

# A liturgical manuscript of the monastery of Timios Prodromos in Pieria and a previously unknown scribe, the hieromonk Karykes

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Title: A Liturgical Manuscript of the Monastery of Timios Prodromos in Pieria and a Previously Unknown Scribe, the hieromonk Karykes.<sup>1</sup>

A liturgical manuscript, currently held in the library of the monastery of Timios Prodromos in Veroia was copied by an otherwise unknown monk by the name of Karykes. The present article considers Karykes' writing style, which points to unique calligraphic characteristics and indicates Karykes' professionalism. The article offers a diplomatic edition, English translation and interpretation of Karykes' scribal colophon as well as the notes transmitted in the manuscript. The study of the colophon and the notes in *Timios Prodromos* 1 indicate the existence of a monastery dedicated to the Holy Trinity in which the codex remained for an extended period of time. A second – now lost – manuscript transmitting the name Karykes signifies that this monastery is the Holy Trinity monastery of Vythos in the region of Kozani.

## **1. The Holy Monastery of Timios Prodromos and its Library**

The monastery of Timios Prodromos is a *stavropegic* foundation of the Ecumenical Throne which stands on the banks of the River Aliakmonas in the Pierian Mountains in the Prefecture of Imathia in Greece. Dionysios of Olympus, who arrived at the monastery of Timios Prodromos in the sixteenth century, is considered and commemorated as the founder of the current monastery.<sup>2</sup> He restored and renovated the buildings, established the cenobitic way of life, and built the first *katholikon* (main

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<sup>2</sup>On St Dionysius's life and the monastery that he found in Olympus see: K. Vakalopoulos, *Ιστορία του Βόρειου Ελληνισμού: Μακεδονία*, Thessaloniki 1992, 67; *I Iera Patriarchiki ke Stavropigiaki Moni tou Agiou Dionysiou tou en Olymbou*, Holy Patriarchal and Stavropegic Monastery of St Dionysios of Olympus, 2014.

church) dedicated to the beheading of John the Baptist. Dionysius decided to leave the monastery when the people of Veroia demanded that he became their bishop. He went to Olympus, where he built the Monastery of the Holy Trinity.<sup>3</sup> Other prominent figures of the Orthodox monasticism settling in the region of Imathia during the sixteenth century included Theophanes of Naousa<sup>4</sup> and St Theonas, the future archbishop of Thessaloniki.<sup>5</sup> The former founded a number of convents as well as a monastery on Mount Vermion in 1595 dedicated to the Archangels. The latter lived in a cave very close to the monastery of Timios Prodromos in the year 1522. He also built the Monastery of St Anastasia in Thessaloniki. In the year 1680, a fire partially destroyed the monastery of Timios Prodromos, and it was only in the year 1753 that the abbot Paisios managed to restore the Skete completely. In 1835 the monks rebuilt the cells, the new *katholikon* and a good part of the fortified wall; at this point the monastery assumed then the form it has today. In the 1960s, part of the eastern wing was rebuilt in concrete. In addition, important renovations were carried out in 1987 and in the decade from 1990–2000.<sup>6</sup> The library of the monastery was only arranged in the last decade, by its current abbot, Father Porphyrios. The library contains a considerable number of post-Byzantine manuscripts on a variety of subjects (liturgical, musical, philosophical) which, regrettably, remain uncatalogued. The present author plans to compile a descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts deposited in the Timios Prodromos monastery. While such a catalogue is lacking, however, the manuscript under discussion in this article will be identified as *Codex Timios Prodromos 1*.

## 2. The Codex *Timios Prodromos 1*

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<sup>3</sup>Archim. Porphyrios, *Ἐρὰ Μονῆ Τιμίου Προδρόμου. Προσκυνητάριον: ἥτοι ὁδηγὸς τοῦ προσκυνητοῦ*, Veroia 2007, 17-18; see also n. 2.

<sup>4</sup>G. Xionidis, «Ὁ Ὅσιος Θεοφάνης ὁ Νέος: (ὁ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων πολιοῦχος τῆς Μακεδονικῆς Ναούσης, ἡ ἰδρυσις τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἡ καταγωγὴ τῶν κατοίκων)», *Makedonika*, 8(1) (1968) 223-238, esp. 225-229.

<sup>5</sup>Archim. Porphyrios, *Ἐρὰ Μονῆ Τιμίου Προδρόμου*, p. 19. On St Theonas see: V. S. Vasilopoulou, *Ὁ Ἅγιος Θεωνάς*, Athina 2002.

<sup>6</sup>Archim. Porphyrios, *Ἐρὰ Μονῆ Τιμίου Προδρόμου*, p. 20. On the history of the monastery during the Greek War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire see: Γ. Χ. Χιονίδη, «Τὰ γεγονότα εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν Ναούσης – Βεροίας κατὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν τοῦ 1822. Προβλήματα κατὰ τὴν χρονολόγησιν τῶν», *Makedonika* 8 (1968) 211-221.

a. 1650/51, paper, 73 ff., 215×145 (165×101) mm, col. 1, lines 18–21. Divine Liturgy.

Codex *Timios Prodromos* 1 consists of 73 folios, measuring 215×145mm, as well as an endpaper. The text is written in one column of 18-21 lines per page and it occupies an area of 165×101 mm. In its present state, the manuscript is mutilated and it comprises eight quaternia, a binion and a quinion. Two different foliations both written in Arabic numerals, are visible. One set occurs in the upper right corner of the first four leaves of each quire: the folios are numbered from 1 to 73 in the same hand as that of the main text. A second folio numbering is found in the left upper margin of each verso and in the right upper margin of each recto, noted in Arab numbers, as well. The manuscript contains three liturgical texts: the *Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom*, the *Divine Liturgy of St Basil the Great* and the *Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts*.

Like most late-Byzantine codices, *Timios Prodromos* 1 was copied on paper of average quality. Codices containing the text of the *Divine Liturgy* were intended for daily use in church.<sup>7</sup> The *typicon*-text in *Timios Prodromos* 1 is transmitted in the ordinary

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<sup>7</sup>The liturgies were copied in codex form since the eighth century, that is, the generally accepted date of the Barberini Euchologion (*Barb. gr.* 336). On the date of *Barb. gr.* 336 see: Ch. Konstantinides, «L'ordo de la dédicace des églises selon le rite Byzantine vers la moitié du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle», *Ελληνικά*, Annexe 9 (1956) 214; M. D'Agostino, «Per la data e l'origine di alcuni codici in maiuscola tarda», in: G. Prato (ed.), *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito: atti del V Colloquio internazionale di paleografia greca* Cremona, 4-10 Ottobre 1998, Firenze 2000, pp. 209-216. For liturgical texts written on parchment scrolls, the so-called *eilitaria* (the Greek terms are: ειλητά or ειλητάρια), see: L. Santifaller, «Über späte Papyrusrollen und frühe Pergamentrollen», in: Cl. Bauer (ed.), *Speculum Historiale. Geschichte im Spiegel von Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung*, München 1965, pp. 117-133. Cavallo gives a list of Byzantine liturgical rolls in: G. Cavallo, «La genesi dei rotoli liturgici Beneventani alla luce del fenomeno storico-librario in occidente ed oriente», in: O. Supino Martini (ed.), *Miscellanea in memoria di Giorgio Cencetti*, Torino 1973, pp. 213-229, esp. 221-222. On *eilitaria* see also L. W. Daly, «Rotuli: Liturgy Rolls and Formal Documents», *GRBS* 14(3) (1973) 333-338; G. Cavallo, «Del rotolo, del codice e di altri aspetti della cultura scritta antica e medievale», in: F. Arduini (ed.), *La forma del libro, dal rotolo al codice secoli III a. C. - XIX d. C.*, Firenze 2008, pp. 9-24. Gerstel suggested that *eilitaria* became an integral part of the Byzantine liturgy during the eleventh century: S. E. J. Gerstel, «Liturgical Scrolls in the Byzantine Sanctuary», *GRBS* 35(2) (1994) 195-204; Cavallo, by contrast, argued that parchment rolls entered the Byzantine sanctuary much earlier and saw in them the origin of the Beneventan Exultet rolls which flourished in Southern Italy before the tenth century: Cavallo, *La genesi*, p. 223. The earliest extant *eilitarion* (ειλητάριον) is the codex St Catherine's Monastery gr. 591 dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> century; cf. Santifaller

language of the period of the Ottoman rule in Greece. Passages from the Bible have been copied verbatim. The body text is written in dark black ink whereas the headings and the *typicon* are made in carmine red ink. The main text is augmented by a scribal colophon on the last folio of the codex.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, a significant number of notes written by later hands occur both on the last folios and the endpaper of the manuscript.<sup>9</sup> Like the body text, those notes were all written in black ink. The current binding of the codex is not the original one: it was re-bound in 2009 by Ms. Spyridoula Galitsiou.

### 3. Illumination

The text of *Timios Prodromos* 1 is decorated with initials, ornamented headings and full-page illustrations. Specifically, the codex contains two portraits of the saints responsible for the liturgical texts.<sup>10</sup> Each author portrait takes up a folio. The first image depicts St Basil the Great (f. 21v) and the second image represents St Gregory the Dialogos (f. 53v). The two portraits come immediately before the text of the liturgies and they are comparable to the portraits of the evangelists in codices containing the Gospels.<sup>11</sup>

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(1965), p. 129. On Exultet rolls in general see G. Cavallo – G. Orofino – O. Pecere, *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del Medioevo meridionale*, Roma 1994; T. F. Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, New York-Oxford 1996.

<sup>8</sup>A diplomatic transcription of the colophon is published below: 4. A Scribal colophon and the Scribe Karykes.

<sup>9</sup>The notes are published below: 6. Additional Notes in the Manuscript.

<sup>10</sup>It should be noted that Byzantine εἰλητάρια often contain paintings of the authors of the liturgies, as well. There were also εἰλητάρια containing decorated initials and miniatures in the margins. Examples of such illuminated Byzantine rolls are an eleventh-century manuscript deposited in the library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and labeled as *Σταυροῦ*, 109 by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in his catalogue of the library, and a fourteenth-century manuscript, namely the *Lavra* 2. On the illumination of the *Σταυροῦ*, 109 see A. Grabar, «Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures», *DOP* 8 (1954) 161+163-199 and A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολομιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, III. St Petersburg 1897, 169-175. On the *Lavra* 2 see L. Bréhier, «Les peintres du rouleau liturgique n° 2 du monastère de Lavra», *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 11 (1940) 1-19.

<sup>11</sup>On authors portraits before the text of the liturgies in Byzantium and early Russian manuscripts see: E. S. Smirnova, *Litsevye rukopisi Velokogo Novgoroda XV vek*, Moscow 1994, 269-274; cf. G. R. Parpulov, «A Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum», *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 62 (2004) 143.

Scholarship has long noticed a change in the way important bishops are depicted in painted churches as well as in *εἰλητάρια* from the eleventh century onwards.<sup>12</sup> Until this century, bishops were painted in a forward-facing stance, wearing unadorned *phelonia*, and holding closed Gospel books. From the eleventh century on, instead, bishops are depicted in a three-quarters stance, wearing *phelonia* decorated with crosses (the so-called *polystayria*), and holding open scrolls containing liturgical passages.<sup>13</sup>

Author portraits decorate a significant number of post-Byzantine liturgical codices, as well. To give but a few examples, portraits of John Chrysostom precede his text in Athos, *Koutlounousiou* 193 (s. XV);<sup>14</sup> Athos *Dionysiou* 471 (s. XV);<sup>15</sup> Athos, *Dionysiou* 431 (s. XVI);<sup>16</sup> Athos, *Dionysiou* 488 (s. XVII);<sup>17</sup> Athos, *Iviron* 1420m (s. XVII);<sup>18</sup> Athos, *Iviron* 1424m (s. XVII);<sup>19</sup> Athos, *Gregoriou* 57 (a. 1675).<sup>20</sup> Depictions of St Basil the Great precede his text in Meteora, *Metamorphoseos* 221 (s. XVI), Meteora, *Metamorphoseos* 223 (a. 1634/5), and Meteora, *Metamorphoseos* 298 (s. XV-XVI);<sup>21</sup> Athos, *Dionysiou* 488 (a. 1653);<sup>22</sup> Athos, *Iviron* 1424m (s. XVII c.);<sup>23</sup> and Athos, *Iviron* 1436m (s. XVII).<sup>24</sup> In the aforementioned post-Byzantine codices, St Basil is portrayed

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<sup>12</sup>On *εἰλητάρια* see n. 7.

<sup>13</sup>Gerstel (1994), esp. pp. 196-199. Such portraits are also found in codices of Euchologia dated from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onward. See for instance the depictions in: *Uni. Lib.* Ms 1234 (a.1025), *Vat. gr.* 1554 (s. XI), Moscow, State Lib. Of Russia, *Φ. 270-Ia*, no. 15/ Greek ms 27 (s. XI), *Paris. gr.* 391 (s. XI), Athos, *Lavra B* 7 (ca 1125-50), Russian Sluzhebnik New York, *NYPL* s.n. (s. XIV); cf. Parpulov, Catalogue, p. 143.

<sup>14</sup>M. Pelekanidou – P.C. Christou – Ch. Kadas, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, I-IV, Athens 1974, I, fig. 342.

<sup>15</sup>Treasures I, fig. 170.

<sup>16</sup>Treasures I, fig. 167.

<sup>17</sup>Treasures I, fig. 175.

<sup>18</sup>Treasures II, fig. 184.

<sup>19</sup>Treasures II, fig. 198.

<sup>20</sup>Treasures I, fig. 458.

<sup>21</sup>On *Metamorphoseos* 221, 223 and 298 see: N. A. Bees, *Les Manuscrits des Météores: catalogue descriptif des manuscrits conservés dans les monastères des Météores*, I: Les manuscrits du monastère de transfiguration, Athènes 1998, LXXXIII, LXXXV, and LXXVI.

<sup>22</sup>Treasures I, fig. 176.

<sup>23</sup>Treasures II, fig. 199.

<sup>24</sup>Treasures II, fig. 249. It is worth mentioning here that the codex Athos, *Dionysiou* 471 (s. XV), a theological manuscript on prayers and hymns, also contains a portrait of St Basil. The saint is depicted standing and holding an open scroll in a single hand; Treasures I, fig. 169.

standing and wearing a *polystayrion*. Like *Timios Prodromos* 1, the *Metamorphoseos* 221, *Dionysiou* 488, and *Ivirion* 1436m portray St Basil holding a closed Gospel book; in the other two Meteora manuscripts, instead, St Basil holds an *εἰλητάριο* whereas in the *Ivion* 1424m he holds an open codex. St Gregory the Dialogos is portrayed in a significant number of post-Byzantine manuscripts, as well.<sup>25</sup> In manuscripts of this period, St Gregory is usually depicted standing, wearing a *polystayrion* and holding an open scroll. See, for example, the portraits in Meteora, *Metamorphoseos* 223 (a.1635) and 298 (s. XV);<sup>26</sup> Athos, *Panteleimonos* 426 (s. XVI);<sup>27</sup> Bucarest, Museum of Art, Ms 19 (a. 1631);<sup>28</sup> Meterora, *Ag. Stephanou*, Ms 103 (a. 1632);<sup>29</sup> Athos, *Dionysiou* 488 (a. 1653);<sup>30</sup> Bucarest, Museum of Art, Ms 23 (ca 1693-97);<sup>31</sup> and Athos, *Ivion* 1420m (s. XVII c.).<sup>32</sup>

The two portraits in our manuscript conform to the way bishops are depicted in *εἰλητάρια* dated before the eleventh century as well as in most of the post-Byzantine liturgical manuscripts: both saints in *Timios Prodromos* 1 are depicted standing and holding the Gospel in a single hand. The text inscribed on the Gospel held by Basil the Great is written horizontally. Earlier depictions of bishops present them holding Gospel books in both hands;<sup>33</sup> *εἰλητάρια* were only depicted in a single hand when they were inscribed with short prayers for Communion.<sup>34</sup> It can be inferred, therefore, that the two miniatures in *Timios Prodromos* 1 combine stylistic features taken from various

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<sup>25</sup>Parpulov, Catalogue, p. 143.

<sup>26</sup>Images of the portraits are published in Bees, *Les Manuscrits*, p. LXXV and p. LXXXVIII.

<sup>27</sup>O. Gratziou, *Die dekorierten Handschriften des Schreibers Matthaios von Myra (1596-1624). Untersuchungen zur griechischen Buchmalerei um 1600*, Athens, 1982, fig. 61.

<sup>28</sup>L. Tugearu, *Miniatura Si Ornamentul Manuscriselor din Colectia de Arta Medievala Romaneasca*, Bucarest, 1996,

<sup>29</sup>D. Z.Sophianos, *Les Manuscrits des Météores: catalogue descriptif des manuscrits conservés dans les monastères des Météores, III: Les manuscrits du monastère de Saint-Etienne*, Athènes, 1986, pls. 54-55.

<sup>30</sup>Treasures I, fig. 180.

<sup>31</sup>Tugearu, *Miniatura*, 212.

<sup>32</sup>Treasures II, fig. 186.

<sup>33</sup>See above n. 7 and n. 13.

<sup>34</sup>See for instance the depiction of St John Chrysostom in the church of the Taxiarchs in Kastoria, Greece; cf. Gerstel (1994), pp. 201-202.

Byzantine traditions on the depiction of bishops. The images show similarities in the saints' representation and in the palette of colours. The two basic colours in both images are red and green. St Basil is represented as thin and ascetic with a long beard; a depiction corresponding to the typical representation of St Basil in Byzantine icons. A later scribe added outlines in black ink to the feet of St Basil. The same or yet another scribe also drew three crosses on the omophorion of St Gregory the Dialogos. We cannot be certain of the scribe's motives; he may intended, though, to bring St Gregory the Dialogos' portrait into consistency with later practice.

#### 4. A Scribal colophon and the Scribe Karykes

As noted, *Timios Prodromos* 1 contains a scribal colophon transmitted on the last folio of the codex (f. 73v). It reads as follows:

ἐπληρώθῃ ἡ θεία λειτουργία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς | ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου,  
 Βασιλείου τοῦ μέγα|λου, καὶ Γρηγορίου τοῦ διαλόγου διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ | τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ  
 καὶ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου καὶ ἀ|χαμνογράφου, Καρύκη τάχα καὶ ἱερομονάχου, υἱοῦ | τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, τοῦ ἐν τριάδι ὑμνούμενος. καὶ ὅσοι | τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας  
 ἀναφέρεσθαι, εὐ|χεσθαι διὰ τὸν κύριον<sup>35</sup> ὅτι καὶ ὁ γράφων παραγράφη. | ταῖς οὐδεὶς  
 ἀλάθαστος εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν, ὁ γνῶ|σθης τῶν καρδιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ποιητὴς τῶν  
 ἀπάντων | ὁ μέλλων κρίνει ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, τὰ κρυπτὰ καὶ φανερά ἡσυχυνημένα καὶ  
 μὴ ἐξομολογουμένα. | μηδὲ μετανοοῦμένα. ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ κα|τάκεκριμένου,

<sup>35</sup>The scribe states that he felt the necessity to accentuate his humility and respect of God. The phrase εὐχεσθαι διὰ τὸν κύριον ὅτι καὶ ὁ γράφων παραγράφη is traditional in such earlier authorial notes. See the occurrence in the codex *Lesb. Leimonos* 142, dated to the year 1501: καὶ εὐχεσθαι με διατὸν (sic) κύριον ὅτι πᾶς ὁ γράφων, παραγράφη· ἡ δὲ θεία γραφή εἰς αἰῶνας μένει; cf. V. Atsalos, «Die Formel Ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἡ γράψασα... in den griechischen Handschriften», in: G. Cavallo – G. De Gregorio – M. Maniaci (edd.), *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*, Spoleto 1991, 695, n. 17. To give but a few examples of this *topos*, see in: Meterora, *Metamorphoseos*, Ms 222 (a. 1640/1), f. 34r: εὐχεσθαί μοι διὰ τὸν κ(ύριον); Meterora, *Metamorphoseos*, 239 (a. 1385), f. 259v and 309 (s. XVII), f. 2r: εὐχεσθαι διὰ τὸν κ(ύριον); Meterora, *Metamorphoseos*, 422 (s. XVI), f. 143v: εὐχεσθαι (καὶ) μὴ καταράσθε διὰ τὸν κ(ύριον); cf. N. A. Bees, *Les manuscrits*, p. 243, p. 260, pp. 322-323, pp. 441-442.



ταῖς οὔτε γάμος ἄκλαυστος οὔτε | νεκρὸς ἀγέλαστος<sup>36</sup> οὔτε βίβλος ἄσφαλτος, οὔτε καὶ |  
ἐγὼ ἁμαρτωλὸς σφαλία καθεκάστι ὥραν: | δόξα τῷ Θεῷ τῷ διδούντι ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος<sup>37</sup>  
ἀμήν: | ἐπληρώθη ἐπὶ ἔτους πληρεστάτους ,ζρνθ': | ἰνδικτιῶνος δ', ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ  
κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ | Χριστοῦ [ἔτει ,αχωα'].<sup>38</sup>

The divine liturgy of our holy Father John Chrysostom, Basil the Great and Gregory the Dialogue was completed by the hand of me, the sinner and humble and unworthy and weak writer, Karykes, ostensibly an hieromonk, son of the living God glorified as a Trinity. And as many of you as hold this book in your hands pray to God for a writer also errs, since no-one notices everything except God alone, he who knows our hearts, the maker of all things, the one who will judge the living and the dead, the hidden and visible sins, shameful and unrepented for, of me, the sinful and condemned one. As there is no wedding without weeping and no dead without laughing and no book unerring, I, the sinner, err all the time. Glory to God, the one who disposes the beginning and the end, Amen. (The book) was completed in the year 7159, the fourth indiction, from the time of our Lord Jesus Christ [years 1651].

The scribal colophon reveals the scribe's name, namely, Karykes, a name which is not found in any repertoire of named scribes. This very sparing colophon does not yield any particular information about the scribe himself. Karykes' career remains mysterious

<sup>36</sup>The phrase οὔτε γάμος ἄκλαυστος οὔτε νεκρὸς ἀγέλαστος was a widespread proverb in the Greek peninsula after the fall of Byzantium; See L. Politis, *Parimiai*, III, Athens 1901, n.45, 380 and n.66, 386.

<sup>37</sup>The phrase τῷ διδούντι ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος is a *topos* encountered in such scribal colophons of post-Byzantine codices. See, for instance, in Athos, *Koutloumousiou* 340 (s. XIV); cf. L. Politis, «Ἀγιορεῖτες βιβλιογράφοι τοῦ 16<sup>ου</sup> αἰῶνα», *Ελληνικά* 15 (1957) 379. See also in Meteora, *Metamorphoseos* 409 (s. XVII), f. 236r; cf. Bees, *Les manuscrits*, p. 431.

<sup>38</sup>The note breaks off abruptly at that point. The folio must have contained more text, though; probably one or two more words indicating the number of years from the time of Christ. On the measuring of time in Byzantium see L. Politis, «Σύμμεικτα: Παλαιογραφικά», *Ελληνικά* 26 1963 315-324.

as we know nothing about his other scribal activity or training. Clearly, he was active in 1650/51, the date of completion of the codex. His status of hieromonk (both a priest and a monk) points to the existence of a monastery, in which Karykes stayed and worked on manuscripts probably commissioned by it. The note, however, does not preserve the location of the monastery, even though this detail is usually recorded in other notes of the kind.

The name Karykes appears in a second codex at the Monastery of Holy Trinity of Vythos in the region of Kozani, West Macedonia. This manuscript – now lost – is attested by L. A. Papantoniou in his book on this monastery which includes a photograph of the colophon of a manuscript bearing the title *Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Μαξίμου Ἱερομονάχου Πελοποννησίου διδασκαλὶ εἰς τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*.<sup>39</sup> The colophon reads as follows:

ἐτελειώθη ἐπὶ ἔτους τοῦ τρέχοντος ,ζρνδ´ (7154) · ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) ,αχμς´ (1646) / ἐν κελλίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου / στῶ σπήλαιον · ἐν τὸπῳ Ζηάλτζη / πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἡλίου τε · / δόξα τῷ θεῷ τῷ διδοῦντι ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος ἀμὴν : - / ὁ τὰ πάντα πληρὼν θ(εο)ς ἡμῶν δόξα σοι : - / Καρίκης Ἱερομόναχος.

(This book) was completed in the running year 7154 · 1646<sup>40</sup> years from the incarnation of our lord Jesus Christ, in the cell of St George, in the cave, in the place (called) Zaltsi, and near (the mountain) of St Elias. Glory to God, the one who disposes

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<sup>39</sup>L. A. Papantoniou, *Το μοναστήρι της Αγίας Τριάδας στο Βυθό Κοζάνης*, Thessaloniki, 1982, 48; see also 14.

<sup>40</sup>The method of recording the time in the two colophons (ζρνθ´: ινδικτιώνος δ´ in *Timios Prodromos* 1 and ζρνδ´ and αχμς´ in the second codex of Karykes) indicates that in the middle of the seventeenth century a scribe could still follow the traditional Byzantine method of dating.

the beginning and the end, Amen. Glory to our God who accomplishes everything. The hieromonk Karykes.

It should be noted that the Monastery of Holy Trinity of Vythos was resited to its current location under the initiative of its bishop Neophytos in 1792.<sup>41</sup> Before that date, the monastery had been dedicated to the Holy Taxiarchs and it had been located in a place called Fteri in the region of Western Macedonia. Shortly after its foundation, however, the monastery was brought to a location near a village called Zaltsi;<sup>42</sup> the place where the cell of St George was established according to Karykes's colophon.

The resemblance between the two scribal colophons is remarkable. Both notes bear the name Karykes and the dates provided are very close. The phrase δόξα τῷ θεῷ τῷ διδοῦντι ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος ἀμὴν is repeated in both notes, as well. The resemblance is supported palaeographically, as both colophons appear to be by the same hand.<sup>43</sup>

As to the history of *Timios Prodomos* 1, the dedication notes which were later added in the pages following its colophon attest to the existence of a monastery dedicated to the Holy Trinity.<sup>44</sup> All references to the Holy Trinity monastery are dated after 1792, the year of the renaming of the Monastery of Holy Taxiarchs under the auspices of Neophytos. It can, therefore, be inferred that the two codices copied by Karykes, more likely in his cell in Zaltsi, were transported to the Monastery of Holy Trinity upon its establishment in Vythos. There is no indication as to when and by whom *Timios Prodomos* 1 was then transferred to the Skete of Timios Prodromos in Veroia. This

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<sup>41</sup>Papantoniou (1982), p. 15.

<sup>42</sup>Papantoniou (1982), p. 14.

<sup>43</sup>On this see below in: 5. Karykes's Handwriting.

<sup>44</sup>See n.1, n.2, and n.5 published below: 6. Additional Notes in the Manuscript.

should have happened at some point after the year 1832, that is, the last date in connection with the Monastery of Holy Trinity recorded in the dedication notes of the codex.<sup>45</sup>

## 5. Karykes' Handwriting

As noted, the name of the hieromonk Karykes is completely absent from published catalogues. His characteristic manner of writing can be detected in the main text of *Timios Prodromos* 1 as well as in the two colophons presented above. The main text as well as the marginalia in *Timios Prodromos* 1 are written in minuscule script. Karykes' handwriting is neat, even and modulated, implying a professional scribe. The letters are large, thick and circular. They stand perfectly upright and tidy, and there are often no connections between them. The aforementioned features are consistent with the script of official ecclesiastical or liturgical manuscripts.<sup>46</sup> Karykes's handwriting is aesthetically equal to that of his contemporaries or forerunners.<sup>47</sup> The letters δ, ζ, λ, φ, and χ are written in an open form. Enlarged letters such as β, θ, and ν occur regularly. The letters η, υ and ε occur in both majuscule and minuscule script. The letter ν always follows the older form of the letter, that is, it closely resembles the Modern Greek letter μ. The *nomina sacra* are in frequent use: Θ(εό)ς, Χ(ριστό)ς, φιλάν(θρωπ)ος, Θ(εοτό)κον.<sup>48</sup> The last two scribal features are encountered in many copyists of the same period.

*Timios Prodromos* 1 and the colophon of the now lost codex of the year 1646 exhibit a number of distinctive features, all indicative of Karykes' formal script style: a) the frequent use of minuscule script at the beginning of a clause after a full stop, b) the use of minuscule letters for names, c) the constant accentuation of the diphthong αι of the

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<sup>45</sup>See n.2 and n.4 published below: 6. Additional Notes in the Manuscript.

<sup>46</sup>S. Kadas, «Εικονογραφημένο προσκυνητάριο των αγίων τόπων (Κωδ. 159 της μονής Γρηγορίου)», *Klironomia* 9 (1977) 373.

<sup>47</sup>On the names of such post-Byzantine calligraphers as well as on codices copied by them see: Politis, *Άγιορεῖτες βιβλιογράφοι*, pp. 355-384.

<sup>48</sup>E. Mioni, *Εισαγωγή στην ελληνική παλαιογραφία*, transl. N. Panagiotakis, Athens 1998, 115-116.

word *καί* on the first vowel, d) the last word of a folio is often repeated at the beginning of the next one and some words are connected to the following one, e) the ligature *στ* is consistently substituted with the letter *ς*, and f) the words which are split between two lines are not accompanied by a hyphen.

It is noteworthy that in the *typicon* the scribe records the *answer* to the priest by beginning with the word *λαός* (for instance on f. 6v and f. 45r), instead of the usual terms *χορός* or *ψάλλται*. On f. 7v the word *κλάσας* (derived from the verb *κλάω-ω = σπάω, αποκόβω, τσακίζω*) has been corrected by the scribe himself into *κόψας*.

## 6. Additional Notes in the Manuscript

As already mentioned, *Timios Prodromos* 1 contains a considerable number of notes on the last folios and on the endpaper. They are all dated later than the scribal colophon of f. 73v. These marginalia transmit names and dates, written in an untidy and quick hand and featuring numerous orthographic mistakes. As already noted, the references to *Hagia Triada* (Holy Trinity), to fathers (monks) and to a festal assembly (*πανήγυρις*) indicate the existence of a monastery dedicated to the Holy Trinity, which, if the identification of the two codices is correct, is the Holy Trinity monastery of Vythos in Kozani. It is also noteworthy that these marginalia suggest that the monastery hosted also a school. The texts are given as follows, in the order they occur in the codex:

n.1 (f. 68v): Θήμησι τοῦ κηροῦ ὅπου ἦλθα ἡγὼ ὁ παπα/χρισόδολος καὶ ἐπρσκήνησα με ἐβλά/βηαν κή μη φόβον πολήν την αγήαν τριάδαν / κη τους παταιρας ὀλνούς. κή με ορμήνηβαν / κη ἔμαθα τα γράματα της λητουργιας / κη το ὀρθο κη ὅτη μη ἔληπαν ὅλα μη τα / ἐδιζαν κη μη ἔδοσαν την ιφκή τους δι/αφιλατη κήριος τήν

πανοσιοτητόν σας την εν/τημοτητά σας κη πάντας τους χριζηάνους ορ/θοδόξος νύν και  
αη και εις τους εώνας / άμῃν : . –ἔτους 1804 μήνας ἡουνήου -23.<sup>49</sup>

n.2 (f. 68v): θήμησι τοῦ κηροῦ οπου ἦλθα / Ηγό ο πα Χριστόδολος καὶ απροσκύνησα με  
ευ/βλαβιαν πουλην τη άγια τριαδα / Κη τους πατερη 1832 οκτομβρι / του 15.<sup>50</sup>

n.3 (f. 69r): Καγῶ ο Πζήσης εχειροτωνήθεικα ιερευσ εις τα χεῖλια οκτακόσια ἑξηντα /  
πέντη τω ἔτος τη ἡμερα σαββάτω τό / Νηκάνορας εις σιατηστα γεροντας/ αλέξανδρος ἐκ  
χώρας Δόλον.<sup>51</sup>

n.4 (f. 70r): 1832 ιου 2.

n.5 (end-paper r): πανοσιωταον κύριον / κυρ Δανήλ αδελφικως ασπάζομαι θ..... τον  
κερον ωπου ηρθα εγώ ο πα ιωάννης / εδώ εις την αγίαν τρηάδα και με ορμηνησαν η  
πατέ/ρες τα γράμματα της λειτουργιας ως και την γραμματα με βοθγαν ελυπαν με τα  
εδυξαν / να εχω την ευχήν τους από τον πατέρον ημων από της αγίας τριάδας και ητον /  
αυτή η παντηγηρη ωντας ηλυθα η δε ευχη των παν/σηωτατον πατερον η εισαν μεθ ημων  
δια βυου / παντός.<sup>52</sup>

n.6 (end-paper r): η δε χειρ γράψασα σοι πεκ / η ταφο τα δε γραμμένα / μένουσι.....<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>I remember the time when I, the priest Christodoulos, came and worshipped the Holy Trinity and all the Fathers with much reverence and fear. And they expounded (the texts) to me and I understood the passages of the Liturgy and of the matins. And they acquainted me with all that I was missing and I received their blessing. May the Lord protect your holiness and rectitude as well as all the Orthodox Christians, now and unto the ages of ages. Amen. Year 1804, month June -23.

<sup>50</sup>I remember the time when I, the priest Christodoulos, came and worshiped with much reverence the Holy Trinity and the Fathers. October 15, 1832.

<sup>51</sup>I, the priest Zisis, was ordained priest in the year 1865, Saturday. Nicanor, who is a monk at Siatista. Alexander from the land of Dolos.

<sup>52</sup>I greet warmly the holiness Daniel.... the time when I, the priest Ioannis, arrived here at the (church of) Holy Trinity and the monks expounded the passages of the Liturgy to me. They acquainted me with what I was missing. To get their blessing, (the blessing) from our monks in the (skete of) Holy Trinity. And I was at that local feast to which I came and the blessing of our blessed Fathers will be with us forever.

<sup>53</sup>It is the epigram: ἡ δὲ χεὶρ [ἡ] γράψασα [σῆπτετε] τάφῳ, τὰ δὲ γραμμένα μένουσι: The hand that has written rots in the grave; the written word endures forever: A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou, Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece. Volume I: Manuscripts of the New

n.7 (end-paper r): βυθοαν<sup>54</sup>

n.8 (end-paper r): βηα να καλή<sup>55</sup>

n.9 (end-paper r): άγιος. Θεός. αγιος ισχυρός<sup>56</sup>

n.10 (end-paper v): Κωστα / ντινος Παρατυρ..<sup>57</sup>

n.11 (end-paper r): Γαβρηλι<sup>58</sup>

n.12 (end-paper r): αωμγ<sup>59</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The study of the text, the colophon and the margins of Codex *Timios Prodromos* 1 reveal that it is connected with a manuscript now lost that was made in the cell of St George in the monastery of Holy Taxiarchs in Zaltsi. Both were written by the same scribe named Karykes, an accomplished scribe who was a hieromonk at that monastery. His preference for antiquarian styles can be seen in the artwork found in these codices as well as the phraseology of the colophons. The monastery of Holy Taxiarchs was later transferred to the area of Vythos near the city of Kozani and dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Both codices bearing the name Karykes remained in the monastery in Vythos for an extended period of time. Codex *Timios Prodromos* 1 is now deposited in the library of

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Testament Texts 10th-12th Century, Athens 1978, 125 or *the hand that wrote rots in the grave, but the writing remains till the end of time*: M. D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres*, Vienna 2003, 200. On the epigram see: Atsalos, (1991), p. 691-750; A. Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken*, Wien 2009, p. 44. On the various occurrences of the epigram see the *DBBE* (Gent University, Belgium), <http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/bibliography/view/id/74/>.

<sup>54</sup>Incomprehensible.

<sup>55</sup>Incomprehensible.

<sup>56</sup>*Holy God, Holy Mighty*; The words stem from the Trisagion prayer: Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, Ἅγιος ισχυρός, Ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς (*Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us*).

<sup>57</sup>*Constantine...*

<sup>58</sup>*Gabriel.*

<sup>59</sup>The αωμγ corresponds to the year 1843.

the Timios Prodromos monastery in Veroia; the second codex of Karykes was still at Vythos in 1982, but has since gone missing.

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Images  
1.



St Basil the Great, *Timios Prodromos* 1, f. 21v (Monastery of Timios Prodomos, Pieria)

2.



St Gregory the Dialogos, *Timios Prodromos* 1, f. 53v (Monastery of Timios Prodromos, Pieria)

