

MISCELLANEA PALAEOGRAPHICA

SOFIA KOTZABASSI

1. The presbyter Georgios Lolenos and the codices Princeton, Garrett MS 14 and Sofia, Centre for slavo-byzantine studies “Prof. Ivan Dujčev”, Cod. D. gr. 221

The codex Princeton, Garrett MS 14 contains the Commentary of John Chrysostom on the Gospel of Matthew (Homilies 1-45). Its copying was finished on May 3, 955, according to the scribal note of the copyist, the notarios Nicephoros, on f. 295.¹ On the blank verso of this folio are penned twelve byzantine twelve-syllable verses under the title Στίχοι εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον (Verses to the Mother of God), in which the poet prays to the Virgin for the forgiveness of his sins. They were written most likely in the second half or the end of the 12th century by a later owner, who almost certainly was their author as well, if we may judge by his reference to St. George as a namesake of his (see v. 6). His name, Georgios the priest, is included in a fifteen-syllable invocation to God for his salvation written at the bottom of the folio (Plate 1): Γεωργίω πρεσβυτέρω ἐν κρίσει ἄνεσ σῶτερ (Forgive, Savior, George presbyter in the last Judgment).²

The original provenance of the manuscript is unknown, but the codex must have been in the library of Kosinitza monastery at least by the middle of the 16th century, where it was restored and preserved until 1917, when it was removed.³

¹ See the description of the manuscript in S. KOTZABASSI – N. ŠEVČENKO with the collaboration of D. C. SKEMER, Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century. A Descriptive Catalogue. *Department of Art and Archaeology and Program in Hellenic Studies Princeton University in Association with Princeton University Press*. Princeton NJ 2009, 95-103, esp. 96-97.

² See KOTZABASSI – ŠEVČENKO – SKEMER, Greek Manuscripts (as in note 1), 97. I am grateful to the Curator of Manuscripts, Dr Don Skemer, for his permission to reproduce a photo of Princeton, Garrett MS 14, f. 295.

³ The codex, which has been identified with Kosinitza library MS 32, described by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1885, contains also two younger parts, dated from the 16th century. See on the history of the manuscript KOTZABASSI – ŠEVČENKO – SKEMER, Greek Manuscripts (as in note 1), 102-103.

The same library housed another codex, now Sofia, Centre for slavo-byzantine studies “Prof. Ivan Dujčev”, Cod. D. gr. 221, dated from the 10th century, with homilies on Psalm 114 and the *Hexaemeron* of Basil of Caesarea.⁴ On the left column of f. 67v the text of the homily to Psalm 33 ends with the words κατηφείς παρίστανται ἄλλοι (PG 29, 372.8), while a later hand tried to complete the end of the homily by writing in black ink the phrase (not included in the homily) τῷ δεσπότῃ χριστῷ ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. After this the same hand added the remark ἀτελεῖς ὁ παρὸν λόγος (read ἀτελής ὁ παρὸν λόγος, the present homily is incomplete), and a comment about the absence of other homilies of Basil of Caesarea: πολλὰ καὶ ἕτερα ἐκ τῶν ἠθικῶν τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλείου λείπουσι, ὡς οἶμαι, τὸν καλογράφον καθ’ ὀκνήσαντος, οἷς τρόποις οἶδεν ἐκεῖνος (many other homilies of St. Basil’s *Ethics* are missing, due, I think, to the laziness of the scribe). There follows an invocation, still by the same hand, containing the full name of the copyist (Plate 2): + ἅγιε βασιλεῖε, βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ γεωργίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῷ λοληνῷ καὶ ἁμαρτολῷ ὑπὲρ πάντας ἀνθρώπους + (Saint Basil, help your servant George Lolenos the presbyter and sinner above all other people).⁵

The priest George Lolenos who penned this note can be identified with the George presbyter who wrote the twelve-syllable verses on the Mother of God in the codex Princeton, Garrett MS 14, judging by the style of the script and the use of blank ink.

The dating of George Lolenos in the second half of the 12th century leads us to the conclusion that at that time both manuscripts were either in the same library or in the possession of George Lolenos. Given his handwriting, seems to have been a professional scribe, while the use of rare words and forms attests to his fluency in Greek. On the other hand the poet finds it difficult in following the rules of prosody.

Στίχοι εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον

Φαῦσον τὴν ἐμὴν ἠτρωρὴν ἀργιλώδη
ταῖς πρὸς κοίραν ἠερμαῖς σου ἐξεσῖαις·

⁴ The manuscript was the number 10 in the library of Kosinitza monastery. See its short description in the exhibition catalogue on the occasion of the XXII International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Sofia 22-27 August 2011, A. DŽUROVA avec la collaboration de PAUL CANART, *Le rayonnement de Byzance. Les manuscrits grecs enluminés des Balkans (VIe-XVIIIe siècles)*. Catalogue d'exposition (XXIIe Congrès Internationale d'Études Byzantines) Sofia, 22-27 août 2011. Galerie nationale d'art étranger. Sofia 2011, 177.

⁵ I would like to thank the Director of Centre for slavo-byzantine studies “Prof. Ivan Dujčev”, Prof. Vasya Velinova for providing me with photos of this folio.

- κλινεῖ γὰρ εἰς σὰς εὐχὰς ὁ πλάστης, κόρη,
 τὸ πανάχραντον καὶ ἀκήρατον ὠτίον.
 5 αἰτεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ σὸς πιστὸς οἰκέτης,
 ὁ συνώνυμος Καππαδόκων τῆς χώρας,
 ὅστις γεωργὸς εὐσεβείας ἐδείχθη,
 ἄθλησιν δι' αἵματος σοφῶς τελέσας
 μισθὸν ἐκομίσατο τούτου τῶν πόνων·
 10 οὗ ταῖς πρεσβείαις καὶ τῇ σῇ παρρησίᾳ
 δίδου, ἄνασσα, λύσιν τῶν ἀλειτίων
 καὶ τὴν οἴκησιν παράσχου ἁλυσίου.

1 ἠτωρῆν cod. 3 κλίνει cod. ante corr. 11 ἀλητίων cod.
 12 an ἠλυσίου?

Verses to the Mother of God

- Give light to my clayey heart, O Maiden,
 with thy ardent interventions to the Lord,
 because to thee the Creator does incline
 His wholly undefiled and uncompounded ear.
 5 This, too, is the petition of thy faithful servant,
 him of the selfsame name, who cultivated
 godliness in the land of Cappadocia,
 who consummated his struggle with his blood,
 and received the wages of his labours.
 10 With whose embassy and thy free-spokenness
 grant absolution for sins, O heavenly queen,
 and by thy favour a dwelling place in Paradise.

v. 1 φαῦσον: the verb φαύσκω is usually used in compounds. The aorist imperative is not attested.

v. 1 ἠτωρῆν: *hapax legomenon*, probably derived from the word ἦτορ.

v. 6: συνώνυμος: having the same name as the presbyter Georgios, the author of the verses, i.e. St George.

v. 6 Καππαδόκων τῆς χώρας: for the Cappadocian origin of St George see e.g. Passio s. Georgii (*BHG* 670g), ed. P. CANART, La collection hagiographique palimpseste du Palatinus Graecus 205 et la Passion de S. Georges *BHG* 670g. *AnBoll* 100 (1982) 95-109 (here 4.9) and H. DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi adiectis synaxariis*

selectis. *Propylaeum ad acta Sanctorum Novembris*. Bruxelles 1902 (repr. Western 1985), p. 23.1.

v. 7 γεωργὸς εὐσεβείας: see the *troparion* for St George: Γεωργηθεὶς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἀνεδείχθη τῆς εὐσεβείας γεωργὸς τιμώτατος (MR IV, 374).

v. 11: the word ἀλειτία or ἀλειτεία exists only in the lexicon of Pseudo-Zonaras (Alpha 124.26, ed. J. A. H. TITTMANN, *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus*. Leipzig 1808 [repr. Amsterdam 1967] with the meaning of ‘sin’ (ἀμαρτία), and in the lexicon of Suda (Alpha 1162.1, ed. A. ADLER, *Suidae lexicon*. Leipzig 1928, I, 107).

v. 12 the word ἀλυσίου is fairly rare. According to the *Etymologicum Gudianum* it is related to ἡλυσίων/ἡλύσιον (πεδίων, μακάρων νήσων): Ἐλυσίων πεδίων ἐκόμων τὰ λήϊα, παρὰ τὸ ἄλυτα τηρεῖν τὰ σώματα. ἢ ἡλύσιον τὸ καθαρὸν ἀπὸ ἀμαρτίας ἢ ἀπὸ Ἐλυσίου τινός, and Ἐλυσίων, ἢ μακάρων νήσος. Εἴρηται δὲ ἐν νήσῳ τὸ ἀλύσιον, ὅπου διαλύονται αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν σωματῶν. ἢ ἀλύσιον, ὅθεν οὐκ ἀναλύει τις. ἢ ἀπολύουσι κολάσεως.

2. Codex Laurentianus 10.28 and the Akolouthia of SS David, Symeon and George

The 14th-century codex Laurentianus 9.21 is the only manuscript that preserves the lengthy *Vita* of SS David, Symeon and George of Mytilene (written in the 9th century).⁶ Its first pages also contain the *Akolouthia* for the saints, from which at least two bifolia are missing, resulting in the loss of the final *troparia* of the Office of Vespers and the beginning of the Office of Matins up to the 5th Ode of the canon (Plate 3).⁷ Phountoules, who published the *Vita* and the *Akolouthia* of the saints, based his edition of the *Akolouthia* on a later manuscript, the 16th-century codex 12 of the Leimonos Monastery (Lesbos), which also gives the *Akolouthia* but with some differences in the *troparia*, so that the editor considers the version of the *Akolouthia* given by Laurentianus 9.21 to be more complete as well as self-contained compared to that in codex Leimonos 12, which is intermingled with

⁶ For the manuscript see the description in the catalogue compiled by A. M. BANDINI, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae. Accedunt supplementa tria ab E. ROSTAGNO et N. FESTA congesta, necnon additamentum ex inventariis Bibliothecae Laurentianae depromptum, accuravit Fr. Kudlien, I-III, 1. Florentiae 1764* (repr. Leipzig 1961), 425-426 and I. M. PHOUNTOULES, *Λεσβιακὸν Ἑορτολόγιον Γ'. Οἱ ὄσιοι αὐτάδελφοι Δαβὶδ, Συμεὼν καὶ Γεώργιος οἱ ὁμολογηταί*. Athens 1961, 5-7.

⁷ The missing folia belong after f. 4, as Phountoules correctly notes; see PHOUNTOULES (as in note 6), 8.

the *Akolouthia* for the eve of the feasts of Hyrapante and St Tryphon.⁸

The last of the folia missing from manuscript Laurentianus 9.21 is bound at the beginning of another manuscript in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, the 16th-century codex Laurentianus 10.28, which contains a collection of hymnographical texts.⁹ This folio (f. 1r, Plate 4) begins in the middle of the second *troparion* of the 5th Ode (Τῶν βροτῶν ὑπερβαίνουσιν αἴσθησιν) and includes the remaining *troparia* for the Ode and those for the 6th Ode, and ends (f. 1v) with the referral to the *kontakion*: Κονδάκιον. ἦχος δ΄. Ἐπεφάνης σήμερον. The *troparia* are the same as those given by codex Leimonos 12, with the exception of the *Theotokion* for the 6th Ode, which is different. Instead of Τῆ σκέπη σου προσφυγῶν, οὐδεις ἐλπίδος ἠστόχησε, κἀγὼ δέ σοι προσδραμῶν, εὐροιμι βοήθειαν, ῥυσθεις τῶν θλιβόντων με, βροτῶν καὶ δαιμόνων, Παναγία προστασία μου,¹⁰ as in codex Leimonos 12, Laurentianus 10.28 has Ὁ στήσας τὸν οὐρανόν, ὡσεὶ καμάραν φερόμενος, ὁρᾶται παρθενικαῖς, ἀγκάλαις ὡς νήπιος, ἐν ναῶ τε δέικνυται χερσὶ παρειμένας, τοῦ πρεσβύτου βασταζόμενος, which belongs to the eve of Hyrapante.

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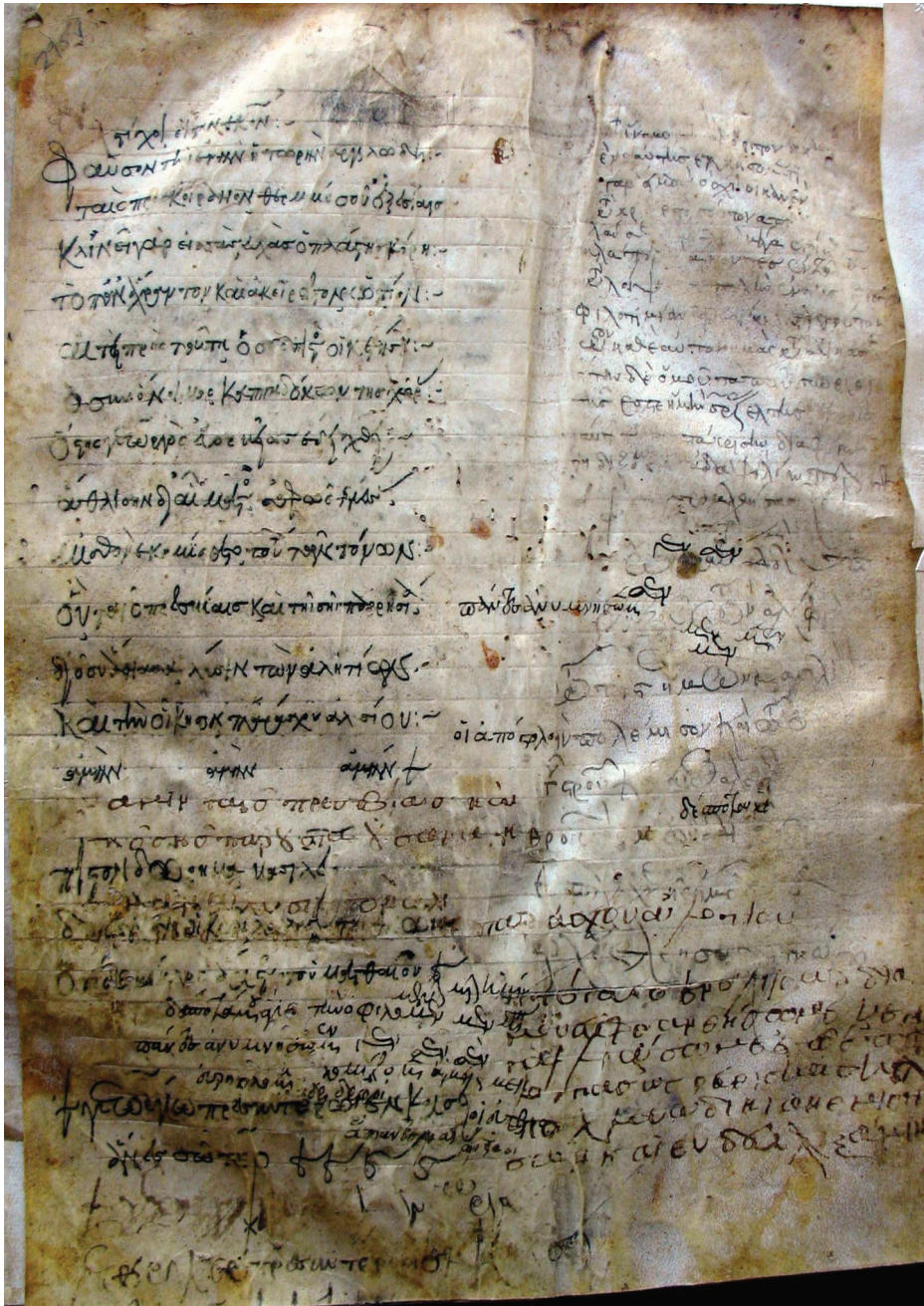
ABSTRACT

The article (a) presents the identification of the priest Georgios, owner of the manuscript Princeton, Garrett MS 14 (a. 955) and author of a poem to the Virgin (f. 295) with the priest Georgios Lolenos who wrote an invocation on Serd. Dujčev, Cod. D. gr. 221, f. 67v (10th century), and (b) identifies the last folio of the two missing bifolia in codex Laur. 9.21 (14th century), the only containing the *Vita* and the *Akolouthia* of SS David, Symeon and George of Mytilene, with f. 1 of codex Laur. 10.28 (16th century).

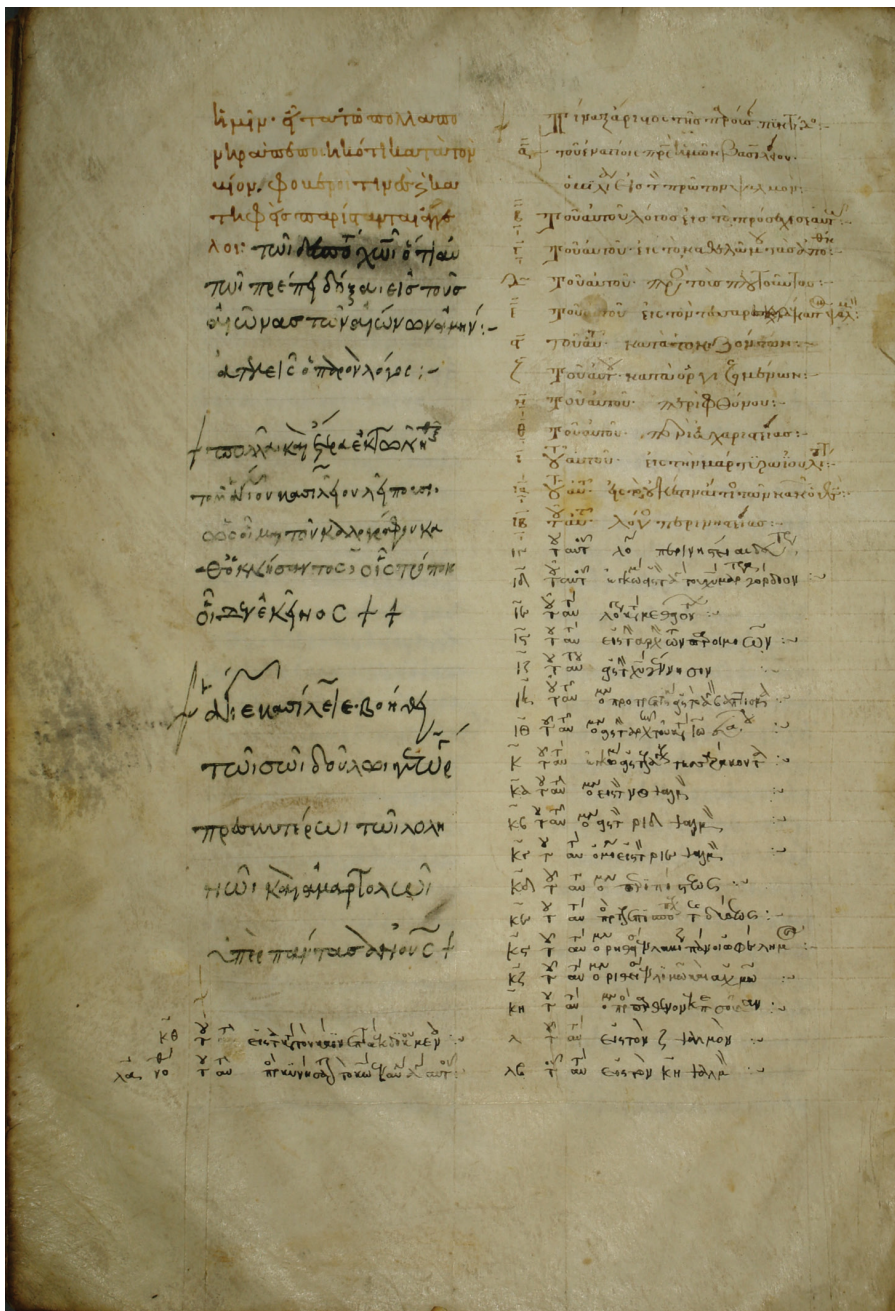
⁸ See PHOUNTOULES (as in note 6), 71-81 (α΄-ιβ΄).

⁹ For the codex see BANDINI (as in note 6), 494.

¹⁰ See PHOUNTOULES (as in note 6), η΄.



Princeton, Garrett MS 14, f. 295v



Sofia, Cod. D. gr. 221, f. 67v
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Οδωπότις κς· ὁ ὄριον τὰ πάντα· εἶρω
 κως ἰηάσε· καὶ πείν γε σέως ἑμᾶς·
 τῆς οἴκου μένης ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πῖς
 τελευτῶς λαμπρότατοι κήρυκτο· ὁ οἶκος·

Τῆς μετὰ τῆς πᾶσι καὶ θεῶν γενεῶν
 ματὰ· τοῖς ἐναυτῶν γενεῶν θέντας
 καὶ τὰ φέντας· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑκκλῆσι
 ἀγγελικῶν ἀποστροφῶν, τὸν γονιόν καταβα
 λούτας πολέμου· καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑκκλῆσι
 βουλήματων τῶν ἑκκλῆσι τῶν κῆσι
 πῶς ἀσεβείων καθελούτας· ἰρῶσι
 δὲ καὶ θαλάσσιον ἑκκλῆσι δὲ ἀσθέντας·
 καὶ πᾶσι πῶς οἴκου μένη φωστῆρας δὲ
 φλέγτας· τοῖς τρεῖς ἀδελφοῖς· ἀπὸ
 τὸν ἐρημικόν· συνιδὲν τὸν συλίπῶ· καὶ
 πῶς ἑκκλῆσι τὸν μέγα τῆς πῶς ἀρχῆς
 πῶς μέγα τῶν κῆσι φρέματων, δῆτε
 πᾶσι οἶκος ἀσεβεῖς χρεωστῆρας μετὰ

Cod. Laurentianus 9.21

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ἔμνησά μὲν τοὺς αὐτὰδ' ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν.
 θραυμάτων τοῖς γαμμοσί. δ' εἶ ἐστὶν
 δλοντάς. συμεών δαδύ τε καὶ ποί με
 γατοῖν γε ὄρῃον. ∴

Δαδύ τὸν ἐρημκοῖς. τοῖς πογλοῖς ἐπὶ
 μὲν σάμερον. ἐν σὺλω τὸν συμεών. θραυ
 μάτωσ ἀσκήσασα τε καὶ τὸν ὑπερβα
 μάτον. ἐν ὁμολογίαις. ἀφ' ἡμῶσ μεν
 δεδῆον ∴

Τριπύρβμος ἀδελφῶν. ὁμῆγυρῖς τὸν τε
 σαεθμον. ἐγαθῦ ἐν φωτῇ. σὸ φῶς ἐπο
 πτῆσασ. ὑπερβα σκεκίσεως. καὶ ὑ
 περβαρῖδος. μὲν ἑλλί ποῖς ἰκταδῶσ ∴

Οκίσεσ τὸν ὄσῳον. ὡ σὶ καμῆραν φθρο
 μενος. ὄραται περθευκαίης. ἀκαλχης
 ὡσὺ πῶς. ἐν γαῶ τε δεικνύται. χροσῖ
 περθευκαίης. τῆ περθευκαίης βαταζο
 μενος ∴ *Δη* *κο* *ή* *χ* *ο* *ή* *φ* *ε* *φ* *α* *ν* *η* *σ* *ο* *ῖ* *μ* *φ* *ο* *ν*

