ink and paint on parchment. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.152.26.





Figs. 2–4. Cuttings from the Conradin Bible, Italian, thirteenth century, ink and paint on parchment. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum. Fig. 2. Initial *V* containing the bust of Jeremiah looking heavenward, W.152.27. Fig. 3. Initial *D* containing a half-length figure of Solomon with a sword of justice, W.152.28. Fig. 4. Initial *D* containing a fool holding a pot and sponging his face, W.152.29.

cuttings have been widely dispersed.[9] An eighteenth-century or early nineteenth-century restorer, confronted with gaping holes in the margins where miniatures had previously been cut out, likely removed the damaged pages, set them aside, and rearranged the remaining whole pages into the current volume now at the Walters.

The chronology of the Conradin Bible remains vague until the early nineteenth century, when it entered the collection of the noted French manuscript connoisseur Count Auguste de Bastard d'Estang, who included the diminished Bible in a volume of color lithographs of manuscripts in his collection.[10] Descriptions published in the 1885 and 1892 catalogues of the Frédéric Spitzer collection made it clear that by the late nineteenth century the Bible was in its current state of fragmentation.[11] The Bible remained in France in the collection of Spitzer and subsequently that of Charles Stein until 1902, when it was acquired by Munich book dealer Jacques Rosenthal. Rosenthal sold the Bible in 1905 to the Florence book dealer Leo Olschki, from whom Henry Walters purchased the manuscript later that year. At this time, the manuscript contained 103 miniatures—seventeen less than the 120 noted by Bastard's secretary (and transcribed by Delisle); it is unclear who among these several nineteenth-century owners was responsible for the removal of these pages.




Figs. 5 and 6. Cuttings from the Conradin Bible, Italian, thirteenth century, ink and paint on parchment. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum. Fig. 5. Initial *D*, W.152.24. Fig. 6. Initial *V*, W.152.25.

In 1953, fragments of the Bible began to surface on the market, and it was then that the Walters acquired its first group of illustrations and reunited them with the manuscript.[12] Five cuttings were acquired from the estate of Dr. Grete Ring, an art historian based in London who had purchased them at an auction in Holland in 1901. These fragments were marginal miniatures, likely removed during the Bible's first dismemberment. In 1981, a second group of thirty fragments went on sale at Sotheby's in London[13] in five separate lots (12–16). These fragments consisted of various historiated and foliate initials cut from the prologues and major divisions of the text. In 1985, eighteen of these fragments (lots 13, 15, and 16) were bought from Michael Ward by the noted collector J. Paul Getty II and donated to the Walters.[14] These probably came from the second episode of dismemberment. The Bible's six cuttings that the Walters has just acquired had been sold previously as lot 14 in the Sotheby's 1981 sale. These were most recently in the Longari collection in Italy.[15]

The latest additions to the Walters' collection are easily identifiable as the work of the so-called Master of the Conradin Bible, whose workshop's unique style presents an intriguing combination of French, Italian, Byzantine, and English influences. The predominance of brilliant blue, rose, and red colors in all six

acquisitions (figs. 1–6); the decorative use of floating gold balls in four of the cuttings (figs. 1–3, 5); and the format of the historiared initials containing the half-length figures of Jeremiah, Solomon, and the fool all harken to contemporary French manuscripts (figs. 2–4). The extensive marginal decoration, such as the dragon (fig. 1), with whimsical white penwork in the background, and the sturdiness of the human figures, especially Solomon (fig. 3), are commensurate with thirteenth-century Italian Bible illustration. The expressive gestures, flowing drapery, and green-gray flesh tones of the figures, as in the case of Jeremiah (fig. 2), could be attributed to Byzantine and perhaps English influence. To these elements are added details such as dark lines around the hooded eyes and soft shading around the face and neck, seen in the fool (fig. 4), that clearly link the cuttings to the Conradin Bible in the Walters' collection.

The composite artistic language that makes up the Bible's style has led to much controversy about the geographical origins of the Master of the Conradin Bible, whose training seemingly included exposure to all of the artistic cultures noted above. Scholars have placed the Bible's creation in Italy, from Venice[16] to Rome[17] to Pisa[18] to Sicily.[19] The predominant opinion currently accepts Rebecca Corrie's assessment of the master's southern Italian training and work, perhaps in Messina or Foggia, around 1260.[20]

Perhaps the most intriguing question to consider in the history of the Conradin Bible is why this particular Bible has garnered so much attention. Not only has it been cut to pieces and its images dispersed, but also its owners represent some of the most important manuscript collectors and dealers of the nineteenth century. The recent exhibition catalogue by Sandra Hindman and Nina Rowe about medieval manuscript collecting in the modern age presents some relevant trends.[21] The interest in single manuscript folios grew in the nineteenth century as a function of market economics. Precious single leaves fetched prices often higher than their combined equivalents in whole manuscripts. The more elaborate illustrations were considered masterpieces in their own right, and Italian illuminations were especially valued at a time when Italian panel paintings were also popular collectors' items. The boldness of the Conradin Bible's illustrations were special compared to those in other contemporary Italian Bibles, such as those from Bologna, where the majority of late thirteenth-century Italian Bibles were produced.[22] Its colorful, expressive figures, which have been likened to church mosaics in their monumentality, easily lent themselves to this market. While manuscripts were sometimes dismembered before the nineteenth century to produce individual devotional images, rarely did this process include taking only parts of folios and initials, as in the case of the Conradin Bible.

The cutting of initials was related to the Victorian interest in scrapbooks, alphabets, and all things miniature. The ornamental initials of the Conradin Bible might have been kept in portfolios as diminutive samples of beauty, as amusement, or as a learning tool to arrange into words comprising a variety of decorative letters. In addition, the connection to the dramatic story of Conradin enhanced the Bible's attraction given the romantic trends of the nineteenth century. It is likely that these combined impulses led to the mutilation of this stunning manuscript.

The Walters' newly acquired cuttings from the Conradin Bible are but six pieces in a complicated manuscript puzzle. Unfortunately, the Bible's destruction remains too extensive to hypothesize with any certainty about the number and description of decorative elements still to be recovered. The beauty and richness of the manuscript have, on the one hand, led to its mutilation. Yet perhaps those same qualities will direct scholars and dealers to aid the Walters with the identification and unification of the manuscript with the other extant illustrations. Large, richly decorated Bibles from this period in south Italian illumination are rare. The reconstitution of this monumental Bible would greatly add to our knowledge of artistic and religious history in the late thirteenth century and would attest to Henry Walters' own "commitment to the manuscript as integral whole."[23]

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NOTES

This article was written during Cathleen Fleck's time as a Visiting Assistant Curator of Manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum (2001–3), and Flora Ward's time as Johns Hopkins University Hall Fellow (Summer 2003).

1. These have been recently published in S. Hindman and N. Rowe, eds., *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age: Recovery and Reconstruction*, exh. cat. (Evanston, IL, 2001), 227, fig. 31.

2. W.152.26; 117 x 84 mm (mostly blank verso).

3. W.152.27; 40 x 44 mm (verso with Jeremiah 2:28–31).

4. W.152.28; 43 x 48 mm (verso with Wisdom 1:16–2:1).

5. W.152.29; 41 x 44 mm (with Psalm 50:7–12 on verso).

6. W.152.24–25; 35 x 28 mm and 46 x 37 mm (unidentified text and versos).

7. See A. and E. Molinierand L. Delisle, *La Collection Spitzer* (Paris, 1892), inv. no. 5, 124–26, 141–43.

8. Only decorated pages are extant, that is, all plain text folios have disappeared. The manuscript currently starts with Daniel. The illuminated pages of about half of the Old Testament books that should be between Genesis and Daniel are placed at the end of the volume, after Revelation.

9. See R. Corrie, "The Conradin Bible: Since 'Since De Ricci'," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 40 (1982): 13, 17.

10. Comte de Bastard d'Estang, *Peintures et ornaments des manuscrips, classé dans un ordre chronologique, pour servir à l'histoire des arts du dessin, depuis IVe siècle de l'ère chrétienne jusqu'à la fin du XVIe* (Paris, 1832–69), 10.

11. See L. Delisle, *Les Collections de Bastard d'Estang à la Bibliothèque nationale, catalogue analytique* (Paris, 1885); Molinier et al., *La Collection Spitzer*, inv. no. 5, 124–26, 141–43.

12. See D. Miner, "Since de Ricci—Western Illuminated Manuscripts Acquired since 1934," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 31/32 (1968/69): 87–92.

13. Sotheby's London, *Illuminated Miniatures and Single Leaves from the Ninth to the Sixteenth Century*, 14 July 1981, lots 12–16.

14. He bought them from Michael Ward in New York, see Joan T. Rosasco for Michael Ward, Inc., *Bible for a King* (New York, 1984).

15. The Walters purchased the cuttings from Dr. Jörn Günther, Hamburg, who had acquired them from the Longari collection.

16. See I. Toesca, "Qualche foglio del Maestro 'Di Corradino'," *Paragone* 20 (1969): 68–72.

17. See H. Toubert, "Autour de la Bible de Conradin: Trois nouveaux manuscrits enluminés," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 91 (1979): 729–84.

18. See A. Caleca, "Un Codice pisano di fine Duecento," in *La miniatura italiana in età romanica e gotica*, ed. G. V. Schoenburg Waldenburg, Storia della miniature (Florence, 1979), V:207–21.

19. See A. Daneu Lattanzi, "Ancora sulla scuola miniaturistica dell'italia meridionale sveva," *La Bibliofilia* 66 (1964): 144–50.

20. The vast literature on this manuscript is well documented in the most recent work on the Conradin Bible by Rebecca Corrie, who also discussed related manuscripts. See esp. R. Corrie, "The Conradin Bible and the Problem of Court Ateliers in Southern Italy in the Thirteenth Century," in *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen*, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers, XXIV, ed. W. Tronzo (Washington, D.C., 1994), 17–39; idem, "The Antiphonaries of the Conradin Bible Atelier and the History of the Franciscan and Augustinian Liturgies," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 51 (1993), 65ff; idem, "The Conradin Bible: East Meets West at Messina," in *Meeting of Two Worlds*, Studies in Medieval Culture: 21, eds. V. P. Goss and C. V. Bornstein (Kalamazoo, 1986), 295–308; and idem, "The Conradin Bible, ms. 152, the Walters Art Gallery: Manuscript Illumination in a Thirteenth-century Italian Atelier," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1986.

21. See Hindman and Rowe, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 66, 72, 75–77, 224–27.

22. See A. Conti, *La miniatura bolognese: scuole e botteghe, 1270–1340* (Bologna, 1981).

23. Hindman and Rowe, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 225.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–6, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

Three Newly Acquired Illuminated Initials from the Beaupré Antiphonary (W.915)

LILIAN M. C. RANDALL

The recent acquisition by the Walters of three illuminated initials (W.915) featuring St. Stephen (figs. 1 and 3) and St. John Evangelist (fig. 4) exemplifies the quintessential combination of luck and connoisseurship entailed in finding the mother codex of fragments created by manhandling and/or a natural disaster such as flood or fire. Whereas luck determines the survival of the matrix, its recognition in a private or public collection depends on professional expertise. As might be expected, published examples of high-quality manuscripts stand the greatest chance of identification in this detection process.

The extant portions of a six-volume double antiphonary at the Walters, produced in Hainault in the 1280s, provide a perfect case in point (W.759–W.761; W.762: later offices bound separately after 1900). Evidence adduced below confirms that one of three volumes virtually destroyed by fire in 1865 was the original habitat of the three historiated initials brought home to roost at the Walters thanks to the generosity of Richard Adams. Only one of these initials (fig. 3) was known to exist, as it had been mentioned in 1970 in the unpublished doctoral dissertation of the present-day noted manuscript scholar M. Alison Stones (fig. 3). The survival of the two companion initials came as a most welcome surprise (figs. 1 and 4).

The emergence of the trio from obscurity raises the number of known fragments from the three lost antiphonal volumes from six to nine. Having published a detailed study of the half-dozen previously known examples dispersed in European institutions, I will here summarize sufficient background information to clarify the ensuing discussion of the three newcomers to the Walters' collection now providentially reunited with their matrix.

The first of the bound codices preserved at the Walters opens with an imposing full-page inscription recording its completion in 1290 for the abbey of Sainte-Marie of Beaupré (diocese of Cambrai). The folio-size tome and two others comprised a three-volume antiphonary prepared for the abbess of the convent while a closely matching choirbook was in progress for her prioress. Both sets contained identical musical portions of the Divine Office to be chanted by the choir over the course of the liturgical year at this convent founded in 1228 in Grimminge near Grammont (Geraardsbergen), a bucolic hamlet in present-day Belgium, some thirty kilometers west of Brussels and approximately equidistant from the supervisory abbey of Cambron near Mons to the south. An image of a noblewoman identified by name in the abbess's first volume establishes the patroness of the double antiphonary as Marie de Bornaing de Viane (Viaene), wife of a regional nobleman descended from previous benefactors of Beaupré.

The logical site chosen for the monumental commission appears to have been the scriptorium at the nearby mother-house of Cambron, where the requisite liturgical offices were duly copied, supplied with musical notation, and embellished by handsome blue and red penwork initials. Each three-volume antiphonary was made up of approximately 900 parchment leaves, with major subdivisions at Easter (vol. 1: W.759), the Assumption of the Virgin on 15 August (vol. 2: W.760), and the Nativity of Christ on 25 December (vol. 3: W.761). The sequence is preserved in the bound codices, but the ensemble consists of the abbess's first two volumes and the third smaller volume from the prioress's set (W.759: 480 x 340 mm; W.760: 498 x 350 mm; W.761: 422x 301 mm). The mismatch occurred after the dissolution and sale of Beaupré in 1797 by French Revolutionary forces. As was not uncommon at the time for valuable possessions removed from confiscated monastic institutions, the antiphonary volumes were "lost" en route to their designated collecting point in Brussels.[1] The mismatched set at the Walters turned up in London about 1850. It was bought by John Ruskin and, after his death in 1900, passed through the collections of Henry Yates Thompson, A. Chester Beatty, and William Randolph Hearst before being acquired by the Walters in 1957 as a gift from the Hearst Foundation.



Fig. 1. Martyrdom of St. Stephen (Office of the Nativity of St. Stephen, 26 December: Vespers antiphon; Abbess, vol. 3), 1290. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.915.1r.



Fig. 2. Office of St. Stephen (26 December: Vespers antiphon, text accompanying image in fig. 1 cut off at left; Abbess, vol. 3), 1290. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.915.2v.



Fig. 3. St. Stephen revered by a nun and a nobleman (Office of the Nativity of St. Stephen, 26 December: Matins responsory; Abbess, vol. 3), 1290. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.915.2r.

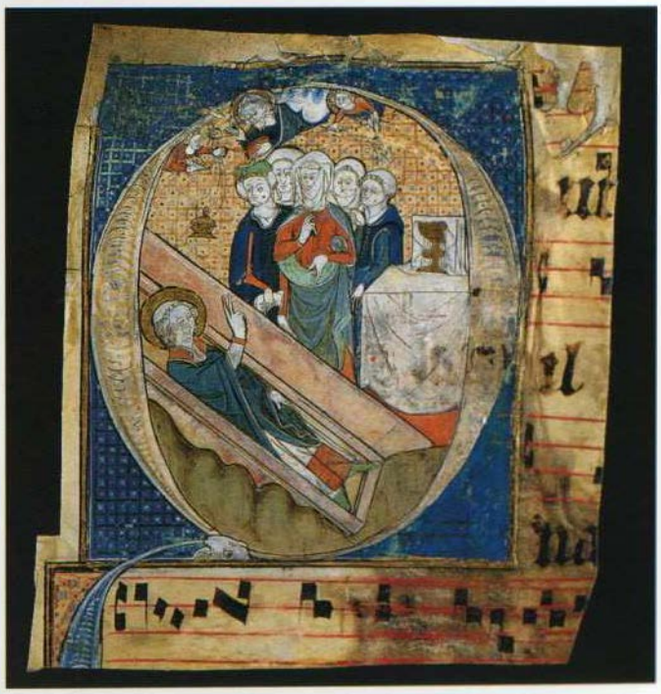


Fig. 4. St. John Evangelist in his grave (Office of the Nativity of St. John Evangelist, 27 December: Matins responsory; Abbess, vol. 3), 1290. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.915.3r.



Fig. 5. St. Stephen revered by a nun (Office of the Nativity of St. Stephen, 26 December: Vespers antiphon; Prioress, vol. 3), 1289. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.761, fol. 125r.



Fig. 6. St. Stephen revered by a nun and a nobleman (Office of the Invention of Relics of St. Stephen, 3 August: Matins responsory; Abbess, vol. 1), 1290. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.759, fol. 169r.



Fig. 7. Martyrdom of St. Stephen (Office of the Nativity of St. Stephen, 26 December: Matins responsory; Prioress, vol. 3), 1289. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.761, fol. 125v.



Fig. 8. St. John Evangelist in his grave (Office of St. John Evangelist, 27 December: Matins responsory; Prioress, vol. 3), 1289. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.761, fol. 133v.

The three companion volumes also surfaced in London, as evidenced by their inclusion in a sale of mainly printed books at Sotheby and Wilkinson's on 19 February 1863 (lot 742). The concise catalogue entry provides a valuable description of vital attributes, including a prefatory full-page inscription in the prioress's first volume identical to the one in the abbess's first volume, save for the date of completion in 1289 instead of 1290. The cataloguer noted the incomplete state of the volumes (1 and 2 for the prioress, 3 for the abbess), the presence of forty-five illuminated figural initials, and the preservation of leather-covered oak bindings. Despite these appealing features, the antiphonary failed to attract a purchaser. Bought in for £25, a relatively high price compared to amounts paid for other lots in the marked sale catalogue,[2] the volumes were still on the premises when a fire that spread from a house next door destroyed or severely damaged books that were set aside for sale or were included in the current auction of 3,921 lots from George Offor's library. After the conflagration, one thousand of his books were disposed of as salvage, along with other charred items such as the three Beaupré antiphonal volumes from which nine out of forty-five recorded initials have come to light since 1872.

The three examples here under discussion adorned successive openings of the offices commemorating the Nativity of St. Stephen (26 December) and of St. John Evangelist (27 December) at the beginning of the Sanctorale in the abbess's third volume. Aside from their intrinsic interest, the newly acquired illuminated initials are of note for providing comparisons with illustrations of the same offices in the prioress's third volume (W.761). Special devotion to St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, is reflected by the illustration of both the Vespers antiphon and the responsory for the first nocturn in Matins (figs. 1 and 3). In the succeeding office of St. John Evangelist, only the customary latter opening is illustrated (fig. 4). Considering the trial by fire, which accounts for the trimming of singed edges, the painted and written surfaces of these images (originally set close to the center fold after the middle of the codex) are in remarkably good condition. Their subject matter and style are fully representative of essential traits of the pictorial program as a whole. Given the adherence at Cambron to traditional Cistercian restrictions concerning the use of gold and of more than two colors, the execution of the lavish initials was entrusted to a team of skilled secular professionals well versed in current artistic developments in northern France and Flanders. They may have fulfilled their assignments at Cambron or worked off-site in a manuscript production center yet to be identified.

The design of the double antiphonary containing a total of over one hundred variously scaled illuminated initials was carefully laid out prior to the transcription of the contents in the monastic scriptorium at Cambron. The supervisory abbot Baudouin de Bousso (1283–91) doubtless had a hand in the planning process, as did the patroness Marie de Bornaing de Viane, and, in all likelihood, also the presiding abbess at Beaupré, Béatrix de Grammont (1269–93/94). Female sensibilities were taken into account in fashioning the double sequences of Christological and hagiographic images, which are characterized by clearly structured compositions, expressive poses, dramatic gestures, and narrative or anecdotal details. The introduction into the sacred contexts of contemporary ecclesiastics and laics in exemplary attitudes of prayer formed a direct link with viewers who recognized themselves or familiars in representations of the patroness, her kin, the abbess and prioress, fourteen Cistercian nuns, and eight Cistercian monks.

Hallmarks of the pictorial program are well represented in the three illuminated fragments most recently recovered from the abbess's lost third volume. The penchant for narrative is apparent in the initial to the Vespers antiphon for the office of the Nativityof St. Stephen (fig. 1). Depicted in the upper register is the rare theme of the saint's condemnation to death by the chief judge of the highest Jewish court in Jerusalem for alleged blasphemy of Moses (Acts 6:9–7:60). The more traditional martyrdom scene below focuses on the contrast between the beatific attitude of the deacon-saint and the vicious attitudes of executioners whose profile heads reflect the anti-Semitism rampant in Europe at the end of the thirteenth century, culminating in the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290 and from France in 1306.

The question of the original positioning of the St. Stephen martyrdom initial in the abbess's third volume is answered by juxtaposing this initial to the left of fully formed or fragmentary letters with the text on the back of the second newly acquired fragment (figs. 1 and 2). The martyrdom initial was cut off at the left, leaving the matching text below the truncated rubric for the Vespers antiphon in the office of the Nativity of St. Stephen on 26 December: "[*De sancto stepha]no ad v[espera]s a[ntiphona]* Stephanus autem plenus gratia." A shadowy outline visible at the right confirms the original placement on the verso of the image preserved in the second fragment, namely *St. Stephen revered by a Cistercian nun and a nobleman* (figs. 2 and 3). When cropping the edge above this illustration for the responsory in Matins in the same office ("*Hesterna die dominus natus*"), the individual wielding the scissors left sufficient text above the initial to permit identification of the versicle ending "*et honore coronasti*" at the conclusion of the preceding Vespers antiphon.

The focal points in the image of the veneration of St. Stephen are his protective grasp of the Gospel book-attribute and his kindly gaze toward the Cistercian nun paying him homage. Shown opposite a nobleman wearing a surcoat emblazoned with a lion emblematic of the de Viane coat-of-arms, the devout nun favored by St. Stephen perhaps represents a kinswoman of the patroness. Her admission to the community at Beaupré in the 1280s may have prompted the commission of the most fully preserved double antiphonary produced north of the Alps before 1300. The supposition that there is familial relevance for both worshipers of St. Stephen gains support from the analogous choice of subject in the abbess's third volume for the illustration of the Matins responsory in the office for the Invention of the relics of St. Stephen, "*Stephanus autem plenus gratia*" (3 August; fig. 6; cf. fig. 3).

Comparison of the two illustrations of the office of the Nativity of St. Stephen with counterparts in the prioress's third volume (W.761), reveals differences of a type intermittently observed in the program for the double antiphonary. The sequence of the martyrdom and veneration scenes has been reversed, and both compositions have been considerably curtailed (cf. figs. 1 and 7, 3 and 5). Exclusion of the representative of the de Viane family from the pair of worshipers in the volume made for the prioress may indicate his exclusive relevance to the abbess's antiphonary, perhaps not only to the patroness but also to the abbess.

In contrast, the two corresponding representations of *St. John Evangelist in his grave* at the Matins responsory in the office of his Nativity (27 December) are closely comparable ("*Qui vicerit faciam illum*," figs. 4 and 8). The unusual theme is derived from the account of the saint's final moments in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, an engaging compilation of saints' lives composed in Italy ca. 1260 and increasingly popular throughout Europe from this time forward. According to the author, Christ's beloved disciple John died in his ninety-ninth year before members of the "populace" after reciting a prayer, while lying in the grave dug at his behest before the altar of his church in Ephesus. The saint's evocative gesture serves to draw actual viewers into the frame to participate in his benediction.

The recent acquisition of the three fragments from the third antiphonary volume intended for the abbess of Beaupré affords a rare opportunity for study and appreciation of related images in the prioress's third volume. Exposure to both volumes was most fully experienced by the choir chanting the offices of St. Stephen and St. John Evangelist on 26 and 27 December for five centuries in front of the altar of the convent church.

Baltimore, Maryland

NOTES

1. Cf. M. Huglo, "La dispersion des manuscripts de Royaumont," *Revue Bénédictine* 113/2 (December 2003): 365–406.

2. Christopher de Hamel kindly made the marked copy of the sale catalogue available to me.

Relevant recent publications: L. M. C. Randall, "The Fragmentation of a Double Antiphonal from Beaupré," in *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books*, eds. L. L. Brownrigg and M. M. Smith, Proceedings in the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Oxford, 1998 (Los Altos Hills, 2000), 210–29; *Medieval Mastery: Book Illumination from Charlemagne to Charles the Bold, 800–1475*, exh. cat., Stedelijk Museum Vander Kelen-Mertens, Leuven (Leuven, 2002), 216–19, nos. 45a–b.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–8, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

The Burckhardt-Wildt Apocalypse Miniatures (W.828)

LYNN RANSOM

In the summer of 1983, forty-one cuttings comprising five full-page miniatures and thirty-six cuttings with half-page illuminations on both sides from a thirteenth-century Apocalypse were put up for auction at Sotheby's in London. The event was remarkable in that the miniatures were virtually unknown to the scholarly community until then. This discovery made a significant contribution to the existing corpus of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century English and French Apocalypse manuscripts. The cuttings were removed from their manuscript context probably at the time of the French Revolution. During his frequent trips to Paris, the Swiss dealer Peter Birmann (1758–1844) acquired them along with about four hundred other miniatures, which he then gathered in an album. He sold the album to his compatriot Daniel Burckhardt-Wildt (1759–1819), a silk ribbon manufacturer and ardent collector. It remained with his descendents until the auction in 1983. Two of the cuttings with double-sided miniatures became available again in Sotheby's auction of the library of Alan G. Thomas ten years later. The Walters Art Museum purchased one of them (W.828), making its first acquisition of Apocalypse material and filling a significant gap in the museum's collection of medieval Western illuminated manuscripts (figs. 1 and 2).

The Walters' miniatures survive as a stunning remnant of one of the great manuscript traditions of the Middle Ages. They illustrate the opening of the fifth and sixth seals respectively (Revelation 6:9–11 and 6:12–17). The recto depicts the souls of the martyrs, clothed in white, who were slain for their faith and testimony to the word of God. According to the Scriptures, upon the opening of the fifth seal, John sees an angel fly down to clothe the martyrs in white. In the miniature, the first soul, already in white robes as are the others, receives a golden stole around his neck from the angel. On the verso, John raises his hand in horror as stars fall from the heavens, and the great earthquake brought on by the opening of the sixth seal shatters the foundations of a city, rips trees from the earth, and forces people, including a bishop and a king, to flee into the caves within the trembling mountains.

Although the miniatures were cut so that little textual evidence remains, a reconstruction of the original collation is possible. Christopher de Hamel deciphered the parent manuscript's folio order on the basis of careful analysis of the physical evidence, identifying W.828 as fol. 13.[1] Gaps in the reconstructed gathering structure indicate that the program must have had seventeen further miniatures that are now lost. From the scarce remaining text on several leaves, it was also determined that the Burckhardt-Wildt Apocalypse had an abridged Berengaudus commentary. On the basis of iconographic and stylistic evidence between duplicated miniatures, de Hamel was also able to identify a "twin" manuscript, British Library, Ms. Add. 22493, another fragmentary set of four Apocalypse leaves.



Fig. 1. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.828r, The Souls of the Martyrs, illustrating Revelation 6:9–11: "When he opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of those who had been slain for the word of God and for the witness they had borne; they cried out with a loud voice, 'O Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long before thou wilt judge and avenge our blood on those who were each given a white robe and told to rest a little longer, until the number of their fellow servants and their brethren should be complete, who were to be killed as they themselves had been.'"

Perhaps the most intriguing question about the Burckhardt-Wildt leaves is that of attribution. The miniatures, which date to ca. 1290, loosely belong to what has been called the "second family" of Apocalypse manuscripts, a group of manuscripts distinguished from the "first family" by iconographic and exegetical variations within the pictorial cycles.[2] The localization, however, is less easy to pin down. When first published, the leaves were related to a group of English manuscripts attributed to York. Compelling stylistic similarities between the Burckhardt-Wildt miniatures and the late thirteenth-century stained glass in York Minster seemed to cement this attribution.[3] Patrick de Winter, in an article written to celebrate the Cleveland Museum of Art's purchase of one of the cuttings form the 1983 sale, disagreed and assigned a French origin in Lorraine. De Winter identified a group of stylistically related French manuscripts, among them an Apocalypse of around 1300 now in Dresden that has a French text in the Lorraine dialect.[4] He also suggested the possible patronage of the family of Count Thibaut II (d. 1292) and Jeanne de Toucy-Châtillon (d. 1317), rulers of the county of Bar. An alternative owner, de Winter offered, is Eleanor Plantagenet, the eldest daughter of Edward I of England, who in 1294 married Henry III of Bar, the eldest son of Count Thibaut and Jeanne de Toucy-Châtillon.

It was in the late thirteenth century that Apocalypse manuscripts began to be produced in France following English models. De Winter's claim is therefore justifiable and has in fact superceded the English attribution in the scholarly literature. Yet the need to maintain a modern nationalistic division between England and France obfuscates the complex interactions among artists working on either side of the English Channel in the late Middle Ages. The Walters' Apocalypse cutting and its siblings stand together as a captivating example of the often blurry distinctions between English and northern European manuscript production that have yet to be clarified.

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Fig. 2. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.828v, The Earthquake, illustrating Revelation 6:12–17: "When he opened the sixth seal, I looked, and behold, there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth, the full moon became like blood, and the stars of the sky fell to the earth as the fig tree sheds its winter fruit when shaken by a gale; the sky vanished like a scroll that is rolled up, and every mountain and island was removed from its place. Then the kings of the earth and the great men and the generals and the rich and the strong, and every one, slave and free, hid in the caves and among the rocks of the mountains, calling to the mountains and rocks, 'Fall on us and hide us from the face of him who is seated on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of their wrath has come, and who can stand before it.'"

NOTES

1. London, Sotheby's, 25 April 1983, *Catalogue of Single Leaves and Miniatures from Western Illuminated Manuscripts*, 36, lots 31–68.

2. For the identification and description of the two families of the Apocalypse manuscripts, see the pioneering studies of L. Delisle and P. Meyer, *L'Apocalypse en français* (Paris, 1900), and M. R. James, *The Apocalypse in Art* (London, 1931).

3. *Catalogue of Single Leaves and Miniatures*, 39, lots 31–68.

4. Dresden, Sachsische Landesbibliothek, MS OC.50. P. de Winter, "Visions of the Apocalypse in Medieval England and France," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (December, 1983), see pp. 411–15 for his discussion of the localization and patronage of the Burckhardt-Wildt Apocalypse.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–2, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

Fragments from the Hours of John III, Lord of Ghistelles and Ingelmunster (W.851 and W.851a)

WILLIAM NOEL

The Walters Art Museum is rightly celebrated for its holdings of early Flemish manuscripts. Among them is a charming calendar from a Book of Hours (W.851), acquired by the Walters in 1999 in honor of Lilian M. C. Randall, Curator of Manuscripts from 1974–96.[1] It is appropriate to give an account of this Flemish manuscript in this journal as it was acquired after the 1997 publication of Randall's monumental catalogue *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, 3: Belgium, 1250–1530.*

The Walters' fragment consists of fourteen leaves, measuring 118 x 80mm. The calendar itself starts on fol. 1r, halfway through the month of January, and ends on fol. 12r, with December. Fol. 12v contains a table of the dates of Easter. Fol. 13r contains a list of days of fairs at certain towns. Fols. 13v–14v are blank. The quire structure is regular, fols. 6/7, 5/8, 4/9, 3/10, 2/11, and 1/12 are conjoint. Fols. 13 and 14 are singletons. Fol. 13 was presumably once conjoint with the now missing first page of the text, and it is likely that fol. 14 was once conjoint with a (possibly blank) page prefatory to the calendar. Judging by the degree of wear on the present fol. 1r, the first page of the calendar has been lost for many years. Structurally, however, the present fragment probably formed a discrete "booklet" within the Hours of which it was once a part.

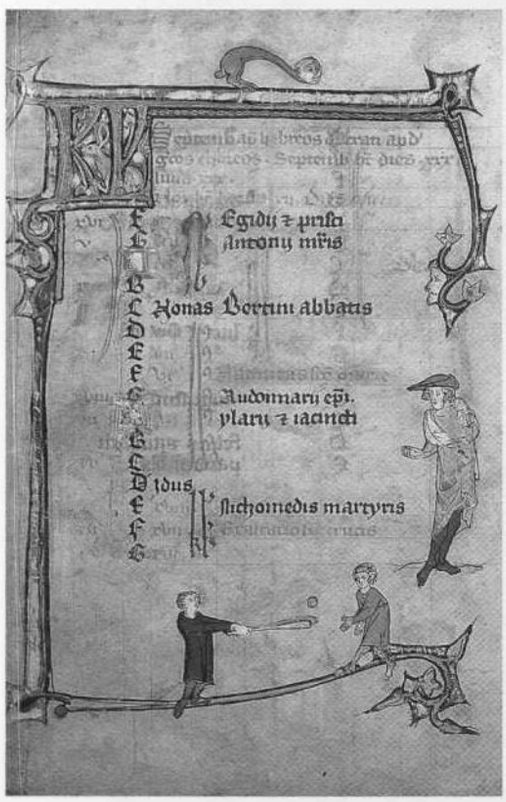


Fig. 1. *September*, Hours of John III, Lord of Ghistelles and Ingelmunster, 1299, paint, ink, and gold on parchment. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.851, fol.5r.

The manuscript clearly comes from the southern Netherlands or French Flanders. The saints named in the Calendar include such typical entries as Saints Amand and Vaast, Donatus, Gertrude, Romanus, Pontian, Boniface, Maedard, Arnulph, Bertin, Omer, Lambert, Bavo, Firminus, Donatian, Severinus, Honoratus, and Quentin. Fol. 13r records the days of the fairs in Bruges, St. Trond, Lille, and "Mesine." It was probably made in the year 1299, since the dates for Easter listed on fol. 12v begin at 1300 and end at 1316.

The calendar is beautifully illustrated with labors of the months, which are as follows:

February—a girl holds a tall candle

March—a peasant chops down a tree

April—a man holds two vertical rods, and two apes, one seated in a basket and showing the blisters on his feet to the other

May—a nobleman rides his horse, holding a hawk and accompanied by a hound

June—a miller carries a sack of flour, watched by a hare

July—a peasant scythes as a unicorn flees

August—a peasant harvests corn with a sickle as an ape defecates into a bowl

September—two boys play with a club and a ball, supervised by their master

October—a peasant reaches into a bush to retrieve grapes and place them into a basket

November—a peasant knocks acorns out of a tree to feed two pigs

December—a butcher slits the throat of a pig

The illustration for September (fig. 1) is particularly appealing today, being evocative of "little league" baseball, with the children playing under the supervision of a coach. It certainly caught the eye of Lilian Randall, who was the first to publish it in her *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (August is fig. 588 in the same publication).[2]

As Christopher de Hamel has pointed out, the present fragment belonged to a Book of Hours that was possibly made for John III (d. 1315), Lord of Ghistelles and Ingelmunster, as his arms appear on other pages of the book.[3] The manuscript subsequently belonged to Dr. Rosy Schilling, who herself identified it as having been previously owned by Sir Sydney Cockerell. Various leaves were sold separately in the early 1950s by Eisemann. This fragment was acquired by the Walters from the Sotheby's sale of Wesrern Manuscripts and Miniatures, London, Tuesday, 1 December 1998, with funds from Dr. Randall's friends, the Women's Committee of the Walters Art Museum, Octavo Plus, and Thérèse and James A. Ulmer III.[4]

Many leaves of the Ghistelles Hours are in private hands. Upon hearing of the acquisition of this fragment by the Walters in her honor, Lilian Randall donated her own leaf to the museum. It was given to her by Rosy Schilling herself, whom she knew from the 1950s when she was working on her Ph.D. in London. It contains text from Lauds of the Office of the Virgin and includes a monkey walking with the help of a crutch and the head of a queen incorporated into the initial for Psalm 99, *Jubilate Deo omnis terra: servite Domino in laetitia. Introite in conspectus ejus in exultatione.*

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NOTES

1. See *Medieval Mastery. Book Illumination from Charlemagne to Charles the Bold 800–1475*, exh. cat., Stedelijk Museum Vander Kelen-Mertens (Leuven, 2002), cat. 46.

2. L. M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley, 1966), figs. 126 and 588.

3. C. de Hamel, in M. M. Manion, V. F. Vines, and C. de Hamel, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in New Zealand Collections* (Melbourne and New York, 1989), 91–92.

4. Sotheby's, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London, December 1998), lot 17.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

A Coptic Exodus Text in the Walters Art Museum (W.739)

REGINE SCHULZ

Sahidic is an Egyptian dialect standardized in the fourth century for Bible translations and used as the Pan-Egyptian literary language until the tenth century. Since no complete version of the Old Testament survives in Sahidic, it is essential to identify all available fragments in order to reconstruct as much as possible of these early translations.

The Walters Art Museum has a double leaf from a Sahidic codex that contains parts of the Old Testament book of Exodus (pl. 1). It was purchased in an auction of the Josef Brummer collection in the Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York on 23 May 1949, and assigned the accession number W.739.[1] Theodore Petersen compiled a short handwritten review of the leaf in 1949; Dorothy Miner published a photo and a brief description in 1967, and it was exhibited at the Walters in 2003.[2] The bifolium is paginated, and consists of pages 19, 20, 25, and 26. The type of book to which it once belonged is one of the questions that will be raised in this inquiry.



Pl. 1. Bifolium from Exodus in Sahidic codex, seventh century, ink and paint on parchment. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.739.

CODICOLOGY AND CONDITION[2]

The bifolium is cut from a single piece of parchment, probably of goatskin, and was originally light beige in color.[3] The extremities of the letters have faded. The folios measure ca. 26.9 x 32.8 cm, and each contains two columns of text with thirty-three lines each.[4] The ink is black, and most likely iron gall. The large initial letters and the outer margins of the folia have been embellished with dark brown ink, heightened with yellow and brownish-red paint.

The scribe used horizontal ruling lines, pressed into the surface with a hard point, to guide the placement of text. To create them, he pierced small holes in the outer margins of the parchment from the flesh side, spaced regularly about 6–7 mm apart. Vertical lines, which were also set by pricking holes, defined the edges of the columns and margins.

The original sewing stations are hard to discern, as the parchment is somewhat damaged in the gutter. Three pairs of additional holes may have had a special function. They are placed 9.7 cm, 16.3 cm, and 26.9 cm from the upper edge, and the distance between the two holes of each pair differs from 1.2 cm, to 1.5 cm, to 2.7 cm from the top to the bottom. It is possible that these holes were part of a repair done using a kind of whip-stitching after the spine fold of the codex was damaged.

The edges of the bifolium are badly damaged and have many tears, especially along the horizontal ruling lines, as well as additional flaps, erosions, and losses. The rips of the fore-edge corners are completely gone. Most of this damage has diminished the flexibility of the parchment and created losses in the area of the fore-edge corners. Some of the flaps still exist and were folded up before conservation treatment.

The double leaf has two deep horizontal creases, which traverse the columns at the height of lines 12 and 20. They might have been the result of later folding, perhaps into a codex. The lower fold is partly split.

The ivory color of the parchment has darkened to a variety of light beige and medium brown shades and to a deep brown at the fore-edges. Also, there are some small spots and discolorations of different sizes and shapes across the surface. On the hair side, pages 20 and 26, there are several lighter areas where particles have flaked off the surface, and on the upper flesh side on page 19 are erosions of the dermal fiber network. The ink is flaking away along the horizontal creases and on the upper part of page 19; the erosions on the flesh side are more intense than on the hair side. The paint of the illuminations has slightly faded, but is still in good condition.

PALEOGRAPHY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The script of the bifolium is regular and evenly spaced. The letters are well balanced and elegant; the starring point is strong and broad, the ends slim and slightly curved, sometimes with additional extensions. These paleographical features correspond to those of other texts from the seventh century.[5] For example:



Alfa with a small body and a vertical upper extension[6]

Eje the with round body and widened extremities[7]

Mej with low-lying, rounded middle part and curved, lower extremities[8]

Samma with round body and widened exrremities[9]

Shaj with wide body and crescent-shaped, lower extension of the right part[10]

Some of the ⲫ, ⲧ, and ⲣ letters in the lowest line of the pages have long lower extensions, and some of the ⲛ, and ⲙ letters have long loop lines on their left side, reaching far into the left margin of the columns (see figs. 3 and 4).

The text has a variety of structural punctuations. To mark the end of a paragraph, a sentence, or a textual unit, the scribe used a period (•) in the middle or upper part of the line and combined it for emphasis with a spatium. Additional reading signs, such as a dot above a letter (•), or an apostrophe (’), placed above the right side of a letter, were used to show the end of a word. Additionally, a short curved line or circumflex (^) above a vowel indicates that it should be stressed. The scribe did not write these auxiliary marks on a regular basis and appended them only if necessary to aid understanding and reading. Some of the marks were supplemented later in dark brown ink together with text corrections, and possibly simultaneously with the decoration.

The closest comparison to W.739 is an Exodus text (26:24–36) on parchment in the Borgia collection in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Zoega number Z4, 1f°. The characteristics of the letters are so similar to those of W.739 that the text must have been produced in the same place and at the same time (pl. 2 and fig. 1).

Moreover, the ligatures and some decorative characteristics, such as the curved extension of the right extremity of some letters with a small spiral at the end, are very similar (fig. 2), as is the punctuation.

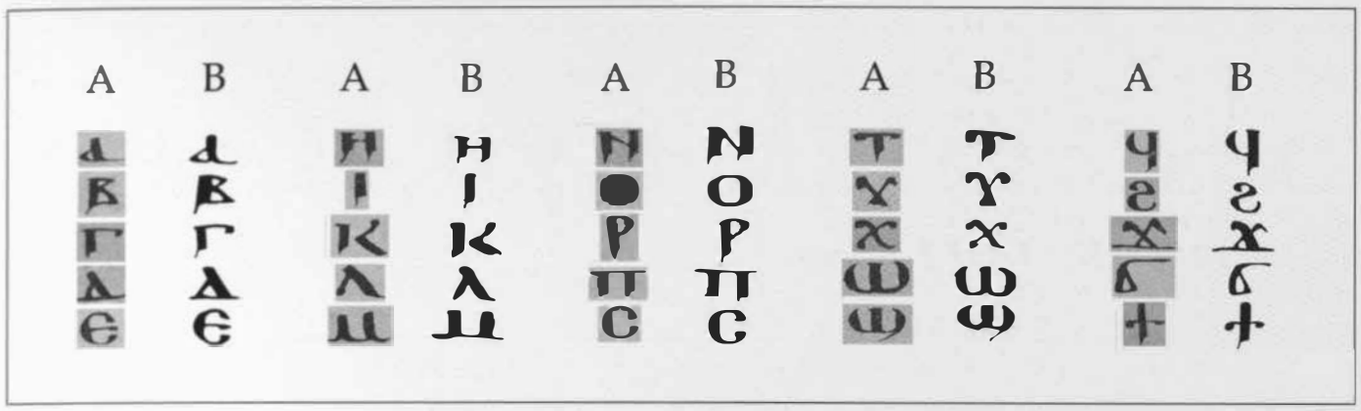


Fig. 1. (A: Z4, 1 f°, B: .739)

Nevertheless, there are also differences. There is more space between the letters in Z4, 1 f° than in W.739, and less continuity between letter forms. Although the text area is very similar in both parchments (Z4, 1 f°: 25.0 x 18.5 cm, and W.739: 24.5 x 17.9 cm) each line in the Borgia collection's text has an average of nine letters, the Walters' text has eleven to twelve. The large initial letters are placed in Z4, 1 f° less prominently than in W.739 and have no illuminations.

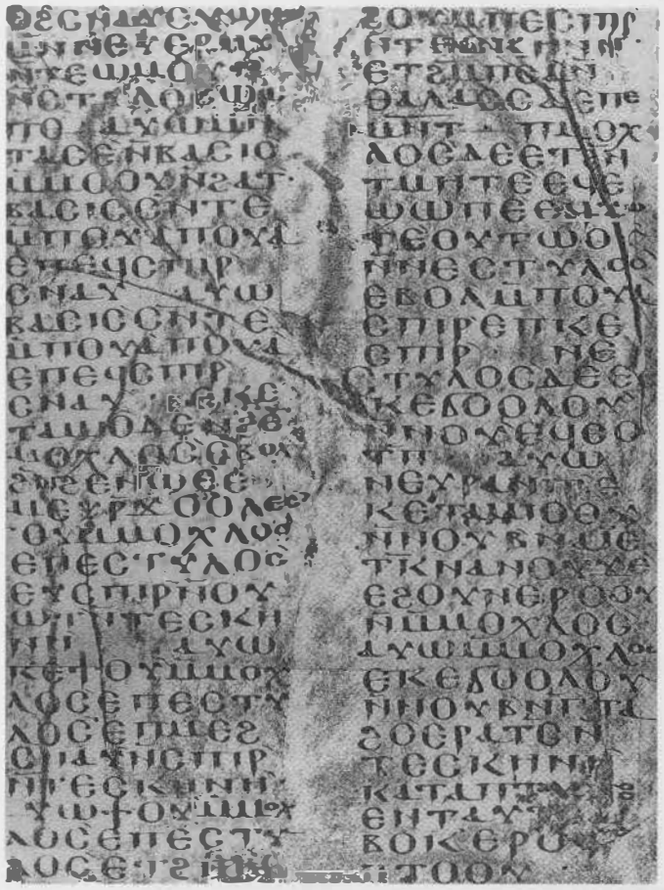
The text contains no special orthographical characteristics but does have some writing mistakes, such as a mixing up of letters,[11] omissions at the end of lines,[12] omissions in the middle of words,[13] and a supra linear stroke on the wrong letter.[14] Some of the mistakes were corrected.[15]

THE LANGUAGE

The text is written in standard Sahidic and translated from Greek. The language is very regular in its spelling and uses, for example, ï for j. It contains no obvious characteristics of other dialects, and the phonology, orthography, and morphology follow the general rules of standard Sahidic.[16] This standard language was an artificial construct created for the Bible translations of the fourth century and it later replaced other dialects for written texts.

There are also some Greek words in W.739, such as the following conjunctions, which appear several times and were generally popular in Coptic texts: ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ("but") ⲁⲉ ("and, but"), ⲅⲁⲣ ("because"), ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ("according to"), ⲙⲉⲛ ("but, certainly"), ⲡⲁⲏⲛ ("but").

Moreover, some specific nouns were not translated, because they were well-known foreign words in Egypt, or not translatable without a loss of meaning: ⲉⲓⲕⲱⲛ ("form"),[17] ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ("life"),[18] ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲱⲙⲁ ("ordinance"),[19] ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲣⲉ ("gold coin"),[20] ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ("righteous one, just one"),[21] ⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ ("gift"),[22] ⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ("nation"),[23] ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ("wild animals"),[24] ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲟⲛ ("wilderness"),[25] ⲅⲉⲛⲏⲙⲁ ("offspring"),[26] ⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁ ("sacrifice"),[27] ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ("angel").[28]



Pl. 2. Codex Borgia no. Z4, 1 f°, Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana

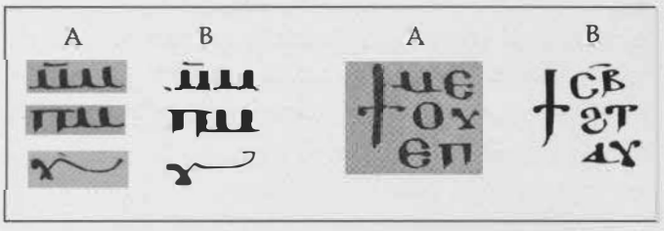


Fig. 2. (A: Z4, 1 f°, B: .739)

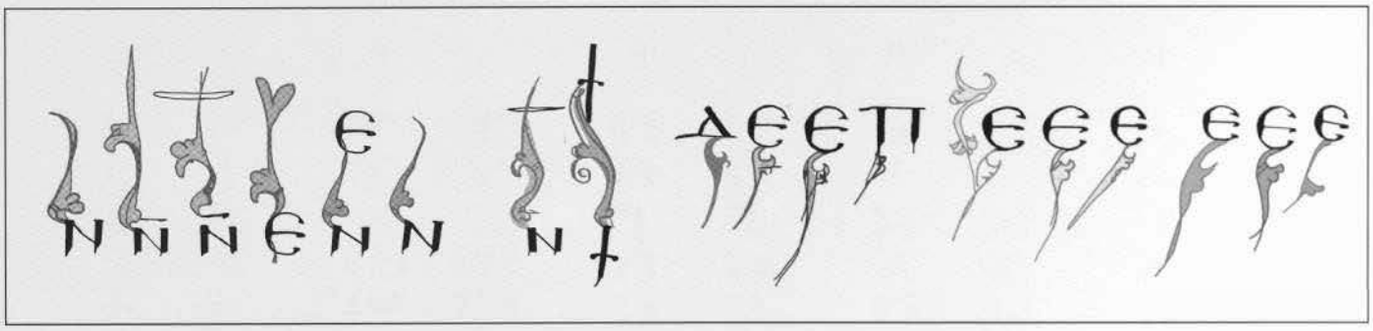


Fig. 3

THE ILLUMINATIONS

All four sides of the double leaf have ornamental elements, which were placed in the margins to the left side of each column. The artist used dark brown ink for the outlines, as well as yellow and red-brown paint for accents.

The illuminations are stylized vegetal ornaments, some combined with spiral lines, which accompany the large initial letters. These ornaments are *paragraphoi* (paragraph dividers), which were common in the Greek writing system. The Coptic illuminators transformed the Greek standard forms into decorative motifs.[29] On pages 19 and 20, they are hanging down from the initial letters (fig. 3, right); on pages 25 and 26, they rise up (fig. 3, left). Sometimes they are linked with another large initial letter above, or with normal letters by long loop lines.

The decorated initial letters of pages 19 and 20 are all part of the opening phrases of a new paragraph beginning **ⲉⲓϣⲱⲡⲉ** ("if") or **ⲉⲓϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ** ("and/but if"). Pages 25 and 26 show a larger variety of decoration. Four rimes, the decorations are attached to the **ⲛ̄** of the converter of the negative optative **ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ=/-**, ("shall not"), one rime, the **ⲉ** of the affirmative oprative **ⲉ=ⲉ** ("shall"), and one time, the article **ⲛ̄** of a noun related to a phrase with an affirmative optative. The last three cases differ from each other and have no direct phrases in common.

The illuminations for rhe left columns on page 20 (fig. 4, left) and page 26 (fig. 4, right) are very elaborate and link several letters with each other.

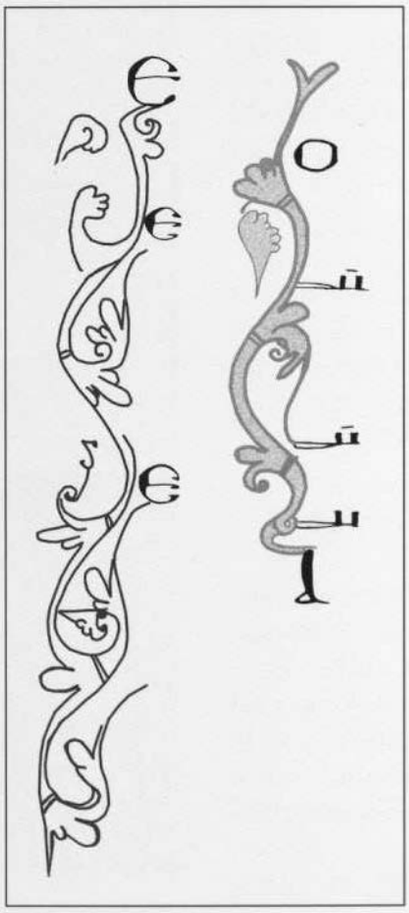


Fig. 4

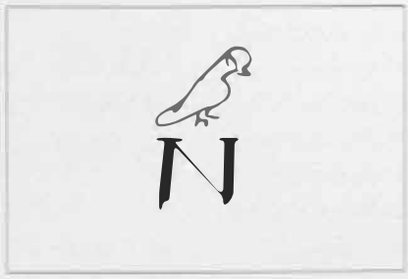


Fig. 5

On page 20, the decoration links the beginning of three new paragraphs with the opening words **ⲉⲓϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ** ("and/but if"). On page 26, the decorative tendril rises up from the top of the long extended upper part of the large initial letter **ⲇ** in **ⲇⲩⲱ** ("and, moreover") at the beginning of a new paragraph. This illumination is linked with long loop lines to three small **ⲙ**-lerters, which are part of the continuous text and placed at the beginning of three different lines. These **ⲙ**-letters are: the second letter in the preposition **ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ=**, here mistakenly written **ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ-=**; the preposition **ⲙ̄**, and the third letter in **ⲕⲏⲙⲉ** ("Egypt"). The large initial letter **ⲟ** in **ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ** ("time, times"), is flanked by, but not directly connected to the illuminarion.

Some of the large initial letters and the appended illuminations have a function more purely aesthetic and do not always indicate the real beginning of a new paragraph: In Exodus chapters 21:18 and 21, and 23:7, 12–14, and 20, the new paragraph starts at the end of the previous line; in 21:19 and 23, at the beginning of an additional thought in the middle of a long paragraph; and, in 23:10, in the middle of a sentence.

The only figurative decoration is a small standing bird, depicted on page 19 (fig. 5) above the large initial letter **ⲛ** in the first line of the left column. It can be identified as a dove by its proportions, its round head, the small, bent beak, and the rounded end of the tail. The bird is oriented in the same direction as

the text and may be understood as a kind of *paragraphos*, although it is the only illumination in an upper margin and not directly linked to the initial letter. However, birds such as doves or peacocks were common in Coptic illuminations[30] and were often used as,[31] or combined with *paragraphoi*.[32] The iconic value of the image of a dove as a sign of the Holy Spirit made it a popular motif for religious texts.

The *paragraphos* with vegetal and spiral elements was used from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries, though it varied in its features.[33] The type in W.739, with its combination of back-and-forth wavy bending tendrils, stylized leaves and blossoms, executed with clarity and economy, suggests a date between the sixth and the eighth centuries.

TEXT FORM AND CONTENT

The bifolium contains four pages; on three of them, the numbers are still preserved, written above the outer corners of the text columns:

right half of flesh side:	ⲓⲑ̅ (19)
left half of hair side:	no number preserved, should be ⲕ̅ (20)
right half of hair side:	ⲕⲉ̅ (25)
left half of flesh side:	ⲕⲍ̅ (26)

The text is taken from the Book of Exodus and contains the chapters: 21:16–35a on pages 19 and 20, and 23:5b–21a on pages 25 and 26.

A second, double leaf with the page numbers 21–24 must have been inserted into the middle of this bifolium and contained 21:35b–23:5a, which fit perfectly in this space. But what will not fit in the space of the previous eighteen folios is the whole text of Exodus 1:1–21:16. There are several possible explanations for this. Either the bifolium belonged to a codex with the Book of Exodus that had some omissions, so that the whole text fit in the allotted space, or it belonged to a series of codices that were not divided by books, so that the beginning of the second volume was not identical with the beginning of Exodus. That the bifolium was part of a codex with excerpts or lessons seems unlikely. The Exodus text of which we now have a fragment must originally have taken up a minimum of ten folios (pages 18–27), because pages 19 and 26 begin and end in the middle of a sentence; this seems too long to be either a quotation or an excerpt.

There is no doubt that there was a complete Exodus translation in Sahidic, but no whole version has survived. The most extensive version is a codex in the Bodmer collection,[34] which contains verses 1:1–15:21. Beyond this, there are only a few other fragments and loose leaves.[35] Those listed below are from two codices. Both were written on parchment with two columns on each page and are comparable in size.

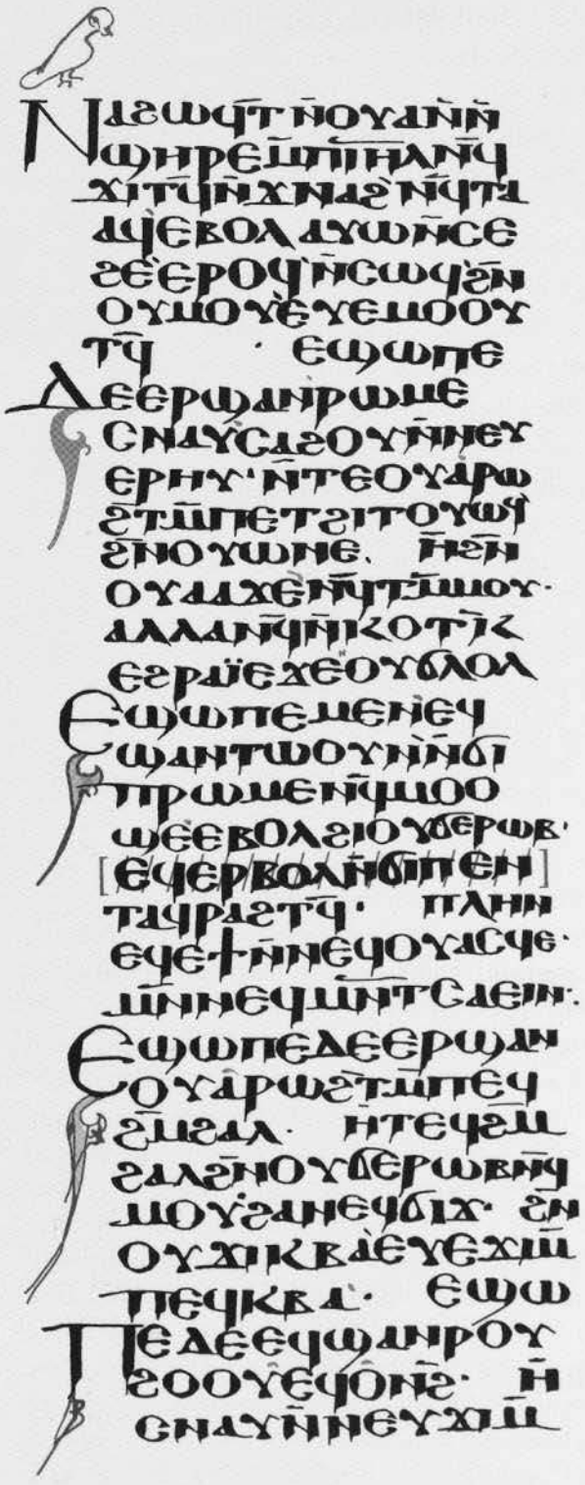
1. London, British Museum Library, Parh. 109[36]
   16:6b – 19:11a
   (pages 77–88, 32 lines, 31.0 x 25.0 cm)
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1291 f° 24–39[37]
   19:24b – 24:18
   1291 f° 44–52
   31:12 – 34:32
   (pages 91–123, 32 lines, 33.0 x 26.5 cm)
3. Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana
   (Borgia collection), Z 4, 1 f°[38]
   26:24b – 26:36a
   (pages 134–35, 32 lines, 33.0 x 26.5 cm)
4. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W.739
   21:16 – 21:35a
   (pages 19–20, 33 lines, 32.8 x 26.9 cm)
   23:5b – 23:21
   (pages 25–26, 33 lines, 32.8 x 26.9 cm)
5. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,
   Papyrussammlung, K 2596[39]
   23:15 ...23:2
   (pages lost, 44 lines, 31.0 x 25.5 cm)

The pages in London and Paris seem to belong to the same codex as the pages in Rome (no. 4 of the Borgia collection).[40] They have similar dimensions, thirty-two lines in each column, and similarities in orthography and language that date them to the seventh century. The eighth-century text in Vienna belonged to another codex (no. 6 of the Borgia collection), and is the only surviving Exodus fragment from the volume.[41]

Bifolium W.739 is very similar to codex Borgia no. Z4: the script is comparable, as are the orthography and translation style. The wording is nearly the same and comes from the same source. However, W.739 has thirty-three and not thirty-two lines; it has additional illuminations; and the page numbers do not fit with the Borgia codex. Although the Walters' bifolium cannot be part of this codex, there is little doubt that it belonged to a codex written in the same place and at the same time. The origin of codex Borgia no. Z4 is known; it came from the White Monastery near Sohag in Upper Egypt.[42] Therefore, W.739 may also have been produced in Sohag and date to the seventh century.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

The following pages provide the reconstructed, collated text, the translation, and philological commentary. This translation is intended to make the Sahidic text structure clear, and uses, as far as possible, the Coptic word order; it also considers the grammatical structures, for example the use of *pluralis communis* for passive, which does not exist in the Coptic language.



(19, LEFT COLUMN)

(21:17)Who[43] will steal one of the
children of Israel, and he will
prevail over him, and he will
sell him, and (then) they
will find him with him; (then it is) with
death (that) they shall punish[44]
him. (21:18)And
if two men
struggle with each
other, and if one
smites the other one[45]
with a stone, or with
a punch, and if he does not die,
but he lays
upon[46] a bed,[47]
(21:19)if he really
gets up—meaning
the man—and he walks
away with a crutch,
then he shall be free—meaning the one who
smote him— however,
he shall pay for his (period of) inactivity
and his treatment.
(21:20)And if
one smites his
man-servant, or his
maid-servant, with a rod, and he[48]
dies under his hands, (then it is) with
a punishment (that) they shall
punish him; (21:21)and,
if he (the servant)
survives a day, or[49]
two, then they shall not



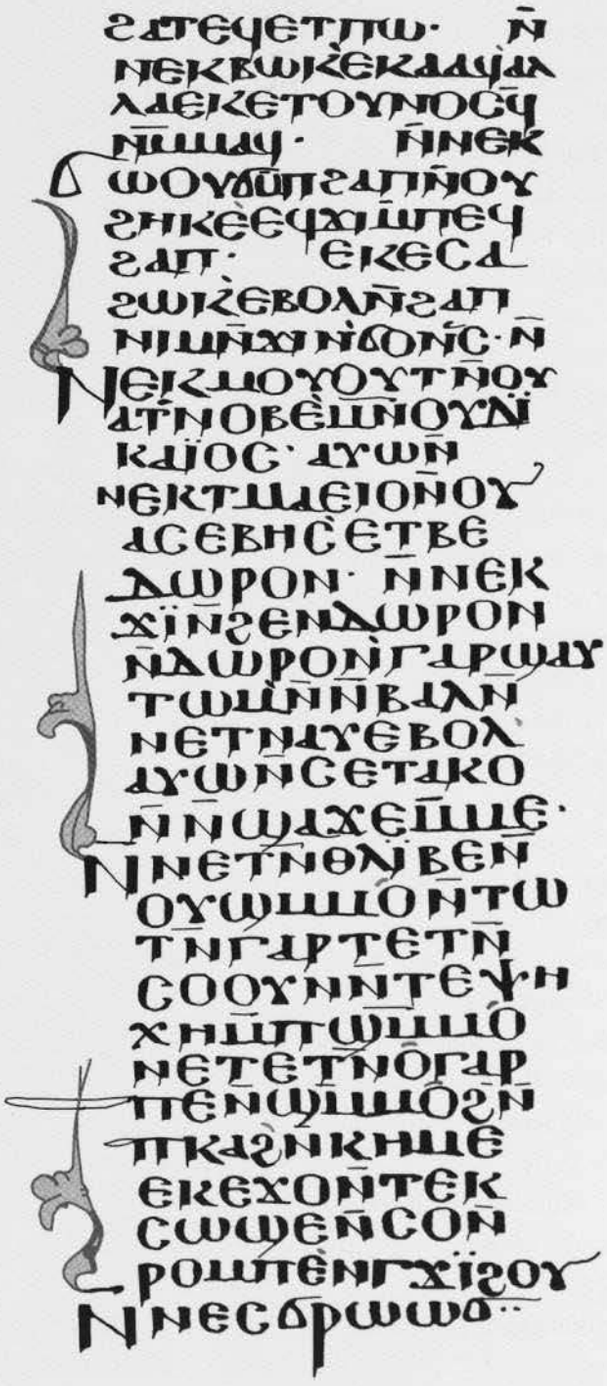
punish him, because the payment[50]
is his own.
(22)And if
two men fight
with each other,
and if they smite a woman,
who is pregnant,[51] and her
child is born (prematurely)
before it has taken form,
then they shall impose on him
a penalty, according to
everything which he will
impose on him—meaning the husband
of the wife—(and) then he shall
pay it with a valuation;[52]
(23)and, if it has formed,
he shall give
a life for
a life, (24)an
eye for an eye,
a tooth for
a tooth, a hand
for a hand,
a foot[53] for
a foot,
(25)a burning for a
burning, a wound
for a wound, a
bump[54] for
a bump.
(26)And if
one smites the eye
of his man-servant, or



the eye of his maid-servant,
and he makes them blind, then he shall
let them[55] go,
that they shall be free for
their eye's (sake).
(27)And if he
knocks out the tooth
of his man-servant, or his
maid-servant, then he shall let them
go free for
their tooth's (sake).
(28)And if
a young bull gores
a man or a
woman, and he[56] dies,
(then it is) with stones that they
shall stone the young bull (to death),
moreover, they shall not eat
his meat, and the owner
of the young bull, he shall
be absolved.[57]
(29)And if the young bull
is one who gored men
before yesterday and
the day before yesterday,
and it was reported to its
owner, and he has not
destroyed him, and he
killed a man
or a woman, then they shall
stone the young bull (to death),
as well as its owner,
he shall be killed together with him.



(30)And if they
shall impose a ransom
on him,[58]
he shall pay a ransom
for his life, that
which they will lay on him.
(31)And if he
gores a son
or a daughter, it shall be done
with him (also) according to this
ordinance.[59]
(32)And if
the young bull gores
a man-servant, or a
maid-servant, he shall
pay fifteen silver
Stater[60] to their
owner, and the young
bull shall be stoned (to death).
(33)And if
someone opens a pit
or he digs
a pit, and if he
does not cover it, and if it
falls in it—meaning a
young bull, or a donkey—
(34)then he shall pay—meaning the
owner[61] of the pit— or he shall
pay silver to its
owner; but that which is dead
shall become his own.
(35)And if
a young bull gores



under its burden,[62] then you
shall not leave and let him (down),
but you shall help to raise it
with him. [6]You shall not
twist the judgment of a
poor one when he gets his
judgment. [7]You[63]
shall keep away from
every unjust thing.
You shall not kill an
innocent (one), and a
just (one), as well as
you shall not justify
a wicked (one) for
gifts. [8]You shall not
receive gifts,
because gifts
shut the eyes
of the seeing,
as well as they corrupt
the just words.
[9]You shall not afflict
a sranger,
because you
know the heart[64]
of the stranger,
because you were
strangers in[65]
the land of Egypt.
[10]You shall sow your
farmland six
years, and you shall gather[66]
its fruits;



(11)but, in the seventh
year, you shall
let it rest, and you shall leave
it, and they shall eat (the fruits of)
it—meaning the poor
of your nation—
but, that which remains
of it, they shall eat[67]—
meaning the wild
animals of the wilderness;
and you shall do in this way[68]
to your vine-
yard, and to your
olive grove. (12)Six
days you shall do
your work during
the day, but, on the
seventh, you shall rest
that he
rests—
meaning your young bull and
your draft animal—as well as
that he rests—
meaning the son
of your maid-servant, and
the stranger. (13)Everything
that I have said
to you, you shall
observe it, moreover
you shall make not the mention
of the name of other
foreign gods, nor
shall they hear their names



out of your
mouth. [14]Three
times in the year
you shall celebrate[69]
for me a feast: [15]The feast of
the unleavened bread, you shall
heed to celebrate
it.[70] Seven days
you shall eat
unleavened bread, in
the way I charged
it to you,
according to the time
of the new month,
because in this time
you left Egypt;
and you shall not appear
before me
empty.
[16]Moreover, you shall celebrate
the feast of the harvest of the
first offspring[71]
of your works, which are in
your field; as well as
the feast of completion
at the end of a year,
of the gathering
of your works[72]
in your field.
[17]Three times
in the year he shall
appear—
meaning each man



of you(r people)—before
the Lord
your God. (18)For when I
shall have cast
out the nations
before you, and as well I[73] shall have widened your
borders, you shall not
offer the blood
of my sacrifice
with leaven,
neither shall the fat
of my feast abide
till the morning.[74] (19)The
first offerings
of the earliest fruits of your
land,[75] you shall[76] bring them
into the house of the
Lord, your God.
And you shall not cook
the lamb in the milk
of his mother. (20)And
behold, I
will send my
angel before you,
that he may
protect you on the
way, and that he may bring you
in the land, which I
have prepared for you.
(21)Beware of yourself
as well as listen
to him, do not disobey[77]

NOTES

1. Josef Brummer bought the parchment from Frank Tano on 14 September 1945.

2. Mentioned in the following publications: Sale catalogue of the Parke-Bernet Galleries, *Incunabula, Standard Sets Art and Illustrated Books, Autograph Letters, etc., Property of...(and) Estate of Late Josef Brummer* (New York, 23 May 1949), lot 97. D. Miner, "Since de Ricci—Western Illuminated Manuscripts Acquired since 1934," *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 29/30 (1966/67): 75f., fig.6. R. Schulz and M. Seidel, "Secret Signs—Ancient Egyptian Writing" (2003 exhibition pamphlet), 21.

3. Paul Hepworth, conservaror at the Walters Art Museum, conducted an intensive study and treatment of the bifolium in spring 2003. He cleaned and consolidated the surface, removed accretions, and filled the losses. All the information on the material, the condition, and the technique used is based on his report. See P. Hepworth and M. Michelozzi, "Conservation of Two Coptic Parchment Manuscript Fragments," *The Paper Conservator* 28 (2004): 63–73.

4. The measurements of the double leaf are: total width: 53.8 cm; total height: 32.8 cm. The layout with the text columns has the following measurements, on average: fore-edge margin: 5.5 cm; margin between columns: 2.5 cm; gutter margins: 3.0 cm; text column width: 7.6–7.7 cm; column height: 24.5 cm; height of text lines: 0.5 cm.

5. M. Cramer, *Koptische Paläographie* (Wiesbaden, 1964), pls. 47 (text no. 16) and 49 (text no. 18); see also R. Kasser, "Paleography," *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. A. S. Atiya, vol. 8 (New York, Toronto, Oxford, Singapore, Sydney, 1991): 179, figs. 4a–c.

6. Cramer, *Koptische Paläogmphie*, pl. 1 (text nos. 16–23).

7. Ibid., pl. 5 (text nos. 12, 15–16).

8. Ibid., pl. 11 (text nos. 14–15).

9. Ibid., pl. 16 (rext nos. 16–17).

10. Ibid., pl. 22 (text nos. 12, 15–16).

11. ⲯⲏⲭⲏ instead of ⲯⲩⲭⲏ, page 25 left, lines 25–26; ⲉⲕⲁⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ instead of ⲉⲕⲉⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ, page 26 right, line 17.

12. Missing ⲥ in ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ, page 20 right, line 27; missing ⲛ in ⲥⲟⲩⲛ, page 25 left, line 32.

13. ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲣⲉ instead of ⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲣⲉ Greek στατήρ, page 20 right, lines 16–17.

14. ⲙⲙⲟⲩ insread of ⲙⲙⲟⲩ, page 26 left, lines 7–8.

15. Correction of ⲁ in ⲧ, page 26 right, line 6. Addition of the right letter ⲛ above a wtong ⲉ, page 19 left, line 15.

16. For the specific characteristics of the dialects including the standardized Sahidic, see R. Kasser, "Prolègomènes à un essai de classification systèmatique des dialects et subdialectes coptes selon les critères de la phonètiques, I, Pricipies et terminologie," *Le Muséon* 93 (1980): 237–97; R. Kasser, "Prolègomènes à un essai de classification systèmatique des dialects et subdialectes coptes selon les critères de la phonètiques, III, Systèmes orthographiques et categories dialectales," *Le Muséon* 94 (1981): 91–152; E. Hinze, "Eine Klassifizierung der koptischen Dialekte," *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens, 1, Sprache* (Göttingen, 1984), 411–32; R. Kasser, "Sahidic," *Coptic Encyclopedia*, 194–202; W.-P. Funk, "Dialects," *Coptic Encyclopedia*, 87–108.

17. εἰκών, page 19 right, lines 9 and 17.

18. ψυχή, page 19 right, lines 18 and 19.

19. The ί in Δικαίωμα is written here ï, page 20 right, line 6.

20. στατήρ, page 20 right, lines 16–17.

21. δικαίος, page 25 left, lines 11–12.

22. δωρον, page 25 left, line 15.

23. ἔθνος, page 25 right, line 6.

24. θήριον, page 25 right, lines 9–10.

25. ἄγριον, page 25 right, line 10.

26. γένημα, page 26 left, line 32.

27. θυσία, page 26 right, line 10.

28. ἄγγελος, page 26 right, line 25.

29. M. Cramer, *Koptische Buchmalerei* (Recklinghausen, 1964), 13, fig. 1, and 18–20.

30. Ibid., 27–28, 51–52; Cramer, *Koptische Paläographie*, pl. 49.

31. For example, Paris, BN, Copte n.o 12911, fol. 125v, cf. W. de Grüneisen, *Les Caractéristiques de L'Art Copte* (Florence, 1922), pl. XLVIII.

32. Cramer, *Koptische Buchmalerei*, 18.

33. Ibid., figs. 2–15.

34. Papyrus Bodmer XVI, see R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XVI, Exode I–XV, 21 en sahidique. Bibliotheca Bodmeriana* (Cologne/Geneva, 1961).

35. P. Nagel, "Studien zur Textüberlieferung des sahidischen Alten Testaments," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 110 (1983): 51–57, 59–61; P. Nagel, "Studien zur Textüberliefetung des sahidischen Alten Testaments," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 111 (1984): 157. T. Petersen mentioned in his review fragments of a codex with parts of Genesis and Exodus in the Library of the University of Louvain, which were destroyed in the fire of 17 May 1940.

36. Schwartze and Erman, "Bruchstücke der oberägyptischen Übersetzung des Alte Testaments," *Nachrichten von der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Göttingen, 1880), no. 12: 407–14.

37. G. Maspero, *Fragments de la version thébaine de l'Ancien Testament.* Mémoires publiés par les members de la mission archéologique française au Caire, VI, fasc. 1 (Paris, 1892), 34–44, 44–52.

38. A. Ciasca, *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica Musei Borgiani* (Rome, 1885), I:51–52, pl. IV; A. Hebbelynck, "Les manuscripts copte-sahidiques du Monastère Blanc: Recherches sur les fragments complèmentaires de la Collection Borgia, I," *Le Muséon* n.s. 12 (1911): 103–6, 148 n. 4. A. Hebbelynck, "Les manuscripts copte-sahidiques du Monastère Blanc: Recherches sur les fragments complèmentaires de la Collection Borgia, II," *Le Muséon* n.s. 13 (1912): 275 n. 1.

39. W. Till, "Sahidische Fragmente des Alten Testamentes," *Le Muséon* 50 (1937): 175–237.

40. Nagel, "Studien zur Textüberlieferung," 60–61, tab. 4, named after G. Zoega, *Catalogus Codicum Copticum Manuscriptorum* (Rome, 1810; reprint: Hildesheim and New York, 1972), 173, no. 4.

41. Nagel, "Studien zur Textüberlieferung," 62–64, tab. 6. Zoega, *Catalogus Codicum Copticum*, 173, no. 6.

42. Hybbelinck, "Les manuscripts copte-sahidiques I" (1911 and 1912).

43. Most likely ⲡⲉⲧ- was before ⲛⲁⲍⲱϥ, parallel to the Sahidic Exodus version: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1291 fols. 24–39, cf. Maspero, *Fragments de la version thébaine*, 37 (17), and was written at the end of the previous page.

44. The scribe used the phrase ⲍⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧⲥ̄ϥ "with death they should kill him" to make clear the certainty of the death penalty.

45. ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲓⲧⲟⲩϥ̄ "his neighbor" is used to express "the other one," and not ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲉϥ, as in Exodus 21:22 (page 19 right, line 5).

46. Should be ⲉϫⲛ̄ not ⲉϫⲉ in Sahidic, Maspero, *Fragments*, 37 (18); the corrector realized this mistake and added a small ⲛ at the end of the preposition.

47. Writing mistake: should be ϩⲗⲟϭ.

48. The suffix pronoun ϥ refers here to both the male and female servant.

49. Maspero, *Fragments*, 37 (21), has mistakenly ⲛ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ instead of ⲙ̄ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ.

50. The Sahidic scribe used ⲁⲥⲟⲩ "prize, value, payment" for Greek ἀργύριον "silver, silver coin, money" to express the monetary value of the servant to his owner.

51. Maspero, *Fragments*, 37 (22) has ⲉⲉⲧ not ⲉⲧ as qualitative of ⲱⲱ.

52. The term ⲥⲟⲛ̄ⲥ is normally used to express a request, or comfort. Most likely the Sahidic translator used ⲥⲟⲛ̄ⲥ to express not only the valuation, but also a kind of apology.

53. Maspero, *Fragments*, 37 (24), has just ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧ without an article.

54. ⲉⲗⲉⲗⲕⲏⲙⲉ "Egyptian grape" for a "scar, bump, weal," cf. W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1977), 34.

55. Here and Exodos 21:27 the scribe refers to both servants, different to Exodos 21:20.

56. The Greek version shows the plural, the Sahidic scribe used the 3rd person singular masculine.

57. The scribe used ⲟⲩⲟϫ qualitative of ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ "healthy, uninjured" to express that he will not be punished or blamed.

58. Maspero, *Fragments*, 38 (30) has ⲉϫⲱϥ.

59. The scribe started to write on this line, but erased it. It is no longer legible.

60. Writing mistake: should be ⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲣⲉ, Maspero, *Fragments*, 38 (32) has ⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲉⲣⲉ. The Greek and Bohairic versions have 30 Didrachms, which is the same as 15 Stater, because 1 Didrachm = 1/2 Stater.

61. Read ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ the scribe forgot the ⲥ at the end.

62. Exodos 23,5 begins with the following words: "And if you see the draft animal of your enemy fallen," cf. Maspero, *Fragments*, 40 (5).

63. Maspero, *Fragments*, 41 (7) has: ⲉⲥⲉⲥⲁⲍⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

64. Writing mistake, should be ⲯⲩⲭⲏ as in Maspero, *Fragments*, 40 (9).

65. Maspero, *Fragments*, 41 (9) shows the assimilated version ⲍⲙ̄.

66. The ⲛ is missing in ϫⲓⲍⲟⲩⲛ, most probably because of the two following ⲛ̄ in the next line (preposition and possessive article 3rd singular feminine with plural).

67. Maspero, *Fragments*, 41 (11), has for the status pronominalis of ⲟⲩⲱⲙ "ear, feed" ⲟⲩⲙ≠; the text here has the Sahidic standard version ⲟⲩⲟⲙ≠.

68. Maspero, *Fragments*, 41 (11) mistakenly has ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲣⲉ instead of ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲍⲉ.

69. The scribe of W.739 used here the future of the verbal sentences (Future III), instead of the future of the adverbial sentences (Future I), as in Maspero, *Fragments*, 41 (14).

70. The scribe wrote mistakenly ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ instead of ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ; Maspero, *Fragments*, 41 (15) has ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ<ϥ.

71. Maspero, *Fragments*, 41 (16) has ⲛ̄ⲱⲣⲛ instead of ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲣⲛ and drops the article.

72. Maspero, *Fragments*, 41 (16) has here a writing mistake, and writes ⲍⲃⲏⲟⲩⲉ instead of ⲉⲃⲏⲏⲩⲉ.

73. The scribe corrected here a mistake: He wrote at first ⲛⲁ instead of ⲛⲧ; a part of the ⲁ is still visible under the correction.

74. Maspero, *Fragments*, 41 (18), has ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ.

75. Maspero, *Fragments*, 41 (19) has plural ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲁⲍ and not singular ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲁⲍ.

76. Should be as in ibid: (19), future ⲉⲕⲉϫⲓⲧⲟⲩ and not ⲉⲕⲁϫⲓⲧⲟⲩ.

77. The verse ends: "him, then he will not give your way, because my name is that which is on him," cf. Maspero, *Fragments*, 42 (21).

PHOTOGRAPHS: pl. 1, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

A Medieval Russian Manuscript at the Walters Art Museum (W.548)

GEORGI R. PARPULOV

Nataliia Demkova is the only scholar previously to have discussed codex W.548 (figs. 1 and 2) in print.[1] She examined it in Baltimore in October 1975, noting that it once belonged to the collector Alexander Sulakadzev (1771–1831), who is known to have tampered with a number of other manuscripts,[2] and dismissed it as one more forgery by his hand. The book indeed contains many ineptly penned notes that bear purportedly eleventh–fourteenth-century dates and mention the names of famous historical figures. These were certainly written by Sulakadzev, but there is no reason to consider the entire manuscript his fabrication. He would have been unable to produce the handwriting of genuinely medieval appearance that is seen in the book's principal text. Moreover, the volume consists of isolated bifolia bound in such disorder that it took me several days to establish their proper sequence. It is improbable that any forger should have worked in such an odd manner, rather than simply copying a continuous text. Sulakadzev, then, evidently produced the present codex by haphazardly binding together a group of original medieval leaves. These come from a *Sluzhebnik*, an Orthodox Slavic liturgical book that is the equivalent of the Greek Euchologion and contains texts that priests and deacons recite in church, principally those of the Eucharistic liturgies.[3] Sulakadzev owned at least one volume of this type, which is now in the New York Public Library.[4] However, the Walters' leaves did not originally belong to it and must have been removed from another book.

In spite of its fragmentary state of preservation, W.548 forms a notable addition to the relatively small number of previously known early Russian *Sluzhebniki*.[5] Further study of the manuscript's paleography and language will clarify more precisely its date and origin. Here, I offer a description of its contents and codicology. Texts that are still in liturgical use are identified simply by their initial phrase. For the rest, references to modern printed editions are given.

W.548 LEAVES FROM A SLUZHEBNIK (EUCHOLOGION)

Parchment, 16 folios, 168 x 126 mm, fourteenth century, Rus'

Ornament: [**1r–v, 2v, 3v, 4v, 5r, 6r–v, 7r, 8r–v, 13r, 14r–v, 15v**] decorated (usually three-line) initials, outlined in vermilion and partly filled in blue or yellow, [**13v**] initial В in the shape of a dragon biting its tail.

Original Order of Folios: (*Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*) lacuna, 11–12, lac, 7–8, lac, 9, 5, 6, 10, lac, (*Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts*) lac, 15–16, lac, 13, 2, (*Vesperinal Prayers*) 1, 14, lac, (*Matutinal Prayers*) 4, lac, (*Prayers for All-Night Vigil*) lac, 3, lac.

Text: [**11r–12v**] *prayer «Владыко Господи Исусе Христе вседержителю»* {ORLOV, 13f.}, beginning lost, inc. [человече]ск'ыхъ прiемлѧи покаѧнiе wт вс'ѣка тварi etc. ***И хотѧ просфѹмисли́ти воздлет просфѹру́ и прекр(е)стити кр(е)стообразно гл(агол)ѧ се*** Въспоминанiе творимъ Гд̄ нашего Iс Хр̄а, iже к'ыс на тайнеи вечери вс'ѣгда, нын.

[**7r**] *Prayer «Еще приносимъ Ти словесную сiю»*, beginning lost, cont. [испов̀ед]ниц'ѣхъ, постниц'ѣхъ и всѣкоѧ дш̄ѣ въ кѣрѣ сконувшемьсѧ. ***Въздлас*** Издрѧдьно пр(е)с(вя)т'ѣи ѵ(и)ст'ѣи etc. ***Мол(итва) тих(но)*** Стыхъ н(е)в(е)ст'ыхъ силъ и стаго славьнаго пр(о)рока и прдтча кр(е)ст(ите)ѧ Iѡана etc. ***Сѣде помѧни оуньршихъ*** [**7v–8r**] Помѧни Гӣ всѧ оустѣпъшаѧ оупованiа въскресниа etc. ***Въздлас*** [**8r–v**] Въ пьрв'ыхъ помѧни Гӣ архiепспа нашего иѡ(я) р(ек) etc. [**8v**] ***Сѣде помѧни живыхъ кого хотѧ. Мол тих*** Помѧни Гӣ рабы свога иѡ(я) р(ек) etc. Помѧни Гӣ градъ сь и всѣкъ градъ и страну и вѣрою жи[вущихъ], rest lost.

[**9r–v, 5r**] *Prayer «Никтоже достоинъ»*, beginning lost, inc. и нбснымъ силамъ неприкосновѣнно. Но wбаче etc. ***И по семь оумѣется попъ, сеи пс(а)лмъ гл(агол)ѧ***

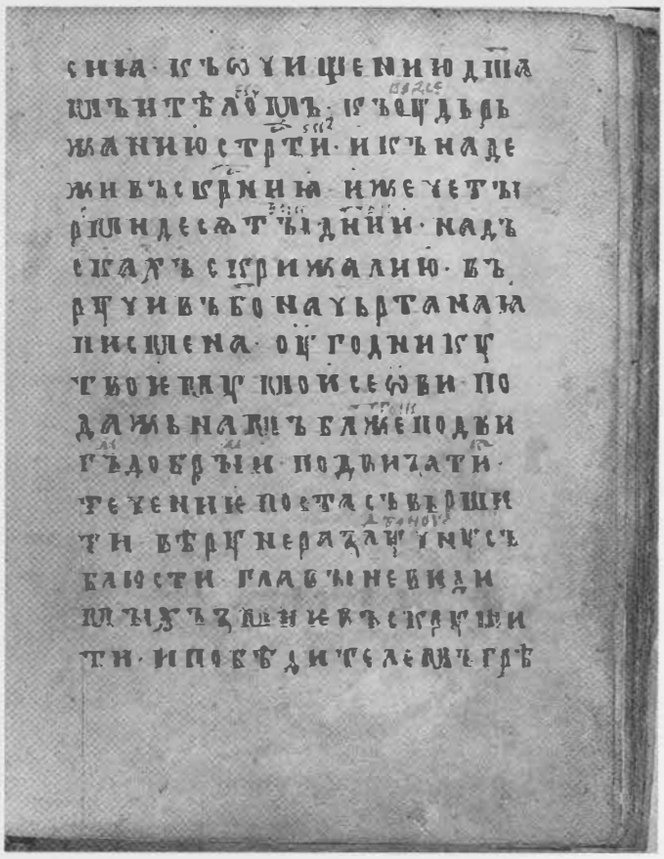


Fig. 1. W.548 f.2

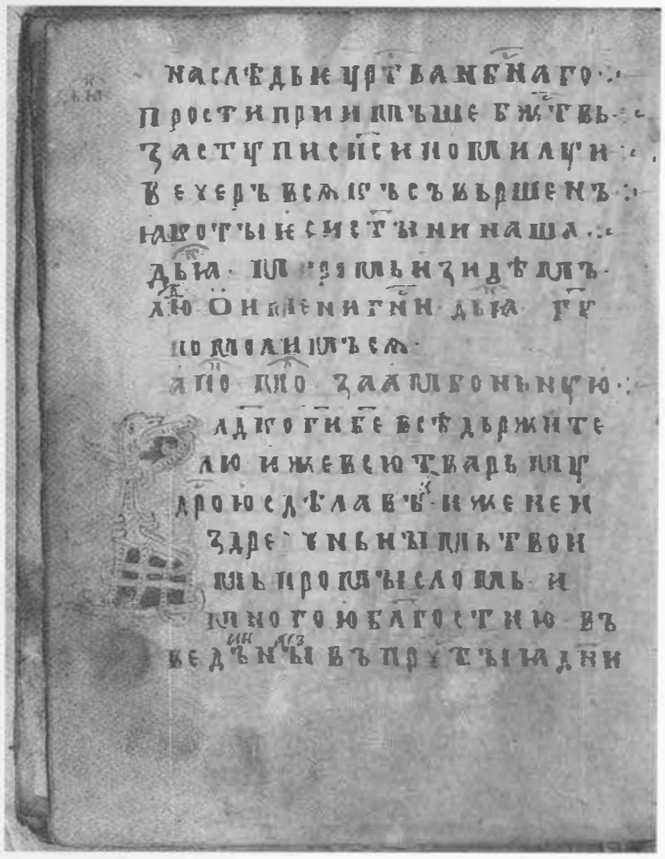


Fig. 2. W.548 f.13v

[5r–v] Ps 25:6–21, [5v] *И по оумываніи стануть прости вси, и старѣи.* [6r] *Поп поклонится пред трапезою* г҃ж҃(ы) *и р(е)четь* Бл(а)г(о)сл(о)вите с҃ѣніи *и они отрекуть* Многа лѣт w҃е. Дх҃ъ Ст҃ыи найдеть на тѧ и сила вышняго wс҃ѣнить тѧ. И моли за нъı устнъıи w҃е. *Поп отъѣзжаеть* Да помянеть въı Гь҃ въ ц(а)рствии своемь. {cf. Krasnosel'tsev, 154 and 156f.} [6r–v] *Мол(итва) по поставленію стхъ даровъ* Влдко Ги҃ животворяи влг҃ымъ дателю, давъı etc. {~ Orlov, 143}, des. будущаго блж҃енства. [6v] *Таж(е) дьак(он)* Исполнимъ молт҃въı наша. О предъположенъıхъ etc. О ст҃ѣмь храме семь etc. О избавитисѧ намъ etc. *Поп мол(ит) тих(но)* [6v, 10r–v] Ги҃ Бе҃ вседьржителю, иединъıи ст҃ъıи, приемлѧи жрътвү etc., des. и на предълежащихъ дарѣхъ сихъ, и на всѣхъ людехъ твоихъ. *Дьак(он)* Ѯаступи спс҃и помилуи. Дне всѣго etc. Анг҃ла мирна etc. М(и)л(о)сти wтпущенїа etc. Добръıхъ полезнъıхъ etc. Прочее лѣто живота наше[го], rest lost.

[15r–v] *Prayer «Боже великий и хвальный»*, beginning lost, inc. смртıю Хс҃а твоего въ исчленіе etc. Ѯаступи спс҃и. Прем(у)др(ость). Іако подобаеть ти всѧка. Пакъı пакъı миромь Гү҃. О сѣъıшнемь мирѣ и. О мирѣ всѣго мира и w влг҃. О ст҃ѣмь храмѣ семь иже с. О избавитисѧ намъ wт. *Мол(итва) е҃ w вѣрнъıхъ тих(но)* [15v–16v] Влдко ст҃ъı и превл҃ъıи etc., des. да тою ради разумнюю wко просвѣщаеми сн҃ве скѣтү и дни вуделъ. [16v] *Дьякон* Ѯаступи спс҃и. Премдрос. По дару Хс҃а твоего с нимь же бл(а)г(о)с(лове)нъ иеси съ прест҃ѣмь. *И вкше поють пѣвцы* Нънѣ силы н(е)в(е)сныя с нл. *Я се поп г(агол)ть* Полилуи мѧ Бе҃ пс(а)лмъ н҃. Въ преносъ тих(н) таж(е). *Дьак(он)* Всѧ ст҃ъıа поменьше пакъı. О прежесщ҃ихъ дарехъ Гү҃. Іако да улкволюецъ приилъıи ѧ etc.

[13r] beginning lost, cont.]ние таинамъ смотренїа павленїа твоего. Ял(илу)ѧ. *Поп мол(итву) въ преносъ тих(но)* [13r–v] Блг҃одарилъ тѧ сп(а)с(и)т(е)лѧ всѣлъ Бс҃ w всѣхъ влг҃ıхъ иже далъ иеси намъ etc. {Kaluźniacki, 410} [13v] *Дьак(он)* Прости приилъше вжствь. Ѯаступи спс҃и полилуи. Вечеръ всѧкъ съвьршенъ. Іако тъı иеси ст҃ъıи наша. *Дьак* Миромь изидемъ. *Люд(е)* О имени Гни. *Дьак* Гү҃ полюлимъсѧ. *Я поп мол(итву) задиконьную* [13v, 2r–v] Влдко Ги҃ Бе҃ вседьржителю иже всю ткарь мудросю сдѣлавъ etc. *Мол(итва) потрекити хотѧще* [2v] Коньчавъше вжствьную тайную службү теке славү и влг҃одарение въсъıлаемъ wцю и сн҃ү и ст҃ү дх҃ү. М(О)лт(и)къı кеу(е)рнїѧ *иегда поють Влгски*

дша люга Гⷭ (Ps 102) [1r–v] *а* Гⷭ предръ и листивъ etc., [1v, 14r] *люл(итва)* *б* Гⷭ не яростью твоею etc., [14r] *люл* *г* Гⷭ Бⷭ нашь помилуи ны грѣшьныѣ etc., [14v] *люл* *д* Благодарилъи немолукьныѣми пѣсми и непрестанкьными словослоѵленьи вышнимі сїѧми силами etc., *люл* *е* Благъ іесн Гⷭ Бⷭ всѣдѣѵи, rest lost {cf. Kałużniacki, 391}.

[4r] *Prayer*, beginning lost, inc. дѣнии славы твоеѧ, да ни ѥдиного дрѣмлюща умъне дшѣвна etc., des. и достоини вудемъ наслаждитисѧ вѣчнаго гла праздьнующихъ на нкⷭи. *Възгласъ* Ико шⷭтисѧ и прослависѧ. Миръ всѣмъ. *Дьяк(он)* [4v] Главы наш(а). *Я поп люл(итву) шта(но)* Гⷭ Бⷭ нашь преклони ср҃ца наша etc. {Orlov, 85}, des. Ико ты ѥси Бъ нашь Бъ милоѵати и спⷭати насъ Гⷭ Бⷭ нашь и тов(е). МОЛ(И)ТѢЪІ ЗАѴГ(РЕ)НАІѦ [4v] Благодарилъ тѧ Гⷭ Бⷭ нашь къздкнъшаго ны шт, rest missing.

[3r–v] *Prayer «Наслажшиеся, Господи, видения вся тварь величия Твоего»* {Kovaliv, fols. 88r–89r} beginning lost, inc. прѣсвѣтла вѣдуще молилъ сѧ достоино тобѣ хвалу принести etc. [3v] *б* Тебе присносущаго свѣта невечернаго Бⷭ нашь etc. {Kovaliv, fols. 89r–v}, des. вдѣти въ ки[дении], rest lost.

Ink: medium brown – titles, liturgical rubrics, and paragraph initials in vermilion – prayer initials outlined in vermilion and partially filled in light blue and sometimes, yellow.

Ruling: hardpoint, system unclear, type P14 00D1 – 16 lines per page, standing upon the ruling lines – justification [118–22 x 85 mm]

Quires: 8 x 2 (fol. 16).

Quire Signatures: none visible.

Foliation: in pencil, probably by D. Miner, *Se*, continuous.

Binding: nineteenth-century, red velvet over pasteboard paper pastedowns.

Marks: [2r–v, 13v] brown ink, semi-uncial hand, s. XVI: some variant forms of the text of the *opisthambonos* (заамвонная) prayer noted above the text lines – [11r, lower margin] black ink, cursive hand, s. XVII–XVIII: Служ҃б(ѣ)никъ), [12r, lower margin] same hand and ink: one word, incomprehensible to me – [1r, lower margin] in dark brown ink: Изъ библіотеки. 1816. / Александра Сулакадзева № 13 – [1r, upper margin] in vermlion, uncial letters, most probably in Sulakadzev's hand: Соуборникъ, [16v, lower margin] same hand and ink: Аминь, same ink, in smaller, semi-uncial characters: Лѣта ѕфпг сединулыи маткенникъ въ Тмуторокани газъ грѣшныи попъ кнѧж Олга Свѣтославіуа Ягдпии быкы прошлыхъ лѣтъ ко Свѧтоі горе – [7v, outer margin] dark brown ink, uncial characters, most probably also in Sulakadzev's hand, at the beginning of the commemorative prayer for the dead: Єлену Василиацѧ Василиѧ и новоуспшаго Ꙗрослава, [8v, outer margin] same hand and ink, next to the prayer for the living: ии(я) р(ек) кнѧ Нѫслака Хюни Юірану хагани Ансакету Анну Настасию и Ігорѧ – [2r, lower margin] dark brown ink, in tall characters, most probably again in Sulakadzev's hand: Помени въ свѣтлемъ раі твоимъ днесъ ѹбіенаго рака своего Глѣба і Бориса – [**back pastedown**] in dark brown ink, tall characters very similar to the preceding note: Межи книгы помѣстихъ кожиные въ лѣто господне / ѕцѯ сѣ кнѧзъ Ѳеодоръ ростовскии. / сего отъ лѣта алѳ.. [...] покланись мѧ присуди/ти [...], add. below in pencil: сего отъ лѣта алфавей – [**back pastedown**] in dark brown ink, uncial characters, probably also in Sulakadzev's hand: лѣта ѕѡкк [add. above in pencil "1314"] бл҃гов҃словівъ мѧ отц҃ъ мѧ дх҃овнои Янтонеін въ Ріазані – [**back pastedown**] in pencil: "16 листов" – [**front pastedown**] in blue ink: "Codex Sulakasianus Slavonicus membranaceus dictus Соуборникъ const. fol. 16. 1v–16v, saec. XIo, cum postillis apocryphis sulakasianis," "A.M. n. 62 / inv. 44" – [**front cover, upper left corner**] two overlaid paper labels, now partially tom off: "[..]зъ' (lower one), 'M[...] 2[.]" (upper one) – [**front pastedown**] in pencil: "W. 548 / DeR. 369," bookplate "Ex Libris Henry Walters."

Provenance: Alexandr Ivanovich Sulakadzev (d. 1831), his no. 2 – purchased by Henry Walters (d. 1931).

References:

M. N. Speranskii, "Русские подделки рукописей в начале XIX века (Барлин и Сулакадзев)," *Problemy istochnikovedeniia* 5 (1956): 44–101, esp. 94.

N. S. Demkova, "Древнерусские рукописи и старопечатные книги в некоторых собраниях США," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 34 (1979) [= *Kulikovskaia bitva i pod"em natsional'nogo samosoznaniia* (Leningrad, 1979)]: 388–405, esp. 399f.

Other Bibliography:

E. Kałużniacki, *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius (1375–1393)* (Vienna, 1901; repr. London, 1971).

P. Kovaliv, *Molytovnyk-sluzhebnyk, pam'iatka XIV stolittia / Prayer Book: A Monument of the XIV Century* (New York, 1960).

N. F. Krasnosel'tsev, *Sviedieniia o niekotorykh liturgicheskikh rukopisiakh Vatikanskoi biblioteki s zamiechaniiami o sostvie i osobennostiakh bogosluzhebnykh chinoposliedovanii, v nikh soderzhashchikhsia* (Kazan, 1885).

M. I. Orlov, *Liturgiia sviatago Vasiliia Velikago* (St. Petersburg, 1909).

NOTES

1. I thank Dr. M. A. Johnson (Ohio State University) for suggesting numerous improvements to the text. Any remaining mistakes are my own.

2. On Sulakadzev, see most recently V. P. Kozlov, *Tainy fal'sifikatsii: Analiz poddelok istoricheskikh istochnikov XVIII–XIX vv.*, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1996), 155–85, 265–67.

3. On early Russian *Sluzhebniki*, see N. N. Rozov, "Русские Служебники и Требники," in *Metodicheskie rekomendatsii po opisaniiu slaviano-russkikh rukopisei dlia Svodnogo kataloga rukopisei, khraniashchikhsia v SSSR*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1976), 314–39.

4. On this manuscript, see most recently I. V. Pozdeeva and A. L. Lifshits, "Лицевой служебник XIV в. из коллекции А. И. Сулакадзева," in *Istochnikovedenie i kraevedenie v kul'ture Rossii: Sbornik k 50-letiiu sluzheniia Sigurda Ottovicha Shmidta Istoriko-arkhivnomu institutu*, ed. M. M. Domitskaia (Moscow, 2000), 68–71. Its facsimile edition by P. Kovaliv is cited above, under "Other Bibliography."

5. For a list of these, see Rozov, "Служебники," 338f.; R. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. 5. *The Precommunion Rites* (Rome, 2000) [= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 261], 536f.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–2, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

An Aldine Book of Hours (91.1273)

GEORGI R. PARPULOV

The Greek Hours of the Virgin (use of Rome) with the seven Penitential Psalms were published by Aldus Manutius in 1497. They were first noted in modern times by Ludwig Hain[1] and subsequently described in numerous incunabula catalogues.[2] The book is decorated with a fine woodcut frontispiece of the Annunciation. Its translation of the original Latin text is tentatively attributed to Justin Dekadyos (Decaduo, Δεκάδυος), a native of Corfu and member of Manutius's Venetian circle.[3] The copy recently presented to the Walters Art Museum by Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Armstrong of Ruxton, Maryland, belongs to the more common version B of this edition (fig. 1).[4] Its heavily worn binding of blind-tooled sheepskin over wood is most probably the original one.[5] There are four paper flyleaves at the front and two at the back. None has a watermark. Flyleaf iv verso carries a bookplate inscribed "Ex libris Robert Hoe."[6] A note on the front pastedown reads: "*Su(m) Jo(h)annis Hessi theologi Wratislavi[ensis]*,"[7] and a further one on the back pastedown: "*An(no) xx die xvi Februarii erat an(no) etatis xxiii Philippo Mela(n)chthoni.*"

The volume's back cover was additionally blind-stamped with the coat of arms of Friedrich Staphylus (1512–64).[8] Staphylus inherited a large library from his father-in-law, the Reformation theologian Johannes Hess (1490–1547). Both men were in close contact with the celebrated *Praeceptor Germaniae* Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560).[9] Flyleaves i recto–iv recto of the Walters' book are filled with two poems in a hand that markedly resembles Melanchthon's documented Greek autographs.[10] The first one ("Ην πάλαι προεκήρυξαν τ(ὼν) προφητ(ὼν) χορείαι etc.) was appended as a specimen of Greek literature to the Aldine (1512) and subsequent editions of *On the Eight Parts of Speech*, a Greek textbook by Constantine Lascaris (1434–ca. 1501).[11] It is from one of these editions that the text must have been copied into our volume by a discerning man who, although it was printed as prose, recognized its metrical character and divided it into verses.[12] I was not able to identify the origin and authorship of the second poem: "Ὤμοι, ἁμαρτιῶν νικᾶ παλαίσματα | ἄχθος τε δεινόν ἀσχέτου θλίβει νόμου | ᾅδου τε γοργοὶ διεμα- | τοῦσ' ἀλάστορες | αἱ νωλεμῶς, ψυχὴν ἐρήμην τὴν ἐμοῦ | σὺ (δὲ) Χριστε σαρκώσαι ἁμαρτίαν πάτερ | ἐλαλκε τῆς σαρκὸς βέλη ἰώμορα | δεσμόν τε τὸν σιδήρεον λῦσον νόμου | νυκτός τε θουρίας ἄλεξον Ἐριννύας | ἁμαρτιῶν κάθαρμα, καὶ λῦτρον νόμου | νίκητα παννύχου φαοσφόρ' ᾀδέω."

Someone has noted immediately after these verses, at the bottom of flyleaf iv recto: "*Philipp Melanchthon scribebat.*" The same person added in the lower margin of fol. ι [vii] a German paraphrase of Luke 1:35, the Greek text of which is printed on the same page.[13]

The hand that left the birthday note on the back pastedown is sixteenth-century, but neither Melanchthon's nor Hess's. It also wrote on the front pastedown: "ὦ Χριστὲ θαμβήσας πάτερ | ὀργὴν θεοῦ κ(αὶ) σόν πότμον | νικῶν τὸν ᾅδου δος φόβον. | ὑπερουρανίων μυστηρίων | κατόπτ' 'Ιωάνν' αἴετε | ἡμῖν φάους θει' αἴτεο." These verses are glossed in red ink by yet another hand that does not occur elsewhere in the book.

Hess copiously annotated the printed Greek text in the margins and sometimes between the lines with Latin translations or (for verbs) infinitives of individual Greek words. Marks such as these are not, to my knowledge, found in any other extant exemplar of Aldus's *Horae*, yet they eloquently illustrate the pedagogical use to which this edition was put (a few copies have as additional quires a *Brevissima introductio ad litteras Graecas*). A translation of the Roman Book of Hours could have been used for devotional observances only by those few Greeks who followed the Catholic rather than the Orthodox rite. However, because the Latin originals of the Hours and Penitential Psalms were widely familiar, their Greek version offered a useful aid for teaching Greek to Westerners.

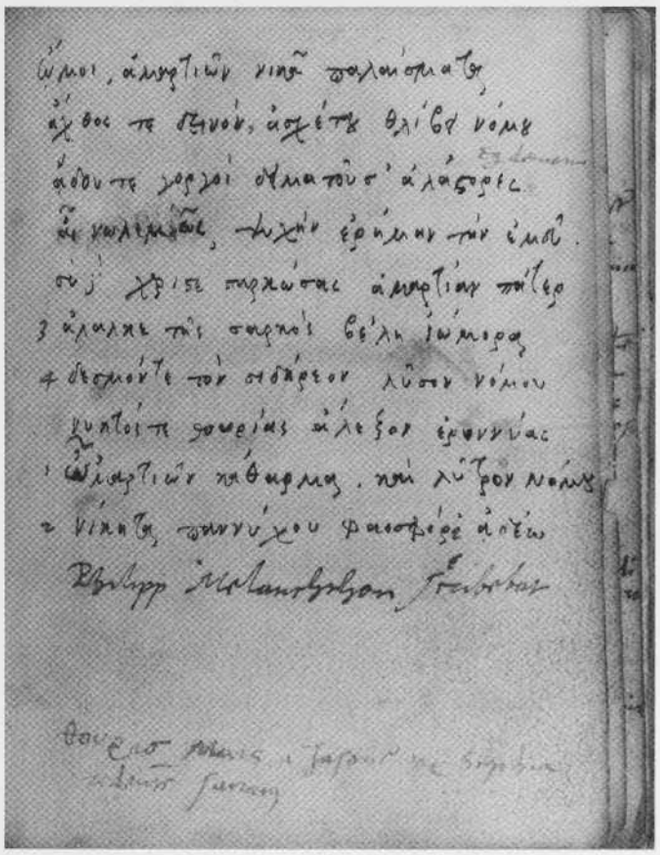


Fig. 1. Walters Art Museum acc. no. 91.1273, flyleaf iv recto.

In general, Greek translations of Latin devotional texts seem to have been a fashion of sorts among humanist scholars. For example, a small manuscript (MSB 34) at the Milton Eisenhower Library of The Johns Hopkins University contains a selection of psalms and biblical odes.[14] These are in Greek but are arranged in the order in which they occur in the Roman Catholic Hours of the Virgin and copied in an Italian Renaissance hand similar to that of Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481).[15]

Walters Art Museum
Baltimore, Maryland

NOTES

1. L. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel accuratius recensentur*, vol. 3/II.1 (Stuttgart, 1838; repr. Milan, 1948), 85, no. 8830.

2. M. Jeffreys, *Early Printing in Greek*, http://babel.mml.ox.ac.uk/neograeca/ehours1497/ehours1497book.htm, with bibliography and a list of the known copies; see also, most recently, *The Aldine Press: Catalogue of the Ahmanson-Murphy Collection of Books by or Relating to the Press in the Library of the University of California, Los Angeles* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2001), 56f., cat. 17; C. W. Kallendorf and M. X. Wells, *Aldine Press Books at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Austin, 1998); L. Bigliazzi et al., *Aldo Manuzio tipografo 1494–1515* (Florence, 1994), 48f., cat. 19; J. E. Walsh, *A Catalogue of the Fifteenth-Century Printed Books in the Harvard University Library* [= *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 97] (Binghamton, 1993), II:514f., no. 2654.

3. On Decadyos and his supposed editorship of Aldus' Greek Hours, see E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par les grecs aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris, 1885; repr. Brussels, 1963), I:cii–cvii.

4. C. F. Bühler, "Notes on Two Incunabula Printed by Aldus Manutius," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 36 (1942): 18–26, esp. 24–26.

5. Dr. Paul Needham kindly informs me that this binding must be of German origin.

6. On the printing magnate and bibliophile Robert Hoe (1839–1909), see I. D. Neu, "Hoe, Robert," in *American National Biography*, vol. 10, eds. J. A. Garraty and M. C. Carnes (Oxford, 1999), 924f.; L. E. Grove, "Robert Hoe III, 1839–1909," in *Grolier 75: A Biographical Retrospective to Celebrate the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Grolier Club in New York*, eds. A. Davidson et al. (New York, 1959), 24–26. The Walters' volume is described in O. A. Bierstadt, *The Library of Robert Hoe: A Contribution to the History of Bibliophilism in America* (New York, 1895), 79f.; *A Catalogue of Books Printed in Foreign Languages Before the year 1600, Forming a Portion of the Library of Robert Hoe* [= *Catalogue of the Hoe Library*, vol. 9] (New York, 1907), I:232; *Catalogue of the Library of Robert Hoe of New York, to be Sold by Auction by the Anderson Auction Company, New York*, pt. 2 (New York, 1911), 259, cat. 1681. By misunderstanding, this last catalogue states that the book came "from the Bishop Butler, Costabili and Riva collections." Two earlier descriptions (known to me, alas, only as cuttings that came to the Walters together with the book itself) both note the Melanchthonian handwriting and remark, respectively, that "Bishop Butler's copy sold for £ 35 14s. 6d., Costabili's for 900 francs, and Riva's for 800 francs" and that the edition "wurde bei Butler mit 35 l. 14 s. 6 d., bei Riva mit 800 fr., bei Costabili mit 900 fr. Bezahlt."

7. As transcribed by Dr. Paul Needham.

8. There is a photograph of Staphylus' gravestone in: S. Hofmann, "Porträts Ingolstädter Professoren auf Epitaphen (10. Fortsetzung)," *Ingolstädter Heimatblätter: Beilage zum Donau Kurier* 34 (1971): 25–26, esp. 25, Abb. 1. I thank Sigrid Luka-Tzitzelkov for sending me a photocopy of this article.

9. On Staphylus, his studies with Melanchthon, and his subsequent conversion from Protestantism to Catholicism, see U. Mennecke-Haustein, *Conversio ad ecclesiam: der Weg des Friedrich Staphylus zurück zur vortridentinischen katholischen Kirche* (Gütersloh, 2003). On Hess, his friendship with Melanchthon, and books that were originally in his library, see P. Lehmann, "Aus der Bibliothek des Reformators Johannes Hessius," *Aus der Welt des Buches: Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag von Georg Leyh* (Leipzig, 1950), 101–24; cf. also M. Seils, "Heß, Johannes," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. G. Müller, vol. 15 (Berlin, 1986), 260–63.

10. See the photographs in D. Harlfinger et al., *Griechische Handschriften und Aldinen: Eine Ausstellung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1978), 103f., with fig. 39, cat. 38; D. Harlfinger, ed., *Graecogermania: Griechischstudien deutscher Humanisten* (Weinheim, 1989), 344f., cat. 167; Gy Moravcsik, "Un fragment de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de Nicéphore Xanthopoulos copié par Philippe Mélanchthon," *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves de l'Université de Bruxelles* 9 (1949) [= *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1949)], 483–88 with pl. vii; repr. in: idem, *Studia Byzantina* (Amsterdam, 1967), 414–18.

11. The text has been edited by S. Eustratiadēs, "Iōannēs ho Koukouzelēs, ho Maistōr, kai ho chronos tēs akmēs autou," *Epetēris Hetaireias Vyzantinōn Spoudōn* 14 (1938), 3–86, esp. 41–43 (text) and 16f. and by Gr. Th. Stathēs, *Hē dekapentasyllavos hymnographia en tē Vyzantinē melopoiia* (Athens, 1977), 193–95, no. 41; cf. also K. Mitsakis, "The Genuineness of the Salutatory Poem on Mary the Virgin by John (Later Joseph) Plousiadenos, Bishop of Methone (c. 1429?–1500)," *Klēronomia* 3 (1971): 344–53. It is the work of John Kladas (fl. ca. 1400 in Constantinople), on whom, see E. Trapp, ed. *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, fasc. 5 (Vienna, 1981), 184f., no. 11739.

12. Cf. e.g. fols. L [v] verso–[vi] recto of the 1515 edition or fols. K [iv] verso–[v] recto of the 1521 edition. In both, the text is entitled Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴς (sic) ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον/Laudatio in sanctissimam dei genitricem.

13. The German text differs noticeably from Luther's Bible translation. I thank Dr. Sabine Albersmeier and Dr. Karl-Georg Pfändtner for transcribing it for me.

14. C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962), 193, cat. 13; http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/scriptorium/ds_search?&MsID=70024&MsPtID=70024&EDocID=70050

15. On Filelfo as a copyist of Greek manuscripts, see E. Gamillscheg, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*, vol. 3, pt. A (Vienna, 1997), 212, no. 606, with bibliography.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

Expanding Boundaries: A Manuscript of the Qur'an from Sub-Saharan Africa (W.853)

MARIANNA SHREVE SIMPSON

Among the strengths of the Walters' extensive collection of Islamic codices are several dozen copies of the Qur'an, the holy book of Islam revealed to the prophet Muhammad in the early seventh century A.D. Virtually all of these manuscripts were acquired by Henry Walters, whose interest in and knowledge about the Islamic world, like other collectors of his day, focused on traditional Muslim cultures (Arab, Persian, Turkish, and Indian) and historical periods (ninth through seventeenth centuries). A discerning bibliophile, Mr. Walters clearly understood that the creation of finely written, decorated, and bound volumes of the Qur'an was the highest form of Islamic religious devotion and artistic expression.

Since Mr. Walters' time, the geographic area associated with Islamic art and culture has greatly expanded, and today many regions once regarded as peripheral, particularly in Asia and Africa, are now recognized as belonging to Islam's artistic koiné. Likewise, the temporal framework of Islamic art has been pushed beyond its traditional limits, and works of art dating from the eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, and even twenty-first century are now appreciated as vital elements of the dynamic visual culture of the Islamic world.

Recently, the Walters embraced the enhanced definition of Islamic art, with its much wider borders and time frame, through the acquisition of an early modern manuscript of the Qur'an from sub-Saharan Africa (acc. no. W.853; fig. 1). Although the exact time and place of its origin remains to be determined, this Qur'an has the hallmarks of other volumes of Islam's sacred text known to come from Sudan and the western region of Africa in the nineteenth century.[1]

The faith and polity of Islam came to Africa during the initial phase of its remarkable expansion, through conquest and conversion, out from the Arabian peninsula following the Prophet's death in A.D. 632. It first took hold in Egypt and then spread westward across the northern coast into the Maghrib (western Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco) and on to the northern border of present-day Mauritania. Meanwhile, Muslim traders had established outposts on Africa's eastern shores. By the ninth century, Islam had advanced into the Sahara, and from there slowly moved further into the sub-Saharan region, until, by the seventeenth century, it occupied a major swath of the continent north of the equator and along the Indian Ocean. African Islam continued to grow through the nineteenth century and produced a considerable number of manuscripts, which are now beginning to stimulate scholarly research.

As in western bookmaking traditions, the codex is the most common form of Islamic manuscript, with sheets of writing material folded into quires or gatherings, then stitched together and bound between protective leather boards or covers. For reasons that have yet to be explained fully, manuscripts from Muslim sub-Saharan Africa assume quite a different format, as seen in the Walters' newly acquired Qur'an.

This manuscript contains the Qur'an's full text, comprising 114 *suras*, or chapters, and is divided into two volumes, with 467 and 477 folios, respectively. (In accordance with sub-Saharan practice, volume 1 contains *suras* 1 through 18, and volume 2, *suras* 19 through 114.) With the exception of a folded bifolium at the beginning and end of volume 1, all the folios consist of individual, square leaves of paper, measuring 112 x 112 mm, piled on top of each other. Each stack of folios is held together by a pair of boards, like a sandwich, one on the top and one on the bottom, which, in turn, are fastened with leather thongs long enough to be wrapped several times around. For further protection, each volume has its own leather pouch or case with a clasped cover and plaited straps, confirming that this Qur'an was made with secure portability as a main feature.

Besides its single-leaf, stacked structure, protective boards, wrapped "binding," and carrying cases, W.853 is also typical of nineteenth-century (and even earlier) sub-Saharan manuscripts in terms of its calligraphy and decoration. The Qur'an text, in nine lines per page, is written in an angular and bold form of Arabic script sometimes called *sudani maghribi*, which came into use during the second half of the seventeenth century as a variant of *maghribi*, a



Fig. 1. Qur'an in two volumes, with leather pouches, sub-Saharan Africa, nineteenth century, ink on paper, board, leather. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.853.

much older form of Arabic calligraphy developed in North Africa. A dark brown, almost black, ink is used for the Qur'an verses, as well as for the catchwords at the bottom verso of every folio (an essential element for ensuring correct folio order in a manuscript with loose, and until it entered the museum, unnumbered leaves). Vowel signs are added in red to the verses. The 114 *sura* headings are written in a reddish brown ink and give each chapter's title, the number of its verses, and the place of its revelation (Mecca or Medina). Unlike the headings found in many other Islamic manuscript traditions, however, including those of North Africa, these here have no special markings. Indeed, they fit so seamlessly, visually speaking, into the regular text lines that, even with their variation in ink color, they are easy to miss when looking for the beginning of a particular *sura*.

That is not to say, however, that the manuscript lacks embellishment. Both volumes, including their folios, boards, and pouches, are richly decorated with an incredible array of designs and colors, which serve both a practical and an aesthetic purpose. Some, like the three yellow circles or balls outlined in red that separate and punctuate the verses of the holy text, are comparable to devices familiar from other traditions of Qur'an illumination. Others seem to be more original elements of a sub-Saharan visual vocabulary or at least inventive variations on older North African forms. Particularly striking are the circular medallions, each about the size of a quarter, that appear at regular intervals in the margins of both volumes to mark the division of the Qur'an into sixty sections (*hizb*), and that feature many different boldly colored patterns, often resembling textile designs and variously combining dots, stripes, stars, zigzags, concentric circles, and diagonal bands in sepia, dark brown, yellow, green, and red. More elaborate versions of these medallions---expanded through multiplication and overlap; a triangular projection at the top or bottom; or the incorporation of Arabic words—mark other, traditional divisions of the Qur'an text, including its seventh (*asba'*) and thirtieth (*juz'*) parts. Other marginal devices take the form of sketchy square or rectilinear motifs executed in yellow and red and containing a single letter of the Arabic alphabet (*tha, ba, nun*) that signifies the eighth parts of the sixtieths. Each of the two volumes of the Walters' Qur'an also contains a large, and unique, rectangular panel with an interlocking design that delineates the first and second quarters (volume 1, fol. 232a, between *suras* 6 and 7) and the third and fourth quarters (volume 2, fol. 235b, between *suras* 37 and 38) of the text—apparently considered of special importance for sub-Saharan Qur'ans. All these illuminated

"dividers" facilitate the reader's progress through the sacred text and break it down into manageable and measurable units; the *juz'* markers, for example, indicate how many verses to read per day in order to complete the reading of the entire Qur'an in a month.

Both volumes also contain other singular decorations, particularly on their opening and closing folios. The first volume, for instance, is embellished at the start of *sura* 1 with a large and impressive marginal ornament resembling a keyhole, while the *sura*'s last line is followed by a full-page panel of scalloped and interlaced designs surrounded by a frame (volume 1, fols. 2b and 3a). A similar, double-page composition appears on the volume's final folios (fols. 467b–468a); while the overall effect is symmetrical, the two halves of this illuminated spread feature different geometric motifs and colors. This colorful finispiece is matched by a comparable frontispiece at the beginning of volume 2 (fols. 1b–2a).

As for the volumes' protective boards, each set has a large, star-like medallion filled with a different selection of interlocking circular or spiral motifs on both its inner and outer face. Although now quite abraded, these decorations still serve as an arresting prelude to the illuminated text that the boards enclose. Likewise, the two brown leather pouches are adorned with varied diamond and zigzag patterns stitched in black. While these decorated carrying cases are a distinctive element of sub-Saharan Qur'ans, they do incorporate one element of books produced in other areas of the Islamic world. Their front triangular flap, here equipped with a tassel for fastening, parallels the so-called envelope flap that attaches to the bottom cover, folds over the fore-edge, and tucks inside the top cover of traditional bound codices. Thus, this deluxe African Qur'an represents both the continuation of past artistic practices and the enriching of those practices with novel features developed to match the needs and tastes of the sub-Saharan region.

Baltimore, Maryland

NOTE

1. For further information, see F. Déroche, "Manuscripts of the Qur'an," and S. S. Bloom and J. M. Bloom, "Ornamentation and Illumination," *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, ed. J. D. McAuliffe, 5 vols. (Leiden, 2002); R. A. Bravmann, *African Islam* (Washington, D.C., 1983); A. D. H. Bivar, "The Arabic Calligraphy of West Africa," *African Language Review* 7 (1968): 3–15; A. Brochert, "Aspects of the physical transmission of the Qur'an in 19th-century Sudan: Script, decoration, binding and paper," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 2 (1987): 45–67. For a summary of the current state of African manuscript studies, see Constant Hamès, "Les manuscrits arabo-africains: des particularités?" G. Humbert, ed., *La tradition manuscrite en écriture arabe: Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 99/100 (2002): 169–82.