

The Princeton Heirmologion Palimpsest

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According to the typewritten dossier of the Firestone Library, Princeton NJ, the Georgian manuscript *Garrett 24* is largely a palimpsest, written "not later than the eleventh century". The underlying texts of the palimpsest leaves are of mixed origin. A few of them are Syriac, the rest come from various Greek books. In the dossier, this combination of Greek and Syriac under a Georgian text is used to support a hypothesis that the *Georgian* book was written in St. Katherine's where apparently there was a substantial group of Georgian monks in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The manuscript has recently been on exhibition¹, but it seems that nobody has tried to identify the contents of the palimpsest leaves.

During a stay at Princeton (February 1992) I worked my way through fols. 63-70, described in the dossier as "a Greek theological text in sloping uncials". My curiosity was first aroused by these "sloping uncials". For since the Sinai findings in 1975, every new bit of evidence connected with St. Katherine's Monastery must be of interest *per se*.² Before long, however, it turned out that the texts were at

1. In a letter of November 18, 1992 Kenneth Levy says that the manuscript "was in a small display of manuscripts, coins, and other materials exposed in the PU Library lobby between Jan. 8 and Jan. 28, 1989, to publicize a newly offered course in Byzantine civilization. Such lobby displays do not involve scholarly work and leave no printed record."

2. See Linos Politis, *Nouveaux manuscrits grecs découverts au Mont Sinai. Rapport préliminaire* (Scriptorium 34, 1980, 5-17 + Plates 1-9). At the Second International Colloquium on Greek Palaeography and Codicology (Berlin and Wolfenbüttel, October 17-21 1983), Dr. P.G. Nikolopoulos, Athens, read a paper on a "*Majuscola demotica sinaitica*". It is my recollection of the slides shown in 1983 that some of them were palaeographically akin to Garrett 24. Unfortunately, Dr. Nikolopoulos's paper is not included in the *Atti* of the Berlin-Wolfenbüttel Colloquium, published in 1991 by Dieter Harlfinger and Giancarlo Prato as vol. III of the *Biblioteca di scrittura e civiltà* (Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria).

least as interesting as the writing. To be true, I was able to decipher only a few scattered words, having to work with an oldfashioned UV-lamp, in the daylight of the reading room. But even so, it was not very difficult to identify the kind of manuscript represented by the eight palimpsest leaves. It was a liturgical book with church poetry - more specifically: Kanon poetry. It was not a Tropologion, however. For all the strophes which I was able to identify on the spot - or afterwards, back in Copenhagen - were Heirmoi. There could be no doubt, then, that fols. 63-70 of the Georgian manuscript were written on parchment taken from a very old Heirmologion.

Now, the oldest Heirmologia known date from the 10th or 11th century³, but the palimpsest leaves of Garrett 24 must be considerably older. *Fig. 1-2* show the most readable pages (fols. 64r and 68v) - at the moment the best pictures to convey an impression of the writing.⁴ During the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists (Copenhagen, August 1992) I discussed the dating with Professors Guglielmo Cavallo and Herwig Mähler, and they confirmed the impression which Dr. Bjarne Schartau and I had formed as soon as we received the photographs from Princeton: The fragments were apparently written in the second half of the eighth century.⁵ As to

3. Lavra B 32, St. Petersburg gr. 557, Esphigmenou 54, and Patmos 55, cf. the list in Constantin Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde*, I, 63-64.

4. The entire palimpsest was photographed for me by the university *atelier*. On these excellent black-and-white photos one can see almost as much as I could see on location, with the UV-lamp of the Firestone Library. Ideally, of course, all 16 pages ought to be photographed under fluorescent light. But no local Princeton photographer was equipped for that, and for economic reasons we gave up getting a photographer down from New York with the necessary equipment.

5. Cavallo: "La scrittura inferiore del ms. Garrett 24 - una maiuscola ogivale inclinata mista a elementi corsivi e minuscoli - sembra doversi riferire all'ultimo quarto del secolo VIII, senza escludere i primi anni del IX" (letter of September 7, 1992); Mähler: not later than A.D.800.

their place of origin, the wide area of "Syria/Palestine/Egypt" seems to be the most likely - the type of uncials (sloping, with cursive α and μ) is seen in the *Auszeichnungsschrift* used for the rubrics in Vatican, gr. 2200, dated to ca. 800 and located somewhere in these parts of the Near East⁶. The same criteria (cursive α and μ) can be observed in Politis, *op. cit.*, plates 7c and 8a, and were pointed out in several contexts by Nikolopoulos at the Berlin-Wolfenbüttel Colloquium 1983.⁷ Politis dated the leaves reproduced on his two plates to the ninth century - so the Princeton palimpsest may very well turn out to be the oldest specimen of this particular type of writing, with A.D. 800 as an approximate *terminus ante quem*. As for a *terminus post quem*, its contents of Heirmoi make it impossible to go further back than the end of the 7th century.

Although - for obvious reasons - it has not yet been possible to identify every text in the sixteen pages, the readable words and the general lay-out suggest that the leaves must have contained some forty Heirmoi.⁸ Of these I have so far managed to identify twentytwo. No doubt, a better UV-lamp and/or UV-photographs will raise the number of identified texts. Below (Appendix I-II) I have rearranged

6. Vatican. gr. 2200 is frequently reproduced. The most extensive reproduction of its *Auszeichnungsschrift* is Planche VII in Robert Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs*, Paris 1954. See also Henrica Follieri, *Codices graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae selecti* (Exempla scripturarum, fasc. IV, Apud Bibliothecam Vaticanam 1969), pp. 21-23 + tab. 12. The most detailed analysis of this "Hagiopolitan" or "Byzantino-Arab" script is Enrica Follieri, *Tommaso di Damasco e l'antica minuscola libraria greca* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, ser. VIII, 29) from 1974, i.e. from before the Sinai findings.

7. Cf. above, note 2.

8. The last line of a Heirmos frequently does not fill out an entire line of the manuscript. Thus, even when we cannot read the texts, the "blanks" at the end of lines sometimes show where a Heirmos ends.

the identified Heirmoi and the quotations from the unidentified ones in the order of the original manuscript.

The results of my preliminary investigation of the Princeton palimpsest can be summarized as follows:

1. The Heirmoi were not arranged in Kanon Order ("KaO"), with the model texts for all Odes of a Kanon collected in sets ("ἀκολουθίαι"), but in Ode Order ("OdO") - still in modal order, but now with all Heirmoi for a given Ode collected in a block⁹. This OdO arrangement of the *Greek* Princeton palimpsest calls for some comments. The majority of old Greek Heirmologia are written in KaO, whereas OdO is to be found in the *Slavonic* tradition and in the old *Georgian* Heirmologia. The latter is especially important, since the Georgian versions seem to have been translated from an otherwise unknown Jerusalem tradition.¹⁰ Both arrangement and palaeography thus make it plausible that the Princeton palimpsest leaves are fragments of the otherwise lost Greek Heirmologion from Jerusalem.

2. The ascriptions to poets/composers of the classical Greek Heirmologion (in KaO) being fairly stable, they can be used to give an idea of the repertory of the eight leaves of this presumed Jerusalem Heirmologion. Of the four names which are placed at the beginning of each mode in the five archaic Heirmologia (John of

9. The distinction between KaO and OdO Heirmologia has been generally used since E. Koschmieder, *Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente II* (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, Heft 37), p. 69.

10. See Peter Jeffery, *Jerusalem and Rome (and Constantinople): The musical heritage of two great cities in the formation of the Medieval chant traditions* (International Musical Society, Study group Cantus Planus. Papers read at the fourth meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3-8 September 1990, 163-174), 165-66.

Damascus, Kosmas of Maioumas, Andrew of Crete, and Germanos)¹¹, two are abundantly represented in the palimpsest: John with 9-10 Heirmoi and Kosmas with 7-8¹². Andrew of Crete is represented by one Heirmos (Περιεκύκλωσάν με 64v, 6-9); I have not found any Heirmos by Germanos.¹³ Apart from the many Heirmoi by John and Kosmas - the two Jerusalem Kanon poets *par excellence* - and the one by Andrew, I have identified two by Kyprianos and two which in the tradition are called "Sinaitic". The general impression, again, fits in with the hypothesis that the leaves come from a Jerusalem Heirmologion. For in the oldest Georgian collections, taken to represent the tradition of Jerusalem, there is an overwhelming majority of Kanons and Heirmoi attributed to John and Kosmas.¹⁴

3. With one exception, there are no traces of any kind of musical notation. The exception is to be found on fol. 68v, line 5, in a Heirmos for Ode 4 of a Kanon in Mode II, ascribed to Kosmas - the Ὑμνω σε (Eustratiades, Akol. 51,4 = No. 443).¹⁵ At this place (see

11. Cf. MMB VIII,1 (*Hirmologium Sabbaiticum*, ed. Jørgen Raasted. Pars Suppletoria, Hauniae 1968), 42-46; Jørgen Raasted, *Observations on the manuscript tradition of Byzantine music, II: The contents of some early Heirmologia* (CIMAGL 8, 1972, 35-47).

12. The Heirmos Ἀθεὸν πρόσταγμα 67r,3 sqq) is ascribed to either Kosmas or John, see MMB Transcripta VI (The Hymns of the Hirmologium, Part I, Copenhagen 1952), p.321 [Akol. 12] and Richard v. Busch, *Untersuchungen zum byzantinischen Heirmologion. Der Echos Deuteros*, Hamburg 1971, p. 63.

13. Among the Heirmoi which are not yet identified (i.e. those quoted in Appendix II), there may of course be one or more written by Andrew and Germanos.

14. See Peter Jeffery, *The earliest evidence of the eight modes: the rediscovered Georgian Oktoechos* (to be printed in the *Festschrift* for Kenneth Levy). See also, generally, Hélène Métréveli and Bernhard Outtier, *Contribution à l'histoire de l'hirmologion: anciens hirmologia géorgiens* (Le Muséon 88, 1975, 331-59).

15. Here, and in Appendix I, the number indication refers to the *List of Heirmos Call-Numbers* which I published in CIMAGL 1, 1969, 1-12.

fig. 2), the accented syllable of the word $\delta\iota\acute{o}$ carries an Oxeia, and there are punctuation dots on both sides of the $\delta\iota\acute{o}$. According to the stylistical norms of Heirmoi and Stichera, this situation implies a musical isolation of the word, with an ornamentation on its accented syllable - and if we look at the same Heirmos in fully neumated Heirmologia, we see here a so-called *Thematismos Exo* ($\sim \pi \pi' \sim$)¹⁶. Apparently, then, our copy of the Jerusalem Heirmologion used an extremely simple type of musical notation, of the same kind as the widely spread "Theta Notation" encountered especially in the 10th-12th centuries.¹⁷

It is, of course, unsatisfactory to leave the investigation of the Princeton Heirmologion palimpsest at this point. Someone who is familiar with the Georgian language might possibly identify some of the Heirmoi quoted in Appendix II (e.g. the ones numbered **g k l m** and **n**). Also, a better prepared investigation at the Firestone Library - with a more up-to-date UV equipment - will probably enable us to read and identify more of the contents. And, ultimately, we might perhaps hope to find, somewhere, more leaves of this venerable manuscript.¹⁸ In view of its palaeographical and musicological interest, how-ever, the Princeton palimpsest has called for an immediate report to announce this new source for the Greek Heirmologion in a redaction from Jerusalem.

16. Grottaferrata E.γ.II, 36r (=MMB III). For the location in other MSS, see the table in v. Busch, p. 63 (cf. note 12).

17. See Jørgen Raasted, A primitive palaeobyzantine musical notation (*Classica & Mediaevalia* 23, 1962, 301-10) and *Musical notation and quasi notation in Syro-Melkite liturgical manuscripts* (CIMAGL 31a-b, Copenhagen 1979, pp. 11-37 and 53-77), esp. pp. 16-18 and 53-55.

18. A fragment in the Saltykova-Ščedrina Library, St. Petersburg - Greek MS No.8, "from Sinai" - is a possible candidate. Georgian text over a Greek uncial (liturgical) from 7.-8. cent.; the dimensions are said to be 195 x 132 mm. Garrett 24 is approximately 150 x 120. See N.K. Moran, A list of Greek music palimpsests (*Acta Musicologica* 57, 1985, 64).

APPENDIX I, The contents in the original MS order:

M O D E I :

67v:

- | | | | |
|-------|---|------------------------------|--------|
| 1-7 | : | Τῷ παντάνακτος | JOHN |
| | | (Eu Ak 9,7 = No 79) | |
| 8-13 | : | Οἱ παῖδες εὐσεβεία | KOSMAS |
| | | (Eu Ak 8,7 = No 68) | |
| 14-18 | : | Ὁ παῖδας ἐν καμίνῳ ρυσάμενος | JOHN |
| | | (Eu Ak 6,7 = No 47) | |

67r:

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----------------------|----------------|
| 1-2 | : | a ¹⁸ | |
| 3ff | : | Ἰαθεον πρόσταγμα | KOSMAS or JOHN |
| | | (Eu Ak 12,7 = No 104) | |
| 8ff | : | illegible | |

63r:

- | | | |
|-------|---|-----------------|
| 1-3 | : | b |
| 4-5 | : | c |
| 6-13 | : | d (illegible) |
| 14-17 | : | e (end of page) |

18. a - u represent Heirmoi so far unidentified, see Appendix II.

63v:

- | | | | |
|-------|---|---|--------|
| 1-9 | : | Θαύματος ὑπερφυοῦς
(Eu Ak 8,8 = No 70) | KOSMAS |
| 10-14 | : | Αὕτη ἡ κλητή
(Eu Ak 6,8 = No 48) (end of page) | JOHN |

M O D E I I :

65v:

- | | | | |
|-------|---|--|-----------|
| 1-4 | : | Στερέωσόν με κύριε ο θεός μου
(Eu Ak 52,3 = No 452) | JOHN |
| 5-7 | : | Στερέωσόν με χριστέ
(Eu Ak 72,3 = No 651) | SINAITIC |
| 8-10 | : | f | |
| 11-16 | : | Φργυρὸς ἀσφαλῆς
(Eu Ak 54,3 = No 474) (end of page) | KYPRIANOS |

65r:

- | | | | |
|-------|---|--|------|
| 1-4 | : | Ἀκήκοα κύριε· τὴν εὐσπλαγχνον
(Eu Ak 47,4 = No 406) | JOHN |
| 5-11 | : | Ἀκήκοα κύριε φωνῆς σου
(Eu Ak 49,4 = No 427) | JOHN |
| 12-15 | : | g (Ἀκήκοα...) (end of page) | |

68v:

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|-----------|
| 1-2 | : | Προβλεπτικῶς ὁ προφήτης
(Eu Ak 54,4 = No 475) | KYPRIANOS |
|-----|---|--|-----------|

3-7 : Ὑμνῶ σε¹⁹

KOSMAS

(Eu Ak 51,4 = No 443)

(The rest of the page is blank)

68r:

1-3 : h

4-8 : i

9-12 : Ἐκ νυκτὸς ὀρθρίζοντες

JOHN

(Eu Ak 48,5 = No 417)

13-14 : j (end of page)

69v:

1-5 : Ἐν ἀβύσσῳ παισμάτων

JOHN

(Eu Ak 46,6 = No 399)

6-10 : Πρὸς κύριον ἐκ κήτους

KOSMAS

(Eu Ak 53,6 = No 463)

11-17 : k

69r:

1-8 : l

9-13 : Προτύπῳσις τῆς ταφῆς

SINAITIC

(Eu Ak 71,6 = No 645)

14-17 : Ἦχου ρημάτων

JOHN

(Eu Ak 47,6 = No 408)

19. Theta notation (one Oxeia, only!) on διό; for the reading in the last line (ἐπανόρθωσιν for πολυέλεε) see v. Busch p. 312). Eustr. p. 38 prints πολυέλεε, although both his MSS read ἐπανόρθωσιν!

64v:

1-5 : m

6-9 : Περιεκύκλωσάν με

ANDREW

(Eu 86,6 = No 761)

10ff : blank

64r:

[illegible]

2 : blank

3-11 : n (Τρεῖς παῖδες...)

(cf Eu Ak 55,7 = No 490;

JOHN)

12-18 : Εἰκόνος χρυσῆς

KOSMAS

(Eu Ak 53,7 = No 464)

[illegible]

66r:

1-5 : 0

6ff : Ρῆμα τυράννου

KOSMAS

(Eu Ak 53,8 ἄλλως = No 467)

(the rest of the page is illegible)

66v:

1-15 : p sqq

Abstract

70r:

1-16 : u sqq (end of page)

70v illegible

APPENDIX II, The unidentified Heirmoi:

a (67r, 1-2):

- 1 των $\overline{\pi\rho\omega\nu}$
 2 most of the line is blank

b (63r, 1-3):

- 1 κουντο
 2 · τον της ψυχης να
 3 χω $\overline{\theta\omega}$ · blank

c (63r, 4-5):

- 4
 5 εισογυ · blank

d (63r, 6-13): illegible

e (63r, 14-17):

- 14 νοπλ κ
 15 ναζωι
 16 φθορ
 17 σαντ

f (65v, 8-10):

- 8 των
 9 α · και
 10 · blank

g (65r, 12-15): Ἀκήκοα...

12 Ακηκοα

13 αρχην · κ

14 ο την υδολ

15 πεσχατων

h (68r, 1-3):

1

η

2

ν

3

: blank

i (68r, 4-8):

4 β

5 α

6

ο

7 σε υ

8 ρ

χς θ

j (68r, 13-14):

13 χ

14 βο

k (69v, 11-17):

11-15 illegible

16

ιωνας εβοησεν

17 απωσμ

οφθαλμων σου

l (69r, 1-8):

1 γε προσθεισωμε · επιβλεψαι τον

2 αγιον · ναον ον ητοιμασας ·

3 αυτ

4 · ιωνας ο σαλευσας · κ
 5
 6 προσφ μουμενος εγω
 7 βυ
 8 $\overline{\chi\epsilon}$ τ blank

m (64v, 1-5):

1 σου ταφης της τριημερου ε
 2 γερσεως της σης $\overline{\sigma\eta\rho}$ μου · ο ιωνας
 3 · διο εκ του
 4 κητους σοι βοωντες φαν εν
 5 εκ φθορας

n (64r, 3-11): Τρεῖς παῖδες... (cf Eu Ak 55,7 = No 490)

3 τρεις παιδες
 4 αδα τυπωσαντες · βασι τυ
 5 ραννων νι ν ·
 6 ην σεδο κατ
 7 λεγωντες ευλογειτος ο $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$
 8 ευλογειτος αμιν
 9 κε ημων
 10 τω ευλο
 11 γητο blank

o (66r, 1-5):

1 χ της ευ
 2 · ν χρυσουν
 3 λεγωντες ευλογει
 4 $\overline{\kappa\nu}$ υμν̄ει
 5 αυτων εις τους αιωνας:-

p sqq (66v, 1-15):

- 1 των
- 2 μνουμεν
- 3
- 4 ρ
- 5 του π
- 6 ομμα εχ
- 7 του
- 8 του
- 9
- 10 ο
- 11 τον δ
- 12 μεν ο λελα
- 13 αψ
- 14 ους χρισ
- 15 ρ ολυμενοινης

u sqq (70r, 1-16):

- 1 εκτ αδωντ
- 2 πρι κ δαδ τυραννον
- 3-9 illegible
- 10 κ
- 11-12 illegible
- 13 κα
- 14 παρ
- 15 περυψου
- 16 κενησ ου

70v illegible

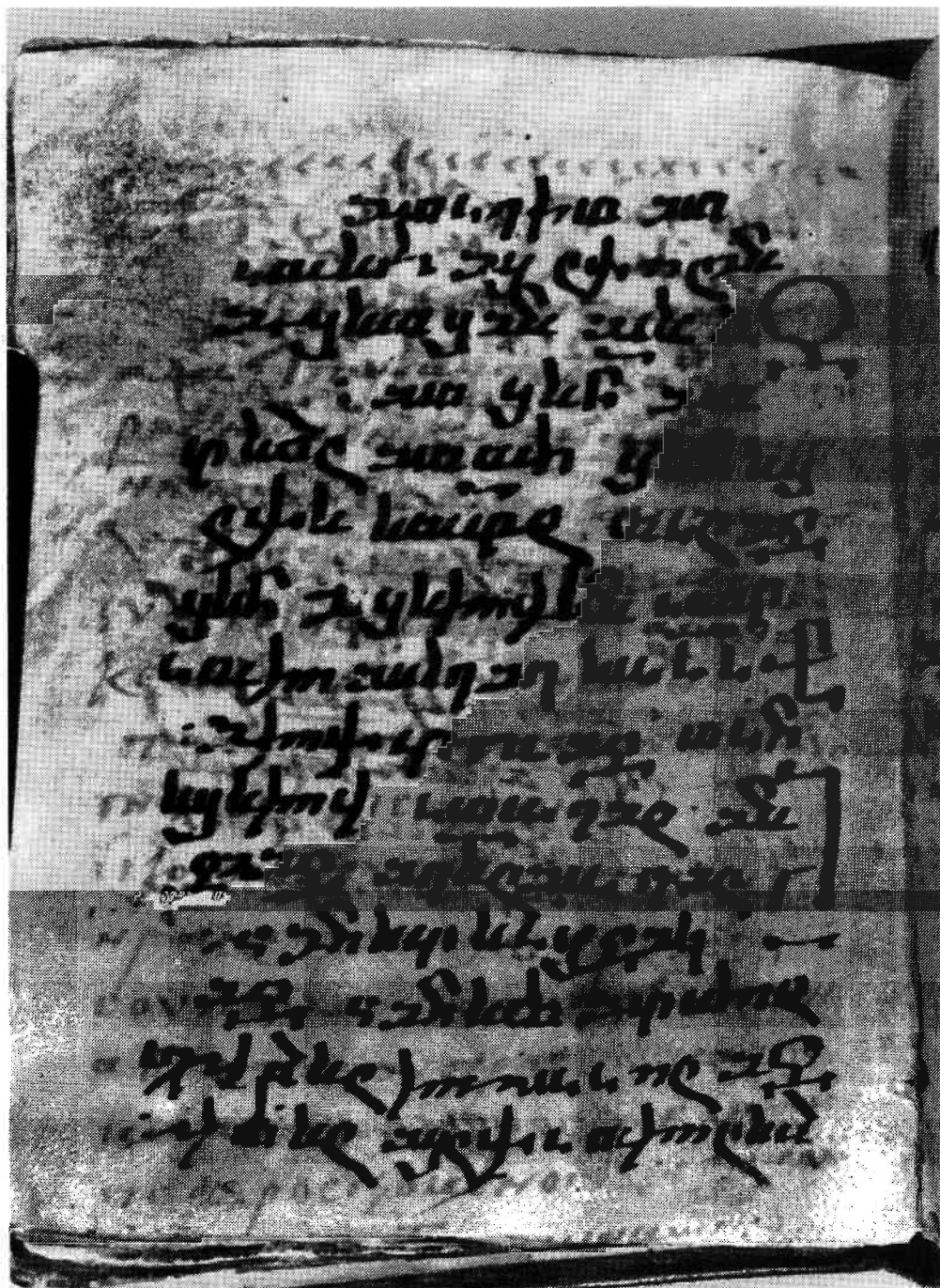


Fig. 1 : Princeton, Garrett 24, 64r
(reproduced with the permission of the Firestone Library)

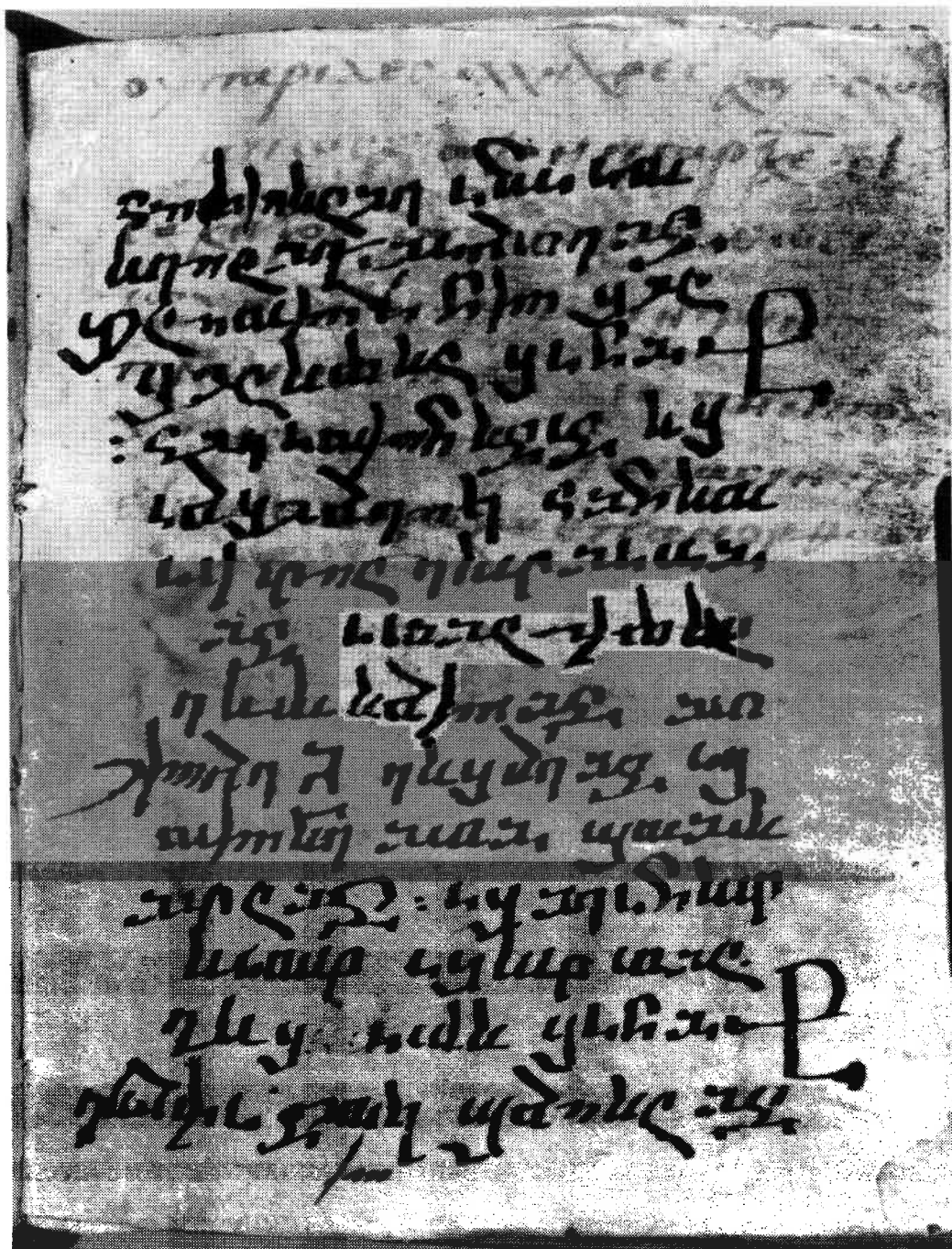


Fig. 2 : Princeton, Garrett 24, 68v
(reproduced with the permission of the Firestone Library)

