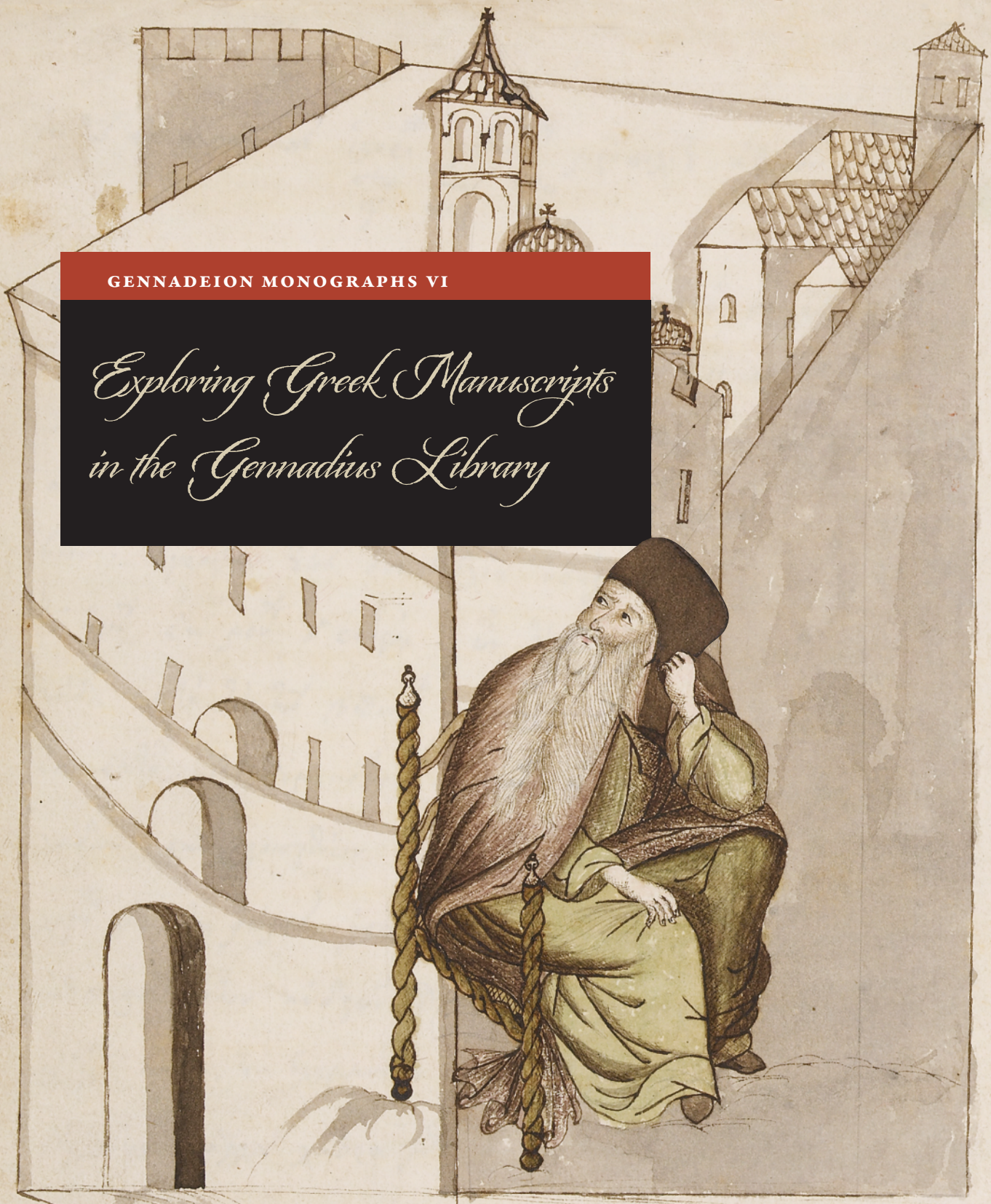
GENNADEION MONOGRAPHS VI

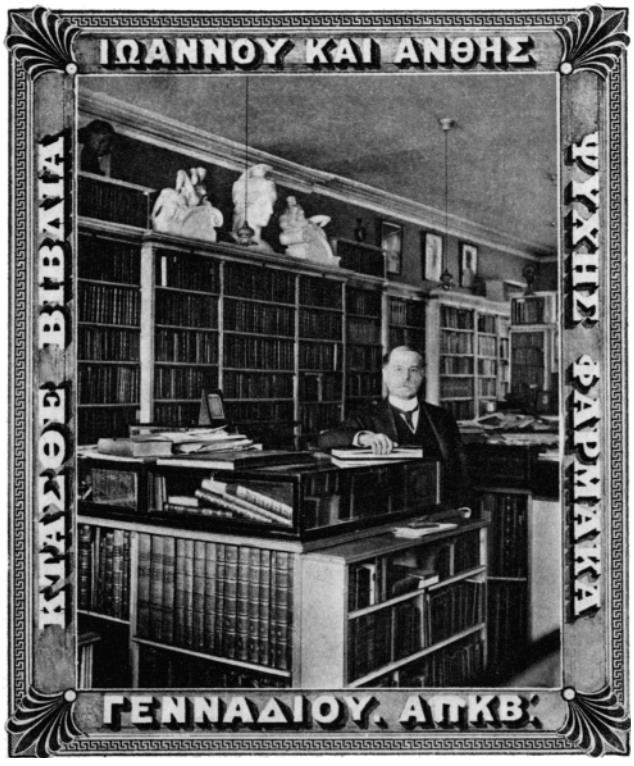
Exploring Greek Manuscripts in the Gennadius Library



Edited by Maria L. Politi and Eleni Pappa

Translated by John C. Davis and Elizabeth Key Fowden

Exploring Greek Manuscripts in the Gennadius Library



GENNADEION MONOGRAPHS VI

Exploring Greek Manuscripts in the Gennadius Library

Edited by Maria L. Politi and Eleni Pappa

Translated by John C. Davis and Elizabeth Key Fowden

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS
in collaboration with the
GREEK PALEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
2011

This volume is dedicated to the memory of
George Galavaris and Manousos Manousakas,
ῥήτορας ἀξιοτάτους

Κι ἂν εἶναι κι ἀποκότησα χάρισμα νὰ σοῦ δώσω
ἄξιο, καθὼς ἐτύχαινε, καλὰ δὲν εἶναι τόσο,
τσὴ Τύχης δώσ' τὸ φταίσιμο, κι ὄχι τοῦ θελημάτου,
γιατὶ ψηλὲς τσὶ πεθυμιὲς πᾶσα καιρὸν ἐκράτου.

G. CHORTATZIS, *Erofili,* 65–68

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Exploring Greek manuscripts in the Gennadius Library / edited by Maria Politi and Eleni Pappa ; translated by John C. Davis and Elizabeth Key Fowden.
p. cm. — (Gennadeion monographs ; 6)
Proceedings from a colloquium and exhibition held at the Gennadius Library, May 10, 2004.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-87661-407-5 (alk. paper)
1. Manuscripts, Greek (Medieval and modern)—Greece—Athens—Congresses. 2. Gennadius Library—Congresses. 3. Paleography, Greek—Congresses. I. Politē, Maria L. II. Pappa, Eleni.
Z6605.G7E95 2011
091—dc23
2011029868

Printed in Italy

This book is published in collaboration with the Greek Paleographic Society (978-960-88303-1-8).
The Greek edition of this book is available from the Gennadius Library (978-960-86960-7-5).

Preface

The Gennadius Library holds one of the largest collections of manuscripts in Athens. The manuscripts are of a diverse nature (theological, literary, philological, historical, geographical, archaeological, and music manuscripts) and range in date from the 12th to the 19th centuries. The collection illustrates like no other the significance of the manuscript tradition in preserving the continuous history of the Greek heritage throughout the centuries. This comes as no surprise since its core was formed by the founder of the Library, Joannes Gennadius himself. The Athens-born Gennadius (1844–1932) spent most of his life as a diplomat in London where he assembled a unique collection of rare books, manuscripts, archives, and works of art with the intent to showcase the continuity of the genius of Hellenism from antiquity to the present. Among his original collection, which he donated to the American School of Classical Studies in 1922, were several hundreds of manuscripts including collections formed by other collectors as well as manuscripts in languages other than Greek. As the Gennadius Library gained visibility in Athens after World War II, several major private collections of manuscripts were donated to it (e.g., the manuscripts of Helen Stathatos, the Damianos Kyriazis collection, and the collection of Anastasis Kanellopoulos) or bought by the Library (e.g., those of Volidis and Martakos). Later acquisitions include a significant number of *karamanlidika* manuscripts, and welcome donations still enrich the collections.[1]

The colloquium and exhibition organized at the Gennadius library by the Greek Paleographical Society in the late spring and summer of 2004 during the directorship of my predecessor, Haris Kalligas, opened a window into the history of this unique collection by bringing to the fore 79 specimens many of which had not been known even to the scholarly community. The catalogue published by the Greek Paleographical Society at the time of the exhibition[2] has already made it apparent that the riches of an institution of the caliber of the Gennadius Library, lie not only in its most impressive copies of rare editions and luxurious bindings but also in the smaller, less prestigious but often equally significant historical artifacts that the genius of Joannes Gennadius assembled.

This volume fleshes out the valuable role that each manuscript played in its time. Thanks to the efforts and wisdom of Maria Politi, a team of specialists took the challenge of producing microhistories of several of the most interesting Greek manuscripts from the Gennadius collection. I will say little of the admirable detective work necessary

1. Most recently several music manuscripts in Byzantine notation were offered to the Library by Professor Curtis Runnels of Boston University.

2. Ταξίδι στον κόσμο των χειρογράφων: κατάλογος έκθεσης χειρογράφων Γενναδείου Βιβλιοθήκης, επιμ. Μαρία Πολίτη, Ελένη Παππά. Αθήνα: Ελληνική Παλαιογραφική Εταιρεία 2004.

to bring the manuscripts to life. The ability to uncover hidden treasures is one of the greatest joys that a venerable library can give a scholar; the essays in this volume bring to the fore exactly this aspect of the work. The essays ponder the role that the manuscripts played in preserving the intellectual history of Greece; they identify scribes, methods of copying, textual traditions, but also give us insights into the ways in which Joannes Gennadius identified the manuscripts he decided to buy. The chapters range from topics in paleography, art, music, and science to the practicalities of education and schooling, but also to the historical realities on the eve of the Greek War of Independence.

The erudition and scholarly breadth of this volume will surely spark new interest in the study of these manuscripts. In fact, this first exploration of the Gennadeion manuscript collection has already spearheaded other activities within the library. A generous two-year grant from the Demos Foundation has funded an inventory of all Greek manuscripts in the Library. Under the supervision of Gennadius Librarian Irini Solomonidi and with the counsel of Maria Politi, philologist and paleographer Vassiliki Liakou-Kropp has created online catalogue entries for all Greek manuscripts in the American School library management system, Ambrosia. It is our hope that further similar initiatives will ensure the cataloguing of all manuscripts in the Library's collection.

This important study appears as volume VI of the *Gennadeion Monograph* series, which has produced significant studies of unique materials from the Gennadius collections since the 1940s. The topics in the series range from young Heinrich Schliemann's impressions of the U.S. (vol. II) and the impressive plans of Venetian fortifications that Francesco Grimani had drawn in the 17th century (vol. IV), to travelers accounts (vol. III) and the military reports in Captain Thomas Douglas Whitcombe's diaries of 1827 (vol. V). This volume represents a new beginning in the Gennadeion Monographs series after the revised edition of Kevin Andrews's *Castles of the Morea* (vol. IV) in 2006. It is published simultaneously in English and Greek, and aspires to invigorate the publication of original materials from the Library.

The present book vividly illustrates the crucial role that the Gennadius Library and its collections play in the study of Hellenism during the Byzantine, post-Byzantine, and early modern periods. A fitting testament to the wealth of the Gennadius manuscript collection, it showcases the wonderful intellectual rewards afforded by the exploration of the unique treasures of the Library. I am indebted to Maria Politi, a true advocate for the Gennadius manuscript collection, for her erudition, excellent editorial skills, and perseverance that have made this volume possible. I am grateful to Eleni Pappa for her untiring editorial work, and to John Davis and Elizabeth Fowden for their fine translation of the Greek text, and to Maria Yiouroukou for indexing. I would also like to thank the staff of the ASCSA Publications under the leadership of Andrew Reinhard, Carol A. Stein, and Charles Watkinson for the production of this book and Mary Jane Gavenda for its design. Sturdy foundations for further study of the Gennadeion manuscripts have been laid.

— Maria Georgopoulou, Director of the Gennadius Library

Contents

List of Illustrations

Figures

Plates

1

Introduction: John Gennadius and the Manuscript Collection of the Gennadius Library

MARIA POLITI

On May 10, 2004, the Greek Paleographical Society and the Gennadius Library held a colloquium and exhibition of manuscripts contained in the Library, taking speakers and audience on a *Journey through the World of Manuscripts in the Gennadius Collection: From Caesarea to Vienna, from Vasileios Meliteniotes to a Companion of Rigas Ferraios, from 1226 to 1796.*[1] The title gives a good idea of the chronological and geographical scope of the subject, the singularity of the names involved, and the use and fate of the manuscripts themselves and their creators, while referring, as chance would have it, to just two—the first and last—of the manuscripts discussed. The first was written in Caesarea by a certain Vasileios Meliteniotes, previously unknown to scholarship. Before becoming part of the Gennadius Collection it had belonged to a Greek collector in Vienna. It was in Vienna also that the other manuscript of the title was located, the owner of which was a comrade of the legendary Greek Enlightenment thinker and revolutionary Rigas Ferraios. In 1796, very shortly before his execution, this owner appears to have inserted a bifolio containing his own poetical and prose compositions. For both these manuscripts—the first as a collector's item, the second as a personal handbook—Vienna was an important staging post on their own journey.

The Greek Paleographical Society was concerned to take not only specialist scholars on this journey but also interested laymen, giving them the chance to appreciate and discover the intrinsic fascination of some of the manuscripts in the collection. And we are now delighted that to the success of the colloquium we can add the publication of its proceedings by the American School of Classical Studies. For paleographical research, it should be remembered, occupies a place close to archaeological research: while archaeologists excavate and uncover the material remains of past times (such as buildings, statuary, utensils), paleographers uncover the intellectual, written remains preserved for us in handwritten books and documents.

And what unplundered treasures our "excavations" among the manuscripts of the Gennadius Library brought to light! Aware that, as a manuscript of the 16th century so

1. The exhibition included a selection of manuscripts relevant to the themes of the colloquium, as well as a number of other manuscripts (Politi and Pappa 2004). So as to avoid confusion, references here are only to the pages of the catalogue and plates (e.g., Politi and Pappa 2004, pp. 104–105, pl. 28).

succinctly states, "A treasure hidden and a font sealed are of benefit to none,"[2] the Greek Paleographical Society chose to break the seal on the font and bring to light the treasure of the Gennadius Library—to make available to all, specialists and non-specialists alike, some of these moments from our cultural and intellectual heritage.

It was a very pleasant surprise to discover that the collection of Greek manuscripts in the Gennadius Library itself served this aim, since it was clearly built up on these same general principles. It contains various manuscripts that, while not particularly luxurious or valuable, tell much about their cultural context, and the age and circumstances that produced them, from the 12th century through the 19th. To take the analogy with archaeology a step further, one can say that while the collection may not contain the equivalent of a vase decorated by Euphronios, it nevertheless does include many correspondingly humble clay wine jugs with a rich story to tell, such as that crudely scratched with the moving and evocative letters ΦΕΙΔΙΟ ΕΙΜΙ ("I am Pheidias's").[3]

It is hidden treasures of this kind that are preserved in the Gennadius Library manuscript collection: they were painstakingly amassed over the years in order to gather evidence for the intellectual history of Hellenism, and especially modern Hellenism, and less from a desire to build up a collection of grandiose, luxurious artifacts. The core of the collection is comprised of the manuscripts collected by George Gennadius and, subsequently and even more energetically, by his son John.[4]

A staunch patriot, active supporter of the Greek struggle for independence, national benefactor, collector and scholar, George Gennadius (d. 1854) initiated the manuscript collection. Following Greek independence, he took part in the establishment of a number of important cultural and educational foundations including the Archeological Museum, the Arsakeion School for Girls, the University, and the National Library, of which he was appointed first director in 1832. Later, his son John was particularly keen on further developing the collection: apropos, one of the manuscripts (Genn. MS 1.6)[5] contains a note on the flyleaf written in John's hand that reads, "An old acquisition of my father's."

John Gennadius (1844–1932) was a scholar, diplomat, enthusiastic Greek patriot, and renowned bibliophile, the latter being the capacity in which he is best known today, as the founder of the Gennadius Library. For in 1922 he offered his priceless library to the American School of Classical Studies, on condition that it always remain

2. Ghinis and Pantazopoulos 1985, p. 31 (the beginning of the *Προοίμιον*). Cf. Athens, National Library (EBE) MS 2372, fol. 3v in Politis 1991, p. 371.

3. This crudely scratched inscription was found on fragments of a wine jug from excavations at the site of Pheidias's workshop at Olympia. See, for instance, Phragaki 2007, esp. pp. 373–374.

4. On George and John Gennadius, the Gennadius Library, and the collection of Greek manuscripts see Topping 1955, pp. 121-148, esp. pp. 145–146; Walton 1964, pp. 305-326; 1970, pp. 3-16, esp. pp. 12–14; 1972, pp. 5-17, esp. pp. 8–11; Gennadius Library 2001; Mazarakis-Ainian 2002.

5. As a small acknowledgement of our debt to George Gennadius, this manuscript was catalogued number 1 in the exhibition, just as in the catalogue prepared by John Gennadius himself (on which, see the following note). See Politi and Pappa 2004, pp. 13, 21–23. For more on the manuscript, see Angeliki Mitsani's chapter.

in Greece, that it be kept in a special building that would bear the name Gennadius in memory of his father, and that catalogues giving detailed descriptions of the Library's contents be published.[6] In 1926 he was fortunate enough to see his wishes fulfilled, attending with his wife Florence the opening of the Gennadius Library building.[7]

The Gennadius Library was endowed with the collections of John's father as well as his own (books, incunabula, manuscripts, maps, paintings, and so on), which had been built up over many years of hard work and personal sacrifice. Indeed, during a period of financial hardship, John took the painful decision to sell various objects in the collection, but fortunately later managed to gradually reacquire them. He always had a passionate love for Greece and for whatever reflected or embodied the growth of Greek learning and culture. He was also acutely aware of the significance and power of learning and scholarship through the ages, and himself said that "it is doubtful if other nations esteemed learning to the same high degree as the Greeks, whether during times of strength and prosperity or during the dark days of Ottoman rule."[8] Likewise, he believed, of course, that Greek learning continues to be of global importance, as reflected in the words of Isocrates inscribed above the imposing, classicizing entrance to the Gennadius Library—ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ ΜΕΤΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ (Greeks are they who share in our learning)[9]—which he believed was no mere slogan but a sober truth.[10] What is more, as a diplomat, he proudly demonstrated his love of Greece by wearing the traditional costume of the Greek freedom fighters of the War of Independence, and it was in this attire that he chose to be depicted in portraits.

John Gennadius's interest in manuscripts focused particularly on manuscripts that provided evidence for the ways of thinking and intellectual history of the Greeks during the long era of Ottoman rule. He also demonstrated impeccable taste in his choice of rare bindings and his care to have manuscripts bound in a manner befitting their contents, such as in the case of the Gospels manuscript Genn. 1.6 (noted above), which were bound in plain red velvet at Gennadius's request by a celebrated Parisian binder.

6. In 1922, John Gennadius himself compiled a full, typewritten catalogue in English of his collection (Gennadius 1922), arranged under various categories, the first being the manuscripts, about which he provides much valuable information, although he modestly claims not to be "a specialist in paleography," recommending that "this section be revised thoroughly before going to press." Unfortunately his wishes to have the catalogue printed have still to be fulfilled. However, it is available to researchers, and we wish to take the opportunity here to acknowledge our debt to it in preparing the exhibition. Some years ago, professor Athanasios Kominis and historian Vasilis Panagiotopoulos worked together on a new catalogue of the Gennadius Library manuscripts, but the project never reached completion. We are very grateful to these two scholars for allowing the Paleographical Society to consult this unpublished material.

7. Florence was known in Greece as Anthi, the Greek translation of her name. Florence was an American who was equally passionate about books and warmly supported her husband's vision to set up the Gennadius Library. See Walton 1964, pp. 320–326.

8. Mazarakis-Ainian 2002, p. 5.

9. Isocrates, *Panegyric* 4.50: καὶ μᾶλλον Ἕλληνας καλεῖσθαι τοὺς τῆς παιδεύσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας ἢ τοὺς τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως μετέχοντες.

10. Mazarakis-Ainian 2002, p. 6.

Gennadius also sought to enrich his collection with manuscripts and other artifacts that had belonged to the collection of Lord Guilford, another collector with a vision for preserving the past.[11] Indeed, he succeeded in acquiring a significant proportion of the Guilford Collection, and the Gennadius Library has continued this policy with great success.[12]

The initial collection gives a clear indication of the criteria on which it was built. Its special quality lies in the fact that while it does not consist of sumptuous items it nevertheless contains manuscripts that are significant and representative as regards their content and the age in which they were written. Each manuscript has its own intriguing story to tell, and at the same time is witness to the learning and vision of Gennadius. Thus, the collection gives us an insight into the evolution and development of the way in which manuscript books were used over the centuries. Sometimes, for instance, these *unique* objects were written and created, through great labor, by specially trained scribes who were frequently highly learned and skilled in their craft and who contributed to the dissemination of a text, whether intended for their own use or as a commission for others. Sometimes the manuscripts were the product of personal composition, written perhaps in a hand displaying little concern for calligraphy and intended primarily for private use. Sometimes, moreover, they were aimed at giving official or more secure status to a text. Once again, by way of example, the first and final chapters of this volume deal with manuscripts falling into these categories.

Readers may be surprised to learn of the fact that manuscripts were copied and read until so late—indeed, until the first half of the 19th century. In the Greek world, however, this was practically the natural way of things. The circulation of printed books was neither widespread nor easy, while the manuscript book enjoyed throughout these centuries the confidence of the clergy and of the public more generally. However, this is not the place to explore the many and varied reasons for the prolonged and irregular coexistence of print and pen.[13]

A very important part of the Gennadius Collection is comprised of manuscripts containing works by classical authors, copied for the most part in the West during the Renaissance by Greek and western scholar-scribes, as well as later copies of similar manuscripts, with their notes and commentaries, that were destined for the printing house. These are rare manuscripts that cannot be found in other libraries in Greece; they are of great value in helping us to understand the ways in which manuscripts and printed books were produced—together with their cross-influences—and they furnish us with the names of various scholars of the past, and much else besides. As noted earlier, they also demonstrate the good judgment and expert eye of Gennadius himself.

The Greek manuscripts of the Gennadius Library, which until now have received little attention from the wider scholarly community, amount to some three hundred,

11. Navari 1985–1986, pp. 132-144.

12. Genn. MS 801 by Yiannis Kokkonas which is discussed below once belonged to the Guilford Collection.

13. See Sklavenitis 1982, pp. 283-293, and cf. Olga Gratziou's chapter.

most of which, as we noted, were part of the collection of John Gennadius and his father George. Other manuscripts were later added to the initial core, including a number of deluxe illuminated codices, donated by Eleni Stathatou (in 1947 and 1952), Damianos Kyriazis (1953 and 1994), Anastasios Kanellopoulos (1970), and others, plus several manuscripts that were bought by the Library, such as the Volidis Collection (acquired in 1956) and the Martakos Collection (1969).

To conclude the first part of this introduction, I would like to note that the colloquium and exhibition were dedicated to the memory of two outstanding scholars, the late Professor George Galavaris and Professor, and member of the Athens Academy, Manousos Manousakas. Men of exceptional character, with a prolific and profound scholarly record, they were both members of the Greek Paleographical Society and were closely associated with the Gennadius Library. It goes without saying that this volume of the proceedings of the colloquium, too, is also dedicated to their memory. Fate, however, unfortunately obliges me to record two further very sad absences: Angeliki Mitsani (d. May 2006) and Penelope Stathi (d. March 2008). Both were dear friends and fine scholars, and gave great moral encouragement to the production of this volume; both, however, knew that they would not live to see it go into print, though they worked on their contributions to the very end. Angeliki Mitsani had the foresight to assign final editing of her contribution to her colleague Ioanna Bitha, while the final text of Penelope Stathi was edited by Evangelia Balta. We thank both these colleagues for their kind involvement.

I believe that the colloquium achieved its aim of bringing the Gennadius manuscript collection—particularly groups of manuscripts that are less well known—to the attention of a wider public, discussing the creators of the manuscripts, the matter contained therein, and, importantly, the age and milieu from which they sprang. Of course, there are other groups of manuscripts, such as legal texts, in the Gennadius Library, which although offering much matter for consideration were not dealt with in the colloquium, as we wished to focus on less well-trodden paths and to highlight the special nature of the collection, approaching the subject chronologically. The speakers, experts in their various fields, were invited to explore new areas, providing full scholarly substantiation for their theses.

The order of the chapters below very loosely follows the chronology of the manuscripts discussed, although of course there is inevitable movement backwards and forwards in time. However, the defining boundary lines are ultimately cultural: the first five contributions belong to the world of Byzantium, even if some of the manuscripts discussed in fact date from as late as the 19th century; the remaining chapters deal with the later period of the Renaissance and its aftermath, through the Enlightenment and the Modern Greek period. It is interesting to see that during the cultural change from Byzantium to the Enlightenment there occurred a shift in the use of the manuscript book: from being a unique *copy* of a text, in the service of its dissemination, the manuscript evolved into a kind of personal *original,* destined for individual, private use or scholarly elaboration.

Angeliki Mitsani discusses three illuminated Gospel books, written in different parts of the eastern Mediterranean in the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries. Each has its own story to tell. One of them, of microscopic dimensions, was written in a tiny script by Vasileios Meliteniotes in 1226 in Caesarea, and is intriguing from both the paleographical and historical perspective. One of the other two Gospels was written by a certain Manuel Agiases. Neither of these two scribes was known to us before now.

Emmanouel Giannopoulos discusses manuscripts of Orthodox chant, which played their part in preserving the Greek musical tradition. The oldest, and highly important from the musicological perspective, dates from the 14th century, while the others were written in the 18th and 19th centuries. Here, too, we discover scribes and musical arrangements for chants that were hitherto unknown.

Nonna Papadimitriou examines an unknown manuscript containing the *Klimax,* or *Ladder to Heaven,* of John of Sinai, a very popular text throughout the long life of Byzantium. The text and its commentary in the Gennadius codex appear to be fuller than those so far published, thus making this codex particularly notable.

Olga Gratziou considers a number of manuscript texts that continued to be copied throughout the age when printed and handwritten books existed side by side. She explains that the preference for the manuscript book was partly due to ideological reasons and partly practical reasons. These texts include the Three Liturgies (of John Chrystostom, Basil the Great, and the Presanctified Gifts), which from the end of the 16th century onwards have a particularly luxurious appearance and rich decoration. This contributor looks at three manuscripts of this kind, each displaying its own features, dating from the 17th and 18th centuries. To a different genre—that of illustrated profane reading matter—belongs a fragment of a historical text, which at first sight looks like an insignificant booklet, but on closer inspection is an extremely rare example of an illustrated manuscript containing valuable evidence of the Byzantine secular artistic tradition while at the same time reflecting notions regarding history among the Orthodox Christians of Constantinople in the 17th century.[14]

Kriton Chrysochoidis considers archival evidence of a different kind preserved in fragments of two old codices of the metropolitan of Kastoria containing acts from the years 1578–1580 and 1703–1725.[15]

Eleni Pappa looks at a particularly interesting part of the collection containing autograph manuscripts by western scholars, manuscripts by some outstanding Greek copyists, which provided models for printed books and manuscripts that preserve rare texts, dating from the 15th to the 19th centuries. She discovers manuscripts copied by

14. This is an ideal opportunity to note that it was Olga Gratziou's book, *Αναμνήσεις* (which first brought to light this exceptional evidence for what must once have been an impressive and lavishly illustrated codex but is today a small and time-worn gathering of folios) that first gave us the idea of organizing the colloquium so as to share some of the hidden secrets of the Library's manuscript collection with more people.

15. In his paper presented at the colloquium, Kriton Chrysochoidis also discussed a patriarchal letter by Kyrillos Loukaris (1633), which he described in detail in Politi and Pappa 2004 (pp. 47–48, pl. 14).

both important and minor scholars and identifies some of the people for whom the manuscripts were produced, including the *Grammar* of Manuel Chrysoloras, copied in the 15th century by someone belonging to the circle of Bessarion, and the learned scribe and proofreader at the printing houses of Didot and Migne, who probably belonged to the circle of Korais, plus a number of other important philologists of the 19th century such as Thomas Gaisford, the publisher of Euripides. She also investigates the provenance and successive owners of manuscripts. In the light of the information gathered, she concludes that John Gennadius was particularly interested in these manuscripts, and acquired them less for their age or content and more for their association with important personalities, copyists, scholars, owners and collectors, and as reflecting various aspects of the philological and editorial context of their times.

Chariton Karanasios examines a number of philosophical manuscripts of the 17th and 18th centuries evidencing the degree of intellectual continuity within Hellenism, and bridging Byzantine and Modern Greek thought. Besides works on logic, metaphysics, and ethics, the Gennadius Library holds manuscripts dealing with the natural sciences by Classical and Byzantine authors, as well as translations of Western texts. Most of these manuscripts served as textbooks in schools and colleges of the Greek East and played a leading role in the development of Modern Greek philosophical and scientific thought.

Penelope Stathi discusses the cultural significance of the so-called Karamanli manuscripts footnote box (that is, Turkish language in Greek script) written in the 18th century. This fascinating group of texts includes the two presented here, each presenting very different content: a Gospel book and a Chronicle by Dorotheos of Monemvasia (Pseudo-Dorotheos). In both, the desire of the copyists/translators to enlighten and educate their fellow Greeks is plain to see.

Spyros Asdrachas presents us with an unusual memorandum. An intriguing source for Modern Greek economic history, it appears to have been prepared in response to a specific set of questions, and throws interesting light on the workings of the society of the day. The compiler of the memorandum is a witness who makes his statement on two levels, that of the events themselves, and that of the reception of those events.

The last chapter of the volume, by Yannis Kokkonas, uncovers the well-concealed traces of Ioannis Emmanouil, a comrade of the Greek Enlightenment revolutionary Rigas Ferraios, and unravels the threads of an affair that could comfortably provide material for an intriguing novel.

To close, I wish to express the gratitude of the Greek Paleographical Society to the American School of Classical Studies, and in particular the former director Stephen Tracy and his successor Jack Davis, for deciding to include the proceedings of the colloquium in the ASCS series of titles. Indeed, we are delighted that this publication gives the Greek Paleographical Society the opportunity to present some of the expertise and knowledge of its members to a wider public.

We also thank the management at the Gennadius Library, in particular Haris Kalligas, Maria Georgopoulou, and Sophie Papageorgiou, together with the other members

of the staff, who contributed so generously and efficiently to the organization of the exhibition and colloquium, as well as assisting in the production of this volume. We are grateful also to the curator of the photographic archive at the Library, Katerina Papatheofani, and photographer Ilias Iliadis, for their invaluable contributions.

It is our sincere hope that the volume will satisfy authors and readers alike, and that, besides instruction, it will also provide delight. ⊠

2

Illustrated Byzantine Manuscripts in the Gennadius Library

ANGELIKI MITSANI

The oldest Byzantine manuscripts contained in the Gennadius Collection are three Gospel books of relatively small dimensions and containing decoration. They originate from various regions of the eastern Mediterranean and are examples of Byzantine provincial manuscript production of, respectively, the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries. All three were included in the exhibition at the Gennadius Library and its accompanying catalogue.[1] Each is interesting for its own reasons and shall be discussed individually here.

Genn. MS 259 was acquired in 1969 from a private owner.[2] It is composed of 197 parchment folios (20 × 15 cm) and contains all four Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

The surviving decoration of this Gospel book includes the frontispiece of the first Gospel, which contains a decorated square headpiece and an initial B from the beginning of Matthew (fol. 1, Pl. 1), and the lower half of the first page of the Gospel according to Luke with its initial E (fol. 95, Pl. 2). The first folios of the Gospels according to Mark and John have been detached.

On paleographical and stylistic grounds, the manuscript belongs to a large group of books produced by provincial workshops of the Byzantine empire during the second half of the 12th and the early 13th century. It displays the distinctive features of the black ink script, popular in Cyprus and Palestine, with a particularly characteristic epsilon, first commented on by P. Canart.[3] This "Decorative Style Group," as it has come to be termed lately (known also as the "School of Nicaea" or the "Family 2400"), includes some 150 manuscripts and is the largest surviving group of Byzantine manuscripts to display such distinctive stylistic affinity.[4] Over 100 of these manuscripts are decorated

1. Politi and Pappa 2004, pp. 21–28, nos. 1–3, pls. 1–3, 5, 6. I thank Maria Politi for so kindly inviting me to speak at the symposium on the subject of the Byzantine manuscripts in the Gennadius Library.

2. A note written in pencil on the inside cover states, "Martakos purchase, 20/9/1969." According to a note on the case of the manuscript, it was bought in 1958 by the antiquarian bookstore run by T. Zoumpoulakis, who claimed that it originated from the Roussopoulos Collection.

3. Canart 1981; 1989, pp. 32–36. Gamillscheg 1987 expresses the view that this type of script was widely employed in Constantinople, Cyprus, Palestine, and perhaps also Asia Minor during the 12th century.

4. Carr 1982b, 1987, pp. 313-321.

and, in the view of Annemarie Weyl Carr, who has studied them extensively, perhaps originate from Cyprus or Palestine.[5]

Genn. MS 259 is included in the catalogue published by Carr.[6] She notes that the minuscule script of this book displays close parallels with the script in a British Library Gospel book (BL Add. MS 37002) belonging to the same group.[7] The two manuscripts are of the same dimensions, their parchment folios have been ruled in the same way, and the text on the first page of each Gospel is written in red ink (and also gilded in the London manuscript). An inscription added in a later period to the London manuscript indicates that it was still in Cyprus in 1746.[8]

The decoration of the surviving square headpiece in the Gennadius Gospel, which encloses fleurs-de-lis in blue and green set within a rhomboid pattern on a gold ground—a favorite design of this group of manuscripts[9]—as well as the style of the decorated initials B and E point to a date in the late 12th century. The style of the initial B, with a snake curled around the vertical stroke of the letter, at the beginning of Matthew is less common.[10] This is a variation of a favorite initial found in this group of manuscripts comprised of the entwined forms of a bear and a snake,[11] which appears in the 11th century and was adopted in manuscripts of the "Decorative Style,"[12] emerging again in a slightly different form in the late 13th and early 14th centuries.[13]

According to Carr, the Gennadius manuscript originally contained full-page illuminations with each of the four evangelists occupying the facing page (i.e., the verso of the preceding folio) opposite the incipit page of each Gospel. The evidence for this is the traces of blue and red on the headpiece of the first surviving folio of Matthew

5. Carr 1989.

6. Carr 1987, p. 188, no. 4, pl. 12:D8.

7. Carr 1987, p. 248, no. 67, pl. 6:A1–6:A12, 6:B9 (with previous bibliography).

8. Carr 1987, p. 248; 1989, p. 136, n. 42; Constantinides and Browning 1993, p. 8, n. 38.

9. See, for instance, Carr 1987, cards 1C10 (Jerusalem, Saba MS 40, fol. 1), 5G2 (Sinai MS gr. 149, fol. 6), 5F4 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS gr. 94, fol. 53), 5D12 (Athos, Karakallou MS 37, fol. 1), 6A8 (London, BL Add. MS 37002, fol. 194), 8A4 (Paris, BN MS suppl. 175, fol. 73), 9G6 (Athens, National Library MS 153, fol. 5), 9F4 (Athens, NL MS 77, fol. 6), 9E8 (Athos, Stavronikita MS 56, fol. 96), 10A6 (Rhodes, Panagia of Lindos MS 4, fol. 65), 11F9 (Athos, Vatopedi MS 976, fol. 13), 12D11 (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 11375, fol. 111).

10. For earlier examples, see Weitzmann 1935, pp. 62, 64, pls. 52 (Athens, NL MS 210, mid-10th century) and 55 (Leipzig Universitäts-Bibliothek Cod. 6, second half of 10th century).

11. See, for instance, Carr 1987, cards 4B1 (Paris, BN MS Suppl. gr. 181, fol. 2), 5G2 (Sinai MS gr. 149, fol. 6), 5E2 (Athos, Dionysiou MS 12, fol. 8), 5D12 (Athos, Karakallou MS 37, fol. 1), 6G1 (London, BL MS Harley 1810, fol. 26), 6C2 (Münster, Bibelmuseum MS gr. 10, fol. 7), 6A1 (London, BL Add. MS 37002, fol. 7v), 7C2 (Malibu, J. P. Getty Museum MS Ludwig II 5, fol. 10), 8G2 (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Holkham 114, fol. 6), 9G6 (Athens, NL MS 153, fol. 5), 9E4 (Athos, Stavronikita MS 56, fol. 11), 9D7 (London, BL Add. MS 26103, fol. 2), 9B7 (Cambridge, Gonvill and Lains MS 403, fol. 1), 9A10 (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. T. 5.34, fol. 1), 9A2 (Athos, Iviron MS 55, fol. 6), 10A2 (Rhodes, Panagia of Lindos MS 4, fol. 6), 10F2 (Athos, Vatopedi MS 939, fol. 37), 11G6 (Phillipps 7712, fol. 18), 12C10 (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 11375, fol. 1).

12. Nelson 1991, p. 47, fig. 79, pl. c-8 (Paris, BN MS gr. 64).

13. Carr 1987, p. 148, n. 83; Nelson 1991, pp. 47–48, fig. 17, pl. 8:b (Williamstown, Williams College MS De Ricci I), fig. 31, pl. 11:c (Venice MS gr. I, 19), fig. 45, pl. 19:b (University of Chicago MS 46), fig. 52, pl. 21:b (Gottingen MS theol. 28), fig. 71, pl. 26:a (Athos, Iviron MS 30), fig. 79, pl. c:9 (Malibu, J. P. Getty Museum MS Ludwig II 5).

(fol. 1, Pl. 1), that probably rubbed off from the robes of the evangelist occupying the opposite page. The figures of the evangelists, which must have been painted on separate bifolios of thicker parchment—the usual practice in the case of such manuscripts—have been removed together with the headpieces and initials of the other Gospels.

One feature, however, serves to suggest the original design of the manuscript's illumination, though not its completion. At the end of Luke and before the beginning of John, a number of blank parchment folios have been filled in by a later hand with crudely drawn circles containing the Easter Tables for the years 1241 to 1261. These occupy the verso of fol. 153 and the recto and verso of fol. 154 (Pl. 3). Folio 153 is made of thin parchment and is marked with rulings intended for text, as in the rest of the manuscript, and contains the end of the text of Luke on its recto. Folio 154, however, which contains the continuation and end of the Easter Tables, is of thicker parchment and is not marked by rulings for the scribe, apart from two horizontal lines indicating the upper and lower margins of the page. We can reasonably assume, therefore, that this thicker folio preceding John (which begins on fol. 155) was originally intended for decoration with the image of the evangelist. The horizontal lines at the top and bottom of the folio simply indicated the frame for the illustration. The fact that this folio remained undecorated and was shortly afterwards filled in with crudely drawn Easter Tables suggests that the manuscript illumination was never actually completed.

The later, somewhat unusual, numbering of the quires of the section containing Luke's Gospel is particularly interesting. The days of the week, from Monday to Sunday, are noted in dark brown ink in the lower margin of the verso of every quire apart from the first, which is numbered on the recto, as follows: fol. 95: $\beta^{\alpha'}$ [Δευτέρα = Monday] (Pl. 2), fol. 102v: $\gamma^{\eta'}$ [Τρίτη = Tuesday], fol. 110v: $\delta^{\eta'}$ [Τετάρτη = Wednesday], fol. 118v: $\varepsilon^{\eta'}$ [Πέμπτη = Thursday], fol. 127v: Παρ(ασκευ)$^{\acute{\eta}}$ [= Friday], fol. 134v: Σα(ββά)$^{\tau\omega'}$ [= Saturday], fol. 142v: Κυριακ$^{\acute{\eta}}$ [= Sunday].

The manuscript's binding is notable for preserving the original front and back covers. The wooden boards are covered with dark red damask cloth, while the rectangular plaque—presumably metal—decorating the front cover has been removed. The remains of the two clasps also survive.

Genn. MS 1.5 derives from central Anatolia of the first half of the 13th century. The manuscript is tiny, and can fit into the palm of the hand. It contains 175 folios of thin parchment (measuring 10 × 7 cm) and is written in an exceptionally fine script. The scribe's note informs us that the manuscript was copied by *protonotarios* Vasileios Meliteniotes in Caesarea in 1226 during the reign of the Seljuk sultan Kay Qubad, lending it special historical interest.

This manuscript, together with two other, post-Byzantine manuscripts, was donated to the Gennadius Library in 1947 by Eleni Stathatou.[14] We do not know, however, when or how Eleni Stathatou acquired the manuscript. Scholars had been

14. Topping 1955, p. 145; Croquison 1957, p. 79.

alerted to its existence through two publications, in German, in 1902 and 1904 by the headmaster of the Greek school in Vienna, Evgenios Zomaridis, who referred to it as the "Dumbasche Evangelien-Handschrift."[15] The name "Dumba" was the German version of the name of Nikolaos Theodorou Doumpas (1854–1928), a resident of Vienna and member of an eminent family of the Greek diaspora.[16] Evgenios Zomaridis informs us that Nikolaos's father, Theodoros Stergiou Doumpas (d. 1880), was given the manuscript by Michael Potlis (1810–1863), a Greek jurist, former minister in the Greek government and professor at Athens University, who left Greece for Vienna after the overthrow of King Otto.

A later article by Spyridon Lampros, published in 1915, gave an account of some of the manuscript's earlier history. Two documents of the Greek Ministry of Education, dated 1854, concern the proposed sale of the manuscript by a private individual to the Greek state.[17] The sale was never carried through because the committee set up by the Ministry of Education to assess the proposed purchase decided that the manuscript was not worth buying. In the end, it appears to have been bought by Michael Potlis who subsequently gave it to Theodoros Doumpas, as already noted.

The Gospel book displays a broad range of interesting features:[18] philological, for its additional verse and prose texts; paleographical and codicological, for the dating, scribe, and elegant hand; artistic, for its illuminations and decoration; historical, for the information contained in the scribal note, and more generally for its unusual provenance.

Besides the four Gospels, the manuscript contains a series of prologues (Pls. 4, 5), summaries, and eleven epigrams on the four evangelists.[19] While such material is regularly encountered in manuscripts of this kind, its abundance, variety and fullness suggest a particularly cultivated milieu with philological interests, and extensive use of Byzantine models.

The manuscript contains four full-page illustrations of the four evangelists, four ribbon-like headpieces, the evangelists' symbols, and frames for the prefatory texts.

The four evangelist portraits are painted on the verso of the folios, as frontispieces to the Gospels, which begin on the opposite page: fol. 9v Matthew, fol. 55v Mark, fol. 85v Luke (Pl. 6), and fol. 132v John (Pl. 7). These folios, intended for the portraits, are bifolios of thicker parchment and do not show ruling marks.

Each evangelist is sitting on a throne with a high back and is writing his Gospel. John (Pl. 7) and Matthew, both with gray beards and hair, are writing on the page of an open manuscript that they hold in their hands, while their feet rest on a podium. Luke (Pl. 6) and Mark are younger, with dark hair and beards, and display a degree of

15. Zomaridis 1902, plates of fols. 132v and 165v–166; 1904, pp. 1–28 (with figs.).

16. Tzafettas and Konecny 2002, pp. 250–251, 256–257 (with a genealogical tree of the Doumpas family).

17. Lampros 1915.

18. Croquison 1957, p. 79, pls. 14, 15; Spatharakis 1983, p. 49, no. 176, pls. 327, 328; Carr 1987, pp. 122, 123, 168 (17), 174 (95); Mitsani 2005, pp. 149-164.

19. On the epigrams and summaries, see Zomarides 1902, p. 24; 1904, pp. 9–21; Kominis 1951, pp. 263 (no. 2), 264 (no. 5), 267 (no. 2), 270 (no. 2), 271 (no. 3), 274 (no. 4), 279.

movement, one foot bent further back in support of the body. They are dipping their quills in the inkwells, as they, too, hold open manuscripts. On the right-hand side of each illustration we see a lectern supporting an open codex. The gem-adorned podiums, each topped by a red cushion, are identical in all four illustrations. The architectural background is composed, at the edges of the scenes, of symmetrical buildings with flat, gabled, or vaulted roofs. The names of the evangelists are inscribed in red ink on the gold ground.

The postures of the four seated evangelists are confined to two types: the evangelist writing and the evangelist reaching to dip his quill in the inkwell, both standard types in Byzantine manuscript illustration. The rich palette of the garments and buildings indicates a preference on the part of the artist for pastel tones of light green, blue, and mauve. The artist also employs a deep red hue and, for the décor, various shades of brown. In stylistic terms, a number of features betray a provincial hand: the flat rendering of the figures despite a marked expressiveness, the extensive use of line despite the effort to render volume, the somewhat clumsy perspective employed in the depiction of the buildings despite the abundance of the architectural décor, and the quality of the drawing. While his style is based on Byzantine models and above all on manuscript illustration of the "Decorative Style," particularly with regard to iconographical types and chromatic range, it is clearly influenced by several features of the manuscript art of Armenian Cilicia:[20] linearity (common in the manuscripts of the first half of the 13th century), the rendering of perspective in the architectural details, and the fine burnished gold in the ground of the illustrations. Likewise, it reflects the style, character and quality of monumental art work in the wider region of Cappadocia.[21]

The evangelist symbols, located in the outer margin of the first page of each Gospel opposite the corresponding evangelist portrait, present particular iconographical interest. Traces of the outline of the symbol of Matthew are preserved, while only some of the color of the symbol of Mark has survived. The symbol of Luke—a lion holding a closed book in its claws (fol. 86, Pl. 8)—can still be seen, as also John's symbol—the eagle, again holding a closed book in its talons (fol. 133, Pl. 9). These symbols conform with the instructions of Saint Epiphanios (fol. 1v, Pl. 4), leading us to assume that, in the case of the severely damaged symbols, Matthew was indeed symbolized by an angel, and Mark by a bull. This partnership of evangelist and symbol is encountered only rarely in Byzantine manuscript illustration, for instance, in National Library of Greece MS 57 of the third quarter of the 11th century. It does not, however, reoccur later than the Gennadius manuscript.[22] The unusual feature in this manuscript is that the symbols, apart from their markedly stylized appearance, are placed in the outer margin of the page, a customary feature of Armenian manuscript decoration.

20. Der Nersessian 1993, pp. 36–50; Evans 1994.

21. Thierry 1988; 1995, pp. 449–452; Jolivet-Lévy 1997, pp. 104–115.

22. Nelson 1980, pp. 20–21, 111, pls. 1, 2 (Athens, NL MS 57), 6, 7 (Genn. MS 1.5); Galavaris 1979, p. 21, pls. 11–15 (Athens, NL MS 57).

The four decorative bands serving as headpieces at the beginning of the text of each Gospel (fols. 10, 56, 86, 133), together with the borders of the epistle of Eusebius (fols. 2, 3) and the eight canon tables (fols. 3v–7), contain simple decoration of very limited chromatic range and plait motifs that end in stylized leaves and fleurs-de-lis. Blue is the only color employed for the stylized floral motifs, which are delineated by a thin white outline on a bright red background. These motifs are poor relatives of Byzantine models, and betray an unsophisticated artist, perhaps the scribe of the text.

The tiny, exquisite script, or *psilographia* as the scribal note calls it,[23] suggests that the hand is that of a highly proficient scribe. The script is in the style of the so-called *Perlschrift* and clearly belongs to types found in Asia Minor,[24] while the titles are written in discrete majuscule *(Auszeichnungsmajuskel)*. The main text of the Gospels is written in light brown ink, and the titles and initials in dark red and gold. The chapter numbers and some other indications in the margins, plus various epigrams, are written in cinnabar. The play with the color of the ink increases on fol. 166 recto and verso (Pls. 10, 11): the epigram on the evangelists uses, alternately, in successive lines, brown and dark red ink with chrysography, while the scribal note that follows uses the same alternation of color every two lines, a practice commonly found in manuscripts from Armenian Cilicia.

First appearing in manuscripts of the 11th century and becoming popular in the 12th[25] in manuscripts of the "Decorative Style,"[26] the epigram on fol. 166 reads as follows:

> Ἡ τετρὰς ὧδε τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ Λόγου
> ἐκχεῖ τὸ ρεῦμα τῶν ἀειρρύτων λόγον·
> τοίνυν ὁ διψῶν μὴ κατοκνεῖ τοῦ πίνειν
> ψυχὰς κατάρδει καὶ ποτίζει τὰς φρένας.
>
> These four disciples of the Word/flow with the stream of ever-flowing words;/for the thirsty who do not shrink from drinking/shall sprinkle their souls and water their minds.

Immediately below is a lengthy scribal note:

> Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ὲ ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν ἐλέησων ἡμᾶς. Ἐτελιώθη τὸ παρὸν τετραβάγγελον τῶν θεοκηρύκων μεγάλων τεσσάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν· Ματθ(αῖος)· Μάρκος· Λουκὰς· καὶ Ἰωάννης, διὰ χειρὸς παρ' ἐμοῦ Βασιλείου πρῶτονοταρίου Μελιτηνιώτου· υἱοῦ Ὀρέστου ἱερέως· τέλειον καὶ ἡσόστιχον ψυλογραφία. Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὅ καὶ ἐκυρίευσεν ὁ ἅγιός μου ἀυθέντης ὁ πανύψηλότατος μέγας σουλτάνος· Ῥωμανίαν· Ἀρμενίαν· Συρίαν· καὶ πασῶν τόπους

23. Atsalos 1971, pp. 252–254.

24. Gamillscheg 1991, p. 198, figs. 28–30, pls. XV, XVI.

25. Nelson 1980, pp. 10, 13–14, n. 62; 1981, pp. 576–577.

26. Carr 1982a, p. 11, n. 79; 1982b, p. 42, n. 18.

καὶ χώρας τουρκῶν, γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης, ὁ Καϊκουπάδης· ὑιὸς δὲ Γιαθατίνη τοῦ Καϊχωσρόϊ. Ἐτελειώθη εἰς Μεγάλην Καισάρειαν· καὶ ὅσοι καὶ οἵτινες ἐντυγχάνετε τοῦ τοιούτου τετραεὐαγγελίου, κάν τε εἰς μεταγραφὴν κἀν τε εἰς θεορίαν, εὔχεσθε ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ Βασιλείου καὶ τῶν τεκῶντων με διὰ τὸν Κ(ύριο)ν, τοῦ πρωὐπόντος Ὀρέστου ἱερέως (fol. 166v) καὶ τῆς μ(ητ)ρ(ό)ς μου Σοφίας· καί ἕνεκεν τούτου ἐλεήσει πάντας ὑμᾶς ὁ πανάγαθος Θ(εό)ς ὁ πλούσιως ἐν ἐλέει καὶ ἐν φιλαν(θρωπί)α ἄφατος· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰὼνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμην. Ἔτους Ϛψλδ' [1226] ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ' μη(νὶ) μαΐῳ α'

(fol. 166) Lord Jesus Christ, our God, have mercy on us. This Gospel book of the four great evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, was completed by the hand of Vasileios Meliteniotes, protonotarios, son of the priest Orestes, in a precise copy of fine minuscule script (psilographia), in the time when my saintly and most elevated lord, the great sultan Kay Qubad, son of Ghiyas ad-Din Kay Khusraw, had conquered Rum, Armenia, Syria and all the territories and countries of the Turks, land and sea. This book was completed in Great Caesarea. And may all who come upon this Gospel book, whether to read or copy it, pray to God for me, the sinner Vasileios, and for those who bore me, Orestes the aforementioned priest/(fol. 166v) and my mother Sophia; and, accordingly, may the all-beneficent God have mercy on you, who is bountiful in his mercy and unqualified in his love for man, now and forever and ever, Amen. Anno mundi 6734 [1226 A.D.], the 14th indiction, May 1st.

The contents of the Greek note are repeated in a later note, written in Armenian, at the end of the colophon, where a blank space had been left (Pl. 11).

As for the scribe, we know only as much as he himself tells us in this note: his name, Vasileios Meliteniotes;[27] the names of his mother and father, Sophia and the priest Orestes; his professional status, *protonotarios* of the sultan Kay Qubad; and the place where, and date when, he completed copying the Gospel book, in Caesarea in 1226.

Ala ad-Din Kay Qubad I was the Seljuk sultan of Rum, with his capital in Konya, from 1220 to 1237. While successfully extending the boundaries of his territories he was also well educated and a patron of the arts.[28] His father, Giyath al-Din Kaihosru I, ruled from 1192 to 1197, and again from 1204 to 1211.[29] The Seljuks, like the Ottoman dynasty after them and the Omayyads before them, made it a practice to employ

27. Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, p. 55; Bick 1920, pp. 67–68; Evangelatou-Notara 1982–1983, p. 194.

28. *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* IV, p. 850, s.v. Kaykhusraw (C. Cahen).

29. *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* IV, p. 849, s.v. Kaykhusraw (C. Cahen).

Greek scribes in their courts, chiefly for keeping records. A substantial number of records and documents written by this professional class of Greeks—including Vasileios Meliteniotes—has survived.[30]

Meliteniotes was a member of the Christian communities situated in the vicinity of Great Caesarea, as he calls the region in his note.[31] Cappadocian Caesarea was an important city in the Justinianic era, and enjoyed great prosperity in the 10th and 11th centuries. After its capture by the Turks in 1082 its fortunes were reversed, but when it finally came under the control of the Seljuks in 1178 a new age of prosperity for the city dawned. Enjoying relative security in the 13th century, Caesarea succeeded in reasserting its status, becoming an administrative center for the region, where Christians still comprised the majority of the population. The growth of commerce and local industry were largely responsible for the recovery in economic strength of the Christian communities, reflected in particular by the substantial number of churches that were built and decorated in the region as a whole during this period.

Our manuscript appears also to be linked to the local industry of Caesarea, and in particular the silk trade,[32] since the cloth used for the binding of the codex is from the area, as well as the fine, purple-colored silk cloth inserted between the miniature illustrations and their facing pages at the time the book was bound so as to protect them from wear. The two thick wooden boards of the manuscript's covers are covered in red silk cloth, while the spine is covered with green silk cloth. The metalwork that originally adorned the binding is not preserved.

The copying and decoration of the Gospel book by Meliteniotes presupposes the circulation and availability of Byzantine manuscripts and a well-educated Greek-speaking Christian readership. The repetition of the scribal note in Armenian serves both to affirm ownership of the manuscript while also evidencing the existence of a bilingual Christian community. The diverse significance of the manuscript is further reinforced by the fact that it is a unique and representative example of the manuscript production of the Christian population of Caesarea during the period of the Seljuk sultans.

The third Byzantine Gospel book in the Gennadius Library (Genn. MS 1.6) belonged to George Gennadius[33] and, according to a note written by his son John on flyleaf II, it was restored in November 1892 by G. Bénard in Paris.[34] Thanks to the scribal note in the manuscript we know the date on which the scribe finished his work, June 24th, 1315, as well as his name, Manuel Agiases.[35]

30. Vryonis 1971, p. 470, n. 95; Savvides 1981, pp. 124–125.

31. Wolff 1949, pp. 194-197; Goubert 1949, pp. 198-201.

32. Vryonis 1971, p. 477; Jacoby 1997, pp. 75–76.

33. Gennadios 1922, p. 1.

34. The note reads as follows: "an old acquisition of my father's, it was once in a bad state, but later restored by G. Bénard in Paris, in November '92; he also restored the binding and made the case, for the price of 300 francs." The wooden boards of the binding were covered in red velvet cloth, and two new silver clasps added.

35. The manuscript was first discussed by Cutler 1974, p. 259, who refers to the scribe as *Manuel hamartolos* (the sinner). Spatharakis 1983, p. 83, refers to him as *Manuel Apases.* The scribe is not included in Vogel and Gardthausen 1909.

The main body of the Gospel book is comprised of 62 parchment folios. Fourteen paper leaves—at the beginning and end of which were added blank parchment leaves—precede the beginning of the book, and a further six parchment leaves have been added to the end. The entire manuscript contains a total of 86 numbered folios.

The first paper leaves (fols. 2–15) contain a selection of readings from the beginning and end of each of the four Gospels *(Ἐκλογάδιον τῶν ἁγίων δ΄ Εὐαγγελιστῶν διὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ τέλους τῶν ἑκάστου εὐαγγελιστοῦ).* The brown ink of the script and the red initials point to a date in the 17th century. The otherwise unknown scribe concludes his text on fol. 15 (Pl. 12) with the stock phrase: Τῶ ἔχοντι καὶ γράψαντι Χ(ριστ)έ μου σῶσον (Christ, save the one who owns and the one who wrote this book).

The main part of the manuscript contains the four Gospels, although their original order has been disturbed, and each Gospel is prefaced by a table of its chapter divisions. At the end of the Gospels is a short epigram dedicated to the four evangelists (fols. 79v–80) followed by the scribal note (fol. 80, Pl. 13).

The otherwise unknown iambic twelve-syllable fourteen-line epigram to the evangelists is written in red ink, and its beginning is a variation of the four-line epigram found also in the Meliteniotes manuscript:

(fol. 79v) Ἡ τετρὰς ὧδε τῶν σοφῶν ἀποστόλων
καὶ μαθητῶν τε τοῦ θεανθρώπου Λόγου
ἠχεῖ τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ζωοδότου λόγοις,
ἠχεῖ ῥημάτων τῶν ζωηρρύτων φθόγγους,
ἰδοὺ γὰρ αὗτοι ὡς ἀστραπαὶ φωτίζουν
πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν καὶ τὴν ὑπ᾽ οὐ(ραν)ῶν τε,
ὑπὲρ βροντῆς γὰρ τούτων φθόγγοι κτιποῦσι
Ματθαίου Μάρκου Λουκᾶ τε Ἰωάννου
φέγγουν φωτίζουν τὴν ὑφήλιον πᾶσαν,
(fol. 80) διδάσκουν πᾶσι τῶν ρημάτων Κ(υρίο)υ
θαύματα πάθη στ(αύ)ρωσιν καὶ ταφήν τε
ἀνάληψίν τε πν(εύματο)ς παρρουσίαν·
καὶ τῆς δευτέρας νῦν αὐτοῦ ἐμφανί(ας)
πάντα διδάσκει νῦν ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος

(fol. 79v) These four wise apostles/and disciples of the god-become-man Word/resound with the flow of life-giving words,/resound with life-flowing words,/for behold, like flashes of lightning they illumine/all creation beneath the heavens,/stronger than thunder strike the syllables/of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,/they light up and illumine the whole world;/(fol. 80) they teach through all the sayings of the Lord/his miracles, suffering, crucifixion and entombment/and assumption and coming of the spirit;/and of his second coming that is imminent/this book now teaches everything.

The brief concluding note of the scribe (fol. 80, Pl. 13) gives us a precise date for the manuscript: Ἐτελειώθ(η) τὸ παρόν ἅγιον τετραεὐάγγελον διὰ χειρὸς καμοῦ Μανουὴλ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, τοῦ Ἀγιάση, μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ κδ' ἡ(μέρα)ν γ' ιν(δ.) ιγ' ἔτους ϛωκγ' [1315]. Ἡ ἐλπὶς μου ὁ π(ατὴ)ρ, καταφυγὴ μου ὁ ὑιὸς, σκέπη μου τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον. Δόξα τῳ Θ(ε)ῷ τῷ δόντι τέ(λ)ος, ἀμήν. Δόξασοι ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς, ἀμήν (This holy book of the four Gospels was finished by me, the sinner Manuel Agiases, on Tuesday, 24th June, the 13th indiction, of the year 6823 [1315]. My hope is the Father, my refuge the Son, and my shelter the Holy Spirit. Glory to God, who has given the end, amen. Glory be to God, amen).

The manuscript contains portraits of the four evangelists, and decorated headpieces and initials. The Gospels and portraits are not in their proper order, and have been incorrectly bound as follows: Matthew, fol. 17, Luke, fol. 35 (Pl. 14), Mark, fol. 41v, and John, fol. 49v. The irregular order of the text (Luke should follow Mark) is evident from the fact that at the top of the page with the portrait of John prefacing his Gospel are the concluding lines of Luke. What is more, the original numbering of the surviving quires of the Gospels is noted by the scribe in brown ink at the center of the lower margin of the first and last folio of each quire.[36] It is most probably the case that the quires were stitched together in their current erroneous order during the restoration of 1892 by G. Bénard. Several quires are missing entirely, thus leaving gaps in the text.

The evangelist portraits vary in size, and are usually (though not in all cases) squeezed into the lower section of the page containing the table of chapters for each Gospel. They are painted onto the bare parchment without any kind of border, architectural frame, or other background. The evangelists are shown writing on open books. They are seated at broad, square desks to which the lecterns are attached and on which, in the case of Luke (Pl. 14) and Mark, an open codex rests. The quality of the drawing, the rendering of the drapery and modeling of the figures, the linearity of the hands, the minor iconographical slips that concern primarily the furniture but also the perspective,[37] all suggest that the manuscript was illustrated considerably later than the time it was copied. This also explains the differences among the illustrations, which depend on the amount of space that had been left blank on the parchment pages. Anthony Cutler came to the conclusion that the figures of the evangelists were most likely added to the manuscript in the mid-15th century,[38] while Ioannis Spatharakis believes that they are post-Byzantine.[39]

36. The first two quires, α′ (= 1) and β′ (= 2), are missing and have been replaced. Missing also are quires δ′ (= 4), ϛ′ (= 6), ζ′ (= 7), θ′ (= 9), ι′ (= 10), ια′ (= 11), ιβ′ (= 12), while the surviving quires in their present-day order are as follows: γ′ (= 3), η′ (= 8), ε′ (= 5), ιγ′ (= 13), ιδ′ (= 14), ιε′ (= 15), ιϛ′ (= 16) and ιζ′ (= 17).

37. Cf. Pelekanidis et al. 1974–1979, vol. 1, pls. 312, 313, 454 (Athos, Koutloumousiou MS 69, fols. 135v, 207v, 15th century), 346, 347, 460 (Athos, Koutloumousiou MS 283, fol. 124v, 119v, mid-14th century); vol. 3, pls. 174, 175, 263, 264 (Athos, Pantokratoros MS 47, fol. 25v, 114v, dated 1301); Christou et al. 1991, pls. 242, 302 (Athos, Vatopediou MS 917, fol. 62v, 14th century).

38. Cutler 1975, pp. 257-263, figs. 1–8.

39. Spatharakis 1983, p. 83, no. 342, pl. 607 (Mark).

While the evangelist portraits are very likely of a later period than the original production of the manuscript, this is not the case with the three headpieces and the corresponding foliate initials at the beginning of Luke (fol. 35v, Pl. 15), Mark (fol. 42), and John (fol. 50), which use only brownish red ink and are probably the work of Manuel Agiases himself.

This does not apply, however, to the headpiece and initial B at the beginning of Matthew (fol. 18), which were drawn in red ink, but by another hand. It is possible that at the same time the illustrations were added the first leaves of Matthew were replaced (fols. 18–24), as these display a different hand and different decoration in the headpiece and the initial.

Manuel Agiases does not appear in any of our records of scribes, and no other works copied by him are known. His script is exceptionally fine, liturgical, of even size, and vertically oriented with rounded letters. Certain letters stand out: the theta (Θ) is written with a small vertical stroke in the middle of the horizontal bar crossing the center of the letter, thus making a cross; the xi (ξ) is drawn as a semicircle open to the left, with two parallel horizontal strokes crossing the middle of the descending curve of the semicircle (Pl. 15). A similar theta can be found in the script of Theodoros Hagiopetrites, who was active in Thessaloniki in the late 13th and early 14th century,[40] while the distinctive form of xi is encountered in scribes of the 13th and 14th century working in various parts of the empire, including Epirus, the Peloponnese, and Asia Minor (Ephesus).[41]

The only evidence for the location of the manuscript shortly after it was copied is a later note on fol. 80v, which mentions an outbreak of the plague and an earthquake: Ἔτει ἐκ τῆς ἐνσάρκου εἰκονομίας ,ατμβ΄ [1342] τὸ μέγα θανατικὸν καὶ ,ατγ΄ [1303] αὐγούστου η΄ [8] ὁ μέγας σϊσμὸς (In the year of the incarnation 1342, the great death, and in 1303, August 8th, the great earthquake). This note is repeated elsewhere on the same leaf, though somewhat inchoately and with misspellings, and signed: Εγό Εἰοάνις Τσούτας[?] (I, Ioannis Tsoutas).

The great earthquake of August 8, 1303, is known from other historical sources. It was felt throughout the eastern Mediterranean and, above all, on the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete, where it caused widespread damage.[42] On the other hand, the *μέγα θανατικὸν,* or plague epidemic, of 1342 is not known from other sources. Outbreaks of the plague occurred regularly throughout the 14th century, claiming many victims, though it is only from 1347 to 1349 and thereafter that the sources mention the epidemic of the Black Death that was transmitted from central Asia and the Pontus region to Constantinople, from where it spread to the entire Mediterranean.[43]

40. For example, see Nelson 1991, p. 130, pl. 4 (Vatican gr. MS 644).

41. Tselikas 1987–1988, pp. 494–495, pl. 6 (Athens, NL MS 163, late 13th or early 14th century, scribe III), pl. 7 (Ioannina, Archimandreiou MS 10, copied by Konstantinos, priest, in 1305); Reinsch 1991; Kominis 1968, pp. 32–33, pl. 28 (Patmos MS 891, dated 1310 and copied by Michael Aoutemes of Ephesus, writing in Crete).

42. Evangelatou-Notara 1993, pp. 41–48, 147; Grumel 1958, p. 481; Luttrell 1999, pp. 145–146.

43. Bartsocas 1966; Biraben 1975–1976; Dols 1977, pp. 35–67; Congourdeau 1998, pp. 152–153.

A number of codicological features of the manuscript, including the mixture of parchment and paper, may point to a Cretan provenance for the manuscript,[44] since scribes from Ephesus in Asia Minor, such as Michael Louloudes,[45] and Michael and Konstantinos Aoutemes,[46] fled to Crete as refugees in the early 14th century. This hypothesis does not conflict with our manuscript's reference to the earthquake, since we know that the earthquake of 8 August 1303 caused widespread damage in Crete (the walls of the island's capital Candia are said to have been damaged[47]) while less severe outbreaks of the plague are known to have afflicted the island from the beginning of the century onwards.[48] Indeed, by 1350 the Venetian authorities were compelled to offer tax exemptions to the new settlers in Rethymnon as an incentive to stay there because the city's population had been decimated shortly beforehand by the Black Death.[49]

Six parchment leaves added to the end of the manuscript (fols. 81–86) have not been ruled for the scribe, and seem to have been cut—to the dimensions of the preceding folios—at the time of binding. They contain a liturgical text written in a dense script in black ink, probably at the end of the 14th century. The brief mathematical calculation in Arabic numerals of 7013–6823 [190] in the top margin of fol. 81 perhaps indicates the year in which these leaves were added to the manuscript, that is, 190 years after the original writing of the manuscript, i.e., 1505 A.D.[50] This may also be the year in which the illustrations of the evangelists were added.

The Gennadius Library is fortunate in including in its small but fascinating Byzantine collection three excellent examples of trends in provincial illuminated manuscript production of Gospel books in the wider region of the eastern Mediterranean: Genn. MS 259 of the late 12th century, which is representative of a large group of provincial Byzantine manuscripts that are related in terms of script and decoration, originating from Cyprus; Genn. MS 1.5, written by Vasileios Meliteniotes, *protonotarios* of the Seljuk sultan in Caesarea, Cappadocia, in 1226, a rare example of the manuscript production of eastern Asia Minor; and, lastly, Genn. MS 1.6, copied by Manuel Agiases in 1315, probably in Crete or some other part of the eastern Mediterranean. ☒

44. Irigoin 1968, pp. 92-95.

45. Lambros 1904, pp. 209-212; Lemerle 1957, pp.20–21, n. 4; Turyn 1973–1974; Markopoulos 1981, pp. 232-242.

46. Kominis 1968, pp. 32–33, pl. 28 (Patmos MS 891, dated 1310).

47. Plataki 1950, p. 475 (for the destruction of the city walls of Chandax).

48. Detorakis 1970–1971, pp. 118-136, esp. p. 120; Kostis 1985, pp. 304–320 (esp. p. 308).

49. Theotokis 1936, pp. 296–297, document XXVI; Thiriet 1966, pp. 214–216.

50. Since *anno mundi* 6823 corresponds to the date in the colophon recording when the Gospels were copied, *anno mundi* 7013 (1505 A.D.) may have been the year in which the liturgical text was added to the end of the manuscript.