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MANUSCRIPTS SPEAKING: THE HISTORY OF READERSHIP AND OWNERSHIP*

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What, one might ask, is a philologist doing writing in an art historical volume, and what could she have to say about the Princeton University collection of Byzantine manuscripts that has been celebrated for its exceptionally fine illuminations, including many that have been shown at important exhibitions on Byzantium and are listed in numerous catalogues?¹

These are fair questions, and I shall do my best to answer them. Illuminated manuscripts, with their superb miniatures, express the supreme art and technique of their creators or the lofty aesthetic of their Byzantine owners, who in most cases belonged to the highest social classes. Ordinary manuscripts, on the other hand, express the spirit, the concerns, and the interests of a broader set of persons, including members of the middle and lower classes, the contemporary and subsequent owners and readers of those manuscripts; they express the soul of those who contributed their own strand to the creation of the civilization that we are considering. For civilization and culture are not, of course, confined to high art, but are also produced by ordinary men and women — including those who write their name, and perhaps the date, on a blank page in a manuscript.

Some of these people are revealed to us in the Princeton manuscripts. Not only the familiar manuscripts, famous for their miniatures, but also those long overshadowed by better-known ones, and the more recent additions to the collection. The people I am talking about are all those who, over a period of nine centuries, wrote or commissioned the manuscripts in the collection, who owned them for a while, or who simply chanced upon them. Their names are recorded in the scribal or owner notes in the manuscripts, through which they speak to us today, transforming these documents from “works of art” or “monuments of civilization” into living items with a living voice.

* I would like to thank Dimitris Gontikas and Don Skemer for my being included in the redaction of the Greek manuscripts of Princeton.

¹ Cf. *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann, 14 April–20 May 1973*, Exhibition catalogue, The Art Museum, Princeton University, ed. G. Vikan (Princeton, 1973); *Byzantium at Princeton: Byzantine Art and Archaeology at Princeton University*, Exhibition catalogue, Firestone Library, Princeton University, ed. S. Ćurčić and A. St. Clair (Princeton, 1986); *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, 843–1261*, Exhibition catalogue, Metropolitan Museum of Art, ed. H. C. Evans (New York, 1997).

These manuscripts tell us the story of those who wrote, owned, and read them. Their annotations let us follow their history from the middle of the tenth century, when the *notarios* Nicephorus, the scribe copying the manuscript we know as Garrett MS. 14 (John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*), finished his work with the petition that all who might read the codex should pray for him (Fig. 1).² Two hundred or more years later, probably towards the end of the twelfth century, the codex came into the hands of one Father Georgios, who wrote beneath the twelve-syllable verses of his supplication to the Blessed Virgin and St George, whose name he bore, a fifteen-syllable invocation for salvation at the Day of Judgment (Fig. 2).³

The owner note inscribed in the form of a cross on the last folio of the Scheide M2 codex dates from the tenth or eleventh century. The monk Leontios, who acquired the volume he so passionately desired, invoked the aid of the Blessed Virgin,⁴ while in the sixteenth century a similar invocation was addressed to her by a man called Nikolaos, who wrote his name beneath the earlier annotation.⁵

An invocation of his own was penned by Joseph, the scribe of the famous Climacus manuscript, Garrett MS. 16, who finished his copy of the work in September 1081. He followed a formulaic twelve-syllable verse of thanks to God as creator of all good things with another, asking for God's grace for his labors, and continued with a scribal note that may originally have mentioned, as well as the date, which is extant, the name of the person who commissioned the work. Unfortunately, the second line of this note has been erased, depriving us of an interesting piece of information (Fig. 3).⁶

The same manuscript contains another interesting owner note, which opens a window onto the later history of the codex. On the back flyleaf we read that "this book belongs to the most reverend lord Joachim."⁷ The Joachim referred to has been identified as Joachim II, Patriarch of Constantinople (1498–1502), who prior to his elevation to the patriarchal throne had been Metropolitan of Drama. Joachim presumably brought the manuscript with him as a gift when he visited the monastery at Kosinitza, where it remained in the monastery library.

In a partially preserved scribal note on Garrett MS. 5, dating from the twelfth century, the scribe's name (Michael) and monastic identity appear at the beginning of a long scribal note that has been so carefully erased as to be almost totally illegible. The few words that can be deciphered, however, support the conclusion that this manuscript, which comes from the Kosinitza Monastery, is related to another, formerly known as Codex Kosinitza 53, which is preserved in part in the Ivan Dujčev Institute in Sofia and in part in the Pierpont Morgan Library.⁸

² See the scribal note on fol. 295r: ἐπληρώθη ἡ ἱερὰ αὐτὴ βιβλος· παρὰ Νικηφόρου νοταρίου . . . ὅσοι αὐτῆς ἐντυγχάνεται εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὡς διὰ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἰησοῦν χριστὸν:- μηνὶ μαῖω· γ· ἰνδικτιῶνος ιγ· ἔτους ς,υξγ (i.e. May 955); cf. Vikan, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 60, Ćurčić and St. Clair, *Byzantium at Princeton*, 144.

³ The verses and the invocation are written on fol. 295v: γεωργίω πρεσβυτέρω ἐν κρίσει ἄνεσ σῶτερ.

⁴ The invocation (Θεοτοκε βοήθοι Λεωντίω μοναχῳ τῷ ποθῶ κτησαμενῳ) is written on fol. 174v in an epigraphical majuscule style and in the form of a cross.

⁵ Θεοτόκε βοήθει τὸν δοῦλον σου Νικόλαον.

⁶ See fol. 208r: τῷ συντελεσθῇ τῶν καλῶν, θεῶ χάρις and πόνοις Ἰωσήφ χάριν, ᾧ σῶτερ δίδου. Then follows the scribal note: ἐτελειώθη ἡ βιβλος αὕτη, μηνὶ σεπτεμβρίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος ε' ἔτους ς,φφ· γραφεῖσα διὰ [1 line erased] τὴν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ὠφέλειαν; cf. Vikan, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 98, Ćurčić and St. Clair, *Byzantium at Princeton*, 150. On this manuscript see also the paper by Nancy Ševčenko in this volume.

⁷ Εἰς τοῦτο βιβλίῳ ὑπάρχῃ τοῦ παναγιωτάτου πατριάρχου κυροῦ Ἰωακείμ.

⁸ See fol. 224v: Ἐγράφῃ τὸ παρὸν [. . .] χειρὸς Μιχαὴλ μοναχοῦ τῆς ἁγίας [. . .]. Part of the former Kosinitza Codex is now in the collection of the Ivan Dujčev Institute for Slavo-Byzantine Studies in Sofia as codex 369, and

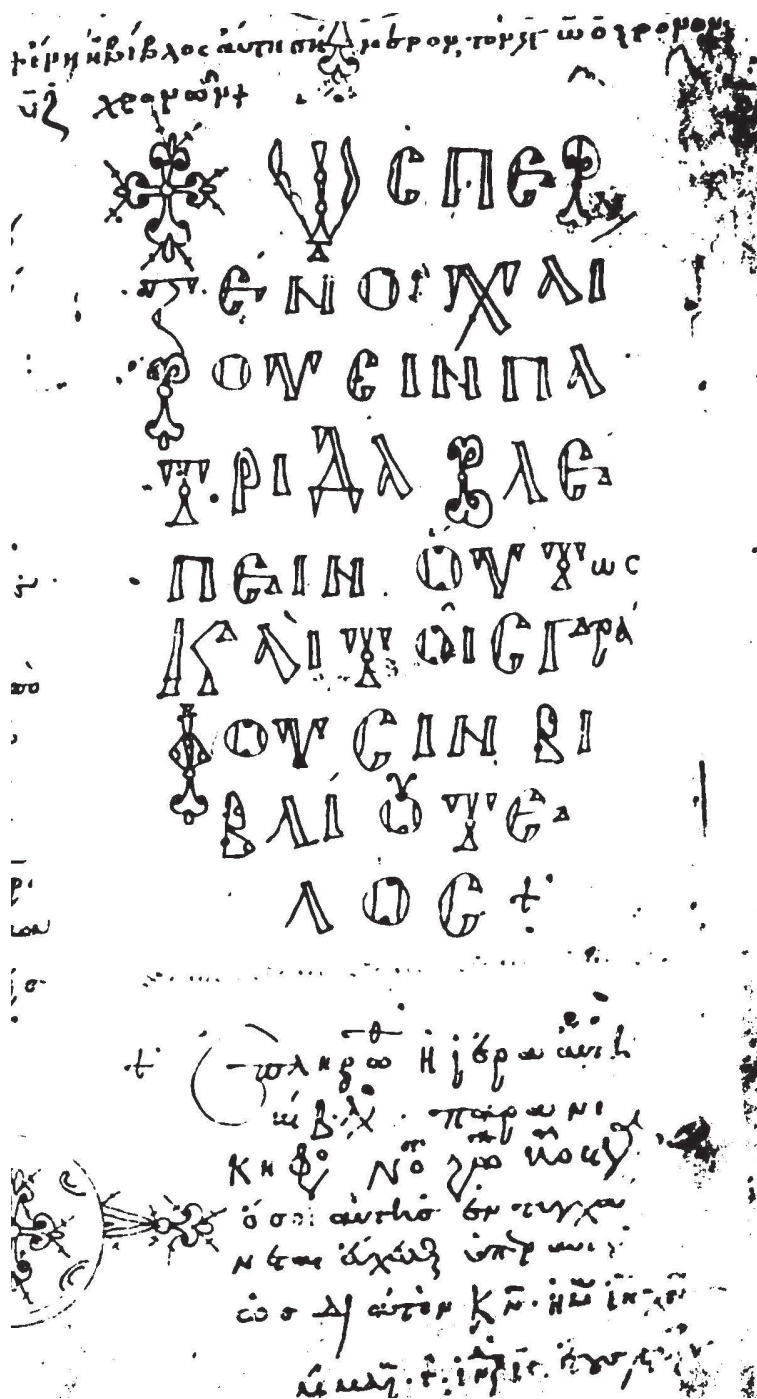


Fig. 1: Garrett MS. 14 (fol. 295r). John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*.
Courtesy of the Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections,
Princeton University Library.



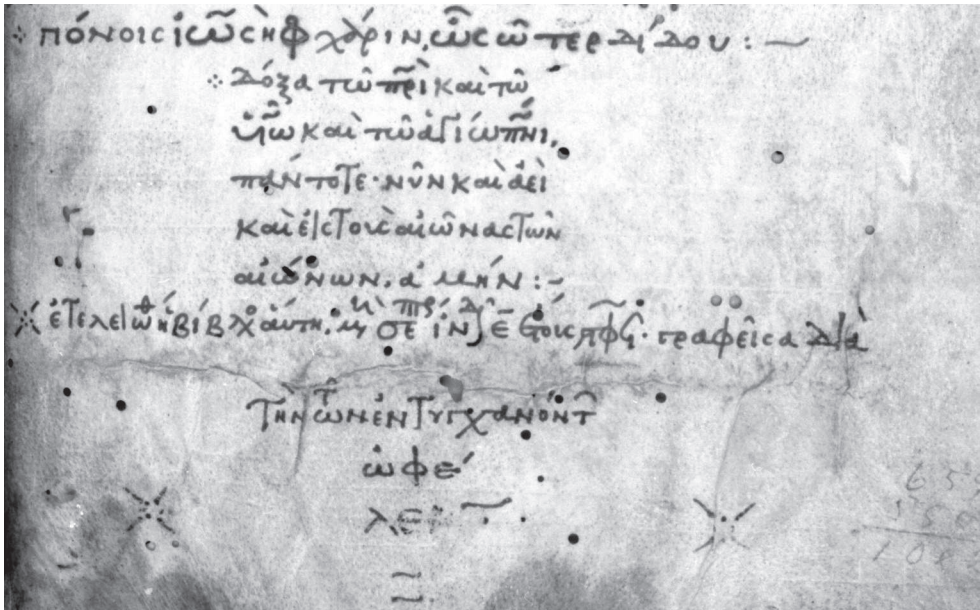


Fig. 3: Garrett MS. 16 (fol. 208r). An invocation by Joseph, the scribe of the Climacus manuscript, who finished his copy of the work in September 1081 offering thanks to God. *Courtesy of the Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.*

The codex known as Garrett MS. 3, a twelfth-century manuscript from the same collection, is well known for a scribal and owner note stating that it was copied at the Palestinian monastery of St Savas in 1136 at the expense of its guest-master and steward, Brother John.⁹ A note added in the sixteenth century, however, tells us something of the subsequent history of the volume, which was purchased by Lucas, a priest at Kanina, and gives particulars of his life and career.¹⁰

A chapter in the history of the Lectionary of the Gospels of the Theological Seminary, an eleventh-century manuscript known primarily for the miniature of the *proedros* John, donor of ten codices with lives of saints, which is preserved on folio 1r of the codex, is indicated by the name written on folio 2v: the “Gregory, Patriarch of Alexandria” mentioned was most probably Gregory II, Patriarch of Alexandria from 1315 to 1342, who visited Constantinople between 1315 and 1319 and took this book with him when he returned to Alexandria.¹¹

the other part is MS. 714 of New York, Pierpont Morgan Library; see B. Atsalos, *Τα χειρόγραφα της Ιεράς Μονής της Κοσίντσας (ή Εικοσιφοίνισσας) του Παγγαίου: Ιστορικό αρχείο*, Σειρά Δημοσιευμάτων 1 (Drama, 1990), 114.

⁹ See fol. 260v: ἐγράφη τὸ παρὸν τετραεβάγγελον, ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν τῇ σεβασμῇ καὶ μεγίστῃ λαύρᾳ τοῦ ὁσίου, καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν σάβα τῇ κειμένῃ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· διὰ προσταγῆς καὶ πόθου πολλοῦ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου μοναχοῦ κυρίου ἰωάννου ξενοδόχου τοῦ καὶ μεγάλου οἰκονόμου τῆς αὐτῆς ἁγίας λαύρας ἐν ἔτει ,ςχημδ' ἰνδικτιῶνος ἰδ' βασιλεῦντος ἰωάννου τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου . . . ; cf. Vikan, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 140–41; Ćurčić and St. Clair, *Byzantium at Princeton*, 154.

¹⁰ See his owner note on fol. 124v: . . . νῦν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐχμαλοσίᾳ πραθέν τε καὶ ἀγγρασθέν σα μέρει τοῦ ἰληρικοῦ, ὑπὸ τινος τούνομα Λουκᾶ ἀμαρτολοῦ ἀχρίου καὶ ἀναξίου ἱερέος . . . τῆς παρούσης χώρας Κανίνης . . .

¹¹ See Vikan, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 144.

Garrett MS. 7, known for its miniatures of the Evangelists, apparently belonged in the fourteenth century to a priest named Michael, who invokes in an owner note written partially in twelve-syllable verses the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles, John the Baptist, and the Evangelists for his salvation (Fig. 4).¹²

The notes on two manuscripts belonging to the Art Museum collection date from the Palaiologan era. One, written in 1295/6, was added by the scribe Nicetas Maurones, who copied the Art Museum Gospel y 1935–70 for Michael Bonozountes.¹³ The other, found in Art Museum Gospel y 1957–19, was written in 1380 by the Byzantine scribe Philotheos, Metropolitan of Selymbria (Fig. 5);¹⁴ it enabled scholars to identify a number of other manuscripts as his work and also to attribute to him the verses addressed to St Mark¹⁵ and the beginning of a lost treatise on the interpretation of the phrase “In the beginning was the Word” (John 1:1).¹⁶

Also from this period are the note on Codex Garrett MS. 2, which credits the manuscript Gospel to Kallistratos (Fig. 6),¹⁷ some notes on the Prophetologion Princeton MS. 112, which mention the “kinsman of the mighty emperor,”¹⁸ and of course the autograph annotations of John Chortasmenos, scholar and bibliophile of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, which appear on Princeton MS. 173, acquired by the Library in 2001 (Fig. 7).¹⁹ On folio 78, beneath the heading, which is in the hand of the original scribe, are four lines written in red ink, two of which have been scored out. These lines contain the names of the emperor, Manuel Palaiologos, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Matthew, as well as that of John Chortasmenos, *notarios* in the patriarchal chancery, who refers to some event that took place “after the battle with the Turks.”²⁰

¹² See fol. 240r: μνήσθητι κύριε τῷ π[ό]θῳ κτῆ]σαμένῳ τὴν βίβλον ταύτην· Μιχαὴλ τῷ [ποιμέ]νι τῶν ἀβροτίμων καὶ τοῖς δεξιόις συναριθμοῦν [ποιήσον] προβάτοις . . . ἱκέτης γὰρ ἔπεσον πρὸς θεοτόκον· ἀποστόλους πρόδρομον τὸν Ἰωάννην· εὐαγγελιστὰς τοὺς ἐνταῦθα γραφέντας ἵνα δι’ αὐτῶν κἂν σωτηρίας τύχῃ; cf. Vikan, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 150; Ćurčić and St. Clair, *Byzantium at Princeton*, 155–7.

¹³ See p. 591–592: ἐπληρώθη τὸ παρὸν τετραβάγγελον διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Νικίτα τοῦ Μαβρώνι· δι’ ἐνεργείας καὶ ἐξόδου κυροῦ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Μπονοζούντη μηνί ἰουνίῳ ιθ . . . ἐν ἔτει [ς]ωδ . . . On the scribe see *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* [hereafter *PLP*], ed. E. Trapp et al., 12 vols. (Vienna, 1976–1996), 7: no. 17507 and on the owner, *PLP*, 8: no. 19750.

¹⁴ See the note on fol. 170v: ἐγράφη τὸ παρὸν τετραεὐαγγέλιον παρ’ ἐμοῦ τοῦ Φιλοθέου Σηλυβρίας (the word Σηλυβρίας is a later addition), ἐν τῷ ,ζωπηῳ ἔτει ἰνδικτιῶνος τρίτης; cf. Ćurčić and St. Clair, *Byzantium at Princeton*, 159–60.

¹⁵ Cf. Vikan, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 60; Ćurčić and St. Clair, *Byzantium at Princeton*, 144. See on him and his activities M. Bakalopoulou, *Φιλόθεος Σηλυβρίας: Βίος καὶ συγγραφικὸ ἔργο*, Βιβλιοθήκη Σοφίας Ν. Σαρπλόου 87 (Athens, 1992), and *PLP*, vol. 12: no. 29896.

¹⁶ It is copied on fol. 177rv, without any mention of an author, and shows corrections and rephrasings which indicate that it is an autograph of his author.

¹⁷ See note on fol. 327v: ὁ βουλευθεὶς οἷός ἄρα καὶ εἴη ἀποστερῆσαι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον τὸν ἱερομόναχον καλλίστρατον, ἵνα ἔχη τὰς ἀράς τῶν τῇ θεοφύων πατέρων . . .; cf. Vikan, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 176; Ćurčić and St. Clair, *Byzantium at Princeton*, 157–58. On the scribe see *PLP*, 5: no. 10499.

¹⁸ See on the upper margin of fol. 93r as monokondylion: ὁ δούλος τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν [αὐθέντου] καὶ βασιλέως . . .; similar notes also on fols 165v, 203v, and 216r.

¹⁹ On this manuscript see S. Kotzabassi, “Aristotle’s *Organon* and Its Byzantine Commentators,” *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 65 (2002): 51–62.

²⁰ See fol. 78r: + δι’ ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χορτασμένου πατριαρχικοῦ νοταρίου . . . ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου καὶ Ματθαίου πατριαρχείας τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου κυροῦ Ματθαίου . . . τῆς μετὰ τῶν Τούρκων μάχης. On the scribe see *PLP*, 12: no. 30897.

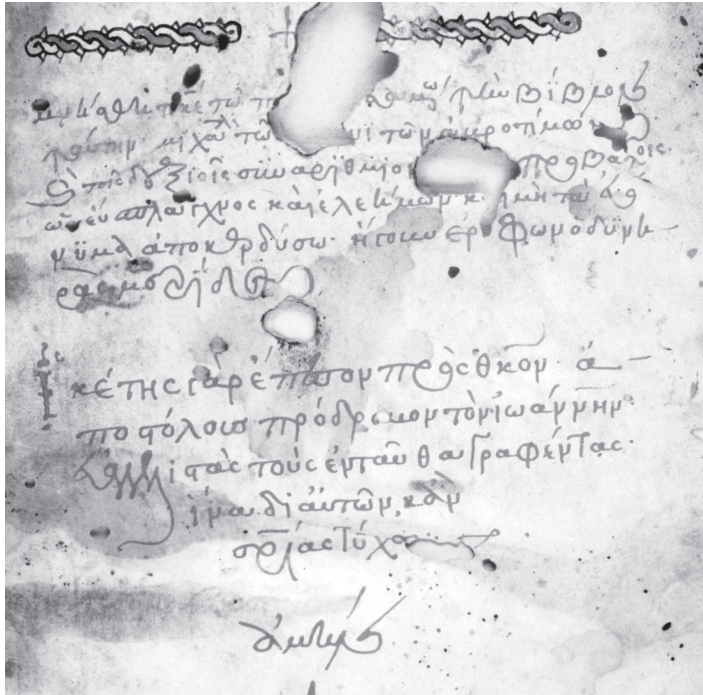


Fig. 4: Garrett MS. 7 (fol. 240r). Owner note written partially in 12-syllable verses asking for salvation. 14th century. *Courtesy of the Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.*

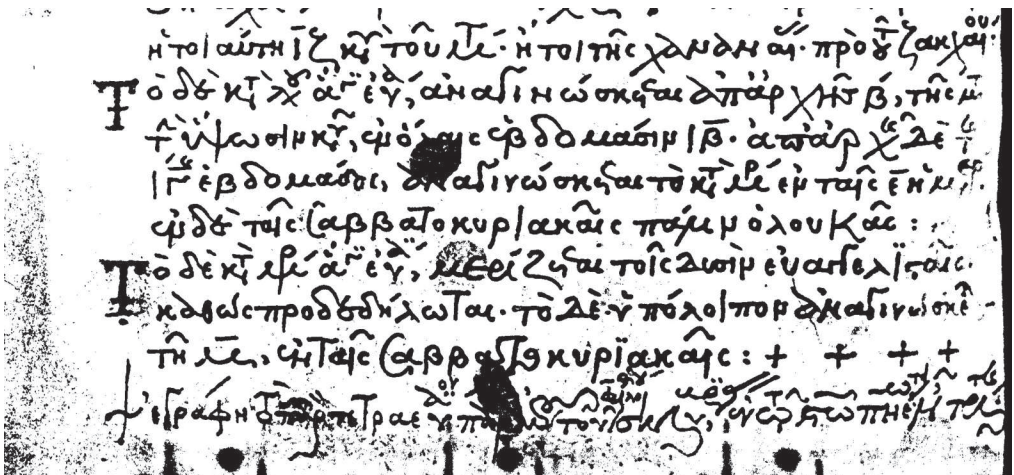


Fig. 5: Princeton University, Art Museum, Ms. y 1957-19 (fol. 1r). Note written in 1380 by the Byzantine scribe Philotheos, Metropolitan of Selymbria. *Courtesy of Princeton University Art Museum.*

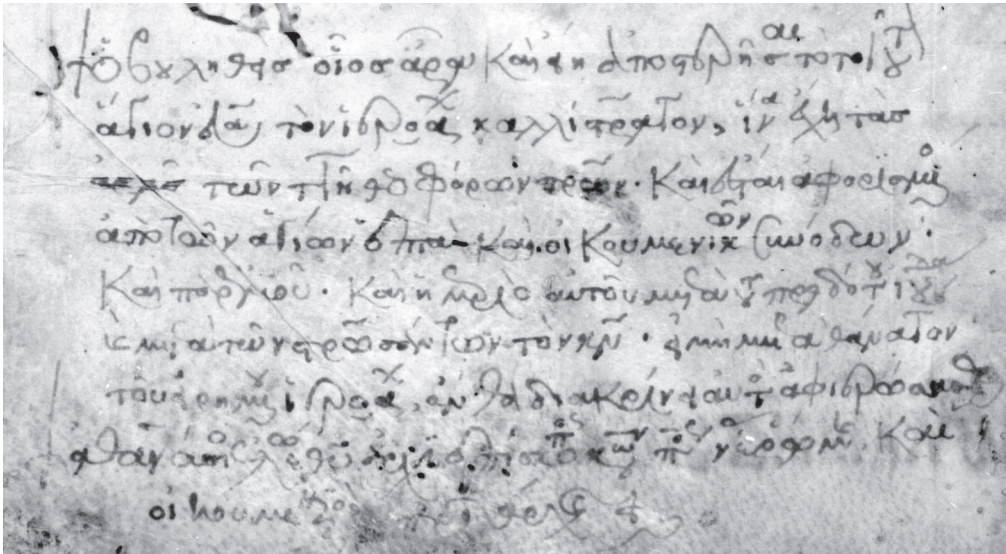


Fig. 6: Garrett MS. 2 (fol. 327v). Note crediting the Gospel to Kallistratos. *Courtesy of the Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.*

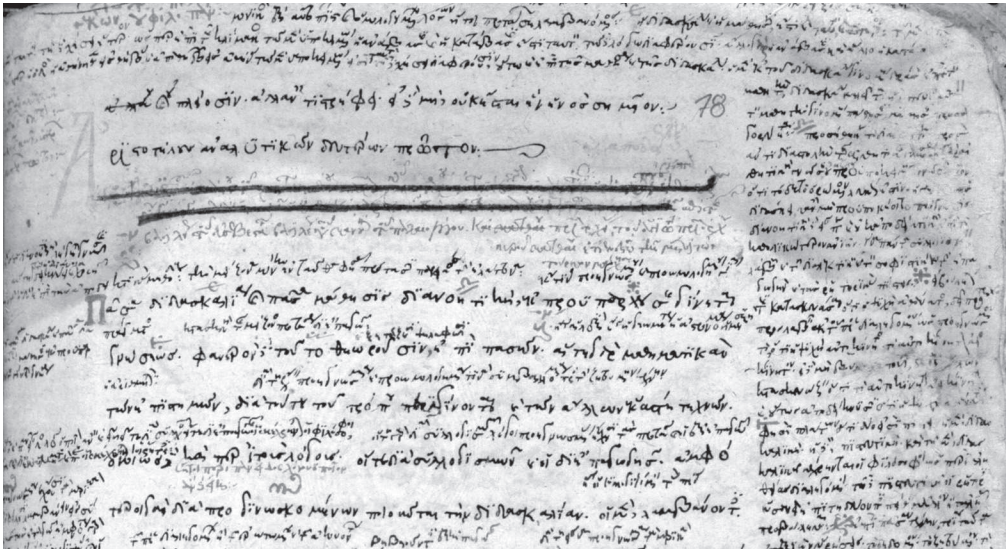


Fig. 7: Princeton MS. 173 (fol. 78r). Autograph annotations of John Chortasmenos, scholar and bibliophile of the late 14th and early 15th century. *Courtesy of the Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.*

An invocation on the binding of the manuscript mentions the name of John Lithargites, known from an epigram on folio 28r of the manuscript Laur. Plut. 57,27.²¹

Not all the notes on the Princeton manuscripts come from the Byzantine age, however: a considerable number are post-Byzantine.

One example is a note written in the sixteenth century by Theoleptos, a monk and scribe known from other manuscripts and the copyist of Princeton MS. 184: on folio 2r we read a phrase used by other scribes in that period, “[by] the monk Theoleptos and friends” (Fig. 8), while on folio 14r he identifies himself as “the monk Theoleptos, least of all men.”²²

Another important owner note is found in the Prophetologion Princeton MS. 112. Some of the pages of this twelfth-century manuscript were completed in the sixteenth century, when it belonged to Metrophanes, later Patriarch of Constantinople (1565–1572, 1579–1580), who gave it to the library of the Holy Trinity Monastery on the island of Chalke, in the Sea of Marmara.²³ The note, which is familiar from other manuscripts from the same source, is written in twelve-syllable verses ending with the customary invocation with the name of the donor: “may the fathers remember Metrophanes.”²⁴

The seventeenth century is represented by a number of interesting scribal notes. The oldest of these are preserved in a manuscript of varied content, dated 1617. The scribe names himself as the physician Konstantinos Riziotēs, who may at some point have become a monk, if we interpret correctly the words “wretched” and “ragged” that he applies to himself in some of the notes, in pleas for God’s mercy. This Riziotēs was a native of Vraniana, in western Greece.²⁵

The next note comes from Greek MS. 8, a small liturgical manuscript dated 1663. The scribe in this case was Jonas of Stagoi, in Thessaly, many of whose manuscripts are preserved in the libraries of the monasteries of Meteora, who records his name in a metrical invocation in fifteen-syllable verses asking forgiveness for his many errors and adding at the end the customary phrase that “all scribes make mistakes” (Fig. 9).²⁶

In 1672 the priest-monk Leontios copied a selection of the homilies of St John Chrysostom into a codex with ornately illuminated initials.²⁷ Leontios, a scribe of great experience who produced an immense body of work, did not merely inscribe a note giving his name, the date,

²¹ Cf. A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, vol. 1 (Urbana, 1972), 252. For him see also *PLP*, 6: no. 14917.

²² See fol. 2r: θεολήπτου μοναχοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων and fol. 14r: διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ θεολήπτου μοναχοῦ ἐλαχίστου πάντων ἀνθρώπων. On the scribe see *PLP*, 12: no. 30897. On Theoleptos see E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, and H. Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600*, pt. 1, *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens*; pt. 2, *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens*; pt. 3, *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan* (Vienna, 1981–1997), 1: 135, 2: 178, 3: 229.

²³ On the patriarch and manuscript-owner Metrophanes see G. Papazoglou, *Βιβλιοθήκες στήν Κωνσταντινούπολη τοῦ 15^{ου} αἰῶνα* (Thessalonike, 1983), 222–45.

²⁴ See fol. IIv: οἱ πατέρες μένησθε τοῦ μητροφάνους.

²⁵ See Princeton Greek MS. 17, scribal notes on several folios: fol. 228, χεῖρ Κωνσταντίνου Ριζιότι καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἱατρὸς, fol. 229r: ἐγὼ ὁ Κωνσταντίνος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θαμᾶ τοῦ Ριζιότι ἀπὸ χώρα Βρανιανῶν· ὅταν τὸ ἔγραφα εἶμουν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ χρονῶν κε τὸ δὲ ἔτος ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἔρκε ἐν μηνὶ ἰουλίῳ . . .

²⁶ See scribal note on fol. 49r-v: ἰλάσθητι φιλάνθρωπε, καὶ σώσον τὸν γραφέα . . . Ἰλεος γίνου ἱησοῦ χριστὲ τοῦ δούλου σου, Ἰωάν· τλήμονος, καὶ σταγιώτου, εὐχαιστε καὶ διὰ τὰ ἄπηρά μου σφάλματα, καὶ μοὶ καταράσθαι, ὅτι ἁμαρτεῖς ὑπάρχων ἐκ τῆς γραφεῖς, καὶ πῶς ὁ γράφων παραγράφει. Other manuscripts written by his hand are the Meteora, Barlaam Monastery MS. 68 and the Meteora, St. Stephanos Monastery MS. 58 (written in the year 1667).

²⁷ Leontios wrote the codex Garrett MS. 15.

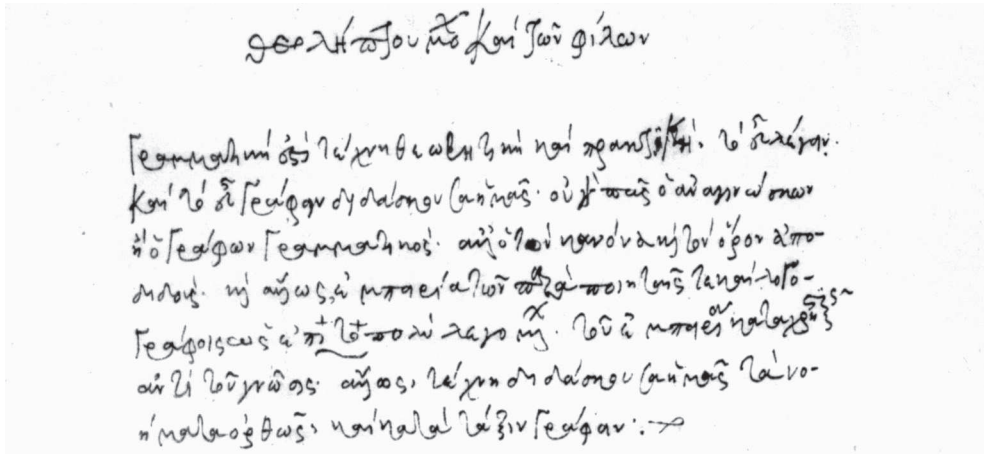


Fig. 8: Princeton MS. 184 (fol. 2r). Note by the “monk Theoleptos and friends”. *Courtesy of the Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.*

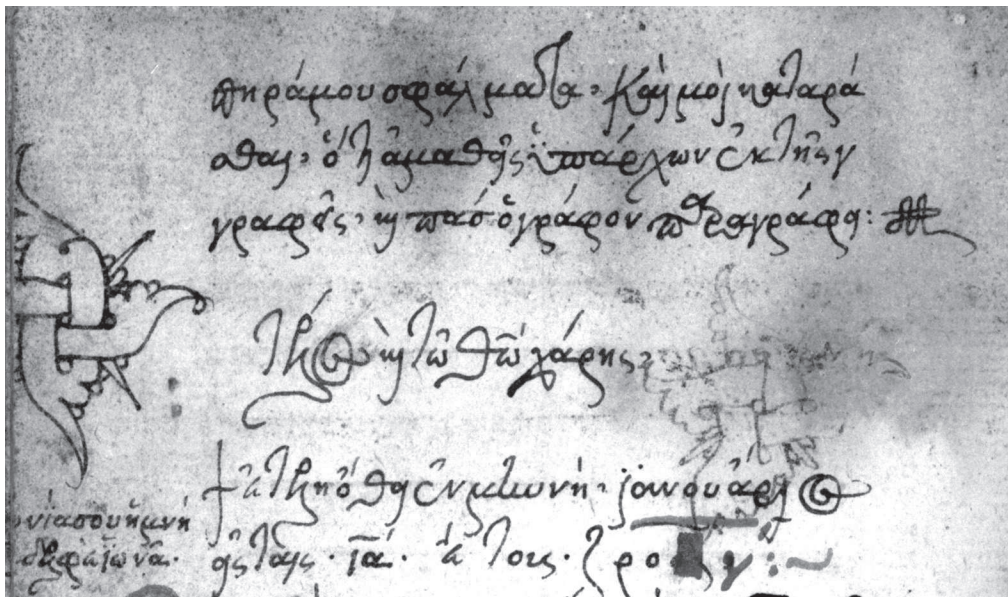


Fig. 9: Princeton MS. Greek 8 (fol. 49v). Note from a liturgical manuscript dated 1663 and written by Jonas of Stagoi, in Thessaly. *Courtesy of the Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.*

and a petition to all readers to pray for the forgiveness of his sins,²⁸ but also inserted his name into the illumination of the initial T of the homily on folio 105v (Fig. 10).

A similar invention was used by the scribe of one of Princeton's two *Archieratika* (that is, manuscripts that contain the three liturgies), the Art Museum y 1946–11. This manuscript, which is dated 1664, was the work of Romanos, a scribe whose name is known from a number of other manuscripts. Romanos included his name in the Diptycha of the Liturgy of St Basil, where he adds it to the initial T in the form of an invocation: "Be mindful, Lord, of the scribe, the priest-monk Romanos," and also commemorates the name of Bishop Raphael, for whom, presumably, he was copying the manuscript.²⁹

The second *Archieratikon*, Garrett MS. 11, which was written in Rhodes in 1692–1702 for Metropolitan Konstantios, was the work of Panaretos, a scribe from Lesbos, who gives his name in a scribal note using the formula of the Hodegon Monastery, "the gift of God and the labour of Panaretos," and adds the name of the donor: "with the help and by the generosity of Konstantios, Metropolitan of Rhodes, Palaiologos, of Lesbos" (Fig. 11).³⁰

Of the more recent scribal notes, particularly worthy of mention are four nineteenth-century annotations, all on music manuscripts. The first is in the codex Greek MS. 3, a musical anthology written between 1800 and 1805 by Petros Vyzantios, *protopsaltes* of the Patriarchate in Constantinople.³¹ The second is in codex Greek MS. 10, written by Demetrios Papadopoulos, a copyist of music manuscripts from Chios, in 1822 (Fig. 12).³² The third is found in codex Greek MS. 7, the work of Matthaïos Petrakis of Aigina in 1831,³³ and the fourth in codex Greek MS. 15, written in 1868 at the Nea Moni in Chios by Diamantis Salagaras.³⁴

All these, and many more of the manuscripts in the Princeton collection that I have not mentioned, contain notes that testify to the continuity of their use into the twentieth century and identify for us some of their scribes, owners, and readers, revealing and shedding light on a world unfamiliar to most people, a world ignored by documents and historical texts, but nonetheless a world that lived with them and created a civilization and a culture that are expressed not only in the high art of the illuminated manuscripts but also in the faulty spelling of simple, uneducated copyists.

²⁸ The scribal note is on fol. 213v: τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον . . . ἐγράφη ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Λεοντίου ἱερομονάχου κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τὸ σωτήριον ,αχοβ'. Καὶ οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες, εὐχέσθαι μου διὰ τὸν κύριον. Other manuscripts written by him are listed by L. Politis and M. Politis, "Βιβλιογράφοι 17ου — 18ου αἰῶνα: Συνοπτικὴ καταγραφή," *Δελτίο τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ καὶ παλαιογραφικοῦ ἀρχείου* 6 (1988–1992), 534–35.

²⁹ See fol. 49v: μνήσθητι κύριε τὸν γράψαντα· Ῥωμανοῦ ἱερομονάχου. On him see Politis and Politis, "Βιβλιογράφοι," 613.

³⁰ See fol. 141r: Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον, καὶ Παναρέτου πόνος and Συνδρομή, καὶ ἔξοδος, Κωνσταντίου, μητροπολίτου, Ῥόδου, Παλαιολόγου, τοῦ Λεσβίου. On him see also Politis and Politis, "Βιβλιογράφοι," 597; Vikan, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 173.

³¹ See fol. 166r: Τὸ παρὸν ἐγράφη παρ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου τοῦ Βυζαντίου πρωτοψάλτου τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας [. . . μα]ῖω. The date is erased, but Petros was protopsaltes between the end of April 1800 and 1805.

³² See p. 592: Μετεγράφη καὶ τὸ παρὸν παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ Μουσικογραφέως Δημητρίου Παπαδοπούλου Χίου κατὰ τῷ ,αοκβ' ἔτος σεπτεμβρίου 5 ἐν Ἰσμαίλῃ.

³³ See p. V: Ἐγχειρίδιον ἀνθολογίας . . . διὰ χειρὸς Ματθαίου Πετράκη τοῦ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν· ἐν Αἰγίνῃ 1831· κατὰ μῆνα Μάρτιον.

³⁴ See p. 624: Τὸ παρὸν ἀπάνθημα ἐγράφη εἰς τὸ 1868 ἐν μοναστήριον νέα μονή παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ Διαμαντῆ Μ. Σαλαγάρᾳ ἀπὸ χορίου Ἁγίου Γεωργίου Σηκοῦ(ση).

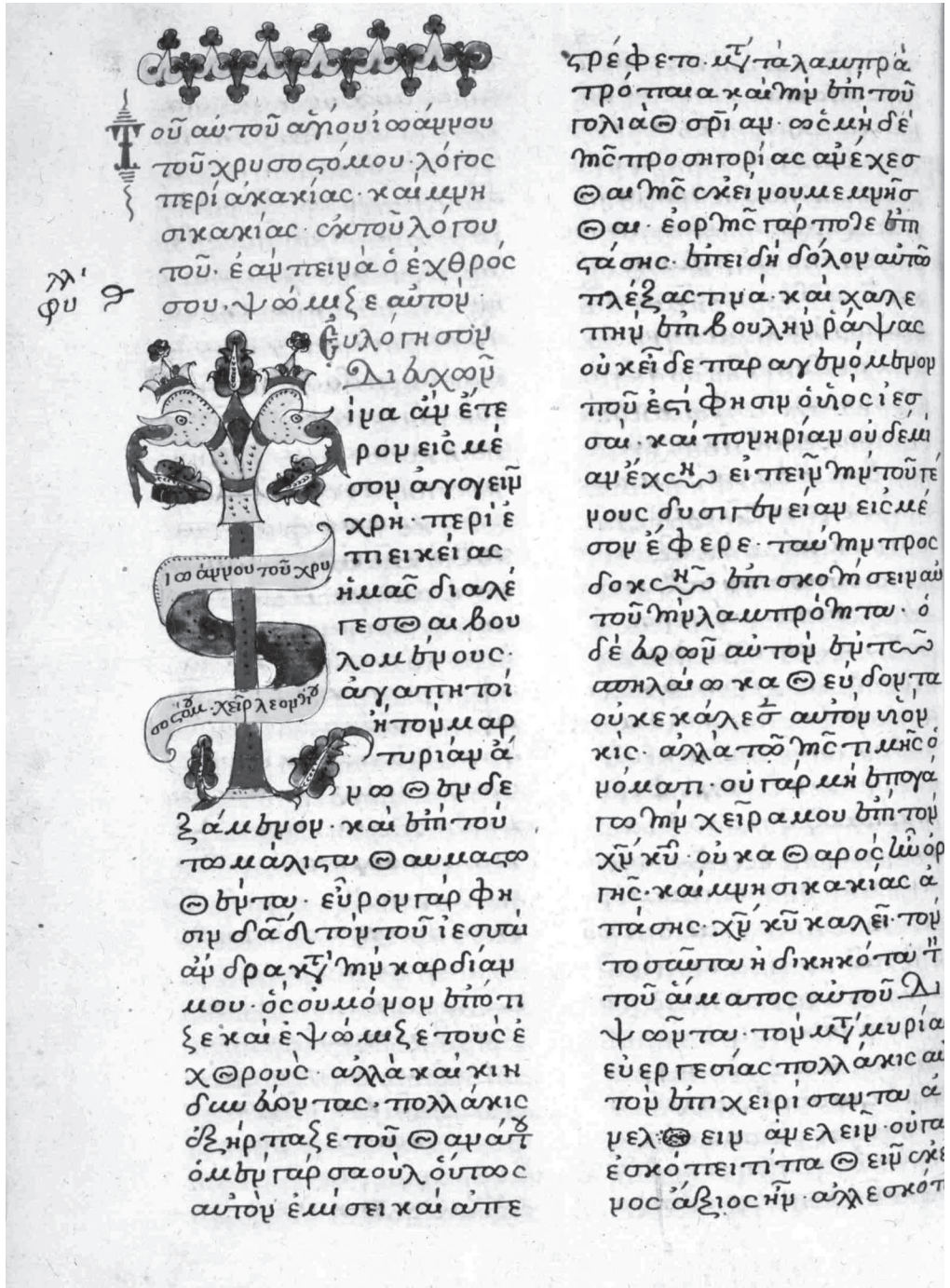


Fig. 10: Princeton Greek MS. 15 (fol. 105v). The name of Leontios is found in the initial T of a homily. Courtesy of the Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

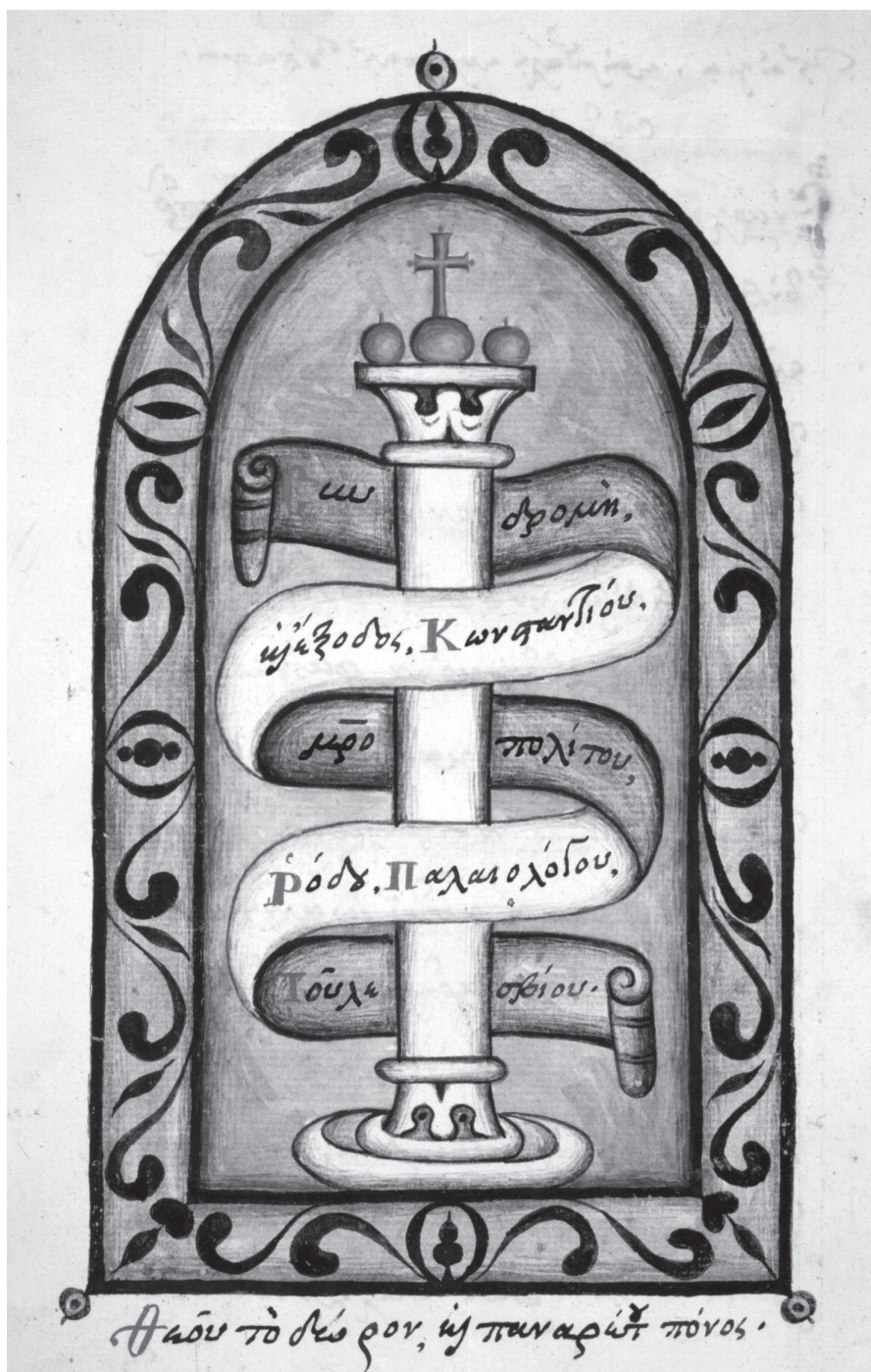


Fig. 11: Garrett Ms. 11 (fol. 141r). *Archieratiko* written by Panaretos, a scribe from Lesbos in 1692-1702 for Metropolitan Konstantios. *Courtesy of the Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.*

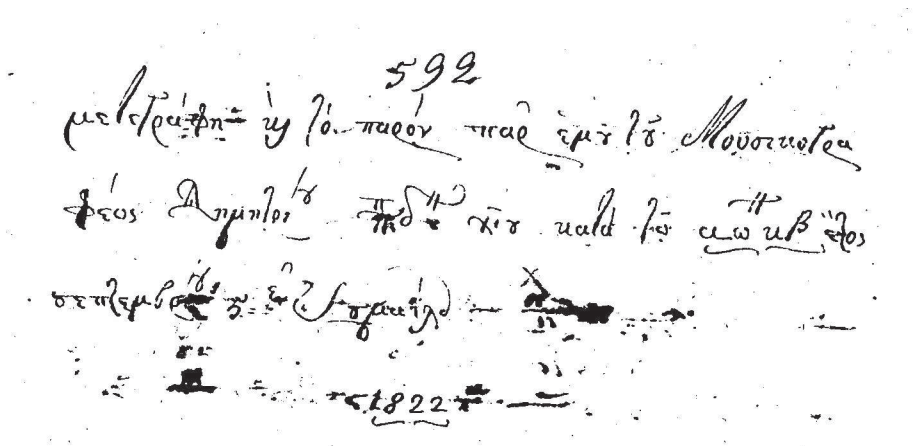


Fig. 12: Princeton Greek MS. 10 (p. 592). Written by Demetrios Papadopoulos, a copyist of musical manuscripts from Chios, in 1822. *Courtesy of the Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.*