

# Fragmentology

A Journal for the Study of Medieval Manuscript Fragments

*Fragmentology* is an international, peer-reviewed Open Access journal, dedicated to publishing scholarly articles and reviews concerning medieval manuscript fragments. *Fragmentology* welcomes submissions, both articles and research notes, on any aspect pertaining to Latin and Greek manuscript fragments in the Middle Ages.

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## *Manuscript Fragments in Greek Libraries*

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**Abstract:** A case study on fragments in Greek manuscript collections was conducted at the Center for History and Palaeography of the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation. The majority of the manuscripts for the study come from hard-to-reach monastic libraries and were microfilmed by the Center. The study focused on a selection of collections, including the library of the Monastery of Hozoviotissa (Amorgos Island, Cyclades), the Patriarchal library of Alexandria (Egypt), the library of the Monastery of Iviron (Mt. Athos), and a variety of collections from Cyprus. While research is ongoing, the current results show the potential contribution that fragments can make to the study of Medieval Greek manuscripts.

**Keywords:** Greek manuscript fragments, Center for History and Palaeography, monastic libraries, Greek palaeography

The Center for History and Palaeography (IPA), National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation (MIET), Athens, hosted a *Fragmentarium* case study, a research project funded by the Zeno-Karl-Schindler Foundation for 2017–2018. The goal of the project was to demonstrate the viability and interest of using the IPA's unparalleled microform

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collection of manuscripts to identify, describe, and analyze manuscript fragments.

## 1. The Center for History and Palaeography (IPA, MIET)

The Center was founded in 1974 having as its prime objective to create and organize a microfilm record of handwritten codices and historical archives from Greece and the Greek-speaking world. Since its establishment, the IPA has conducted over 250 scientific missions and research expeditions, over the course of which it has photographed or digitized approximately 9,000 manuscripts and 20 large historical archives.<sup>1</sup> In addition to maintaining this collection, the IPA has published an index of Greek scribes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, hosts a specialized palaeography library, organizes seminars in palaeography, and is engaged in international programs and other pioneering activities, such as research on parchment DNA.<sup>2</sup>

Greek manuscripts are overwhelmingly located in monasteries, with a much smaller number in public and state libraries.<sup>3</sup> There-

1 The copies of manuscripts in the MIET's collection come from several monastic and public libraries, situated in Thrace, Macedonia (including the monastic archives of Mount Athos), Thessaly, Epirus, Continental Greece, Attica (including the Parliament of Greece), the Ionian Islands, the Peloponnese, the Cycladic Islands, the East Aegean Islands and the Dodecanese. Moreover, the collection includes reproductions of manuscripts from monastic and ecclesiastical libraries of Cyprus and a part of the archive of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa. A significant part of the archive of the Jerusalem Eastern-Orthodox Patriarchate has also been digitized, including a selection of codices from the Patriarchal Library. Several manuscripts have also been selectively photographed from the Monastery of Sinai and the Monastery of Ioannou Theologou in Patmos. In addition, there are collections and records from Venice, Italy, particularly from the Marciana National Library and the Hellenic Institute, and finally manuscripts from Sofia, Bulgaria, Bucharest, Romania, Budapest, Hungary and Kiev, Ukraine.

2 For further information on the operation and benefits offered by the Center, see: <http://www.ipamiet.gr/miet/>.

3 Cf. the statement of A. Tselikas, "Οἱ μοναστηριακὲς βιβλιοθῆκες καὶ γενικώτερα αὐτὲς ποὺ λειτουργοῦν στὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸ περιβάλλον στὴ χώρα μας ἀποτελοῦν μιὰ τεράστια κοιτίδα τῆς πνευματικῆς μας κληρονομιάς. Ἀπὸ τὴ σκοπιά ἐνὸς

fore, the only access that researchers and the general public could have to many of these manuscripts is through microfilm or digital surrogates.

## 2. Collections of manuscripts in Greece

The concentration of manuscripts and book collections in monasteries in the Greek peninsula is due to their continuation and independence under successive periods of Frankish, Venetian and Ottoman Rule (1204–1821).<sup>4</sup> Monasteries survived the Ottoman conquest and even acquired certain privileges that allowed them to maintain relative economic prosperity, thereby guaranteeing their continued function.<sup>5</sup> At a time when other institutions in the area

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παλαιογράφου και έρευνήτοϋ τῶν παλαιῶν εντύπων εκδόσεων οί εκκλησιαστικές βιβλιοθήκες εἶναι ὁ φυσικός και αὐτονόητος χῶρος έρευνας". A. Tselikas, *Εκκλησιαστικές συλλογές χειρογράφων και παλαιῶν εντύπων βιβλίων*, 1 (<http://www.laskaridisfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Εκκλησιαστικές-συλλογές-χειρογράφων-και-παλαιῶν-εντύπων-βιβλίων-Τσελίκας.pdf>). Also, according to K. Chryssochoidis, "For the historian of the medieval and later years of the Greek East, the monastery archives – and the libraries of course – are perhaps the most valuable source of information he has at his disposal". K. Chryssochoidis, "Monastic libraries and archives: depositories of historical evidence", *Trends in Orthodox Monasticism. 9th–20th centuries*, Athens 1996, 260.

- 4 S. Davies and J.L. Davis, "Greeks, Venice, and the Ottoman Empire", in *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece*, ed. J.L. Davis and S. Davies, Athens 2007, 25–31 (pp. 30–31 comprehensive bibliography); M. Balard, "Etat de la recherche sur la latinocratie en Méditerranée Orientale", in *Ricchi e poveri nella società dell'oriente Grecolatino*, ed. C.A. Maltezou, Venice 1998, 17–36; D.A. Zakythinos, *The Making of Modern Greece. From Byzantium to Independence*, trans. K.R. Johnstone, Oxford 1976.
- 5 N. Necipoğlu, "Byzantine Monasteries and Monastic Property in Thessalonike and Constantinople During the Period of Ottoman Conquests (Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries)", *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 15 (1995), 123–135, at 123; eadem, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire*, Cambridge 2009, 92. Concerning the privileges of Mount Athos before and during the Ottoman conquest, see D. Nikolakakis, "Το προνομιακό φορολογικό καθεστώς των μετοχίων και της εν γένει ακίνητης περιουσίας των Μονών του Αγίου Όρους", *Mount Athos: Spreading the Light to the Orthodox World: the Metochia. Conference Proceedings*, Thessaloniki 2014, 335–336.

tended to stagnate, this status enabled monasteries not only to survive, but even to grow in certain cases. For example, the monasteries of Meteora were in decline at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Thessaly in 1413, but underwent a revival in the late fifteenth and into the sixteenth century, with new monasteries being established. The numbers of monks and monasteries grew continuously, peaking in the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup>

In line with Byzantine tradition, monastic libraries operated as centers of education and study, storing collections of manuscripts and producing new ones.<sup>7</sup> Education within and outside Greek monasteries depended on the appointment of qualified scholars, as the monk Maximus Planudes (ca. 1255–ca. 1305), and local personalities, as Demetrius Triclinius, a schoolmaster who is known to have lived in Thessalonica ca. 1305–20.<sup>8</sup> The gradual decline of the Byzantine Empire of the East over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was not accompanied by a corresponding decline in intellectual life. On the contrary, “the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries saw some of the best Byzantine work on classical texts”.<sup>9</sup> Also, the revival of theological and classical letters resulted in the appearance of a multitude of scholars studying and writing in the monasteries.

6 N. Veis, “Συμβολή εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων”, *Βυζαντικ* 1 (1909), 191–332; 2 (1911), 261–262.

7 See, for example, the case of Stoudios, a monastic center for education and manuscript production, and the center of a geographically disperse community, P. Lemerle, *Ὁ πρῶτος βυζαντινὸς οὐμανισμὸς (Le premier humanisme byzantin)*, trans. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, MIET, Athens 20013, 110–115. More generally, see P. Charanis, “The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971), 61–84, at 80–81; M. Weitzman, “The Evolution of Manuscript Traditions”, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series A* 150 (1987), 287–308. Concerning manuscript production, A. Tselikas, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὲς συλλογὲς χειρογράφων καὶ παλαιῶν ἐντύπων βιβλίων*, 1–2, “[...] δημιουργοῦνται νέα κωδικογραφικὰ ἐργαστήρια σὲ μεγάλα ἢ μικρὰ μοναστικὰ κέντρα, συγκροτοῦνται νέες συλλογὲς ἢ ἄλλες προστίθενται σὲ παλαιότερες, ἐνῶ ἡ διδασκαλικὴ δραστηριότητα ἀνάλογα μὲ τὴν κατὰ τόπους ἐγκατάσταση λογίων καὶ τὶς ἐντόπιες συνθηκὲς ἐξαπλώνεται ὁλοένα σὲ ὅλον τὸν ἐλληνικὸν χῶρον ...”

8 Tselikas, *ibid.*; L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: a Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, Oxford 1991<sup>3</sup>, 73–78.

9 Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 73.

Their works in turn became the subject of monastic study and are included in the libraries of the monasteries.<sup>10</sup>

In terms of history and culture, monasteries and manuscripts are closely interconnected and interrelated. The production of manuscripts is directly linked to the service of the monasteries' purposes, and more broadly, to the functioning of churches. The core material of any monastic library consists in liturgical books and literature on patristic studies and asceticism, all of which contribute to the smooth conduct of worship and regular observation of monastic offices, as well as the educational interests of the monks.<sup>11</sup>

Keeping these textual treasures under monastic controls involved significant risks.<sup>12</sup> On some cases, monasteries were plundered and entire manuscripts or parts of them were stolen. Previously lost manuscripts can now be found in various libraries and museums around the world.<sup>13</sup> In some occasions, after being identified as property of a monastery, the manuscripts have been returned to monastic libraries.<sup>14</sup> One such case is the Byzantine Monastery of Panagia Chozoviotissa on the Aegean island of Amorgos. Sometime between the end of the nineteenth century and 1967, someone removed six leaves from a parchment manuscript containing a 1253 copy of the *Ladder of Divine Ascent*. In 2006, a private donor gave the leaves to

10 Chryssochoidis, "Monastic libraries and archives", 252.

11 Chryssochoidis, "Monastic libraries and archives", 259.

12 See indicative examples by K. Chryssochoidis, "Παραδόσεις και πραγματικότητες στο Άγιον Όρος στά τέλη του ΙΕ' και στις αρχές του ΙΣΤ' αιώνα", *Αθωνικά Σύμμεικτα* 4 (1997), 99–147 (<https://helios-eie.ekt.gr/EIE/bitstream/10442/14617/2/Bo3.004.o.pdf>).

13 In a recent case that was resolved positively, the J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles) announced in April 2014 plans to voluntarily return a twelfth-century Byzantine illuminated New Testament to the Holy Monastery of Dionysiou on Mount Athos in Greece: <http://news.getty.edu/byzantine-manu-to-greece.htm>.

14 The most recent (Spring 2019) example of this kind of action is the return, by the British Library to the Greek authorities, of three rare historic documents that had been illegally removed from the Panagia Chrysopodaritissa Monastery in Achaia (Peloponnese) in 1979: <https://www.culture.gr/en/Information/SitePages/view.aspx?nID=2649>.

the Benaki Museum, which, after becoming aware of their origin, returned them to Chozoviotissa.<sup>15</sup>

In conclusion, the widescale removal and, on many occasions, theft of manuscripts and other cultural treasures<sup>16</sup> is a phenomenon that we encounter regularly from the last century of the history of the Byzantine Empire through to the present.<sup>17</sup>

### 3. Manuscripts in Figures

The Director of the Center of History and Palaeography (IPA, MIET), Agamemnon Tselikas, and his team maintain some figures regarding manuscripts that we encounter in monastic, ecclesiastic and public libraries in Greece. While constantly being revised, these numbers provide an overview of the totality of Greek manuscripts<sup>18</sup>.

There are a total of 220 libraries in Greece with manuscript collections, including monastic (especially on Mount Athos), ecclesiastical, public, municipal and private libraries. In total, there are 24,437 manuscripts.

**Table 1: Libraries with Manuscripts in Greece**

Type of library with manuscripts	Libraries	MSS
Monastic Libraries with Collections of Manuscripts	81	4,778
Monastic Libraries of Mount Athos	29	13,248

15 The manuscript is briefly described in L. Politis, *Συνοπτική ἀναγραφή χειρογράφων ἐλληνικῶν συλλογῶν*, Athens 1976, 71–79, at 72, no. 11. For an inventory of the manuscript collection of the Benaki Museum, containing the returned items, see: <http://oldwww.benaki.gr/inner/ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ%20ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΥ%20ΜΠΕΝΑΚΗ.pdf>, esp. no. 98; according to the current inventory, fragments nos. 99, 102, 103, and 104 have also been returned to the monastery.

16 P.M. Kontogiannis, “Τὰ κειμήλια τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους κατὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν”, *Θεολογία* 4 (1926), 144–152.

17 Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 78: “A vast number of manuscripts were brought back from the Byzantine empire in the last century of its history, and the collectors were active long after, so that today the libraries of the Greek East are virtually denuded of classical texts... This process was undoubtedly necessary in order to ensure the survival of Greek literature.”

18 A. Tselikas, *Μοναστηριακές βιβλιοθήκες* (Monastic Libraries), unpublished paper, National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation, Athens.

Ecclesiastical Libraries	47	395
Private, Municipal and Public Libraries	63	6,016
<b>Total</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>24,437</b>

Furthermore, there are some 3,321 manuscripts in ecclesiastical libraries in areas of the Greek-speaking world, and specifically in Orthodox Patriarchates, following the demographic extent of the premodern Greek Orthodox Church. These are: the library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, the library of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, the library of the Patriarchate of Antioch, the libraries of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (ecclesiastical, monastic and archives).

*Table 2: Ecclesiastical Libraries with MSS in the Greek-speaking world*

Collection	MSS
Patriarchate of Constantinople	163
Patriarchate of Alexandria	538
Patriarchate of Antioch (Monastery of Virgin Seidanagias)	±50
Patriarchate of Jerusalem	
I. Collection of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre	645
II. Monastery of St. Sabba	706
III. Holy Monastery of the Holy Cross	129
IV. Collection of patriarch Nicodemus	15
V. Collection of the Holy Monastery of Abraham, dependency of the Holy Sepulchre	135
VI. New Collection	120
VII. Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre of Constantinople	820
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,321</b>

Moreover, the Holy Monastery of St. Catherine in Mount Sinai has 2,319 manuscripts.

In addition, we find more than 429 manuscripts in Cyprus, in ecclesiastical and monastic libraries, as well as in the Cyprus Research

Center (CRC). In addition to those noted here, there are many other manuscripts that have not yet been inventoried.

**Table 3: Libraries with Manuscripts in Cyprus**

Library	MSS
Nicosia, Archdiocesan library	140
Nicosia, Monastery of Faneromeni	2
Nicosia, Cyprus Research Center (CRC)	4
Larnaca, Metropolitan Church	78
Paphos, Metropolitan Church	11
Paphos District, Monastery of St. Neophytos	32
Paphos District, Monastery of the Virgin Chrysorrogiatissa	10
Nicosia District, Monastery of the Virgin of Machairas	27
Nicosia District, Monastery of the Virgin of Kykkos	54
Larnaca, Metropolis of Kition	71
<b>Total</b>	<b>429</b>

Furthermore, there are circa 80 Greek manuscripts in the National Archive of Albania.

Overall, Greek manuscripts in Greece and the Greek-speaking world total more than 30,586. The overwhelming majority of the manuscripts—ca. 90% of the total—come from monastic libraries. Even manuscripts in public libraries come originally from monasteries.

## 4. Discovery and study of fragments

Although most of these collections do not have extensive catalogues and on-line resources for their manuscripts, let alone for their fragments, the majority of their content is undoubtedly religious,<sup>19</sup> specifically, theological and liturgical. The reason lies in their practical value for the daily life of the monastery. Thus monastic libraries

19 Tselikas, *Μοναστηριακές βιβλιοθήκες*, “Μολονότι δὲν ἔχουμε γιὰ πολλὲς ἀπὸ τὶς βιβλιοθήκες ποὺ ἀνέφερα λεπτομερεῖς καταλόγους ... Αὐτονόητο εἶναι ὅτι τὰ χειρόγραφα μὲ θρησκευτικὸ περιεχόμενο ὑπερτεροῦν.”

of manuscripts abound in Biblical texts, Gospels, Homilies, Liturgical Books, Psalters and Liturgical Material, the lives of the Saints, the Apophthegmata Patrum (Sayings of the Fathers), Material of Canon Law, miscellaneous theological, Ecclesiastical and Patristic texts, catechetical and musical manuscripts. Nevertheless, works of Ancient Greek literature and philosophy can be found in the same libraries, alongside (and sometimes bound together with) religious works.

Greek libraries therefore contain a wealth of ancient and Byzantine sources in manuscript, and the books themselves constitute an open field for research. The fragments in their bindings are even less known, and have great potential for historical research. Moreover, while only a small number of manuscript collections have been digitized, the IPA-MIET has, as noted above, a significant archive of photographs on microfilm and microfiche.

Conducting research at the Center for History and Palaeography (IPA), we went through the microfilms of manuscripts from a selection of collections, finding and identifying fragments. When possible, we drew upon research instruments, specifically print and digital catalogues. When they exist (which is often not the case), these catalogues are sometimes extensive, sometimes brief, but always helpful for the researcher, although most of the time, they do not mention the presence of fragments. The same could be said for the notes of scholars who have conducted research in these libraries.

While some fragments are loose or inventoried separately, most are in the bindings of other manuscripts, as covers, pastedowns, or flyleaves. Our procedure was to locate fragments on the microfilm reader and digitize the corresponding images. The digitization enabled us to conduct a palaeographical analysis utilizing the images. Often, the marginal conservation status of the manuscripts made for difficult-to-read images. If, as in the overwhelming majority of the cases, there was no inventory or catalogue, or such a catalogue did not identify the fragment, we drew upon digital and traditional tools to identify and describe the contents; we have included an [online list](#) of some of the electronic tools that are particularly helpful for the study of Greek manuscript fragments.



Our study reached several conclusions:

- For the collections that we worked on, fragments amount from 10 to 20 percent of the total number of manuscript items.
- Most of the fragments are in situ binding fragments. We rarely find guard volumes, and even more rarely loose fragments.
- The same collections have both parchment and paper fragments, which, while often centuries apart, are frequently bound into the very same codices.
- 90 percent of the fragments that we have seen so far are theological in nature, chiefly *homiliae* and liturgical material. They often serve as unique witnesses to the textual tradition.
- On some occasions, the fragment's textual genre relates to that of the host volume; for example, often a Menaion codex hosts a Menaion fragment.
- The fragments that we have encountered are mainly in minuscule script. Only two fragments are in majuscule script, those deriving from the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria (cod. 56 [F-lix] and cod. 92 [F-icft]).
- Almost all of the fragments so far discovered lack an explicit date, but can be dated on palaeographical criteria to the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.

## 5. Selected fragments from the case study

### 5.1 A previously-unidentified text from the 10th century in bouletée script

One of the cases that we examine in our study is the parchment binding of codex 36 (Pantelidis and Kyrris 9, olim 717) [F-6vak] of the monastery of Kykkos (Nicosia District, Cyprus). The Holy, Basilike and Stauropegiake Monastery of Kykkos was founded by the Byzantine Emperor Alexios Komnenos (1081–1118), and has had a library since its foundation. Four catastrophic fires, in 1365, 1541, 1751, and 1813, have destroyed a large number of Kykkos codices, and others

were undoubtedly lost to unsuitable storage conditions.<sup>20</sup> Most of what remains of the monastery's early manuscript holdings can be found abroad, in the National Library of Paris, the Vatican Library, as well as in libraries in Jerusalem, Athens, and Mt. Athos.<sup>21</sup> Since the fifteenth century, the monastery of Kykkos operated a scriptorium, and since the sixteenth century, a workshop for restoring books.<sup>22</sup> The later manuscript collection of the monastery has been studied extensively by researchers, such as C.G. Pantelides, C.P. Kyrris, M. Polite-Sakellariade, C.N. Constantinides, and A. Jacovlević.<sup>23</sup>

Over the course of two missions led by A. Tselikas, one in 1979, the other in 1983, the IPA microfilmed the manuscripts of Kykkos.<sup>24</sup> One of the manuscripts microfilmed in January 1983, MS 36, is a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century paper codex of 158 leaves, containing

20 For further information on the history and the manuscript collection of the monastery, see N. Kyriazēs, *Ίστορία τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου*, Larnaka 1949; A. Jacovlević, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Kykkos*, Nicosia 2016, 1–15 (preface of the catalogue with extensive bibliographical references).

21 See “A Checklist of the MSS from the Library of Kykkos Identified in Other Libraries” in A. Jacovlević, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 14.

22 Jacovlević, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 3.

23 C.G. Pantelidou, “Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς μονῆς Κύκκου”, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 10 (1913), 201–208 (<http://olympias.lib.uoi.gr/jspui/handle/123456789/3080>). Before Pantelides, C. Papadopoulos mentions the existence of a remarkable collection of manuscripts in the monastery of Kykkos. C. Papadopoulos, “Περιγραφή μονῶν τινῶν τῆς νήσου Κύπρου μετὰ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς χειρογράφων”, *Σωτήρ* 13 (1890), 320; C.N. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*, Washington D.C.-Nicosia 1993, 29; C.P. Kyrris, “Ἀναλυτικὸς κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου”, *Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν* 7 (1973–1975), 305–415; M. Polite-Sakellariade, “Λειτουργικὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς Σχολῆς Μποζέου στὴν Κύπρο”, *Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν* 17 (1987–1988): *Πρακτικὰ Ἀ’ Διεθνοῦς Συμποσίου Μεσαιωνικῆς Κυπριακῆς Παλαιογραφίας*, 81–111; C.N. Constantinides, *Catalogue of the Manuscript Exhibition in the Monastery of Kykkos (First International Symposium on Mediaeval Cypriot Palaeography)*, Nicosia 1984, 27–48; idem, “Ἡ Στάχωση τοῦ Κώδικα 9 τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου”, *Ἐπετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου* 1 (1990), 51–59; Jacovlević, *Descriptive Catalogue*.

24 MIET, *Μικροφωτογραφήσεις χειρογράφων καὶ ἀρχείων* (Δελτίο Β’, 1978–1980), Athens 1981, 17; MIET, *Μικροφωτογραφήσεις χειρογράφων καὶ ἀρχείων* (Δελτίο Γ’, 1981–1983), Athens 1985, 24.

Nikephoros Blemmydes' *Logic*,<sup>25</sup> a common pedagogical text in the late Byzantine and Ottoman period. The binding of the manuscript is wrapped lengthwise by a single leaf that, perhaps owing to wear, has variously been measured at 402 × 275 mm (Kyrris) and 39.8 × 25 cm (Jacovlević).<sup>26</sup>

The text of the fragment has been assessed according to the interior side (board-facing) of the fragment. The text, written in bouletée script, was dated to the twelfth century (Pantelidou), then to the fourteenth century (Kyrris), before Constantinides established the current consensus, which we share, that the fragment hales from the tenth century, making it possibly the oldest surviving manuscript at Kykkos, dating to before the foundation of the monastery itself.<sup>27</sup>

The inner side of the parchment leaf was initially transcribed by C.P. Kyrris in his catalogue of the manuscript collection of the monastery of Kykkos, but without identifying the text, merely noting its similarity to John Chrysostom's *Homilia XXIX in Genesim*.<sup>28</sup> We can

25 Constantinides, *Catalogue of the Manuscript Exhibition in the Monastery of Kykkos*, 29. On this manuscript and other philosophical texts at Kykkos, see idem, “Η Στάχωση τοῦ Κώδικα 9 τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου”, 51 and corresponding bibliography; Jacovlević, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 231–233.

26 C.N. Constantinides, “Η Στάχωση τοῦ Κώδικα 9 τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου”, 51–57; C.P. Kyrris, “Αναλυτικὸς κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου”, 326; A. Jacovlević, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 230: “MS 36.1: Unidentified text in Bouletée script”.

27 C.N. Constantinides, “Η Στάχωση τοῦ Κώδικα 9 τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου”, 54, esp. nn. 14–16; C.P. Kyrris, “Αναλυτικὸς κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου”, 306: “...παλαιὰ τυγχάνει ἡ περγαμηνὴ τῆς σταχώσεως τοῦ κώδικος 9, πιθανῶς τοῦ 14. αἰῶνος.”; C.G. Pantelidou, “Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς μονῆς Κύκκου”, 204.

28 C.P. Kyrris, “Αναλυτικὸς κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου”, 327: “Τὸ κείμενον τῆς προσθίας πλευρᾶς δὲν κατέστη δυνατόν νὰ ταυτισθῇ, ὁμοιάζει ὁμως πρὸς τὴν “Ὁμιλίαν XXIX τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν”, P.G., LIII, στήλ. 260–273, καὶ κατὰ τὸ θέμα καὶ κατὰ τὸ ὕφος. Πάντως δὲν πρόκειται περὶ “μέρους τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης”, ὡς γράφει ὁ Χρ. Γ. Παντελίδης, «Κατάλογος τῶν Κωδίκων τῆς μονῆς Κύκκου», NE, (vol.) X, 1913, σ. 204, τὸ δὲ χωρίον “οὐκ ἐποίησεν / 6 οὕτως παντὶ ἔθνει καὶ τὰ κρί / 7 ματα αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐδήλω / 8 σεν αὐτοῖς” (Ψάλμ. PMZ', 8–9) ἀπλῶς παρατίθεται ὑπὸ τοῦ συγγραφῆως, ὡς καὶ ἕτερα τῆς Π.Δ. (ἐκ τῆς Γενέσεως) χωρία, χάριν σχολιασμοῦ. Ἀλλ' ἡ ἀναφορὰ εἰς τὸν Παῦλον (Γαλ., Γ', 28) ἐν στίχ. 13–23 μαρτυρεῖ συγγραφὰ χριστιανόν”.

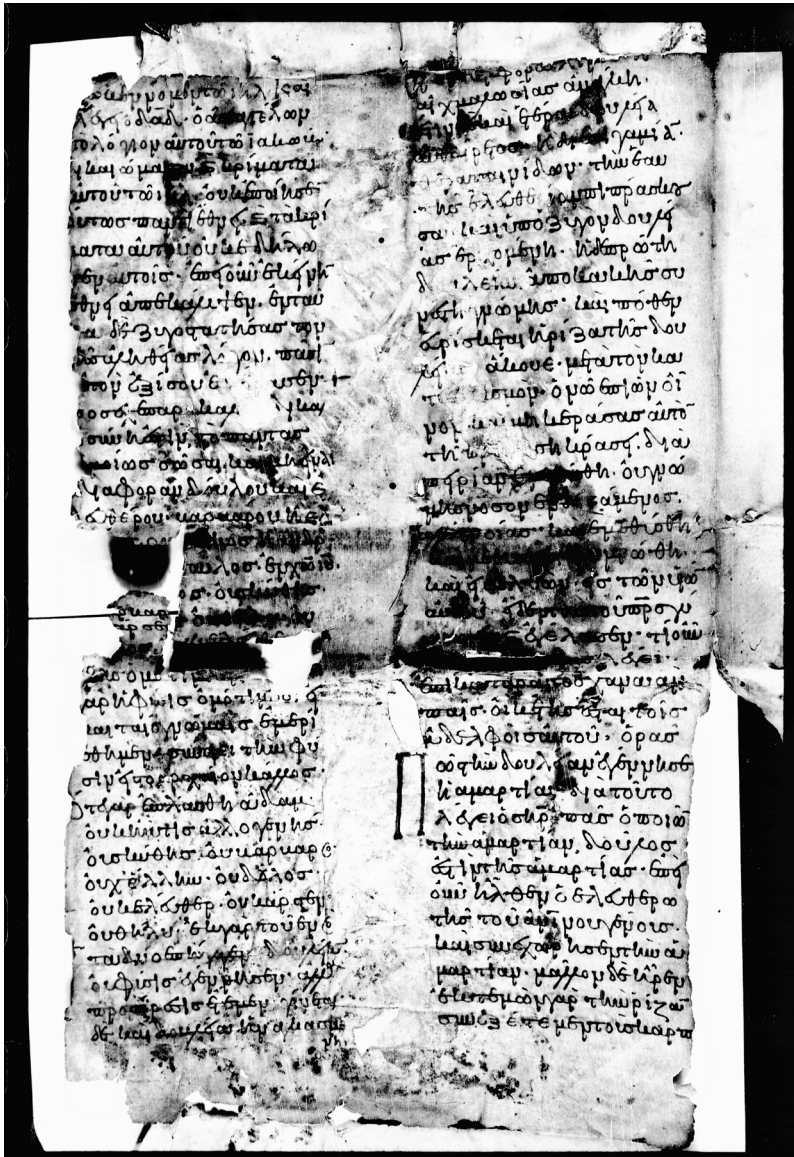


Figure 1: Kykkos, cod. 36, inner side. Enhanced microfilm digitization





Figure 2: Kykkos, cod. 36, outer side, front and back cover

now conclude that the inner side of the leaf provides fragmentary text from Severian of Gabala's homily *De legislatore* [CPG 4192, PG 56

(spuriously ascribed to St. John Chrysostom), cols. 400.50–401.38], with some small text variations.<sup>29</sup>

Owing to wear and the consequent illegibility, the outer side of the parchment leaf has also not been identified until now. With the aid of the text of the *De legislatore* and enhanced scans of the microfilm, we were able to obtain a tentative reading of the outer side of the fragment, which turns out to be the leaf's verso.

**Table 4: Transcription of Kykkos, cod. 36, outer cover (Severianus Gabalensis, Homilia de Legislatore, CPG 4192, PG 56)**

401.38–49, 49–56	401.56–402.8, 402.8–15
<p>[οὐς, καλεῖ δικαιοσύνης Εὐ] ἀγγέλι[ον διὰ τὸ π]άν[τας   ] ὁμοίως φωτίζειν. Ὑπε[ λ]άμβανον οὖν οἱ [Ἰουδαῖ   οἱ,] ὅτι τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τὸ   κηρυττόμενον δι' αὐτ[οῦ   ] αὐτοῖς δίδεται μόνοις.   Ἐξέβη [δὲ] παρ' ἐλ[πίδας   ] [ἡ προσδοκία. Διό φησιν ὁ Δαυίδ· Ὑπελά-   βομεν, ὁ Θεός, τὸ ἔλεός σου ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ   λαοῦ σοῦ· κατὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου, ὁ Θεός, οὕτω καὶ ἡ αἰνεσίς σου ἐπὶ τὰ πέ-   ρατα τῆς γῆς. Καὶ ἴνα δείξῃ, ὅτι τὸ ἐλεῆσαι τὰ πέ-   ρατα τῆς γῆς, δικαιοσύνη ἐστίν, ἐπήγαγε· Δικαιοσύνης πλήρης ἡ δεξιὰ σου. Ὅταν βαθύ τι καὶ προφητικὸν ἀνακύψῃ ζήτημα, σύνδραμε τῷ λόγῳ]</p>	<p>[ρατα τῆς γῆς· δικαιοσύ]νης [πλ.]ήρης   [ἡ δεξι]ὰ σ[ου·] εὐρ[ίσκη] (εὐρίσκει scr.)   [καὶ ᾄδ]ων [τὰ] τοῦ Θε(ο)ῦ, καὶ   [πληρ]οῦ[μεν]ος Πν(εύματος) ἁγίου.   [Ὁ γὰρ γνησί]ως ψάλλον,   [ἀνακαινιζόμενος τὴν] ψυ[χὴν, ἀποτ   ] [ελεῖται ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Μὴ γὰρ μικρὸν νομίσης ψαλμῳδίαν εἶναι. Δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀκοὴν θέλγειν, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐγείρειν. Οὕτω καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἐλισσαῖος ὁ προφήτης παρακαλούμενος παρὰ τινων βασιλέων προφητεῦσαι τὰ μέλλοντα, λέγει· Δότε μοι ἄνδρα εἰδότα ψάλλειν· ἦλθεν]</p>

<sup>29</sup> On the attribution to Chrysostom, see, e.g. J.A. De Aldama, *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum*, Paris 1965, 182. For the diplomatic transcription of the text of the inner side of the leaf, see C.P. Kyrris, “Ἀναλυτικὸς κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου”, 326–327. For philological and diplomatic transcriptions, see C.N. Constantinides, “Ἡ Στάχωση τοῦ Κώδικα 9 τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου”, 55–56. This philological transcription is also included in A. Jancovlević, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 230, which adopts Constantinides assessment of it as an unidentified text.

[μή κροτ]ῶν, ἀλλὰ ν[οῶ]ν, μή   [ἀ]πλῶς δι[εχό]μενο[ς] τὸν   κρότον τῶν [ῥη]μάτων,   ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔννο[ι]αν [β]α   [σα]νίζων τῶν νοημάτων.   Ἐὰν γὰρ [ᾄδῃς τὰ τοῦ] Θ(εο)ῦ   μετὰ ἀληθείας, καὶ μά   λιστα τὴν [φωνήν] ταύ   την, ἣν [ὁ Δαυὶδ εἶπ]εν·   Ὑπελάβομε[ν], ὁ Θ(εό)ς, τὸ   [ἔ]λε[ός] σου ἐ[ν μέ]σῳ τοῦ   λαοῦ σου· κατὰ τὸ ὄνο   μά σου, ὁ Θ(εό)ς, οὕτω καὶ   ἡ αἴνεσίς σου (ἐνεσίσου scr.) ἐπὶ τὰ π[έ]	[ὁ τῆς μουσικῆς ἔμ]πειρος,   [καὶ ἐν τῷ ψά]λλειν, [φ]ησίν,   [ἐ]κεῖν[ον,] ἦλθε τὸ Πν(εῦμ)α   [τὸ ᾄ]γι[ον ἐπὶ Ἑλισσ]αῖον.   Τί ο[ὖν;] ἄρα τὸ Πν(εῦμ)α   τὸ ἅγιον φωναῖς θέλ   γεται, καὶ ἐπωδαῖς κα   θέλκεται, εἰ τῇ ψυχῇ   [ἐ]πανεπαύ]ετο τῇ προ   φητικῇ; Ἥρκει ἡ κα   θαρότης τοῦ προφή   του προσκαλέσασθαι   τὸ Πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον. (Δ)ιὰ   τί [οὖν λέ]γει, [Δότε ᾄ]   νδρα [εἰδότη]α [ψ]άλλει[ν;]
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## 5.2 Codex Nicosiensis

The case study included fragments from some private collections from Cyprus that were part of an exhibition at the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia on the occasion of the First International Symposium on Medieval Cypriot Paleography in September 1984.<sup>30</sup>

One of the manuscripts exhibited was the well-known *Tetraevangelion of Nicosia*, also known as the *Codex Nicosiensis* [F-4jwn]. The codex is composed of 48 surviving folios that provide fragmentary text from two of the four gospels. It is dated to the twelfth century and ascribed to the “Family 2400”, a famous group of twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century manuscripts that was also known as the “Family Karachisar” or “Family Nicaean School”. Named for its association to Chicago, University Library 965 (Gregory 2400), Family 2400 was identified in the 1930s, and since then its members have increased more than tenfold, so that it now comprises more than one hundred illuminated manuscripts and some fifty others. Manuscripts ascribed to this family, “the largest homogeneous group of

30 C.N. Constantinides, *Catalogue of Manuscript Exhibitions*, Nicosia 1984, 5; MIET, *Δελτίο τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ καὶ Παλαιογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, Δ' (1984–87), Athens 1988, 17, 218–219 (concerning the current codex, see 218, no. 3).



Figure 3: Codex Nicosiensis, f. 21r

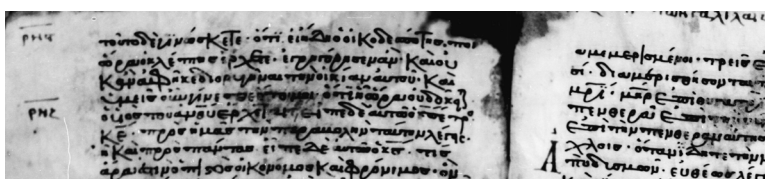


Figure 4: Codex Nicosiensis, ff. 1v-2r (detail)





Figure 5: Codex Nicosiensis, f. 6v (detail)

illuminated manuscripts known to have survived from Byzantium”,<sup>31</sup> occupy a prominent position in libraries around the world.<sup>32</sup>

The *Tetraevangelion of Nicosia* is written in Greek, in one single column of 32 lines, in black ink with magenta initial letters.<sup>33</sup> This fragmentary codex begins with Luke 12:24 and ends (f. 48v) with John 18:37. The current MS contains only one miniature, that of the symbol of St. John: an eagle in profile holding the Gospel of John with its talons (f. 21r).

*Codex Nicosiensis* was copied by a single unnamed scribe in the so-called “decorative style”. The script is a diminutive minuscule, which Constantinides and Browning even characterize as calligraphic, featuring small initials and all the characteristic features

31 C.N. Constantinides, “An unknown Manuscript of the ‘Family 2400’ from Cyprus”, *Επετηρίς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν* 17 (1987–88), 169–186, at 169 and nn. 1–2.

32 A number of manuscripts from this family have connections to Cyprus. See C.N. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the year 1570*, Washington, D.C. and Nicosia 1993, 367 (no. 109) and nn. 3–4.

33 See the extended description by C.N. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 366–368 (no. 109). See also, C.N. Constantinides, “An unknown Manuscript”, 171–173, n. 11; 179–186 for photos of manuscripts belonging to the “Family 2400”.

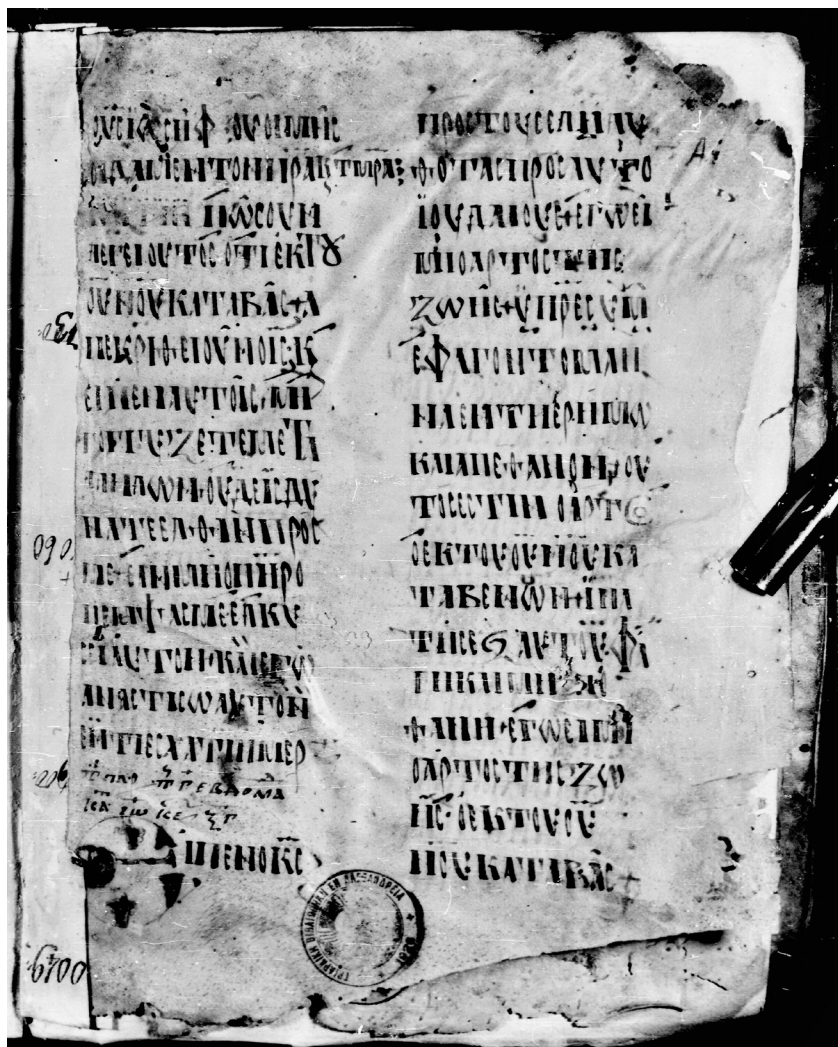


Figure 6: Alexandria, Patriarchal Library, Cod. 56, f. Ar

of the 2400 Group, including deep black ink.<sup>34</sup> Constantinides also notes the bulging beta, the emphatic diagonal delta and rho, the flourishing kappa, the characteristic chi, the enlarged open (or

34 C.N. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 367.

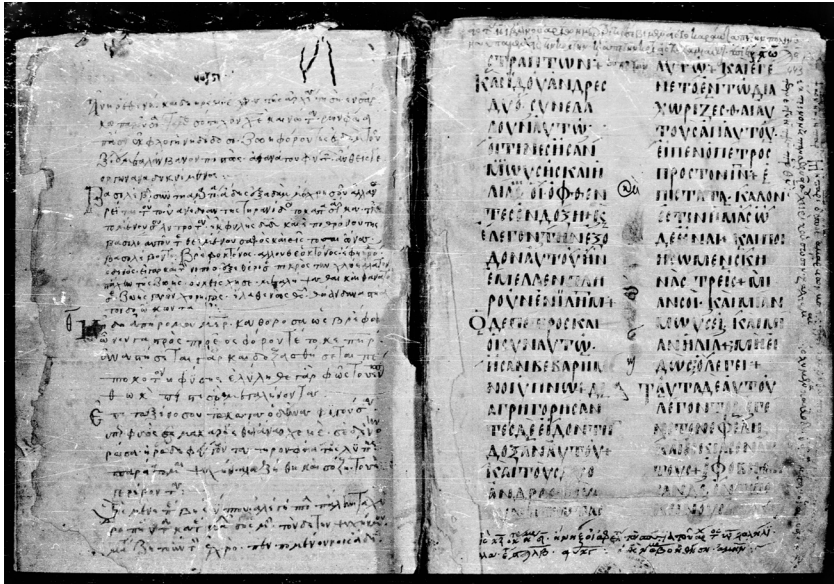


Figure 7: Alexandria, Patriarchal Library, Cod. 92, ff. 442v–443r

boxy) upsilon and the epsilon-xi ligature.<sup>35</sup> Lastly, the text has a few abbreviations, chiefly *nomina sacra*.

### 5.3 Alexandria, Patriarchal Library, Cod. 56 & Cod. 92

The IPA microfilmed the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria over two missions, one in 1976 and one in 1977.<sup>36</sup> A survey of 100 manuscripts from this collection revealed, among other fragments, two items in majuscule script.

Cod. 56 (olim 81; 949; 74) is an Evangelion with, at the front, two paper and two parchment leaves.<sup>37</sup> The parchment leaves contain pericopes of St. John's Gospel in Greek, and the paper folios are blank. In addition, the codex has three paper strips (visible on f. Ar, f. Bv, and the verso of the second blank paper leaf at the front), glued to the hinge. These strips come from one or more manuscripts pro-

<sup>35</sup> C.N. Constantinides, "An unknown Manuscript", 172–173.

<sup>36</sup> K. Chryssochoidis, *Μικροφωτογραφήσεις χειρογράφων και ἀρχείων*, Athens 1978, 34.

<sup>37</sup> T. Moschonas, *Πατριαρχεῖον Ἀλεξανδρείας. Κατάλογοι τῆς πατριαρχικῆς βιβλιοθήκης. Τόμος Α'. Χειρόγραφα*, Alexandria 1945, 67.



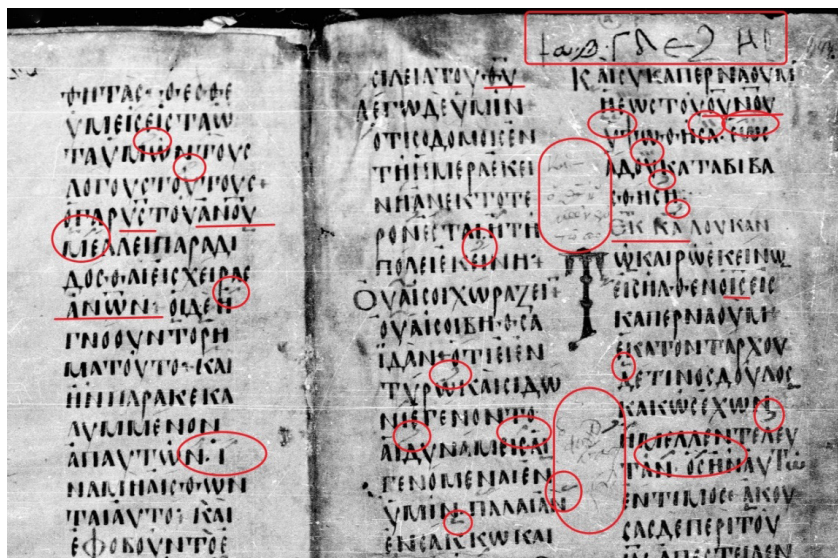


Figure 8: Cod. 92, ff. 443v–444r, detail. Circled: ekphonic notation and marginal notes (two hands). Underlined: nomina sacra and abbreviations

duced after the codex, are pasted upside-down, containing mainly numerical symbols. The back pastedown is a financial document dated 5 May 1804 and localized in Egypt.

The parchment fragment of St. John's Gospel [F-lix] features the text in majuscule script, in two columns of 17–18 lines. It contains some standard abbreviations as well as ekphonic notation. This notation, along with marginal notes, indicates that the manuscript was in liturgical use and the Gospel readings followed the cycle of the ecclesiastical year.

Since the host volume provides Gospel readings for the same ecclesiastical period, these leaves may have been added at the beginning of the codex, owing to their relation with the main manuscript.

The other fragment in majuscule script from the Patriarchal library of Alexandria found in our sounding appears at the end of Cod. 92 (olim 251; 167 (PEZ)), a fourteenth-century codex of bombycin paper containing Menaion.<sup>38</sup> At the back, after two paper leaves

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, 90–91.

that are not discussed in the catalogue, appears the fragment, in two leaves that contain the Evangelion, Gospel of Luke [E-icft].

The majuscule script dates from the ninth or tenth century. The text is laid out in two columns, 22 lines per column and the initials in many cases are decorated and placed to the left of the main body text. In addition, the text provides some abbreviations, mainly *nomina sacra*, and ekphonic notation. These elements again show that the fragmentary Evangelion was in use, serving liturgical purposes.

The fragment, numbered ff. 443–444, contains Luke 9:29–36, 43–44, 10:11–15, and 7:1–8, in that order. The Gospel of Luke is typically read over nineteen weeks, beginning with the Monday after the Elevation of the Holy Cross (September 14), and, after the twelfth week, it is only read on Saturdays and Sundays, while St. Mark's Gospel is read on the remaining weekdays. Therefore the fragment pertains to the period of the liturgical cycle between mid-September and mid-December.

## 5.4 Monastery of Panagia Hozoviotissa, Ms. 22

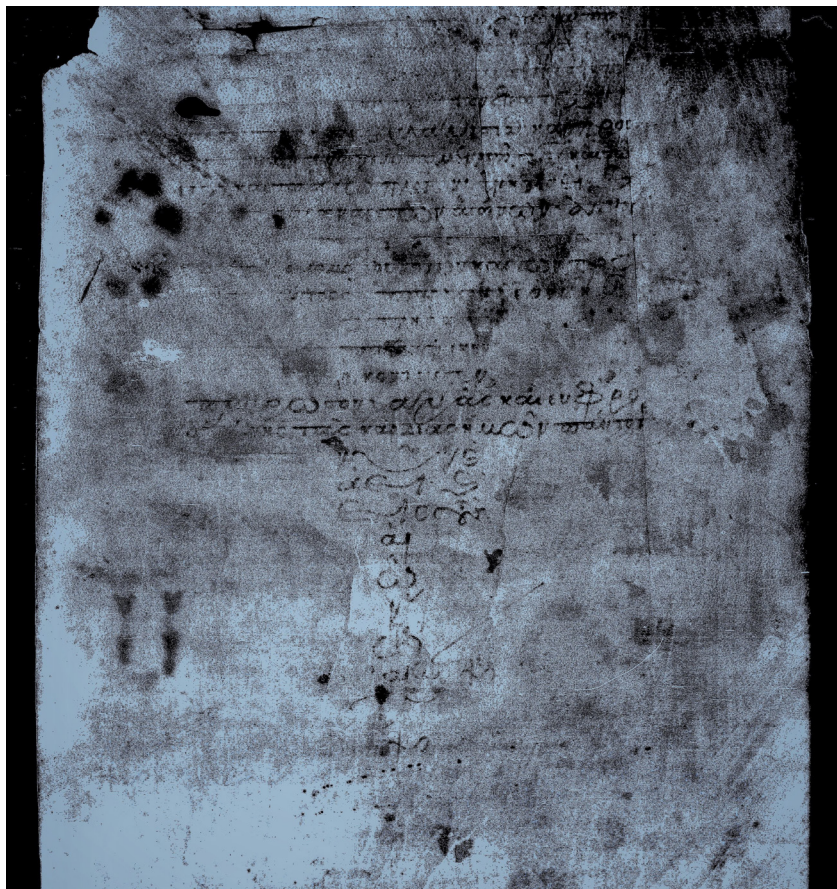
The manuscript collection of Panagia Hozoviotissa in Amorgos Island, Cyclades, was photographed in 1967–1968 by the founder of the IPA, Prof. Linos Politis, and in 1989 by Agamemnon Tselikas.<sup>39</sup> Prof. Politis produced a summary inventory of 97 numbered codices of the monastery, including and characterizing two manuscript items as fragments.<sup>40</sup> From the microfilms of the collection, so far we have identified, described, and published on *Fragmentarium* ten fragments.

One such fragment is Ms. 22 [E-jwyz], from the first half of the fifteenth century. It consists of two parts of a roll (εἰλητάριον).<sup>41</sup>

39 MIET, *Δελτίο τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ καὶ Παλαιογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, C' (1988–92), Athens 1994, 45–46. The mission, led by Agamemnon Tselikas, photographed four codices that were discovered in the monastery library after the mission by Politis, in addition to the “old archive” of the monastery, which is presented in an inventory in the aforementioned report [C' (1988–92)] by the IPA, 46–101.

40 Politis, *Συνοπτικὴ ἀναγραφὴ χειρογράφων ἐλληνικῶν συλλογῶν*, Thessaloniki 1976, 71–79; the fragments are nos. 22 and 23, p. 73.

41 According to the inventory by L. Politis, *Συνοπτικὴ ἀναγραφὴ χειρογράφων ἐλληνικῶν συλλογῶν*, 73, n. 22, the fragment measures 55.5 × 22 cm. According



*Figure 9: Amorgos, Monastery of Panagia Hozoviotissa, MS 22, end of the first part*

Although the parts are joined, they are not continuous. They contain text from the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in a Greek minuscule script, with several illuminated interlace initials throughout the text. The text is written perpendicular to the long side of the document (Figures 9–10). Most of the content flows horizontally from left to right, vertically from top to bottom. The first part provides the prayer for catechumens and the second part contains diptychs

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to Tselikas' label on the microfilm, produced on 29 May 1989, there are two pieces, one 55.5×22 cm and the other, 44.5×22 cm.



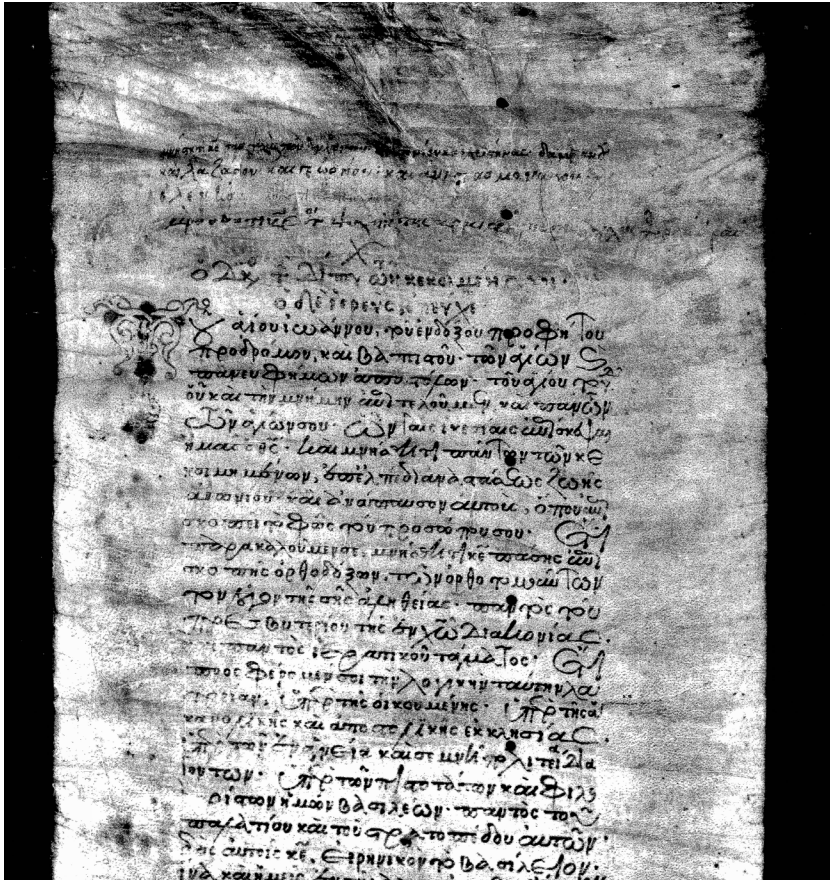


Figure 10: Amorgos, Monastery of Panagia Hozoviotissa, MS 22, beginning of the second part

and prayers. As the figures make clear, the parchment has suffered some physical damage. Nevertheless, we can be sure of the identity and the reading order of the text.

## 5.5 Menaion for September from the Monastery of Iviron

Over two missions, in 1991 and 1992, the IPA photographed 237 of the almost 2,000 manuscripts in the collection of the monastery

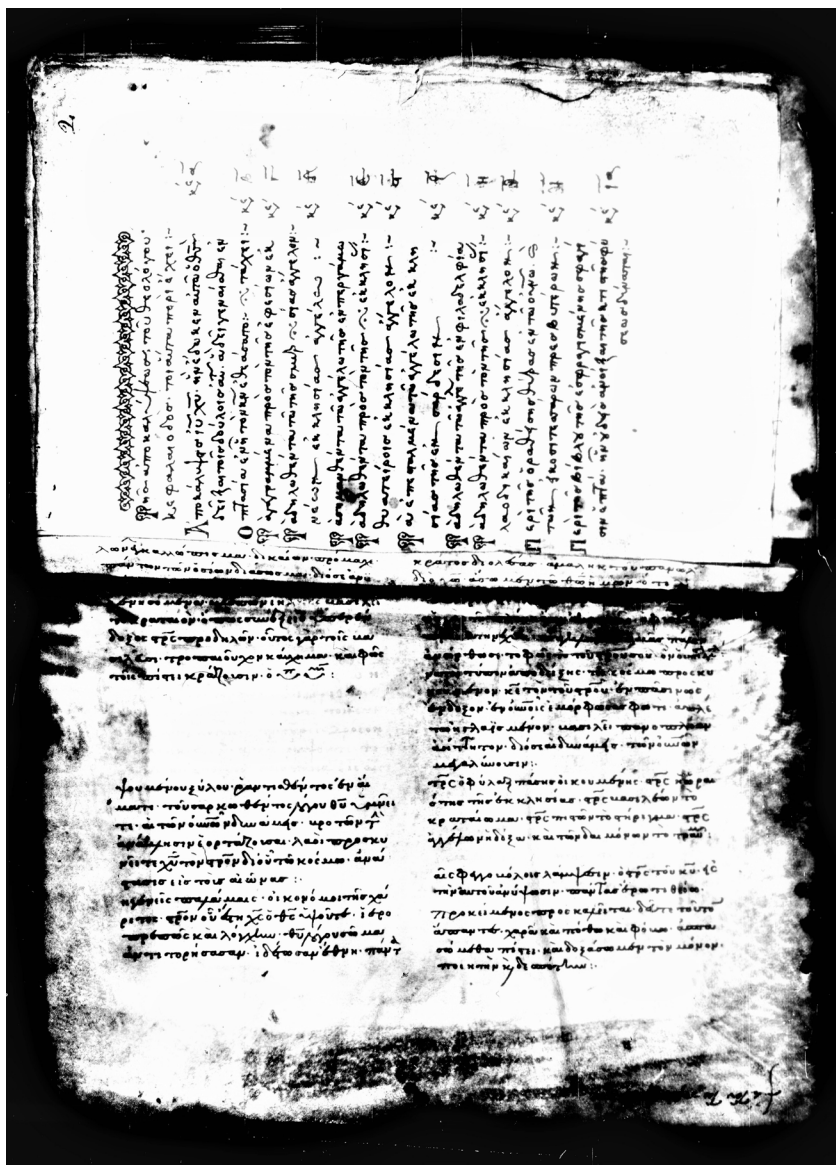


Figure 11: Mount Athos, Monastery of Iviron, Cod. 34, ff. 1v-2r



of Iviron in Mount Athos.<sup>42</sup> This collection also includes fragments. Four images capture parts of the same thirteenth-century Menaion of September 14–15, and in fact of the same page, and appear at the beginning of Cod. 34, a fourteenth-century parchment codex that transmits five other theological texts [F-e248].<sup>43</sup>

Specifically, at the beginning of Cod. 34, the microfilm shows what is either one trimmed leaf of a two-column text or a bifolium of a single-column text (f. 1) and two strips of the same that do not appear to be catalogued, and which appear in the images of f. 2r and f. 4r, respectively. The text on the 4r strip contains the Matins for September 14, and matches the September 14 Matins on f. 1v. Similarly, 2ra has Vespers for September 15, as does f. 1ra; 2rb and 1rb contain the next part of the liturgy, the Matins for September 15. Therefore, the fragment is a single leaf with two columns, and the strip on f. 2r and on f. 4r is a single piece of the same leaf, passing behind the bifolium f. 2–3. Therefore, a reconstruction of the text would proceed (with gaps of varying sizes) f. 4ra–1va–4rb–1vb for what was originally the recto (Figure 12), then f. 2ra–1ra–2rb–1rb for the verso (Figure 13). This reconstruction shows the promise and the challenge of working with fragments on microfilm: the physical structure of the binding is often not apparent and requires considerable reconstruction and reflection.

## Conclusion

The work of studying and publishing Greek manuscript fragments in the photographic collections of the IPA continues. These fragments, often from practically inaccessible monastic libraries, have already provided priceless witnesses to Greek patristic sources, as well as to the liturgy. For many Greek libraries, the examples of the oldest writing in the collection are in fragments, and, in some

<sup>42</sup> MIET, *Δελτίο τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ καὶ Παλαιογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, C' (1988–92), 108.

<sup>43</sup> P. Sotirioudis, *Ἐπὶ Μονὴ Ἰβήρων, Κατάλογος Ἑλληνικῶν Χειρογράφων*, A' (1–100), Mount Athos 1998, 65–66 (no. 4154), identifying it as a Menaion of September 15. S. Lampros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, vol. II, Cambridge 1900, 4 (no. 4154), identifies it as “Liturgical material” and provides an incomplete summary of the codex’s contents. The same codex also has a twelfth-century Triodion fragment at the end.

cases, the fragments provide the most significant evidence of the scriptoria that flourished in those same houses.

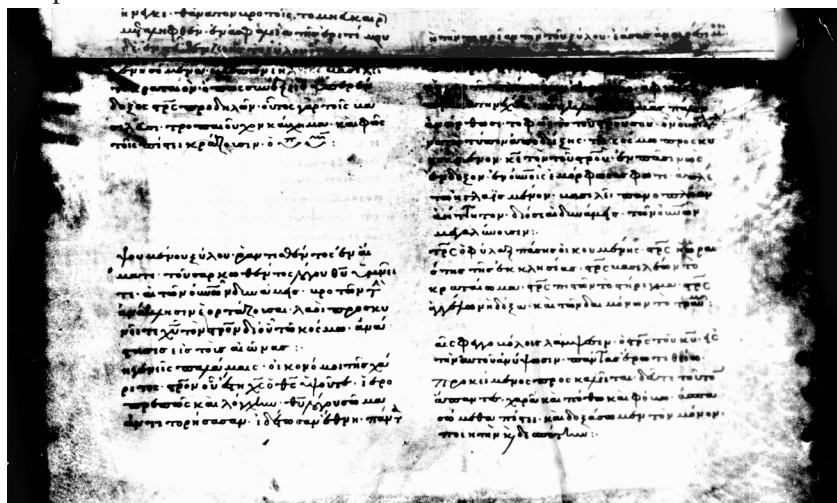


Figure 12: Mount Athos, Monastery of Iviron, Cod. 34: reconstruction of recto (f. 4r, f. IV)

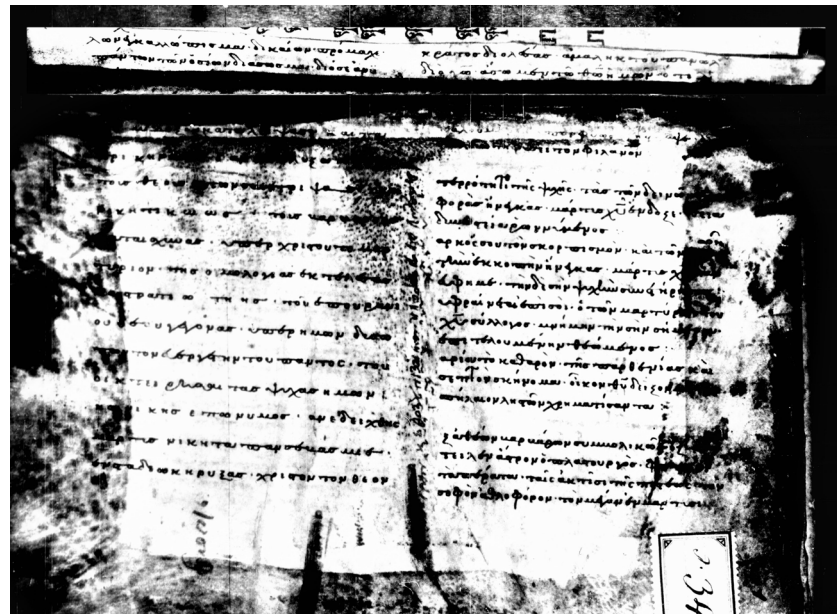


Figure 13: Mount Athos, Monastery of Iviron, Cod. 34: reconstruction of verso (f. 2r, f. 1r)