

Stefan Alexandru

Some Reflections on Selected Leaves of the Palimpsest Manuscript Athos, Konstamonitou 99

Abstract: The Greek manuscript Athos, Konstamonitou 99 has been known to be a palimpsest for more than a century. Previous scholarly reasoning led to the rather intriguing conclusion that its lower layer of script is hagiographical, transmitting lives of saints written in Latin and accompanied by Gregorian notes. The current investigation shows that the original content of those parchment leaves was liturgical. Ecclesiastical hymnography, whose melodies are frequently recorded by means of four-line staves, came to light. Most of the texts identified so far pertain in some way or another to the first millenary of the Christian era: parts of the *Liber responsalis* is attributed to St Gregory the Great, hymns ascribed to St Ambrose, verses written by St Venantius Fortunatus, and a further hymn attributed to Paul the Deacon. The focus of this article lies upon some manuscript folios on which the lower layer of writing can be deciphered fairly easily using soft ultraviolet light.

Introduction

In northern Greece, the palimpsest manuscript Konstamonitou 99 (535 Lambros; Diktyon 26013) provides a unique example of the way in which Western manuscript leaves have been reused by Byzantine scribes. The monastic establishment that owns it, officially named Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Κωνσταντινου (Holy Monastery of Konstamonitou),¹ is located on the Athonite peninsula, whose most remarkable Byzantine heritage is well known.²

1 On its history see Oikonomidès 1978, 1–10. See further Riley 1887, 343–351; Meyer 1894, 165; Smyrnakēs 1903, 680–689; Dölger, Weigand and Deindl 1943, 74–75; Huber 1969, 123–126; Pentzikēs 2003, 426–431; and Khatzēphōtēs 2008, 78–91. Fairly brief passages focusing on the library and mentioning our palimpsest are found in Riley 1887, 350; Smyrnakēs 1903, 687; and Khatzēphōtēs 2008, 90. The reader may not have all these publications at hand; therefore, note that Franz Dölger very concisely summarises the monastery's past as follows: 'Das Kloster taucht urkundlich zum ersten Male i. J. 1051 auf und wird dann, besonders im 14. und zu Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts, häufiger erwähnt. In der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jh. erfreute es sich der Gunst serbischer Fürsten und Herren. Um 1439 berichtet die Chronik über einen verheerenden Brand, in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jh. von einem weiteren, der

In the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, which led to the much discussed and regrettable sack of Constantinople in 1204 and to the fragmentation of the Eastern Roman Empire (with Nicaea, Trebizond, and Epirus as its nuclei), some Byzantine subjects, presumably monks, somehow obtained Western manuscript material. It may have been brought by the crusaders themselves or acquired from a Latinophone monastery.³ The purpose for which they reused it is easy to ascertain. The upper layer of script in codex Konstamonitou 99 transmits a Greek Gospel lectionary dated to the fourteenth century (Fig. 1),⁴ which belonged at some point to a priest called Michael.⁵ This lectionary, whose front cover, back cover, and spine no longer survive and whose book block is held together only by the damaged lining, consists, according to the pencilled folio numbering, of 154 parchment leaves. Their dimensions vary slightly, with fol. 37 measuring approximately 215 × 290 mm.⁶ Most leaves are palimpsested and of Western origin, but it is worth pointing out that on fol. 1^v, a *scriptio inferior* in Greek minuscules is clearly discernible under soft ultraviolet light, which shows that this leaf, unlike the subsequent one, is a Greek palimpsest.⁷

eine lange Verödung des Klosters zur Folge hatte. Zu Ende des 18. Jh. durch die Fürsorge des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel wiederhergestellt, verfiel es um die Mitte des 19. Jh.' (Dölger, Weigand and Deindl 1943, 74). Those who wish to see colour photographs of the monastery and some of its art treasures are advised to look at Pentzikēs 2003 and Khatzēphōtēs 2008.

2 See e.g. Speake 2000 and Amand de Mendieta 1972. For a survey of its precious objects of art, including illuminated manuscripts, see e.g. Dölger 1948 and the colourful exhibition catalogue *Thesaurοi* 1997.

3 That a Latinophone monastic establishment designated as the monastery of the Amalphitans existed and even continued to function on the Holy Mount Athos after the Great Schism is well documented; it was obviously not the only Latinophone monastery founded on Byzantine territory. On its autonomous status, see Smyrnakēs 1903, 68; see also Pertusi 1963. The latter scholar draws further attention to Athonite monasteries referred to as μοναστήριον τοῦ Καλαβροῦ and μονή τοῦ Σικελοῦ (see Pertusi 1963, 239, 242; also see Smyrnakēs 1903, 41). We are not going to speculate about the exact provenance of our palimpsest but here simply list some possibilities that are fairly easy to imagine, none of which can be ruled out at the present stage of research.

4 The photograph in Fig. 1 was taken under daylight conditions; the same applies to Figs 3a and 3b. All the other images were recorded in an environment of soft ultraviolet light and subsequently enhanced. On the Greek text transmitted by this manuscript, see Aland et al. 1994, 261; Welte 2009, 50; and Lambros 1895, 42.

5 At the bottom of fol. 2^r one can see a *signum crucis* followed by the sequence of Greek letters μηχαῖλ ἡερέως (i.e. Μιχαῖλ ἱερέως).

6 According to written communication by its staff dated 28 March 2024, the microfilm owned by the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki contains no information regarding the size of this codex. It should be noted in passing that fol. 9, which does not represent a later addition and neither has suffered any mutilation, is anomalously narrow.

7 Few sequences of letters are reliably decipherable on photographs taken *in situ* on 3 January 2024.

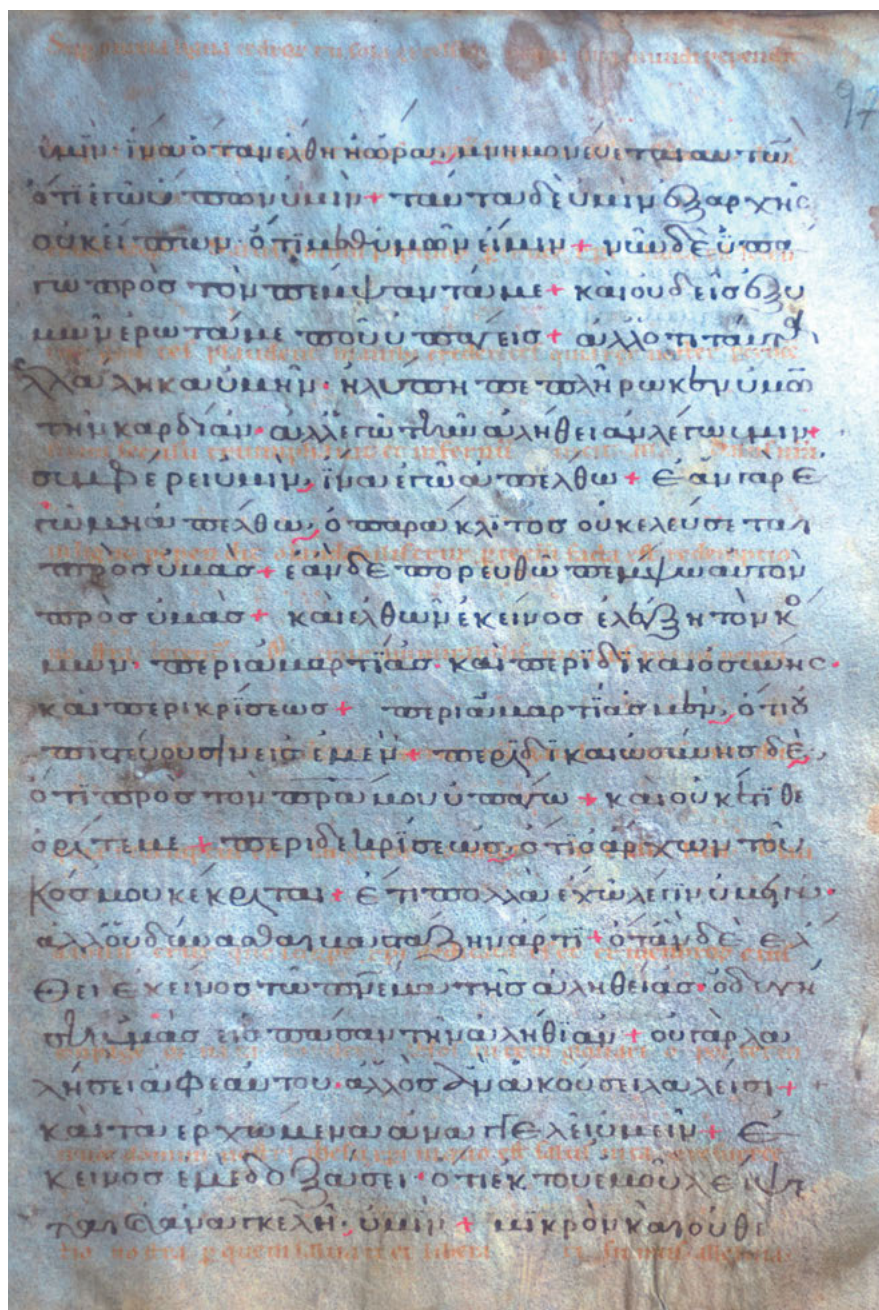


Fig. 1: Athos, Konstamonitou 99, fol. 97r; © Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Κωνσταντινου, Ἅγιον Ὄρος.

The *scriptio superior* of the entire manuscript is, broadly speaking, of no particular interest for the history of textual transmission, since plenty of such lectionaries penned in the Byzantine Empire have survived to the present day. More interesting is the question of which texts the Western manuscript leaves held before the ink was washed away. What one can gather from the scholarly literature published in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is that the leaves in question exhibited Latin lives of saints with square notes.⁸ At an earlier stage, at the end of the nineteenth century, Spyridon Lambros (1851–1919) mentioned saints' lives and reports on martyrdom.⁹ Already in 1887, the well-known British hymn writer and translator John Athelstan Laurie Riley (1858–1945) had reported that

there are rather over hundred manuscripts in Konstamonitou, mostly service books of late date, but there are fourteen on vellum, among which is a palimpsest, the new writing consisting of the Gospels (fourteenth century) over a Latin martyrology (of the twelfth).¹⁰

At the bottom of fol. 1^r, one comes across a partly damaged note written in pencil, which casts further light on the history of the scholarly investigation of this codex. One can still decipher the date of 8 July 1859, the name Porfirii, and the first five letters of the capitalised noun 'palimpsest' recorded in neat Russian handwriting. This indicates that the famous bishop and scholar Porphyrius Uspensky (1804–1885) held the manuscript in his hands on that day and that he became aware of the reused parchment.

The scholar who first noticed a musical notation in our palimpsest was the Austrian legal historian Wolfgang Waldstein (1928–2023), who visited the library of the Holy Monastery of Konstamonitou in the seventies of the twentieth century. Waldstein photographed the entire manuscript under ultraviolet light but, due to his numerous professional obligations, did not manage to publish anything substantial on it at a later stage.¹¹

⁸ For this type of notation see n. 11 and n. 26 below.

⁹ See Lambros 1895, 42: 'τὸ πρωτόγραφον (12 αἰών) περιέχει βίους καὶ μαρτύρια ἁγίων ἐν τῇ Λατινικῇ γλώσσῃ'.

¹⁰ See Riley 1887, 350. During my visit to Würzburg University on 28 March 2024, Andreas Pfisterer remarked with regard to the date of the Latin layer of script that the musical notation it exhibits originated in the twelfth century, from which period some relevant manuscripts still survive. He added that it became much more common in the thirteenth but saw no reason for challenging Riley's dating.

¹¹ See Waldstein 1974, 146, n. 2: 'Ein Palimpsest in Konstamonitu, den Lambros in das 12. Jh. datiert, ist eine lateinische Handschrift in gotischer Schrift, die mit Choralnoten versehen ist und nach der Eintragung im Katalog von Lambros βίους καὶ μαρτύρια ἁγίων enthält. Ich habe den Palimpsest mit UV-Licht aufgenommen'. It should be noted that the terms 'gregorianischer Ge-

There is no question that nowadays one can come across lives of saints interspersed with choral music, such as in connection with new canonisations. No doubt liturgical services of this kind exist; in them the faithful learn about the lives of those concerned, hear the words through which the ecclesiastical authority declares them saints, and then sing hymns praising their deeds, sufferings, and the like. However, the vast majority of books focusing on the lives of saints, including hagiographical works such as the *Martyrologium Romanum*, describe the deeds, virtues, and sufferings of those heroes of the Christian faith without any special concern for ecclesiastical music.

In the Greek Orthodox tradition there exist old Menaia (books containing the so-called propers, i.e. prayers and chants relating to fixed dates of the liturgical calendar),¹² in which one finds, among other texts, hymns, occasionally with a musical notation, followed by, for example, fairly short biographies of the saint or saints commemorated.¹³ These, however, are liturgical books in which brief lives of saints are merely embedded; they mainly consist of hymns and certainly do not narrate the saints' lives and sufferings at great length. Since they are written in Greek, not in Latin, they do not need to much concern us here; bear in mind, though, that their use is liturgical, that is, they were penned for public worship. In the Latin West, the lives of saints were not sung either.¹⁴ All in all, it seems rather unlikely that one should find in the lower layer of codex Konstamonitou 99 numerous extensive lives of saints along with musical notes.¹⁵

sang' and 'gregorianischer Choral' are often used synonymously in German, the term 'Choral-noten' being equivalent to the Latin '*nota quadrata cantus plani*' and to the English designation 'square note'.

¹² On Menaia see Royé 2013; see also Bucca 2011, 59–88. Menaia have been succinctly defined as follows: 'Die Menäen enthalten die hymnischen Wechseltexte des Kirchenjahres, d. h. Texte, die im Abendgottesdienst (Hesperinos, Vesper) und im Morgengottesdienst (Orthros, Matutin) auf den Tagesheiligen Bezug nehmen. In den benutzten griechischen Handschriften sind teilweise auch nichthymnische Texte (Sinaxar- oder Kurzviten, sl. Prologviten) und Lesungen aus dem Prophetologion (Lesungen aus dem Alten Testament), Apostolos (Apostelgeschichte und Apostelbriefe) und Evangelienbuch mit enthalten' (Christians, Rothe and Vereščagin 1996, XVIII). The terms Menaion and Menologion can be used synonymously, but Menologion is more encompassing; for details, see Phountoulēs 1966.

¹³ The feast of Epiphany will concern us slightly later, since we will focus on a Latin antiphon regarding the Lord's Baptism. For this reason, it is worth pointing out that for such days Menaia offer, additionally, not only scriptural readings but also antiphons. See Koutloumousianos ho Imbrios 2009, 72–73, 83, Ἀντίφωνον Α' and Γ'.

¹⁴ See e.g. de Gaiffier 1961.

¹⁵ Andreas Pfisterer draws my attention to the fact that occasionally the life and office of a saint together occupy one medieval Latin manuscript. An instance of this is the codex dedicated to St Eligius

Let us now look at fol. 136^r of the palimpsest, on which the lower layer of script can be rendered legible fairly easily with the aid of ultraviolet fluorescent photography and digital image enhancement (Fig. 2a).

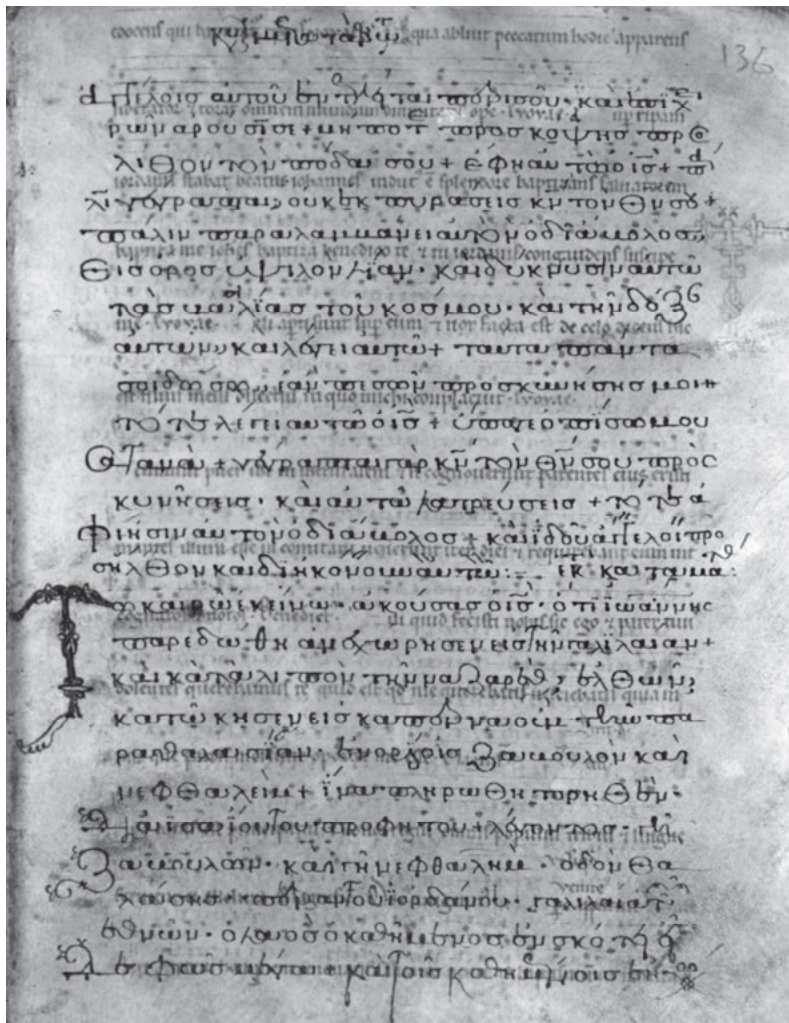


Fig. 2a: Athos, Konstantinon 99, fol. 136^r; © Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Κωνσταντινου, Ἁγίου Ὁρους.

(in French St Éloi), which is held by the Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris and which bears the lengthy shelf mark 2 MS RES 90. Fg Ms 2006. Bournon 131. Ms Rés 104.

writings attributed (in any manner) to St Gregory the Great (c. 540–605); it thus was published in the seventy-eighth volume of the *PL*.¹⁸ It is of major importance for the history of the Divine Office (also referred to as the Liturgy of the Hours; in Latin as *Officium Divinum* or *Liturgia Horarum*) in Western Europe. While having been penned in the ninth century, it is nevertheless believed to incorporate a significant amount of earlier material. Some other important monodic liturgical manuscripts also transmit the antiphon *Super ripam Iordanis* examined above.¹⁹

The antiphon is a kind of liturgical chant with a long history in the eastern half of the Roman Empire; an important testimony in this respect can be found in a letter addressed by St Basil the Great (330–379) to the clergy of Neocaesarea.²⁰ Antiphonal chants or antiphons involve, in some way or another, alternate singing and thus represent musical dialogues.²¹ It is worth bearing in mind that some well-known Latin Epiphany antiphons ‘are based on Greek models’.²² The antiphon *Super ripam Iordanis*, which is under discussion here, relates, as the musicologist Andreas Pfisterer points out to me, to the liturgical programme of the Octava Epiphaniae, a feast that used to be celebrated on the eighth day after Epiphany.

¹⁸ See *PL* 78, 723–850 A. On the section quoted above, see column 744 B.

¹⁹ See Hesbert 1963–1979, vol. 3, 496.

²⁰ See Courtonne 1961, 186 and *PG* 32, 764 A. For further sources relating to the development of ecclesiastical singing, see e.g. McKinnon 1989.

²¹ See Mateos 1971. For a fairly detailed and thorough discussion of the term together with a careful examination of the rather tenuous veterotestamentary evidence that is available, see Nowacki 1994; see also Huglo and Halmo 2001. Rembert George Weakland quite brevilouquently writes about antiphons, accurately describing only those Byzantine ones that include portions of text extracted from the Book of Psalms (rather than lines or whole stanzas penned by Christian hymnographers): ‘In Western liturgical practice, a refrain sung before and after a Psalm or canticle. In Byzantine liturgical usage it means several verses of a Psalm, a complete Psalm, or even several Psalms followed by a doxology’ (Weakland 2003, 529).

²² See Rankin 2013, 248. The Latin passage to which Susan Rankin refers runs as follows: ‘Cum igitur Graeci post matutinas laudes imperatori celebratas in octava die theophaniae secreto in sua lingua Deo psallerent et ille occultatus in proximo carminum dulcedine delectaretur, praecepit clericis suis, ut nihil ante gustarent quam easdem antiphonas in Latinum conversas ipsi praesentarent’ (Haefele 1959, 58.)

Not only manuscripts formerly used in cathedrals, such as the Antiphoner of Monza (Basilica di San Giovanni Battista, Biblioteca Capitolare e Tesoro, cod. C. 12. 75) or the Antiphoner of Verona (Biblioteca Capitolare, cod. XCVIII), but also two codices pertaining to monastic centres, transmit this antiphon. The former is St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 390–391 (often referred to as the Hartker Antiphoner or the Antiphonary of Hartker) and the latter is Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh. 28 (known as the Rheinau Breviary). It thus remains unclear if the Western leaves of codex Konstamonitou 99 side with the monastic strain of the tradition or with what is known in Latin as the *cursus Romanus* and in French as *le cursus liturgique roman*.²³ Pfisterer suggests that this question can be appropriately answered after all the legible Latin texts transmitted by the palimpsest are identified; for that purpose, among others, the *Cantus Index: Catalogue of Chant Texts and Melodies* should be used.²⁴ At that stage, the question of whether the Latin leaves of the palimpsest originated in a milieu of crusaders could be dealt with more efficiently, too, by means of comparing the transmitted chants with the contents of manuscripts surviving from the crusades (such as codex Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 10478, which is a breviary of the Templars) and, if necessary, with later books comprising hymns that pertain, for example, to the Teutonic Order of Knights.

Our palimpsest manuscript differs from the Paris witness referred to above inasmuch as it exhibits a musical notation that emerged later, namely the four-line staff, which is still used in plainchant.²⁵ As Pfisterer remarked after looking at several photographs of Konstamonitou 99, the notes the scribe penned on the four lines are square notes.²⁶ One might further ask if anything could be stated with certainty about the original size of the Western parchment leaves. As becomes evident from a partly surviving four-line staff whose lowest two lines are to some extent still visible at the top of fol. 110^v, the original Latin manuscript pages were

²³ The last-mentioned receives great focus in the first volume of Hesbert 1963–1979.

²⁴ The online database *Cantus Index: Catalogue of Chant Texts and Melodies* is available at <<https://cantusindex.org/>> (accessed on 9 April 2024).

²⁵ On early Western musical notation, see Hiley 2009, especially 180–207; see also Hiley 1980. For a further occurrence of the four-staff notation in a liturgical manuscript, see Dobszay 2004, 89. By referring here to the four-line staff we do not rule out that some other kind of Western musical notation may occur in yet unstudied parts of the Konstamonitou palimpsest.

²⁶ See also Hiley 2009, 183 ('square or quadratic notation as standardized in Paris in the thirteenth century') and the penultimate column of his table on p. 182, entitled 'Eight medieval types of signs for notating chant'. In German, square notes are designated as '*Quadratnoten*', '*quadratische Neumen*', or '*Choralnoten*' (the term used by Wolfgang Waldstein). For a broad generic English term covering all the medieval signs for notating monodic melodies, Pfisterer simply recommends 'chant notes'.

longer, extending further up. This can be equally inferred from the upper margin of fol. 130^v, where the mutilated Latin *scriptio inferior* reaches up to the current edge of the leaf, from fol. 152^r and numerous other folios.

Not all the leaves of the palimpsest are easily legible and its content is heterogeneous, given that hymns written by other Christian authors also appear in it. In the left column of fol. 121^r, for instance, we can scrutinise a hymn pertaining to the liturgical services on Palm Sunday, also found in the *Liber responsalis*,²⁷ and in the adjacent right column on the same folio we can discern an Easter hymn attributed to St Ambrose of Milan (c. 340–397; the passage is reproduced in Fig. 4).²⁸

As we can see in Fig. 5, one can read in the left column of fol. 122^v, l. 12 of the *scriptio inferior* the words ‘tres dare terna’, which allow us to identify the hymn of St Fulbert of Chartres (c. 970–1028) entitled *In Epiphania Domini*.²⁹ On fol. 119^v, the clearly legible words ‘veniens sacratos ponere’ in the eighteenth line of the left column permit us to spot a hymn in honour of St John the Baptist attributed to the Christian historian Paul the Deacon (c. 720–c. 800; for the manuscript passage, see Fig. 6).³⁰ On fol. 112^r in the third line of the lower script, one can identify the words ‘Agnus Dei demonstrabat et illuminabat mentes hominum’ (Fig. 7), which reportedly occur on fol. 100^r in codex 2787 of the Biblioteca comunale Augusta of Perugia.³¹ These words are equally transmitted on fol. 67^r of the Codex Compendiensis and by numerous other witnesses of the Corpus Antiphonarium Officii. These codices partly belong to the monastic branch of the manuscript tradition³² and partly to the branch designated as the *cursus Romanus*.³³

27 See PL 78, 850 A.

28 See PL 17, 1203 and 86, 943 A.

29 See PL 141, 350 D and Blume 1922, 283: ‘Dum colunt unum, meminere trino / Tres dare terna. / Gloriam trinae monadi canamus’.

30 See PL 95, 1597 D.

31 On this manuscript it is worth scrutinising the exhibition catalogue Parmeggiani 2006.

32 St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 390–391; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh. 28; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 17296 and latin 12584; London, British Library, Add MS 30850; and Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, V 21.

33 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit. 23; Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, 106; Monza, Basilica di San Giovanni Battista – Biblioteca Capitolare e Tesoro, C. 12. 75; and Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XCIII.

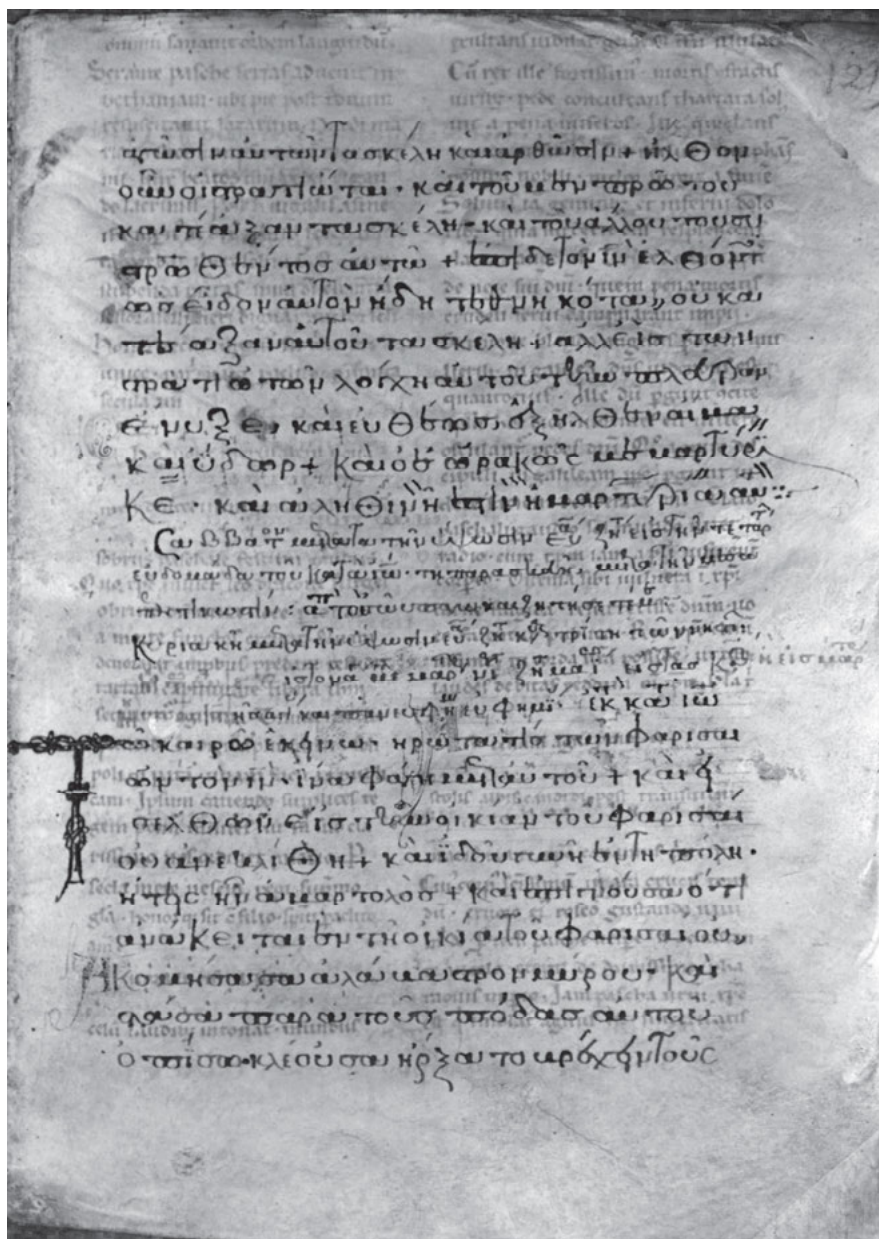


Fig. 4: Athos, Konstamonitou 99, fol. 121^r; © Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Κωνσταντινίου, Ἅγιον Ὄρος.

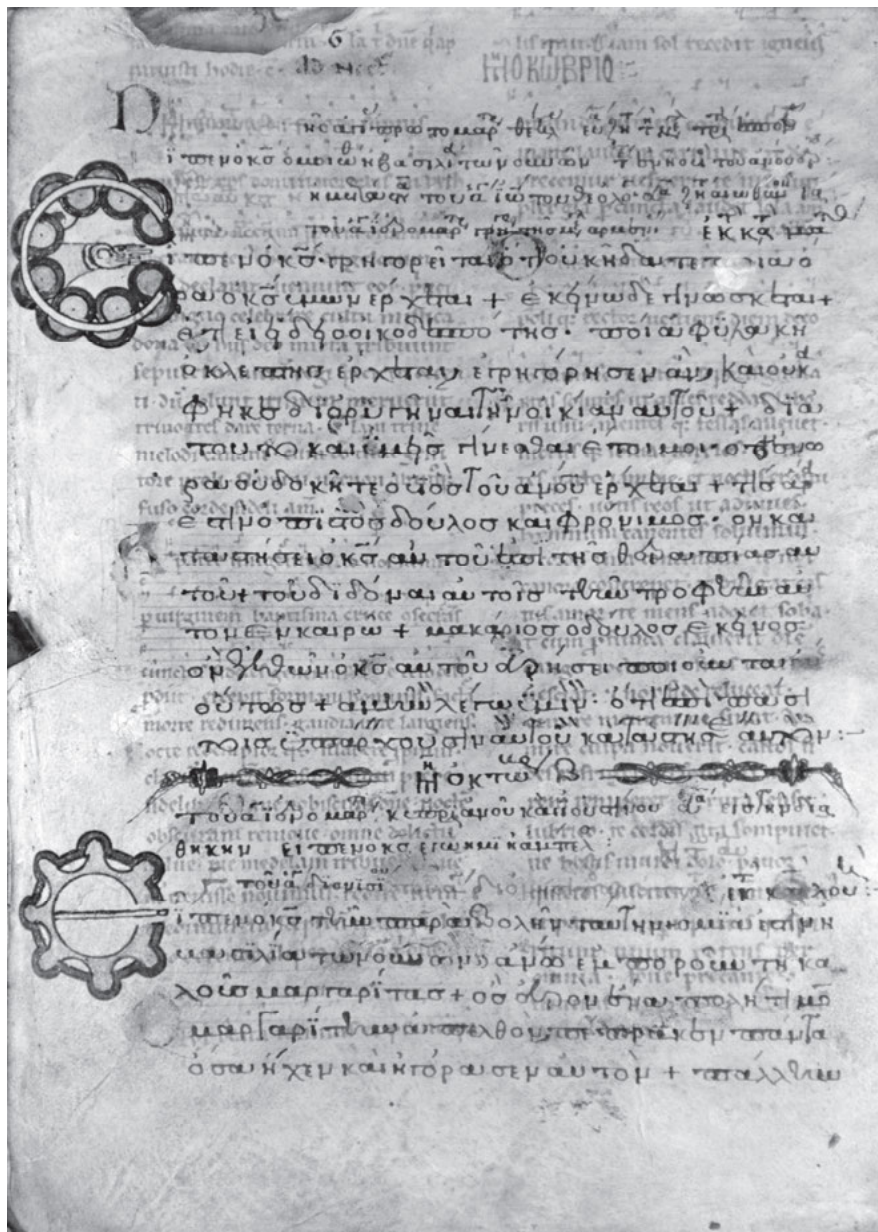


Fig. 5: Athos, Konstamonitou 99, fol. 122r; © Ιερά Μονή Κωνσταμονίτου, Άγιον Όρος.

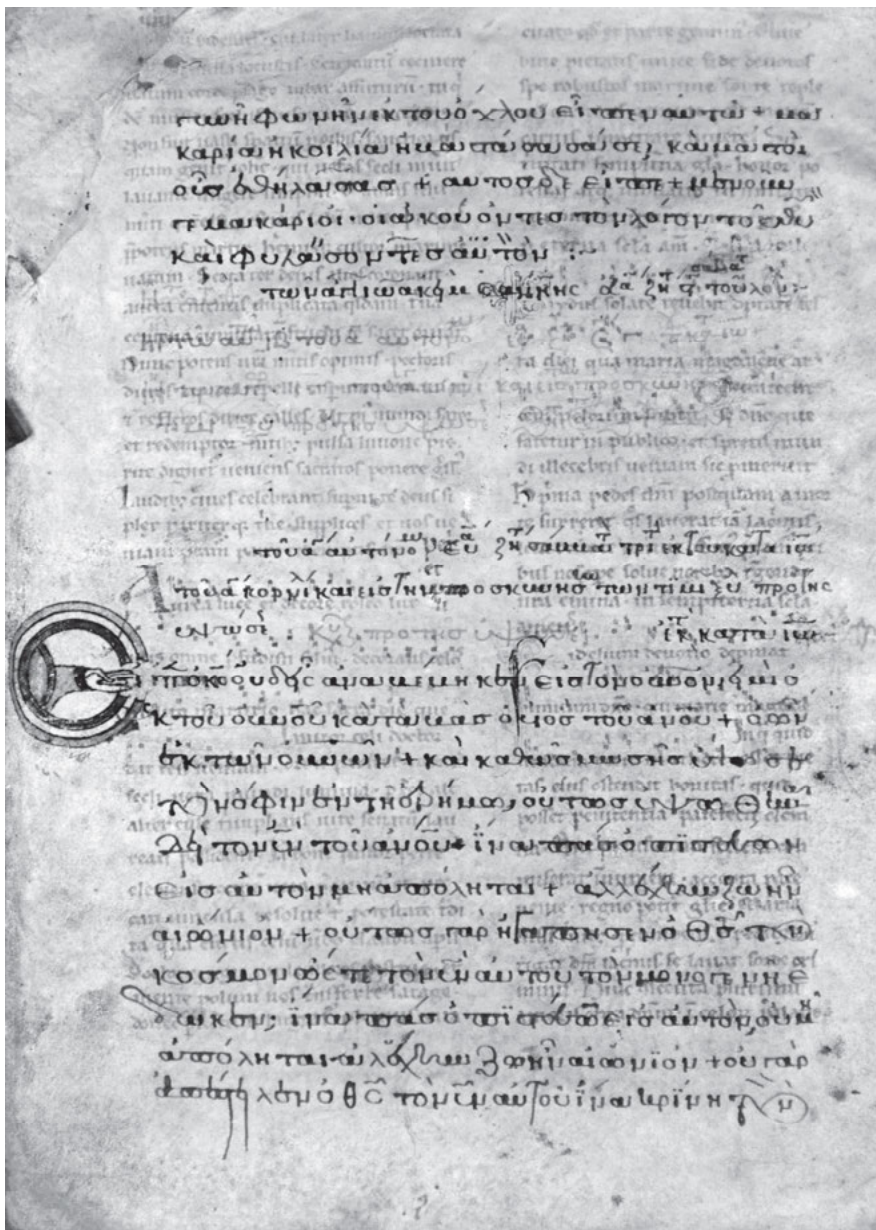


Fig. 6: Athos, Konstamonitou 99, fol. 119^v; © Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Κωνσταμονίτου, Ἅγιον Ὄρος.

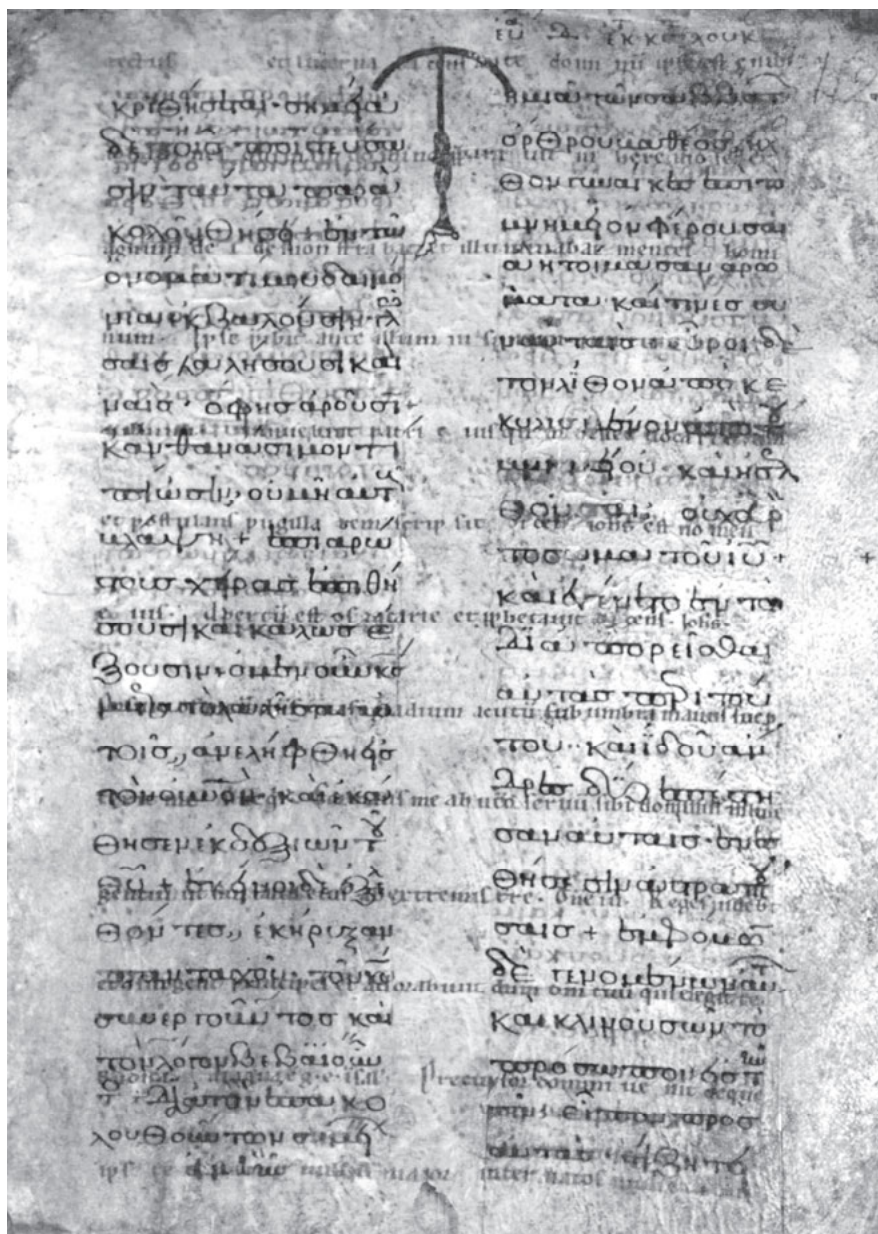


Fig. 7: Athos, Konstamonitou 99, fol. 112^r; © Ιερά Μονή Κωνσταμονίτου, Άγιον Όρος.

Fine compositions of other Christian hymnographers are equally present in the palimpsest; for example, one comes across verses of St Venantius Fortunatus (c. 535–c. 610) as well as of anonymous authors. It thus needs to be pointed out that this rich repository of Latin liturgical texts accompanied by musical notes, which has been unduly neglected for many decades, deserves to be investigated in greater detail.³⁴

Acknowledgements

My heartfelt thanks go to the manuscript owners, especially to the Right Reverend Abbot Haralambos of the Holy Monastery of Konstamonitou; to Dieter Harlfinger, who initiated this research within the framework of the *Rinascimento Virtuale* project; and to the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, which generously funded both the research campaign and the most expensive equipment used. Other pecuniary means were granted by the Gerda Henkel Foundation, Düsseldorf, and by the Paris office of the A. G. Leventis Foundation. To the British School at Athens, in particular to its successive directors John Bennet and Rebecca Sweetman, I am much obliged for support and encouragement. A special token of gratitude goes to the Vatican City, which gave me free and unrestricted access to some of its rich holdings. The dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at Düsseldorf University, Ulli Seegers, also deserves to be mentioned here with gratefulness. Moreover, it is a great pleasure to thank the organisers of the conference ‘Removed and Rewritten II’, especially Jost Gippert, who raised a series of very interesting questions. I would also like to acknowledge the invaluable suggestions of Andreas Pfisterer from the Research Unit *Corpus Monodicum* of the Mainz Academy of Sciences and Literature, located on the premises of the Institute of Musical Research at Würzburg University. Many thanks deservedly go to Jörg Trelenberg from the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, who took an active interest in the current project’s completion and provided additional support. In matters of image enhancement, I am highly indebted to Daniel Deckers from the Department of Classics, University of Hamburg. Furthermore, I must share my appreciation for

³⁴ Pfisterer, who has kindly examined fols 97^r–98^v in detail and compared their texts with the contents of other Latin musical manuscripts known to him, has finally identified numerous similarities with a codex held by Ghent University Library. It bears the shelf mark HSL.HS.BKT.006 and was penned by Premonstratensians. It should be noted that in the medieval period this Western ecclesiastical order was reportedly active not only in the Holy Land, but also on the territory of what now is modern Greece. To gain an insight into the methodology used in order to identify affiliations between mediaeval musical manuscripts see Pfisterer 2013, 149, n. 10.

Matthew Holford, from the Weston Library at the University of Oxford, and Laura Zazzerini, from the Ufficio Fondo Antico of the Biblioteca comunale Augusta of Perugia, for their kind assistance.

Abbreviations

PG = Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus ...*, *Series graeca*, vols 1–166, Paris: Imprimerie catholique, 1857–1866.

PL = Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus ...*, *Series latina*, vols 1–221, Paris: Imprimerie catholique, 1841–1855.

References

- Aland, Kurt, Michael Welte, Beate Köster and Klaus Junack (1994), *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd edn (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung, 1), Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Amand de Mendieta, Emmanuel (1972), *Mount Athos: The Garden of the Panaghia*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Barber, Charles Clyde (1972), *Codex Compendiensis: MS 17436 fonds latin of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Printed by the Congregation of St. Maur as Liber responsalis Gregorii Magni). An Exact Transcription of the Text of the Antiphoner (ff. 31v to 107r) with an Introduction and a Complete Index*, BD and DD thesis, University of Oxford.
- Blume, Clemens (ed.) (1922), *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, 55: *Thesauri hymnologici prosarium. Die Sequenzen des Thesaurus hymnologicus H. A. Daniels und anderer Sequenzenausgaben*, part 2, vol. 2: *Liturgische Prosen zweiter Epoche auf Feste der Heiligen*, Frankfurt am Main: Minerva.
- Bucca, Donatella (2011), *Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali greci del SS. Salvatore di Messina (Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria di Messina)*, Rome: Comitato Nazionale per le Celebrazioni del Millennio della Fondazione dell'Abbazia di S. Nilo a Grottaferrata.
- Christians, Dagmar, Hans Rothe and Evgenij Michajlovič Vereščagin (1996), *Gottesdienstmenäum für den Monat Dezember nach den slavischen Handschriften der Rus' des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1: *1. bis 8. Dezember* (Patristica Slavica, 2), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Courtonne, Yves (ed.) (1961), *Saint Basile, Lettres*, vol. 2, Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Cuthbert, Michael Scott, Sean Gallagher and Christoph Wolff (eds) (2013), *City, Chant, and the Topography of Early Music*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- de Gaiffier, Baudouin (1961), 'De l'usage et de la lecture du martyrologe : Témoignages antérieurs au XI^e siècle', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 79: 40–59.
- Dobszay, László (2004), 'Corpus Antiphonarum Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae', in David Hiley (ed.), *Die Erschließung der Quellen des mittelalterlichen liturgischen Gesangs*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 75–100.
- Dölger, Franz (1948), *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges: 115 Urkunden und 50 Urkundensiegel aus 10 Jahrhunderten* [im Auftrage und mit Unterstützung der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Textband, Tafelband], Munich: Münchner Verlag.

- Dölger, Franz, Edmund Weigand and Anton Deindl (1943), *Mönchsland Athos*, Munich: Bruckmann.
- Haefele, Hans F. (ed.) (1959), *Notker der Stammler, Taten Kaiser Karls des Großen [Notgeri Balbvli gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris]*, Berlin: Weidmann.
- Hesbert, René-Jean (1935), *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex: d'après le graduel de Monza et les antiphonaires de Rheinau, du Mont-Blandin, de Compiègne, de Corbie et de Senlis*, Brussels: Vromant.
- Hesbert, René-Jean (1963–1979), *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, vols 1–6, Rome: Herder.
- Hiley, David (1980), 'History of Western Notation', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 13, London: Macmillan, 344–354.
- Hiley, David (2009), *Gregorian Chant*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huber, Paul (1969), *Athos: Leben, Glaube, Kunst*, Zürich: Atlantis.
- Huglo, Michel (1986), 'L'antiphonaire: Archétype ou répertoire original?', in Jacques Fontaine, Robert Gillet and Stan Pellistrandi (eds), *Grégoire le Grand: [Actes du colloque international de] Chantilly, Centre culturel Les Fontaines, 15–19 septembre 1982*, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 661–669.
- Huglo, Michel and Joan Halmo (2001), 'Antiphon', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell (eds), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 1, London: Macmillan, 735–748.
- Jacobsson, Ritva (2000), 'The Antiphoner of Compiègne: Paris, BNF Lat. 17436', in Rebecca A. Baltzer and Margot E. Fassler (eds), *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, written in honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 147–178.
- Khatzêphôtēs, Iōannēs M. (2008), *Μονές του Αγίου Όρους*, vol. 1, Athens: Khelandion.
- Koutloumousianos ho Imbrios, Bartholomaïos (ed.) (2009), *Μηναῖον τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου: Περιέχον ἅπασαν τὴν ἀνῆκουσαν αὐτῷ*, 5th edn, Athens: Ekdotis tēs Apostolikes Diakonias tēs Ekklesias tēs Hellados.
- Lambros, Spyridon Paulos (1895), *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mateos, Juan (1971), 'La célébration de la Parole dans la Liturgie Byzantine: Étude historique', *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 191: 7–26.
- McKinnon, James W. (ed.) (1989), *Music in Early Christian Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [repr. 1999].
- Meyer, Philipp (1894), *Die Haupturkunden der Athosklöster: Grösstentheils zum ersten Male herausgegeben und mit Einleitungen versehen*, Leipzig: Hinrichs [repr. 1965].
- Nowacki, Edward (1994), 'Antiphon', in Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik begründet von Friedrich Blume*, vol. 1: A–Bog, *Sachteil*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 636–660.
- Oikonomidēs, Nicolas (ed.) (1978), *Actes de Kastamonitou: Texte et planches* (Archives de l'Athos, 9), Paris: Lethielleux.
- Parmeggiani, Claudia (2006), *Canto e colore: I corali di San Domenico di Perugia nella Biblioteca comunale Augusta (XIII–XIV sec.), 11 marzo – 17 aprile 2006, Perugia, Sala Lippi, Unicredit Banca*, Catalogo, Perugia: Volumnia.
- Pentzikēs, Gabriēl N. (2003), *Ἄγιον Όρος*, vol. 2, Athens: Explorer.
- Pertusi, Agostino (1963), 'Monasteri e monaci italiani all'Athos nell' Alto Medioevo', in *Le millénaire du Mont Athos 963–1963: Études et mélanges*, vol. 1, Chevetogne: Éditions de Chevetogne, 217–251.
- Pfisterer, Andreas (2013), 'Easter Vigil Canticles from Italy', in Cuthbert, Gallagher and Wolff 2013, 145–164.
- Phountoulēs, Iōannēs (1966), 'Μηναλόγιον', in *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἠθική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, vol. 8, Athens: Athanasios Martinos, 1125.
- Rankin, Susan (2013), 'Beyond the Boundaries of Roman-Frankish Chant: Alcuin's *De laude Dei* and Other Early Medieval Sources of Office Chants', in Cuthbert, Gallagher and Wolff 2013, 229–264.
- Riley, Athelstan (1887), *Athos or the Mountain of the Monks*, London: Longmans, Green and Co. [repr. 2012].

- Royé, Stefan (2013), 'The coenobitic Τυτικόν and Principles of Liturgical Codex Composition: The Liturgical Context of the Collection of Byzantine Manuscripts of Mone Karakallou', in Klaas Spronk, Gerard Rouwhorst and Stefan Royé (eds), *Challenges and Perspectives: Collected Papers Resulting from the Expert Meeting of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts Programme Held at the PthU in Kampen, the Netherlands on 6th–7th November 2009*, Turnhout: Brepols, 235–270.
- Smyrnakēs, Gerasimos (1903), *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὅρος*, Athens: Panselēnos [repr. 2005].
- Speake, Graham (2000), 'Athos, Mount: Principal Centre of Orthodox Monasticism', in *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition*, London: Taylor and Francis, 197–201.
- Thēsauroi* (1997), *Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους / Κατάλογος ἐκθέσης*, 2nd edn, Thessaloniki: Ypourgeio Politismou.
- Waldstein, Wolfgang (1974), 'Neuentdeckte Bruchstücke der Epanagoge cum Prochiro composita: Eine Palimpsesthandschrift der Klosterbibliothek Lavra', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 23: 145–178.
- Weakland, Rembert George (2003), 'Antiphon', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn, vol. 1, Detroit, MI: Thomson Gale, 529.
- Welte, Michael (2009), 'Palimpseste des griechischen Neuen Testaments', in Véronique Somers (ed.), *Palimpsestes et éditions de textes: les textes littéraires, Actes du colloque tenu à Louvain-la-Neuve (septembre 2003)*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters, 17–52.

