

PALAEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCHES IN THE LAVRA LIBRARY ON MOUNT ATHOS

In memoriam B. J. Collins

This paper* presents the first results of some extensive research which I began a few years ago in the library of the Monastery of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, as part of the general research programme of the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki. My project has several focuses. It began with three: the majuscule manuscripts of Lavra, the 13th and 14th century dated manuscripts of the same Library; and the history and classification of the books in the Library, mainly during the 13th and 14th centuries. However, while I was occupied with these three themes, two further related items came to light, which I propose to deal with first: the newly discovered Thucydides manuscript; and the problem of the so-called «Phocas Evangelistarion»¹.

1. The Thucydides Manuscript

The discovery of completely unknown manuscripts is a fairly common occurrence in Greece, especially on Mount Athos. Of a total of approximately 16,000 Byzantine and Modern Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos, fewer than 12,000 have been catalogued. Most of the uncatalogued manuscripts, some of which are Byzantine, are recent finds. One such manuscript was discovered in a Lavra annexe by the monks a few years ago and has since

* This is a summary of two other papers. The first, «Research in the Lavra Library on Mount Athos», was delivered at the Fourth International Congress on Greek Palaeography, which took place in Oxford, from 23 to 29 August 1993. The second, with the title «Moments from the History of the Lavra Monastery Library on Mount Athos», was submitted to the 28th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies at the University of Birmingham, 26-29 March 1994. I wish to thank the Holy Monastery of the Great Lavra and, in particular, its Librarian, Father Nikodimos, not only for giving me permission, but also for encouraging me to do the research. Needless to say, the bibliography cited in the present preliminary publication is not exhaustive.

1. The fact that my research covers several areas is the result of necessity. It is difficult, even for someone living in Thessaloniki, to travel to Mount Athos frequently, nor are the monasteries able to receive visitors very often. It is, therefore, more convenient for the researcher to deal with several problems at a time, on the occasions when access is possible.

been transferred to the Monastery Library. The Librarian, Father Nikodimos, notified me of the discovery and asked me to examine the find. It is a paper manuscript from the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century, copied in «Fettaugen» script and containing the whole text of the History of Thucydides, with marginal scholia (Figs. 1 and 2). (The scholia are apparently the well-known ones, as my study of a sample has so far suggested²). The manuscript is complete, has no later changes, and retains its original dimensions and binding. Nevertheless, it is badly worm-eaten, mainly in the upper and lower left-hand corners, while the paper has also been corroded by the ink, and is therefore extremely difficult to photograph³.

2. The so-called «Phocas Evangelistarion» and its problem

The well-known «Phocas Evangelistarion» is one of the uncatalogued Lavra manuscripts and is kept in the Monastery treasury (skevophylakion). This is the Evangelistarion which, according to the oral tradition of the Monastery, was presented by Emperor Nicephoros Phocas (963-969) to his friend Hosios Athanasios, the founder of Lavra. A number of considerations, however, do not allow us to accept this tradition as it stands, even though the quality of the manuscript is indeed consistent with the story of its being an imperial gift. It is a sumptuous minuscule codex, richly decorated, with excellent miniatures on gold background and other decorations. Photographs of the gold binding, set with precious stones, have been published and are familiar to scholars. Heavy, luxurious and ornate, it bears the relief figure of a standing Christ of the Pantokrator type⁴.

Kurt Weitzmann, however, one of the first systematic investigators of the book, dated its miniatures to the first quarter of the 11th century, after the Vatican (Vat. gr. 1613) Menologion of Basil II (976-1025). As he rightly pointed out, this dating does not allow us to accept the Phocas connexion

2. The scholia of folio 46r, for example, corresponding to III, 38, 6 and III, 39, 1, can be found in Carolus Hude, *Scholia in Thucydidem ad optimos codices collecta*, Lipsiae 1927, pp. 185-186.

3. The following people expressed interest in studying the text: Dr E. Lamberz (Munich), Professor N. G. Wilson (Oxford), Professor A. Kleinlogel (Bochum), Mr N. Gonis (Oxford) and Professor G. A. Alberti (Florence). The task has finally been undertaken by Professor K. A. Manafis, who announced the fact at the 11th Congress of the Fédération Internationale des Associations d' Études Classiques in Kavala, Greece, in August 1999, when he announced also that the codex has recently been restored.

4. S. M. Pelekanidis, P. C. Christou, C. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, S. M. Kadas & A. Katsarou, *Οι θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους. Σειρά Α'. Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα*, vol. 3, Athens 1979, figure on p. 24, bibliography on p. 217.

(10th c.). He suggested, therefore, that the manuscript may have been a gift to Athanasios from one of Phocas' successors, namely the Emperor Basil II. Only later, he said, may people have come to suppose that it was presented to Athanasios by his close friend Phocas⁵. But there may be a better solution. Observations by the Monastery Librarian, Father Nikodimos, confirmed by my initial inspection of the book, allow me to make another suggestion. It appears that the decorated cover was not originally the cover of this 11th century minuscule manuscript, but of another, majuscule manuscript; in other words, the cover and the minuscule codex itself were originally two separate items.

My inspection of the manuscript showed (a) that the so-called «Phocas Evangelistarion» has been rebound, and (b) that there is an amazing similarity between the depiction of Christ on the cover of this codex and a figure of Christ in another Lavra manuscript. (a) It is in any case likely that the cover of this codex is not the original one, because it does not adhere to the spine of the manuscript, as if it had become unstuck, and, more importantly, because two leaves from the Lavra majuscule codex A 108 have been inserted at the front and the back as fly-leaves. This permits us to conclude with reasonable certainty that the rebinding, which does not appear to have been completed, took place at Lavra. (b) The relief figure of Christ on the gold cover resembles that of the figure of Christ on f. 67r of the majuscule Lavra Codex A 86⁶. Without going into too much detail, I will only refer to the main similarities. Both representations show a Christ of the Pantokrator type, in «imperial» stance and almost front-facing. The hair-style, the folds of the tunic, and the position of the hands and feet are noticeably similar, considering the respective dimensions of the figures and the different materials used (enamel and parchment). Neither representation has any epigraph. (The only significant difference is that the gospel held by the Pantokrator is open in the figure on the binding, but closed in the miniature).

So we may conclude that the heavy, valuable binding of the so-called «Phocas Evangelistarion» (or Skevophylakion-Evangelistarion) originally belonged to the majuscule Codex Lavra A 86. This is confirmed by the fact that the latter codex, which nowadays has only a plain, inexpensive 19th century binding, nevertheless possesses all the characteristics of a truly «imperial» gift.

5. K. Weitzmann, «Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lawra», *Seminarium Condakovianum* 8 (1936) 83-97, especially 97.

6. K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*,²Wien 1996, pp. 46-48, and *Addenda und Appendix*, Wien 1996, pp. 48-49. Nikodimos Lavriotis, *Μεγίστη Λαύρα Ἀγίου Ἀθανασίου Ἀγίου Ὁρους. Εἰκονογραφημένος ὁδηγός, προσκυνητάριον*, ἔκδοσις Μεγίστης Λαύρας 1988, p. 57.

It is a brilliant, sumptuous, richly decorated manuscript, datable to the 10th cent., and thus conforms to the oral tradition of the gift by the Emperor Phocas. With the transition to minuscule script, this majuscule codex must have been set aside, but its valuable, ornate cover was detached and re-used for another evangelistarium, a minuscule one this time, with excellent miniatures. So Codex A 86 is the real Phocas Evangelistarium, the real gift of Phocas to Athanasios. When its manuscript was removed and replaced by the new minuscule one, the name, «the Phocas Evangelistarium», was retained.

It should be noted that there is no evidence to contradict the dating of the binding itself to the 10th cent. A further analysis, to fill in the background of the royal gift and testify to Phocas' interest in the monastery, will be published in due course.

3. *The Majuscule Manuscripts*

It is well known that the introduction of minuscule script brought about extensive changes everywhere: the old, majuscule manuscripts were replaced with minuscule ones and largely disappeared, being either destroyed or re-used for texts in minuscule script. The situation on Mount Athos is hardly different; only very few of the 16,000 manuscripts in its libraries are majuscule; in fact, there are just over 50 of them. It is clear, however, that there cannot always have been so few, if we bear in mind two facts: (a) that the ascetic community on Mount Athos had appeared at least by the beginning of the 9th cent.⁷, at which time most of the books existing on Mount Athos must have been majuscule; and (b) that there is no doubt that the libraries succeeded from time to time in acquiring old manuscripts, dating from long before the foundation of their monasteries. The probability, however, that the libraries of Mount Athos must have possessed more majuscule manuscripts than have survived is supported by researches there, since one often discovers fragments (fly-leaves and other single leaves) and other traces of what must have once been a substantial number of majuscule codices stocking the Athonite libraries. Of all this material, however, we know almost nothing, since no pertinent study has so far been conducted⁸.

This consideration led me to undertake a systematic search in order to locate majuscule manuscripts and fragments on Mount Athos, and especially

7. Denise Papachryssanthou, *Ο Ἀθωνικός Μοναχισμός. Ἀρχές καὶ ὀργάνωση*, Athens 1992, p. 82ff (I refer to the Greek edition because it is more complete).

8. In fact, the same thing is also true of majuscule manuscripts worldwide, of which insufficient codicological studies exist, as pointed out by G. Cavallo, «Funzione e strutture della maiuscola greca tra i secoli VIII-XI», *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* [Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 559], Paris 1977, p. 95, n. *.

at Lavra. In the rich old library of Lavra the harvest has proved fruitful. I have found eleven codices (not specifically mentioned in the Lavra catalogue as majuscles⁹) and a number of fragments, as well as single leaves now employed as fly-leaves in minuscule manuscripts. I have traced some of these single leaves to four of the eleven codices, while I have grouped together other fragments, so that I have formed 29 more «codices», which, together with the eleven still in existence, amount to a total of 40 separate items. In other words, the number of majuscule manuscripts today known to exist at Lavra has nearly quadrupled. Of all these items two are of earlier periods, while the others are datable to the 9th and 10th centuries. The types of script are all interesting, consisting of different kinds of «majuscula ogivalis inclinata», «majuscula ogivalis erecta» and «majuscula liturgica», apart from the two earliest items, which are in «majuscula biblica».

Their contents consist of the following text categories:

	<i>Codices</i>	<i>Fragments</i>
Old Testament (?)	—	2
New Testament	—	2
Lectionaries	9	13
Acts and Epistles	1	—
Patristic texts	1	5
Ascetic texts	—	1
Vitae sanctorum	—	1
Menologia	—	3
Miscellaneous	—	2

In short 67.5% of the 40 items contain texts from the Holy Scripture (OT and NT, Gospels and Lectionaries) and 32.5% contain other types of texts, including Church Fathers' writings (Chrysostom and Gregory the Theologian), ascetic texts, vitae sanctorum, liturgical works and a few other, unpublished or little-known texts.

Among the fly-leaves that date from the earlier periods, I was delighted to discover three more small fragments of the famous Codex H of the Epistles of Saint Paul (= # 015 in the Gregory-Aland index), datable to about 600 AD¹⁰, and to retrieve the lost New Testament fragments (= Gregory-Aland # 0167), dating from the 7th century, once used as fly-leaves of Codex Lavra Δ

9. They are known, however, as they are mostly mentioned in the Gregory-Aland Index of NT manuscripts.

10. It is well-known that there are also other folios of this famous manuscript at Lavra. Of the many related publications, I refer only to the following: Kirsopp Lake, *Facsimiles of the Athos Fragments of Codex H of the Pauline Epistle*, Oxford 1905; and B. L. Fonkič, «Un "Barlaam et Joasaph" grec daté de 1021», *Analecta Bollandiana* 91 (1973) 13-20.

61; the latter were noted by Kurt Treu and Michael McCormick.¹¹

The initial study and the physical examination and photographing of the material have been completed. It remains to provide full catalogue descriptions of all forty items.

4. *Dated Manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries*

It is a well known fact that we possess today a number of very useful published facsimiles of 13th and 14th cent. manuscripts from various libraries. It is high time, I think, that such a collection of facsimiles of dated Athos manuscripts from this period should also be published. Work of this area has indeed begun, since the pre-1200 dated Athos minuscules were included among the facsimiles published by the Lakes, and should certainly be continued¹².

The Lavra catalogue lists 44 dated manuscripts from these two centuries. My own investigation in the monastery has brought to light 24 more manuscripts, bringing the total to 68 codices, of which eight date from the 13th cent., and sixty from the 14th. The latter group are evenly distributed throughout the century. Most of these manuscripts bear the name of their copyists and present an interesting variety of script-types and contents.

The description of the material raises the problem of method, since in practice a number of different methods have been applied so far. These range from the very brief (e.g. for the dated manuscripts of Patmos) to the very detailed (e.g. for the dated manuscripts of Sinai or Paris). There is also the method of Turyn, which attaches great importance to analysis and comment on the contents and very little to the palaeographical and codicological data.

It is true that the «detailed» method used for describing the Sinai and Paris collections, which provides a wealth of palaeographical and codicological data, has its supporters. There is no doubt, however, that it is extremely time-consuming and therefore inappropriate in cases like that of Mount Athos, where there exist large numbers of dated manuscripts. Furthermore, much of the information provided in «detailed» publications of this type is really beyond the scope of what is to be expected from a published collection of dated manuscripts. The usefulness of such a book does not lie in the

11. K. Treu, «Neutestamentliche Unzialfragmente in einer Athos-Handschrift (0167, Lavra Δ 61)», *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 70 (1979) 238-242. Cf. M. McCormick, «Palaeographical Notes on the Leaves of St. Mark from Louvain (Gregory-Aland index 0167)», *Scriptorium* 34 (1980) 240-247.

12. K. & S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200, fasc. I-X*, Boston 1934-1939; Id., *Indices*, Boston 1945.

provision of a detailed description and history of each manuscript (it is not a catalogue) nor in the literary history of the texts included, but in the information provided about the script, the copyist and all that they entail. It is in order to shed light on these two factors, script and copyist, that volumes of dated manuscripts are published, for the sake of palaeographers interested in obtaining an overall view of diachronic and local variations. With this criterion in our minds, if, for whatever reason, we decide not to accept the «detailed» method, we have to create another method of description of moderate length.

Such a «moderate» method may record the following items, in addition to the manuscript's catalogue number, its inventory number and other such preliminary data: (1) contents of the codex; (2) plate with sample of hand and contents; (3) list of plates of the same manuscript in other publications; (4) diplomatic transcript of the bibliographical note; (5) copyist(s) of the manuscript and relevant bibliography; (6) codicological description; (7) description of the script and relevant bibliography; (8) description of the decoration; and (9) bibliography of the codex. These are the data which I believe should be included in a description and which will provide an adequate, though not overloaded, picture of the codex, its script and its dating.

The initial study, the physical examination and half the photographing of the dated Lavra manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been completed. At the moment, the systematic description of the material is in progress.

5. From the History of the Great Lavra Monastery Library on Mount Athos

The history of the monastic libraries of Mount Athos is interesting, but largely unknown, since very little information has survived. Our chief source of information consists of the manuscripts themselves which are or were preserved in the monastery libraries; but even this source is not easy to draw on. In the case of the Great Lavra, however, it is possible to draw certain conclusions with regard to its Library's history, on the basis of systematic research and comparison, since we possess a number of librarian's notes inscribed within the manuscripts themselves, which after proper assessment may inform us about the state of the Library at the time. Attention was first drawn to this type of librarian's note by Professors Wilson and Fonkič, who noticed them in former Lavra manuscripts now mainly located in Paris and Moscow respectively¹³. It was immediately clear, as Fonkič pointed out, that

13. N. G. Wilson, «The Libraries of the Byzantine World», *Greek, Roman and Byzantine*

the bulk of the work remained to be done at Lavra. So I set about the task and my research is in progress. Important information has already come to light, which can help us reconstruct, piece by piece, some of the history of the Library. In what follows I will present the first results obtained with regard to the establishment and organization of the Lavra Library, based on the first three hundred catalogued manuscripts there¹⁴.

The Great Lavra Monastery was founded in the mid-tenth century by the monk Athanasios. It is virtually certain that the establishment of the Monastery library dates to the time of the monastery's foundation, as is generally the case with the Mount Athos monasteries. In any case, we are familiar with the well-known copyist Ioannis, who was active at Lavra as early as the last fifteen years of the 10th century. Apart from that, however, the manuscripts have nothing more to tell us about the institution and organization of the library before the end of the 12th century. From the early 13th century onwards, however, we start to find notes entered in the fly-leaves of Lavra manuscripts which give a specific shelf-mark or location for each of the books concerned. For example, we read: «βιβλίον τῆς ἐννάτης θέσεως ιδ'», or «βιβλίον τῆς τρίτης θέσεως μζ'», or «βιβλίον τῆς πρώτης θέσεως», or we come upon the statement «τῶν κατηχομένων».

The first type of information contained in the librarian's notes that have been examined so far concerns the *locations* in the Monastery where books were kept. These appear to have been : the Katechoumena, the Tower, the Armation, and occasionally a few other places. We shall now look at these locations one by one.

(a) *The Katechoumena*. Most of the notes that have so far come to light state that the manuscript in question belongs to the Katechoumena of the Lavra Monastery. For example: «βιβλίον τῶν κατηχομένων τῆς λαύρας τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου», or «τετραευάγγελον τῶν κατηχομένων τῆς λαύρας τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἹΑθῳ». In this respect Lavra does not differ from the other Athonite libraries, which are known usually to have been located either in the upper section of the narthex of the katho-

Studies 8 (1967) 53-80. D. Harlfinger (ed.), *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, Darmstadt 1980, pp. 276-309, with Addenda and Corrigenda, esp. pp. 289-291. B. L. Fonkič, «Biblioteka Lavry sv. Afanasija na Afone v X-XIII vv.», *Palestinskij Sbornik* 17 [80] (1967) 167-175. Id., *Les manuscrits à Byzance (1071-1261)*, Athènes 1976 (published separately, with its own pagination, as: *XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines. Rapports et co-rapports*), pp. 28-36 (Montfaucon had also recorded some as long ago as 1715 in his catalogue of the Coislin manuscripts in Paris).

14. From these manuscripts I have collected some 30 notes. In the Fonds Coislin one can find 63 notes, while Fonkič listed 12 notes from the GIM mss and a few more from other sources.

likon, the so-called Katechoumena¹⁵, or in the tower. This note occurs in several variations in the books of the late Byzantine period onwards. The main body, therefore, of the Lavra Library, probably from its very beginning, was located in the catechoumena of the katholikon¹⁶.

(b) *The Tower*. There is an important dated note from 1236 which mentions that the book containing it had been transferred from the Katechoumena to the Pyrgos, that is, to the well known Tower of Emperor Tsimisces which stands beside the entrance to the monastery. We read: «ἡ παροῦσα βιβλος μετετέθη ἀπὸ τῶν κατηχομένων εἰς τὸν πύργον μηνὶ νοε(μβρίῳ) ιζ' ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ιε' ςψμϛ' [=1236]»¹⁷. It is not to be assumed that the whole library has been moved, since so far I have only found one more similar note (by an untutored hand, and therefore very hard to date), which reads «βιβλίον τοῦ Πύργου». The Library's move to the Tower may have been of short duration, or there may have been a time when for certain reasons, perhaps of a technical nature, the books were preserved in two different locations simultaneously, the Katechoumena and the Tower. This would explain why the librarian of 1236 found it necessary to record the specific manuscript's transfer to the second site.

(c) *The Armalion*. There are also a number of notes which state that the manuscripts containing them were preserved in the «ἄρμαριον» (cupboard) in the church, which was used for the books employed in church services. For instance, we read: «τετραευά(γγελον) τοῦ ἄρμαρίου τοῦ ὁσ(ίου) π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου». Notes referring to this location date from both the 13th and the 14th centuries, not solely from the latter century, as was previously supposed. That means that the ἄρμαριον was part of the mediaeval furniture. (The distinction is still made today between the main library and the armalion, as a cupboard still stands in the nave for the same purpose. The key to it is kept by the ekklisaris, however, not by the librarian.)

(d) *The Infirmary, the Chapel of Saint Peter and the Katholikon*. A very small number of notes place books in other parts of the monastery, for example, in

15. A. Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ*, Athens 1958, p. 108.

16. An opinion has been expressed (Wilson, n. 12 on p. 290 of the reprint) to the effect that notes of the type «βιβλίον τῶν κατηχομένων [...]» and «βιβλίον τῆς [...] θέσεως [...]» reveal the existence of two libraries, one in the Katechoumena and a second, main library. However, I find it hard to imagine two independent libraries existing simultaneously. This theory also seems hard to maintain in view of the fact that a number of cases exist where the two types of note are found in combination, e.g. «βιβλίον τῶν κατηχομένων τῆς β' θέσεως» (Coisl. gr. 37). The availability of more data should provide a definitive answer.

17. In Lietzmann-Aland, *Zeitrechnung der römischen Kaiserzeit, des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit für die Jahre 1-2000 nach Christus*, Berlin 1956, the year 1236 corresponds to the 10th indiction, not the 16th.

the Infirmary, «τοῦ νοσοκομείου τῆς λαύρας», and the Chapel of Saint Peter the Athonite, «βιβλίον τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου τοῦ ἁθωνίτου προστεθέν [...]». Others, which refer to the «Ekklesia», «τῆς ἐκκλησίας», would appear to refer to books kept in the sanctuary of the Katholikon, as distinct from the armarium.

A large number of notes refer to the actual location of the manuscript within the library: in other words, they give the manuscript's «shelfmark», in fact a *codification system* which does not seem so very different from modern library systems. The notes make it clear that this system was employed in the 13th and 14th century, at least. Every book (or, to be exact, every book which contains such a librarian's note) had its own definite place on the library shelves, and this was noted on one of the first pages and, sometimes, also on one of the last ones of the manuscript. For example, we read: «βιβλίον τῆς ι' θέσεως», «βιβλίον φιλόσοφον κ(αὶ) δογματικὸν τῆς ἐβδόμης θέσεως», «βιβλίον τῆς ε' θέσεως ις'», «βιβλίον τῆς πρώτης θέσεως λε'». We must understand θέσις to refer to a particular section of the shelving. The shelfmarks can be divided into two main categories: firstly, the shorter formula, e.g., «βιβλίον τῆς α' θέσεως», and, secondly, the longer type, e.g. «βιβλίον τῆς δευτέρας θέσεως πρῶτον». The longer formula occurs more often. We may perhaps assume that it evolved out of the first formula; that is in the beginning the books were placed in a *thesis*, but later acquired a numbered position within the *thesis*. On the other hand, we have no way of being certain that the short formula «βιβλίον τῆς α' θέσεως» represents the complete form actually employed. It could have been handed down to us incomplete, since very few books have it inscribed in their early pages.

Furthermore, it is fair to say that, although the above remarks would seem to present a fairly clear and unambiguous picture emerging from the librarians' notes, this is not the complete story. There are some notes which depart in various ways from the above pattern, and which introduce a slight note of uncertainty. Nevertheless, it can be said with confidence that in broad outline the above picture is substantially supported by the present state of the evidence. It seems probable that, of all the Athonite monasteries founded after the middle of the 10th century, Lavra was the first to use such a system, and that it was next adopted by another of the oldest monasteries, Vatopedi. This likelihood is supported by some notes that I have found in the pages of the manuscripts of that monastery too¹⁸.

18. These notes are very few, maybe because the first folios of the manuscripts have been lost. Recently the notes have been collected by E. Lamberz, «Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς», in the collective volume: *Ἱερά Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση - Ἱστορία - Τέχνη*, vol. 2, Ἁγίων Ὁρος 1996, p. 672, n. 7.

The work of codification must have been done by the Monastery librarians. We can tell from their handwriting that there was a succession of these during the 13th and 14th centuries. Their names are not all known, but their handwriting and their accuracy show that they were educated monks who took great care of the Library. One name does occur, that of Daniel (14th cent.), who may be identical with the known copyist of the 14th century who wrote codex Λ 75. A previous librarian is better known: he is Demetrios, who lived at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century, and who, besides being a copyist, was also a librarian. From his hand came codices Lavra B 87 and B 101, as well as a great number of librarian's notes in the books of the Library. He shows great zeal for the condition of the Library and of individual books, and is interested in adding new books to the collection and in seeing that the books are well looked after. «Μὴ τεμνέτω(ω) τις φύλλ(α) τὰ τῶν βιβλίων», he writes. Very often he bids the Fathers and other readers remember him: «Οἱ πατέρες μέμνησθε τοῦ Δημητρίου». He seems to have been in contact with Eirene Palaeologina and to have obtained from her the gift of a book for the Library. He writes on the last page of codex A 111: «προσετέθη τὸ παρὸν [...] εὐαγγέλιον [...] παρὰ Εἰρήνης τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης τῆς Παλαιολογήσης» [...] Οἱ π(ατέ)ρες μέμνησθε τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αἰτησαμένου¹⁹. The librarians' notes, then, of the 13th and 14th centuries give us a picture of a library that was well organized, for its time, and also quite large. As regards the size of the library, if one takes the shelfmark «βιβλίον τῆς τρίτης θέσεως ξ'» («book 60 in the 3rd position»; cod. Coisl. gr. 241), in combination with the shelfmark «βιβλίον τῆς ις' θέσεως α'» («book 1 in the 16th position»; cod. Coisl. gr. 123), this may allow us to calculate a collection amounting to approximately 960 books (16 positions of 60 books each: 16×60 = 960). About this high figure Professor Wilson expressed reservations. It does not seem to me, however, to be an improbable one for the Great Lavra.

We do not so far possess many librarian's notes for the Post-Byzantine period, except for certain ones which simply locate manuscripts in the Katechoumena. At the present stage of my research, it is impossible to know whether the shelfmark system continued to be used during the later period; this seems to be unlikely, however. The early shelfmarks, however, are still remembered in the present-day codification system, for when the librarian Alexandros took stock of the library at the end of the nineteenth century, checked the manuscripts, counted their leaves, and noted their shelf-marks on

19. Sophronios (Eustratiadis), «Ἀγιορειτικῶν κωδίκων σημειώματα. Α' τῆς Λαύρας τοῦ Ἀγ. Ἀθανασίου», *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 1 (1917) 466.

the fly-leaves, the system he used was not dissimilar to the old one; for example: «θέσις Α, ἀριθμ. 45». Later on, when Spyridon Lavriotis and Sophronios Eustratiadis came to catalogue the manuscripts of the Library (before 1925), they took over the system used by Alexandros: the manuscripts are codified first by letter (thirteen letters of the Greek alphabet are used, resembling the old θέσις α', β' etc.) and then by number (ranging between 1 and 200). This is different from the simple serial numbers used at the other monasteries, and may well be a reminiscence of the old, medieval system used in the same monastery.

This is very briefly as much as can be said so far about the history of the organization of the Lavra Library. As research continues, it is to be hoped that more facts will come to light. It is my intention, on finishing the examination of the manuscripts, to compile a list of all those containing librarians' notes, together with a brief description of each manuscript. Then we shall be able to have a more detailed picture of the library and to draw more definite conclusions as to its contents and history.

Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies
Thessaloniki

EFTHYMIOS K. LITSAS

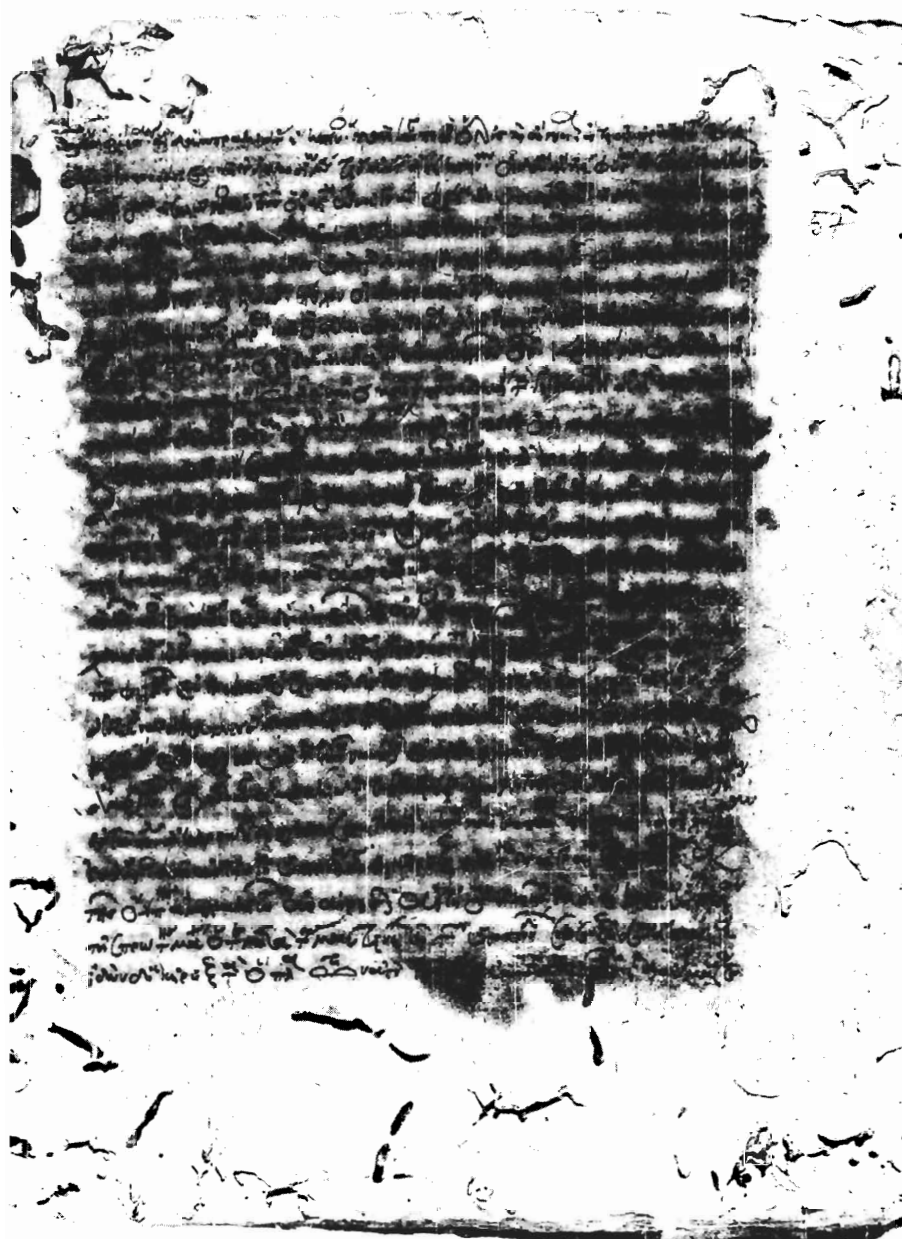


Fig. 1. Folio 57r of the Lavra Thucydides codex.

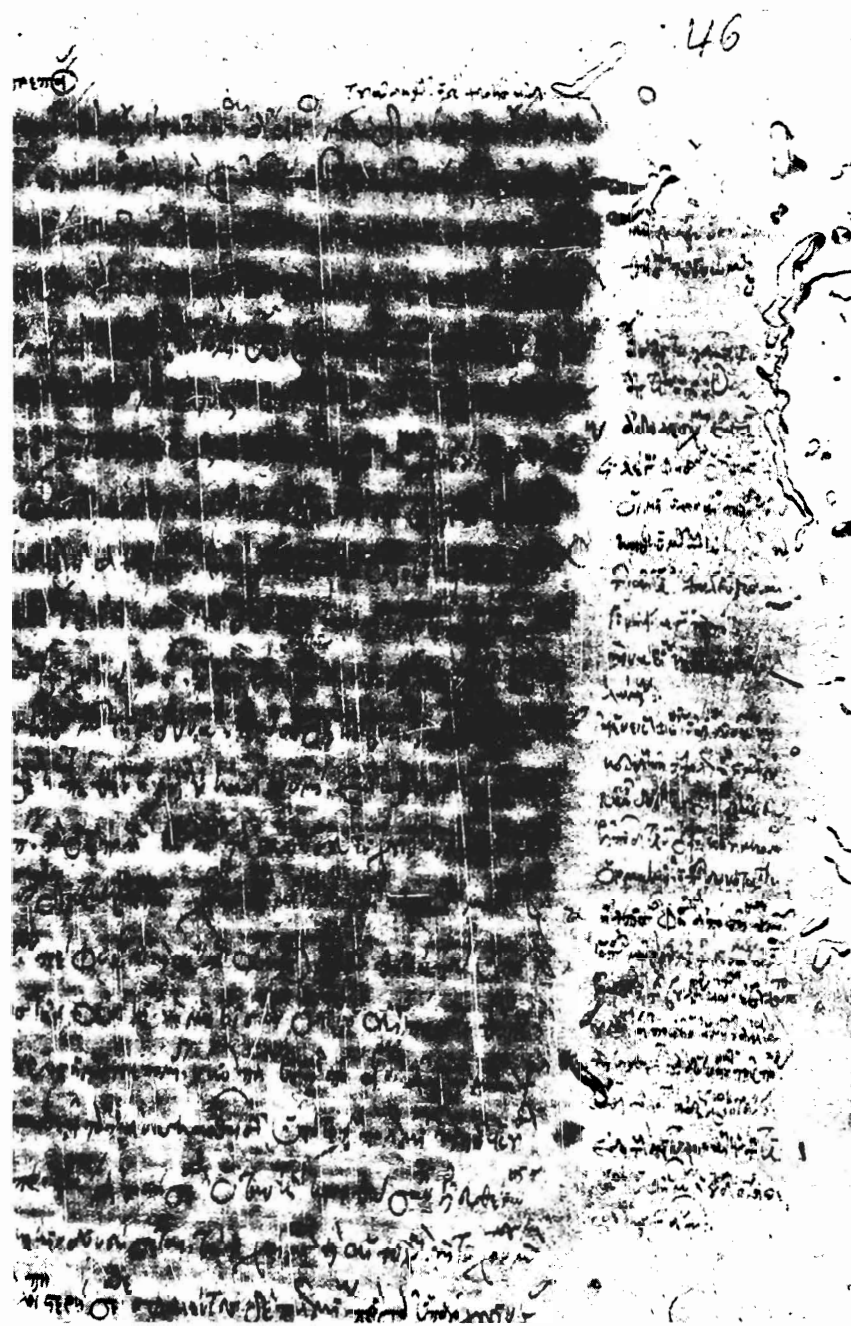


Fig. 2. Detail of folio 46r of the Lavra Thucydides codex with marginal scholia.