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The Textual Affiliation of Deluxe Byzantine Gospel Books

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THE NEW TESTAMENT
IN BYZANTIUM

DUMBARTON OAKS BYZANTINE SYMPOSIA AND COLLOQUIA

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THE NEW TESTAMENT IN BYZANTIUM

Edited by

DEREK KRUEGER AND ROBERT S. NELSON



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Frontispiece: Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, lintel of Imperial Door
(photo © Robert S. Nelson)

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THE TEXTUAL AFFILIATION OF DELUXE BYZANTINE GOSPEL BOOKS

KATHLEEN MAXWELL

[A]s a rule, scribes reproduced the MSS that were available to them, with greater or lesser care, whether they contained the Koine or an older form of the text.

—B. ALAND AND K. WACHTEL¹

THE SCRIBE WHO COPIED THE TEXT OF A BYZANTINE GOSPEL BOOK AND THE painter who illustrated it were normally not the same individual.² Every scribe used an older manuscript as his textual exemplar. In those cases where the painter modeled his efforts on an older illustrated manuscript, it would be interesting to know whether his model was the same manuscript as the scribe's exemplar. In other words, do gospel texts and their figural and non-figural decoration travel together when they are copied by scribes and painters? Thus, if art historians have linked certain illustrated gospel books on the basis of their ornament and/or figural illustrations, what is the likelihood that New Testament text critics will have determined that their texts are also related?³

1 "The Greek Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. B. D. Ehrman and M. W. Holmes, Studies and Documents, vol. 46 (Grand Rapids, MI, 1995), 45. Most Greek gospel books use the Koine (or Byzantine) text.

2 Important exceptions have been noted. See R. S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites: A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator*, 2 vols., Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, vol. 4 (Vienna, 1991), 1:116. A scribe who also served as painter, albeit not in a gospel book, is described in K. Corrigan, "Constantine's Problems: The Making of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus, Vat. gr. 394," *Word and Image* 12, no. 1 (1996): 61–93.

3 For example, two seemingly closely related illustrated gospel books from the early Palaiologan period (Athos, Iviron 5 and Paris gr. 54) are based on different textual exemplars. See K. Maxwell, *Between Constantinople and Rome: An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book (Paris gr. 54) and the Union of Churches* (Farnham, Surrey, 2014), 51–82. A study reviewing the New Testament textual critics' data for the large group of gospel books of the "decorative" style arrived at different conclusions for the early and middle subgroups of decorative style manuscripts (as defined by Annemarie Weyl Carr, in *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition* [Chicago, 1987]) versus the late subgroups. In the latter, manuscripts that are closely related in their decoration may also be closely related in their texts. See K. Maxwell, "The Afterlife of Texts: Decorative Style Manuscripts and New Testament Textual Criticism," in *Byzantine Images and Their Afterlives: Essays in Honor of Annemarie Weyl Carr*, ed. L. Jones (Farnham, Surrey, 2014), 11–38. See also W. Langford, "From Text to Art and Back Again: Verifying A. Weyl Carr's Manuscript Groupings Through Textual Analysis" (PhD diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2009). I thank Ulrich Schmid for alerting me to this study.

Byzantine art historians have long scrutinized the scholarship of New Testament text critics in the hope of gaining insight into the production of illustrated Greek New Testament manuscripts.⁴ The data amassed by the latter are now significantly easier to access thanks to a commitment to web-based technology. As noted in the previous chapter, the T&T Mss. Clusters tool available on the website of the University of Münster's Institute for New Testament Research (INTF) displays the closest extant textual relatives of Greek gospel books.⁵ These data are based on selective textual comparative studies, or collations, of Greek texts of the Gospels and shed light on the production of some of the most esteemed illuminated Byzantine gospel books of the sixth through thirteenth centuries.⁶

The evidence, albeit preliminary, indicates that during particularly illustrious periods of Byzantine manuscript production, scribes had access to the texts of exemplary older illustrated manuscripts (or access to texts copied from these older manuscripts) and used them as their textual

models.⁷ The implication is that the texts of these older deluxe manuscripts were valued by later generations of scribes and their patrons as much as their decoration and illustrations were. In fact, the consistency of the textual profiles generated by the Clusters tool for a significant number of deluxe Byzantine gospel books encourages one to speculate on the composition of prestigious manuscript collections in Constantinople and their accessibility to scribes.

Below is an analysis of the Clusters data for deluxe or otherwise significant manuscripts containing the Gospels from the sixth to the late thirteenth centuries. Recourse will be made to the Gregory-Aland (GA) numbering system.⁸

Theodore Hagiopetrates

While most of the manuscripts included in this chronological study were probably produced in Constantinople, it will be useful, if somewhat counterintuitive, to introduce the Clusters tool using the manuscripts of the Byzantine scribe and illuminator, Theodore Hagiopetrates (Fig. 3.1), who is believed to have worked in Thessalonike and was active from 1277/78 to 1307/8.⁹ He signed and dated ten manuscripts containing the Gospels. Another five gospel manuscripts have been attributed to him while four additional ones were described by Robert Nelson as being related to him (appendix, Table 3.1).¹⁰ Theodore is also distinctive in that he apparently created most of the non-figural decoration in his manuscripts. While some of his manuscripts are relatively

4 For example, A. M. Friend, "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies* 5 (1927): 115–46, esp. 115 where he notes that text critics have made much more progress than art historians in the study of Greek gospel books; E. C. Colwell, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, vol. 1, *History and Text* (Chicago, 1936); H. R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, vol. 2, *The Cycle of Text Illustrations* (Chicago, 1936); Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrates*, 1:143–46; Maxwell, *Between Constantinople and Rome*, 51–82.

New Testament text critics are increasingly interested in non-textual evidence that might shed light on the relationships between manuscripts. This includes paleographical evidence and the figural and non-figural decoration of manuscripts. See D. C. Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament* (Oxford, 2012), 68–76.

5 See chap. 2 n. 13 above.

6 The data were originally published in K. Aland and B. Aland, eds., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, vols. 4, 5 (Berlin, 1998–99, 2005), and derive from collations of over 2,200 continuous text manuscripts of the Gospels. Approximately 2,900 New Testament manuscripts (or fragments thereof) are known (in addition, there are approximately 2,500 lectionary manuscripts). For the most up-to-date list of New Testament texts, access <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste> (accessed 26 January 2016).

The Clusters tool is based on collations of test passages from each Gospel: 64 for Matthew, 196 for Mark, 54 for Luke, and 153 for John. The user can select a variety of options by which the data can be viewed; the largest sample of test passages can be generated by selecting the synoptics option, for a total of 314 test passages. For more background on the tool see above, chap. 2 n. 13.

7 The relative importance of the Byzantine text is a contentious issue in the New Testament text-critical literature. The Alands once dismissed it as being too "colorless to be of any real importance for establishing the original text" of the gospels. See B. and K. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, trans. E. F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids, MI and Leiden, 1987), 156. For a different perspective, see M. A. Robinson, "New Testament Textual Criticism: The Case for Byzantine Priority," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* (2001), online at rosetta.reltech.org/TC/v06/Robinson2001.html (accessed 2 September 2014).

8 See chap. 2 n. 11 above; for a thorough description, see D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (New York, 2008), 36–46.

9 Circumstantial evidence suggests that Theodore worked in Thessalonike. See Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrates*, 1:21.

10 Ibid., 1:16–17.



FIG. 3.1.
Theodore
Hagiotriptes,
University of
Chicago MS 46
(Haskell Gospels),
fol. 12r: The
beginning of the
Gospel of Matthew
(photo courtesy
Special Collections
Research Center,
University of
Chicago Library)

modest, with ornament executed only in pen drawings, others are quite beautiful and worthy of being classified as deluxe.¹¹ Thus, we have at our disposal a large group of manuscripts written and decorated by one scribe and exhibiting a range of quality.¹² Theodore's extensive record of gospel manuscripts provides an unusually well-documented environment in which to evaluate the data generated by the Clusters tool, and, based as the data are upon relative terra firma, their analysis will provide an informed perspective from which to launch our subsequent survey of deluxe Byzantine gospel books.

The Clusters tool provided a list of manuscripts that are textually related to each of Theodore's books.¹³ A review of the data for the synoptic gospels for each of the ten manuscripts signed and dated by Theodore indicated that seven are closely related. They are: Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibl., GKS 1322 (GA 234); Athos, Vatopedi 962 (GA 1594); Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 20 (GA 74); London, BL, Burney 21 (GA 484); Amsterdam, Univ. Bibl., Remonstr. 145 (186) (GA 90); Williamstown, MA, Williams College, Chapin Lib., Cod. De Ricci 1 (GA 483); and Meteora, Monastery of the Transfiguration, cod. 545 (GA 2707).

Each of these seven manuscripts is textually related to a minimum of four signed and dated manuscripts by Theodore.¹⁴ In fact, data from two of the seven list six signed and dated Theodore manuscripts, and the data for two other manuscripts list five signed and dated manuscripts. Moreover, the data for all seven manuscripts record the same four of the five manuscripts attributed to Theodore by Nelson,¹⁵ as well as the same two manuscripts (of a possible

four) described by him as related to Theodore. These are London, BL, Add. 19387 and Chicago MS 727. In order to better visualize this information, we will examine the data for one of these seven manuscripts, the relatively modest Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 20.¹⁶

As can be seen in Table 3.2, a total of twenty-three lines of data were generated.¹⁷ Most lines list single manuscripts, but four manuscripts, beginning on line 15, are paired with manuscripts to which they are even more closely related textually than they are to Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 20.¹⁸ Eleven of the first sixteen manuscripts are manuscripts found in Table 3.1. In other words, they are manuscripts signed and dated by, attributed to, or related to Theodore as classified by Nelson. Four manuscripts attributed to Theodore (lines 2, 6, 7, and 8) are closer textually to his signed and dated Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 20 than are all but one of the other six manuscripts that he signed and dated.

Line 1, however, is occupied by Panteleimon 771, which has not been associated previously with Theodore and is therefore classified here as "unaffiliated." Other unaffiliated manuscripts are found on lines 4, 5, 9, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23. A partial explanation for these unaffiliated manuscripts is that Oxford, Christ Church gr. 20 (GA 74) has a 97.7 percent agreement with the majority text in the synoptic gospels. Greek gospel books tend to have a high level of uniformity;¹⁹ most do not differ more than ten

11 Ibid., 1:38.

12 The nineteen gospel manuscripts signed by, attributed to, or related to Theodore are listed by category in Table 3.1 (I have taken these categories from *ibid.*, 1:16–17).

13 Manuscripts were searched using their GA number; textual relatives are also listed by GA numbers. The library shelf number is accessed by moving the cursor over the GA number.

14 To duplicate these results, use the default setting on the Clusters tool to generate data for the synoptic gospels for each of Theodore's signed and dated gospel books.

15 Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrates*, 1: chap. 5 and p. 98. The fifth manuscript now in San Marino is never cited. This is logical because it was written and decorated in the eleventh century. Theodore only added the canon tables and supplemental texts.

16 Ibid., 2: pls. 9, 10.

17 That is, a total of twenty-three manuscripts correspond to gr. 20 better than does the majority text. The closer a manuscript is to the MT, the fewer the results from the Clusters tool. For more on the concept of the MT see chapter 2 above.

18 For further details on the textual relationships of manuscripts, see http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/TT_Guide.html (accessed 15 January 2016). In a Clusters page for a manuscript x, a line of data with paired manuscripts y and z may occur, if the option "Show Further Relations" has been chosen. Such relations offer multiple interpretations. In most cases, a paired manuscript line should be taken as a warning, to pay attention to the relationship y–z and perhaps ignore the relationship x–y. But it may also be taken as an alert to take into account a possible relationship of x to another cluster. In this essay I adopt the latter view.

19 This conformity with the majority text increases in Greek gospel books produced in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, as will be shown below.

percent from the majority text.²⁰ The higher the percentage of agreement with the majority text, the closer the relationship with the Byzantine text. Long ago, Hermann von Soden recognized that Theodore used the dominant version of the Greek New Testament (that is, the Byzantine text),²¹ which helps to explain how a manuscript unaffiliated with Theodore can still be so closely related to his manuscripts. The unaffiliated Panteleimon 771 agrees with the Oxford gr. 20 at 99.6 percent.²² Panteleimon 771 has been assigned to the fifteenth century by INTF; thus, it could be a direct copy of the Oxford manuscript, which would explain the high level of agreement.

Four unaffiliated manuscripts (lines 1, 4, 5, and 9) are closer textually to Theodore's Oxford manuscript than all but one (line 3) of the six signed and dated manuscripts by Theodore. Furthermore, these and eight other gospel manuscripts unaffiliated with Theodore appear on the list before London, BL, Add. 19387 (line 21), which is classified as related to Theodore. These unaffiliated manuscripts (and others) are found with great regularity in the Clusters data for the seven manuscripts signed and dated by Theodore that are closely related to each other. In fact, four of Theodore's manuscripts (GA 234, 1594, 89, and 2749—the first two signed and dated by Theodore and the last two attributed to him) list the same seventeen unaffiliated manuscripts.²³

20 Only in the Gospel of John do fewer than 90 percent of gospel manuscripts differ more than ten percent from the majority text. For further information, see Aland and Aland, *Text und Textwert*, vol. 4, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1:18*–28* (in English).

21 Nelson, Theodore Hagiotritres, 1:143.

22 The percentage agreement between Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 20 and its textual relatives is given for each manuscript. It should be reiterated that the data were based on the test passages and not on the entire text, so even if the two manuscripts were to agree at 100%, this would not mean that one manuscript is a copy of the other. For more on Panteleimon 771, see n. 25 below.

23 These seventeen are: Athos, Pantokrator 52/Princeton Y1956–118 (GA 1397); Athos, Lavra W' 127 (GA 1635); Athos, Panteleimon 771 (GA 1679); Athos, Lavra H' 114a (GA 2511); Florence, Conv. Soppr. 53 (GA 367); Athos, Vatopedi 954 (GA 1586); Samos, Mitropolis, 16, 171 (GA 2782); Moscow, RSL, F. 181.13 (Gr. 13) (GA 2529); Vienna, Österr. Nat. Bibl., Suppl. gr. 52 (GA 3); Milan, Bibl. Ambros. B.70 sup. (GA 351); Andros, Hagias 53 (GA 1362); London, BL, Add. 35030 (GA 2099); Paris, BnF, gr. 191 (GA 25); Harvard, Univ. Libr. MS gr. 22 (GA 2607); Athos, Vatopedi 933 (GA 1567); London, Lambeth Palace, 1175 (GA 470); and Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, A.a.1 (GA 824).

(A fifth manuscript—GA 390, attributed to Theodore—lists sixteen of the same seventeen unaffiliated manuscripts.²⁴) One or more of these unaffiliated manuscripts likely had some tangible relationship to Theodore or to scribes and manuscripts associated with him. It is certainly feasible that one or more of these affiliated manuscripts served as Theodore's textual exemplar or used Theodore's texts as an exemplar.²⁵ It would take significantly more research to make these determinations. These unaffiliated manuscripts are comparable to the role of what I call Group B manuscripts in my analysis below.²⁶ Finally, art historians will be intrigued by the presence of Stauronikita 43, a celebrated tenth-century deluxe manuscript (on which, more below), in the paired position on line 17.

Three manuscripts signed and dated by Theodore feature textual profiles that differ from the seven discussed above. They are Vat. gr. 644; Athos, Pantokrator 47; and Venice, Marc. gr. I, 19. The first is a gospel manuscript with Theophylact's commentary. Its profile differs in that it does not include in its listing of forty-nine manuscripts any of Theodore's other gospel texts. Vat. gr. 644 also has a lower agreement of 92.8 percent with the majority text (see below) compared with an average of about 97 percent for the nine other gospels signed and dated by Theodore. Clearly, a different textual exemplar was utilized.

Athos, Pantokrator 47 and Venice, Marc. gr. I, 19—the two latest signed gospel manuscripts of Theodore, both dating to 1300/1—also differ

Other unaffiliates that occur less consistently are: Vatopedi 965 (GA 1596) and 895 (GA 2455); Lavra L' 119 (GA 1639); Athens, Hist. Ethn. Gest., 255 (GA 2451); Munich gr. 568 (GA 84); Stauronikita 43 (GA 1110); Vienna, Theol. gr. 300 (GA 76); Athens, Benaki, 69 [formerly vitr. 34/4] (GA 1305); Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 24 (GA 509); and Athens, Spyr. Loverdu 63 (GA 2637).

24 Harvard gr. 22 does not appear in GA 390's data.

25 For example, Panteleimon 771 and Lavra W' 127 are assigned to the fifteenth century by text critics so they conceivably could have been copied from one of Theodore's texts. (One of the unaffiliates, Lavra L' 119, has been assigned to the seventeenth century by INTF.) The data for Panteleimon 771 itself generated a list of twenty-three manuscripts of which three are further paired. Ten manuscripts of the first seventeen listed are associated with Theodore in one of the three categories given in Table 3.1. Another five are unaffiliated manuscripts regularly found in the data for Theodore's manuscripts (as in n. 23 above).

26 See p. 51.

from Theodore's other signed and dated gospel books, as well as from Vat. gr. 644. The data for both manuscripts are brief; only four paired manuscripts were listed for Pantokrator 47 and just two manuscripts with pairs for Venice, Marc. gr. I, 19. David Parker has noted that they are very close to each other in Luke's and John's Gospels, but quite different in both Matthew and Mark.²⁷ Both manuscripts are also highly differentiated in that their textual profiles list no other gospel books of Theodore. Nevertheless, they, too, include several of the same unaffiliated manuscripts that we have already encountered above.

Of the five manuscripts attributed to Theodore, one (San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 1081) has already been dismissed because it was written in the eleventh century and only added to by Theodore. Two others—Göttingen, cod. Theol. 28 and St. Petersburg, no. 10/667—are virtually identical in their textual profiles to each other and to Copenhagen, GKS 1322, the earliest signed and dated manuscript by Theodore. Vat. Ottob. gr. 381, attributed to Theodore, is also extremely close to the Göttingen, St. Petersburg, Copenhagen, and Vatopedi manuscripts.²⁸ Chicago 46, on the other hand, despite its relatively high 97.2% agreement with the majority text, generated the largest amount of data for any of the manuscripts associated with Theodore, 134 lines.²⁹ The first 20 lines resemble the data discussed above, viz., nine manuscripts associated with Theodore and at least seven of the now familiar unaffiliates.

For the manuscripts categorized as related to Theodore, the first, Venice, Marc. gr. I, 20 (dated 1302), does not include any other manuscripts associated with Theodore. But several of the unaffiliates are seen in the five paired manuscripts listed. The most distinctive profile of the

manuscripts in this category is that presented by Iviron 30, which cites only three manuscripts, none associated with Theodore or among the familiar unaffiliates. Moreover, Nelson noted that Iviron 30 does not include Theodore's usual gospel prefaces or canon table design. He also had serious reservations about the scribal hand being that of Theodore.³⁰ On the other hand, Chicago MS 727 is closest in its profile to the seven core manuscripts signed and dated by Theodore and their three close relatives in the manuscripts attributed to Theodore. Eight manuscripts signed and dated by Theodore (or attributed to him) are included, along with numerous familiar unaffiliates. Finally in this category, London, Add. 19387 also lists nine Theodore manuscripts in the primary position. Many now familiar unaffiliates also populate this data.³¹

This survey of Theodore's manuscripts introduced us to the complex data generated by the Clusters tool for a large group of manuscripts associated with one scribe. Seven of the ten gospel manuscripts signed and dated by Theodore, four of the five manuscripts attributed to him, and two of the manuscripts related to him are textually related. The tendency of unknown (or relatively unknown) and often unpublished manuscripts (the so-called unaffiliates) to be

27 Parker, *Textual Scholarship*, 71. Georgi Parpulov states that Pantokrator 47 and Venice, Marc., gr. I, 19 "fully agree between themselves." See G. Parpulov, "The Bibles of the Christian East," *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 2, ed. R. Marsden and A. Matter (Cambridge, 2012), 310–24, esp. 313 and n. 21 where his (INTF) source seems to refer to the data for the Gospel of John only.

28 Parker (*Textual Scholarship*, 72) had already noted that the Copenhagen and Vatopedi manuscripts were very close in Mark and John.

29 For Chicago 46, see Nelson, *Theodore Hagiotriptes*, 1:143; Maxwell, "The Afterlife of Texts," 34–35.

30 Iviron 30 presents other obstacles as well. See Nelson, *Theodore Hagiotriptes*, 1:94–97.

31 Of related interest is the case of Athens, Benaki, 69 [form. vitr. 34/4] (GA 1305), hitherto unaffiliated with Theodore. Its textual profile for the synoptic gospels indicates that its text is closely related to those of Theodore. Of the twenty-three manuscripts given for Benaki 69 (most of which are paired for a total listing of forty-two manuscripts, including duplicates, in the paired position), five manuscripts are signed and dated by Theodore (two in the secondary position); four manuscripts are attributed to him; and one is related to him. Eleven other manuscripts belong to the unaffiliated category listed in n. 23 above. Benaki 69 is one of a two-volume New Testament set (with GA 223; Ann Arbor, University of Michigan 34) that once belonged to Antonios Malakes, archbishop of Veroia. Five manuscripts (most of which are of deluxe status) have been associated with this individual by Nelson, including Göttingen, cod. Theol. 28, which has been attributed to Theodore. While Benaki 69 does not appear in Table 3.1, Nelson did note (*Theodore Hagiotriptes*, 1:145–46) that it shares the unusual selection of prose prefaces found only in Theodore's last two signed gospel books. For more on this manuscript, see below, p. 69. See also R. S. Nelson, "The Manuscripts of Antonios Malakes and the Collecting and Appreciation of Illuminated Books in the Early Palaeologan Period," *JÖB* 36 (1986): 229–54; N. Kavrú-Hoffmann's chapter in this volume.

close textual relatives can be disconcerting. Based upon the dates supplied by INTF, some unaffiliates may be later copies of Theodore's manuscripts or copies of manuscripts that he himself used as textual exemplars.

What is the relationship between the text data and the artistic quality of the manuscripts produced by Theodore? As noted, Theodore produced manuscripts that range from those with only relatively modest pen and ink ornament to deluxe products with gold and polychrome headpieces and initials and full-page evangelist portraits.³² Of his five gospel manuscripts that appear to be most closely related to each other textually, Copenhagen, GKS 1322 (dated 1277/78) and Vatopedi 962 (dated 1283/84) are both early signed works by Theodore with pen and ink decoration only. Vat. Ottob. gr. 381 (1281/82), another early manuscript, and the later Göttingen manuscript (1289/90), both attributed to Theodore, have painted decoration.³³ Thus, for Theodore's works, there is no compelling relationship between textual affinities and decoration.³⁴ He must have had access to the same textual exemplar for a significant portion of his career, but the quality of the decoration seems to have been dependent upon the resources available to those who commissioned manuscripts from him.

The data behind the Clusters tool says nothing about aesthetics; it shows only textual relations through comparisons of select test passages in each Gospel. Nevertheless, in the following survey of deluxe Byzantine manuscripts, the generated data reveal that high-quality illustrated Byzantine gospel books often have textual profiles that align them with other high-quality gospel books. My argument is not that deluxe gospel books have only deluxe textual relatives;

rather, some deluxe gospel books generate textual profiles that often feature a similar selection of manuscripts, including both deluxe and rather ordinary manuscripts. These deluxe manuscripts often feature widely divergent types of figural and non-figural illumination.³⁵ Manuscripts playing a comparable role to the unaffiliates in our discussion of Theodore's gospel books will also be found in the data in the survey of deluxe Byzantine manuscripts. Some of these manuscripts (but by no means all) may be judged as modest products by art historians, especially in their current condition.

The Sixth Century

The Sinope Gospels

Our chronological overview begins with the Sinope Gospels (Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1286) (GA 023).³⁶ This sixth-century purple parchment manuscript is associated with the highest levels of Byzantine patronage and may have been produced for an imperial patron in Constantinople.³⁷ The text is fragmentary; only forty-four folios from the Gospel of Matthew survive. Table 3.3 displays the data generated for the Gospel of Matthew.

The degree of agreement between the Sinope Gospels' text of Matthew and the majority text is 94.1 percent. Although not identical, the twelve manuscripts in Table 3.3 agree 100 percent with the Sinope Gospels' text of Matthew.

First on the list is the Rossano Gospels (Rossano Cathedral, Diocesan Museum) (GA 042), another purple parchment majuscule text. Art historians once assigned the Sinope and Rossano Gospels to widely disparate locations, but stylistic associations between the two manuscripts have

32 These portraits were executed by a miniaturist; see Nelson, *Theodore Hagiotrinites*, 1:101–5; see p. 38 for the distinction between an illuminator and a miniaturist.

33 For illustrations, see *ibid.*, vol. 2, color plate I and pls. 1–3, 7–8, 40–44, and 51–59. I have not seen photographs of the fifth manuscript, St. Petersburg 10/667.

34 After having studied Theodore's ornament in detail, Nelson divides its development into two distinct periods (*ibid.*, 1:41). He notes that Theodore's ornament is similar from 1277 until the early 1290s, when a significant change can be detected in the ornament of Burney 21 (dated 1291–92) and subsequent manuscripts. Four of the five manuscripts most closely related textually fall within the first stage of Theodore's development.

35 See p. 49 below.

36 A GA number beginning with "o" indicates a text written in majuscule script.

37 Jeffrey Spier believes that it was produced either in Antioch or Constantinople and notes that it is stylistically related to two other purple codices: the Rossano Gospels and the Vienna Genesis. For catalog entry and bibliography, see *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art*, ed. J. Spier (New Haven, 2007), 271. John Lowden ("Rossano Gospels," *Grove Art Online*, accessed 4 August 2014) notes that these purple manuscripts are usually attributed to Syria or Palestine on slight evidence and cautions that "[a] possible origin in Constantinople ought not to be overlooked."

been recognized recently.³⁸ The textual evidence, limited though it is, supports this trend.³⁹ The Rossano Gospels are better preserved than the Sinope Gospels and contain the Gospels of both Matthew and Mark.⁴⁰ I will review the data for the Gospel of Matthew first and then for both the Gospels of Matthew and Mark.

The Clusters tool called up 165 manuscripts for the Gospel of Matthew, but Table 3.4 includes only selections from the first forty lines of data. Most of the 165 manuscripts are paired with other manuscripts that are even closer relatives to the initial 165 manuscripts than the initial manuscripts are to the Rossano Gospels itself. The first manuscript on the list—Mt. Athos, Lavra A' 27 (GA 1459), attributed to the twelfth century by INTF—has no more than 94.3 percent agreement with the Rossano text of Matthew. I was unable to locate any reproductions, but the Clusters tool indicated that it has a closer textual relationship in Matthew with another manuscript identified as GA 047, which is paired with Lavra A' 27 on line 1.⁴¹ This latter manuscript is

an important tenth-century text better known as Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS 1. It is the only extant gospel book in majuscule script whose entire contents are formatted in the shape of a cross.⁴² Many of the manuscripts on the data list for Matthew are not well known to art historians. There are some notable exceptions, but even they are not particularly close relatives given their position on the list and their percentage of agreement with the Rossano Gospel of Matthew. Line 21 is London, BL, Burney 19 (GA 481), the text of which is datable to the second half of the tenth century while its evangelist portraits are later twelfth-century additions of the famous Kokkinobaphos Master type.⁴³ Several other distinguished manuscripts come into play at lines 23, 24, 29, and 39, respectively Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. T. inf. 2.6 (GA 707); Athos, Lavra A' 15 (GA 1080); Baltimore, Walters W 527 (GA 2368); and Paris gr. 70 (GA 14).⁴⁴ These will be encountered again below.

With the search parameters expanded to include both the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, the results change (Table 3.5).⁴⁵ First, the degree of agreement with the majority text drops to 85.3 percent and no manuscript demonstrates more than an 89.6 percent agreement with the

38 Compare "[t]he illustrations, on purple parchment, of the Vienna Genesis, the Rossano Purple Codex and the Sinope Codex [...] all lack unity of style, and some scholars ascribe them respectively to three major artistic centres, Constantinople, Antioch or Jerusalem, and Alexandria" (M. Chatzidakis, in idem and A. Grabar, *Byzantine and Early Medieval Painting*, trans. S. W. Taylor [New York, 1965], 12) with Herbert Kessler's remark fourteen years later that the two manuscripts were "related in style, paleography, and text" (H. L. Kessler, "Codex Sinopensis," in *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century; Catalogue of the Exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977 through February 12, 1978*, ed. K. Weitzmann [New York, 1979], 491).

39 It must be noted, however, that the Sinope Gospels does not play a significant role in Table 3.4, which lists the closest textual relatives for the Rossano Gospels. This is surely due to the relatively small number of test passages surviving for the Gospel of Matthew of the Sinope Gospels.

40 The Gospel of Matthew is complete while Mark is missing only the last leaf. See G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont, and W. C. Loerke, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium* (Rome 1987). Wachtel ("Byzantine Text of the Gospels") linked the Rossano Gospels to another purple parchment majuscule manuscript written in silver ink known as "N" or GA 022. Most of GA 022 is in the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg (Codex Petropolitanus Purpureus). Thirty-three folios are in Patmos and various folios are found in seven other collections. According to Wachtel, both the Rossano Gospels and GA 022 were probably written in Constantinople and probably copied from the same exemplar.

41 That is, GA 047 is closer to GA 1459, with a relationship of 100%, than GA 1459 is to the Rossano Gospels (with a relationship of 94.3%). The Clusters tool does not divulge a secondary

manuscript's level of agreement with the manuscript for which the data are being generated, which means that the level of agreement between GA 047 and the Rossano Gospels' text of Matthew cannot be determined without further manipulations of the Clusters tool.

42 For Princeton University Library, Garrett 1, see S. Kotzabassi and N. P. Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Princeton, 2010), 3–7 and figs. 1–9 where it is dated to the first half of the tenth century.

43 D. Buckton, ed., *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections* (London, 1994), 160–61. The entire manuscript is online at <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts> (search Burney MS 19 under Manuscripts) (accessed 10 September 2013).

44 For the Oxford manuscript, see I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, vol. 1, *Oxford Bodleian Library* (Stuttgart, 1977), cat. no. 4. For Lavra A' 15, see S. M. Pelekanidis et al., *Oi Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους*, 4 vols. (Athens, 1973–), 3: figs. 14–17. For reproductions of Baltimore, Walters W 527, see <http://www.thedigitalwalters.org> (accessed 28 August 2013). Finally, ten color images of Paris gr. 70 are available at <http://images.bnf.fr/jsp/rechercherListeClichesAvancee.jsp?coteDocumentDemande=GREC%2070> (accessed 15 January 2016).

45 A total of 296 manuscripts was generated for the synoptic gospel texts of the Rossano Gospels. I included only selections from the first thirty-one lines of data in Table 3.5.

texts of Matthew and Mark of the Rossano Gospels. The first dozen or so manuscripts listed are either unknown or modest products such as GA 84 and GA 135 (on line 1). These will be identified and discussed more fully below. Lower on the list are manuscripts of art-historical significance, including Oxford, Bodleian Library, E.D. Clarke 10 (GA 112 at line 14); Baltimore, Walters W 525⁴⁶ (GA 2374 at line 17); Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 25⁴⁷ (GA 510 at line 28); and Athos, Philotheou 33 (GA 1120 at line 31).⁴⁸ None shows more than 86.9 percent agreement with the Rossano Gospels texts of Matthew and Mark, however. Thus, realistically, there are no extant close textual relatives for the Rossano Gospels.

The Ninth Century

The Uspenskii Gospels (GA 461)

The disruptions of the Iconoclast controversy are responsible for the dearth of manuscripts (illuminated and otherwise) datable to the eighth and early ninth centuries. There are approximately sixty-six extant manuscripts from the ninth century containing one or more books of the New Testament. Fifty-three of these are written in majuscule script and thirteen are minuscules.⁴⁹ The earliest dated minuscule text is that of St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 219, otherwise known as the Uspenskii Gospels.⁵⁰ This manuscript contains no figural decoration and little that would even qualify as ornament (Fig. 3.2).⁵¹ It is rarely mentioned by art

historians.⁵² Nevertheless, its later textual relatives as presented by the Clusters tool for the synoptic gospels are noteworthy. Forty-one manuscripts are listed. Unlike either the Sinope or the Rossano Gospels, the Uspenskii Gospels text demonstrates close agreement (97.1%) with the majority text.

Many of these forty-one manuscripts are further paired with manuscripts that are textually closer to them than the original forty-one manuscripts are to the Uspenskii Gospels. Line 2 of Table 3.6 lists two illustrious Byzantine gospel books: Paris gr. 70 (GA 14) (Fig. 3.3) and Paris, BnF, Coislin gr. 195 (GA 34) from the tenth and eleventh centuries, respectively.⁵³ Paris gr. 70 is closer in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke to the Uspenskii Gospels than any other extant Greek gospel book except for a tiny, eleventh-century text in the Vatican (GA 376, line 1).⁵⁴ Both Paris gr. 70 and Coislin 195 have long been associated with the Macedonian renaissance, which coincided with the Macedonian dynastic rule (862–1056).⁵⁵ Their textual affinity is of interest because their evangelist portraits differ markedly. While both sets are of high quality, Paris gr. 70 features rarer standing portraits of the evangelists.

46 Walters W 525 is an original member of the Atelier of the Palaiologina. See H. Buchthal and H. Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople: An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy*, DOS 16 (Washington, DC, 1978). Additional manuscripts have been associated with the group; see R. S. Nelson and J. Lowden, "The Palaeologina Group: Additional Manuscripts and New Questions," *DOP* 45 (1991): 59–68. For color images of Walters W 525, visit the website given in n. 44 above.

47 Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, 71–73 and pls. 83–85.

48 Most of these manuscripts will be discussed below.

49 Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament* (n. 7 above), 81.

50 St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 219 (dated 7 May 835). For a detailed analysis of the Uspenskii Gospels and related bibliography, see chap. 5 below.

51 For a reproduction of the beginning of the Gospel of Mark (fol. 110r), see Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, pl. 40. See also K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des*

9. und 10. Jahrhunderts, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, vol. 243, rev. ed. (Vienna, 1996), 35 and fig. 236 for a detail of fol. 263r. I thank Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffman for her help in obtaining permission to publish the Uspenskii Gospels.

52 Nelson is an exception. He has noted that the Uspenskii Gospels manuscript is also the earliest dated text to feature gospel prologues. See R. S. Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (New York, 1980), 96–99, 103, 105, esp. 97.

53 For color images of Paris gr. 70, see n. 44 above. For black-and-white reproductions of Paris gr. 70, see Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, figs. 78–84, 87–88; for Paris, Coislin gr. 195, see *ibid.*, figs. 57–60. For color images of the evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke, access the BnF website (n. 44 above).

54 Vat. gr. 1539 is dated to the eleventh century on INTF's Kurzgefasste Liste, where it is described as measuring 10.9 × 7.8 cm. I have not located reproductions of this manuscript. Paris gr. 70 agrees with the Uspenskii Gospels at 98.4%, while Paris, Coislin gr. 195 agrees with Paris gr. 70 at 98.7%.

55 K. Weitzmann, "The Character and Intellectual Origins of the Macedonian Renaissance," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. L. Kessler (Chicago, 1971), 176–223.

The Uspenskii
Gospels,

[illegible]



FIG. 3.3.
Paris, BnF,
cod. gr. 70, fol. 4v:
Evangelist Matthew
(photo courtesy
Bibliothèque
nationale de France)

The next item on the list for the Uspenskii Gospels is GA 3 (line 3). This is Suppl. gr. 52 from the Austrian National Library in Vienna and it is attributed to the twelfth century (Fig. 3.4).⁵⁶ Its evangelist portraits are distinctive, but its illustration of the Holy Trinity is almost unprecedented.⁵⁷ Line 5 of Table 3.6 features Auct. T. inf. 2.6 of the Bodleian Library (GA 707), which was mentioned briefly in connection with the Rossano Gospels.⁵⁸ This handsome mid-tenth-century manuscript from Oxford was marred by the addition of mediocre evangelist portraits in the early fourteenth century. Lines 6 and 13 for the Uspenskii Gospels feature two beautiful manuscripts from Athos: Lavra A' 19 (dated 992) (GA 1452) and Lavra A' 15 (GA 1080), which is assigned to the fourteenth century.⁵⁹ On line 16 is Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS 2 (GA 1530) from the late eleventh or early twelfth century, a manuscript famous for its extraordinary canon tables.⁶⁰

This remarkable list of the textual relations of the Uspenskii Gospels continues on line 20 with the illustrated New Testament manuscript

London, BL, Add. 28815 (GA 699) in the secondary position; one scholar has described this manuscript as “arguably the most beautiful New Testament manuscript possessed by the British Library.”⁶¹ Also in the secondary position at line 21 is Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Barocci 31 (GA 45) (Fig. 3.5) from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, another member of the elite early Palaiologan group of manuscripts known as the Atelier of the Palaiologina.⁶² Lines 27, 28, and 34 feature in the primary position the illustrious manuscripts of the Codex Ebnerianus (GA 105) (Fig. 3.6); Vienna, Austrian National Library, Theol. gr. 240 (GA 123) (Fig. 3.7); and Athos, Philotheou 33 (GA 1120). Codex Ebnerianus is a rare example of an illustrated New Testament text; it is associated with the highest levels of Constantinopolitan imperial patronage in the second quarter of the twelfth century and is one of the most important examples of figural illustration by the so-called Kokkinobaphos Master.⁶³ Works produced in his style are considered among the finest products of the twelfth century. Vienna, Theol. gr. 240 and Philotheou 33 are tenth-century products of very high caliber.⁶⁴ Finally, the last entry (line 41) corresponds to Athens, National Library, cod. 93 (GA 777), a twelfth-century illustrated gospel manuscript famous for its numerous framed narrative scenes.⁶⁵

This prestigious list of manuscripts began with the Uspenskii Gospels. While the manuscript dates to the early ninth century, it is textually related in the synoptic gospels to high-caliber manuscripts from the tenth through

56 It agrees with the Uspenskii Gospels at 98%. See I. Spatharakis, “A Dove Whispers in the Ear of the Evangelist,” *JÖB* 49 (1999): 267–88. I thank one of the outside reviewers for bringing this article to my attention. For color illustrations of the Vienna manuscript, see the Gabriel Millet Collection, online under “Resources” at <http://ica.princeton.edu/millet> (accessed 15 January 2016).

57 Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52's evangelist portraits simulate enamel work; see *L'Art byzantin, art européen*, 2nd ed. (Athens: Palais du Zappeion, 1964), cat. no. 297 and pp. 307–8. See also Spatharakis, “Dove Whispers,” 279.

58 Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhand-schriften*, vol. 1, cat. no. 4.

59 For Lavra A' 19, see Pelekanidis et al., *Oi Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁποῦς*, 3: figs. 18–23. Pelekanidis indicated that the text is dated to 992. Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann informed me that it was executed by the renowned calligrapher monk, Ioannes of Lavra, who copied at least seven manuscripts. Jean Irigoin noted that its ruling pattern is the same as in Ephraim's Vatopedi 949 and that Lavra had close ties with Constantinopolitan monasteries. See further J. Irigoin, “Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins,” *Scriptorium* 13, no. 2 (1959): 177–209, esp. 195–200. I thank Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann for this information and the related reference. For Lavra A' 15, see Pelekanidis et al., *Oi Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁποῦς*, 3: figs. 14–17. INTF once dated Lavra A' 15 as early as the ninth century, but the online version now dates it to the fourteenth century. These two manuscripts agree with the Uspenskii Gospels at 98% and 97.7%, respectively.

60 For color reproductions, see Kotzabassi and Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*, figs. 10–32.

61 Buckton, *Byzantium*, cat. no. 147 and pp. 136–37.

62 Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, pls. 8–11 and fig. C.

63 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. T. infra. 1. 10; see C. Meredith, “The Illustration of Codex Ebnerianus: A Study in Liturgical Illustration of the Comnenian Period,” *JWarb* 29 (1966): 419–24.

64 For color illustrations of the Vienna manuscript, see the Millet Collection on the Index of Christian Art website (n. 56 above). For Philotheou 33, see Pelekanidis et al., *Oi Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁποῦς*, 3: fig. 305; Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, figs. 302–4.

65 A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and C. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, vol. 1, *Manuscripts of the New Testament Texts 10th–12th Century* (Athens, 1978), cat. no. 61; for illustrations, 224–43 (figs. 630–54).

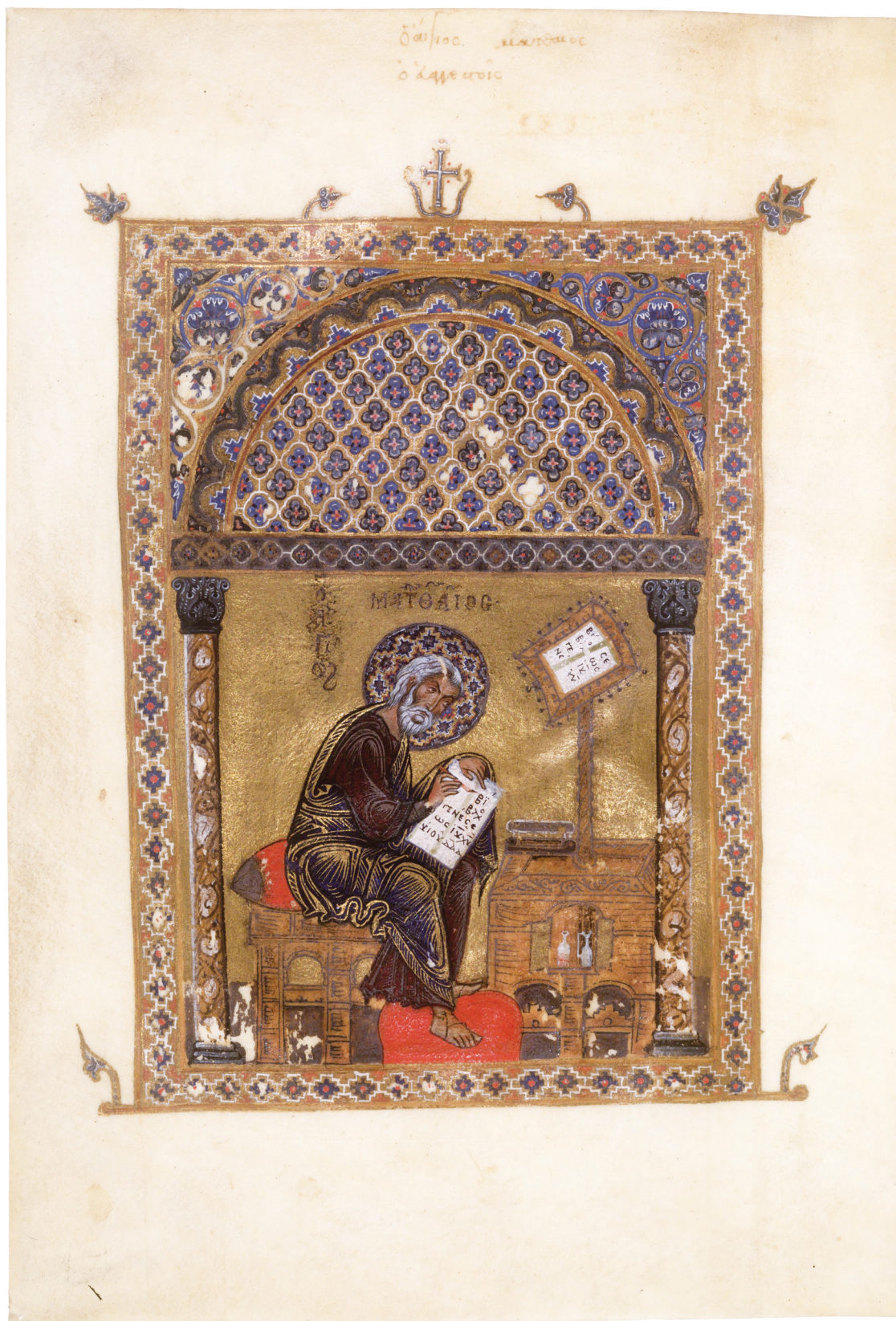


FIG. 3.4.
Vienna, Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek
Cod. Suppl. gr. 52,
fol. 13v: Evangelist
Matthew (photo
courtesy
Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek)

FIG. 3-5.
Bodleian Library,
University of Oxford,
MS. Barocci 31, fol. 6v:
Evangelist Matthew





FIG. 3.6.
Codex Ebnerianus,
Bodleian Library,
University of
Oxford, MS
Auct. T. inf. I.10,
fol. 16v: Eusebius
and Carpius.

FIG. 3.7.
Vienna,
Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek,
Cod. Theol. gr. 240,
fol. 97v: Evangelist
Mark (photo courtesy
Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek)



the thirteenth centuries. The trend seen in the Uspenskii Gospels is a particularly rich example of the type of data generated for a number of deluxe Greek gospel books. Of interest is the fact that the gospel texts of these manuscripts are related but the manuscripts themselves were copied over a period of four centuries. Their decoration, figural and non-figural, is extraordinary, but hardly uniform: it takes on a wide variety of forms and styles. Indeed, with the diversity displayed in the decoration of these manuscripts, one forgets that Byzantine art is often described as repetitive and somewhat short on innovation.

As noted, the manuscript of the Uspenskii Gospels is of little interest artistically, featuring neither figural decoration nor much that qualifies as ornament (Fig. 3.2). Textually, it is also not regarded as particularly important. It is one of many representations of the Byzantine text that identifies closely with the majority text (97.1%). The manuscript's stature stems from the fact that it is dated 835 and is thus considered a landmark in Greek paleography studies.⁶⁶ Furthermore, it is signed by the scribe Nicholas who later became the superior (*hegoumenos*) of the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople.⁶⁷ Nicholas was the devoted assistant of Theodore, the first *hegoumenos* of the same monastery and a particularly astute administrator. As a leading iconophile and

reformer, Theodore spent significant periods in exile, but his monastic and liturgical reforms were especially influential between the ninth and eleventh centuries.⁶⁸ The *typikon* of the Stoudios monastery reflects the rigor of these reforms, particularly Theodore's interest in reviving the cenobitic monasticism of late antiquity.⁶⁹ More relevant for our purposes is the role of the monastery as an intellectual center with an active scriptorium in the ninth century.⁷⁰

New Testament text critics have recognized that the Byzantine text-type, of which the Uspenskii Gospels is a member, became dominant only after the change of script (*μεταχαρακτηρισμός*), that is, the radical transformation from majuscule to minuscule script that took place in the ninth century.⁷¹ As summarized by Klaus Wachtel,

This mainstream has its headwaters in pre-Byzantine times, in fact in the very first phase of our manuscript tradition, and it underwent a long process of development and standardization. The final phase began with the introduction of the minuscule script in the 9th century and ended up in a largely uniform text characterized by readings attested by the majority of all Greek manuscripts from the 13th–15th centuries counted by hundreds and thousands.⁷²

66 Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, pl. 40: "[I]t is not significant for its (Byzantine Majority) text but for its age as the earliest dated minuscule. . . ." Noteworthy, too, is the fact that no majuscule manuscripts appear on the synoptic gospels' data generated by the Clusters tool, which has to do with the Uspenskii Gospels having a high level of agreement with the MT and most majuscules being too fragmentary to be listed by the clustering tool. I thank Klaus Wachtel for this personal communication.

67 Enrica Follieri noted that there is no absolute proof that the Nicholas who wrote the Uspenskii Gospels is the same individual who became abbot at the Stoudite monastery; see her (orig. publ. 1974) "Tommaso di Damasco e l'antica minuscola libraria greca," in *Byzantina et Italograeca: Studi de filologia e di paleografia*, ed. A. A. Longo, L. Perria, and A. Luzzi, Storia e letteratura, vol. 195 (Rome, 1997), 181 n. 61; and A. Diller pointed out ("A Companion to the Uspenskii Gospels," *BZ* 49, no. 2 [1956]: 332–35, esp. 333) that the Stoudite monks could not have actually reinhabited the monastery until after the restoration of orthodoxy by Empress Theodora in 842–43, which means that the Uspenskii Gospels manuscript, while strongly associated with Stoudite leadership, was not actually written in the Stoudite monastery. For a detailed analysis of Nicholas and manuscripts of the Stoudite monastic tradition, see Kavrus-Hoffmann's chapter in this volume.

68 See *BMFD* 1:86–87: "Another enduring feature of Theodore's reform, though one not much discussed in his work, was his importation of the office of the St. Sabas monastery near Jerusalem into the Stoudios monastery, displacing the continuous 24-hour service that was the trademark of the "sleepless" monks previously resident there since the middle of the fifth century. In time this would merge with the office of the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia to produce a hybrid Studite office."

69 See *BMFD* 1:84–137. Theodore emphasized manual labor and also banned slaves and female animals (p. 86). Reading alternated with manual labor. See *ibid.*, 108, §26 where a daily check-out ritual for books is noted and 112, §33 where "copyists" are referenced and exempted from the recitation of the psalter.

70 *ODB* 3:1960–61, 2044–45 for bibliography.

71 Aland and Wachtel, "Greek Minuscule Manuscripts" (n. 1 above), 44. The process was hardly straightforward; see Wachtel, "Byzantine Text of the Gospels."

72 Wachtel, "Byzantine Text of the Gospels," 1; see also p. 7: "The Byzantine text is by no means a fixed and stable entity that remained more or less the same from the times of Codex Alexandrinus through the middle ages."

In fact, the dominance of the Byzantine text by the second half of the ninth century has been called into question for more than fifty years. J. Neville Birdsall has argued that the reception of the Byzantine text may not have been as early or as uniform as some scholars concluded. He noted that Photios's text of the New Testament "had a close affinity with the gospel material which earlier theoreticians called the 'Caesarean Text' . . . [and] this is all the more significant because of the intellectual stature and position of Photius, and because of the centrality and importance of his ecclesiastical office."⁷³

Recent research by Nadezhda Kavrush-Hoffmann has confirmed that gospel texts other than the Byzantine text were circulating in mid- and late ninth-century Constantinople. She recently assigned Chicago, Lutheran School of Theology, Gruber 152 (GA 1424), whose script has much in common with that of Nicholas of the Uspenskii Gospels manuscript, to the Stoudios monastery.⁷⁴ The textual profile for Gruber 152 created by the Clusters tool describes only a 75.3 percent agreement with the majority text, which contrasts with the distinctly Byzantine character of the text of the Uspenskii Gospels (97.1%). Of the hundreds of manuscripts found in Gruber 152's textual profile, none shows closer than a 90.4 percent agreement and all but four manuscripts agree with it at levels below 79 percent.⁷⁵

Regardless, the Uspenskii Gospels manuscript's association with the Stoudios monastery

may account for its many textual relatives with later deluxe gospel texts such as those listed in Table 3.6. As an early dated minuscule gospel text affiliated with an esteemed metropolitan monastery, it may have been sought out as a textual exemplar by later Byzantine patrons and scribes. One cannot argue that the text of the Uspenskii Gospels itself is particularly relevant for the development of the Byzantine text-type. The manuscript is singular because of its very early minuscule script and because of its colophon and the affiliations revealed therein. It is a product of what Cyril Mango has referred to as the "iconophile intelligentsia," a movement that must include Theodore Stoudite and his associates.⁷⁶ One can safely assume, however, that the prestige of the Uspenskii Gospels would have almost certainly grown throughout the ninth century, especially after the end of Iconoclasm in 843.⁷⁷

Before leaving the Uspenskii Gospels it is important to acknowledge the significant number of unknown or relatively unknown gospel manuscripts that are its close textual relatives but were not included in Table 3.6. Table 3.7 lists some of these manuscripts. With few exceptions they do not appear to have been published, and they are not usually mentioned in the art-historical literature.

Most of these manuscripts are relatively modest products. Harvard gr. 22, in the paired position on line 6, contains only forty-seven folios and an unattractive thirteenth-century script.⁷⁸ Lavra Γ' 54, on line 8, is missing the beginning of Matthew, but its three remaining headpieces and initials are quite competently drawn, if not large

73 J. N. Birdsall, "The New Testament Text Known to Photius: A Reconsideration," in idem, *Collected Papers in Greek and Georgian Textual Criticism*, Texts and Studies, 3rd ser., vol. 3 (Piscataway, NJ, 2006), 47–54, esp. 53–54. Birdsall's first article on the subject was published fifty years earlier; see idem, "The Text of the Gospels in Photius," *JTS* n.s. 7 (1956): 42–55, 190–98.

74 See her chapter in this volume, below, and N. Kavrush-Hoffmann, "A New Testament Manuscript Produced in the Stoudios Scriptorium: Codex 152 in the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago," paper presented at the 2010 Byzantine Studies Conference, Philadelphia, 9 October 2010.

75 Another very important late ninth- or early tenth-century manuscript is the now fragmentary Messina F. V. 18, which was dedicated to an otherwise unknown Dionysios. It features unusual and striking canon tables and headpieces, and its one surviving evangelist portrait is iconographically related to those of Stauronikita 43. It agrees with the majority text at 93.7%. See further A. Iacobini and L. Perria, *Il vangelo di Dionisio: Un manoscritto bizantino da Costantinopoli a Messina* (Rome, 1998).

76 C. Mango, "The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750–850," in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, DC, 1975), 29–45, esp. 45, cited by Nelson, *Iconography of Preface and Miniature*, 103. The dynamic intellectual sparring between iconoclasts and iconophiles in the ninth century is well captured by L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge, 1999), 37–52.

77 See nn. 50–52 above.

78 For Harvard gr. 22, see N. Kavrush-Hoffmann, "Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in Collections of the United States of America, Part V.2: Harvard University, The Houghton Library," *Manuscripta* 54, no. 2 (2010): 207–74, esp. 240–42. For a color reproduction of Harvard, gr. 22, fol. 12, see: <http://ids.lib.harvard.edu/ids/view/14141877?buttons=y> (accessed 28 August 2013). Kavrush-Hoffmann assigns the manuscript to the late thirteenth century.

in scale. Other manuscripts are fragmentary and difficult to assess.⁷⁹ Istanbul, Serail 125 is basically complete. Its remaining headpieces (that of Mark is missing) are simple pen and ink, but it has several lovely pages of text formatted in the shape of a cross at the end of Mark's Gospel. Siderides 1 is a tiny and worn manuscript with headpieces of indeterminate quality.⁸⁰ John Rylands 7, in the paired position, comprises 204 folios, many of which appear to be damaged by worms, but a large headpiece for Luke shows ambition if not expert execution. Although Vat. gr. 365 appears to have lost most of the pigment in its evangelist portraits, it must have been more appealing at one time (Fig. 3.8).⁸¹ One of the manuscripts listed in Table 3.7, Patmos 84 (Fig. 3.9), is striking, however, and it comes as a surprise that it is not better known to art historians.⁸² Its *Blütenblattstil* headpieces and its initials are lovely, and it features the much less common and more formal two-column format of the famous Stauronikita 43 Gospels.⁸³

Tables 3.6 and 3.7 remind us that Byzantine gospel books typically have both deluxe and

modest textual relatives and that the modest relatives usually far outnumber the deluxe ones. It is important to bear in mind as well that the Clusters tool ranks manuscripts only in terms of textual relations. Aesthetic concerns are irrelevant. The data for the Uspenskii Gospels are representative of the kind of results generated for a number of deluxe Greek gospel manuscripts. I have divided the manuscripts listed into three groups:

Group A: Deluxe or high-quality Greek gospel books of various dates featuring diverse types of illustration and ornament.

Group B: Mostly unpublished Greek gospel books that appear fairly consistently in the Clusters data for deluxe manuscripts; many of these manuscripts are modest, but several warrant promotion to Group A (e.g., Patmos 84 and, as will be seen below, Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS 1).⁸⁴

Group C: Unknown and usually unpublished Greek gospel books that appear much less consistently in the Clusters data for deluxe manuscripts discussed here.

My focus will be on Group A and Group B manuscripts as they are found more consistently in the data generated for the deluxe manuscripts under discussion. While Group C manuscripts may comprise fifty percent or more of the data for a given manuscript, they will play almost no role in this study. The role of Group B manuscripts is akin to that of the so-called unaffiliated manuscripts discussed above in the text data of Theodore Hagiopetrates.

In sum, deluxe gospel books generate textual profiles that often feature a similar selection of manuscripts from Group A and Group B. We have already seen in the manuscripts of Theodore Hagiopetrates that a scribe/illuminator could create books with similar texts that may or may not be classified as deluxe. Not all patrons had the desire or the resources to commission a beautifully illuminated manuscript. Modest (Group B)

79 Munich, BSB, gr. 568 does not appear to have ever had decoration; Moscow, F.181.13 (Gr. 13) contains only 100 folios and within that only the headpiece to Luke survives. The Syracuse fragment appears to have been modestly decorated, but it may have had at least one evangelist portrait.

80 My images are derived from a black-and-white microfilm.

81 Black-and-white microfilm images of all of Vat. gr. 365 are available in the Virtual Manuscript Room (under GA 135) on INTF's website (accessed 28 August 2013). Three evangelist portraits survive (Mark, Luke, and John), although much of their pigment has disappeared. Four unpainted headpieces to the gospels are also intact.

82 Patmos 84 is unpublished, but has been photographed by Daniel Wallace of CSNTM. It appears no fewer than six times in the paired position in the textual profile for the Uspenskii Gospels.

83 Giancarlo Prato noted that gospel texts dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries feature one column of text in 90% of all cases ("La presentazione del testo nei manoscritti tardobizantini," in idem, *Studi di paleografia greca*, Collectanea, vol. 4 [Spoleto, 1994], 133–49, esp. 136; orig. publ. 1982). If one looks at all manuscripts (dated and undated) from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, 88% feature a single-column format. The inverse is true for lectionary texts: of 1,300 lectionaries from the ninth to fourteenth centuries, 75% feature two-columned formats. Secular manuscripts are nearly always single columned as well, according to Prato. For the Stauronikita 43 Gospels, see C. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi and G. Galavaris, *Holy Stauroniketa Monastery: Illustrated Manuscripts from the 10th to 17th Century*, 2 vols. (Mt. Athos, 2007–8), 2: figs. 4–55.

84 I have not succeeded in locating reproductions of all manuscripts assigned to Group B; John Rylands 7 was probably once Group A quality.



FIG. 3.8. Vatican Apostolic Library, Vat. gr. 365, fol. 44v: Evangelist Mark (with the permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, all rights reserved)

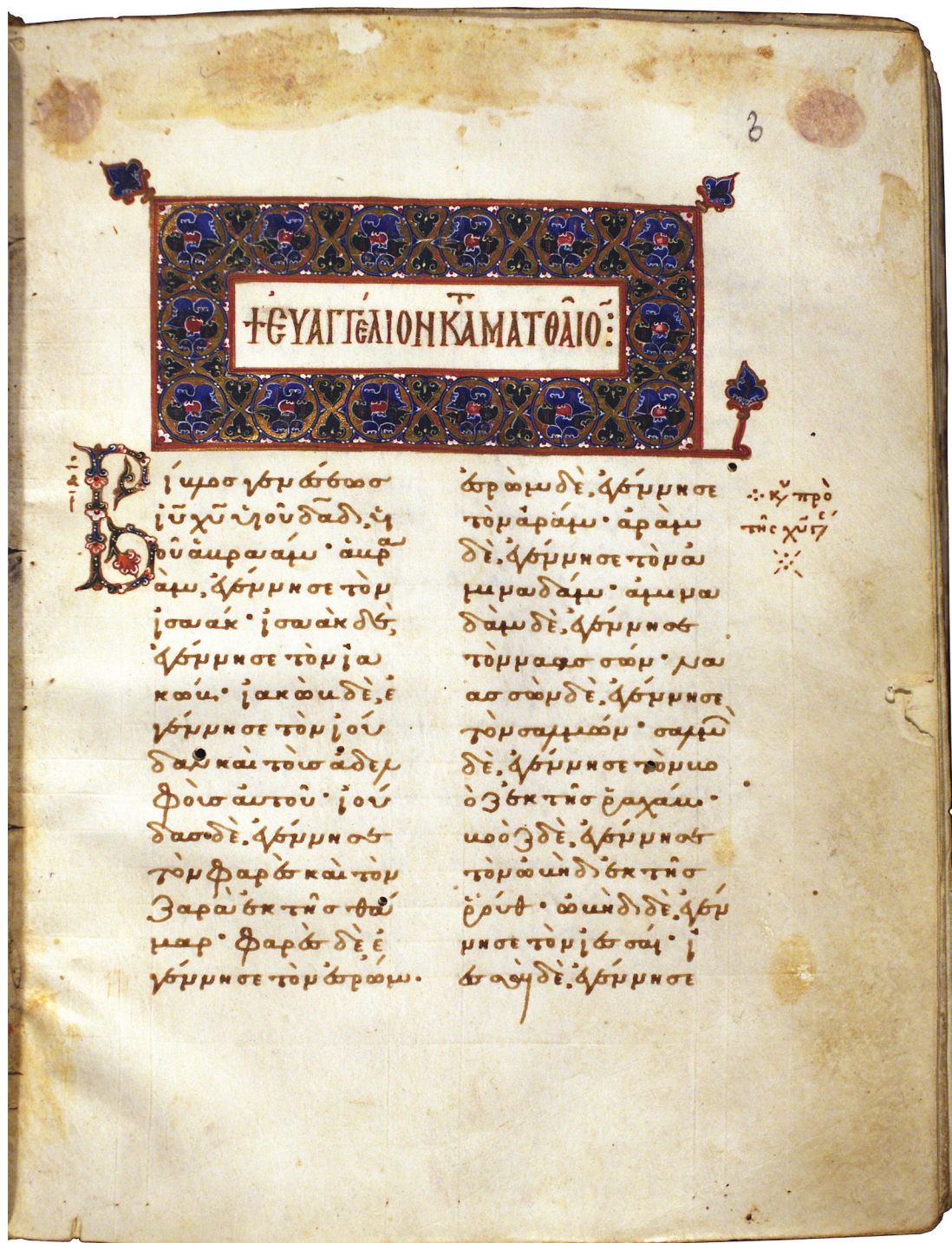


FIG. 3.9. Patmos, Monastery of St. John, Ms. 84, fol. 3r: The beginning of the Gospel of Matthew (photo courtesy Monastery of St. John, Patmos)

manuscripts were generally created by the same scribes who wrote deluxe (Group A) manuscripts.

The foundation has now been laid for a more expedient analysis of additional deluxe Greek gospel books.

Macedonian Renaissance

For the period associated with the “Macedonian renaissance” of the tenth and early eleventh centuries, I shall examine the evidence of four manuscripts: Vienna, Theol. gr. 240, Paris gr. 70, Stauronikita 43, and Vatopedi 949.

Vienna, Austrian National Library, Theol. gr. 240 (GA 123)

Vienna, Theol. gr. 240 (Fig. 3.7) is usually dated to ca. 1000 and is considered a high-quality representative of the “Macedonian renaissance.”⁸⁵ It was mentioned briefly above in conjunction with the Uspenskii Gospels where it appeared on line 28 (Table 3.6) for the Clusters data for that manuscript. The Clusters data for Vienna, Theol. gr. 240 reveal textual relationships with numerous deluxe illustrated manuscripts.

Like the Uspenskii Gospels, Vienna, Theol. gr. 240 agrees with the majority text at 97.1 percent. The Clusters tool generated seventy-three lines of data and many of these manuscripts are paired. Table 3.8 lists some of the most illustrious manuscripts; all but two are in the primary position.⁸⁶ Of the sixteen manuscripts assigned to Group A in Table 3.8, ten were also cited in

conjunction with the Uspenskii Gospels. The five additional manuscripts are: Patmos 72; Vat. Pal. gr. 220; Harvard gr. 1; Walters W 527; and Vat. gr. 354.⁸⁷ Four of these are datable to the tenth century, but Harvard gr. 1 is a late thirteenth-century work related in its script to the elite Atelier of the Palaiologina group. Vat. gr. 354, written in majuscule script, is dated to 949. Walters W 527 is an early example of the *Perlschrift* and features an unusual evangelist portrait of Mark executed in a medium that creates a similar impact to watercolor (Fig. 3.10).⁸⁸ All sixteen manuscripts are worthy of much greater attention than can be provided here. I will only point out that like Vienna, Theol. gr. 240, Paris gr. 70 features standing evangelist portraits.⁸⁹

Like the Uspenskii Gospels, Vienna, Theol. gr. 240 includes a number of manuscripts that can be classified under Group B (Table 3.9). Of the fourteen manuscripts listed, nine appeared in Table 3.7 on the Group B list of the Uspenskii Gospels. The newcomers include the Louisville, KY fragment; Manchester, John Rylands 1; Vatican Libr., Vat. Chis. R IV 6 (gr. 6); and Patmos 100. The Louisville fragment is about the same size as the Uspenskii Gospels and its ornament is almost as restrained.⁹⁰ Usually dated to

85 For clarification of the term “Macedonian renaissance,” see W. Treadgold, “The Macedonian Renaissance,” in *Renaissances before the Renaissance: Cultural Revivals of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. idem (Stanford, 1984), chap. 4. For Vienna, Theol. gr. 240 see Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 15 and pls. 85–86, 92–94; see also E. Dobrynina, “Two Manuscripts by a ‘Master of the Arabesque Style’ (Moscow, Syn gr. 63 and Wien, Theol. gr. 240),” *Khrysograf* 3 (2009): 42–61 (in Russian with Engl. summary). For color illustrations online, see the Gabriel Millet Collection (n. 56 above).

86 All manuscripts in Table 3.8 agree with the Vienna manuscript at 97.4% or above, except possibly Walters W 527 and Vat. gr. 354, which are in the paired position on lines 36 and 56. The Clusters tool does not divulge a secondary manuscript’s level of agreement with the manuscript for which the data are being generated. This means that the level of agreement between Walters W 527 and Vienna, Theol. gr. 240, and Vat. gr. 354 and Vienna, Theol. gr. 240 is not readily available from the clustering tool.

87 For Patmos 72, see A. D. Kominis, ed., *Patmos: Treasures of the Monastery*, trans. D. A. Hardy (Athens, 1988), 284–85 and figs. 15–16. Both Vatican manuscripts are illustrated in color in *I vangeli dei popoli: La parola e l’immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia*, ed. F. D’Aiuto, G. Morello, and A. M. Piazzoni (Vatican City, 2000), cat. nos. 33, 37. Harvard gr. 1’s script was executed by the same group of scribes who did the gospels and lectionaries of the Atelier of the Palaiologina manuscripts, according to Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, 95 and pl. 89; for full bibliography, see http://hcl.harvard.edu/libraries/houghton/collections/early_manuscripts/bibliographies/Gr/Gro01.html. For Walters W 527, see n. 44 above.

88 It is a bit reminiscent of Athos, Philotheou 33 in this respect.

89 Note, however, that Paris gr. 70 appears on line 37 of the Clusters data for Vienna, Theol. gr. 240.

90 Of its original decoration, only the headpieces to Luke and John in the Louisville gospel manuscript survive and they are small, delicate, braided designs executed in ink. For ornament that is quite reminiscent of the Uspenskii Gospels, see fols. 75r and 145r. The manuscript on csntm.org can be viewed only by special permission. The data for the Louisville Gospel fragment comprise sixty-two lines with many of the manuscripts paired and present what I describe as a classic deluxe manuscript textual profile with many representatives from both Group A and B, among which the highly ranked Manchester, John Rylands 1;



FIG. 3.10. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 527, fol. 1v: Evangelist Mark (photo courtesy The Walters Art Gallery, <http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W527/>)



FIG. 3.II. Manchester, The John Rylands Library, Greek, Ms. 1, fol. 193v: Evangelist John (© The University of Manchester)

the eleventh or twelfth century, its minute script, generous margins, and ornament suggest a much earlier date.⁹¹ Patmos 100 is more modest. Space was reserved for headpieces at the beginning of the Gospels of Luke and John, but neither was executed. There is no evidence in the reproductions available to me of any ornament except some enlarged initials. Vatican Library, Chis. R IV 6 (gr. 6) has three remaining pen and ink small headpieces. Matthew's headpiece is missing and the headpiece for the beginning of Luke is only outlined in its exterior frame. John Rylands 1 differs from the other three manuscripts. The portrait of the Evangelist John, the only folio published in color, signals a deluxe manuscript with his blue and white garments offset by a lush golden background. John Rylands 1 is promoted to Group A status on this basis (Fig. 3.11).⁹²

Paris gr. 70 (GA 14)

One of the finest manuscripts of the period, Paris gr. 70 is well known for its imposing standing evangelist portraits, the beautiful ornament of its canon tables, and its golden, ciborium-type kephalaia headpieces (Fig. 3.3). A later inscription dates the manuscript to 964. The Clusters tool indicates a 98 percent agreement with the majority text and displays thirty-nine primary manuscripts, of which nineteen are further paired with other manuscripts. Table 3.10 lists its illustrious relatives (Group A), most of which are familiar to us from analysis of the Uspenskii Gospels and Vienna, Theol. gr. 240. The surprise here is the appearance of Münster gr. 10, a decorative style manuscript (line 22).⁹³ Noteworthy, too, is Lavra A' 19 (line 4; dated 992), which Weitzmann has linked in its canon table ornament to that of Paris gr. 70.⁹⁴ The Uspenskii Gospels manuscript

(line 29) also appears with a 98.4 percent agreement with Paris gr. 70.

Table 3.11 displays the manuscripts assigned to Group B, that is, those that appear fairly constantly in the Clusters data generated for high-caliber illustrated manuscripts. All agree with Paris gr. 70 at 98 percent or above, and all but two manuscripts appeared in the Group B list for Vienna, Theol. gr. 240: Patmos 275 and Athens, Nat. Libr., cod. 158. Patmos 275 is dated to 1282.⁹⁵ It features exuberant, but crudely executed headpieces for both its prologues and gospel texts. The ornament of its canon tables also suggests a provincial origin. Athens, Nat. Libr., cod. 158, also of the thirteenth century, features higher-quality ornament than Patmos 275, but it also uses ornamental motifs and hues atypical of deluxe metropolitan manuscripts.⁹⁶

Athos, Stauronikita 43 (GA 1110)

For Byzantine art historians, no gospel book is more intimately linked with the Macedonian renaissance than Stauronikita 43. Generations of scholars have appreciated its stately evangelist portraits, but more recent publications have extended that appreciation to its canon tables and headpieces as well.⁹⁷ In 2000 Lidia Perria assigned Stauronikita 43 to Ephraim, the discriminating and highly regarded Constantinopolitan scribe.⁹⁸ Ephraim was educated at what appears to have been an elite secondary school in Constantinople where he was exposed to exacting standards in the copying of texts.⁹⁹ A passage from a letter "to

Codex Ebnerianus; Vienna, Theol. gr. 240; London, BL, Add. 28815; Patmos 84; and many more.

91 The Louisville Gospel fragment and John Rylands 1 have similar textual profiles, with an impressive selection of Group A and Group B manuscripts.

92 Color image accessible at <http://enriqueta.man.ac.uk/luna/servlet/s/19drl6>. See also J. K. Elliott, "The Biblical Manuscripts of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester," *Bull/RylandsLib* 81, no. 2 (1999): 3–50, esp. 17–22.

93 For decorative style manuscripts, see n. 3 above.

94 Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 35–36.

95 A. D. Komines, *Facsimiles of Dated Patmian Codices*, Eng. version M. Naoumides (Athens, 1970), 31 and pl. 26.

96 Assigned to the thirteenth century by A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and C. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, trans. H. Hionides and B. De Jongh, vol. 2, *Manuscripts of the New Testament Texts 13th–15th Century* (Athens, 1985), 115.

97 Mavropoulou-Tsioumi and Galavaris, *Holy Stauroniketa Monastery*, 31–42 and figs. 4–55.

98 L. Perria and A. Iacobini, "Un vangelo della rinascenza macedone al Monte Athos: Nuove ipotesi sullo Stavronikita 43 e il suo scriba," *RSBN* n.s. 37 (2000): 73–98. I thank Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann and one of the anonymous readers for bringing this article to my attention. For more on Ephraim, see Kavrus-Hoffmann's chapter in this volume.

99 My discussion of Ephraim is heavily dependent upon that of A. S. Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1*

the patriarch” written by an individual generally identified as Ephraim’s teacher offers extraordinary insight into contemporary standards for the best educated scholar-scribes:

You will easily be able to collect a sufficient number of manuscripts. Comparison is often laborious, as manuscripts have many variant readings. When I actually saw the book, with its many marginal notes, I was amazed at the corrector, and wondered if there could possibly be anything left for me to correct, apart from indicating briefly redundancy or omission. To copy it out again because of trivial variations of text or punctuation seems needless. And how am I to judge between variants? I shall bow to the opinions of my superiors. In cases of doubt, sense, style, and doctrinal consistency shall be my guides. You must either be content with that, or pass it to another for further revision. I am too busy to waste effort in vain.¹⁰⁰

Ephraim evidently disappointed his teacher by becoming a monk, but his reputation as a careful copyist rests on important religious and secular texts.¹⁰¹ Amy Anderson compared Ephraim’s script style to that of the earlier Nicholas of the Uspenskii Gospels. However, there are enough differences between Ephraim’s lineation and quire signatures to indicate that he was likely not a scribe of the Stoudios monastery.¹⁰² While the identity of Ephraim’s monastery remains unknown, scholars have associated more than fifty manuscripts with its scriptorium based upon codicological evidence.¹⁰³ The Clusters

tool generates, however, only one line of data for Stauronikita 43’s synoptic gospels (Table 3.12).

How does one explain that the consummate gospel book from the Macedonian renaissance has only two rather modest relatives in the synoptic gospels? Both textual relatives belong to the Group B category and the contrast in quality with Stauronikita 43 is stark. A closer look reveals that both are incomplete texts. Munich, BSB, gr. 568 comprises only sixty-six folios and just one headpiece (that of Luke).¹⁰⁴ Its fragmentary condition may well have skewed the data. Vat gr. 365 has 181 folios surviving, but it, too, is incomplete (Fig. 3.8). It is in fact due to Stauronikita 43’s very high degree of conformity with the majority text in the synoptic gospels (99.3%) that so few manuscripts appear in the Clusters data. According to Wachtel, Stauronikita 43 “represents the very mainstream and is thus textually related to all other manuscripts that differ only rarely from the majority text.”¹⁰⁵

Athos, Vatopedi 949 (GA 1582)

Another tenth-century gospel book associated with the scribe Ephraim is Athos, Vatopedi 949 (dated 948).¹⁰⁶ Its evangelist portraits were executed later and added to the manuscript in a rebinding that may date to the twelfth century.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, its headpieces are original and feature deluxe *Blütenblattstil* motifs not unlike

in *Matthew*, New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents, vol. 32 (Leiden, 2004), 22–46.

100 Letter 88; from Anderson, *Textual Tradition*, 26–27. See also R. Browning, “The Correspondence of a Tenth-Century Byzantine Scholar,” *Byzantion* 24 (1955): 397–452, esp. 419–20; A. Markopoulos, ed., *Anonymi professoris epistulae* (Berlin, 2006).

101 Ephraim is associated with significant copies of Polybius (books 1–5), as well as works by Plato and Aristotle. See further Anderson, *Textual Tradition*, 22–28. Georgi Parpulov (“Bibles of the Christian East,” 310–24) cited a passage by Ephraim that also reflects his sensitivity to the art of preserving the diverse forms of a given text; see esp. p. 310: “[Ephraim’s] aim was not to correct the text, but to record its multiple forms.”

102 See Anderson, *Textual Tradition*, 23 and n. 7 for further bibl.

103 Ibid., 29 and n. 44 for bibl.

104 For the modest character of the Munich fragment and Vat. gr. 365, see the discussion of Group B manuscripts beginning on p. 51 above.

105 Personal communication of June 25, 2014. I thank Klaus Wachtel for contextualizing this data for me.

106 See A. Diller, “Notes on Greek Codices of the Tenth Century,” *TAPA* 77 (1947): 184–88, esp. 186, repr. in idem, *Studies in Greek Manuscript Tradition* (Amsterdam, 1983), no. 31 (I thank Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann for this reference). According to Anderson (*Textual Tradition*, 5–6 and pl. XX), a fifteenth-century hand attributed Vatopedi 949 to Ephraim. For photos, see Pelekanides et al., *Oi Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους*, 4: figs. 283–84; Anderson, *Textual Tradition*, pls. I, II.

107 Anderson (*Textual Tradition*, 14) proposes that the portraits themselves may actually date from the tenth century, even if intended for another manuscript originally. Kavrus-Hoffmann (chap. 5 below) compares the frames of Vatopedi 949’s evangelist portraits to those of Dumbarton Oaks, MS 5 and related manuscripts from the second half of the eleventh century.

those seen in Stauronikita 43.¹⁰⁸ Vatopedi 949 plays a significant role in New Testament text criticism and appears to be one of the most important (and earliest) representatives of a distinctive textual group of gospel manuscripts called Family 1.¹⁰⁹ While Stauronikita 43 had a 99.3 percent agreement with the majority text, Vatopedi 949 agrees with it by only 59.4 percent.¹¹⁰ Not surprisingly, the Clusters data reveal a very different profile for Vatopedi 949. While it generated 563 manuscripts as textual relatives (and most of these are further paired with other manuscripts), only two of the manuscripts agree with Vatopedi 949 at more than 90 percent (Table 3.13).¹¹¹

The strongly dichotomous textual exemplars used by Ephraim suggest that even more than one hundred years after the Uspenskii Gospels some patrons were interested in commissioning gospel manuscripts whose texts diverged strongly from the Byzantine type. In fact, the evidence seems to support Georgi Parpulov's recent statement that "the authorities in Constantinople did not seek to promulgate an 'official' scriptural text."¹¹² The unusually well-documented environment related to the scribe Ephraim provides a welcome antidote to the traditional view of scribes correcting their copies to conform to the Byzantine text. Ephraim demonstrated a more scholarly perspective toward his textual exemplars and an acute

recognition of the need to preserve such evidence in his own copies.¹¹³

The textual choices apparently available to Ephraim or his patrons may bolster the significance of the Uspenskii Gospels' text, for the fact that so many later deluxe manuscripts of varying dates and decoration are textually related to the Uspenskii Gospels is less likely to be purely coincidental in this environment.

The Eleventh Century

The eleventh century offers a number of deluxe manuscripts to examine with the Clusters tool. Some generate data that conform closely to the results already seen (e.g., Patmos 84); the textual profiles of others yield fewer parallels with those examined earlier (Paris gr. 74 and Florence, Plut. VI, 23).

Patmos 84 (GA 1168)

Patmos 84 (Fig. 3.9) is the virtually unknown deluxe manuscript introduced above in the analysis of the Group B manuscripts associated with the Uspenskii Gospels.¹¹⁴ With its stately two-column format and its beautifully executed *Blütenblattstil* headpieces, it is a manuscript that could have served as a prototype for the decoration of some of the much later lectionary manuscripts of the Atelier of the Palaiologina.¹¹⁵ The Clusters tool lists twenty manuscripts for Patmos 84 and eight of these manuscripts are further paired with manuscripts that are their closest textual relatives. All twenty manuscripts in the primary position agree with Patmos 84 at levels of 98.8 percent or higher. Group A representatives include Codex Ebnerianus; Manchester, John Rylands 1; Walters W 527; Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52; Princeton, Garrett 2; Lavra A' 19; and London, BL, Add. 28815.¹¹⁶ They are found on lines 2, 4, 6, 7, 11, and 15, respectively. Group B manuscripts

108 Anderson, *Textual Tradition*, 14–15 and pl. I. Vatopedi 949 is a single-columned codex unlike the less common two-column format of Stauronikita 43.

109 Ibid., passim. See now A. Welsby, *A Textual Study of Family 1 in the Gospel of John*, Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung 45 (Berlin, 2013).

110 This is an extremely low level of agreement by New Testament text critics' standards. The vast majority of Greek gospel books feature a high degree of agreement with the Byzantine text. For an analysis of Vatopedi 949's text, see *ibid.*, chap. 5. Parpulov ("Bibles of the Christian East," 312) offers several examples in which gospel texts copied by the same scribe are clearly based on different exemplars.

111 Family 1 is named after the GA number of the first manuscript listed in Table 3.13 (Basel, Univ. Libr. AN IV 2). For more information on these texts and some reproductions, see Anderson, *Textual Tradition*, 108–9 (GA 1), 116–19 (GA 209) and pls. XXIX–XXXI.

112 Parpulov, "Bibles of the Christian East," 311. See Barbara Crostini ("The point at which it [the Byzantine text] later became the universal *textus receptus* has yet to be established"), in *New Cambridge History of the Bible*, 2:41–55, at 49.

113 Anderson, *Textual Tradition*, 46.

114 See n. 82 above.

115 For example, Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, gr. 228. See Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, pl. 32a.

116 Princeton, Garrett 2 and London, BL, Add. 28815 occupy the paired (or secondary) position on lines 7 and 15, respectively.

are Moscow, F. 181.13 (Gr. 13); Athens, Siderides 1; Manchester, John Rylands 7; Harvard gr. 22; Athens, Benaki, TA 142; and Vat. Chis. R IV 6 (gr. 6) on lines 1, 5, 11, 12, 15, and 17.¹¹⁷ Thus, Patmos 84's textual profile conforms to that which we have come to expect from high-quality, deluxe metropolitan manuscripts with familiar representatives from both Group A and Group B manuscripts.

*Princeton, University Library,
Scheide M 70 (GA 1357)*

Princeton, Scheide M 70 is assigned to the eleventh century by Kotzabassi and Ševčenko and is famous for its stunning canon tables, headpieces, and initials.¹¹⁸ The Clusters tool generated thirty-two manuscripts for its synoptic gospels and almost all were paired with other manuscripts (Table 3.14). Two manuscripts in the secondary position (lines 3 and 5) are affiliated with the Atelier of the Palaiologina; Oxford, Barocci 31 (Fig. 3.5) is a full-fledged member and Florence, Plut. VI. 28 is related to the Atelier only through its evangelist portraits.¹¹⁹ Other deluxe manuscripts are Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52 (line 16), and Paris gr. 49 and Patmos 84 (paired on line 17).

Paris gr. 49 (Fig. 3.12; n. 136 below) is an eleventh-century text that can be described as exquisite, if not technically deluxe. It was written with great care in pale brown ink. Its scribe executed the headpieces in red ink only, but again with extraordinary precision. Moreover, its format is reminiscent of that of Patmos 84 (see Figs. 3.9, 3.12) with its two-column text and generous margins. Might a manuscript like this have been created for use in a monastic setting? It is striking in its simplicity, but there is every indication that it was created for a discerning patron of superior taste who insisted on restraint. I propose that it was made for a member of the aristocracy for personal use upon retirement to a

metropolitan monastery.¹²⁰ Paris gr. 49's textual relatives seem to reaffirm its status.¹²¹ Its Group B list is also extensive and includes many of the manuscripts listed for Princeton, Scheide 70.

Other deluxe manuscripts associated with Scheide 70 are Codex Ebnerianus and Patmos 84, paired on line 18. Codex Ebnerianus is followed by Escorial X. IV. 17 (line 19). Nelson noted long ago that these two manuscripts were written by the same scribe.¹²² The Escorial manuscript has also been linked with the Atelier of the Palaiologina. According to Buchthal and Belting, its paired standing portraits of the authors of Acts are the only known painted prototypes for those found in the Atelier manuscript Vat. gr. 1208.¹²³ Additional Group A manuscripts are Lavra A' 19 (dated 992) (line 23) and, in the secondary position (lines 28 and 31), Oxford. Bodl. Libr. Auct. T. inf. 2.6 and Manchester, John Rylands 1. The ornament of Princeton, Scheide M 70, on the other hand, has been linked with those of Vat. gr. 358, Dionysiou 588m, Ivron 2, and Princeton, Garrett 2, none of which appears in the data generated for the synoptic gospels, however.¹²⁴

The Group B textual relatives for Scheide M 70 comprise almost all of the manuscripts mentioned earlier, viz., Harvard gr. 22; Moscow,

120 Nelson characterized the relationship between aristocrats and monasteries in twelfth-century Constantinople as follows: "One part comprised the Constantinopolitan elite, which at this time largely meant the extensive relations of the imperial family; and the other, the monasteries that they financed and in which they prayed, retired, and were buried" ("Theoktistos and Associates in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: An Illustrated New Testament of A.D. 1133," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987): 53–78, at 77).

121 Paris gr. 49's Clusters list for the synoptic gospels includes Codex Ebnerianus (line 1, 99.4% agreement). Line 4 features Patmos 84 and Manchester, John Rylands, 1. Line 8 is occupied by Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52 and Princeton, Garrett 2. Lavra A' 19 (dated 992) is on line 9. The Group B manuscripts for Paris gr. 49 are the standard ones: Moscow, F.181.13 (Gr. 13); Harvard, gr. 22; Lavra Γ' 54; Athens, Siderides 1; Lavra A' 28; and Istanbul, Serrail 125.

122 R. S. Nelson, "Codex Ebnerianus," *ODB* 1:473–74. See also idem, "Theoktistos and Associates" (Nelson credits Buchthal for this observation on p. 67). Both Codex Ebnerianus and the Escorial manuscript are New Testament manuscripts.

123 Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, 32. For illustrations of the Escorial manuscript, see *ibid.*, pls. 68a, 68b, 69a.

124 Kotzabassi and Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*, 213. Dionysiou 588m will be addressed in more detail below.

117 Group B manuscripts listed above occupy both primary and secondary positions in the Clusters tool data.

118 Kotzabassi and Ševčenko, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton*, 210–17 and figs. 226–38.

119 Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, 5, who note that the script and ornament differ from the Atelier group.

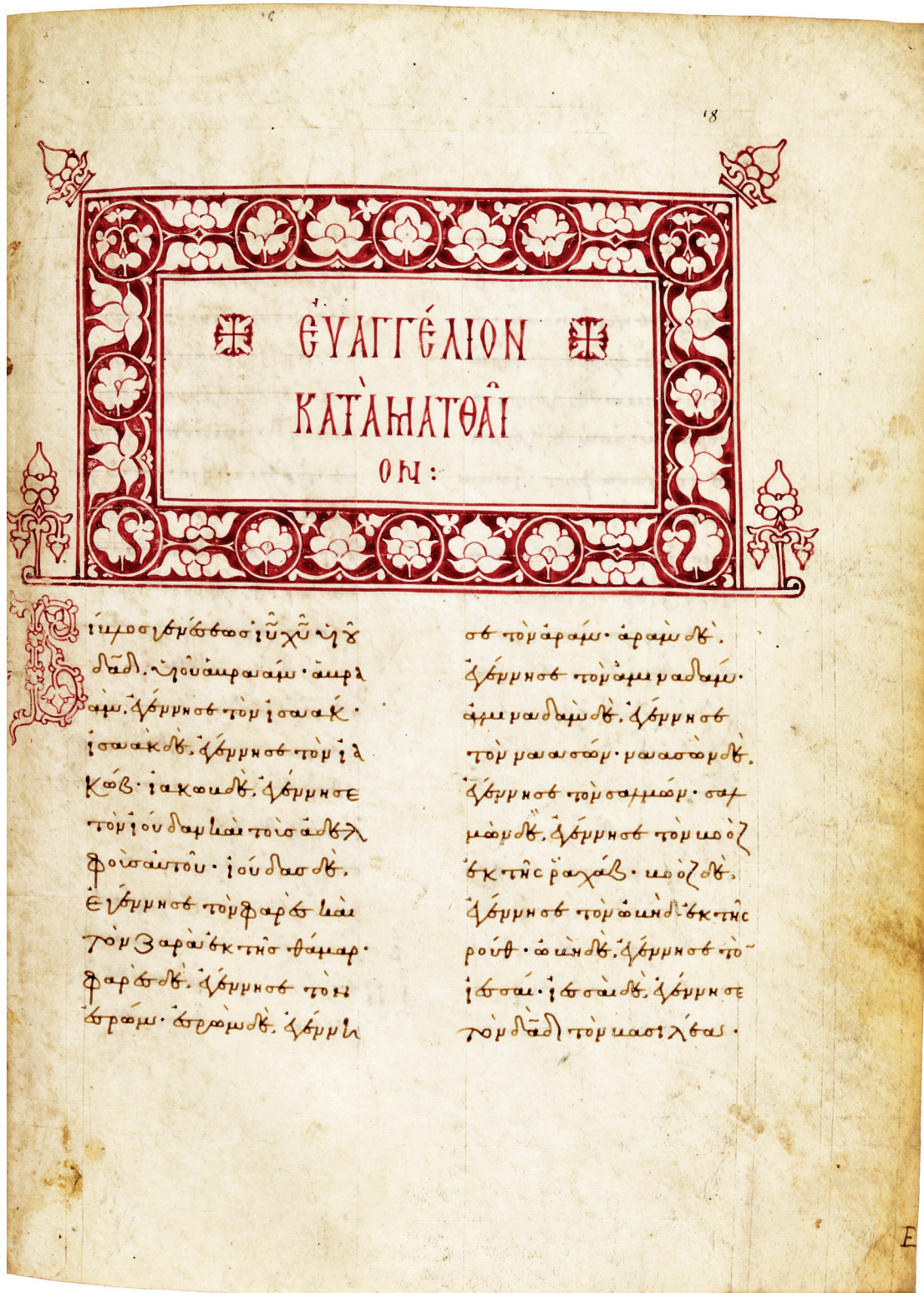


FIG. 3.12. Paris, BnF, gr. 49, fol. 18r: The beginning of the Gospel of Matthew (photo courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France)

F.181.13 (Gr. 13); Vat., Chis. R. IV. 6 (gr. 6); Munich, BSB, gr. 568; London, Lambeth Palace 1175; Lavra Γ' 54; Athens, NL, 158; Manchester, John Rylands 7; Vat. gr. 365; Athens, Siderides 1; and the Louisville fragment.

Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 1229 (GA 143)

Vatican gr. 1229 is a handsome, large-scale (32 × 24.5 cm) gospel book with a commentary.¹²⁵ Its Group A list for the synoptic gospels includes Paris gr. 70; Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52; Codex Ebnerianus; Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. T. inf. 2.6; Lavra A' 119; and Florence, Plut. VI. 28 in the primary position; and Manchester, John Rylands, 1; Athens, NL, 93; Walters W 527; and Paris gr. 49 in the secondary position. These are all deluxe manuscripts discussed above.¹²⁶

Paris, BnF, gr. 74 (GA 269)

Long associated with the Stoudite monastery and one of two famous “frieze” gospels, Paris gr. 74 features narrow bands of unframed narrative illustration throughout its gospel texts.¹²⁷ It agrees with the majority text at 97.1 percent and only ten manuscripts (seven of which are paired) for the synoptic gospels are displayed by the Clusters tool. Most of them are unknown to me, but two illustrious manuscripts include Florence, Plut. VI. 28 (of the Atelier of the Palaiologina) on line 7 and Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52 in the paired position on line 10.¹²⁸ Group B manuscripts are Harvard gr. 22, Moscow, F.181.13 (Gr. 13), and London, Lambeth Palace, 1175.

125 *Vangeli dei popoli*, ed. D'Aiuto, Morello, and Piazzoni, cat. no. 51 and for color reproductions of the Evangelists Mark and John, and the beginning of Mark's Gospel.

126 These Group A manuscripts are found on lines 7 to 28 and all relate at 94.3% to 94.7% to Vat. gr. 1229.

127 K. Weitzmann, “Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century,” in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Book Illumination*, ed. Kessler, 271–313, esp. 278–80. Weitzmann attributes Paris gr. 74 to the Stoudios monastery and to ca. 1065 on the basis of comparison with the Theodore Psalter (London, BL 19352) signed and dated 1066 by the Stoudite monk, Theodore. For a different point of view, see chap. 5 n. 29 in this volume.

128 A digital facsimile of Florence, Plut. VI. 28, is available by searching on <http://teca.bmlonline.it>.

Florence, Laur. Libr., Plut. VI. 23 (GA 187)

Florence, Plut. VI. 23, the other famous frieze gospel, agrees with the majority text at 96.1 percent. Seven manuscripts in the primary position are generated by the Clusters tool, four of which are paired for a total of eleven manuscripts. All primary manuscripts agree with Florence, Plut. VI. 23 at 96.2 to 97.4 percent. The only Group A manuscript is Walters W 527 (Fig. 3.10) on line 4. Line 3 contains two stalwarts from Group B: Munich, BSB, gr. 568 and Vat. gr. 365 (Fig. 3.8). Also found in the corresponding data for Paris gr. 74 are Athens, Nat. Libr. 109, a fourteenth-century manuscript on paper, and Vatopedi 933, a thirteenth-century manuscript not reproduced by S. M. Pelekanidis; they are paired on lines 5 and 3, respectively, in Paris gr. 74's data.

Noteworthy in Florence, Plut. VI. 23's data is the appearance of four manuscripts discussed earlier in conjunction with Theodore Hagiopetrites. London, BL, Add 19387, categorized by Nelson as related to Theodore Hagiopetrites, is in the paired position on line 6. Three other manuscripts—Samos, Mitropolis 16, 171; Vatopedi 933; and Athens, Hist. Ethn Gest. 255—were dubbed unaffiliates in the data generated for manuscripts associated with Theodore. In fact, the manuscripts from Samos and Vatopedi were two of the seventeen regularly appearing “unaffiliated” manuscripts.¹²⁹

Athos, Dionysiou 588 (GA 2458)

Dionysiou 588, with its dazzling canon tables and evangelist portraits, generated skimpy results in the synoptic gospels with the Clusters tool—only three manuscripts.¹³⁰ On line 1, with 98.1 percent agreement, is Vienna, Theol. gr. 154, a beautiful eleventh-century gospel book with evangelist portraits, headpieces, initials, and eight highly ornate canon tables, in addition to an unusual series of marginal miniatures.¹³¹ Both are deluxe

129 See n. 23 above. Vatopedi 933 also appears in the data for Paris gr. 74.

130 It agrees with the majority text at 97.1%. Pelekanidis et al., *Oi Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους*, 1: figs. 278–89.

131 For a color reproduction, access <http://ica.princeton.edu/miller/display.php?image=8361>. For a link to the online catalog, see http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/katalogseiten/HSK0784_bo213_jpg.htm. (Both accessed 15 January 2016).

gospel books with commentaries featuring similar dimensions. The Vienna manuscript is sparsely published, but I am not aware of any relationship between the figural and non-figural decoration of the two manuscripts. Line 2 comprises two Group B manuscripts with which we are well acquainted: Munich, gr. 568 and Vat. gr. 365.

The Twelfth Century

Codex Ebnerianus (GA 105)

Cecelia Meredith identified some seventeen gospel and New Testament manuscripts from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries featuring evangelist portraits linked with a narrative scene from their gospel.¹³² The most prominent representative is the eponymous Codex Ebnerianus from the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Fig. 3.6).¹³³ It is one of the most famous New Testament manuscripts from Byzantium and has been persistently present in the Group A lists for many of the deluxe manuscripts discussed above. The Clusters tool generated a relatively short list of eleven manuscripts for Codex Ebnerianus in the synoptic gospels (Table 3.15); only lines 8 and 11 are further paired. The illustrious relatives are of interest. Line 2 is the elegant Patmos 84 (Fig. 3.9) which, as noted above, is unpublished.¹³⁴ Line 5 features Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52 of the twelfth century.¹³⁵ There are two tenth-century manuscripts: Lavra A' 19 and Walters W 527 (Fig. 3.10). They have had a significant presence in Group A lists above. Also noteworthy is Paris, BnF, gr. 49 (Fig. 3.12), discussed above in conjunction with Patmos 84 (Fig. 3.9).¹³⁶

It is of some interest that Escorial X-IV-17 does not appear in the data for Codex Ebnerianus. This manuscript was written, as noted above, by the same scribe who wrote Codex Ebnerianus.¹³⁷

When the Escorial manuscript is entered into the Clusters tool, however, Codex Ebnerianus appears on line 7 with 98.1 percent agreement in the synoptic gospels.¹³⁸ The Group B candidates for Codex Ebnerianus are familiar by now. The first three manuscripts of Table 3.16 agree at 99.6 percent or higher with Codex Ebnerianus. In fact, none of the manuscripts in the primary position from Table 3.15 or 3.16 falls below 99.1 percent agreement with Codex Ebnerianus.

Parma, Pal. 5 (GA 583) and Oxford, Bodl., E. D. Clarke 10 (GA 112)

In *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book*, Nelson devoted an appendix to the analysis of two manuscripts of the Codex Ebnerianus group: Parma, Pal. 5 (GA 583) and Oxford, Bodl., E. D. Clarke 10 (GA 112). He noted that both group all five gospel prologues at the beginning of their texts and that Parma 5 is four times the size of E. D. Clarke 10 but includes twice as many folios. That is, Parma 5 is a deluxe version of E. D. Clarke 10 (Fig. 3.13) in every respect.¹³⁹ As seen in Table 3.17, the data generated by the Clusters tool for these two manuscripts reflect that relationship. Sixteen manuscripts are listed in the Clusters tool output and most of these are further paired. E. D. Clarke 10 tops the list with a 99 percent agreement with Parma 5. Codex Ebnerianus places a strong second at 97.7 percent agreement with Parma 5.¹⁴⁰ All three manuscripts have evangelist portraits paired with narrative scenes. The other manuscripts do not have this characteristic, but most have populated the Group A tables in many examples already discussed. They include a diversity of styles of evangelist portraits and ornament, and all are deluxe manuscripts, to wit, Dionysiou 34; Paris gr. 70; Stauronikita 43; and Lavra A' 19 from the tenth century; Patmos 84 and Manchester, John Rylands 1 from the eleventh century; and

132 Meredith, "Illustration of Codex Ebnerianus" (n. 63 above).

133 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. inf. 1. 10.

134 See n. 82 above.

135 Iohannis Spatharakis ("Dove Whispers," 283) has noted stylistic connections between the evangelist portraits of Codex Ebnerianus and Vienna, Vindob. Suppl. gr. 52, which he assigns to the mid-twelfth century.

136 Paris gr. 49 is available on Gallica, at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8470447s>.

137 See n. 122 above.

138 Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52 and Paris gr. 49 appear on lines 5 and 6. Group B manuscripts include Moscow, F.181.13 (Gr. 13) (paired with Lavra Γ' 54; line 1) and Harvard gr. 22 (line 2), among others.

139 Nelson, *Iconography of Preface and Miniature*, 119–21.

140 Nelson ("Theoktistos and Associates," 63) has already noted that both Parma 5 and Codex Ebnerianus share the relatively unusual nine-page canon table series.



FIG. 3.13. The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. E. D. Clarke 10, fol. 123v: Evangelist John

Vienna Suppl. gr. 52 and Princeton, Garrett 2 from the late eleventh or early twelfth century.¹⁴¹ The Group B manuscripts in Table 3.18 are by now exceedingly familiar from the many preceding Group B lists for high-quality Byzantine manuscripts that have been examined.

Other Members of the Codex Ebnerianus Group

Many manuscripts of Meredith's Codex Ebnerianus group display textual affinities with other members of the group. Walters W 522, a diminutive gospel book measuring only 10 × 6.5 cm, features a 99% agreement with the majority text and has only four manuscripts on its Clusters list for the synoptic gospels. Line 1 is Vat. gr. 189, another tiny gospel book (11.6 × 8.7 cm) of the Codex Ebnerianus group with an agreement of 99.7 percent. Line 3 is Athens, Nat. Libr., cod. 57, one of the most important manuscripts of its era. It was dated to the third quarter of the eleventh century by Anna Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Christina Toufexi-Paschou.¹⁴² Venice, Marc. MS gr. Z 540, another member of the group, is related to Melbourne 710/5, one of the better-known members.¹⁴³ It is not listed as a textual relative in the data generated for the Melbourne manuscript, however.¹⁴⁴

141 Paris gr. 49, Princeton, Garrett 2, and John Rylands 1 are in the paired position on lines 2, 5, and 10, respectively.

142 *Catalogue*, 1: cat. no. 26 and figs. 216–31. The data for Dumbarton Oaks, MS 3 (datable to 1084) are of interest in relation to the Codex Ebnerianus group. They present just six lines of data, but line 1 features Vat., Pal. gr. 189, line 3 is Athens 57, and line 5 is Walters W 522. All three manuscripts relate at 98.7 percent or higher to Dumbarton Oaks, MS 3.

143 Melbourne 710/5 appears on line 2 in the secondary position. Nelson (*Theodore Hagiopetrites*, 67) believes that the Melbourne manuscript and Venice gr. Z 540 are by the same scribe and their canon tables are related and that this scribe (Nelson, "Theoktistos and Associates," 65) also penned Theoktistos's *Letter of Eusebius* in Malibu, Getty, II 4, another deluxe illustrated manuscript dated to 1133; according to Nelson, all three manuscripts share ornamental similarities in their canon tables, but he does not think that they are all painted by the same artist, rather they are contemporary products of the same milieu. Line 3 of the Clusters data for Venice, Marc. MS gr. Z 540 lists two unaffiliated manuscripts regularly seen in the data for Theodore Hagiopetrites's manuscripts: Samos, Mitropolis 16, 171 and Athens, Hist. Mus. Ethn. Ges. 255.

144 Chicago 46, a manuscript attributed to Theodore Hagiopetrites, and three regularly occurring "unaffiliates" in the data of the Theodore manuscripts do appear as textual relatives to

Vat. Urb. gr. 2, on the other hand, displays only 85.7 percent agreement with the majority text, a relatively low level of agreement for a Byzantine manuscript. The Clusters tool generated a list of 170 textual relatives for the synoptic gospels and virtually all of them have been paired. Yet no manuscript totals higher than a 94.8 percent agreement with Urb. gr. 2. There are a number of manuscripts from Group B, but generally the data suggest a rather different profile from other deluxe manuscripts that I have examined.¹⁴⁵

At 94.1 percent agreement with the majority text, Patmos 274 generated only sixteen manuscripts for the synoptic gospels, most with pairs. Only one, Stauronikita 43, is of the Group A category,¹⁴⁶ but three are from Group B, including Munich gr. 568, Vat. gr. 365, and Harvard gr. 22.

Megaspelaion 1 is often placed with the Codex Ebnerianus group because of its later evangelist portraits of that type. As noted above, its text dates from the tenth century and the Clusters tool for its synoptic gospels included almost all of the Group B manuscripts seen in the above tables. It is also related to a number of important Group A manuscripts, including Lavra A' 19; Paris gr. 70; Oxford, Bodl. Auct. T. inf. 2.6; Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52; Princeton, Garrett 2; Patmos 84; and Florence, Plut. VI. 28, a member of the Atelier of the Palaialogina. Noteworthy, too, is that Megaspelaion 1 is related to the later Codex Ebnerianus itself (which has a 98 percent agreement with the Megaspelaion manuscript [line 14]).

Burney 19's text dates from the second half of the tenth century, but features later evangelist portraits of the style of the Kokkinobaphos Master.¹⁴⁷ It is not a member of the Codex Ebnerianus group, but its textual relatives are of interest. The Clusters tool generated only eleven manuscripts and they are all paired. Five are from the Group B lists that are generated consistently in the tables above and include Istanbul, Serail

the Melbourne manuscript (Andros, Hagia 53 [dated 1539]; Samos, Mitrop. 16, 171; and Athens, Hist. Ethn. Ges. 255.)

145 Messina F.V. 18 is found on line 18 but with an unimpressive agreement of 89.8% with Vat. Urb. gr. 2.

146 Stauronikita 43 is on line 7 with a 94.8% agreement with Patmos 274.

147 See n. 43 above.

125; Harvard gr. 22; London, Lambeth Palace 1175; Munich gr. 568; and Vat. gr. 365. Burney 19 is also related to Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52 and to Lavra A' 61, a very beautiful manuscript dated to 1098.¹⁴⁸

Spatharakis's Twelfth-Century Group (The "Dove Whisperers")

Iohannis Spatharakis has described another group of manuscripts from twelfth-century Constantinople featuring a peculiar iconographic characteristic: a dove at the ear of an evangelist, usually Mark.¹⁴⁹ The core manuscripts of the group—Paris gr. 51 (GA 260); Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 378 (GA 2383); Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 26 (GA 73); Athos, Vatopedi 953 (GA 1585); and Paris, Suppl. gr. 1258 (GA 1296)—share similarities in ornament, stylistic and iconographic aspects of their evangelist portraits, and script. Two additional manuscripts differ iconographically in that their John portraits include Prochoros. They are Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52 (with which we are very familiar as a manuscript from Group A) and Sinai gr. 157 (GA 1194). The Vienna evangelist portraits also differ stylistically in that their garments are inscribed with gold lines in a manner that recalls enamel work. Spatharakis refers to the first five manuscripts as subgroup one and to the last two as subgroup two.¹⁵⁰

The Clusters data for the synoptic gospels of these manuscripts largely support Spatharakis's assignments. Four out of the five manuscripts of subgroup one are closely related textually. Paris gr. 51 has a 98.7 percent agreement with the majority text and lists only three relations. Line 1 is Paris, Suppl. gr. 1258 at 99.4 percent and line 3 is Athos, Vatopedi 953 at 99 percent. Both are members of Spatharakis's first subgroup.¹⁵¹

Oxford, Christ Church, MS 26 relates to the majority text at 95.8 percent and features fifteen lines of textual relatives, most of which are further paired. Manuscripts of Spatharakis's first

subgroup are found on line 2 (Paris gr. 51 in the paired position) and line 5 (Paris, Suppl. gr. 1258 in the primary position and paired with Paris gr. 51).¹⁵² Moreover, there is one manuscript signed and dated by Theodore Hagiopetrites (Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 20 on line 14 in the paired position) and one manuscript "related to" Theodore (London, BL, Add. 19387 on line 12 with 96.1 percent agreement with Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 26). Also four manuscripts "unaffiliated" with Theodore Hagiopetrites and at least five Group B manuscripts are included.

The data for Vatopedi 953 (98.7% agreement with the majority text) displayed five manuscripts (none paired). Manuscripts of Spatharakis's first subgroup occupy lines 1 (Paris, Suppl. gr. 1258), 3 (Paris gr. 51), and 5 (Morgan M 378), and all are at 99 percent agreement or above. A Theodore Hagiopetrites "unaffiliated" appears on line 2 (Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 24).

The Clusters tool lists three manuscripts for Paris, Suppl. gr. 1258, which features a 99.3 percent agreement with the majority text. Lines 2 and 3 are occupied by members of Spatharakis's first subgroup, viz., Paris gr. 51 and Vatopedi 953. Both agree with Paris, Suppl. gr. 1258 at 99.4 percent.¹⁵³ The last member of the first subgroup to be addressed is Pierpont Morgan M 378. It agrees with the majority text at 99 percent and only one manuscript is listed by the Clusters tool: Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 30, which is not included by Spatharakis in either of his subgroups.

The data were quite different for Spatharakis's smaller, second subgroup. Vienna, Vind. Suppl. gr. 52, a Group A manuscript encountered many times above, features thirteen manuscripts (only line 12 is paired). Group A manuscripts occupy lines 3 (Princeton, Garrett 2), 6 (Codex Ebnerianus), 10 (Philothou 33), and 12 (Lavra A'

148 For Lavra A' 61, see Pelekanidis et al., *Oi Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρου*, 3: figs. 41–42.

149 Spatharakis, "Dove Whispers," 267–88.

150 Ibid., 283.

151 The third manuscript is Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 24, which appeared several times on the data generated for manuscripts associated with Theodore Hagiopetrites.

152 Athos, Stauronikita 43 is found in the primary position on line 4 with a 96.4% agreement with Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 26. Spatharakis compared some aspects of the decoration of the "Dove Whisperer" manuscripts to Macedonian renaissance products such as Stauronikita 43. The data generated for Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 26 feature many Group B manuscripts, four manuscripts that are unaffiliates of manuscripts associated with Theodore Hagiopetrites, and a member of the Atelier of the Palaiologina: Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Barocci 31.

153 The third manuscript is once again the unaffiliated manuscript Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 24 on line 1 with 100% agreement; see n. 23 above.

19). Group B manuscripts appear on lines 1 and 2 (Moscow, F.181.13 (Gr. 13) and Lavra Γ' 54), 5 (Athens, Siderides 1), 8 (the Syracuse fragment), and 12 in the paired position (Harvard gr. 22). There are no manuscripts from Spatharakis's first subgroup here or in the Clusters data for the second manuscript, Sinai gr. 157, of his second subgroup. This manuscript agrees with the majority text only at 91.5 percent (compared to Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52's 99%) and has a somewhat different textual profile.¹⁵⁴ It includes at least three manuscripts either signed and dated by or attributed to Theodore Hagiopetrites (Göttingen, cod. Theol. 28; Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 20; Chicago 46), but all of them agree with Sinai gr. 157 only at levels below 93 percent. Three manuscripts also appear that were dubbed "unaffiliates" of Theodore Hagiopetrites above (Samos, Mitrop. 16, 171; Panteleimon 771; and Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 24).

To conclude, four out of five manuscripts of Spatharakis's first subgroup display significant textual relations with other manuscripts of the same subgroup. Close textual relations, confirmed by the Clusters tool, underscore compelling artistic and paleographical relationships. Noteworthy, too, is the fact that in three members of the first subgroup and in one member of the second subgroup there are present manuscripts that either are directly associated with Theodore Hagiopetrites or played significant roles as so-called unaffiliates in the Clusters data for Theodore's manuscripts.

The Thirteenth Century

Atelier of the Palaiologina

A complete list of the gospel books and the one New Testament associated with the Atelier of the Palaiologina is given in Table 3.19.¹⁵⁵ In addition,

154 Still, a familiar Harvard gr. 22 (a Group B manuscript) occupies line 5 at 93.3% agreement with Sinai gr. 157. There are others known to us, but they relate at less than 93%.

155 Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, passim. Some manuscripts have been added to the Atelier of the Palaiologina since Buchthal's and Belting's original publication, but to my knowledge none is a gospel book or New Testament manuscript. See Nelson and Lowden, "Palaeologina Group," 59–68. More recent additions to the group include another lectionary; see I. Pérez Martín, "Manuscritos iluminados," in *Bizancio en España: De la*

several other gospel manuscripts are related to the Atelier in their script or for other reasons. They are Harvard College Library, gr. 1 (GA 666), Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 356 (GA 128), and Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 361 (GA 132).

The data generated for the manuscripts in Table 3.19 can be confounding. For Dionysiou 5, which agrees at 99 percent with the Byzantine text, no manuscripts are generated in the synoptic gospels and only twelve are cited for the Gospel of John (four of which are further paired). Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Cromwell 16, a deluxe manuscript from the mid-tenth century, appears on line 6 and Codex Ebnerianus on line 11 as a pair to another manuscript.¹⁵⁶ Several other manuscripts that are found on one or more of the other Atelier manuscripts' genealogies appear, but they are not published.¹⁵⁷

For Vat. gr. 1158 only Dionysiou 5 is listed for the synoptic gospels. It agrees with Vat. gr. 1158 at 98.7 percent. This is curious since both are very different manuscripts. Buchthal and Belting imply that Dionysiou 5 is a very poor relation to Vat. gr. 1158.¹⁵⁸ Dionysiou 5 shares the script style of the Atelier, but only one of its five headpieces aligns with the Atelier manuscripts. It contains no evangelist portraits.

For the Gospel of John of Vat. gr. 1158, the Clusters tool generated twenty-nine manuscripts (six of which have pairs). Manuscripts on the first seven lines exhibit 100 percent agreement with Vat. gr. 1158 in John. Paris gr. 70 is on line 1.¹⁵⁹ Buchthal and Belting noted

Antigüedad tardía a El Greco, ed. M. Cortés Arrese (Madrid, 2003), 180–204, at 198, cat. no. 116; Madrid, Bibl. Nac. de España, Vitr. 26–4 (gr. 348 [formerly N-162]).

156 For Cromwell 16, see Buckton, *Byzantium*, 139–40, cat. no. 149. Buckton reproduces the only surviving evangelist portrait, Matthew, in color and the beginning of his Gospel in black and white.

157 For example, Athos, Koutloumousiou 76 (GA 1055) appears on the listings for the Gospel of John of Lavra A' 2; Venice, gr. 541; Florence, Plut. VI. 28; Vat. gr. 1158; and Walters W 525. It is not reproduced in Pelekanidis et al., *Oi Θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους*, vol. 1.

158 Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, 10: Dionysiou 5 "deserves only a passing mention."

159 Lines 2 through 7 include Venice, Marc. gr. I, 10 (GA 405); Koutloumousiou 76 (GA 1055); Jerusalem, Saba 412 (GA 1343); Megaspelaion 1 (GA 2224); NY, Morgan 378 (GA 2383); and Athens, Byz. Mus. 161 (GA 2522). For Morgan 378, see above discussion; Spatharakis, "Dove Whispers," 272–74.

another link between these two manuscripts—their canon tables feature an unusual seven-page sequence.¹⁶⁰ These links indicate that later patrons and scribes might have had direct access to manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries and not just intermediary texts copied from that elite group. Additional Group A manuscripts include Megaspelaion 1 (line 5 at 100%); Vienna Theol. gr. 240 (line 8 at 99.4%); Lavra A' 15 (line 13 at 99.4%); and Paris, Coislin 21 (line 29 as a pair to Patmos 90).¹⁶¹

For Lavra A' 2, data for the synoptic gospels list thirty-nine primary manuscripts with twenty-five of these further paired.¹⁶² Another Atelier manuscript—Florence, Plut. VI, 28—appears on line 15 with a 96.4 percent agreement. Other Group A manuscripts include Paris gr. 64 (line 3 at 98.4% agreement); Dionysiou 38 (line 9); Patmos 84 (line 10 in the paired position); Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52 (line 21); Codex Ebnerianus (line 22); and Escorial X. IV. 17 (line 23). Stauronikita 43 appears on line 24 in the paired position and Philotheou 33 on line 29. Lavra A' 19, Lavra A' 61, and Walters W 530 (in the paired position) follow on lines 30 through 32, respectively. Group B manuscripts are also plentiful and include Moscow, F.181.13 (Gr. 13); Athens, Siderides 1; Lavra Γ' 54; Munich gr. 568; London, Lambeth 1175; and Harvard gr. 22. Thus, Lavra A' 2's textual profile falls well within the parameters of some of the aforementioned deluxe manuscripts that date prior to 1204.

Next is Florence, Laur. Libr., Plut. VI, 28, whose script and ornament are not related to the Atelier manuscripts; only its inserted evangelist portraits are. For the synoptic gospels seventeen manuscripts are listed (nine manuscripts, eight of which are paired). At the top of the list is a very familiar Group B manuscript: Moscow, F.181.13 (Gr. 13). It is paired with the elegant Patmos 84.

Other Group B manuscripts are also prominent: Harvard gr. 22 (line 3), Lavra Γ' 54 and Athens 158 (paired on line 4), and Lavra A' 28 (line 7, paired position). Group A manuscripts include Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52 and Princeton, Garrett 2 (paired on line 5), Codex Ebnerianus (line 6), and Lavra A' 19 (line 7). Based on this information, one can argue that the Florence Gospels' textual profile is in keeping with many deluxe manuscripts reviewed above even though it is linked to the Atelier only through its miniatures.

Like the Florence Gospels, Venice, Marc. gr. 541 differs in its script and ornament from the Atelier, having only inserted evangelist portraits of the Atelier type. Thirty-eight manuscripts, most of which are also paired, appear in the Clusters data for the synoptic gospels. Oxford, Barocci 31 (Fig. 3.5), another Atelier manuscript, is found paired to St. Petersburg gr. 97 on line 29. Numerous other Group A manuscripts are found in lines 6 through 38. These include Paris gr. 70 (Fig. 3.3) (at 97%) and Athens 93 (paired on line 6); Parma, Pal. 5 and E. D. Clarke 10 (Fig. 3.13) (paired on line 13); Patmos 84 (Fig. 3.9) and Manchester, John Rylands 1 (Fig. 3.11) (on lines 14 and 15); Lavra A' 15 (line 19, paired position); Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52 (Fig. 3.4) (line 23); Codex Ebnerianus (Fig. 3.6) (at 96.4% on line 24); Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. T. inf. 2.6 and Athens 93 (paired on line 30); and Stauronikita 43 (paired position), Lavra A' 19, and London, Add. 28815 (paired position) on lines 31, 33, and 38, respectively. Noteworthy, too, is the appearance of the Uspenskii Gospels on line 12 as a pair to Vat. gr. 1539. In addition, at least ten Group B manuscripts are listed. This certainly conforms to the deluxe metropolitan manuscript profile with many representatives from Group A and Group B.

Oxford, Barocci 31 is a full-fledged member of the Atelier in its script, evangelist portraits, and ornament (Fig. 3.5). Only twelve manuscripts are listed, but ten of these are paired for a total of twenty-two manuscripts. The data for the synoptic gospels have many parallels with Florence, Plut. VI, 28 even though the latter's script and ornament do not conform to the Atelier. Both have Moscow, F.181.13 (Gr. 13) and Patmos 84 paired on line 1. Lavra Γ' 54 from Group B appears here on line 2 and on line 4 in the Florence Gospels. Both the Florence Gospels

160 Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, 81.

161 For color reproductions of some of Paris, BnF, Coislin 21's canon tables and evangelist portraits, see <http://ica.princeton.edu/millet> (enter for country, France, and for site, Paris: Bibliothèque National, currently at pages 18 and 21, respectively).

162 According to Buchthal and Belting (*Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, 4), Lavra A' 2 has one evangelist portrait that does not belong to the Atelier.

and Barocci 31 pair Vienna, Suppl. gr 52 and Princeton, Garrett 2 (on lines 5 and 6, respectively) and Codex Ebnerianus (on lines 6 and line 7). In addition, Barocci 31 includes London, BL, Add. 28815 (as a pair on line 4) and Walters W 527 (as a pair on line 10).

Walters W 525 was compared by Buchthal and Belting unfavorably to the other manuscripts of the Atelier.¹⁶³ Its ornament is of “the lowest point of artistic endeavor found throughout the entire group of manuscripts.”¹⁶⁴ They proposed that its scribe also wrote Lavra A' 2, observing that the script in both is written in minute scale, underlying the utilitarian character of both manuscripts. It is therefore somewhat surprising to see that the Clusters data for W 525's synoptic gospels were entirely different than for Lavra A' 2 and that the texts of the two manuscripts do not appear to share any common relatives, as seen in Table 3.20.

Only eight manuscripts are listed and all of them are paired. Vat. Ottob. gr. 381 (dated 1281/2) is assigned the paired position in five of these eight lines. Nelson attributed this manuscript to the well-known scribe who is believed to have lived and worked in Thessalonike and with whom we began this lengthy study: Theodore Hagiopetrites. The first manuscript on the list is Göttingen, cod. Theol. 28 Cim. (dated 1289/90), which was attributed to Theodore by Nelson. It bears a 97.4 percent agreement with Walters W 525. Nelson frequently compared Theodore's manuscripts to those of the Atelier of the Palaiologina;¹⁶⁵ it is thus certainly of interest that a close textual connection between an Atelier manuscript and Theodore's texts exists. In fact, a total of seven manuscripts signed by or attributed to Theodore Hagiopetrites appear in the data for Walters W 525.¹⁶⁶ They are (1) Göttingen cod.

Theol. 28 (dated 1289/90), (2) Vatican Library, Ottob. gr. 381 (dated 1281–82), (3) Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibl. GKS 1322 (dated 1277/78), (4) Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 20 (dated 1291/92), (5) Meteora, Metamorphosis cod. 545 (dated 1296/97), (6) St. Petersburg, Russian Academy of Science, Hist. Inst., no. 10/667, and (7) Chicago, University of Chicago, MS 46 (Fig. 3.1).¹⁶⁷

Is it possible that Walters W 525 was commissioned by a patron of Theodore Hagiopetrites, who requested that one of Theodore's gospel books be used as an exemplar for the text given what Buchthal and Belting described as its “utility” character?¹⁶⁸ Moreover, might this patron be Antonios Malakes, the archbishop of Veroia, who traveled between Constantinople and Thessalonike? Malakes owned a manuscript attributed to Theodore (Göttingen, cod. Theol. 28 [GA 89]) that the Clusters data positioned as the closest extant manuscript to Walters W 525, but we cannot know whether Malakes commissioned the Göttingen manuscript from Theodore directly or if he purchased it from another individual. The Göttingen manuscript features ornament that, according to Nelson, aspires to that of the Atelier of the Palaiologina but does not meet those standards.¹⁶⁹

Of related interest is a second manuscript owned by Malakes (Athens, Benaki, 69 (formerly vitr. 34/4) (GA 1305). This manuscript's textual profile is strikingly similar to those of Theodore Hagiopetrites discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Nelson already noted that it shares the unusual prose prologues seen only in Theodore's last two signed gospel books. Moreover, Nelson observed that its painted decoration is not influenced by that of the Atelier of the Palaiologina and he wondered if the painter of the Benaki manuscript might have lived in Thessalonike, as he has maintained for Theodore.¹⁷⁰ Interestingly, only one of Theodore's gospel books' text data

163 Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, 11–12.

164 Ibid., 12.

165 Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites*, e.g., 33, 51, 67, 104.

166 Textual connections among gospel books attributed to Theodore Hagiopetrites have been recognized by New Testament textual critics at least since H. von Soden. For a summary of the scholarship through 1990, see Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites*, 143–46. See also Robinson, *New Testament Textual Criticism* (n. 7 above), ¶54. See also Parker, *Textual Scholarship*, 70–72.

167 For a digital facsimile, access “All Digitized Manuscripts” on <http://goodspeed.lib.uchicago.edu> (accessed 8 March 2016).

168 Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, 11.

169 For this reference and for the patron of the Göttingen manuscript by Theodore Hagiopetrites, see Nelson, “Manuscripts of Antonios Malakes,” 236.

170 See n. 31 above for more information and related bibliography.

includes any reference to an Atelier gospel manuscript. The T&T Mss. Clusters data for Amsterdam 145 (GA 90), the much later direct copy of one of Theodore's signed and dated gospel books, listed Baltimore W 525 on line 23.

Finally, two of the three manuscripts associated with the Atelier of the Palaiologina only through their script, and not granted membership to the group by Buchthal and Belting, appear to have much more in common with our deluxe manuscript textual profile than with the textual profile exhibited by Walters W 525, even though the latter is a member of the Atelier. Harvard gr. 1, for example, lists twenty-three manuscripts, most of which are further paired. Line 1 begins with Codex Ebnerianus (with 98.7% agreement) and its pair, Walters W 527. Other manuscripts from Group A include Patmos 84 (line 4); Manchester, John Rylands 1 (line 5); Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52 (line 11), Paris gr. 49 (line 12); Vienna, Theol. gr. 240 (line 13); Lavra A' 19 (line 16); and Philotheou 33 (line 22 with 98% agreement). All of these manuscripts are in the primary position. Classic Group B manuscripts also abound, viz. Moscow, F.181.13 (Gr. 13) and Harvard gr. 22 (paired on line 2); Athens, Siderides 1 and Manchester, John Rylands 7 (paired on line 7); Istanbul, Serail 125; Athens 158; and the Louisville fragment.

Vat. gr. 361, related to the Atelier only because its standing portraits reflect those of Vat. gr. 1208, is dated to the fourteenth century by Buchthal and Belting.¹⁷¹ The Clusters tool generated eleven manuscripts, nine of which are further paired. There is only one Group A manuscript on the list—Vat. gr. 189, a member of the Codex Ebnerianus group.¹⁷² Group B representatives are Munich gr. 568; Vat. gr. 365; Moscow, F.181.13 (Gr. 13); and Harvard gr. 22.

Vat gr. 356 generated 183 lines of data for the synoptic gospels. All manuscripts on this list related at 98 percent or more to Vat. gr. 356. This is a very different textual profile from any of the Atelier manuscripts and it does not bear comparison with any of the manuscripts discussed earlier.

The results for seven of the original eight Atelier manuscripts containing the Gospels for which we have data indicate that five manuscripts have textual profiles either in the synoptic gospels or in John that include significant representatives from both Group A and Group B.¹⁷³ These are Florence, Plut. VI, 28; Lavra A' 2; Venice, Bibl. Marc gr. 541; Oxford, Barocci 31; and Vat. gr. 1158. Walters W 525 is differentiated from all of the other Atelier manuscripts in its strong textual ties to manuscripts written by Theodore Hagiopetrites; this distinctive text profile is somewhat unexpected given that it was assigned to the same scribe as Lavra A' 2 by Buchthal and Belting.

Conclusion

The foregoing analysis of the textual affiliation of deluxe manuscripts ultimately reveals as much about ordinary manuscripts as it does about those categorized as deluxe. This can be the case only because the same scribes created both types of manuscripts. The consistency with which certain deluxe manuscripts (Group A) and modest manuscripts (Group B) appear in the T&T Mss. Clusters data for deluxe manuscripts is at first surprising. In fact, the textual profiles of a significant number of deluxe and modest manuscripts are similar. This was noted in the gospel manuscripts of Theodore Hagiopetrites, where one individual produced a very significant range of manuscripts from the ordinary to the deluxe. Typically, neither text nor script determines whether a manuscript is classified as deluxe or ordinary, as long as the scribe is competent in his craft. Instead, it is a manuscript's figural and non-figural ornament that usually determine its standing. A deluxe manuscript generally required the expertise of a high-caliber illuminator or miniaturist, who used expensive materials to create deluxe effects. The role of the scribe is essential to our understanding of the curious mix of Group A and B manuscripts in the textual profiles of many deluxe manuscripts. Above I concentrated on the textual profiles generated for

171 Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, 33–34.

172 Vat. gr. 189 is found on line 7 with a 95.7% agreement with Vat. gr. 361.

173 Of the eight gospel or New Testament manuscripts associated with the Atelier, one has no data available (Getty, MS 65) and another has no data for the synoptic gospels (Dionysiou 5). A third manuscript, Vat. gr. 1158, lists only one manuscript in the data generated for the synoptic gospels.

deluxe manuscripts; however, an examination of the textual profiles of manuscripts from Group B would reveal very similar textual profiles in many cases.¹⁷⁴ This is only logical if the same individual copied both deluxe and ordinary manuscripts, using the same textual exemplar.

Scribes were capable of producing texts for both ordinary and deluxe manuscripts due to market forces. That is, they did so to meet the needs of their patrons. Any particular patron might commission ordinary or deluxe manuscripts, depending on his or her purpose.

A knottier question is how one accounts for the fact that the textual profiles of significant numbers of deluxe manuscripts remain relatively consistent from the mid-ninth century until the fifteenth century? This is particularly interesting once we realize that alternative texts were apparently in circulation for at least one hundred years after the end of Iconoclasm, based on the evidence from the patriarch Photios to the scribe Ephraim.

Finally, what is our threshold for significance as we attempt to make sense out of the various manuscripts' textual relatives as generated by the Clusters tool? We have seen that there is no way to predict whether manuscripts that art historians have grouped together based on artistic characteristics will share textual profiles. Only rarely can one assume a direct one-to-one copy relationship between any two manuscripts, as, for example, that between Parma, Pal. 5 and E. D. Clarke 10. The textual evidence provided by the Clusters tool in conjunction with Nelson's research into the supplementary texts and his codicological research confirm the intimate relationship of the two manuscripts. Equally compelling are the correlations between textual profiles and artistic, codicological, and paleographical relationships in the gospel books of Theodore Hagiopetrates and in Spatharakis's first subgroup of manuscripts with evangelists featuring "dove whisperers." This evidence emphasizes the value of multi-disciplinary research, when textual, codicological, paleographical, and artistic evidence are assessed together.

174 Examples of Group B manuscripts with textual profiles akin to those of deluxe manuscripts are the Louisville fragment; Southern Baptist Theol. Sem. (GA 2358); Syracuse University, NY MS 226.048 G (GA 668); Athens, Akademie, Siderides 1 (GA 2442); Istanbul, Bibl. du Serail, 125 (GA 2362); and Athos, Lavra Γ' 54 (GA 1514).

I used the T&T Mss. Clusters tool to generate textual profiles for a number of deluxe manuscripts of diverse dates (and diverse figural and non-figural decoration), which revealed certain patterns. These included the presence of manuscripts from what I have termed Group A and Group B. The relatively consistent presence of representatives from both groups in the text profiles leads to the assumption that there must have been some common repository of manuscripts in Constantinople that would account for these relationships. This repository might have been the patriarchal or imperial library, or important monastic scriptoria.¹⁷⁵ The monastic option holds particular appeal. An important metropolitan monastic scriptorium might have had two types of patrons. Group A manuscripts would have been commissioned by aristocrats fulfilling their desire for deluxe manuscripts. Group B manuscripts—more utilitarian in tone, but executed by scribes using the same textual exemplars as for Group A manuscripts—may have been destined for internal monastic use. In fact, the patrons of Group B manuscripts may well have been the same aristocratic elites who commissioned Group A manuscripts, but who had at this point retired to a monastery.¹⁷⁶

As scribes copied manuscripts, a prestigious scriptorium could also be trusted to use appropriate textual exemplars, for example, the Uspenskii Gospels of 835. Associated with one of the leaders of what Mango dubbed the "iconophile intelligentsia," the Uspenskii Gospels with its minuscule script, its complete set of gospel prologues, and its important colophon linking it to an iconophile stronghold, would have held enormous prestige with later scribes and their patrons. Might not these factors go a long way toward explaining the manuscript's impressive pedigree (Tables 3.6 and 3.7)? The fact that later textual heirs of this oldest dated minuscule text display similar patterns of Group A and Group B manuscripts that can be traced in numerous deluxe manuscripts for the next four and a half centuries is surely significant.

175 See Kavrus-Hoffmann's chapter below, for interactions between scribes and illuminators in Constantinople.

176 See n. 120 above.

✂ This research would be inconceivable without access to the data generated by the University of Münster's Institute for New Testament Research (INTF) and its affiliated scholars. I thank Klaus Wachtel, Ulrich Schmid, and their colleagues at the Institute for New Testament Research at the University of Münster, and David C. Parker and his colleagues at the University of Birmingham. For expedited access to microfilm images, I am especially grateful to Bruce Morrill, without whose efforts I would have had to travel to Münster; I am also very appreciative of his alerting me to images that are available on websites. I also thank Klaus Wachtel for making the T&T Mss. Cluster tool much more user-friendly for art historians and for patiently answering my

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APPENDIX

TABLE 3.1.

The Gospel Manuscripts of Theodore Hagiopetrates

GA NO.	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
GOSPEL MANUSCRIPTS SIGNED AND DATED BY THEODORE HAGIOPETRITES	
234	Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibl., GKS 1322
856	Rome, Bibl. Vat., gr. 644
1594	Athos, Vatopedi 962
74	Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 20
484	London, BL, Burney 21
90	Amsterdam, Univ. Bibl., Remonstr. 145 (186) ^a
483	Williamstown, MA, Williams College, Chapin Lib., cod. De Ricci 1
2707	Meteora, Monastery of the Transfiguration, cod. 545
1394	Athos, Pantokrator 47
412	Venice, Bibl. Marc., gr. I, 19
MANUSCRIPTS ATTRIBUTED TO THEODORE HAGIOPETRITES	
390	Rome, Bibl. Vat., Ottob. gr. 381
1290	Chicago, University of Chicago, MS 46
703	San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 1081
89	Göttingen, Universitätsbibl., cod. Theol. 28
2749	St. Petersburg, Historical Institute of the Academy of Science, no. 10/667
MANUSCRIPTS RELATED TO THEODORE HAGIOPETRITES	
413	Venice, Bibl. Marc., gr. I, 20
502	London, BL, Add. 19387
998	Athos, Iviron 30
2266	Chicago, University of Chicago, MS 727

^a The Amsterdam manuscript was not written by Theodore, but is apparently a much later copy of a manuscript signed and dated by him. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrates*, 1:132.

TABLE 3.2.

T&T Mss. Clusters Data for Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 20 for the Synoptic Gospels (GA 74)

LINE	GA NO. (PRIMARY AND PAIRED)	DATE (AS ASSIGNED BY INTF)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	RELATIONSHIP WITH THEODORE HAGIOPETRITES
1	1679	XV	Athos, Panteleimon 771	unaffiliated
2	89	XVIII	Göttingen, cod. Theol. 28	attributed to
3	234	XVIII	Copenhagen, GKS 1322	signed and dated by
4	1397	XIV	Athos, Pantokrator 52/Princeton Y1956–118	unaffiliated
5	1635	XV	Athos, Lavra W' 127	unaffiliated
6	2749	XII	St. Petersburg, Hist. Inst., no. 10/667	attributed to
7	1290	XV	Chicago, University of Chicago, MS 46	attributed to
8	390	XVIII	Vat. Ottob. gr. 381	attributed to
9	2511	XIV	Athos, Lavra H' 114A	unaffiliated
10	483	XIII	Williamstown, De Ricci 1	signed and dated by
11	1594	XIII	Athos, Vatopedi 962	signed and dated by
12	2266	XIV	Chicago, University of Chicago, MS 727	related to
13	2707	XIII	Meteora, Transfiguration 545	signed and dated by
14	484	XIII	London, Burney 21	signed and dated by
15	561 and 2389	XVIII and XI/XII	Glasgow, Hunter 476 and Gruber MS 119. 120. 54, Lutheran School of Theology	both unaffiliated
16	90	XVI	Amsterdam, Remonstr. 145	later copy of a ms signed and dated by
17	351 and 1110	XII and X	Milan, Ambros. B.70 sup. and Stauronikita 43	both unaffiliated
18	505	XII	London, BL, Harley 5540	unaffiliated
19	1586 and 2782	XIII and XI	Athos, Vatopedi 954 and Samos, 16, 171	unaffiliated
20	2607	XIII	Harvard gr. 22	unaffiliated
21	502 and 1639	XII and XVII	London, BL, Add. 19387 and Athos, Lavra L' 119	related to; unaffiliated
22	2455	XV	Athos, Vatopedi 895	unaffiliated
23	2529 and 3	XII/XIII and XVII	Moscow, RSL, F.181.13 (Gr. 13) and Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52	both unaffiliated

TABLE 3.3.

T&T Mss. Clusters Data (Partial) for the Gospel of Matthew for the Sinope Gospels (GA 023), All with 100 Percent Agreement

LINE	GA NO.	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
1	042	Rossano Gospels
2	114	London, BL, Harley 5540
3	196	Florence, Laur. Libr., Plut. VIII. 12
4	261	Paris, BnF, gr. 52
5	406	Venice, Marc., gr. I, 11
6	474	London, Lambeth Palace, 1179
7	590	Parma, Pal. 15
8	924	Athos, Dionysiou 38
9	2101	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Barocci 28
10	2415	Montreal, McGill MS 2
11	2517	Athens, Ch. G. Sarros, 1
12	2727	Zavorda, Nikanoros, 27

TABLE 3.4.

T&T Mss. Clusters (Partial) Data for the Rossano Gospels for the Gospel of Matthew (GA 042)

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 042)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
1	1459	94.3	Athos, Lavra A' 27	047	100	Princeton, Garrett 1
21	481	92.1	London, BL, Burney 19	2515	98.1	Dimitsana, Greece, 26
23	707	92.1	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. T.inf. 2. 6	2515	98.1	Dimitsana, Greece, 26
24	1080	92.1	Athos, Lavra A' 15	2515	98.1	Dimitsana, Greece, 26
29	2368	92.1	Baltimore, Walters W 527/Dochiarion 56	—	—	—
39	14	91.7	Paris gr. 70	991	100	Ivion 7

TABLE 3.5.

T&T Mss. Clusters (Partial) Data for the Rossano Gospels for the Gospels of Matthew and Mark (GA 042)

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 042)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
1	84	89.6	Munich, BSB, gr. 568	135	100	Vat. gr. 365
12	2727	87	Zavorda, Nikanoros 27	2529	98.5	Moscow, RSL, F.181.13 (Gr. 13)
14	112	86.9	Oxford, E.D. Clarke 10	1351	97.1	Jerusalem, Stavrou 74
15	1313	86.9	Jerusalem, Taphou 28	270	95.8	Paris gr. 75
17	2374	86.9	Baltimore, Walters W 525	358	97.4	Modena G.9, a.U.2.3 (II A 9)
31	1120	86.5	Philotheou 33	2529	99.6	Moscow, RSL, F.181.13 (Gr. 13)

TABLE 3.6.

T&T Mss. Clusters (Partial) Data for the Synoptic Gospels of the Uspenskii Gospels (GA 461)

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 461)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
1	376	99	Vat. gr. 1539	—	—	—
2	14	98.4	Paris gr. 70	34	98.7	Paris, Coislin, gr. 195
3	3	98	Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52	509	99	Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 24
5	707	98	Oxford, Auct. T. inf. 2. 6	1417	99.1	Athens, NL, 132
6	1452	98	Athos, Lavra A' 19	2607	99.5	Harvard gr. 22
13	1080	97.7	Athos, Lavra A' 15	1152	98.7	Chicago, Univ. Libr., MS 129
16	1530	97.7	Princeton, Garrett 2	1152	99.3	Chicago, Univ. Libr., MS 129
20	2563	97.7	Athens, Benaki TA 142	699	99.6	London, BL, Add. 28815
21	570	97.6	St. Petersburg, NLR, gr. 97	45	98	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Barocci 31
27	105	97.4	Codex Ebnerianus	1168	99.7	Patmos, St. John's 84
28	123	97.4	Vienna, Theol. gr. 240	2176	99.4	St. Petersburg, NLR, gr. 538
34	1120	97.4	Philotheou 33	550	99	London, BL, Add. 39593
41	777	97.2	Athens, NL, 93	84	99.4	Munich, BSB, gr. 568

TABLE 3.7.

T&T Mss. Clusters (Partial) Data for the Synoptic Gospels of the Uspenskii Gospels (GA 461): Other Relatives (Group B)

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 461)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
6	1452	98	Athos, Lavra A' 19	2607	99.5	Harvard University, gr. 22
8	1514	97.9	Athos, Lavra Γ' 54	1168	99.7	Patmos, St. John's 84
9	2529	97.8	Moscow, RSL, F.181.13 (Gr. 13)	a	a	a
10	208	97.7	Venice, Marc., gr. Z 9	84	98.7	Munich, BSB, gr. 568
19	2362	97.7	Istanbul, Bibl. du Serail, 125	a	a	a
24	2442	97.5	Athens, Akademie, Siderides 1	2282	99.3	Manchester, John Rylands 7
31	668	97.4	Syracuse University, NY MS 226.048 G	a	a	a
39	135	97.2	Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 365	a	a	a

^a Manuscript data available, but suppressed for clarity of argument.

TABLE 3.8.

T&T Mss. Clusters (Partial) Data for Vienna, Theol. gr. 240 (GA 123) for the Synoptic Gospels: Illustrious Relatives (Group A)

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 123)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
11	699	98.4	London, BL., Add. 28815	—	—	—
13	1080	98.4	Athos, Lavra A' 15	a	a	a
17	2297	98.4	Patmos, St. John's, cod. 72	—	—	—
19	3	98.1	Vienna, Austr. Nat. Libr., Suppl. gr. 52	—	—	—
20	105	98.1	Codex Ebnerianus (Oxford, Bodl. Libr. MS Auct. T. infra. 1.10)	a	a	a
21	151	98.1	Vatican Library, Vat. Pal. gr. 220	—	—	—
22	666	98.1	Harvard University Library, gr. 1	a	a	a
24	1452	98.1	Athos, Lavra A' 19	a	a	a
30	1120	98	Athos, Philotheou 33	—	—	—
36	a	a	a	1539	97.8	Baltimore, Walters W 527
37	14	97.7	Paris, BnF, gr. 70	a	a	a
41	411	97.7	Venice, Marc. gr. I, 18	—	—	—
46	1168	97.7	Patmos, St. John's, 84	a	a	a
49	1530	97.7	Princeton, Garrett 2	a	a	a
56	a	a	a	028	97.7	Vatican Library, Vat., gr. 354
59	45	97.4	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Barocci 31	a	a	a

^a Manuscript data available, but suppressed for clarity of argument.

TABLE 3.9.

T&T Mss. Clusters (Partial) Data for Vienna, Theol. gr. 240 (GA 123) for the Synoptic Gospels: Other Relatives (Group B).

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 123)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
5	2358	98.7	Louisville, KY, Theol. Seminary fragment	—	—	—
6	2529	98.7	Moscow, F.181.13 (Gr. 13)	2607	100	Harvard gr. 22 (repeated five times on list)
7	1514	98.6	Athos, Lavra Γ' 54	2607	b	Harvard gr. 22
8	a	a	a			
10	668	98.4	Syracuse University fragment MS 226.048 G	—	—	—
16	2281	98.4	Manchester, John Rylands 1	—	—	—
26	2362	98.1	Istanbul, Serail 125	a	a	a
28	396	98	Vatican Library, Vat. Chis. R IV 6 (gr. 6)	a	a	a
35	2442	97.9	Athens, Siderides 1	2282	99.3	Manchester, John Rylands 7
38	a	a	a	135	b	Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 365
45	a	a	a	84	b	Munich, BSB, gr. 568
59	a	a	a	1176	b	Patmos, St. John's, cod. 100

^a Manuscript data available, but suppressed for clarity of argument.

^b The percentage rate of agreement between a manuscript in the secondary position in the data output and the manuscript being analyzed is not readily available from the Clusters tool.

TABLE 3.10.

T&T Mss. Clusters (Partial) Data for Paris gr. 70 (GA 14) for the Synoptic Gospels: Illustrious Relatives (Group A)

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 14)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
2	707	99.7	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. T. inf. 2.6	—	—	—
4	1452	99	Athos, Lavra A' 19	a	a	a
6	777	98.9	Athens, Nat. Libr. 93	—	—	—
7	34	98.7	Paris, BnF, Coislin 195	—	—	—
15	1080	98.7	Athos, Lavra A' 15	a	a	a
22	756	98.6	Münster, Bibelmuseum 10 ("decorative style" manuscript)	a	a	a
26	3	98.4	Vienna, Austrian Nat. Libr., Suppl. gr. 52	a	a	a
27	105	98.4	Codex Ebnerianus	a	a	a
29	461	98.4	Uspenskii Gospels	—	—	—
34	2368	98.3	Baltimore, Walters W 527	a	a	a
39	a	a	a	699	99.6	London, Add. 28815

^a Manuscript data available, but suppressed for clarity of argument.

TABLE 3.11.

T&T Mss. Clusters (Partial) Data for Paris gr. 70 (GA 14) for the Synoptic Gospels: Other Relatives (Group B)

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 14)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
3	135	99.2	Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 365	—	—	—
4	a	a	a	2607	b	Harvard gr. 22
19	2529	98.7	Moscow, F.181.13 (Gr. 13)	2607	100	Harvard gr. 22
21, 26, 27	a	a	a	2442	b	Athens, Siderides Akad., 1
28	a	a	a	2282	b	Manchester, John Rylands 7
30	a	a	a	1179	b	Patmos, St. John's 275
37	1514	98.2	Athos, Lavra Γ' 54	765	99.7	Athens, Nat. Libr. 158

^a Manuscript data available, but suppressed for clarity of argument.^b The percentage rate of agreement between a manuscript in the secondary position in the data output and the manuscript being analyzed is not readily available from the Clusters tool.**TABLE 3.12.**

T&T Mss. Clusters Data for Stauronikita 43 (GA 1110) for the Synoptic Gospels

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 1110)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
1	84	99.4	Munich, BSB, gr. 568	135	100	Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 365

TABLE 3.13.

T&T Mss. Clusters (Partial) Data for Athos, Vatopedi 949 (GA 1582) for the Synoptic Gospels

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 1582)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
1	1	98	Basel, Univ. Libr. AN IV 2	—	—	—
2	209	90.4	Venice, Marc., gr. Z 10 (394)	—	—	—
3	205	88.1	Venice, Marc., gr. Z 5 (420)	—	—	—
4	2193	84.9	Athos, Iviron, 247*	—	—	—
5	118	82.1	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. D. inf. 2.17	—	—	—
6	22	71.0	Paris, BnF, gr. 72	—	—	—

TABLE 3.14.

T&T Mss. Clusters (Partial) Data for Princeton, Scheide M 70 (GA 1357) for the Synoptic Gospels

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 1357)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
1	2607	96.9	Harvard gr. 22	—	—	—
2	2529	96.4	Moscow, F.181.13 (Gr. 13)	1168	100	Patmos 84
3	396	96.3	Vat., Chis. R. IV 6 (gr. 6)	45	98.8	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Barocci 31
5	943	96	Dionysiou 35	190	98.4	Florence, Plut. VI, 28
6	1826	95.9	Lutheran School of Theology, Gruber MS 122	84	100	Munich, BSB, gr. 568
7	470	95.7	London, Lambeth Palace 1175	—	—	—
9	1514	95.7	Athos, Lavra Γ' 54	765	99.7	Athens, Nat. Libr. 158
11	1212	95.6	Sinai, gr. 175	2282	97.7	Manchester, John Rylands 7
16	3	95.4	Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52	2442	99.6	Athens, Siderides 1
17	8	95.4	Paris gr. 49	1168	99	Patmos 84
18	105	95.4	Codex Ebnerianus	1168	99.7	Patmos 84
19	226	95.4	Escorial, Real Bibl., X. IV. 17	227	98.4	Escorial, Real Bibl., X. XIII. 15
22	1316	95.4	Jerusalem, Taphou 41	2442	98.8	Athens, Siderides Akad., 1
23	1452	95.4	Lavra A' 19 and	2362	99.2	Istanbul, Serail 125
26	1094	95.2	Athos, Panteleimon 29	133	99.3	Vat. gr. 363
28	135	95.1	Vat. gr. 365	707	99.6	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. T. inf. 2.6
31	2358	95.1	Kentucky, Theol. Seminary fragment	2281	99.1	Manchester, John Rylands 1

TABLE 3.15.

T&T Mss. Clusters (Partial) Data for Codex Ebnerianus (GA 105): Illustrious Relatives (Group A)

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 105)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
2	1168	99.7	Patmos 84	—	—	—
5	3	99.4	Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52	—	—	—
6	8	99.4	Paris gr. 49	—	—	—
8	1452	99.4	Athos, Lavra A' 19	^a	^a	^a
11	2368	99.1	Walters W 527	^a	^a	^a

^a Manuscript data available, but suppressed for clarity of argument.**TABLE 3.16.**

T&T Mss. Clusters (Partial) Data for Codex Ebnerianus (GA 105): Other Relatives (Group B)

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 105)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
1	2529	100	Moscow, F.181.13 (Gr. 13)	—	—	—
3	1514	99.7	Athos, Lavra Γ' 54	—	—	—
4	2442	99.6	Athens, Siderides Akad. 1	—	—	—
8	^a	^a	^a	2607	99.5	Harvard gr. 22

^a Manuscript data available, but suppressed for clarity of argument.

TABLE 3.17.

T&T Mss. Clusters (Partial) Data for Parma, Pal. 5 (GA 583): Illustrious Relatives (Group A)

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 583)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
1	112	99	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., E. D. Clarke 10	—	—	—
2	105	97.7	Codex Ebnerianus	8	99.4	Paris gr. 49
3	942	97.7	Athos, Dionysiou 34	a	a	a
5	3	97.4	Vienna, Suppl. gr. 52	1530	99.7	Princeton, Garrett 2
7	a	a	a	14	b	Paris gr. 70
9	a	a	a	1110	b	Stauronikita 43
10	1168	97.4	Patmos 84	2281	99.3	Manchester, John Rylands 1
11	1452	97.4	Lavra A' 19	—	—	—

^a Manuscript data available, but suppressed for clarity of argument^b The percentage rate of agreement between a manuscript in the secondary position in the data output and the manuscript being analyzed is not readily available from the Clusters tool.**TABLE 3.18.**

T&T Mss. Clusters (Partial) Data for Parma, Pal. 5 (GA 583): Other Relatives (Group B)

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 583)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
4	1179	97.7	Patmos 275 and	2607	99	Harvard gr. 22
6	84	97.4	Munich, BSB, gr. 568	135	100	Vat. gr. 365
8	a	a	a	2282	98.9	Manchester, John Rylands 7
11	a	a	a	2607	99.5	Harvard gr. 22
12	a	a	a	2362	99.2	Istanbul, Serail 125
13	2529	97.4	Moscow F.181.13 (Gr. 13)	2607	100	Harvard gr. 22
14	a	a	a	2607	99	Harvard gr. 22
16	1514	97.2	Athos, Lavra Γ' 54	765	99.7	Athens, Nat. Libr. 158

^a Manuscript data available, but suppressed for clarity of argument

TABLE 3.19.

List of Gospel Manuscripts Associated with the Atelier of the Palaiologina

GA NO.	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
925	Athos, Dionysiou 5
190	Florence, Plut. VI. 28 ^a
1439	Athos, Lavra A' 2
355	Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. 541 ^a
45	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Barocci 31
140	Vat. gr. 1158
2894	Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 65 ^b
2374	Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 525

^a Inserted miniatures of these manuscripts belong to the Atelier, but their script and ornament differ.^b Referred to as Ms "X" by Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, 5.
As of 9 March 2016, the Clusters tool does not include data for Getty 65.**TABLE 3.20.**

Complete T&T Mss. Clusters Data for the Synoptic Gospels for Walters W 525 (GA 2374)

LINE	PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT (GA 583)			PAIRED MANUSCRIPT (IF PRESENT)		
	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH MT (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.	GA. NO.	AGREEMENT WITH PRIMARY MS (%)	LIBRARY SHELF NO.
1	89	97.4	Göttingen, cod. Theol. 28	390	99.7	Vat. Ottob. gr. 381
2	234	97.4	Copenhagen, Kongelige 1322	390	99.7	Vat. Ottob. gr. 381
3	358	97.4	Modena, Bibl. Estense G. 9, a.U.2.3 (II A 9)	219	99	Vienna, Theol. gr. 321
4	1635	97.4	Athos, Lavra W' 127	74	99.3	Oxford, Christ Church, gr. 20
5	2215	97.4	Larnaka, Mitropolis, s.n.	2099	98.4	London, Br. Libr. Add. 35030
6	2707	97.4	Meteora, Metamorphosis cod. 545	390	99.3	Vat. Ottob. gr. 381
7	2749	97.4	St. Petersburg, no. 10/667	390	99.7	Vat. Ottob. gr. 381
8	1290	97.4	Chicago, ms. 46	390	99.6	Vat. Ottob. gr. 381

