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André Binggeli

Greek Palimpsests in the Patriarchal Library in Istanbul and the Making of a Palimpsest in 15th-Century Constantinople

This paper is part of an ongoing team project led by the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes in Paris devoted to the cataloguing of Greek manuscripts in the Library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople under the patronage of His All Holiness Patriarch Bartholomew. Two collections of manuscripts in the Patriarchal Library have been submitted to a new in-depth examination by our team (although none of the most recent imaging techniques have yet been applied to the manuscripts). In this paper, I would first like to give a general overview of the finds that were made by our team regarding palimpsests. I will then turn to one particular palimpsest to present it mainly from a codicological point of view, as it gives some insight into the ways parchment manuscripts were reused to make palimpsests in 15th-century Constantinople.

A SURVEY OF THE PALIMPSESTS IN THE PATRIARCHAL LIBRARY IN ISTANBUL

Collection of the Holy Trinity

The collection of the Holy Trinity is what remains of the library of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity on the island of Halki (Heybeli ada), in the sea of Marmara, opposite Istanbul. This monastery, which goes back to the Byzantine period, was refounded by the future Patriarch of Constantinople Metrophanes III in the first half of the 16th century. Being a literate man and a true bibliophile, he endowed the monastery with a rich library which numbered up to 300 Greek manuscripts. During the following centuries, the library was regularly visited by Western travellers who took away many volumes, now mostly in Western libraries. In 1936, the remaining manuscripts were transferred to the Patriarchal Library in Phanar.[1] As far as palimpsests are concerned, the cataloguing campaign has proven very successful, since ten manuscripts that contain palimpsest portions (out of a total number of 147 manuscripts in the collection) were identified and described in the catalogue published in 2019 by Matthieu Cassin, Marie Cronier, Matoula Kouroupou, and myself.[2] Three different situations can be observed.[3]

Four manuscripts are entirely or mainly palimpsest; they were copied on reused parchment between the 13th and the 15th century:

- The first manuscript (Trin. 133) is the famous 10th-century palimpsest of the *De Cerimoniis* by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.[4] The text of the lower layer was first identified by Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko in 1960. Another part of the same original manuscript was discovered a decade later by Otto Kresten in the lower layer of an Athonite manuscript (Hagion Oros, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου, 1003).[5] The upper layer of the Istanbul manuscript contains a collection of ascetical works by Ephrem that was copied in the second half of the 13th century by two different scribes, one of them using new parchment, the second using reused parchment

André Binggeli: Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, CNRS, Campus Condorcet, 14 cours des Humanités, F-93322 Aubervilliers Cedex; andre.binggeli@irht.cnrs.fr

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1 See a short history of the library of the Holy Trinity in Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, ix–xi.

2 Only 142 manuscripts are actually described in the catalogue. Five are missing from the collection. Our team had direct access to only 138 manuscripts. The others are described from microfilms.

3 On the different uses of palimpest folios, see for example Mondrain, La réutilisation, 117–118, who cites Alfred Jacob.

4 On this manuscript see Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, 358–360 (with relevant bibliography), and II, pl. 271.

5 We did not have direct access to this manuscript and our description was made on the basis of the microfilm made by the American mission of Dumbarton Oaks in 1962. On Mango and Ševčenko's discovery, see Mango and Ševčenko, A New Manuscript. On Kresten's discovery see Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, 36 (n. 6).

from a single copy of the *De Cerimoniis*,[6] both scribes alternating in the manuscript according to the distribution of the quires. Without a codicological analysis of the manuscript itself, it is for the moment impossible to conclude whether the second scribe restored the manuscript or worked in collaboration with the first scribe.[7] The Vatopedi manuscript, a Theotokarion, is also only partly palimpsest. The entire manuscript was copied by the same scribe as the one who copied the palimpsest parts of the Istanbul manuscript. While the first part of the Vatopedi manuscript is on new parchment, the scribe reused for the second part (ff. 72–103, 106–109, 112–135) the same palimpsested exemplar of the *De Cerimoniis*.[8] It therefore seems likely that an out-of-use volume of the *De Cerimoniis* was dismembered and palimpsested in the late 13th century and subsequently used by a scribe to copy (or restore?) two books—and probably more—, most probably in a monastic environment, considering the content of the books.

- A second manuscript (Trin. 124) is an exegetical collection of homilies by John Chrysostom dating to the first half of the 14th century.[9] The manuscript is entirely palimpsest, except for a 16th-century restoration on paper at the beginning and at the end (ff. 1–2, 208–211). The scribe apparently reused a single 9th-century majuscule exemplar of the ascetical corpus of Basil of Caesarea that was identified by Marie Cronier, making it the most ancient preserved copy of the so-called Stoudite recension of this work.[10] There is no indication as to where the parchment was reused and the manuscript copied, but it arrived at the Holy Trinity in the middle of the 16th century.
- A third manuscript (Trin. 102) is a Panegyrikon copied in 1435. It is entirely palimpsest, including the fly-leaves, and reuses almost exclusively a monumental 11th-century pre-metaphrastic Panegyrikon covering the whole year, except for two odd folios (ff. 114 and 281) taken from other liturgical manuscripts, the second one being a double palimpsest.[11] It will be discussed in more detail in the second part of this paper.
- The fourth manuscript (Trin. 29) is a Parakletike of the late 13th or early 14th century. It is entirely palimpsest except for a paper restoration (ff. 63–64). The lower layer has remained unfortunately completely illegible to scrutiny with the naked eye.[12]

In contrast to most of the palimpsest material from Sinai, all of these Greek manuscripts from the 13th to 15th century, as far as we have been able to examine them, reuse exclusively or mainly one single palimpsested manuscript.

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[6] Scribe 1 (165 parchment folia): ff. 1–30, 40–63, 94–125, 133–211 (= quires I–IV, VI–VIII, XIII–XVI, XVIII–XXVIII) – Scribe 2 (115 palimpsest folia): ff. 31–39, 64–93, 126–132, 212–279 (+ 214a) (= quires V, IX–XII, XVII, XXIX–XXXVII). See Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, 359.

[7] Mango and Ševčenko, A New Manuscript, 248, assume that it is a restoration. Two arguments argue in favour of this hypothesis. First, the quires copied by the second scribe end with blank spaces (end of f. 39^{r} and f. 39^{v}, second half of f. 93^{v}, second half of f. 132^{r} and f. 132^{v}), which would indicate poor coordination in the case of a shared copy. A second argument in the same direction is that the quire marks, in the middle of the lower margin, which run throughout the whole manuscript (without however taking into account the loss of one quire between ff. 109 and 110), seem to be due to the second scribe. Moreover, some traces of the original quire marks can still be seen in the lower external corner and seem to indicate that some losses occurred in the interval between both scribes: ιγ΄ (f. 48^{r}), κ΄ instead of ιθ΄ (f. 94^{r}), λδ΄ instead of λβ΄ (f. 193^{r}), λε΄ instead of λγ΄ (f. 201^{r}). Conversely, it must be noted that both scribes are more or less contemporary since they both use an archaizing script that can be dated to the second half of the 13th century (more precisely to the years 1280–1300 for the second scribe, according to Featherstone *et al.*, Studien zu den Palimpsestfragmenten des sogenannten „Zeremonienbuches" I. Prolegomena, 425–426 [n. 12]), so that the interval between the first and the second scribe would be a fairly short one in which to imagine a large-scale deterioration of the manuscript. Moreover, the extent of text copied by the second scribe (15 quires out of 37 preserved, not far from half of the manuscript) seems to go beyond a simple restoration of a model in poor condition.

[8] The only available and very brief description of the Vatopedi manuscript was done in 1924 by Eustratiades and Arkadios, *Κατάλογος*, 181. See also Featherstone *et al.*, Studien zu den Palimpsestfragmenten des sogenannten „Zeremonienbuches" I. Prolegomena, 425–426 (n. 12). I thank Otto Kresten for sharing with me a complete description of the Vatopedi manuscript to be published in Kresten *et al.*, Studien zu den Palimpsestfragmenten des sogenannten „Zeremonienbuches" II. Codex Athous Vatopedinus 1003 (forthcoming).

[9] Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, 333–335, and II, pl. 253.

[10] Cronier, Un nouveau palimpseste.

[11] Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, 278–283, and II, pl. 206–208.

[12] Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, 51–5283, and II, pl. 48.

Three manuscripts present a second scenario for the reuse of palimpsested parchment. All three are parchment manuscripts of the 11th or early 12th century whose lacunae were restored in the 14th century with reused parchment in order to keep a unit of material:

- Trin. 13 is a Praxapostolos of the 11th century, whose final lacuna was repaired in the second quarter of the 14th century with four folios (ff. 231–234) of reused parchment. Matthieu Cassin was able to identify in the lower layer fragments of a Panegyrikon of the 9th–10th century in a majuscule script.[13]
- Trin. 76 is an 11th century metaphrastic Menologion for September. It was restored several times, including in the first half of the 14th century. The two scribes used a paper bifolio to complete a first quire (ff. 40/47), then palimpsested parchment for the next quire (ff. 48–55). The reused parchment comes from a Triodion of the 12th century.[14]
- Trin. 75, the last manuscript in this category, presents a slightly different situation. It is a Synaxarion and Typikon of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century. According to historical notes in its margins, the manuscript arrived in the city of Sougdaia (Chersonessos) in the second half of the 12th century, before 1186. At the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, two folios of reused parchment (ff. 216–217) were added at the end of the manuscript, in order to copy an additional text concerning a local saint, the *Life of Stephen of Sougdaia*. The lower layer contains a Lectionary of the Gospels in a majuscule script of the 9th–10th century.[15] The reused parchment concerns in this case an addition, rather than a restoration, and it was done at a relatively early date compared to the other palimpsests.

The last category concerns manuscripts that have palimpsest fly-leaves that were added with the binding:

- Trin. 41 is a paper Pentekostarion of the second half of the 15th century. At the beginning and at the end, it has two palimpsest folios folded in two and used as fly-leaves (ff. I–II and III–IV). The upper layer contains a liturgical book (Triodion and Pentekostarion) of the 13th century; the lower layer in majuscule remains as yet undeciphered. It is not known when and where the palimpsest folia were used as fly-leaves.[16]
- Trin. 104 is a paper Panegyrikon of the mid-14th century. It has one palimpsest fly-leaf at the end (f. XII). The lower layer has been identified by Matthieu Cassin as a 10th–11th century fragment of a homily of John Chrysostom. The text was erased but not rewritten. A short ascetical extract was copied much later, in the 18th century, on the fly-leaf. The manuscript has a 16th-century binding that was made when the manuscript arrived at the Monastery of the Holy Trinity with 11 paper fly-leaves at the beginning. The palimpsest fly-leaf at the end was probably added at an earlier date, during a previous binding operation.[17]
- Trin. 116 is a parchment collection of the homilies *In Genesim* by John Chrysostom of the beginning of the 11th century. Two palimpsest folios (ff. I–II) were added at the beginning of the volume as fly-leaves. The lower layer contains a Triodion of the 13th–14th century. In this case too, the text was erased but the folios were not rewritten. The fly-leaves must have been added when the manuscript received its current binding, probably in the 15th or the 16th century—in any case, before its arrival at the Holy Trinity.[18]

The use of parchment as fly-leaves is easily explained by the resistance of this material compared to paper. However, no palimpsest fly-leaves have been found in bindings that can be positively ascribed as having been made at or for the Monastery of the Holy Trinity in the 16th century.[19] So, in all three cases mentioned here, the palimpsest fly-leaves must have been added during a previous binding operation. Moreover, in two manuscripts (Trin. 104 and 116) the lower layer has been erased, but the folios were not rewritten. It is therefore likely that the binders had at their disposal a bin of palimpsested parchment sheets that were maybe originally intended as material for writing, as is the case with manuscripts copied by George Baiophoros and bound at the Monastery of the Prodromos of Petra in the early 15th century.[20]

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[13] Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, 24–26, and II, pl. 19.
[14] Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, 201–204, and II, pl. 146.
[15] Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, 193–201, and II, pl. 144.
[16] Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, 80–81, and II, pl. 76.
[17] Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, 285–288, and II, pl. 212.
[18] Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, 316–318.
[19] See in the index of Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, 479, under ‘Reliures’, the entries ‘Sainte-Trinité’ and ‘Griffon’.
[20] See for example the fly-leaves of manuscript Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 19 (ff. I–IV), copied by George Baiophoros, with a binding from the Prodromos of Petra: Cataldi Palau, Legature Costantinopolitane, 260, and Cataldi Palau, Un nuovo manoscritto palinsesto, 301 (n° 14); also many other examples in the list *ibid.*, 298–301.

The Panagia Collection

The Panagia collection comes from the Monastery of the Panagia on the same island of Halki. This monastery was refounded a few decades before the Holy Trinity, at the very end of the 15th century.[21] The collection today numbers 178 shelfmarks and the catalogue published in 2008 by Matoula Kouroupou and Paul Géhin includes only two small palimpsest portions:[22]

- The first manuscript (Pan. 60) is a Menaion from September to December, from the beginning of the 13th century. The manuscript is no longer in the Patriarchal Library in Istanbul and therefore was not described by Kouroupou and Géhin in their catalogue.[23] Very recently, however, I was able to identify its current location in the Library of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, under the shelfmark 8, the book having been purchased in Constantinople by the University of Michigan Expedition in December 1919.[24] It has a restoration, probably of the end of the 13th century or during the 14th century, with eight palimpsest folios (ff. 96 and 106–112). The lower layer, in a biblical majuscule, maybe of the 6th–7th century, contains fragments of a Praxapostolos.[25] Based on certain elements of the decoration, Nadezhda Kavrus-Hofmann suggests that the 13th-century Menaion could be of Palestinian origin,[26] but there seems to be no indication as to where the restoration was made nor, for that matter, as to when and how it arrived at the Monastery of the Panagia.
- The second manuscript (Pan. 128) is a liturgical book of the 15th century containing a service for the feast of St. George on 23 April. Eight loose palimpsest leaves that are folded in two (or half leaves) have been inserted into the volume.[27] According to Athenagoras of Paramythia, who saw the manuscript in 1921–1922, at that time they served as a binding for the manuscript, which now remains unbound.[28] The lower layer of these palimpsest folios contains fragments of a Lectionary of the Gospels in a liturgical majuscule of the 9th century,[29] while the upper layer contains fragments of a Parakletike of the 13th century.[30] There is no indication of the history of the manuscript and the date when the palimpsest folios were used for the binding, however this must have occurred before it arrived at the Monastery of the Panagia, as there are no other examples of this type of binding in the monastery's library.

The palimpsests found in the Patriarchal library can thus be summarized in the following table:[31]

Shelfmark	**Contents**	**Palimpsest folios**	**Upper layer**		**Lower layer**	
Trin. 13 (*Diktyon* 33511)	Restoration	4	Praxapostolos	14 (2/4)	Panegyrikon	9–10 (majuscule)
Trin. 29 (*Diktyon* 33527)	Entirely palimpsest	84	Parakletike	13 ex–14 in	?	

[21] For a brief history of the library of the Panagia, see Kouroupou and Géhin, *Catalogue*, I, 13–23.

[22] Only 171 manuscripts are actually described. Seven are missing from the collection. The cataloguers had direct access to only 160 manuscripts, the others being described from microfilm.

[23] Kouroupou and Géhin, *Catalogue*, I, 189. It was last catalogued by Athenagoras, Κατάλογος, 11 (1935) 158–160.

[24] See Binggeli, Un nouveau manuscrit. For brief descriptions of the manuscript after it arrived at Ann Arbor, see Clarke, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 277; de Ricci and Wilson, *Census*, 1104; and the website of CSNTM, with digital images of the manuscript (http://images.csntm.org/Manuscripts/GA_Lect_1611/GA_Lect_1611.pdf [accessed 01.07.2023]). The dating of the manuscript to the first half of the 13th c. is due to Kavrus-Hoffmann, Discovering Hidden Treasures, 81 and fig. 2. See now Kavrus-Hoffmann, *A Catalogue*, 8–11.

[25] On the dating of the underwriting see Kavrus-Hoffmann, *A Catalogue*, 10. Welte, Die griechischen Palimpseste, 25, dates the underwriting to the 9th century.

[26] Kavrus-Hofmann, Discovering Hidden Treasures, 81; Kavrus-Hofmann, *A Catalogue*, 10–11.

[27] Kouroupou and Géhin, *Catalogue*, I, 333–336, and II, pl. 183.

[28] Athenagoras, Κατάλογος, 12 (1936) 303: 'Εἶναι σταχωμένα δι' ἑπτὰ φύλλων μεμβράνης παλιμπσήστου καὶ ἐν τέλει δι' ἑπτά'. Today there are five complete folios (ff. I–V) and four half folios (ff. VI–IX); originally there must have been six complete folios (ff. VI and VII are the two halves of the same folio) and two half folios (ff. VIII and IX do not join): see Kouroupou and Géhin, *Catalogue*, I, 334–335. The sewing holes that were made during the binding operation are visible on the folio: *ibid.*, II, pl. 183.

[29] The manuscript is not listed in Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste*.

[30] The upper writing is dated to the 15th century by Kouropou and Géhin, *Catalogue*, I, 335.

[31] We did not have the opportunity to make a survey of the collection of the Theological School, but according to Tsakopoulos, *Περιγραφικὸς κατάλογος*, none of the manuscripts in that collection are palimpsests.

Shelfmark	Contents	Palimpsest folios	Upper layer		Lower layer	
Trin. 41 (*Diktyon* 33539)	Fly-leaves	2	Triodion	13	?	majuscule
Trin. 75 (*Diktyon* 33573)	Addition	2	Synaxarion	12 ex–13 in	Lectionary of the Gospels	9–10 (majuscule)
Trin. 76 (*Diktyon* 33574)	Restoration	8	Menologion	14 (1/2)	Triodion	12
Trin. 102 (*Diktyon* 33600)	Entirely palimpsest	297 (161)	Panegyrikon	1435	Panegyrikon + 2 odd folios	11
Trin. 104 (*Diktyon* 33602)	Fly-leaves	1	No rewriting		John Chrysostom	12
Trin. 116 (*Diktyon* 33614)	Fly-leaves	2	No rewriting		Triodion	13–14
Trin. 124 (*Diktyon* 33622)	Entirely palimpsest	205	John Chrysostom	14 (1/2)	Basil of Caesarea	8–9 (majuscule)
Trin. 133 (*Diktyon* 33631)	Partially palimpsest	115	Ephrem	13 (3/4)	Book of Ceremonies	10 (3/4)
Pan. 60 (*Diktyon* 33705) (now Ann Arbor 8 [*Diktyon* 864])	Restoration	8	Menaion	13 (1/2)	Praxapostolos	6–7 (majuscule)
Pan. 128 (*Diktyon* 33773)	Binding	8	Parakletike	13	Lectionary of the Gospels	9 (majuscule)

Tab. 1: Palimpsest manuscripts in the holdings of the Patriarchal Library in Istanbul

In total, this amounts to 720 palimpsest folios in ten different manuscripts for the collection of the Holy Trinity[32] and only 16 palimpsest folios in two different manuscripts for the Panagia. All of the manuscripts were reused between the end of the 12th century and the middle of the 15th century, with a peak between the end of the 13th and the middle of the 14th century, which is consistent with the period generally observed for the use of palimpsested parchment by Greek scribes in Byzantium and Southern Italy. The upper layer contains exclusively liturgical or patristic material. The lower layers of the palimpsest folios range in date between the 9th and the 13th century, half of the folios being in majuscule writing, and, except for the *Book of Ceremonies*, they all contain liturgical, hagiographic, or patristic texts. According to palaeographical observation, none of them can be ascribed a Southern Italian origin, and only one of them could possibly have a Palestinian origin. In this way, the library of the Patriarchate offers a good sample of the use of palimpsested parchment at the heart of the Byzantine Empire.

Metrophanes: a Collector of Palimpsests?

The proportion of palimpsests in the collection of manuscripts that come from the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, approximately 7% (10 manuscripts with palimpsest portions out of 147), is unusually high compared to what is usually found in collections of Greek manuscripts, where the proportion tends to be around 1 or 2%,[33]

[32] Trin. 102 has a total of 297 folios (ff. II.296 [+ 215a, -34, 181]). In most cases, however, one reused parchment folio of the older manuscript was folded in two and forms a bifolio of the current manuscript, so there are actually only 161 folios from the older manuscripts; see below p. 294.

[33] The figures of palimpsest manuscripts in collections of Greek manuscripts were made available in a census conducted in many European Libraries for the Rinascimento virtuale programme in the early 2000s. Many of the results of this survey were published in the collective volume *Libri palinsesti greci*, edited by Santo Lucà: Athens, Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος: less than 1% (23 palimpsests out of more than 3,000 mss), see Melissakis, Οἱ Παλίμπσηστοι. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France: approximately 1.2% (57 palimpsests identified at the end of the 19th century by Alfred Jacob, out of more than 4,500 Greek mss), see Mondrain, La réutilisation, 116. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: 2% (21 palimpsests out of 1,065 Greek mss), see Grusková, *Untersuchungen*, 22. Cambridge, University Library: 2.6% (5 palimpsests out of 191 Greek mss), see Tchernetska, Hand-List

sometimes a little more, especially in Italian libraries with manuscripts from Southern Italy, where the use of palimpsested parchment was more common.[34]

The figures for the Monastery of the Holy Trinity can be usefully compared with the situation at the twin Monastery of the Panagia on the same island of Halki, which was refounded approximately at the same period—even if such statistics must be used, of course, with extreme caution.[35] In the case of the Panagia the proportion of palimpsests is barely 1% (two manuscripts with palimpsest portions out of a total of 178 manuscripts), and, indeed, much less if one considers the number of pages. And yet, the two collections were built up at approximately the same period, between the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century, on the same island on the outskirts of Constantinople, at that time capital of the Ottoman Empire. How is it that the library of the Holy Trinity has such a high proportion of palimpsest manuscripts? Is it just chance, or could it be that palimpsests aroused the curiosity of Metrophanes, as they do ours today?

The difference in the proportion of palimpsests must evidently be placed alongside the number of parchment manuscripts and the date of the manuscripts. The proportion of manuscripts mainly made of parchment in the collection of the Holy Trinity is again unusually high: close to half of the codices are parchment, while three quarters of the Panagia collection are composed of paper manuscripts.[36] The same can be said for the age of the manuscripts: more than 80% of the manuscripts at Holy Trinity are pre-15th century, and the great majority are from the 11th–14th centuries,[37] while almost half of the manuscripts of the Panagia were copied from the 16th century onwards.

All of these figures confirm the general impression that Metrophanes was a well-informed bibliophile who collected carefully-chosen pieces of value for the library of the monastery he refounded—mostly old manuscripts, which he could find on the Constantinopolitan market and in the monasteries he frequented, especially the Great Lavra on Mount Athos. Regarding palimpsests, Metrophanes certainly had no idea of the undertexts and he was probably just lucky in his choice of manuscripts. His collection may also reflect the fact that the phenomenon was actually more widespread in late Byzantium than we think today. To illustrate this, it is worth going back to one century before the time of Metrophanes, to the period immediately preceding the Fall of Constantinople, and turn to one specific palimpsest, one of his lucky choices, and present it more in detail.

MS. TRIN. 102: A MANUSCRIPT COPIED AT THE MONASTERY OF THE PANTOKRATOR IN CONSTANTINOPLE

The manuscript Trin. 102 is, as has already been mentioned, a Panegyrikon for the whole year. It was copied in its entirety by a single scribe, Stephanos the deacon, in a monastery dedicated to the Pantokrator, in the year 1435, as is stated in the colophon in dodecasyllable verses on the last page of the manuscript (f. 296v):[38]

(the figures are much higher if one takes into account the palimpsests with an upper layer in other languages). Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III: 1.1% (5 palimpsests out of 439 mss), see Formentin, Palinsesti ... Napoli, 155. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana: 0.8% (10 palimpsests out of 1,234 mss), see Formentin, Palinsesti ... Napoli, 159, and Ead., I palinsesti … Marciana, 146. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana: 2.6% (31 palimpsests out of 1,201 mss), see Magrini, I palinsesti. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: 2.9% (139 palimpsests out of more than 4,700 Greek mss), see Canart, Les palimpsestes. Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana: 4.1% (45 palimpsests out of 1,093 mss), see Pasini, I palinsesti (but he also takes into account manuscripts with upper layers in other languages than Greek).

[34] This is true in particular for the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (see previous footnote), but also for libraries of Southern Italy—for example, Messina, Biblioteca Universitaria: 14.6% (with 29 palimpsests out of 198 mss, see Rodriquez, I palinsesti), and naturally the Library of Grottaferrata.

[35] It is very difficult to determine the precise physiognomy of the collection of the Holy Trinity at the time of Metrophanes. Moreover, many manuscripts have been withdrawn from the collection and now are found in different collections. Other manuscripts arrived after the Patriarch's time. The same can be said for the Library of the Monastery of the Panagia, which benefited in 1629–1630 from the arrival of a large number of manuscripts from the Monastery of the Prodromos of Sozopolis: see Kouroupou and Géhin, *Catalogue*, I, 15–16.

[36] Holy Trinity (147 mss): 43% parchment (63 mss); 57% paper (84 mss) – Panagia (178 mss): 28% parchment (49 mss); 72% paper (128 mss); and one mixed parchment/paper (Pan. 78). If we compare the proportion of manuscripts with palimpsest portions to the total number of parchment manuscripts, the Holy Trinity (16%) is again far ahead of the Panagia (4%).

[37] Holy Trinity: 15th and before: 86% (122 mss), 16th and after: 14% (20 mss); Panagia: 15th and before: 57% (97 mss), 16th and after: 43% (74 mss).

[38] See Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, 281, and II, pl. 208. The epigram was also edited recently by Vassis, Das Pantokratorkloster, 248–249.

† ἐνταῦθα τέρμα βϊβλί́ου, (καὶ) τ(οῦ) βΐ́(ου),
τ(οῦ) ὁσϊομάρτϋρος στεφάνου νέου·
ἐν τῆ παντοκράτορος γραφέντων μάνδρα·
τάλανος χειρΐ́, στεφάνου δϊακόνου·
εἰς ἐξίλασμα τῶν αὐτοῦ ὀφλημ<ά>τ(ων) :
μϊ(νὶ) φε<βρουα>ρ<ίῳ>· (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ιγ(ης) τῶ ςϡμγ(ω) ἔτει :-

Here ends the book, as well as the Life of the holy martyr Stephen the Younger, that were written in the mandra of the Pantokrator, by the miserable hand of Stephen the deacon, as a propitiatory offering for his debts, in the month of February, 13th indiction, of the year 6943.

The main problem with this colophon lies in the identification of the monastery dedicated to the Pantokrator. It could be the Constantinopolitan monastery founded in the 12th century by John II Komnenos, the Athonite monastery founded in the 14th century—or even, for that matter, any other monastery dedicated to the Almighty. To our knowledge, the scribe, Stephen the deacon, is not known from any other manuscript, but a closer look at the contents of the manuscript allows us to make some assumptions about the place and the circumstances in which it was copied.

The manuscript contains a sequence of 13 texts ordered according to the liturgical year,[39] from the *Oratio in Seraphim* by John Chrysostom, to be read for the feast of the Archangels on 8 November, to the *Oratio in decollationem s. Iohannis* by the same John Chrysostom, to be read on the feast of the Beheading of John the Baptist on 29 August. The other texts in the manuscript are readings for the Sunday of the Ancestors of Christ (before Christmas), St. Philogonos on 20 December (five days before Christmas), St. Theodore Stratelates and St. Luke the Younger on 8 February, St. Martinianos on 13 February, St. Blasios of Sebaste on 11 February, St. George on 23 April, St. Arsenios on 8 May, the feast of the Transfiguration on 6 August, and the feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos on 15 August.

After this series, one last text was copied at the end of the manuscript: the metaphrastic *Life of St. Stephen the Younger*. According to the liturgical rubric, it is to be read on the feast of the saint on 28 November, and thus does not follow the order of the calendar. However, the copy of this text seems to have been included in the scribe's initial project, since he already announced his intention to copy it in a note at the end of the first text, the *Oratio in Seraphim* (f. 8ᵛ), deciding to relegate it to the end of the manuscript, as some kind of personal vow:[40]

Ζήτ<ει> νοε<μβ>ρΐ́<ου> κη΄ ἐν τῶ τέλ<ει> τοῦ βϊβλί́ου, λόγον τ(οῦ) βίου (καὶ) τῶν ἀγών(ων) τ(οῦ) | ὁσϊωτάτ(ου) ὁμολογητ(οῦ) στεφάνου· (οὐ) δϊὰ λήθ(ην) ἐκεῖσε γραφέντα ἀλλὰ | δϊ᾽ αἰτίαν ἑτέραν· ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐντϋγχάνοντ(ες) τούτω, δότε μοι τῶ ραθΰμω σϋγγνώμ(ην) | πρὸς χ(ριστο)ῦ παντοκράτ(ο)ρος.

Look at the end of the book for November 28th, the homily of the life and deeds of the very holy confessor Stephen; it was not written there by forgetfulness, but for another reason. You who read this, give forgiveness to me, the careless, towards Christ Pantokrator.

We would have liked the scribe to specify what this 'other reason' was. The homonymy between the scribe and the last-celebrated saint in the manuscript is certainly one explanation, and as a monk himself, he may have considered Stephen the Younger as his patron saint and therefore wanted to put a special emphasis on this text, both by placing it in a conspicuous place at the end of the manuscript and by naming it explicitly in the colophon.[41]

Another explanation for the special status of this last text may lie in the fact that a relic of St. Stephen the Younger was preserved precisely at the Monastery of the Pantokrator in Constantinople in the 15th century. A Russian pilgrim, Zosima the Deacon, who visited the monastery in 1419–1422, records having seen there

[39] See a detailed description of the content in Binggeli *et al.*, *Catalogue*, I, 278–279.

[40] Even if the note, in red ink, may have been added after the manuscript was finished, a blank space for the note was provided for from the start on f. 8ᵛ. The *Life of St. Stephen the Younger* is also included as the last item in the *pinax* that was added by Stephen the deacon at the beginning of the codex (f. IIᵛ).

[41] The metaphrastic version of the *Life of St. Stephen the Younger* (*BHG* 1667), which is included in this manuscript, makes no allusion at all to the author of the pre-metaphrastic version of this *Life* (*BHG* 1666), who is also called Stephen the deacon. It is certainly a coincidence that both the scribe and the author of the pre-metaphrastic *Life* have an identical name.

the hand of St. Stephen the Younger, a relic which is also attested in the contemporary account of an Armenian pilgrim and may have been a recent acquisition, since previous pilgrims do not mention it.[42] In any case, St. Stephen the Younger seems to have enjoyed particular veneration in the Constantinopolitan Monastery of the Pantokrator in the first half of the 15th century.

According to the Typikon of the Pantokrator in Constantinople, which dates to the 12th century, the two main feasts celebrated in the monastery were the feasts of the Transfiguration (6 August), as the principal festival of the *katholikon*, and the Dormition of the Theotokos (15 August), probably in honour of the Theotokos Eleousa, to whom the second church of the monastery was dedicated.[43] It is to be noted here again that both feasts are disproportionately well represented in the Panegyrikon, with two homilies devoted to each, while the other major Marian or Dominical feasts are absent. The monastery had a third funerary chapel dedicated to the Archangel Michael, which could also explain the presence of the homily for the feast of the Archangels at the beginning of the codex.[44]

This Panegyrikon could thus reflect a desire to assemble a volume specially designed for the commemorations celebrated at the Constantinopolitan monastery in its heyday.[45] The Monastery of the Pantokrator was indeed an important establishment in Constantinople during the 14th and 15th centuries, until the Fall of the City, and served in particular as an imperial burial place for the Palaiologan dynasty.[46] In the early 1420s, sometime between 1422 and 1425, Makarios Makres was appointed hegoumenos of the monastery by the emperor John VIII Palaiolologos, and he remained in that post until his death in 1431. In the performance of his duties, he contributed to the restoration of the monastery, with the help of his friend George Sphrantzes, and increased the monastic community from six to twelve monks.[47] In the same years, George Scholarios, the future Patriarch of Constantinople, lived in the monastery as a layman, and composed in particular three poems on the tomb of his friend the hegoumenos Makarios.[48] So there is no difficulty in placing the copy of our palimpsest in this context, at the Pantokrator in Constantinople, for the use of the flourishing monastic community, perhaps under the successor of Makarios, the hegoumenos Gerontios, who is attested between 1437 and 1445.[49] However, despite the presence of such figures and the signs of political and intellectual activity at the monastery, it must be noted that no manuscripts, except for our palimpsest, can actually be attributed to the Pantokrator in Constantinople in the 14th and 15th centuries.[50]

Using Palimpsested Parchment in 15th-Century Constantinople

At this point it is worth considering more closely the use of palimpsested parchment in late Byzantium. The phenomenon of palimpsestation has been studied extensively for Southern Italy, and it has been shown that the use of this material covers a period from the end of the 12th century to the 15th century, the most numerous

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42 See Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 186 and 295, and Mineva, References to the Monastery of the Pantokrator, 85.

43 See Kotzabassi, Feasts, 154–156.

44 Kotzabassi, Feasts, 156, mentions no feast days in this church, but the evidence is based on the 12th century Typikon.

45 It must be noted, conversely, that the Panegyrikon does not contain any text for the commemoration of St. Floros and St. Lauros, whose relics were among the most important found in the Monastery of the Pantokrator in Constantinople and were venerated by many Russian pilgrims, and that none of the other feasts that are commemorated in the Panegyrikon can be directly related to the specific liturgical calendar of that monastery.

46 See Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, 515–523. On the history of the monastery during this period, see Kotzabassi, The Monastery of Pantokrator. See also Melvani, The Patriarchate, 178.

47 See Gautier, Le typikon, 24; Argyriou, *Macaire Makrès*, 6–7; Kotzabassi, The Monastery of Pantokrator, 64–65.

48 See Argyriou, *Macaire Makrès*, 6–7; Kotzabassi, The Monastery of Pantokrator, 65.

49 On Gerontios, who took part in the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–1439, see, for example, Kotzabassi, The Monastery of Pantokrator, 65.

50 All the 14th century manuscripts cited by Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, 521 (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 555, 813, 816, 864) come in fact from the Athonite Monastery of the Pantokrator; see Melissakis, Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη, 291–292. Only Sinai gr. 339, copied by the 12th century abbot Joseph Hagioglykerites, can certainly be ascribed to the Constantinopolitan Pantokrator; see Gautier, Le typikon, 22. Another manuscript that could possibly come from the Constantinopolitan Pantokrator is Vienna, ÖNB, med. gr. 26, a medical miscellany of the first half of the 15th century that bears a possession note of a Pantokrator monastery (f. 444v): Τουτο το βηβλίο ηνε του παντοκρατορα. It was bought in Constantinople by Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq during his stay in the Ottoman capital between 1554 and 1562; see Hunger and Kresten, *Katalog*, 73. I thank Marie Cronier for this reference.

records being from the 13th and the first half of the 14th centuries. It has often been considered as a phenomenon restricted to 'peripheral regions', and no comprehensive surveys have been made for the use of palimpsested parchment in Constantinople in the 15th century.[51] And yet, a great number of known examples of the use of this material come precisely from Constantinople and its hinterland in the first half of the 15th century, just before the Fall of the City.[52]

The most famous example is that of George Baiophoros, whose copying activity spans the period from 1402 and 1434.[53] During the early period of his scribal activity, at least during the years 1402–1407, he copied luxury manuscripts on paper, many of them for rich sponsors.[54] During the second period of his scribal activity, from 1418 to 1434, Baiophoros focused almost exclusively on copying the *Schedographia* and *Erotemata* of Manuel Moschopoulos for scholarly use, mainly on palimpsested parchment. Twenty-one manuscripts of these two works, and possibly one manuscript of the *Grammatica* of Gennadios Scholarios using palimpsested parchment, have been identified, out of the 39 manuscripts where he is the principal copyist.[55] According to the conclusions of Ernst Gamillscheg and Annaclara Cataldi Palau, Baiophoros was then working at the Monastery of the Prodromos of Petra, so the very wide range of texts found in the lower layers of the reused parchment came from the rich library of that monastery and is a sign of the intellectual activity that had prevailed there.

Another scribe of the 15th century who used palimpsested parchment in the region of Constantinople is John Chortasmenos, who also began his career at the Prodromos of Petra. After 1425, he became bishop of Selymbria, on the outskirts of Constantinople. There, for the liturgical needs of his episcopal church, he copied two volumes of the Menaion (London, BL, Add. 31,919 and 36,823) on palimpsest parchment, the first of which is dated to the year 1431.[56] One year earlier, in the colophon of another volume of the Menaion that he signed in 1430—this time on paper (Oxford, Christ Church, 56)—Chortasmenos gave a list of ten liturgical manuscripts that he copied himself (ἅπερ οἰκειοχείρως γέγραφα) and dedicated to the same episcopal church of Selymbria. Out of these, nine were on parchment (an Oktoechos in two volumes, five volumes of the Menaion, an Euchologion, and a Lectionary of the Gospels).[57] Most probably all of these volumes, which have not yet been identified, were written on reused palimpsested parchment, just like the two preserved volumes of the British Library. New parchment was indeed very rare in 15th-century Constantinople, and was used exclusively for luxury manuscripts copied for Western—mainly Italian—sponsors, like Francesco Filelfo and Giovanni Aurispa. These manuscript hunters may possibly have taken with them their own stock of new parchment specifically for the purpose of having manuscripts copied for them during their stay in Constantinople.[58] In 1431, again probably for his episcopal church of Selymbria, Chortasmenos also restored a manuscript of the *Homiliae in Matthaeum* of John Chrysostom (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2126), by using several folios of palimpsested parchment (ff. 20–23, 338); he also used new parchment for two folios (ff. 337 and 339), but it was of very poor quality[59] and could in no way compare to the parchment used for the Italian sponsors.

Another example of the use of palimpsested parchment in Constantinople is the famous codex Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1298, a 10th-century exemplar of the works of Aelius Aristides. A large portion of the manuscript was restored at the beginning of the 15th century in a Constantinopolitan *atelier*, perhaps related to emperor

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[51] See however, Mondrain, La réutilisation.

[52] Studies have been made of the use of palimpsested parchment in Southern Italy; see for example Crisci, *I Palinsesti di Grottaferrata*, 261–264, who considers that peripheral regions offer more favourable conditions than the capital for the use of palimpsest parchment.

[53] On George Baiophoros, see Gamillscheg, Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung, and Cataldi Palau, Un nuovo manoscritto palinsesto.

[54] See Cataldi Palau, Un nuovo manoscritto palinsesto, 286, and charts, 289–291. His earliest dated manuscript (London, BL, Add. 11,892–11,893) is a two volume *Suda* copied in 1402 on paper.

[55] See Cataldi Palau, Un nuovo manoscritto palinsesto, 289–291.

[56] See Mondrain, La réutilisation, 115.

[57] Gamillscheg, Die Handschriftenliste, 147.

[58] On the use of parchment in Constantinople at the beginning of the 15th century, see De Gregorio, L'Erodoto, 53–62, with a tentative list of manuscripts containing classical texts copied on parchment in the second and third decades of the 15th century by scribes like George Chrysokkokes, Stephanos of Medeia and George Dokeianos, many of them for Francesco Filelfo, who took them back to Italy before 1427. To the manuscripts cited in De Gregorio's article can be added London, BL, Add. 11,728 (Polybius), copied by Stephanos of Medeia in 1416, and Florence, BML, Conv. Soppr. 180 (Plato), copied by the same Stephanos of Medeia. See also Cataldi Palau, I Colleghi.

[59] Schreiner, Johannes Chortasmenos.

Manuel II Palaiologos, using palimpsested parchment taken from no fewer than six different manuscripts.[60]

These are just a few examples that suggest that the use of palimpsested parchment in Constantinople in the decades before the Fall of the City was not a marginal practice, while, by contrast, it was not used in the Athonite monasteries at this time as far as can be judged.[61] All of this confirms that our palimpsest, Trin. 102, was indeed copied in the Monastery of the Pantokrator in Constantinople in the decades before the Fall of the City. Nevertheless, unlike the palimpsest manuscripts copied by Baiophoros and Chortasmenos, who in most cases reuse fragments from a large number of different manuscripts,[62] the manuscript copied by Stephen the deacon at the Pantokrator reflects a very different practice.

The Making of the Palimpsest

The manuscript Trin. 102 is entirely palimpsest, including the fly-leaves. All the folios (ff. II.296 [+215a, -34, -81]), come from the same pre-metaphrastic Panegyrikon for the whole year, except for two folios that belong to odd manuscripts (ff. 114 and 281).[63] The underwriting of the manuscript first attracted the attention of Albert Ehrhard, who examined the manuscript in 1908 when it was is still in Halki; he deciphered a few folios and identified seven different texts.[64] My predecessor at the IRHT, Father Joseph Paramelle, had at his disposal a contrasted black and white printout of the set of photos made in 1962 by the Dumbarton Oaks American photographic mission; he identified almost half of the palimpsest folios and discovered eight more texts. In the process of cataloguing the manuscripts of the Holy Trinity, I pursued the deciphering of the palimpsest using the Dumbarton Oaks photos, and a few digital photos that were made in 2016 especially for the catalogue. I was able to identify the text contained in the lower layer of all the remaining folios (except one), and discovered another nine texts. The total number of texts that have been preserved from the original Panegyrikon thus amounts to 24 texts:[65]

Life of St. Symeon Stylites (1 Sept.)
Passion of St. Babylas (4 Sept.)
Cosmas Vestitor, *On Zacharias* I–II (5 Sept.)
Miracle of the archangel Michael at Chonai (6 Sept.)
Pantaleon the Deacon, *Miracles of the archangel Michael* (6 Sept.)
John Damascene, *On the Nativity of the Mother of God* (8 Sept.)
Life of St. Theodora of Alexandria (11 Sept.)
Andrew of Crete, *On the Holy Cross* (14 Sept.)
On the Fathers of the 6th Ecumenical Council (15 Sept.)
Passion of St. Euphemia (16 Sept.)
Passion of St. Eusthatios and St. Theopiste (20 Sept.)
Acts and miracles of St. Thecla (24 Sept.)
Acts of St. John the Evangelist (26 Sept.)
Life of St. Gregory the Illuminator (30 Sept.)
John Chrysostom, *On the Annunciation* (25 March)
Passion of St. Cyprian and St. Justina (2 Oct.)

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[60] Grosdidier de Matons and Förstel, Quelques manuscrits grecs.

[61] I thank Zisis Melissakis for this information.

[62] For Baiophoros, see a tentative list in Cataldi Palau, Un nuovo manoscritto palinsesto, 296–301. Detailed studies on individual manuscripts have also been made by different scholars. At least 23 different manuscripts were used for Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Q 6 sup. (see Turco, Il Palinsesto). 13 different manuscripts were used for Vienna, ÖNB, phil. gr. 286 (see Grusková, *Untersuchungen*, 103–131). Fragments from the same original palimpsested manuscript were also used by Baiophoros to copy different manuscripts: see for example Bianconi and Orsini, Libri e *membra disiecta*. However, some manuscripts copied by Baiophoros are made mainly of one single palimpsested manuscript, for example, Paris, BnF, gr. 2575 (Cataldi Palau, Un nuovo codice della 'collezione filosofica'), and Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L 9 sup. (Cataldi Palau, Un nuovo manoscritto palinsesto, 297).

[63] F. 281 is a double palimpsest, with the Acts of Thomas in a round minuscule of the 10th century and a Menaion of the 12th century. F. 114 contains a hagiographical text.

[64] Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, I, 336–337. The manuscript is described there as a Menologion for the whole year; the collection should rather be considered as a 'Jahressammlung'.

[65] See precise description of the texts in Binggeli *et al*., *Catalogue*, I, 279–280.

Life of St. Pelagia (8 Oct.)
Life of St. Abramios and his niece Maria (19 Oct.)
Passion of St. Arethas of Najran (24 Oct.)
Passion of St. Barbara (4 Dec.)
Michael the Archimandrite, *Life of St. Nicholas of Myra* (6 Dec.)
John Chrysostom, *On the exile of Adam* (Sunday τῆς Τυροφάγου)
Life of St. Mary the Egyptian (1 April)
Anastasius of Sinai, *On Psalm 6* (First Sunday of Lent)

Fig. 1: Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, Trin. 102, ff. 50v–51r (© Istanbul, Patriarchal Library)

Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, who used this manuscript for their critical edition of the *Acts of St. John the Evangelist* published in 1983, showed that it is the only known witness that contains this particular version of the apocryphal text that is closest to the original.[66] In hagiographical manuscripts, when there is one rare text, generally there are some others. In several instances the Panegyrikon presents rare or unknown versions of hagiographical texts, with large portions that have no known parallel. Leaving the description of the contents for another contribution,[67] I would like to present here the codicological features of the original manuscript and examine the way the folios were reused by Stephanos the deacon.

In total, 159 folios from the original manuscript were reused, and although no quire marks have been preserved, it can be shown that these folios belong to 29 different quires of the original manuscript, all quater-

[66] See Junod and Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis*, 19–20.
[67] The texts contained in the palimpest Panegyrikon will be presented more at length in a forthcoming comprehensive study.

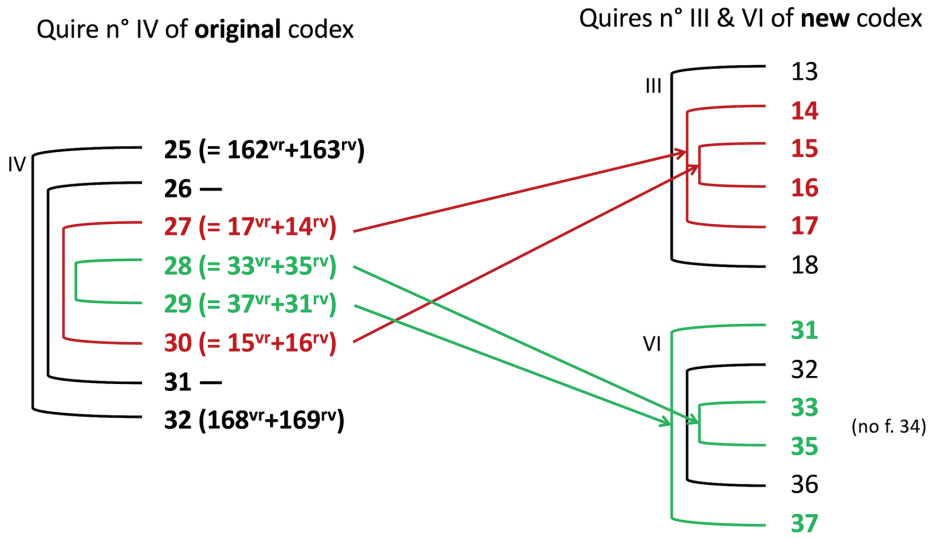
nions. As the original set of prickings are still visible on many folios,[68] the dimensions of a folio of the original codex can be reconstructed: it measured approximately 380 × 280 mm. The text is written in two columns of 38 lines, for a written surface of 280 × 80 mm per column, in a very neat *Perlschrift* of the 11th century. The decoration, although no colour is preserved, is related to the *Laubsäge-Ornamentik*. It is thus a monumental codex of high quality that must have counted originally at least 300 folios.

One of the puzzling features that can be observed is that in preparing the leaves of the original manuscript for the production of the new manuscript, four different methods were used:

1. In most cases (133 folios), one single leaf of the original codex was folded into a bifolio for the new codex. The original folio is turned by 90° and the underwriting is perpendicular to the upper writing.
2. In 10 cases, the original folio has been cut in half widthwise, and only the upper (or lower) half has been reused (17 to 22 lines of text). The original half-folio is turned by 90° and forms a single folio (with its stub) of the new codex; the underwriting is perpendicular to the upper writing.
3. In 14 cases, the original folio was trimmed on two sides to form one single folio (with its stub) of the new codex; only one column and a half of the original folio are preserved, with 30 out of 38 lines. In this case, the lower and upper handwriting are superimposed, even if the lower handwriting appears sometimes at 180 degrees in relation to the overtext.
4. Bifolio 50–51 presents a particular case: it is an original bifolio (and not a folio) that was trimmed in the same way, on two sides, to form a bifolio of the new manuscript. Three columns of the original text are thus preserved. The fold of the bifolio and the notches for the sewing 'à la grecque' are clearly visible in the middle of f. 50 (see Fig. 1).

Why were the original folios subjected to different treatments when reused in the new manuscript? The way the folios were folded or trimmed probably depended on the state of the palimpsested folio. When it was possible, the original folio, which served as the modular template for the new manuscript, was just folded in two to create a bifolio, but if part of the original folio was in a bad state or had been damaged while being rubbed, it was then cut accordingly in order to discard the damaged part. Such a preparation implies however that the 15th century scribe had at his disposal the complete folios, or even bifolios, and that he then cut them on the spot according to his needs.

Following up on an idea that was presented by Jost Gippert in his publications concerning the Sinai Albanian palimpsest,[69] it can be observed that in our manuscript, the bifolios of the original codex are not distributed completely at random in the new codex. Both parts of the original bifolio were usually kept close together and were used one after the other in the pile. Here is an example from quire IV of the original codex:



Tab. 2: Diagram representing the redistribution in the new codex of folios from quire IV of the original codex

[68] See in particular ff. 95/96.
[69] Gippert, The Albanian Gospel Manuscript, 59–60.

The third bifolio of the original codex (27/30) was cut in two halves to create two bifolios for the new codex that were directly superimposed in quire III. The two halves of the central bifolio (28/29) were reused in the same quire (VI), although not directly superimposed.[70] The two parts of the external bifolio (25/32) were used in two consecutive quires (XXVI and XVII). Finally, when one half of the original bifolio is missing in the new codex, generally the other part will also be missing (here 26/31). This way of reusing bifolios from the original codex in the new codex can be observed, if not systematically, nevertheless fairly regularly. This codicological 'rule' proved naturally very helpful in identifying the text contained in the lower layer on heavily erased folios, where only two or three words could be read. It was also useful in reconstructing the quire structure of the original manuscript. The fact that the two parts of a bifolio are found close together in the new manuscript again gives the impression that the scribe had at his disposal the complete bifolios, and that he cut them and superimposed them himself, or at least that it was done in the same general process by which the book was produced.

CONCLUSION

While the Prodromos of Petra in Constantinople—like St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai—seems to have had some kind of 'waste paper bin' full of discarded bits and pieces of palimpsested manuscripts, which were used at random by scribes like George Baiophoros, it is not certain that there was such a waste paper bin full of ready-to-use forgotten treasures at the Pantokrator, where Stephen the deacon was working during approximately the same period. One entire manuscript that offered plentiful raw material was systematically dismembered and reused in the same process in order to copy this new manuscript (MS. Trin. 102), and probably a number of other manuscripts yet to be found in order to fill in the missing parts. The palimpsested manuscript was an outdated monumental Panegyrikon, and it must have seemed appropriate to replace it with a new Panegyrikon specially conceived for the feasts celebrated in the Monastery of the Pantokrator for which the manuscript was copied.

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[70] In quire VI of the new codex there is no f. 34.

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