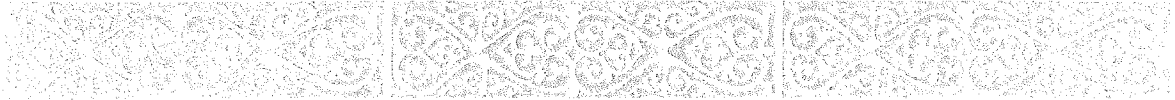


EXHIBIT A



Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

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WITH THE COLLABORATION OF
DON C. SKEMER

Department of Art and Archaeology
and Program in Hellenic Studies
Princeton University
in association with
Princeton University Press



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PREFACE

Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century: A Descriptive Catalogue is a comprehensive descriptive guide to the Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greek manuscripts, miniatures, and bindings in the Manuscripts Division of Princeton University Library's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections; the Scheide Library, Princeton, which is housed in the Princeton University Library; the Princeton University Art Museum; and Princeton Theological Seminary. The catalogue is being published in celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of Princeton University's Program in Hellenic Studies, which was founded in 1979 with the generous support of Stanley J. Seeger Jr., Princeton University Class of 1952.

In the early 1990s, Dimitri Gondicas, executive director of the Program in Hellenic Studies, and Don C. Skemer, curator of manuscripts at the Princeton University Library, began planning a project to compile and publish a catalogue of Greek manuscripts that would build on the work of two exhibitions at Princeton and their respective catalogues: *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (1973) and *Byzantium at Princeton* (1986). As a comprehensive catalogue, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton* covers a larger number of items than these two catalogues or any other published descriptions, such as those in Seymour De Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (1935–40), and in the *Supplement* compiled by C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond (1962).

The principal contributors to the catalogue are Sofia Kotzabassi (Department of Medieval and Modern Greek Philology, Aristotle University of Thessalonike) for descriptions of text, annotations, script, physical structure, and provenance; and Nancy P. Ševčenko (independent scholar) for descriptions of miniatures and decoration, other art-historical analysis, and, together with Sofia Kotzabassi, transcriptions of the lectionary calendars of feasts. Don C. Skemer, director of the project, prepared the descriptions of the bindings, some provenance notes, and additional matter.

The cataloguing format was developed to be fully consistent with recent American practice, as established principally by the Huntington Library and Yale catalogues of medieval manuscripts and followed by Harvard, Princeton (in its forthcoming cat-

alogue of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts), and other American libraries and museums. *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton* also benefited from the methodology and learning of other Byzantine manuscript catalogues published in recent decades, especially those by Herbert Hunger (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna), Irmgard Hutter (Oxford University libraries), and Anna Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Christina Toufexi-Paschou (National Library of Greece, Athens).

The manuscripts and miniatures described in this catalogue came from many sources. The principal collector was Robert Garrett (1875–1961), Princeton University Class of 1897. While still a Princeton undergraduate, he was the hero of the first modern Olympics in Athens in 1896, where he won four medals, including gold medals in the discus throw and shot put. After graduating, Garrett returned home to Baltimore, where he entered the family's investment banking firm and embarked on a life of collecting manuscripts illustrating five millennia of recorded history, including examples in nearly every known script and language, inspired in part by the full-color facsimiles in his own copy of Joseph Balthazar Silvestre's *Universal Palaeography* (London, 1850).

Garrett was a discerning collector, ever willing to be guided by the academic interests of the Princeton faculty. From the 1890s through the 1940s, and especially during the 1920s, he acquired more than ten thousand manuscripts and antiquities, including twenty Byzantine and post-Byzantine manuscripts. Garrett placed two Greek manuscripts (Garrett MS. 9 and Princeton Greek MS. 2) on deposit in the Princeton University Library in 1901 and 1906, respectively, and purchased another one (Garrett MS. 15) at a Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge auction in London that began on 11 December 1903. Between 1924 and 1930, Garrett acquired eight additional Byzantine manuscripts from Thomas Whittemore (1871–1950), an art historian and archaeologist best known for his work on the mosaics of the church of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul during the 1930s. Whittemore was the founder and director of the Boston-based Byzantine Institute of America, which merged with Dumbarton Oaks in 1970, and of the Paris-based Bibliothèque Byzantine (Fonds Thomas Whittemore–Institut Byzantin). He acquired these and other Byzantine manuscripts—most of them from the Skete of St. Andrew of the Russians on Mount Athos—and brought them to the United States, where he sold them to

private collectors and libraries. Garrett received five manuscripts (Garrett MSS. 1, 2, 5, 6, and 13) from Whittemore in April 1924 and paid for them in 1924–25. In a letter to Whittemore, dated 4 April 1924 (carbon copy in the Robert Garrett Papers, box 1, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library), Garrett indicates that on 3 April 1924 he had five Greek manuscripts in his possession at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C., and that he had previously confirmed this in a note handed to Whittemore. Garrett also states that he would pay for these five manuscripts in installments in 1924–25. Three more manuscripts (Garrett MSS. 3, 4, and 8) were purchased from Whittemore in April 1930.

Garrett also purchased manuscripts from antiquarian booksellers such as Joseph Baer (Frankfurt am Main), Karl W. Hiersemann (Leipzig), and Wilfred M. Voynich (New York). Auctions and private treaties seem to have played a relatively minor role in Garrett's acquisition of Byzantine manuscripts, which were shelved with his fine collection of Western medieval manuscripts. He also acquired some 8,500 Islamic manuscripts, as well as significant holdings of Armenian, Ethiopic, Indic, Mesoamerican, and other manuscripts, and he underwrote the cost of purchasing most of the 1,300 papyri, mostly Greek, in the collection of Princeton University Library's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections (see Appendix). Garrett gradually deposited his collection in the Princeton University Library's Treasure Room, the predecessor of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, and then donated it to the University in 1942.¹

Another important assemblage of Byzantine manuscripts at Princeton is in the Scheide Library, a private collection focusing on the Bible, the history of the book, early printing, and other subjects of interest to three generations of the Scheide family of Titusville, Pennsylvania, and Princeton, New Jersey: William T. Scheide (1847–1907); his son John Hinsdale Scheide (1875–1942), Princeton University Class of 1896; and William H. Scheide, Princeton University Class of 1936. William H. Scheide moved the library from Titusville to Princeton University after the death of his mother in 1959. The library was at first housed in temporary quarters in Firestone Library; in 1965 it was moved to a newly constructed addition to Firestone, similar in appearance to the Titusville library, which is adjacent to the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. The Scheide Library acquired most of its manuscripts through the antiquarian book trade and auctions. The Byzantine holdings were acquired by John Hinsdale Scheide and William H. Scheide.²

Five of the manuscripts catalogued here (Garrett

MS. 5, Garrett MS. 6, Garrett MS. 14, Garrett MS. 16, and Princeton MS. 81) were formerly in the library of Kosinitza monastery, the monastery of the Theotokos Eikosiphoinisses in the village of Kormista, Prefecture of Serres, near Drama in northern Greece. All of the monastery's manuscripts were removed from its library and taken to Sofia by the Bulgarian authorities in March 1917; they are now scattered in a number of collections in Europe and the United States. (Garrett MS. 6 left the monastery earlier, probably between 1862 and 1887.) The collections with the largest number of former Kosinitza manuscripts are the Ivan Dujčev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies in Sofia (248 manuscripts) and the National Library in Prague (ca. 12 manuscripts). Others are now in Amsterdam, Bibliotheek van de Universiteit; Athens, National Library of Greece; Bratislava, University Library; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique; Cambridge (U.K.), University Library; Chicago, Lutheran School of Theology Library; Durham (North Carolina), Duke University Library; New York, Morgan Library and Museum; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; Prague, National Museum; Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek; and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.³

Since the 1990s, the Princeton University Library and the Program in Hellenic Studies, with generous financial support from the Stanley J. Seger Hellenic Fund, have worked in close collaboration to expand the library's holdings of Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greek manuscripts. The recent acquisitions catalogued in this volume include two 13th-century Byzantine manuscripts (Princeton MSS. 173 and 180), a zodologion of the late 16th to early 17th century (Princeton MS. 176), a Venetian Renaissance *Sammelband* with grammatical texts (Princeton MS. 184), and ten manuscripts in the Princeton Greek Manuscripts series (MSS. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, and 17). This latter group includes a proskynetation of the Holy Land (Princeton Greek MS. 12) and an 18th-century illustrated chronicle roll (Princeton Greek MS. 16). Additional funding for these recent acquisitions has been provided by the Theodore F. Sanxay Fund, the University Librarian's Discretionary Fund, the Friends of the Princeton University Library, the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, the Presidential Fund, the Marquand Fund for Art and Archaeology, and other supporters of the Program in Hellenic Studies and Princeton University Library. Other catalogued manuscripts and miniatures in the library, the Princeton University Art Museum, and Princeton Theological Seminary are from a variety of individual gifts or purchases.

This catalogue includes manuscripts acquired by the Princeton University Library through the year 2003. In subsequent years, the library, with the on-

going assistance of the Program in Hellenic Studies, supported by the Stanley J. Seeger Hellenic Fund, has continued to add to its holdings of Byzantine and post-Byzantine manuscripts. The most recent additions to the collection, which are not catalogued here, include a 16th-century humanistic miscellany with texts by Classical authors and by the 12th-century poet Joannes Tzetzes, several nomokanon manuscripts of the 16th–early 19th centuries, two 17th-century proskynetaria, orthodox texts, chant books, and other collections of liturgical music.

Both the compilation and the publication of this catalogue have been collaborative efforts in every sense. It was possible to expand the scope of the catalogue beyond the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections because of the cooperation of William H. Scheide, Princeton University Class of 1936; Paul Needham, the Scheide librarian; Allen Rosenbaum, former director of the Princeton University Art Museum; and Stephen D. Crocco, director of the Speer Library of Princeton Theological Seminary. Colum Hourihane, director of the Index of Christian Art, offered the valuable professional services of its photographer, John Blazejewski, who was responsible for all of the photography in this volume. Ted Stanley of the Princeton University Library's Preservation Office did ultraviolet photography and wood analysis. Stanley J. Seeger Visiting Research Fellowships helped support the work of Sofia Kotzabassi and Nancy Ševčenko in Princeton.

This catalogue was prepared and produced over the course of more than ten years by people often working at considerable geographical distance from one another. The resulting catalogue is a complex array of textual and physical descriptions, filled with quotations and citations in Greek and other languages, and accompanied by plates with hundreds of images of manuscripts, which required new photography and exacting standards of color reproduction. All of this

posed a significant editorial challenge, which was fortunately met by Christopher Moss, publications editor for Princeton University's Department of Art and Archaeology. Publication of the catalogue would have been impossible in its present form without his extraordinary professional skills and scholarly background. He has skillfully guided the catalogue through all stages of editing, illustration, design, indexing, and production. His meticulous editorial eye, patient checking of text and images, adept work with freelancers and printers, and unswerving commitment to quality have immeasurably improved the catalogue and prevented many errors of commission and omission. The authors are especially grateful to him for his persistent good cheer, which transformed every editorial query into a pleasant scholarly exchange and every problem into a workable solution, adding value to the catalogue at every point.

Financial support for the production of this catalogue was provided by many units of Princeton University: the Program in Hellenic Studies, with the support of the Stanley J. Seeger Hellenic Fund; the Publications Fund, Department of Art and Archaeology, chaired successively by Patricia Fortini Brown and Hal Foster; the Council of the Humanities, Carol Rigolot, executive director; the David A. Gardner '69 Magic Project; the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies; the Department of History; the Mildred Clarke Pressinger von Kienbusch Memorial Fund, Princeton University Art Museum; the David Magie '97 Publication Fund, Department of Classics; the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library; and the Group for the Study of Late Antiquity. Our thanks go to all of them for recognizing the importance of this project and for helping bring it to fruition.

Dimitri Gondicas
Don C. Skemer

1. On Garrett as a collector, see R. Garrett, "Recollections of a Collector," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 10.3 (1949), pp. 103–116; D. C. Skemer, "The Garrett Collection Revisited," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 56.3 (1995), pp. 421–428; and D. C. Skemer, "From Byzantium to Princeton: A Century of Collecting Greek Manuscripts," in *Byzantine Art: Recent Studies. Essays in Honor of Lois Drewes*, ed. C. Hourihane (Tempe, Ariz., 2009), pp. 185–191.

2. On the Scheides and the growth of their library, see J. P. Boyd, *The Scheide Library: A Summary View of Its History and Its Outstanding Books, together with an Account of Its Two Founders, William Taylor Scheide and John Hinsdale Scheide* (n.p. [Princeton], 1947), pp. 16–20; W. H. Scheide, "Love for the Printed Word as Expressed in the Scheide Library," *Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America* 51

(1957), pp. 214–226; and *For William H. Scheide: Fifty Years of Collecting* (n.p. [Princeton], 2004).

3. For a general overview of the Kosinitza monastery library and its dispersal, see B. Atsalos, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τῆς Κοσινίτσας (ἡ Εἰκοσιφοίνισσας) τοῦ Παγγαίου* (Drama, 1990), and G. Papazoglou, *Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρών* (Komotini, 1993). Additional manuscripts formerly in the monastery have recently been identified in collections in Prague (J.-M. Olivier and M.-A. Monégier Du Sorbier, *Manuscrits grecs récemment découverts en République Tchèque* [Paris, 2006], pp. 57–107, 134–175, pls. VIII, X–XV, XXIII–XXVII) and Vienna (E. Mineva, "Cod. Vindobonensis Suppl. Gr. 165, ο «αγνοῦμενος» κώδικας 18 τῆς Κοσινίτσας," *Ἑλληνικά* 49 [1999], pp. 143–147).

St. Andrew of the Russians (the Andreasskete) on Mount Athos, as is indicated by a round stamp in gold (fol. 1v) above the date 1903. In the upper margin of fol. 1r is a brief description in pencil and the date of the manuscript (17th cent.). Another note in Greek (lower margin of fol. 1r [Fig. 85]) is unfortunately erased and illegible. There is a note in Ottoman Turkish in the upper margin of fol. 89v.

The manuscript was brought to the United States by Thomas Whittemore in 1924 (see preface) and sold to Robert Garrett (1875–1961), Princeton University Class of 1897. Garrett donated it to the Princeton University Library in 1942. De Ricci says “obtained from Mount Athos in 1905.” This is probably a typographical error for 1925.

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DESCRIPTIONS: Aspra-Vardavake, *Ἀκαθίστου*, passim, figs. 1–96, 98; Baltimore 1947, no. 744; De Ricci, vol. 1, p. 867 (cited as Baltimore, Robert Garrett collection); Faye and Bond, p. 311; Friend, “Garrett Collection,” p. 135; Gratziou, *Dekorierten Handschriften*, pp. 76–78, 99, 102, 164–165 no. 38, figs. 128, 130, 131; Princeton 1973, pp. 211–214 no. 63, figs. 113–114; G. Vikan, “Illustrated Manuscripts of Pseudo-Ephraem’s ‘Life of Joseph’ and the ‘Romance of Joseph and Aseneth’” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1976), pp. 532 note 28, 624–625 no. 10.

CITATIONS: G. G. Gounares, *Μεταβυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες στη Λέσβο (16ος–17ος αι.)* (Athens, 1999;

also published in *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* 136 [1997, published 1999]), pp. 108 note 399, 109 note 402, 112 note 424, 113 note 436, 114 note 440, 115 note 449, 118 note 466, 119 note 476, 120, 121 note 497, 123 note 509, 125 note 520, 173, 175 note 785; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, “L’illustration de la première partie de l’hymne Akathiste et sa relation avec les mosaïques de la Kariye Djami,” *Byzantion* 54 (1984), pp. 661–702, passim, fig. 24; N. K. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* (Leiden, 1986), pp. 11, 102–103, fig. 64; L. Politis, “Un copiste éminent du XVIIe siècle: Matthieu, métropolitaine de Myra,” in *Studia codicologica, Texte und Untersuchungen* 124, ed. K. Treu (Berlin, 1977), pp. 391–392; Politis and Politis, “Βιβλιογράφοι,” pp. 49, 596; Richard and Olivier, *Répertoire*, p. 680; I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn for the Virgin* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 18 note 1, 155 note 4, 163; M. E. Stone, *Adam’s Contract with Satan: The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002), p. 163 note 30; M. E. Stone, “The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam,” in *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays*, ed. G. A. Anderson (Leiden, 2000), p. 165 note 51; G. Vikan, “Byzance après Byzance: Luke the Cypriot, Metropolitan of Hungro-Wallachia,” in *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*, ed. L. Clucas (Boulder, Colo., 1988), p. 179; Vikan, “Walters Lectionary W.535,” p. 189; M.-D. Zoumbouli, *Luc de Buzau et les centres de copie de manuscrits grecs en Moldo-valachie (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)* (Athens, 1995), pp. 67–70, 72, 114, 182, pls. 30–31.

GARRETT MS. 14

John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, Homilies 1–45

A.D. 955, 12th Century, and Second Quarter of the 16th Century

Figures 114–124

CONTENTS

1. Fols. 1r–295r (Fig. 124): Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου κωνσταντίνου πόλεως τοῦ χρυσοστόμου ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ματθαῖον τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν· προοίμιον· εὐλόγησον πάτερ. Ἔδει μὲν ἡμᾶς μὴδὲ δεῖσθαι τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων βοηθείας. John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, Homilies 1–45. PG 57:13–476 (CPG 4424). Fols. 249r–272v are bound between fols. 232v and

233r. After the conclusion of the text on fol. 295r (Fig. 124, right column) is a scribal note (see SCRIPT). Fol. 295v contains an epigram for the Virgin, written by a later owner (12th or 13th cent.), as well as various notes by another hand (see SCRIPT).

2. Fols. 296r–298v: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ χρυσοστόμου· ἐγκώμιον εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ πανευφήμους καὶ κορυφαίους τῶν ἀποστόλων πέτρων καὶ παύλων.

Οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ἀμίλλαν ὀρώ, διὰ τὴν παρούσαν πανήγυριν, τῆς μνήμης τῶν ἀποστόλων. John Chrysostom, *In Petrum et Paulum sermo*. PG 59:491–496 (Aldama, *Repertorium*, no. 364; BHG 1497b; CPG 4572). The text ends differently than in PG: ἀλλὰ τῆ ἀνάρχω τριάδι ἀμέσως παριστάμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντα τὰ σωτήρια ἐξαιτεῖσθαι· ἐν χριστῷ ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν· ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει . . . ἀμὴν.

3. Fols. 298v–310r: Ὑπόμνημα διαλαμβάνον μερικῶς, ἀγῶνας καὶ ἄθλα καὶ ἀποδημίας καὶ τελείωσιν, τῶν ἁγίων καὶ κορυφαίων ἀποστόλων, πέτρου καὶ παύλου. Καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν· οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πατέρας ἀποδεχόμεθα. Theodore Magistros (the name is written in red ink in the lower margin of fol. 298v), *Commentarius in s. apostolos Petrum et Paulum* [compiled from the homilies of John Chrysostom]. AASS Juni V:411–424 (BHG 1493).

4. Fols. 310r–311v: Εἰς τὴν προσκύνησιν τῆς τιμίας ἀλύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ κορυφαίου πέτρου. Ὅσοι τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων θεῷ ἔρωτι. [John Chrysostom], *In catenas sancti Petri*. Ed. E. Batareikh, “Discours inédit sur les chaînes de S. Pierre attribué à S. Jean Chrysostome,” in *Χρυσοστομικά: Studi e ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo a cura del comitato per il XVo centenario della sua morte, 407–1907* (Rome, 1908), pp. 978–982, line 12 (BHG 1486; CPG 4745). Text ends mutilated: ἐκείνου πρὸς ἰουδαίους δημηγορίας· καὶ ὅπως . . .

MATERIAL AND LAYOUT

Parchment and paper, 311 folios; 31.3 × 25.0 cm. Garrett MS. 14 consists of three different parts. Part I (fols. 1r–26v, 35r–38v), which is part of Princeton MS. 81, was used (before the two manuscripts were at Princeton) to replace the folios removed from Garrett MS. 14: paper, text area 25.3 × 14.5 cm (cols. 25.5 × 6.5 cm), 2 cols., 34 lines per page. Western paper with shell watermarks identical to those of Princeton MS. 81: ladder and star similar to Briquet 5927 (Salzburg, 1525; Pisa, 1533; Firmi 1559). Part II (fols. 27r–34v, 39r–295r), the principal manuscript, is parchment, text area 25.5 × 18.0 cm (cols. 25.0/26.0 × 8.5/9.0 cm), 2 cols., 35 lines per page (fols. 27r–34v, 39r–295v). Part III (fols. 296r–311v, the last two quires) is dark-colored parchment, text area 25.5/26.0 × 17.5 cm (cols. 25.5 × 8.0/8.5 cm); 2 cols., 35 lines per page. Hardpoint ruling, with pattern similar to Leroy and Sautel P2 00C2; prick-marks sometimes visible in the outer right margins. Mixed foliation in two hands: modern foliation in pencil, and older foliation in ink (19th–20th cent.) similar to that found

in Princeton MS. 81, in the upper right corner of the recto of each tenth folio. The codex has been extensively repaired, mostly at the lower inside margins.

COLLATION

Part I: 1–3⁸, 2 fols. (fols. 25r–26v). Part II: 4⁶, 5⁸ (fols. 33r–40v and fols. 35r–38v paper), 6–36⁸, 37⁸⁻¹ (fols. 289r–295v; the eighth folio was removed without any loss of text). Part III: 1–2⁸. In Part I there are no quire marks. In Part II there are quire marks written in majuscules by the scribe in the upper right corner of the first rectos (mostly trimmed away, for example, fol. 201r: κς; fol. 225r, κθ), as well as one, two, or three crosses in the upper margin of the first recto of each quire. In Part III there is only one quire mark written by the scribe in the center of the lower margin of fol. 304r (the beginning of the second quire of this part).

SCRIPT

The three parts of Garrett MS. 14 were each written by a different scribe. The principal scribe (Part II, fols. 27r–34v, 39r–295r) was Nikephoros (see Vogel and Gardthausen, p. 341), according to the scribal note (in majuscule script) on fol. 295r (Fig. 124): † ὡσπερ / ξένοι χαίρουσιν πα/τρίδα βλε/πειν. ὅτως / καὶ τοῖς γρά/φουσιν βι/βλίου τε/λος. After these verses is a note in minuscule: † ἐπληρώθη) ἡ ἱερα ἄντη βίβλ(ος)· παρα νι/κηφό(ρου) νοτ(αρίου), followed by two words that are written in an abbreviated form and are difficult to decipher. Instead of Thea Jirat-Wasiutyński's transcription Ἰω[άννου] μονάχου (in Princeton 1973, p. 60), which is incorrect, Paul Canart (below) suggests that the two words following the scribe's name (Nikephoros notarios) should be read as Κω(νσταντῖνος), followed by a title or proper name beginning with β (Santo Lucà [personal communication] suggests βόστρων), and then: ὅσοι αὐτῆς ἐντυγχά/νεται εὐχεσθ(ε) ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ/ ὡς διὰ τὸν κ(ύριον) ἡμ(ῶν) ἰ(ησοῦ)ν χ(ριστό)ν:— / μνη(ι) μαιω· γ'· ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ'. ἔτους ,ςυξγ.

Nikephoros finished his work on 3 May 955. He wrote in a left-sloping minuscule in brown ink. Crosses with various forms and decoration occasionally appear in the upper margins above the outer column (e.g., fols. 177r, 289r). Sometimes there is a decorated cross in the middle of the upper margin (e.g., fols. 57r, 281r). Titles and *ethika* are written in *Auszeichnungsmajuskul* (the word Λόγος in the title is usually in epigraphic majuscule). Sometimes Nikephoros left one or two lines in the text blank (fols.

71v, 84r, 107r), probably because he had difficulty reading his model. Highlighted lemmata and marginal scholia are written in green and yellow ink.

Part I was written in black ink during the second quarter of the 16th century or slightly later in a late imitation of the Hodegon script. The scribe is the anonymous scribe of Princeton MS. 81. Part III is in a minuscule script in brown ink dating from the 12th century.

In 1362 someone added the following note above the scribal note on fol. 295r (Fig. 124) in black ink: † ἐν ἡ βίβλος αὕτη σήμερον, τὸν ἴσο χρόνον / υζ' χρόνων †. There are also notes or pen-trials by several hands (fols. 43r, 53r, 103v [in majuscule], 142r, 214v, etc.).

On fol. 295v, in the hand of a 12th- or 13th-century owner (probably a priest named George, according to an invocation at the end), are twelve-syllable verses to the Virgin: στίχοι εἰς τὴν θεοτόκον. Φαῦσον τὴν ἐμὴν ἡτῶρην ἀργιλώδη / ταῖς πρὸς κοίραν ἑρμαῖς σου ἐξεσίας / κλινεῖ γὰρ εἰς σὰς εὐχὰς ὁ πλάστης κόρη / τὸ πᾶν ἄχραντον καὶ ἀκείρατον ὅτιον / αἰτεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ σὸς πιστὸς οἰκέτης / ὁ συνόνομος καταδοκῶν τῆς χάριτος / ὅστις γεωργὸς εὐσεβεῖας ἐδείχθει / ἄθλησεν δι' αἵματος σαφῶς τελέσας. / μισθὸν ἐκομίστο τούτου τῶν πόνων / οὐ ταῖς πρεσβίαις καὶ τῇ σῆ παρρησίᾳ, / δίδου ἄνασσα λύσιν τῶν ἀλητιῶν / καὶ τὴν οἴκησιν παράσχου ἀλυσίου / ἀμήν ἀμήν †. Then follows an invocation and a note by the same hand: † γεωργίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐν κρίσει / ἄνεξ σῶτερ †, then another note: πιστὸν δώρημα βασιλεῖ [. . .] / δ. [1 line] / ὅτι δὲ βίβλος ἀριστος τὸν ματθαῖον †. On the same folio there are also several notes (mostly erased) by a hand dating to the 14th century: δέσποτά μου ἄγιε τὴν ὀφειλομένην μὲν / πάντες ἀνυμνήσωμεν. Some homily numbers have been corrected.

DECORATION

Although this manuscript is signed and dated, its origin is subject to debate. It is currently being assigned to Jerusalem rather than South Italy (Perria, "Il Vat. Palat. gr. 376," below; Weitzmann, *Addenda*). This hypothesis, based on certain features of its script, which Perria ("Il Vat. Palat. gr. 376," below) associates with the notarial profession of the scribe Nikephoros, and the similarities of its roundel portraits to those in a manuscript formerly in the monastery of St. Sabas (now Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, Sabas MS. 82), is strengthened by the apparently uncalled-for presence in Garrett MS. 14 of a bust of "Modestos, patriarch of Jerusalem" (before Homily 21: fol. 151v [Fig. 117]; his name was previously read in error as Matthew). This is probably Patriarch Modestos

(630–ca. 634), the abbot of the lavra of St. Theodosios in Palestine, who was responsible for the rebuilding of Jerusalem after the Persian sack in 614 and the author of sermons (G. Garitte, "La sepulture de Modeste de Jérusalem," *Le Muséon* 73 [1960], pp. 127–133). The date palms depicted in the manuscript (fols. 134v [Fig. 116], 145r, 162r) could also conceivably point to an eastern Mediterranean origin.

Parallels to the work as a whole are hard to find: certain details are found in manuscripts of equally unsure provenance, such as two 10th-century ones in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. T.3.15 (cf. the grid of diamonds bordered by rows of circles, the hand with the grapes, and the compass-drawn initials) and MS. Arch. Selden B.21 (cf. the roundels and the strapwork ornament) (Hutter, *Corpus*, vol. 3, nos. 8, 9), and Mount Sinai, MS. gr. 213 of 967 (Weitzmann and Galavaris, no. 14).

The titles of the homilies, and the relevant words of Matthew's gospel that are written before the beginning of each homily, were enclosed by the scribe on three sides by a narrow fillet and on the top by an ornamental strip; the homily text proper then starts with an enlarged initial. The strips and initials were drawn, and sometimes colored, in the same brown ink as that used for the text, and are surely the work of Nikephoros himself.

Although he uses a limited repertory of designs for his ornament (rows of linked compass-drawn circles, rows of diamond grids, knot designs, lily-tipped and knotted crosses and many other lily designs, framing elements consisting of rows of small circles, initials divided into gemmed sections), Nikephoros introduces a considerable amount of variety from one strip to the next. The alert little figures in the roundels, most of whom seem to be bishops, may have pairs of brown spots on their cheeks, and haloes decorated with three sets of dots, as though they were cross-haloes. The drawing throughout is experienced and precise: often compass drawn, it is strong on geometry, if devoid of vegetal life.

The strips and initials for Homilies 5–16 (from fols. 29r to 106v) were painted, probably at a slightly later time, with a very narrow range of colors (green, reddish brown, dark brown, and pale brown). The chemicals in the green have in some places eaten away the parchment. Some of the smaller letters in this part of the manuscript have also been colored in green, and a pale brown (occasionally green) wash was applied to the titles, frames, and to the words of Matthew's gospel. The wash is thin enough to have left the original writing intact, which gives one the impression that the letters were written over the wash. The colors are poorly applied and reduce the legibility of the fine original ink designs.

It should be noted that the texts of Part III (fols. 296r–311v) all relate to St. Peter and St. Paul.

Fol. 1r: Headpiece for the prooimion (4.5 × 14.3 cm [6.0 × 21.5 cm max. surviving]). The headpiece is entirely designed in red and black ink. The ground is red; over it, drawn in black ink, is spun an interlace design with tight angular knots along the edges of the frame and wider rounder forms inside. The black was apparently executed first, then the red applied to the remaining areas. The frame, outlined in black, bursts into sections of interlace and at the lower right edge into the attenuated upside-down head of a fanged snake with red ears and eye. Sections of the interlace have been filled in with red. There are small black W motifs along the outer edge of the frame between the interlace projections.

The initial E (5.5 cm) is red and very calligraphic.

There are further elaborate red initials on fols. 8r (A, showing the same W motifs as the headpiece), 13v (I), and 18v (where the E is 13.5 cm tall).

Fol. 29r (Fig. 114): Strip and initial for Homily 5 (1.9 × 10.3 cm). The strip consists of a row of six connected circles alternating reddish brown and green; inside each circle is a cross form with lilies at the end of each arm (all the arms are equal in length). The crosses alternate in color too, always the opposite color to that of the circle; the background area in each circle is the same, pale brown. The line of circles ends with a lilylike flower, and there are small lilies in pairs above and below the loops connecting the circles; these too alternate reddish brown and green. The circles, and also the loops connecting them, have been drawn with the use of a compass.

To the left of the gospel passage is a reddish brown circle (diam. 2.6 cm) enclosing a bust of John Chrysostom drawn in the ink used for the text itself. He has a narrow jaw and a stubble beard and virtually no hair; he wears an omophorion with dots in a cross design and blesses across his chest with his fourth (ring) finger depressed. His halo is outlined in brown and filled in with a pale brown wash. Caption: 'Ο Α(γιοϛ) 'Ιω(άννηϛ) ὁ Χρ(υσόστομοϛ). The majuscules for the title are also painted in reddish brown and green alternately, and they and the words of the gospel are covered by lines of pale brown wash and framed, up to the level of the strip, by a narrow green line.

The uprights of the initial Π (2.4 cm) have wedge-like rectangular segments with central gemstones, all framed by rows of circles. The colors are green and reddish brown.

Fol. 34v: Strip and initial for Homily 6 (1.9 × 8.5 [max. 4.8 × 10.4] cm). The strip is a wide, open strap-work design with strands forming six ovals. One strand is green, the other reddish brown. The ovals are filled with pale brown wash but appear to be pierced vertically by pairs of triple-stranded stems alternating brown and green. Between the ovals are tiny trefoils, also alternating colors. A guilloche knot in the form of a cross stands over the center of the strip. The strip ends in lilylike flowers, and it extends down on each side in knobs and a cross to meet the frame for the Matthew passage.

The initial Π (max. preserved 5.5 cm) has two very dark brown posts on which a guilloche of two strands, reddish brown and green, is painted. The empty center of the letter is painted pale brown. There is a guilloche cross over the center of the thin horizontal bar and some sort of hanging design under the vertical bars.

Fol. 42v: Strip for Homily 7 (1.7 × 7.8 cm, circles alone). The design is similar to that of fol. 29r (Fig. 114), except that there are only four circles, and each circle contains a cross with a red vertical and green horizontal arm (or vice versa), crossed by the diagonal arms of a narrow ink cross with tiny loops at its tips.

Fol. 43r: Initial I (4.7 cm). The large initial has a design like the Π of fol. 29r. There is a sort of fringe of hanging loops along the bottom.

Fol. 49v: Strip and initial for Homily 8 (2.5 × 11.0 cm). The strip consists of a grid of diamonds, ten or eleven in each horizontal row, each row primarily green or pale brown. A vertical line bisects the pale brown diamonds, and all the diamonds have a small rectangular “gem” at their center. Most of the diamonds are connected to each other at the tips by a circle, alternating reddish brown and green. Along the top runs a row of five arches, alternating reddish brown and green, and filled with pale brown wash; each arch has a little lily inside, and smaller versions adorn the spandrels. Lilies project from the sides of the strip, and guilloche crosses hang from its ends.

The initial Π (3.9 cm) is tall and thin, its vertical bars consisting only of rows of circles in the three basic colors.

Fol. 54v: Strip for Homily 9 (2.2 × 8.5 cm). The strip is an enlarged version of the design used earlier for initials: a central row of rectangles, here placed horizontally, bordered at top and bottom by rows of painted circles. There is an outer border of smaller circles, and the gemlike designs in the center of each rectangle are tripled like a flag, with one short row of each color. The background of the frame is very dark brown.

Fol. 55r: Title and initial for Homily 9. The title and gospel passage are merely framed with dots and dashes; there is a squarish guilloche cross above the center of the title, and there are little crosses like those on fol. 42v at the upper corners. The homily was originally numbered 7; this has been corrected to 9.

The initial K (4.6 cm) has a wide left bar and lower right one, but a thin line for its upper right. To balance the right bars, there is an acanthus design growing from the base. The letter is divided into sections of reddish brown, green, and pale brown.

Fol. 61v: Title and initial for Homily 10 (0.6 × 8.0 [max. 10.0] cm). The strip has a row of hearts on their sides, the pointed end of each heart piercing the one to its right. Most have been painted reddish brown or green.

The initial Π (4.0 cm) has a wavy reddish brown line up each of its posts, flanked by diagonal black wavy lines on a green ground. There is a scallop motif along the top of the letter, and a wispy tendril floats in the space alongside the letter on the left.

Fol. 68r: Strip and initial for Homily 11 (2.4 × 7.5 [max. 4.0 × 11.3] cm). The strip is an enlarged version of that on fol. 49v, though with more alternation of the colors; instead of the arches on top, there is a little upright cross, to which are added narrow diagonal arms ending in loops. The title and gospel passage are not framed.

The initial Π (3.5 [max. 5.2] cm) is tall and narrow with reddish brown and green circles in alternation on its posts. A lily grows straight up from the corner of the left post.

Fol. 76r: Strip and initial for Homily 12 (1.9 × 7.6 [max. 10.1] cm). The strip is a row of four circles like that of fols. 42v and 93v (Fig. 115), although here each circle is bordered in both reddish brown and green, and there are flowers as well as lily-tipped crosses inside the circles. The words of the gospel and the first line of homily text are marked by thin green lines.

The initial M (2.4 cm) drops into the lower margin. The uprights consist of rows of small circles (alternating reddish brown and green), while the central bars are rounded and hang low to envelop horizontal strips of color topped by arches and a lily.

Fol. 81r: Strip and initial for Homily 13 (2.5 × 9.1 [max. 11.1] cm). The strip is a rectangle bordered by small reddish brown and green circles in alternation and enclosing a row of five pale brown guilloche knots, each bordered in both reddish brown and green. Between them are lilylike buds. The ground of the strip is pale brown. An acanthus leaf at the right of the strip has lost most of its color.

The initial T (5.6 cm) has reddish brown and green circles along its edges and gemmed sections up the middle. Long, thin triangles hang from the crossbars and end in trefoils.

Fol. 88v: Strip and initial for Homily 14 (1.7 × 8.8 [max. 2.7 × 11.2] cm). The strip, which is bordered by the usual rows of tiny circles, contains a long rolling acanthus leaf; much of its green has flaked, but the firm reddish brown edge survives. The background is pale brown. Along the top of the strip crosses alternate with knot designs.

The initial T (6.5 cm) has a wavy reddish brown line up its post, flanked by diagonal hatching on a green ground; lilies hang from the crossbars and from the base of the letter.

Fol. 93v (Fig. 115): Strip and initial for Homily 15 (2.0 × 8.4 [max. 11.1] cm). The strip is a row of four circles very similar to that on fol. 76r; here each circle encloses a lily-tipped cross.

The initial O (2.8 cm in diam.) is filled with the bust of a gaunt-faced and balding bishop, surely John Chrysostom. His blessing hand, fourth finger lowered, crosses his chest. He has a pale brown halo. The background of the letter is green; its narrow border is divided into sections of reddish brown and green.

Fol. 106v: Strip and initial for Homily 16 (2.2 × 8.7 [max. 11.8] cm). The design is essentially that used on fol. 34v, except that here the entire strip has a pale brown ground. A piece of parchment is missing toward the lower right of the strip.

The initial T (4.4 cm) is also very damaged. Its bar had alternating sections of reddish brown and green with knobbed edges.

Fol. 119v: Strip for Homily 17 (2.1 × 7.0 [max. 10.0] cm). The strips from this point on were never colored. This one consists of a row of three circles, each containing a lily-tipped cross, and is essentially the design used on fol. 93v (Fig. 115).

Fol. 120r: Initial for Homily 17. The initial A (6.7 cm) has a thick vertical post and thinner diagonal bars. The post is bordered by rows of circles with gemmed sections up the middle. It is topped by a lily.

Fol. 127v: Strip and initial for Homily 18 (2.3 × 8.2 [max. 3.5 × 10.5] cm). The pattern of a grid of diamonds is the same as that used for fols. 49v and 68r. The five designs across the top consist of the artist's usual repertory of crosses with added diagonal bars, the crosses with lily tips, and a knotted cross in the center.

The oval initial O (5.9 cm) is a scaly fish perched on its tail. It has what looks like a human hand, thumb raised but fingers bent, projecting from its mouth.

Fol. 134v (Fig. 116): Strip and initial for Homily 19 (max. 3.5×10.1 cm). The uncolored strip has a row of three circles containing busts. At each end of the row is a sort of trunk which sprouts at its top some very feathery fronds attached to an area of small fruits that look like a cluster of dates (cf. fol. 145r); more of the fronds surmount the second and third circles. Over the first and second circles is an eight-sided rosette. The busts inside the circles are crowned. The left- and right-hand busts are bearded; the central bust has a heavy, fleshy face with no beard. All have their hands in front of their chests, blessing.

The initial T (5.4 cm) is composed of a series of long triangles and has a lilylike base.

Fol. 141v: Marginal sketch of the head of Christ (7.0 cm). The ink used is a pale greenish black. Christ has a wide rounded hairstyle, very arched brows, and a drooping mustache, and is probably 15th century or later.

Fol. 145r: Strip and initial for Homily 20 (2.2×9.4 [max. 12.0] cm). The uncolored strip has the familiar row of linked circles, each containing a lily-tipped cross.

The initial K (max. preserved height 8.8 cm) is damaged at the bottom. It had the familiar upright post with circles along the edge and gemmed sections in the center; the diagonal bars are not connected to the main upright, but the lower one shares roughly the same pattern. On top of the upright post is a bunch of dates topped by a feathery frond.

Fol. 151v (Fig. 117): Strip and initial for Homily 21 (3.3×10.0 cm). The uncolored strip consists of a row of three large circles, each of which contains the haloed bust of a bishop. Captions: Ὁ ἁ(γιος) Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Χρ(υσόστομος); ὁ ἁ(γιος) Βασιλ(ειος); ὁ ἁ(γιος) Μοδεστο(ς) πατριαρ(χ)ης Ἱεροσολυμ. The blessing hand of God descends toward Chrysostom from an arc of heaven inside his roundel. All three bishops are shown blessing. Chrysostom clearly holds a book and has his usual long, narrow face. Basil has a very pointed beard, Modestos a very short beard and curly hair.

The initial O (2.8 cm in diameter) is a circle containing a single lily-tipped cross. Four tiny black spurs point at the cross from inside the circle.

Fol. 155v (Fig. 118): Strip and initial for Homily 22 (1.9×8.2 [max. 11.0] cm). The strapwork design is like that used on fols. 34v and 106v.

The initial E (13.5 cm) has a long-fingered blessing hand as its central bar. The rest of the body of the letter again consists of rows of circles and gemmed central sections. Growing from the top of the letter is a tree with a luxurious cluster of dates topped by a feathery frond. Below, a hand grasps a thin string attached to the base of the letter; the string ends in a cluster of fruit.

Fol. 162r: Strip and initial for Homily 23 (2.3×8.1 cm). The uncolored design has the familiar grid of diamonds.

The initial T (11.3 cm) has a thick central post filled by three knot designs on a dark brown ink ground. A date palm again surmounts the letter.

Fol. 172r (Fig. 119): Strip and initial for Homily 24 (2.8×8.5 cm). There are three circles, each bearing a bust; Christ is in the central circle, an angel in each of the outer circles. The angels have a sort of loros crossed across their chests and bless with their right hands. Each angel carries in his left hand a short cross-topped lance, the tip downward; the lances break through the circles. Both have short, quite curly hair, a pair of brown dots on their cheeks, and a little mark like a Θ on their foreheads. Christ's face is larger and more worn; he has a cross-halo, and he too blesses.

The initial Δ (4.4 cm) is topped by a lily.

Fol. 177r (Fig. 120): Strip and initial for Homily 25 (2.4 [max. surviving 5.3] $\times 8.2$ cm). The strip is an incipient pylon with knot designs on a dark brown ground and a border of little circles. Above the pylon are the usual lily-tipped crosses with, between them, a larger knot design on a brown ground, framed; a pair of acanthus leaves grows from its base. A third cross sits above the knot but has been cropped.

The initial K (4.2 cm) has a knobbed upright and a sectioned diagonal bar but without any gems in the sections.

Fol. 181v (Fig. 121): Strip and initial for Homily 26 (2.2×8.7 cm). Bordered in little circles, the strip contains four knot designs on a brown ink ground. There are little semicircles pressed against the inner edge of the frame. Above the strip are two rosettes and a sort of almond rosette connected by a strand of guilloche.

The initial O (2.6 cm in diam.) (Fig. 121) has the haloed bust of a blessing bishop.

Fol. 190r: Strip and initial for Homily 27 (1.4×7.9 [max. 9.9] cm). The strip is a line of five small linked circles. The first two each contain the lily-tipped

crosses, the center an eight-sided rosette, and the right two almond rosettes. Four little spurs point inward from the inner edge of all the circles but the central one.

The initial O (2.2 cm in diam.) contains a very neat compass play of four half circles placed back to back to form an X design.

Fol. 195r: Strip and initial for Homily 28 (2.2 × 8.0 cm). The strip has the familiar grid of diamonds.

The initial O (2.4 cm in diam.) has the same design as that on fol. 190r.

Fol. 200v: Strip and initial for Homily 29 (2.2 × 9.4 cm). The strip contains a row of four knot designs inside a frame of small circles as on fol. 181v (Fig. 121). Triangles project into the center from the inner edges of the frame. A pair of acanthus leaves is attached to each end of the strip instead of the usual lilies.

The knobbed initial I (5.4 cm) narrows toward the top and tilts to the right. A lily hangs from its base.

Fol. 203v: Strip for Homily 30 (1.9 × 8.1 cm). A row of four circles, each containing a lily-tipped cross, and pairs of lilies between the circles.

Fol. 204r: Initial for Homily 30. The initial Π (3.1 cm) has knobbed upright bars.

Fol. 210r: Strip and initial for Homily 31 (2.5 × 8.2 cm). The strip has the familiar grid of diamond shapes.

The initial K (5.0 cm) has rings around its vertical post and the usual gemmed sections on the lower diagonal bar. The vertical post is topped by a small cross.

Fol. 215r: Strip for Homily 32 (1.7 × 9.9 cm max.). The strip repeats the strapwork of fol. 34v.

Fol. 215v: The initial T for Homily 32 (4.9 cm) has a single curving line mounting its vertical bar; this is flanked by thicker sets of wavy lines.

Fol. 224r: Strip and initial for Homily 33 (1.9 × 8.5 cm). The strip is a row of four circles, each containing a lily-tipped cross.

The initial E (2.3 cm in diam.) has a long-fingered blessing hand emerging from the very rounded compass-drawn letter. The garment on the wrist and arm is jeweled, and there is a hoop around the wrist.

Fol. 232r: Strip and initial for Homily 34 (2.0 × 8.4 cm). The strip is the usual grid of diamonds framed by rows of circles.

The initial E (3.0 cm in diam.), again compass

drawn, has a hand reaching up to bless from the lower inner edge of the letter. The wrist is ringed, the clothing abstractly patterned.

Fol. 237v: Strip and initial for Homily 35 (1.7 × 8.0 cm). The strip of diamonds has a lily-tipped cross above it.

The initial Π (2.2 cm) is very modest and composed of rows of circles.

Fol. 243v: Strip and initial for Homily 36 (max. 3.2 × 11.5 cm). There are four circles, each with a lily-tipped cross, and larger lilies in the interstices.

The initial E (2.9 cm) is compass drawn and has a keylike shape as its central bar; its two parts are connected by a ring.

Fol. 248v: Strip and initial for Homily 37 (2.2 × 7.2 [max. 4.2 × 11.8] cm). The strip has three circles, each with a lily-tipped cross, and little half circles hugging the inner rim of each circle. Between the circles are large lilies.

The unusually tall initial T (9.2 cm) is knobbed, and the knobs have spiky projections; it is topped by a lily.

Fol. 256r: Strip and initial for Homily 38 (1.8 × 7.8 [max. 3.4 × 11.9] cm). The strip is in two parts. On the bottom of the left column of text is the usual row of four circles. The central two contain the lily-tipped crosses, the outer two the half circles found earlier on fol. 190r. Two large lilies sprout from between the two central circles, and cross designs between the others. On the top of the right column there are three linked arches filled with guilloche, gems, or diamond designs; under them, the usual repertory of lily-tipped and knotted crosses. Little acanthus leaves sprout from the "capitals" of the arches.

The initial O (2.2 cm in diam.) contains a lily-tipped cross.

Fol. 260v: Strip and initial for Homily 39 (1.5 × 8.3 [max. 2.9 × 12.3] cm). The grid of diamonds is surmounted by three shallow arches, each with a large lily in its spandrels. Each arch is topped by a tiny cross and contains a lily-tipped cross.

Initial O (2.1 cm in diam.), as fol. 256r.

Fol. 264v (Fig. 122): Strip and initial for Homily 40 (4.5 × 12.9 cm max.). The strip has three circles. The outer two contain lily-tipped crosses, the center the figure of a bishop, labeled St. John Chrysostom in a later hand in greenish black ink. Between the circles are large lilies.

The initial Π (4.8 cm) has knobbed uprights, with spiky edges to the knobs.

Fol. 269v: Strip and initial for Homily 41 (2.6 × 8.1 [max. 3.7 × 12.2] cm). The strip consists of three circles, the center one containing a lily-tipped cross, the outer ones tall lilies bearing small clusters of grapes (?) on thin stems.

The initial K (7.5 cm) has a knobbed upright post; the knobs are dotted. The diagonal bars of the letter are separated from the upright, and the lower one is sectioned, gemmed, and ends in a lily.

Fol. 274r (Fig. 123): Strip and initial for Homily 42 (2.5 × 7.9 cm). There are three circles, the central one containing the bust of a bishop, labeled "the apostle Matthew" in a late hand. Over this circle is a small cross. The other circles contain spiky lily-tipped crosses, that on the right accompanied by the apotropaic letters IC XC NH KA.

The initial Π (2.4 cm) is modest, with gemmed sections in the center of the post, framed by rows of circles.

Fol. 278v: Strip and initial for Homily 43 (max. 2.6 × 11.6 cm). Above a grid of diamonds are four shallow arches. The first contains a haloed bearded head, the third a haloed bearded bust. The other two have two varieties of crosses. There are large lilies between the circles.

The initial A (2.0 cm) has a gemmed diagonal bar.

Fol. 285r: Strip for Homily 44 (max. 4.0 × 12.0 cm). There are three circles. The outer ones each contain the bust of a haloed bishop with a pointed beard. The central one has a lily-tipped cross flanked by the letters IC XC NH KA in the unusual order IC NH XC KA.

Fol. 285v: The initial O for Homily 44 (3.1 cm in diam.) contains a lily-tipped cross flanked by the letters IC XC NH KA. The circle is framed by a ropelike design.

Fol. 292v: Strip and initial for Homily 45 (1.6 × 8.5 cm). The strip has two registers, the upper with a leisurely guilloche, the lower with a tighter, more compressed version of the same. Both have little spurs at each twist of the design. A row of circles frames the strip. There are five small lilies on top of the strip.

The initial A (2.8 cm) has no framing elements; there are lilies at its extremities.

Fol. 295r (Fig. 124): Strip at the end of the text (3.0 × 9.3 cm) and the portrait of a saint. There is a row of three circles below the left column of text. Each contains a rather spiky lily-tipped cross, and there are

large lilies between the circles. At the top of the right column is a triple circle (5.2 cm in diam.) containing the bust of a male saint, probably a bishop. He has a low forehead and squarish brown beard; his ears are very high up on his head.

Fol. 296r: Strip for Chrysostom's encomium on Saints Peter and Paul (2.2 × 8.1 cm). The strip has a pattern of wandering tendrils reserved against a faded brown ground. The brown wash seems to be the same ink as that used for the text.

Fol. 298v: Strip for Theodore Magistros's encomium on Saints Peter and Paul (1.5 × 8.0 cm). Rolling ivy (?) stems and leaves are reserved against a dark brown ground.

Fol. 299r: Marginal design (max. preserved 1.2 × 9.0 cm). A strip of ornament once decorated the upper margin, but it has been cropped. It had leaf designs reserved against a black ground.

Fol. 310r: Strip for the text on the veneration of the chains of St. Peter (1.3 × 8.5 cm). A rolling design of bulbous leaves is reserved against a dark brown ground.

BINDING

Western-style binding of the 19th or early 20th century. Brown calfskin over pasteboard, sewn on six cords. The front pastedown is a leaf from a lectionary, France or Germany, 12th century. The text includes the rubric "Lectio ysaie prophete. Hec dicit dominus deus. Clama ne cesses quasi tuba exalta" (Isaiah 58:1). The back pastedown is a portion of a leaf (2 cols., 28 lines) from Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia libri duo* (1:20), France, ca. 1200. The sewing guard on fol. 304r and facing fol. 303v is a fragment of a document, Italian, 9th–10th centuries (?).

PROVENANCE

The early provenance of this manuscript is unknown. Garrett MS. 14 is a composite manuscript whose oldest part (Part II) is of unknown origin. It reached the Kosinitza monastery (Eikosiphoinisses monastery in Kormista, Prefecture of Serres, near Drama) before the middle of the 16th century, where it was restored and bound together with Parts I and III. Garrett MS. 14 has been identified as Kosinitza library MS. 32, which was seen and described there by Papadopoulos-Kerameus (below) in 1885. In 1917 it was removed from the monastery, along with other

important manuscripts, by the Bulgarian authorities and transferred to Sofia (see preface). Garrett MS. 14 is the only manuscript of the library that is precisely described in the report of the Greek governor of Drama sent to the Greek and foreign authorities after this event (see Papazoglou, *Χειρόγραφα*, below). In 1920–21 it was listed in the catalogue of the German antiquarian bookseller Joseph Baer, Frankfurt am Main, from whom it was acquired by the New York antiquarian bookseller Wilfred M. Voynich, for Robert Garrett on 3 January 1924. Voynich sent invoices to Garrett on 3 January and 24 October 1924. Gift of Robert Garrett (1875–1961), Princeton University Class of 1897, to the Princeton University Library in 1942.

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Καὶ τὸ κρῆτος. ἕτος αὐτῶ
Νασ τῶν αὐτῶν ἁμηνή



ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΩ

Δὴν δὲ οἱ τοῦ οὐ
χλους ἀνέβηεις
τοῦ οὐκοῦ καὶ θῆσαν
τοῦ αὐτοῦ. πρὸς ἡ
θον λέντω οἱ μεθ
ταὶ αὐτοῦ. ἡ ἀνοί
ξας τὸ ἰστόμα
ἐ διδάσκον αὐ
τους ἡ :



ραυτοῦ φιλότιμον
καὶ ἀκόματον. οὐ
γὰρ πύρι ἔχον αὐτοῦ με
θ' αὐτοῦ. ἀλλ' ὅτε μὲν πε
ρ πωπ τῆσιν ἐδῆ. αὐτὸς
πύρι ἔχον πᾶσιν ταχοῦ καὶ
πύλοσ ἡ χώρασ πύρι οὐκο
πύρι μῆρος. ὅτε δὲ πῶ
λλοῖσ ὁ χλος γῆρον ἐν. ἔ
νθι καὶ θῆσαι χωροῖσ καὶ
οὐκ ἐν πύλοσ καὶ γῆρον μῆρος.
ἀλλ' ὅτε ἔρησ ἐν ἔρημῶ
πύρι δὲ οὐκ ἔρημῶ μῆρος
πρὸς ὅτι δῆξιν πύρι ἔρημῶ
καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν πύρι δὲ οὐκ
ἀπαρταῖσ θῆσαι. καὶ μῆ
χι πᾶσ ὅτε φιλοσ πύρι ἔρημῶ
δῆξ. καὶ πύρι ἔρημῶ μῆρος

Διὰ τὴν ἄσθον πύρι μῆρος.
ἀπαρταῖσ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ
καὶ ἡσασ τῶσ αὐτοῦ. πρὸς
ἡλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ. ἡ δὲ
αὐτῶν τῆσ ὅτι δῶσ ἡσασ
πύρι σ. ἡ πῶσ ἀπύρι οὐκ ἔρημῶ
πύρι σ ἔρημῶ τῶ; οἱ μῆρος
πύρι οἱ τῶσ πύρι μῆρος ἡ
σασ θῆσαι. οὐτοι δὲ ἡσ
κόσασ πύρι οἱ πύρι. ὅτι οὐ
μῶσ μῆρος ἡσασ ἡσασ
οὐκ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡσασ
καὶ ἡσασ ἐμῶσ μῆρος. καὶ τῶ
λόγῶσ ἀρξασασ τῶσασ
ἡσασ ἡσασ. οὐ δὲ γὰρ σασ
μῆρος ἡσασ ἀπύρι οὐκ ἔρημῶ.
ἀλλ' ἡσασ τῶσασ δῶσ ἡσασ
πύρι οὐκ ἔρημῶ τῶσασ
ἡσασ μῆρος. ὅτι τῶσασ ἡσασ
μῶσ μῆρος καὶ ἡσασ ἡσασ
πύρι οὐκ ἔρημῶ τῶσασ
ἡσασ ἡσασ. καὶ ἀπύρι οὐκ ἔρημῶ
τῶσασ λόγῶσ δῶσ καὶ ἡσασ.
τῶσασ ἀπύρι οὐκ ἔρημῶ
δῶσ ἡσασ. καὶ τῶσασ ἡσασ
τῶσασ αὐρῶσ καὶ ἡσασ
τῶσασ ἡσασ. δῶσ ἡσασ
καὶ ἡσασ οὐκ ἔρημῶ δῶσ
δῶσ ἡσασ ὅτι οὐκ ἔρημῶ
τῶσασ οὐκ ἔρημῶ. αὐτῶσ ἡσασ
μῶσ ἡσασ. ἀπύρι οὐκ ἔρημῶ
τῶσασ ἡσασ ἡσασ ἡσασ
μῶσ ἡσασ. καὶ ἡσασ ἡσασ
μῶσ ἡσασ ἡσασ ἡσασ ἡσασ
τῶσασ δῶσ ἡσασ ἡσασ ἡσασ
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τῶσασ δῶσ ἡσασ ἡσασ ἡσασ

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GARRETT MS. 16

John Klimax, *Heavenly Ladder*

A.D. 1081

Figures 126–170

CONTENTS

1. Fols. 1r (Figs. 126–127)–2r: Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ ἀββᾶ ἰωάννου τοῦ ἡγουμένου ραῖθου πρὸς τὸν ὄσιον ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπίκλην σχολαστικόν:— Τῷ ὑπερφουεστάτῳ καὶ ἰσαγγέλω πατρὶ πατέρων καὶ διδασκάλῳ τῷ ὑπερλίαν ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς ἰωάννης τῆς ραῖθου ἡγούμενος, ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν:— Γινώσκοντες ἡμεῖς οἱ εὐτελεῖς τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ εὐδιάκριτόν σου. John of Raithou, [*Letter to John Scholastikos (John Klimax)*]. PG 88:624A–625B (BHG 883dI; CPG 7850). In the margin of fol. 1r is a variant reading: γρ. καὶ ἀδιάκριτον, then a note: ἡ γὰρ ὑπακοὴ οὐ διακρίνει, εἰς δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖ, οὐχ ὑπακοή.

2. Fols. 2r–3v: Ἰωάννης· ἰωάννη· χαίρειν:— (in the margin: ἀντίγραφον). Ἀπεδεξάμην ὡς πρέπουσαν τῷ σεμνῷ σου καὶ ἀπαθεῖ βίῳ καὶ τῇ καθαρᾷ καὶ τεταπεινωμένῃ σου καρδίᾳ. John Scholastikos (John Klimax) [*Letter to John of Raithou*]. PG 88:625B–628 (BHG 883dII; CPG 7850).

3. Fol. 3v: Κλίμαξ θείας ἀνόδου. Τοῖς ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπογραφῆναι. John Klimax, [*Prologue to the Heavenly Ladder*]. PG 88:628C–D (CPG 7851).

4. Fol. 4r (Fig. 129)–4v: List of homily titles arranged in a column alongside the rungs of the Heavenly Ladder, beginning with Homily 30: λ'. περὶ ἀγάπης ἐν ἡ

καὶ περὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ πίστεως καὶ λαμπρότητος καὶ θεολογίας ποσῶς. On the verso is a short text, as given in PG 88:629A–D: Ἐσκόπησεν ὄντως ἀρίστος μάλα, with some glosses in brown ink.

5. Fols. 4v–8v: Δανιὴλ ταπεινοῦ μοναχοῦ ραῖθηνου· εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀββᾶ ἰωάννου τοῦ ἡγουμένου τοῦ σινᾶ ὄρους, τοῦ ἐπίκλην σχολαστικοῦ, τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις ὡς ἀληθῶς. Τό μὲν τίς ἡ ἐνεγκαμένη τὸν γεννάδα καὶ ἐκθρέψασα· πρὸ τῆς ἀθλητικῆς αὐτοῦ. Daniel of Raithou, *Life of St. John Scholastikos (John Klimax)*. PG 88:596A–608A (BHG 882).

There are variant readings, glosses, and scholia in the margins, some of which correspond to annotations in the edition in PG 88: fol. 4v: α'. διαπρύσιος, ὁ λαμπρότατος κήρυξ καὶ διδάσκαλος παῦλος ἐμπεδοῖ· ἡγουν βεβαιοῖ καὶ διδάσκει; fol. 5r (PG 88: 597 e): γ'. πωλοδάμνη τῷ ἐν πείρα δαμάζοντι τοὺς ὄνους· ἡγουν τοὺς νέους; fol. 5v: δ'. τῆς φυσικῆς ἰδιότητος· τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου δηλονότι· ὑπεξουσίαν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ποιήσας τὴν φυσικὴν διήλλαξεν ἰδιότητα. Last scholion, fol. 7v: τοῦ φιλοσάρκου, ἤτοι τοῦ δαίμονος τῆς πορνείας.

6. Fol. 8v: Δανιὴλ μοναχοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ ραῖθηνου· εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ κυρίου ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπίκλην σχολαστικοῦ. Πεπεῖραμαι κυροῦν ἐν βραχέσι πλεῖστα. Daniel of Raithou, seven Byzantine twelve-syllable verses on the life of St. John Scholastikos (John Kli-

max). BHG 8826. Vassis, p. 611; cf. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS. Plut. VII.23, fol. 3.

7. Fols. 9r–194r: Τοῦ ἀββᾶ ἰωάννου ἡγουμένου τοῦ σινᾶ ὄρους· λόγος ἀσκητικὸς περὶ τῆς τοῦ ματαίου βίου ἀποταγῆς· ὃν καὶ ἀπέστειλε τῷ ἀββᾶ ἰωάννῃ ἡγουμένῳ τῆς ραῖθου, προτραπείς παρ' αὐτοῦ συντάξει. Τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ὑπεραγαθοῦ καὶ παναγάθου ἡμῶν θεοῦ. John Klimax, *Heavenly Ladder*. PG 88:632–1161A (CPG 7852). The scribe wrote some corrections, variant readings, and additions in the margins. In the left margin of fol. 193v is a short scholion on Homily 30 (which appears at the end of Homily 29 in PG 88:1152c1–5).

In the margins of fols. 87r, 93v, and 125r are four different twelve-syllable verse epigrams. On fol. 87r there is a two-line poem: φυγῶν τὸ τάχ(ος), (καὶ) δραμ(ῶν) πρὸς τὴν πόλιν; / ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐσμὲν τῆς ἐρήμου δεσπότη(αι), preceded by a single line of verse (14 syllables): ἔγειραι ἀναχώρει κακὸγῆρε τ(ῶν) ὄδε. On the same folio is a second poem, having six lines of verse: Χ(ριστὸς)ς πονηρῆ, καταβαλεῖ σου δόλους / εἰς βυθὸν εἰς τάρταρον εἰς ἄδην τάχος / βαλῶν σε κύον ὑπερήφανε δράκον / ἀπόστα σατὰν τους σκότους ὁ προστάτης / ἡμῶν βοηθός, χ(ριστὸς)ς ἐστὶν ἐνθάδε / τὰς σὰς πονηρῆ μηχανουργίας λύων. On fol. 93v is a poem of eight lines: στιχ(οι). Ὡς ἀκάθαρτ(ος) αὐτ(ὸς) ὦν πάντως ὄλ(ος); ἐνδοξὸς πονηρῆ, μηχανορραφε δράκον. On fol. 125r, there is a poem of fourteen lines: στιχ(οι). Ἐπιστραφῆτω τῶν λόγων βλασφημία, ἐν ἀίς ἀποδώσεις ἐνδικῶς τὰς εὐθύνas (cf. Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, p. 37).

On fol. 194r, at the end of Homily 30, is another epigram with six twelve-syllable verses: ἄλλοις μὲν ἐστὶ δῶρον ὁ χρυσὸς μέγα, ἐνδοξὸς τὲ καὶ καύχημα καὶ θεῖον κράτος, followed by two more lines of verse: σταυρὸς μοναχοῖς, κατὰ δαιμόνων δόρυ σταυρὸς ξίφος πέφυκε κατὰ δαιμόνων (see M. D. Lauxtermann, “The Byzantine Epigram in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries: A Generic Study of Epigrams and Some Other Forms of Poetry” [Ph.D. diss., Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1994], p. 40 note 76; Vassis, p. 686).

8. Fols. 9r–194r: Scholia and brief glosses in the margins.

HOMILY 1 (fols. 9r–15v): First scholion, fol. 9v: σκυθρωπὴν ταύτην λέγει, διὰ τὰ λυπηρὰ (PG 88:645A); last scholia, fol. 15r: α'. δρόμων: δρόμος ἀπρόσκοπος ἐστὶ, τὸ τὴν ζέσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ μονήρους βίου ἢ ἐπιτείνειν, ἢ κἄν, μέχρι τέλους φυλάττειν, β'. μηδεὶς νέος ὑπάρχων: ταῦτα τινὲς ἀπλῶς ἀναγνόντες, ἀδιακρίτως βία ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδόντες διαπεφονήκασιν . . . ποιούμενοις (PG 88:652c, sch. 27).

HOMILY 2 (fols. 15v–18v): First scholion, fol. 15v: PG 88:657D, sch. 1; last scholia, fol. 18v: ε'. πάσης

τροφῆς: τροφῆς λέγει διὰ τὴν φιλαυτίαν καὶ φιλοῦλιαν καὶ γαστριμαργίαν, καὶ χάριν τῶν ἐκ ταύτης προσγινομένων παθῶν . . . , ε'. ὁ λιμὴν ἡγουν τοῖς μὲν νήφουσι καὶ σπουδάζουσι ἀποτελεῖν τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ θεοῦ . . . αἴτιος.

HOMILY 3 (fols. 18v–23r): First scholion, fol. 18v: α'. ξενιτείαν λέγει μετελθεῖν . . . σκοπὸν; last scholion, fol. 23r: ψηλαφᾶ: τουτέστι μικρῶς πῶς ὑποσπείραθαί σοι ἄρχεται (cf. Vatican Library, MS. Vat. gr. 2230, fol. 22v: Lilla, p. 316).

HOMILY 4 (fols. 23v–52r): First scholion, fol. 23v: PG 88:728D–729A, sch. 1; last scholion, fol. 51v: γ', PG 88:761D–764A, sch. 100, with additions at the end.

HOMILY 5 (fols. 52r–63v): First scholion, fol. 52v: δ', PG 88:784A: ἦτοι ἀμέριμνος μὲν ὡς μηδενὸς . . . φροντίζων; last scholia, fol. 63r: PG 88:792D–793A, sch. 30 [partial]: διὰ τὸ μη . . . ἐλαύνουσι: σύντομος πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὁδὸς ἢ ταπεινώσις (cf. Vatican Library, MS. Vat. gr. 2230, fol. 56v: Lilla, p. 316); ι'. 793A, sch. 31.

HOMILY 6 (fols. 63v–66v): First scholion, fol. 63v: PG 88:800A, sch. 1; last scholion, fol. 66r: PG 88:801A, sch. 6; fol. 66v: PG 88:801B–C, sch. 7.

HOMILY 7 (fols. 66v–76r): First scholion, fol. 67r: τούτων πολλοὶ ἀπατηθέντες, ἀδεῶς τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι τὰς συμπάθειas χαρίζονται . . . παρὰ θεοῦ χάριτος; last scholia, fol. 75v: α'. εἰσὶν ὕλαι: ὁ οἶνος εἰ ἀμέτρως ληφθῆ, β'. καὶ εἰσὶν ἔτεροι: οἶμαι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ μέτρον . . . πέπωκεν. γ'. τῶν ταπεινώσεως ὕλας: καὶ γὰρ τὸ τὰ εὐτελεῖ . . . γέγονεν, PG 88:828A–B, sch. 25.

HOMILY 8 (fols. 76r–81r): First scholion, fol. 76v: PG 88:836D, sch. 3 (cf. Vatican Library, MS. Vat. gr. 2230, fol. 67v: Lilla, p. 317); last scholia, fol. 79v: ἔστιν οὖν ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ κατὰ πάθος ὀργίζεσθαι . . . μεταμέλεια; fol. 80r: PG 840C–D, sch. 13; fol. 81r: ε'. ἴσως οὐ περίκειται: οὐκ ἔχει ἄλλην δῆλον ἀρετὴν . . . λοιπὰ πάθη.

HOMILY 9 (fols. 81r–82v): First scholion, fol. 81r: PG 88:844B–C, sch. 1; last scholia: PG 88:845A, sch. 5, fol. 82r: ποιούντας γὰρ φησι παραβάσεις, ἐμίσησα καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἕως γὰρ οὐκ ἀφίεμεν . . . ; fol. 82v: οἱ γὰρ δοκοῦντες μὲν πράοι . . . ἀγωνιζόμενοι δὲ.

HOMILY 10 (fols. 82v–85r): First scholion, fol. 83r: α', PG 88:849A, sch. 1; last scholion, fol. 83v: ε'. ἀβίαστος, ἡγουν αὐτεξούσιος ἐκόντες γὰρ . . . ὑποκλινομεθα.

HOMILY 11 (fols. 85r–86r): First scholion, fol. 85r: PG 88:853B, sch. 1, γ'. ἐξέρχεται: ἀληθῶς γὰρ εἰ μὴ ὁ νοῦς . . . ἔρχεται, δ'. εὐτραπελία ἐστὶ γελοιοποιὸς . . . κρημνίζεται; last scholion, fol. 85v: PG 88:853C–D, sch. 4; fol. 86r: δέεται γὰρ τὸ μὲν φραγμοῦ.

HOMILY 12 (fols. 86r–87r): Fol. 86v: PG 88:857A, sch. 1; fol. 87r: PG 88:857C–D.

HOMILY 13 (fols. 87r–89r): Fol. 87v: PG 88:861B, sch. 1; 861C, sch. 2; fol. 89r: πίστις πρὸς θεὸν ἐναργῆς . . . ἀποτίκτουσιν.

HOMILY 14 (fols. 89r–93v): First scholion, fol. 89r: *καρυκεία ἐστὶν ἐνηδόνων . . . αἰσθήσεως* (cf. Vatican Library, MS. Vat. gr. 2230, fol. 78r: Lilla, p. 317); last scholia, fol. 93r: *α'*. ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀπληστίας: καθυπερβατόν, ἀνάγνωθι τοῦτο· ἤγουν ἐμοῦ δὲ αἰτία . . . ὑπόθεσις, PG 88:880A, sch. 26.

HOMILY 15 (fols. 94r–107v): First scholion, fol. 94r: PG 88:904C, sch. 1; last scholia, fol. 106v: PG 88:924A, sch. 51; fol. 107v: *δ'*. τὴν ἐμὴν, σὴν: ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ φησι ἀσθένεια . . . τῆς φύσεως.

HOMILY 16 (fols. 107v–108v): First scholion, fol. 108r: PG 88:925D, sch. 3.

HOMILY 17 (fols. 108v–110r): No scholia.

HOMILY 18 (fols. 110r–112r): Fol. 110r: PG 88:936A, sch. 1, β'; 936A, sch. 2, γ'; 936A, sch. 3; fol. 111r: PG 88:936C.

HOMILY 19 (fols. 112r–113r): Fol. 113r: PG 88:940B, sch. 4).

HOMILY 20 (fols. 113v–115v): Fol. 113v: PG 88:944A, sch. 2; fol. 114r: PG 88:944C, sch. 5; fol. 115r: *θ'*. ἔστι μὲν καὶ τοὺς ὑπνοῦς: τὸ τὰ θεῖα κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοῦς . . . ταπεινοῦ φρονήματος: PG 88:945A, sch. 10.

HOMILY 21 (fols. 115v–116v): Fol. 116r: PG 88:948C, sch. 5; fol. 116v: PG 88:948D, sch. 7.

HOMILY 22 (fols. 116v–121v): First scholion, fol. 117r: *εἶδη γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα κενοδοξίας*; last scholia, fol. 121r: PG 88:965A, sch. 27; fol. 121v: *ἐκ θείας γὰρ προμηθείας πρὸ αἰτήσεως . . . λογισμούς*.

HOMILY 23 (fols. 121v–127v): First scholion, fol. 121v: PG 88:972B, sch. 1; last scholia, fol. 125v: *ὁ μὲν σκώληξ παρυσποστὰς ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου . . . τὸ αἰνίγμα μόνον*; fol. 127r: PG 88:980B–C.

HOMILY 24 (fols. 127v–130v): First scholion, fol. 128v: *χλευαστής κόλαξ*; fol. 129r: PG 88:985B, sch. 5; last scholia, fol. 130v: PG 88:988A; PG 88:985D; PG 88:988A, sch. 12.

HOMILY 25 (fols. 130v–140r): First scholion, fol. 130v: PG 88:1004B, sch. 1; last scholia, fol. 139r: *η'*. ἡ μακαρία ταπεινώσις: ὡς περιούσιον ὄντα τῆ ταπεινώσει . . . ἐκάλεσεν; fol. 139v: ἡ ὑπερηφανία δῆλον; ἀφορμαὶ φησι πρὸς ταπεινώσιν, ἀκτημοσύνη . . . τὰ σύμβολα.

HOMILY 26 (fols. 140r–154r [Fig. 158]): First scholion, fol. 140v: τὴν τῆς γαστριμαργίας τὴν τῆς φιλαργυρίας . . . ἄρματα; fol. 141r: PG 88:1037B, sch. 5; last scholia, fol. 153v: PG 88:1056B, sch. 80, *δ'*. αἱ μητέρες: μητέρας δὲ τὰς γενικὰς ἀρετὰς . . . ἐμποιεῖ, *ε'*. δειλὸν εἰς πόλεμον: δειλὸν δὲ λέγει, τὸν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ . . . ἐναντία.

Scholia to *περὶ διακρίσεως* (fols. 154r–165r): First scholion, fol. 154r (Fig. 158): *πλάνην ψυχῆς τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν*, PG 88:1076B, sch. 1; last scholia, fol. 164v: PG 88:1084A–B, sch. 27; fol. 165r: PG 88:1084B, sch. 28.

Ανακεφαλαίωσις (fols. 165r–169v): Fol. 165r: *ἀγάπη θεοῦ ξενιτείας ὑπόθεσις*; fol. 165v: *ἦτοι μέσων ἀν-*

θρώπων; τουτέστιν ἐρπετῶν; ἐν ἐστίν: ἤγουν ἡ ταπεινώσις; fol. 166r: *στενὴ ὁδὸς καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ τῶν ἰδίων θελημάτων . . . βασιλικὴ ἐστὶν ὁδός*; fol. 167r: *ὡς οὐκ ἐστὶν χωρὶς ὄπλων . . . κτήσασθαι*.

HOMILY 27 (fols. 169v–180v): First scholion, fol. 169v: PG 88:1101C, sch. 1; last scholion, fol. 180r: PG 88:1128D–1129A, sch. 43.

HOMILY 28 (fols. 180v–187v): First scholion, fol. 182r: PG 88:1140D, sch. 1; last scholion, fol. 187v: PG 88:1145D, sch. 26.

HOMILY 29 (fols. 187v–190v): Fol. 188r: PG 88:1152D; fol. 189r: PG:1153C, sch. 5; last scholion, fol. 190r: *γ'*. *σχολάσωμεν: ἀπὸ τῶν βιωτικῶν φησι ἐπιτηδευμάτων . . . τῶν ἀγαθῶν*.

HOMILY 30 (fols. 190v–193v): Fol. 190v: *τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτὸς ὁ δεσπότης . . . δεδικαίωται*; fol. 191r: PG 88:1161B, sch. 2; PG 88:1161C, sch. 5; fol. 191v: PG 88:1161D, sch. 6; PG 88:1161D, sch. 6; fol. 192r: *ἦτοι τὴν πρόσυλον ἐπιθυμίαν*; fol. 192v: PG 88:1161D, sch. 7; fol. 193v: PG 88:1164B, sch. 10.

The scholia belong to four distinct groups, written at different times. The first group is written in the same ink as the text and has as reference marks either Greek letters or the word *ἄλλο*; most of these scholia are identical with those published in the *Patrologia Graeca*, where they are also indicated with Greek letters. The second group consists of scholia and glosses written by the same hand, in the same ink, with several different reference marks. Similar reference marks are used in the third group of scholia, which are often brief and are written in red ink in a cursive style with many abbreviations. These scholia were probably written by the scribe who added textual corrections at the end of some scholia of the first group. Writing in brown ink, this scribe also wrote the few scholia of the fourth group and occasional glosses.

9. Fols. 194v–208r: *Πρὸς τὸν ποιμένα: παρὰ ἰωάννου γραψαντος πρὸς τὸν τῆς ραϊθοῦ. John Klimax, Liber ad pastorem.* PG 88:1165A–1208A. First scholion, fol. 194v: PG 88:1168B–C, sch. 1; PG 88:1168C, sch. 3; last scholia, fol. 206v: PG 88:1208C, sch. 5, *ἦτοι τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν*; fol. 207r: *τῆς ἐπιθυμίας*.

10. Fol. 208v: *Εἶπεν γέρων: ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ ὃ μέλλεις ποιεῖν, πάντοτε λέγε: εἰ ἐπισκέψηται με ὁ θεὸς νῦν; ends τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν δικαίων δόξης νοεῖν εικότως.* Brief unidentified monastic texts.

MATERIAL AND LAYOUT

Parchment, I+208+I' folios; 27.1 × 20.0 cm (17.5/18.0 × 13.0/13.5 cm); 25 long lines per page. Hard-point ruling, with patterns similar to Leroy and

Sautel 44D1q (fols. 33r–208v) and 43D1d (fols. 1r–32v); prick-marks visible in the outer margins about 0.5 cm from the edge of the parchment. The parchment is of very good quality, with only a few holes in the margins (fols. 45, 50, 133, 147, 176, 202). At the front of the manuscript is a later parchment flyleaf; at the end is a flyleaf of medieval parchment, probably added when the manuscript was rebound around the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century (see *PROVENANCE*). Foliation in brown ink (19th cent.?) in the upper right corner of each recto.

COLLATION

1–26⁸. Quire marks in minuscule written by the scribe in red ink in the upper right corner of first rectos from fol. 9r (β) to fol. 201r (κς). A later hand (probably 14th cent.) noted in the lower margin of fol. 208v the number of quires and folios: τὰ τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου τετράδια κς' τὰ φύλλα ση'.

SCRIPT

Garrett MS. 16 was written in 1081 by the scribe Joseph in small minuscule script in carmine ink. His name appears in the second scribal verse at the end of the text and after his colophon (fol. 208r [Fig. 169]): τῷ συντελεστῇ τῶν καλῶν, θεῶ χάρις and πόνοις ἰωσήφ χάριν, ὃ σῶτερ δίδου, θεῶ χάρις, along with a doxology (Δόξα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πάντοτε νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν) written in cruciform. After this the scribe added a four-line note; his name and location were in the third line but were erased: ἐτελειώθη ἡ βίβλος αὕτη, μη(νι) σεπτ(εμβ)ρίῳ ἰνδ(ικτιώνος) / ε ἔτους ςφρ' γραφεῖσα διὰ / [1 line] / τὴν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων / ὠφέλει[αν] /. George Galavaris (in Princeton 1973, p. 99) ignored the erased second line and thus incorrectly translated the remaining lines of the note to say that the codex “was written for the edification of those who read it.” Titles and the closing phrases (admonitions) of each chapter are in gold *alexandrinischer Auszeichnungsmajuskel*; text initials gold, many in minuscule and many in the body of the text. The main initials are either illuminated (see *DECORATION*) or simple gold majuscules filled with blue.

Although fol. 208v (in brown ink) and the third and fourth group of scholia and glosses were written in a cursive style with many abbreviations, they were probably written by the same scribe at a different time. Some textual corrections are in the same ink as the scholia of the third group. Some sketches and pen-trials by other hands on the back flyleaf. A later hand (14th–15th cent.) wrote the word στασίς

in the margins of some folios between fols. 12r and 121v (e.g., fols. 66v and 89r: Figs. 136, 143); the word is in red ink within a double circle in black ink. This indicates that the manuscript was used for the readings in a monastery.

DECORATION

Garrett MS. 16 is one of the earliest and most richly illuminated of all extant illustrated copies of the *Heavenly Ladder*. It is written entirely in a rusty carmine ink, which is quite uncommon among Byzantine manuscripts. The illustrations comprise thirty-three out of the original thirty-nine marginal miniatures (six were cut out before Garrett acquired the manuscript), plus two large images of the ladder itself, one toward the beginning and the other at the end of the manuscript.

The miniatures, mostly small-scale unframed marginal illustrations, concentrate on depicting the stresses and joys of monastic life, and contain virtually no reference to other traditional themes of Byzantine manuscript illumination: biblical (typological), allegorical, liturgical, or political. The result is an iconography that is fresh and original and in many cases without parallel. It relies heavily on pose, gesture, and costume to communicate its message. In the rare cases where parallels do exist for elements of the iconography (such as the angel wrenching the soul from the body), these are found primarily in other monastic creations (e.g., the contemporary Theodore Psalter, London, British Library, MS. Additional 19352, fol. 137r: Der Nersessian, *Psautiers*, fig. 120; and the 12th-century psalter, Mount Athos, Dionysiou MS. 65, fol. 11v: Pelekanides, *Treasures*, vol. 1, fig. 121).

The miniatures use a minimum of architecture and landscape, often dispensing with both entirely, and a restricted number of figures. There is virtually no ornament. The illustrations interpret some aspect of the content of the chapter, rejecting too abstract an interpretation or too literal an illustration of a particular section of text, such as the title, as is often the case in volumes of collected homilies. Many of the poems found in the margins (see p. 113 above) are addressed to the devil directly. The miniatures do not have a fixed spot on the page: though most are placed in the vicinity of the title of the appropriate homily, they were clearly added after the text, and probably the initials too, had been completed. They were first drawn in carmine ink, the same ink used for the text, which suggests a close collaboration between scribe and artist, or even that the underdrawing was executed by the scribe himself (on the scribe as artist, see K. Corrigan, “Constantine’s Problems: The Mak-

ing of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus, Vat. Gr. 394," *Word & Image* 12 [1996], pp. 61–93).

Fol. 1r (Figs. 126–127): Strip (2.2 × 12.5 cm). The strip contains five blue roundels connected by stiff green stems on the diagonal. The two outer roundels contain partridges facing inward; the next pair contains a horse or stag at the left and a similar long-legged, cloven-hoofed animal at the right, also with a short stump of a tail. The central roundel contains a lion with a little branch sprouting from its mouth. The birds have blue necks and wings, striped breasts, fat curved red beaks, and short red legs. Both the lion and the right-hand quadruped look back over their shoulders to the right. In the triangular areas between the roundels are pointed palmettes. There is flaking in the palmettes, and some worm holes.

In the right margin, John of Raithou is handing his letter to a messenger (Fig. 127) (3.3 cm). Caption: ὁ ὄσιος πα(τ)ήρ ἡμῶ(ν) Ἰω(άννης) ὁ τῆς Ῥαῖθου ἡγου(μ)εν(ο)ς. John has a gold halo and a pointed gray beard. He is seated on a high-backed wooden chair with an openwork back, his feet resting on a footstool. He is handing a scroll bound by two red ribbons to an eager tonsured novice who is clad in a short tunic, analobos, and short traveler's cape and black boots. The novice has a short brown beard. John's robes are pale brown with a gray analobos, as are those of the novice. The rectangle of ground line is blue. The gold of the lower corner palmette of the strip overlaps the left edge of the miniature.

Fol. 2r (Fig. 128): John Klimax receiving the letter (5.3 cm). John, haloed and clad in brown monastic garb, looks out at the viewer and stretches both his hands out toward the messenger, to whom his right hand points. The messenger monk kneels before him at the right, looking up and holding out the letter, which is written on a scroll.

Fol. 4r (Fig. 129): The Heavenly Ladder and John Klimax addressing some monks (ladder 24.3 × 2.3 cm; John 6.0 cm; monks 5.3 cm). Captions: Ὁ ὄσιος πα(τ)ήρ ἡμῶ(ν) Ἰω(άννης) ἡγου(μ)εν(ο)ς τοῦ Σινᾶ ὄρους, ὁ τῆς Κλίμακο(ς) [alongside John]; Ἐπιβῶμεν προθύ(μ)ως ὡ(ς) ἀδε(λφοί), τῆς οὐρανοδρόμου κλίμακος [alongside the monks].

The ladder, guided by the vertical rulings in the right margin, rises straight up to a frontal bust of Christ placed just above the final rung at the top of the page. Each of the thirty rungs is numbered in the space to the right of the ladder, starting at the bottom with alpha. The ladder and its rungs are bright blue on a gold ground. Christ, also in blue, occupies a gold roundel with a thin blue border; he stretches out his hands to left and right, breaking through the border

of the roundel. The table of contents naming each of the chapters, that is, each rung of the ladder, is written at the left of the page, starting again with alpha at the bottom.

In the middle of the page, where the names of the chapters are quite short, the artist has been able to introduce some figures: John Klimax speaking to a group of monks. John is placed higher than the monks and is taller; with his right hand he points toward Christ at the top of the ladder, and with the other he gestures down to the monks. Among the group of four elderly monks are two who look at John, one of them gesturing across to him, one monk who looks back at the ladder itself and places his hand on his chin, and one who looks up at Christ. All the monks wear pale brown tunics, dark brown analoboi decorated with white stripes and spots, and short dark brown mantles. There is no painted background.

Fol. 8v (Fig. 130): Spiritual tablets (tablets 2.9 × 4.0 and 2.9 × 3.6 cm; cross 3.6 × 2.0 cm). Tablets inscribed πλάκες πνευματικαί and in gold, one word in each tablet. Alongside the cross: IC XC.

At the bottom of the page are two plaques of inscribed marble, veined, and bordered with blue on gold. The blue border is decorated with tiny thin white lines regularly interrupted by X's. To the right of the tablets is a gold cross on a short blue base, with flaring tips and bosses at the ends of the arms, and an X shape at the junction of the arms.

Fol. 9r: Homily 1: On Renunciation of Life. The beginning of the text is marked by a blue strip framed in gold (1.7 × 13.0 cm). The blue is decorated with the same white design as the tablets on fol. 8v (Fig. 130), with the addition of white dots above, below, and between the X's. The marginal miniature has been excised, leaving a hole measuring ca. 6.8 × 5.0 cm. To judge by the offset of the gold halo on the opposite page (fol. 8v), the missing miniature showed John Klimax seated writing his text.

The initial T (5.2 cm) is outlined in gold and filled with knots and bulges painted in blue, green, and pink; it has a tail going down off to the left.

Fol. 15v (Fig. 131): Homily 2: On Detachment. In the lower left margin of the page, near the opening line of the text, is the figure of a barefoot novice (3.6 cm tall) in modified monastic garb (short pale brown tunic, analobos, dark brown cape). He has a short brown beard. He holds a long cross in his left hand, a white scroll (?) in his right. His bare legs and feet are apparently bleeding. He is standing on a rectangle of blue ground, between two low blue bushes. The letter B relates to the adjacent scholion.

The initial O (1.2 cm in diam.) contains several blue concentric circles and a pink center.

Fol. 18v (Fig. 132): Homily 3: On Pilgrimage. The marginal miniature and the initial have been excised from the left margin, leaving a hole ca. 6.0×5.4 cm.

Only the upper part of the initial Ξ remains (1.4 cm tall), a knotted, gaily painted serpent with black, white, and red spots on a blue body. Its head is plain, horned, and has a red tongue.

Fol. 22r (Fig. 133): Sleeping novice and a demon (1.6 \times 3.3 cm) in the right margin. Accompanying this subdivision of Homily 3 is a figure plagued in his sleep by a demon. A young beardless monk lies barefoot on a woven straw pallet on top of a bluish green strip of ground; his head is slightly raised, and he raises his right hand to address a smudged area that probably once held the figure of a demon. The underdrawing of the demon was apparently executed in carmine ink.

The initial O (1.1 cm) is a gold oval with some pink and blue markings.

Fol. 23v (Fig. 134): Homily 4: On Obedience. In the left margin, a seated monk orders two youthful monks below to carry water (6.3 \times 3.5 cm). The elderly monk above sits on a low polygonal wooden bench, looking off to the left. He wears black slippers, a pale brown tunic, and a dark brown cape. Below are two young monks standing on a strip of bluish green earth edged by clumps of grass, near a narrow blue stream; both wear short tunics and black slippers, analoboi, and dark brown capes. The young monk on the right looks up at the seated monk, but gestures back to the written text; the young monk on the left heads off to the left bearing a two-handled water amphora on his back and a two-handled goblet in his left hand, both vessels having a row of dots running around the center of the body. A slender tree rises nearby to the left.

The initial Π (1.7 cm) is square in form and painted blue.

Fol. 52r: Homily 5: On Penitence. The miniature in the right margin has been excised, leaving a hole ca. 9.0×5.5 cm. But part of its inscription is still there, which, with the help of the offset on fol. 51v, can be read as $\eta\ \iota\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\ \mu\omicron/\nu\eta\ \eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu(\acute{\epsilon})\nu(\eta)\ / \ \phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tilde{\eta}\ \omicron\iota$. (Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, p. 28, then reads $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$, but there appears to be a gamma, that is, the beginning of another word before $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$, which was written vertically.)

The initial M (2.2 cm) is painted blue.

Fol. 63v (Fig. 135): Homily 6: On Remembrance of Death. The miniature in the left margin shows the death of a monk (5.1 \times 3.8 cm). The dead monk, an old man, lies on a woven straw pallet atop a strip of bluish green earth, his eyes shut, his arms folded across his chest, clad in monastic robes and black slippers. He has a halo. From his mouth emerges a tiny young human body, naked, legs not yet visible, with short brown hair, hands stretched out forward but looking backward at the head of the monk. Behind the bed stands an angel with a very long gold staff, who grasps the arm of the soul with his right hand. The angel's golden wings are raised, he has a halo and a white fillet in his hair, and is dressed in a blue tunic and lilac himation.

Behind the foot of the bed are three monks, two old and one middle-aged; the monk closest to the bed clasps his head in both hands in horror and grief, looking toward the head of the corpse. Behind the head of the bed is another monk seen in profile, koukoullion or hood in place, who raises a burning censer with both hands toward the blue arc of heaven at the upper right. He blows at the flame. The artist has for once used the rulings as a guideline, which gives very straight edges to his composition. The tail of the gold strip separating this chapter from the last overlaps the miniature.

The initial Π (2.5 cm) is painted blue.

Fol. 66v (Fig. 136): Homily 7: On Sorrow. Miniature in the lower left margin (3.5 \times 4.4 cm), below the initial. It represents an elderly monk sorrowing in a cave. He sits hunched over, hands pressed to his face (though not blocking his eyes), in the dark recesses of the cave. Before him is a pale sketch of a pot hanging on a hook and, on the ground, a flask (?). The cave has jagged edges and blue and white hillocks, and small trees along the front of it; the mountainside rising above it has blue and white peaks. Outside the cave is a small blue arc of heaven, sending three red rays down toward the monk.

The initial Π (2.3 cm) is blue with white X designs, like those at the beginning of the manuscript.

Fol. 76r (Fig. 137): Homily 8: On Placidity and Meekness. Miniature in the lower right margin (4.8 \times 3.6 cm). Caption: $\mu\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\iota\ \omicron\iota\ \pi\rho\alpha\epsilon\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ ,\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\ \kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota\ \tau\eta\nu\ \gamma\eta\nu$ (Matt. 5:5).

An angel is shown escorting a middle-aged monk, gently resting one arm on the monk's far shoulder and clasping one of the monk's hands, which he holds before his chest. The angel's reddish brown wings envelop the monk. Both angel and monk are haloed and look toward each other. The angel is clad in a blue chiton and pink himation with a white fillet in his hair, the monk in the usual brown robes. To

the upper left is the blue arc of heaven with three red rays emerging from it. The figures stand on a blue ground between two slender blue trees.

The initial Ω (1.2 cm) is gold with a blue lining.

Fol. 81r (Fig. 138): Homily 9: On Malice. Miniature in the right margin (5.3 × 3.6 cm). Caption: *ὁδοὶ μνησικακῶν, εἰς θάνατον ἄγουσιν* (Prov. 12:28).

A monk, though turning his head back to the left, is being pulled forward by a demon who tugs at his outstretched arms. The demon is slender, painted dark gray and bluish green; he had wings, but they and his body have been almost entirely erased. The demon stands atop a dark brown hill, knees bent with the effort of pulling the monk. The head of the monk, and perhaps also the arms of the demon, appear to have been repainted. The chapter is preceded by a narrow blue strip with drooping ends.

The initial A (1.6 cm) is gold with a blue strip.

Fol. 82v (Fig. 139): Homily 10: On Slander. Miniature in the lower left corner of the page, below the initial and the text (3.3 × 6.4 cm). A monk seated on a hillside is approached by a second monk who tries to whisper something in his ear. The seated monk turns his head away but cups his ear with one hand. The slandering monk, seen in profile, bends forward eagerly, gesturing with both hands. Neither monk is dressed in the usual color robes: the seated monk has a grayish tunic, the standing one a pale green tunic, a reddish analobos, and a black cloak. Both are elderly. The hill is framed by two small blue trees and by a bluish green ground line in the foreground.

The initial O (1.4 cm in diam.) is filled with four trefoils, two blue and two green, pointing inward.

Fol. 85r (Fig. 140): Homily 11: On Talkativeness and Silence. Miniature in the center of the left margin (3.9 × 2.7 cm). A monk at the left is pointing upward and addressing a second monk at the right. The contrast between the two is striking: the monk on the left is seen in profile, has dark gray, rather bushy hair, a reddish brown mandyas, and a greenish tunic. The other monk has paler gray hair and is clad in the more usual light brown tunic and black mandyas. He holds his hand up next to his mouth and responds with the other hand, palm out, at his chest. There is no ground line. The underdrawing is definitely carmine.

The initial E (1.7 cm) is gold with some blue fill.

Fol. 86r (Fig. 141): Homily 12: On Falsehood. Miniature in the lower half of the right margin (5.1 × 2.8 cm). A monk moves off to the left, pursued by a demon. The monk is elderly and wraps his left hand around his own neck, while addressing the demon with his right. The demon, erased down to the carmine

underdrawing, was smaller than the monk, black, with raised black wings; he was reaching his arms out to the monk but apparently did not touch him. There is no ground line.

The initial Γ (2.2 cm) is blue and gold.

Fol. 87r (Fig. 142): Homily 13: On Despondency. Miniature toward the lower edge of the right margin (4.9 × 3.9 cm). An elderly monk sits outdoors in a green landscape in a thoroughly depressed pose: slumped forward, head resting on his hand. He wears sandals instead of the usual black slippers. A brightly dressed demon, the female personification of Tedium, addresses him, actually pulling at the hand on which his head is resting. With her other hand she gestures toward something off to the right. The demon's upper body has been erased, but her black skin, short red tunic, and layers of violet and green garments survive, as do her black wings. The landscape consists of a yellowish green mountainside capped with gray crags, a lower hillock on which the monk sits, a blue foreground strip, and several spindly trees. The underdrawing is carmine. There may have been another element of the miniature at the upper right.

The initial E (1.8 cm) is gold with blue fill.

Fol. 89r (Fig. 143): Homily 14 (1): On Gluttony. The miniature in the right margin has been cut out, leaving a hole that measures ca. 5.6 × 5.4 cm. All that remains is a bluish green treetop (1.5 cm wide) from the top of the composition.

The initial M (2.2 cm) is gold with blue fill.

Fol. 93v (Fig. 144): Homily 14 (2): On the Body and Nonbody. Miniature below the initial at the lower left edge of the page (3.7 × 4.2 cm). A monk wearing sandals is seated on a low hill, holding on his lap a large book with a jeweled cover and red edges. He looks behind him toward a black demon sprite (effaced) which is flying down toward him. The monk rests his chin and cheek between the thumb and forefinger of his left hand in a distinctive gesture.

The initial H (2.0 cm) is gold with blue infilling.

Fol. 94r (Fig. 145): Homily 15: On Chastity and Temperance. Miniature in the center of the right margin (4.6 × 2.9 cm). Two figures stand side by side, an angel and a monk. The angel at the right envelops the monk with his wings, turns his head toward him, and places his right hand on the monk's right shoulder. In his left hand he holds a long thin red staff with a blue, three-pointed upper tip. His chiton is blue with red clavi, his himation lavender with folds marked with white highlights and narrow black lines along the borders and especially under the left knee. His hair is brown with a white fillet, and there are

pink lines on his cheek, and a pink comblike pattern on the neck. His wings are red and brown.

The monk is young, probably beardless, with short brown hair; he is clad in the usual monastic garb, with a dark brown mandyas and analobos. He raises both hands out to the right. His body so overlaps the angel that he appears to be treading on the angel's right foot; his eyes also gaze into the distance, without acknowledging the physical presence of the angel. At the right, high above the two figures, is a small blue hemicycle emitting three blue rays. There is no ground line.

The initial A (2.7 cm) is gold, with blue fill and white X designs.

Fol. 107v (Fig. 146): Homily 16: On Avarice. Miniature in the left margin, just above the beginning of the text (3.4 × 4.4 cm). A mature monk, clad in his tunic and analobos but without his mandyas, sits upright on a wooden bench behind a table on which he rests his right arm. He sits on a red pillow, and behind him is the back of his bench, tall and blue with an arched top framing his head. The chairback has a series of knobs running along its upper surface and the outline of a short cloth hanging down from the top. The monk holds his left hand out to the right to a black demon who flies down to it, possibly about to place a gold coin in the monk's open palm.

The monk is approached from the left by another (novice?) monk in short tunic and black slippers, who brings him a small pouch, like a little flask in shape. Another similar pouch lies on its side atop the table, where there is also a square dark brown box. There is a bluish gray ground line.

The initial Π (2.1 cm, not counting the finial) is gold with blue fill.

Fol. 108v (Fig. 147): Homily 17: On Poverty. Miniature in the left margin, below the initial (4.7 × 4.0 cm). On a rectangular patch of bluish green ground stands a monk in short tunic, brown mandyas and analobos, wearing sandals and holding a long thin brown staff capped by a cross which has a curved base where it joins the staff. He blesses with his right hand. His hair is grayish brown and unruly, and he is bearded. A pair of bluish green trees, with thin trunks and puffy foliage, flanks him. A later hand has scribbled a border to the ground line in black ink; this is presumably the same hand that added a marginal note, now erased, above the miniature, which in fact names the monk as St. John Prodromos. The image is indeed very much that of John the Baptist, despite the specifically monastic garb.

The initial A (1.8 cm) is gold with blue fill.

Fol. 110r (Fig. 148): Homily 18: On Insensibility. Miniature in the center of the right margin (4.1 × 1.4 cm). A venerable monk stands slightly turned to the left, but looking out to the right. He has a long gray beard and raises his right hand to cradle his chin between forefinger and little finger; his left hand falls idle before his body. There is no ground line.

The initial A (2.4 cm) is gold with blue infilling and a plumed top.

Fol. 112r (Fig. 149): Homily 19: On Sleep and Prayer. Miniature in the center of the right margin, opposite the title (4.3 × 3.3 cm). Inside a cave occupying a gray and brown mountain are three elderly monks, seated and hunched forward, two of them facing each other in a seated position at its jagged opening, the third slightly behind them within the cave recess. The right-hand monk in the foreground is dozing, head on hand, as is the monk further back in the cave; the third monk, though also hunched over, has his eyes open and puts his hand up to his mouth. Visible inside the cave is a desk with lectern; above it, a tiny lamp is hanging from a hook attached to the wall of the cave.

The initial Υ (1.6 cm) has green, blue, and pink infilling.

Fol. 113v (Fig. 150): Homily 20: On Wakefulness. Miniature in the left margin, below the initial and the opening of the text (3.8 × 3.2 cm). The upper torsos of four monks appear in four separate caves on a single mountainside. Three of them are raising both hands eagerly toward two tiny blue arcs of heaven, both emitting three carmine rays, at the upper right; the fourth monk is engrossed in a book which he holds under a tiny lamp suspended from the roof of his cave, though he too looks out toward the right. The upper and lower monks have black hair, the center ones are elderly with white beards (actually light blue). The mountainside is pale yellowish green with a few wavy brown and black bushes and a couple of low trees, one pointed like a cypress.

The initial T (2.7 cm) is gold with strapwork of blue, green, and pink.

Fol. 115v (Fig. 151): Homily 21: On Timidity. Miniature in the center of the left margin, below the initial (5.2 × 3.9 cm). Above the miniature, but under the initial, are the words ἀπὸ φόβου ἐχθροῦ ἐξελοῦ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ψυχὴν μου (Ps. 63:1).

A monk, elderly but barefoot and wearing a short tunic, shrinks away from a demon approaching him from the left. The monk turns his head back to look directly at us and raises his left hand up toward the title of the homily; his right hand is held palm forward before his chest. His mandyas is a dark red

brown with gray highlights. Both his face and the mandyas have somewhat flaked. The demon has a greenish brown skin color and wears a vivid short red tunic covered by a blue sash or mantle and red slippers. He is speaking to the monk with outstretched hands. His black wings are raised high over his head. His head, the wings, and part of the sash have been deliberately defaced, and there is a hole in the parchment to the right of his neck. There is no ground line.

The initial Δ (2.1 cm) is gold with blue infilling and has flourishes at the three tips.

Fol. 116v (Fig. 152): Homily 22: On Vainglory. Miniature in the left margin, near the initial (4.2 × 1.8 cm). Above is an inscription, *Τί τῆ κενοδοξία μέγα φρονεῖς, γῆ κ(αὶ) σποδοῶν* (cf. Gen. 18:2), that probably serves as a caption to the miniature.

A dignified elderly monk stands facing the viewer, holding with his left hand a long blue staff with a gold handle and with his right hand a mirror. The latter has a long black handle and a red reverse side painted with blue chevrons.

The initial T (2.4 cm) is infilled with blue, pink, and green knots.

Fol. 121v (Fig. 153): Homily 23 (1): On Pride. Miniature in the left margin, above the title and the initial (4.3 × 3.5 cm). There is an inscription above the miniature that apparently refers to the title: *αἰσχυνθήτωσ(αν) καὶ ἀποστραφήτωσ(αν), οἱ ζητοῦντες τὰ κακά μοι. ἀποστραφήτωσαν παραυτίκα αἰσχυνόμενοι οἱ λέγοντές μοι, εὐγε, εὐγε* (cf. Ps. 69:3–4).

Inside a dark cave with jagged edges, on a brown hillside, is the torso of a monk who is simultaneously praying with both hands raised to an icon of Christ, up at the right of the hill, and looking back over his shoulder at a small black demon flying down from the left. The monk wears a black koukoullion and a deep reddish brown mandyas. Christ in the icon is clad in a blue himation and has reddish brown hair and a blue halo with white crossbars on it. He blesses with his right hand; his left is not visible. The background of the icon is gold, and it has a loop at the top of the frame for hanging.

In the foreground, below the rocky hillside, is a gentler landscape of rolling bluish green and lavender hills, the former inhabited by diverse creatures: a bear on its hind legs threatening a white stork in a treetop, a dark crane (?), partially flaked, a long-horned goat oddly settled on a second treetop, and, on the lavender part of the hill, a black mouse. There are green bushes and cypresses on all parts of the mountainside.

The initial C (1.5 cm) has green, blue, and pink fill.

Fol. 125r (Fig. 154): Homily 23 (2): On Blasphemy. Miniature in the right margin, opposite the title. The miniature has been almost entirely defaced (ca. 4.5 × 4.1 cm). All that remain of the painted portion are the head and shoulders of a monk sitting at the entrance to a cave on a brown hillside. He is elderly and has a halo. With the help of the underdrawing we see that he was seated facing to the left, but turning his upper body around to the right to address a demon at the right. All that remain of the demon are the tips of his black wings. Behind the hill is a blue arc of heaven with three blue rays.

The initial X (1.7 cm) is filled with green and blue; it is partially destroyed by a hole in the parchment but apparently had a long tail running into the inner margin of the volume.

Fol. 128r (Fig. 155): Homily 24: On Meekness, Simplicity, and Other Virtues. Of the miniature in the right margin, toward the top of the page, only half has survived (2.7 × 2.0 cm): the upper part has been excised (size of hole ca. 2.3 × 2.0 cm), leaving only the trace of an acute accent from a caption. Surviving below are the figures of two monks facing each other, both raising their hands in prayer up to the excised area, probably an image of Christ. Both monks are elderly, the monk on the left having somewhat unruly hair. There are possibly traces of writing within what looks like the underdrawing for a hanging scroll, below the excised circle.

The initial Π (1.5 cm) has green, blue, and pink infilling.

Fol. 130v (Fig. 156): Homily 25: On Humility. The miniature, which was located in the left margin, flanking the text, has been entirely cut out (size of hole ca. 4.9 × 2.6 cm). Thanks, however, to the caption surviving above the hole, *ὁ ἄγιος Ἰω(άννης) ὁ δ(ι)ὰ Χ(ριστοῦ)ν πτωχό(ς)*, we can reconstruct the lost miniature as a depiction of St. John Kalybites, the "poor in Christ." The image was most likely that of a standing monk; the offset on fol. 131r shows that he had a halo.

The initial O (1.5 cm in diam.) comprises several concentric gold circles, separated by a blue one adorned with white dots, another with tiny blue crosses on a white ground, and a central blue rosette on a red ground.

Fol. 140r (Fig. 157): Homily 26 (1): On Discernment. Miniature in the right margin, opposite the title (4.4 × 3.1 cm). An elderly balding monk, seen in profile, kneels listening to another monk who speaks from inside a cave on a bluish green hillside with a light brown rocky summit. The speaking monk has some

kind of brown cap on his head; he raises his right hand to bless the visitor and holds a closed scroll in his left. Visible inside a second cave further up the mountain is the head of another monk who is mournfully (?) pressing his right hand to his cheek. There are wavy black and blue plants and a couple of two-tiered bluish green trees growing on the slopes of the hill. Just behind the hill at the left is a lavender tower with a blue cornice.

The initial Δ (1.9 cm with plumes) is filled with green and blue.

Fol. 154r (Figs. 158–160): Homily 26 (2): On Expert Discernment. Miniature in the right margin, opposite the title (3.8 × 3.0 cm). An elderly monk with a gold halo is shown in proskynesis, reaching out his hands and looking up toward the hand of God above, who is extending to him a scroll from the blue arc of heaven (Fig. 160). A caption above the miniature says ὁ ὁσιος δεχόμενος ἐκ Θεοῦ τὸ χάρισμα τῆς διακρίσεως. The use of the word *hosios* (“holy man”) implies that this figure represents John Klimax, but his portrait is not the same as that on fol. 2r (Fig. 128).

The initial O (2.4 cm in diam.; Fig. 159) has several concentric gold and red circles surrounding a central blue field which is covered with little yellowish green plants. Against the initial but still within its circumference is a gray antlered stag moving to the right; he is spotted along his back, has black hooves, and some white on his legs. The stag refers to the opening words of this section of the text.

Fol. 165r (Fig. 161): Homily 26 (3): Summary of the Foregoing. Miniature in the lower part of the right margin (4.3 × 3.4 cm). The caption, τὸ Σινᾶ ὄρος, identifies the scene as a view of Mount Sinai. Before a brown hillside is the monastery, a round enclosure surrounded by lavender walls and five towers; the walls have high windows, and all but one of the towers have a window and are surmounted by one or two white crosses. The cornice is blue, crenellated in black and white. The entrance gate is blue with black studs and has a rounded lunette over the door. Inside are visible one pedimented facade with a red roof, two domes, one with a blue roof topped by a cross, and another blue basilical roof.

Outside the monastery at the left is a square window under a gabled roof, its wooden shutter thrown open to reveal the head of an elderly monk looking out to the left and holding an open book in both hands. Below the window is a square blue area with a central square of dark red framed by white projections.

Below the scene is a rolling green ground line, and the steep hillside is marked with little plants and trees, among them a bush with bright red stalks

among the green, which very likely represents the Burning Bush (to honor which the monastery had been founded). Near the top of the hill is a tiny round cave from which emerges the head and right arm of a balding, dark-haired monk who is lowering a small black basket on a black rope.

The initial Π (2.0 cm) has blue infilling.

Fol. 169v (Fig. 162): Homily 27 (1): On Hesychia. Miniature in the left margin, below the initial (4.5 × 2.9 cm). In a landscape with towers are four monks in various kinds of solitary existence. In the center, on a brown hillside, is an elderly monk seated in a cave wielding an adze for the carving of wooden spoons; there is a lamp before him hanging from the roof of the cave. His tunic has flaked, especially on his right thigh. In another, smaller cave behind this monk is the head of a second old monk holding an open book, pressing his right hand to his cheek, and staring out to the left of the picture. A lamp again hangs from the roof of his cave.

To the right and left of the hillside are two lavender turrets, slightly curved, with light brown cornices. Halfway up the right-hand turret is a window in which is visible the head of an old monk staring off to the right. Emerging from the very top of the other turret, that in the left background, is the head of a fourth monk who is looking left; behind his decapitated-looking head at the top of the tower are three blue crosses.

In the foreground, below the seated monk, is a bluish green landscape in which are visible a hare, a peacock, and a fox who goes to drink at a blue stream coursing down from the area of the tower. At the top of the brown hillside is a single tree.

The initial H (1.7 cm) is plain gold.

Fol. 173r (Fig. 163): Homily 27 (2): On Different Kinds of Hesychia. The miniature once occupied the center of the right margin, alongside the title; it was half destroyed when a diagram or painting of a ladder on the verso (fol. 173v) was excised. The upper part of the miniature remains (ca. 4.9 × 3.5 cm). It again shows a landscape with caves and separate structures inhabited by monks. Inside caves and turned to the right are two monks, one resting his left hand on his head and the other praying with his hands extended to the right.

Draped over rods attached to the roof of the left-hand cave are two short brown leather pouches (?) and what may be a lamp on a stand in front of the monk. Above the caves is a yellowish brown hillside teeming with vegetation. At the left of the composition is a lavender tower with a blue pediment topped with a blue cross and a reddish brown roof. Visible in

its upstairs window, whose wooden shutter has been opened, is the head of an old monk who looks out to the left, holding his right hand to cover his mouth. A small basket hangs far below on a red and white rope attached to a hornlike rod projecting from the windowsill. A second building, with a rounded tympanum over its entrance and a cross on top, appears atop the hillside at the right.

The initial E (2.4 cm) is oval, filled with a bit of green, and blue adorned with white X shapes.

Fol. 173v: Homily 27 (3). The miniature that once adorned the left margin has been cut out (see fol. 173r). The offset on fol. 174r shows it to have been the image of a ladder with seven rungs (7.5 × 2.2 cm). Each rung must have corresponded to one of the "characteristics" of hermits listed in the text (PG 88:1105B–C). As Martin noted (*Heavenly Ladder*, p. 42), however, the fourth characteristic was omitted in the text (though added later), and therefore the miniaturist painted the ladder with only seven rungs. Below the excised area is part of an inscription, below a rung of the ladder, that must have been added to it later in red ink; the words are written between the two extended posts of the ladder: δὲ ἀκρασίαν θυμοῦ (incontinence in anger); it is preceded by the letter α to the left of the ladder.

Fol. 180v (Fig. 164): Homily 28: On Prayer. Below the initial, in the left margin, is the figure of an elderly praying monk (3.9 cm tall). Four lines remain of what was probably a caption: [ἐπικάλεσαί με ἐν] ἡμερα θλίψεώς σου, κ(αί) ἐξελοῦμαί σε καὶ δοξάσεις με (Ps. 49:5).

The monk is turned to the left, hands raised toward what was originally a medallion of Christ, now cut out (area of excision ca. 3.0 × 2.4 cm). The offset on fol. 181r provides the content and dimensions of the lost medallion (2.7 cm in diam.): a bust with a cross-halo, possibly holding a book. Martin (*Heavenly Ladder*, p. 43) was also able to see offsetting of the letters IC XC.

The initial P (1.7 cm) has blue, green, and pink knots.

Fol. 187v (Fig. 165): Homily 29: On Dispassion (and on the Resurrection of the Soul, Before the Common Resurrection). Miniature in the left margin, next to the initial (4.7 × 3.5 cm). The half-figure of Christ is shown descending from the upper right, grasping the right wrist of a monk emerging from a sarcophagus. A black-winged demon pulls at the monk's other wrist from below, and three or more other black demons with flashing white eyes grasp at the monk's feet and legs from inside the sarcophagus. Christ wears a blue chiton and a lavender himation, and car-

ries a closed scroll. Above his head are the letters IC XC. The monk wears a black koukoullion, and his analobos is blue; otherwise he is dressed in traditional monastic garb. The sarcophagus is blue marble with a lozenge design on its long side. Across the bottom margin of the page is written a variant of Psalm 113:7, used in another variant at the end of the chapter; a reference mark connects the passage with the miniature.

The initial I (3.1 cm) has blue, green, and pink strapwork; the carmine outline was left as is, and gold applied only to certain sections.

Fol. 190v (Fig. 166): Homily 30: On the Joining of the Trinity of Virtues: Faith, Hope, and Charity. The miniature, originally located above the title, in the upper left margin, has been cut out (size ca. 5.8 × 3.8 cm). The caption ἡ ἁγία τριάς was seen by Martin (*Heavenly Ladder*, p. 44) under ultraviolet light.

The offset on fol. 191r shows that there were three haloed figures, the center one with a cross-nimbus, the outer ones clearly winged, probably sitting at a table and representing the Old Testament Trinity: the three angels who appeared to Abraham and Sarah (Gen. 18:2–15). Connected to the original lost miniature by a reference mark is a passage written in the upper margin associating faith with Abraham, hope with Enos, and charity with Christ and St. Paul (Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, p. 44).

The initial N (1.9 cm) has blue, green, and pink knots.

Fol. 194r (Fig. 167): The Heavenly Ladder. With its thirty rungs, the ladder occupies the entire right margin (the ladder alone is 21.5 × 2.1 cm; with dragon and Christ, 25.6 cm high). The ladder is carmine and was never gilded. At its base is a coiled blue dragon, partially defaced, with a long pointed snout, a red nose, ears, a red eye, and white spots along his body. His mouth is open, waiting for the falling monks; he has big black teeth. Under each rung is written the abbreviated title of the corresponding homily, numbered in gold letters in sequence from the bottom up; the first is called the First Anabasis, Flight from the world (cf. the inscription under the approaching monks, below). At the top, in an arc of heaven directly above the ladder, is the rather worn bust of Christ reaching both arms out to the sides, in each hand a crown. Caption: IC XC.

Ascending the ladder on Christ's right, at roughly equal intervals from each other, are three monks. The lowest monk has one foot still on the ground and one on the first rung; he is gray haired and looks out at the viewer but holds onto the fifth and sixth rungs above his head. His tunic is shortened, and he is barefoot. The next monk has his feet on the tenth

and eleventh rungs, and is grasping the fourteenth and fifteenth; his mandyas flies out behind him, and he looks up toward Christ. He too is elderly. A third monk climbs on the twenty-second and twenty-third rungs, grasping the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh. He is dark haired and beardless, has a very short tunic, and apparently wears no analobos.

In the right margin are two monks who have failed in their attempt to scale the ladder; they plunge head-down toward the dragon at its base. One of the first falling monks had almost reached the top and is on the level of the top two rungs; he wears a short tunic and analobos. The other monk appears around the level of the tenth and eleventh rungs, arms flung out to the sides. Although Christ holds a crown in each hand, this, his left, is clearly the unfavored side. Running vertically along the entire right edge of the ladder, from the top down, are the nearly illegible words *κατέβαλες αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐπαρθ(ῆ)ναι. π(ῶ)ς ἐγένοντο εἰς ἐρήμωσιν ἐξάπινα, ἐξέλιπ[ον] ἀ[πώ]λοντο διὰ [τὴν ἀνομίαν αὐ]τῶν (Ps. 72 [73]:18–19).*

In the lower margin of the page is a procession of six monks heading eagerly toward the ladder, hands outstretched and knees slightly bent in the urgency of their motion. Though all are dressed roughly the same, each figure is differently characterized. From left to right: a brown curly haired monk whose mandyas is blown back to one side in his haste; an elderly monk with pointed beard; another brown-haired monk with somewhat unruly hair and a beard; an old monk wearing the *koukoullion*; an elderly monk looking out at the viewer; and, heading the line, a monk with flat brown hair and the trace of a beard. Between the second and third monks is a tree (or perhaps the wooden staff of the second monk). Across the bottom is written the command *φυγὴ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πάντ(ων) διὰ χ(ριστό)ν (or κ[ύρι]ον).*

Standing above the line of monks, and on a larger scale than they, is the figure of John Klimax (5.9 cm), labeled *ὁ ὄσιος π(α)τ(ή)ρ ἡμῶ(ν) Ἰωάννης, ὁ τῆς κλίμακος.* He unfurls a scroll, on which are written the first words of his exhortation, the first words of the text on this page: *ἀναβαίνετε, ἀναβαίνετε(ε) ἀναβάσεις προ[θύμω]ς.* His body is perfectly frontal, but he gestures toward the monks below with his right hand and looks off to the right toward the ladder. He has a gold halo. Between him and the ladder is a narrow gold cross (5.5 cm high) on a stepped base with bosses at the tips of the arms; under the cross arms is written the abbreviation *ὁ στ(αυ)ρ(ό)ς* in gold letters.

Inscribed alongside the cross, and incorporating the monogram into its text, are six lines of twelve-syllable verse written in carmine (see p. 114 above), with the opening words and a couple of other signif-

icant words written in gold. Alongside the stepped base of the cross are two more lines of twelve-syllable verse, both starting with the word *Stauros*, which is written in gold; these refer to the power of the cross over demons. On these poems, see p. 113 above.

The initial A (5.0 cm with snake tail) consists of a blue-breasted peacock facing left, whose neck is being bitten by a snake whose body then coils around the bird's lower body and continues far down into the margin.

Fol. 194v (Fig. 168): Homily to the pastor. In the left margin are two elderly and remarkably well-preserved monastic figures, John Klimax addressing his homily to John of Raithou (4.3 × 3.1 cm). Both are haloed. John Klimax, on the left, labeled *ὁ ἄ(γ)ιος Ἰω(άννης) ὁ τῆς κλίμακος(ς)*, holds a scroll in his left hand and turns to address John of Raithou with his right. On his scroll is written *Ἐν τῇ μ(έν) κάτ(ω) βίβλω ἔγωγέ σε*, the opening words of this very text written above and shown being actually penned by a hand in the initial. Receiving the message at the right is John of Raithou, labeled *ὁ ἄ(γ)ιος Ἰω(άννης) ὁ τῆς Ραῖθου ἡγούμ(εν)ος(ς)*; he holds his right palm before his chest to acknowledge the message. He also holds a black pastoral staff.

The initial E (2.5 cm in diam.) is perfectly round and outlined in gold. Emerging from it is an elegant arm, not a monastic one, holding a pen poised at the letter N of the opening word *ἐν*. The wrist has a fancy gold cuff under a blue tunic and may be meant to represent Christ.

BINDING

Dark red goatskin over 26.8 × 19.5 cm poplar boards (1.0 cm thick) with grooved edges. The spine lining is natural-color linen. The secondary sewing of the end bands is in a chevron pattern sewn in red, green, tan, and gold-wrapped silk thread. The old binding dates from the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century and had been resewn several times, always in unsupported link stitch on either four or five sewing stations. The boards show evidence of earlier fore-edge clasps at two locations. These were replaced by a single pin intended to catch the ring attached to a triple-braided leather strap. All that remains of the straps is the anchoring of the two straps on the inside of the back cover.

The front and back covers are blind embossed in a complex pattern (Fig. 170), but the spine is not decorated. A rectangular space in the middle of each board is crossed by fillets to form triangles and diamond shapes matching pattern no. 5 in Federici and

Houlis, *Legature*, p. 66, fig. 37; and Politis, *Θεσσαλονίκη*, p. κα, pattern II5. The triangles and diamond shapes are filled with figurative roundels (an eagle and two griffinlike animals) in different sizes and surrounded by a frame produced by rectangular tools of fleurs-de-lis, animals, and other patterns.

The front and back boards originally had nine pewter bosses: five eight-pointed bosses and four corner bosses in the shape of a fleur-de-lis of the style reproduced in Federici and Houlis, *Legature*, p. 154, pl. xxxix; and in B. van Regemorter, *Binding Structures in the Middle Ages: A Selection of Studies*, translated and annotated by J. Greenfield (Brussels, 1992), p. 280, pl. 46 nos. 8, 9, and 11. All of the bosses are present on the front board (Fig. 170), but two of the star-shaped bosses are missing from the back.

The old binding of Garrett MS. 16 is very similar in style and decoration to the later binding on a 14th-century manuscript of comparable dimensions thought to have originally been from Kosinitza or Serres. Now in Prague, Universitní knihovna, MS. XXV C 19, this manuscript is chiefly comprised of the *Sermonum asceticorum libri II* of Isaac Syrus. See J.-M. Olivier and M.-A. Monégier du Sorbier, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Tchécoslovaquie*, Documents, Études et Répertoires Publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Paris, 1983), p. 92, pl. xxv. Since the Princeton Klimax manuscript came to Kosinitza at the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century as a gift of Joachim I, patriarch of Constantinople, it is likely that the Princeton and Prague manuscripts were both rebound at Kosinitza after they were received.

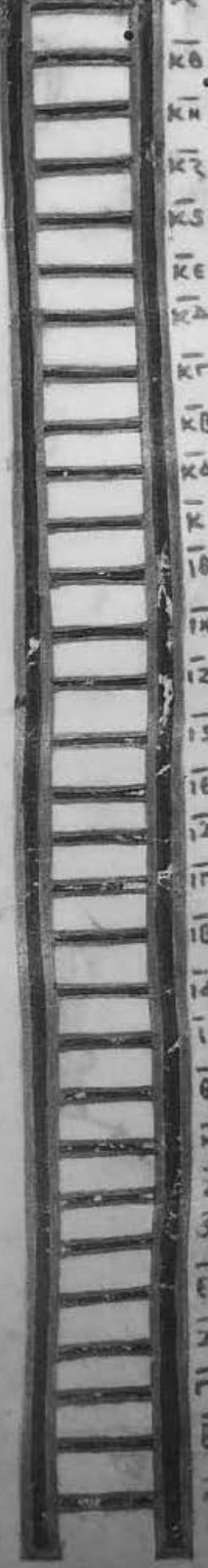
The binding of Garrett MS. 16 was misdated as ca. 1100 by Dorothy Miner (1904–1973), curator of manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum, in an undated handwritten note on file in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, and as 12th century in Princeton 1978, p. 5 no. 4. According to Miner's handwritten note, the Klimax binding was treated in the Technical Laboratory of the Walters Art Museum around 1938, when the manuscript was still in Robert Garrett's possession in Baltimore. For conservation purposes, the worm-damaged boards were impregnated with beeswax, a process that presumably necessitated the removal of the manuscript fragment that had served as the front pastedown (now Garrett MS. 16A) and another manuscript, not extant, that served as the back pastedown. In 1963 the text block was removed from the Byzantine binding by James McDonald in New York City and rebound in an English-style case (oak boards with quarter-leather spine and end clasps). The original binding is housed separately and shelved next to Garrett MS. 16.

PROVENANCE

Garrett MS. 16 was probably written in Constantinople, where it remained until the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century. It was the property of Joachim I, patriarch of Constantinople (1498–1502, 1504–1505) and formerly metropolitan of Drama. This fact is recorded in a note written in black ink on the back flyleaf during his patriarchate: † ἐτοῦτο βιβλίω ὑπάρχει τοῦ παναγιωτ(ά)τ(ου) π(α)τριάρχου κυρ(οῦ) ἰωακείμ. It is possible that Joachim visited the monastery of Kosinitza (Eikosiphoinisses monastery, in the village of Kormista, Prefecture of Serres, near Drama) and brought the codex with him. The manuscript was described there, as no. 112, in 1885 by Papadopoulos-Kerameus (below). In 1917 it was removed from the monastery by the Bulgarian authorities and presumably taken to Sofia (see preface), although it is not included in the catalogue of manuscripts in the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences compiled by Vladimír Sís in 1918–22 (unpublished handwritten catalogue, now in the Ivan Dujčev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies in Sofia). In 1920–21 it was in the catalogues of the German antiquarian bookseller Joseph Baer, Frankfurt am Main, from whom it was acquired by the antiquarian bookseller Wilfred Voynich (New York) for Robert Garrett on 3 January 1924. Voynich sent invoices to Garrett on 3 January and 24 October 1924. Gift of Robert Garrett (1875–1961), Princeton University Class of 1897, to the Princeton University Library in 1942.

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DESCRIPTIONS: Athens 1964, no. 352; Baer 1920–21, pp. 12–17 no. 6, pls. vi–viii; Baer 1921, pp. 12–17 no. 6, pls. vi–viii; Baer 1924, pp. 16–19 no. 15, pls. i, vi–viii; Baltimore 1947, no. 708, pl. xcv; Boston 1940, no. 4; De Ricci, vol. 1, p. 868 (cited as Baltimore, Robert Garrett collection); Faye and Bond, pp. 311–312; Friend, "Garrett Collection," pp. 133–135 and plate; R. B. Green, "Checklist of Miniatures Shown in 'Mirrors of the Mediaeval World' Exhibition," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 27 (1965–66), p. 187 no. 17; W. Hörandner, "Das byzantinische Epigramm und das heilige Kreuz: einige Beobachtungen zu Motiven und Typen," in *La Croce: Iconografia e interpretazione (secoli I–inizio XVI)*, ed. B. Ulianich (Naples, 2007), pp. 116–117; Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, pp. 24–47, 175–177, figs. 29–66; Princeton 1973, pp. 98–99 no. 19, figs. 31–32; Princeton 1986, pp. 149–151 no. 175 and color pl. η; Spatharakis, *Corpus*, no. 100, figs. 187–189.



λ̄ π̄ ἀγάπης ἐν ἡσπέρ ἐλπίδος πίστεως ἰσχυροῦ Κου θεολογίας ποσῶν
 κ̄θ̄ π̄ ἀπαθείας:
 κ̄η̄ π̄ προσευχῆς ἀΰλων:
 κ̄ρ̄ π̄ ἡσυχίας ἀναχωρησε. ἐν ἡσπέρ ἐν ὑπομονῇ ἰσχυροῦ ἀγαθῶν
 κ̄ς̄ π̄ διακρίσεως ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθῶν: *περὶ διακρίσεως ἀγαθῶν*
 κ̄ε̄ π̄ ταπεινοφροσύνης:
 κ̄ζ̄ π̄ πρᾶοτητος ἀπλοῦτος ἀκακίᾳ σπονῆρι:
 κ̄γ̄ π̄ ὑπερφανείᾳ ἐν ἡσπέρ τὰ καθ' ὁρλογισμὸν τὸ βλασφῆν:
 κ̄β̄ π̄ κενοδοξίας:
 κ̄ᾱ π̄ δειλιάς:
 κ̄ π̄ διαφορᾶς ἀρετῆς ἡσυχίας:
 ῑθ̄ π̄ θαλασσίας τῆς ἐν συννοσίᾳ:
 ῑη̄ π̄ ἀηαισθησίας:
 ῑρ̄ π̄ ἀκτημοσύνης:
 ῑς̄ π̄ φιλαργυρίας:
 ῑε̄ π̄ πορνείας:
 ῑδ̄ π̄ γατριμωρίας:
 ῑγ̄ π̄ ἀκηδίας:
 ῑβ̄ π̄ ψεύδους:
 ῑᾱ π̄ σιωπῆς γλώττης:
 ῑ π̄ καταλαλίᾳς:
 θ̄ π̄ ἀμνησικακίας:
 η̄ π̄ ἀοργισίας ἐν πείᾳς:
 ζ̄ π̄ τὸν χρόσιον ὑπέρβου:
 ζ̄ π̄ μνήμης θανάτου:
 ε̄ π̄ μετάνοι με μερίμνη ἀσθενείας:
 ε̄ π̄ τοῦ μετρίου τῆς ἀνδρείας ὑπακοῆς:
 ς̄ π̄ ξενιτείας ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ πόνειρων ἡσυχίας:
 β̄ π̄ ἀπροσπαθείας ἐν τὸν τὸ λυπῆς:
 ᾱ π̄ τῆς τοῦ ματαίου βίου ἀποταγῆς ἀναχωρησε:



κ̄θ̄
 κ̄η̄
 κ̄ρ̄
 κ̄ς̄
 κ̄ε̄
 κ̄ζ̄
 κ̄γ̄
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32 (1950), p. 291; Ch. Mauropoulou-Tsioume, "Οι μικρογραφίες του Ψαλτηρίου αρ. 65 της Μονής Διονυσίου," *Κληρονομία* 7 (1975), p. 159; Ch. Mauropoulou-Tsioume, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του 13ου αιώνα στην Κομπελίδικη της Καστοριάς*, Βυζαντινά κείμενα και μελέται 8 (Thessalonike, 1973), p. 80; J.-M. Olivier, "Encore une reliure au monogramme des Paléologues," *Scriptorium* 56 (2002), p. 330; Paize-Apostolorou, "Χειρόγραφο," p. 403; D. I. Pallas, "Εικόνα του Αγίου Ευσταθίου στη Σαλαμίνα," in *Χαριστήριον εις Άναστάσιον Κ. Ορλάνδον*, vol. 3 (Athens, 1966), p. 359; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Εκθεσις," appendix, pp. 27, 28, 31, 37; K. Papaioannou, *La peinture byzantine et russe* (Lausanne, 1965), fig. p. 171; Papazoglou, *Χειρόγραφα*, p. 68, 112, pl. 21; G. Papazoglou, *Χειρόγραφα της Εικοσιφοινίσσης και του Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρών στο Ίνστιτούτο "Ivan Duǰcen" της Σόφιας* (Thessalonike, 1990), pp. 17, 21; L. Perria, *I manoscritti citati da Albert Ehrhard* (Rome, 1979), pp. 63, 122; Princeton 1978, p. 5; H. C. Rice Jr., "Mount Sinai Exhibition," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 21 (1960), p. 238; Richard and Olivier, *Répertoire*, pp. 263, 680; N. P. Ševčenko, "Illuminating the Liturgy: Illustrated Service Books in Byzantium," in *Heaven on Earth: Art and the Church in Byzantium*, ed. L. Safran (University Park, Pa., 1998), p. 216, figs. 7.39, 7.40; N. P. Ševčenko, "Monastic Challenges: Some Manuscripts of the Heavenly Ladder," in *Byzantine Art: Recent Studies*, ed. C. Hourihane (Tempe, Ariz., 2009), pp. 40, 44, 50, 58; 59, 60, 62, figs. 7–8; I. Spatharakis, *The Illustrations of the Cynegetica in Venice: Codex Marcianus Graecus Z 139* (Leiden, 2004), p. 131; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, p. 32; T. Tanoulas, "Θήβαις: Αὐτή ἡ πλευρά τοῦ Παραδείσου," *ΔΧΑΕ*, 4th ser., 20 (1998), pp. 321–323, 325, figs. 7–10; H. Toubert, "Le Bréviare d'Oderisius (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 364) et les influences byzantines au Mont-Cassin," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge, Temps Modernes* 83 (1971), p. 228 note 1; Weitzmann, "Byzantine Art," p. 400.

GARRETT MS. 16A

John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, Fragment

9th Century

CONTENTS

... κλήσεως πενθεῖν δε ἡμᾶς οὐχ περὶ τῶν οἰκείων μόνον . . . ; ends τοὺς πολλοὺς λέγει ὅτι ὅτι[. . . Frag-

ment of the fifteenth homily of John Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*. PG 57:226, line 25–227, line 37 (see CPG 4424).

MATERIAL AND LAYOUT

Parchment, fragment of 1 folio, much trimmed, 24.0 × 17.8 cm (20.5 × 13.1 cm); 34 long lines per page; lower and inner margins along with 3–4 letters have been trimmed. This is one of the two leaves used as pastedowns of the old binding of Garrett MS. 16. The text begins on the hair side. According to the 1885 description by Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*"Ἐκθεσις"* appendix, p. 28), two leaves were used as pastedowns. The same information is given in the 1938 report of the Technical Laboratory of the Walters Art Museum (Garrett MS. 16 file in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library). But a year later De Ricci described only one folio. See the description of the binding of Garrett MS. 16 above.

SCRIPT

The fragment is written in brown ink in a sloping pointed majuscule script (*maiuscola ogivale inclinata*) similar to Vatican Library, MS. Vat. gr. 2066, and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. Ambros. E 49 inf. (see G. Cavallo, "Funzione e struttura della maiu-

scola greca tra i secoli VIII–XI," in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine, Paris, 21–25 octobre 1974*, Colloques internationaux du Centre de la Recherche Scientifique 559 [Paris, 1977], pp. 95–137).

BINDING

This leaf is housed separately with Garrett MS. 16 and its old binding.

PROVENANCE

Nothing is known about the early provenance of the codex to which this fragment belonged, which was probably the first volume of John Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Homilies 1–45). It was perhaps part of a mutilated manuscript at Kositza, where Garrett MS. 16 was probably rebound.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

DESCRIPTION: De Ricci, vol. 1, p. 868 (under no. 16) (cited as Baltimore, Robert Garrett collection).

GARRETT MS. 24

Georgian Palimpsest

A.D. 986 with Greek and Aramaic Undertext of ca. A.D. 500–825

Figure 171

CONTENTS

1. Fols. 1r–99v: Alexander of Cyprus, *Inventio Crucis*. This incomplete 10th-century manuscript is the oldest extant version of a Georgian translation made by the 9th century of a Byzantine Greek text by Alexander of Cyprus, *Inventio Crucis* (BHG 410–410c; CPG 7398). Based in part on Garrett MS. 24, the Georgian translation has been edited by T'amila Mgaloblishvili, *Alek'sandre kviprelis k'ronika* (below), pp. 34–84. The Greek text was published in PG 87:4016–4076. The manuscript was copied in 986 by a Georgian scribe named John Zosimos (Ioane Tosime), who was active from 976 to 992.

Palimpsest: undertext listed by source manuscript in order of appearance

2. Fols. 63r–70v: Heirmologion (similar to *Néa evphimata*, MΓ 29, MΓ 91, 9th–10th cent.). Fragments of a Greek heirmologion written in pale brown ink in a sloping pointed majuscule bookhand of ca. 750–800 in the region of Syria/Palestine/Egypt, possibly at the monastery of Mar Saba, i.e., the "Great Lavra" founded by St. Sabas (439–532), or another monastery in the Jerusalem area (see PROVENANCE). This quire is composed of bifolia cut down from a codex of two columns (9.0 cm wide) with original dimensions of perhaps 30.0 × 24.0 cm; the undertext constitutes an incomplete column of approximately 17–18 lines, visible with ultraviolet light, including kanons and heirmoi attributed by Jørgen Raasted ("Princeton

Additional folios from this manuscript are preserved in four other collections: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS. graec. qu. 90 (=Aland no. 2491), 36 folios with Matt. 19–20 (partial) and Mark 15:44–Luke 11:46 (described in an unpublished catalogue by Friederike Berger on file in the Staatsbibliothek's Department of Manuscripts); Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, MS. 784 (=Aland no. 2491), 24 folios with Mark 1.14–5.33 and 9:14–15:44 (see P. Andrist, *Les manuscrits grecs conservés à la Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie de Berne–Bürgerbibliothek Bern* [Zurich, 2007], pp. 20, 314–316, fig. 12, pl. 95); Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Library, Greek MS. 22 (=Aland no. 2491), 1 folio with Matt. 22:31–23:10 (see J. L. Sharpe III, “The Kenneth Willis Clark Collection of Greek Manuscripts,” *Library Notes* 51/52 [1985], p. 62); and New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library,

Med/Ren Frag. 49, 1 folio with Matt. 3:16–4:21, i.e., the folio that immediately preceded fol. 1r of Princeton MS. 63 (see N. Kavirus-Hoffmann, “Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America, Part I: Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library,” *Manuscripta* 49.2 [2005], pp. 175–177). The leaves in Bern and some of the folios in Berlin were also acquired from Junkelmann in Munich (see Andrist, p. 316), and the folio in New York is accompanied by a note attributed to him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

DESCRIPTIONS: Aland, no. 2850; Faye and Bond, p. 308.

CITATION: Richard and Olivier, *Répertoire*, p. 680.

PRINCETON MS. 81

John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*

Second Quarter of the 16th Century

Figure 178

CONTENTS

1. Fol. 1r–v: . . . ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ θείας δυνάμεως πάντα πρὸς τὸ δέον οἰκονομούσης. John Chrysostom, [*Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, Homily 9]. PG 57:177, line 29–178, line 47 (οἱ λόγοι οὐ μὴν) (CPG 4424).

2. Fols. 2r–9r: . . . ἀλλὰ τὴν λύσιν ἐπάγει τῶν κατὰ διανοίαν θορυβούντων αὐτοὺς λογισμῶν. John Chrysostom, [*Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, Homily 37]. PG 57:419, line 33–428 (CPG 4424).

3. Fols. 9r–13r: Ὁμιλία λη' (in upper margin). Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἰησοῦς εἶπεν . . . Ὁρᾷς διὰ πόσων αὐτοὺς ἐνάγει εἰς τὴν πίστιν, διὰ τῶν ἐγκωμίων τοῦ ἰωάννου. John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, Homily 38. PG 57:427–434 (CPG 4424).

4. Fols. 13r–16v: Ὁμιλία λθ' (in upper margin). Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐπορεύθη ὁ ἰησοῦς τοῖς σάββασιν διὰ τῶν σπορίμων . . . Ὁ δὲ λουκᾶς φησί, ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ: τί δὲ τοῦτο ἐστίν; ὅταν διπλη ἡ ἀργία

ἦν. John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, Homily 39. PG 57:433–438 (CPG 4424).

5. Fols. 16v–21v: Ὁμιλία μ' (in upper margin). Καὶ μεταβάς ἐκεῖθεν ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτῶν . . . Πάλιν ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ θεραπεύει: ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγενημένων ἀπολογούμενος. John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, Homily 40. PG 57:439–446 (CPG 4424).

6. Fols. 21v–25r (Fig. 178): Ὁμιλία μα' (in upper margin). Εἰδὼς δὲ ὁ ἰησοῦς τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτῶν: εἶπεν αὐτοῖς . . . Καὶ ἤδη τοῦτο κατηγόρησαν ὅτι ἐν τῷ βελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια. John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, Homily 41. PG 57:446–449, line 44 (CPG 4424). The scribe interrupts his text exactly where fol. 272v of Garrett MS. 14 ends (ὅς δ' ἂν εἶπη κατα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔτι διατί; ὅτι τοῦτο γνώριμον). Fol. 25v is blank.

There are some ethikon notes in the margins, as in Garrett MS. 14, as well as the words σημ(εἰώσαι), ὄρ(αῖον). The twenty-five folios of Princeton MS. 81 were written as replacement leaves, as were fols. 1r–

26v and 35r–38v of Garrett MS. 14. The exemplar for these replacement leaves is unknown, but was probably a manuscript in the library of Kosinitza monastery (Eikosiphoinisses monastery in Kormista, Prefecture of Serres, near Drama; see also Garrett MS. 14, PROVENANCE). Fol. 1r–v corresponds with fol. 56r–v of Garrett MS. 14, and fols. 2r–25r correspond exactly with fols. 248r–272v of Garrett MS. 14, which are there bound out of order. Confused by the incorrect binding order, the 16th-century scribe believed that these folios were also missing and copied them again. The variant readings of Princeton MS. 81 vis-à-vis Garrett MS. 14 rule out any possibility that the former was derived from the latter.

MATERIAL AND LAYOUT

Paper, 25 folios; 31.3 × 24.0 cm (25.5 × 15.0 cm; col.: 25.5 × 6.5/7.0 cm); 2 cols.; 34 lines per page. Glazed Western paper. Watermarks include the following: (a) fols. 6–10, 16: ladder with star similar to Briquet shell 5927 (Salzburg, 1525; Pisa, 1533; Firmi, 1559); and (b) fols. 12, 14, 20, 21, 24, 25: ladder with cross similar to Briquet shell 5929 (Lucca, 1547–50); see also Garrett MS. 14, MATERIAL AND LAYOUT, Part I. At both the front and back covers there are three fly-leaves of modern paper. Modern foliation in the upper right corners in pencil; in some cases there is an older foliation in ink similar to that of Garrett MS. 14 (fol. 1r has the number 56, fol. 2r the number 274, fol. 8r the number 280).

COLLATION

Fol. 1, 1–3⁸. There are no quire marks.

SCRIPT

Late Hodegon style script (Fig. 178). Written in dark brown ink by one scribe during the second quarter of

the 16th century or slightly later (see Garrett MS. 14, SCRIPT, Part I).

DECORATION

There are large red ink initials O on fols. 9r and 13r, with the letter expanded top and bottom by waving plumes (max. height 11.3 cm). The latter initial is partially painted over with carmine. There are other more discreet initials on fols. 16v and 21v.

BINDING

Modern binding (20th cent.) in brown cloth. Spine title: Chrysostomos—Homilies on St. Matthew.

PROVENANCE

The manuscript was written at the Kosinitza monastery (Eikosiphoinisses monastery in Kormista, Prefecture of Serres, near Drama) and remained there until 1917 (see preface). In 1920–21 it was listed in the catalogue of the German antiquarian bookseller Joseph Baer, Frankfurt am Main. In 1921 Baer sold the manuscript to the Princeton University Library, where it was accessioned (no. 464436), catalogued (MSF 26212.357 1200q), and given a printed bookplate: "In Memoriam Charles Ewing Green, Obiit December 23rd 1897."

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CITATION: Richard and Olivier, *Répertoire*, p. 680.

ἀφ' ἑθνη μετανοοῦσι· πολλοί
 γὰρ τούτων ταῦτα εἰρηκότων
 ἐπίσταται ἕτερον· καὶ
 πάντων αὐτοῖς ἀφ' ἑθνη·
 ἧσ' ὡς ἐστὶν ὁ φησὶς· ὅτι
 ὑπερ' ἅπαντα αὐτὴ ἡ ἀμαρ-
 τία ἀσύνωτος· τί δὲ πο-
 τε· ὅτι αὐτοὺς μὲν ἠγνόουν·
 ὅστις πολὺν τοῦδε πνεύ-
 ματι εἰληφασί πρῶτον
 καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ φησὶ τὰ ἰαυ-
 τοῦ ἐφ' ὧς ἔλαστο· ἀπερ-
 φράζοντο καὶ πάντες
 δεοὶ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ· μάλιστα
 περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες ἰσχυ-
 ῖον· ὅτι ἠὲ λέγει· τοῦτο ἐστὶν
 ἔσω βμοὶ πρὸς πταίε·
 διατίλωσάσθαι καὶ τίλω πτε-
 κειμένω· μὴ καὶ περὶ
 τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχει εἰρήνη· ὅ-
 τι ἡ γνώμη αὐτοῦ· δια-
 ἤκοντο ἀσύνωτος ἡμῶν
 ἔσαι ἡ ἐκαστὴν μίαν· καὶ
 ἐν ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνη
 σφειδὶ κέ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν
 ταῦτα ἐκλογάσθησαν με-
 μορ· ὡς ὅτε πορμάκως·
 ὡς οἱ ἀμαρτίας μετασχόν-
 τες κῆς κείων παρὰ
 κορινθίοις· ἡμῶς δὲ· ἡ
 ἐν ταῦτα καὶ ἐκεί-
 ῶσα μὲν ὡς ἐκασ-
 τὴν μίαν σατε κατεμοῦ
 πρὸς τοῦ σπύ· ἀφ' ἑθνη

καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ τοῦτο σπύ· πολ-
 μῆμα· καὶ ὑπερ' ἑθνη αὐ-
 τίστας κατακεθῆσθε
 μωρῆς· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ πρὸ
 τοῦ σπύ· τίστας· πε-
 πληρωμένω πνεύματι εἰ-
 χον· καὶ πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ
 παραγγεῖ· μὴ ἐν ἑθνη
 τὰ ἐκαστὸν αὐτοῦ· ποιεῖν
 πρὸς τοῦ πταίε· καὶ
 ἐν τῷ σπύ· ταῦτα ἔχει
 γὰρ ἀφ' ἑθνη αὐτοῖς
 τίλω ἀμαρτίας· ἀδὲ πτε-
 εἰ τοῦ πνεύματος εἰρηκατε·
 ταῦτα οὐχὲν εἰσὺ
 γνώμω· ὅτι γὰρ πτε-
 τοῦ εἰς αὐτοῦ εἰρη-
 κένωμ πρὸς τοῦ σπύ·
 φησὶν· ἐπὶ γὰρ ὅς
 ἀφ' εἰρήνη
 γὰρ κατατοῦ
 ἡοῦ τοῦ αἵμου·
 ἀφ' ἑθνησεται
 αὐτῶ· ὅσα εἰ-
 πηκατατοῦ ἡοῦ
 πνεύματος· οὐκ εἰ-
 τί διαπί· ὅ-
 τί τοῦτο ἡσ
 εἰμορ