

Patriarchal Lectionaries of Constantinople: A New Criterion for the *Encaenia*

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Abstract

This article proposes a new definition of the Patriarchal lectionaries of Constantinople. First, the manuscript contains the text titled “Taxis kai Akolouthia” between the synaxarion and menologion parts as noted by J. Lowden and R.S. Nelson. Second, its menologion part adopts the following *encaenia* (dedication of church/ monastery): 21 Sep. “Hyperagia Theotokos en te Petra”; 31 Oct. “Egkainia tou eukteriou tes hyperagias Theotokou tou en to Patriarcho”; 4 Nov. “Hyperagia Theotokos en tois Kyrou”; 5 Nov. “Egkainia tou Theodorou en tois Sphorakiou”; 1 Dec. “Egkainia tou naou tou Palatiou”; 18 Dec. “Egkainia ton Chalkoprateion”; 1 May. “Egkainia tes Neas Basilikes Ekklesias” (21 Sep. and 4 Nov. without the word *encaenia*). These churches have been under the control of the Patriarchate at that time, and some manuscripts of the Patriarchal lectionaries would have been used in these churches.

The author has surveyed approximately 400 lectionary manuscripts and found entries of *encaenia* for specific churches or monasteries, except Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, in 70 manuscripts. These new materials will be efficacious for research on the scriptoria and patrons in eleventh-century Constantinople.

Furthermore, this article hypothesizes that the dense illustration cycle of the prodigal son in the richly-illustrated Patriarchal lectionary, Venice IE gr.2, is, together with that in the Vatopedi lectionary, Sacristy Cod.3, the Patriarchal claim against the Roman Church after the Great Schism.

With the studies of J. Lowden⁽¹⁾ and R.S. Nelson⁽²⁾, the research on Patriarchal lectionaries in eleventh-century Constantinople has entered a new phase. In this article⁽³⁾, in which I will propose a new criterion for the Patriarchal character, by taking Lowden’s and Nelson’s studies as my starting point for discussion, I do not provide an overview of the research history. The definition of the Patriarchal lectionaries is, according to Nelson, “manuscripts made for the use of the patriarch of Constantinople in Hagia Sophia.”⁽⁴⁾ I submit a slightly modified definition: the Patriarchal lectionaries are manuscripts made for the use of the Patriarch of Constantinople *and other assistant clergies* in Hagia Sophia *and other churches under the control of the Patriarchate*. This modification explains that several manuscripts were produced in a short period of time in the second half of the eleventh century⁽⁵⁾, which we will discuss later.

Two evaluation criteria for Patriarchal lectionaries have been maintained: the double pericopes for the fourth Sunday in the Lukan section with the short instruction mentioning a church synod⁽⁶⁾, and the text of the Patriarchal

(1) J. Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary: The Story of a Byzantine Book*, New York 2009.

(2) R.S. Nelson, “Patriarchal Lectionaries of Constantinople: History, Attributions, and Prospects,” in: D. Krueger, R.S. Nelson (eds.), *The New Testament in Byzantium*, Washington, D.C. 2016, 87-115.

(3) The draft was delivered on 26 February, 2020, at the series of lectures “ο κόσμος των εικονογραφημένων βυζαντινών χειρογράφων” (Department of History and Archaeology of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki/ Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies), at the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies (Monastery of Vlatadon) in Thessaloniki. A special gratitude I give to Professor A.G. Semoglou who gave me the opportunity for the lecture, and to Professor Ch. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, my former supervisor.

(4) Nelson, 89.

(5) Nelson notes that “the patriarchal lectionary appears to be a phenomenon of the eleventh century and somewhat later.” Nelson, 108.

manual titled “Τάξις καὶ ἀκολουθία” (“Order and Office”)⁽⁷⁾ before 1 September, the beginning of the *menologion*. I think that only the latter is effective, because two typical Patriarchal manuscripts, Paris.gr. 286 and Venice, Istituto Ellenico gr. 2, do not adopt the former.

Furthermore, Nelson added sixteen “diagnostic calendar entries” in the *menologion*⁽⁸⁾ for the patriarchal character⁽⁹⁾:

- 25 Sept. Litany of the Kampos, referring to a procession to the Hebdomon, outside the city walls, where the patriarch read the lection
- 26 Oct. St. Demetrios and commemoration of great earthquake
- 31 Oct. Dedication of an oratory of Theotokos in patriarchate
- 1 Dec. Dedication of a naos in Palace
- 18 Dec. Dedication of Chalkoprateia
- 22 Dec. Opening of Hagia Sophia
- 23 Dec. Dedication of Hagia Sophia
- 1 May. Dedication of Imperial Nea Basilica in Palace
- 11 May. Birthday of Constantinople, normally referred to as “the city”
- 5 Jun. Litany of the Kampos
- 16 Jul. A lengthy text about the 4th and 5th Ecumenical Church Councils with instructions about its celebration in Hagia Sophia
- 31 Jul. Adoration of the Holy Cross
- 16 Aug. Deposition of the Mandylion
- 31 Aug. Deposition of the Virgin’s girdle at the Chalkoprateia

Among them, I believe, the entries for 31 October, 1 December, 18 December, and 1 May are valid, while the other ten can be found in many non-Patriarchal manuscripts. The manuscripts with the instructions of the rites performed on 25 Sept., 22 and 23 Dec., 11 May, 5 Jun., 16 Jul., and 16 Aug. can be Constantinopolitan, but they are not necessarily Patriarchal. The rites on 26 Oct. and 31 Aug. are found almost in all lectionaries, even in local products. However, it is important that Nelson noted the dedication (*encaenia/ ἐγκαίνια*) of particular churches, though he missed some other churches.

The *Encaenia* in the Gospel Lectionaries

The majority of the number of the lectionary manuscripts is ready-made for use in any church or monastery, rather than made for a specific church or monastery. In such manuscripts, the chapter of the lection for various commemorations and feasts (*ἐναγγέλια ἀναγινωσκόμενα εἰς διαφόρους μνήμας καὶ παννυχίδας*) is placed at the end of the manuscript; at its beginning, it says “for dedication of church (*εἰς ἐγκαίνια ναοῦ*), see 22 Dec., or 29 Jun”. On 22 Dec., they celebrate the opening of Hagia Sophia (*ἀνοίξια τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας*) with the reading of Jn. 10:22-30, which includes the phrase of “and now the Dedication feast was taking place at Jerusalem (*Ἐγένετο τότε τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις*).” On 29 Jun., the feast for St. Peter and St. Paul, the lection of Mt. 16:13-19 is read; Christ declares there that “it is upon this rock that I will build my church (*ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*),” suitable text for the dedication of church. In many manuscripts, at the end of Mt. 16:18 of the feast on

(6) Οὕτως μὲν ἀναγινώσκειται καὶ τελεῖται εἰς τὰς ἕξω ἐκκλησίας· εἰς δὲ τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν· τὰ ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει οὐ λέγεται· ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐν ὑπομονῇ προστίθεται ταῦτα· ἀρχὴ τῆς συνόδου. C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, vol.1, Leipzig, 1900, 355; Nelson, 91 et al.

(7) Lowden, 28-31 with English translation. See Appendix in this article.

(8) For the *menologion* (immovable feasts) of the Patriarchal lectionary, see T. Masuda, “Establishment of the Patriarchal Menologion in the Eleventh- and Twelfth- Century Constantinople” (introduction in Japanese, list of the calendar in English), *Waseda Institute for Advanced Study Research Bulletin*, 5 (2013), 117-33. Note that the selections of the saints are slightly different between Paris.gr. 286 and Venice, gr. 2, as described in the article. https://waseda.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=repository_uri&item_id=27267&file_id=162&file_no=1

(9) Nelson, 94.

29 Jun., the note “the end of the dedication (τέλος τῶν ἐγκαίνιων)” is written for the practical use.

Some dedications are mentioned even in the ready-made manuscripts. On 13 Sep., they commemorate the proskynesis of the Holy Wood and St. Kornelios the Centurion; quite a number of manuscripts add the dedication of the Anastasis church in Jerusalem (ἐγκαίνια τῆς ἀγίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναστάσεως). The continuous celebration of Hagia Sophia is held on 22 and 23 Dec., the opening (ἀνοίξια, Jn. 10:22-30) and the dedication (ἐγκαίνια, Mt 16:13-19). Many manuscripts adopt the feasts, and their inclusion does not provide the characteristics of the manuscript.

Other proper names of the famous churches of the Virgin also appear on the calendar of the lectionaries. The celebration of the deposition of the Virgin’s maphorion is held on 2 Jul. in her church in Blachernai (καταθέσια τῆς τιμίας ἐσθήτος [/ τοῦ μαφορίου] τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἐν τοῖς Βλαχέρναις). The deposition of the Virgin’s girdle in the church of Chalkoprateia (καταθέσια τῆς ζώνης τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἐν τοῖς Χαλκοπρατείοις [καὶ ἐγκαίνια]) is commemorated on 31 Aug. Most manuscripts adopt these feasts, though many of them omit the phrase “and dedication (καὶ ἐγκαίνια)” on 31 Aug. Except for four entries mentioned above, the dedication and other references to specific churches offer information about the origin of the manuscript. I have surveyed approximately 400 lectionary manuscripts to collect the entry of dedication (ἐγκαίνια); it is obvious that the Patriarchal lectionaries have notable features of the *encaenia* [Table 1⁽¹⁰⁾].

Dedications of the Specific Churches

The concrete criteria for the Patriarchal lectionary are, in addition to the text of *Taxis kai Akolouthia* before the immovable feasts, the dedications and references of the following churches:

21 Sep. Hyperagia Theotokos en te Petra⁽¹¹⁾

31 Oct. Egkainia tou eukteriou tes hyperagias Theotokou tou en to Patriarcheio⁽¹²⁾

4 Nov. Hyperagia Theotokos en tois Kyrou⁽¹³⁾

5 Nov. Egkainia tou Theodorou en tois Sphorakiou⁽¹⁴⁾

1 Dec. Egkainia tou naou tou Palatiou⁽¹⁵⁾

18 Dec. Egkainia ton Chalkoprateion⁽¹⁶⁾

1 May. Egkainia tes Neas Basilikes Ekklesias⁽¹⁷⁾

On the day of the dedication of the Chapel of Theotokos in the Patriarchate (31 Oct.), the celebration of the

(10) Cambridge University Library, Dd.8.23 (no.2) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct.T inf.2.7 (no.4) are studied by Lowden (32-33, Table 4). Nelson (111) has missed that Vatopedi 7 (no.6) is Patriarchal, which is from the second half of the eleventh century, not the first half of the twelfth century. Most probably, the Kiev Lectionary, Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Ф.301 (KDA), 23 л, with the text of *Taxis kai Akolouthia* (see infra, n. 55) is Patriarchal, which I could not access. As well, I have no access to Moscow, State Historical Museum, gr. 225. The manuscripts, Athos, Vatopedi 7, Munich, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek gr.621, and Paris, gr.294, are published here for the first time as Patriarchal and related lectionaries. On the Munich manuscript, see F. Berger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, vol. 9, Wiesbaden 2014, 172-77 (11th century, miniatures 13/14th century). <https://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/0007/bsb00078284/images/index.html?id=00078284&groesser=&fip=eayawewqewqytssdaseayayzts&no=4&seite=1>, accessed 9 May, 2020.

The Munich manuscript lacks the first two-thirds of the calendar, but it is certain that it is a Patriarchal lectionary due to the text *Taxis kai Akolouthia*. It seems likely that the miniatures belong to the sixteenth-century addition. The twelfth-century lectionary Cod. 48 of Benaki Museum, Athens, includes miniatures of the post-Byzantine addition. The eleventh-century illustrated lectionary Paris.Suppl. gr. 27 partly contains post-Byzantine miniatures. The phenomenon of adding illustrations in the post-Byzantine era (probably in the sixteenth century) to Middle-Byzantine lectionary manuscripts is a subject worth considering.

(11) R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. 1: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. 3, Les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1969², 223; R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, Paris 1964, 406-07.

(12) Janin, 217.

(13) Janin, 193-95; Janin, *CPB*, 378-79.

(14) Janin, 152-53; Janin, *CPB*, 428-29. The church of St. Theodore was served by the clergies of Hagia Sophia. R. Browning, “The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century,” *Byzantion* 32-1 (1962), 172-73.

(15) Janin, 208.

(16) Janin, 237-42.

(17) Janin, 361-64.

holy head of St. Aberkios, deposited in the chapel, is also executed. The Patriarchal lectionaries commemorate St. Aberkios on 22 Oct. with the *orthros* and the *leitourgia* exceptionally for the minor saint.

Note that the references to the Petra and the Kyrou Churches are not the dedication, but just “*hyperagia Theotokos*”; the former dedication is unknown to us,⁽¹⁸⁾ and the latter is on 5 May.⁽¹⁹⁾ The Patriarchal lectionaries did not adopt their dedications. The two feasts of the Petra and the Kyrou Churches seem to have been the *panegyria* of the Virgin’s icons⁽²⁰⁾ executed mainly by the Patriarchate, though neither the typicon of Hagia Sophia nor the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*⁽²¹⁾ adopted them. All the churches were under the control of the Patriarchate or had close connection with it. As the Patriarchal lectionaries are for the churches listed above, as well as for Hagia Sophia, this should explain the fact that several manuscripts had been produced in a short time during the second half of the eleventh century.

Which dedications are embraced in other manuscripts? If a lectionary manuscript adopts a specific singular dedication, we can assume that it has been produced exclusively for the church/ monastery that is the subject of the dedication. The famous manuscript of Sinai.gr. 204, which features full-page miniatures of excellent quality, commemorates the memory of Hosios Petros on 7 Feb., and the dedication of [the church] of Theotokos of our own monastery (τὰ ἐγκαίμια τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς καθ’ ἡμῶν(ν) μονῆς) on 10 May.⁽²²⁾ The Sinai Lectionary was ordered by the monastery of Theotokos, which had been founded by the otherwise unknown Hosios Petros.⁽²³⁾ However, approximately 70 of 400 manuscripts I surveyed have characteristic dedications. Here I will present two methods of analysis.

Holy Sepulcher (13 Sep.) and Hagia Sophia (22 and 23 Dec.) are special churches in Eastern Christendom, and many manuscripts celebrate their dedications. Likewise, the deposition of the Virgin’s maphorion in Blachernai (2 Jul.) and the deposition of the Virgin’s girdle in Chalkoprateia (31 Aug.) are great feasts for Eastern Orthodoxy; thus, almost all lectionaries adopt these two feasts. But the manuscripts that mention the feast of the Virgin at Petra (21 Sep.) and at Kyrou (4 Nov.) are rare, and in my impression, these manuscripts, including the Patriarchal lectionaries, are of high quality. If we consider that these two feasts are related to the intention of patrons, the classification as follows is possible [Table 1] : mss no. 1-7 are **Patriarchal**, no. 9-15 can be regarded as belonging to **the Petra-Kyrou- Sphorakiou- Chalkoprateia group**, no. 16-26 as belonging to **the Petra- Kyrou group**, no. 27-43 as belonging to **the Petra group**, no. 44-53 as belonging to **the Chalkoprateia- Pege**⁽²⁴⁾ **group**, no. 54-59 as belonging to **the Chalkoprateia group**, and no. 65-70 as belonging to **the Blachernai group**.

On the other hand, if we exclude the two feasts of the Virgin at Petra and at Kyrou, the classification will be simpler [Table 2] : mss no. 9-15 and 44 are in **the Sphorakiou- Chalkoprateia group**, no. 17-22, 27-29 and 64

(18) Janin, 223. According to the typicon of the Great Church, the synaxis of Theotokos is held in the Old Petra Church on Wednesday after the Pentecost. J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la grande église*, vol. 2, Roma 1963, 146. The lectionary Sinai.gr. 288 commemorates *Mneme tes Panagias Theotokou en te Palaia Petra* on 21 Sep.

(19) H. Delehay, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Brussels 1902, 659-60, note for 5 May; Mateos, vol. 1, Roma 1962, 282. The lectionary Sinai.gr. 293 adopts the dedication of the Kyrou Church on 5 May.

(20) The richly illustrated lectionary, Vat.gr. 1156, represents different kinds of Marian iconography for the two feasts (ff. 253v (the Virgin in Orans), and 264v (the Virgin with her right hand holding something and her left hand spreading at the chest). https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1156, accessed 8 April, 2020. The surviving frescoes of the Virgin Kyriotissa in Kalenderhane Camii are different from the image in Vat.gr. 1156. C.L. Striker, Y. Doğan Kuban (eds.), *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: the buildings, their history, architecture, and decoration*, Mainz 1997, 124-26; 142-43 (review by C. Mango, in *BZ* 91 (1998), 586-90). The authors of the final report of Kalenderhane Camii identify the monument as *Theotokos Kyriotissa*. The relationship between *Theotokos Kyriotissa* and *Theotokos en tois Kyrou* or *ton Kyrou* is uncertain. See Janin, 193; *ODB*, 1093, s.v. “Kalenderhane Camii,” (C. Mango). On the iconography of the Virgin Kyriotissa, see also G. Galavaris, “The Mother of God of the Kanikleion,” *GRBS* 2 (1959), esp. 180; A. Weyl Carr, “Gospel Frontispieces from the Comnenian Period,” *Gesta* 21-1 (1982), 4-5; B. Pentcheva, “Visual Textuality: The “Logos” as Pregnant Body and Building,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 45 (2004), 225-38.

(21) Delehay, *Syn CP*.

(22) K. Weitzmann, G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, vol.1, Princeton 1990, no. 18, 42-47; E. Schwartz, “Iconographic Variation in a Tenth-century Evangelion,” *DChAE* 4-31 (2010), 87-90.

(23) Weitzmann-Galavaris, 45. The analysis of the lectionaries with specific dedications will be done in my following article.

(24) On the church of Theotokos in Pege, see J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance: recherches sur les anciens trésors des églises de Constantinople*, Paris 1921, 61-65; Janin, 223-28; Janin, *CPB*, 451-52.

are in the **Nea Ekklesia group**, no.45-53 are in the **Chalkoprateia- Pege group**, no. 16, 41, and 54-59 are in the **Chalkoprateia group**, no. 42, 43, 62 and 63 are in the **Pege group**, and no. 65-70 are in the **Blachernai group**. In both categories, the Blachernai Group is well established. The Blachernai Church may have had a strong independence from the Patriarchate. From here on, it will be the fields for paleographers and codicologists, not for art historians. I will provide some remarks.

Among the pattern of the dedications of the Patriarchal lectionaries, the Paris.gr. 294, a manuscript of humble quality, is from the twelfth century, and without the text of *Taxis kai Akolouthia*. Probably, the scribe of Paris.gr. 294 had copied faithfully the Patriarchal calendar, but had judged that the manual of the rites for the Patriarchate, *Taxis kai Akolouthia*, was unnecessary.

The manuscript of good quality, Duke University, Clark 12, belongs to the Petra- Kyrou group according to Table 1, and the Nea Ekklesia group according to Table 2; it contains the peculiar instruction at the beginning of the *menologion* (1 Sept.):

+Μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ ἀ΄ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἰνδίκτου καὶ μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Συμεῶν τοῦ στυλίτου, καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ἐμπρημοῦ: Γίνεται δὲ καὶ σὺναξις τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἐν τοῖς Χαλκοπρατείσις ὑπὲρ Μιασινῶν: Τάξις γινομένη ἐν τῷ Φόρω εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἰνδίκτου: Δέον γινώσκειν ὅτι μετὰ τὸ ἀνελθεῖν τὸν Πατριάρχην ἐν τῷ Φόρω, μετὰ τῆς λιτῆς, καὶ ρηθεῖναι τὰ τρία ἀντίφωνα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγνώστων καὶ δοξάσαι, πάντων σιωπῶντων, ἀναφωνῆ ὁ Πατριάρχης, τὰς αἰτήσεις ταύτας: Ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς καταστάσεως καὶ εὐσταθείας ταύτης τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἐνώσεως εἴπωμεν: Ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ θεοφυλάκτων ἡμῶν βασιλέων. παντὸς τοῦ Παλατίου καὶ τοῦ στρατοπαίδου αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ συντριβῆναι τὸν σατανὰν ἐντάχει ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν, εἴπωμεν *Κύριε ἐλέησον*: Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄσιστον καὶ ἄφλεκτον καὶ ἀνέμακτον διαφυλαθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν, εἴπωμεν *Κύριε ἐλέησον*: Καὶ ἢθ' οὕτως κατασφραγίζει τὸν λαὸν τρίτον, καὶ γίνεται ἡ ἀκολουθία: Καὶ ἐν μεν τῷ Φόρω, καὶ εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην Ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναγινώσκειται εὐαγγέλιον:

Though the manuscript is not Patriarchal, we recognize that its patron had a very close connection with the Patriarchate. It is often difficult, analyzing the *encaenia*, to determine whether we are dealing with the issue of patron or scriptorium. In Tables, there are several manuscripts with colophon from which we can know the date and scribe of the manuscript. For example, Paris.Suppl.gr. 1096 (no.19)⁽²⁵⁾, in the **Petra- Kyrou** or **Nea Ekklesia group**, includes the colophon, which says that the manuscript was made by the hand of Grammatikos Petros of the *schole* at Chalkoprateia in 1070. The scribe Petros did not adopt the dedication of the Chalkoprateia Church. Did Petros belong to the scriptorium of Chalkoprateia and make the lectionary for the use of Nea Ekklesia?

To take a manuscript with colophon and without the dedications as an example, British Library, Add. 36751 was completed in 1008 by the hand of the monk Theophanes of the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos.⁽²⁶⁾ Though there is no entry of the dedication, which means that we have no information about the patron, the selection of the saints in the *menologion* portion is considerably different from the Patriarchal lectionaries; to cite main differential, Add. 36751 chooses Proklos on 24 Oct. (adding to Arethas); Chrysanthos-Dareias on 4 Jan. (instead of 70 Apostles); Ioudas on 14 May (instead of Isedoros); Iakobos Alphaiou on 26 May (instead of Ioudas); Thaddaios on 19 Jun. (instead of Iezekiel and Zosimos). It may have been a calendar specialized for the Iviron Monastery.⁽²⁷⁾

The colophon may often confuse us about the origin of manuscripts. British Library, Add. 39602 (no. 10) was produced in 980, in Cappadocia.⁽²⁸⁾ From the *encaenia*, the manuscript can be regarded as belonging to the **Petra- Kyrou- Sphorakiou- Chalkoprateia group**, or to the **Sphorakiou- Chalkoprateia group**. Why does a manuscript

⁽²⁵⁾ I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, Leiden 1981, no.89, 29; Browning (n.14), 172.

⁽²⁶⁾ K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, vol.2, Boston 1934, no.67, pls.121-23; Spatharakis, *Corpus*, no.38, 17-18.

⁽²⁷⁾ On the Patriarchal calendar, see Masuda (n.8).

produced in Cappadocia include the dedications and feasts of the capital? Is it merely the case that the Cappadocian scribe had copied a Metropolitan manuscript? This may be an example of *epoche* in the manuscript studies, and we cannot determine, without other evidence, the exact origin of the manuscript.

I treat the manuscripts from eleventh or twelfth century in this article. Y. Sakurai has surveyed the calendar of twelve lectionaries from the Hodegon Monastery in the late Byzantine Constantinople.⁽²⁹⁾ Twelve calendars do not include specific dedications, and it seems that the intention of the patron is not reflected in the manuscripts. The same is true of the Palaiologina group.⁽³⁰⁾ The Palaiologan lectionaries are not a reservoir of information about the *encaenia*.

Characteristics of the Patriarchal Calendar

As described in the Patriarchal calendar⁽³¹⁾, two Patriarchal lectionaries, Paris.gr. 286 and Venice, IE gr. 2, have some differences. The Paris Lectionary seems to keep an earlier version of the calendar, and the Patriarchate has revised the calendar sometime in the second half of the eleventh century; the Venice Lectionary and other manuscripts have adopted the latter. One of the outstanding changes in the Venice version is the addition of Iconophile saints⁽³²⁾.

7 Sep. Daniel (hegoumenos Thasios)⁽³³⁾

7 Oct. Niketas Monomachos/ Patrikios

11 Oct. Theophanes the Poet/ Graptos⁽³⁴⁾

18 Jul. Theodosia (with the comment: μαρτυρησάσης ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων ἐπὶ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Κοπρονύμου)⁽³⁵⁾

17 Aug. Makaritos (with the comment: ἐπὶ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Κοπρονύμου μαρτυρήσαντος)⁽³⁶⁾

The noticeable feature of the Patriarchal calendar, common in both manuscripts, is the addition of recent uncanceled nine Patriarchs in the form of memory (*mneme*):

16 Dec. Nikolaos II Chrysoberges (r. 979-91)⁽³⁷⁾

5 Feb. Polyuktos (r. 956-70)

6 Feb. Photios (r. 858-67, 877-86)

12 Apr. Sergios II (*tou apo tes mones tou Manouel*)⁽³⁸⁾ (r. 1001-1019)

15 May. Nikolaos I Mystikos (*tou en Galakrinais*)⁽³⁹⁾ (r. 901-07, 912-25)

(28) Lake, vol.9, no.362, pls.672-73; Spatharakis, no. 21, 14; S. Pinto Madigan, "The Decoration of Arundel 547: some observations about 'metropolitan' and 'provincial' book illumination in tenth-century Byzantium," *Byzantion* 57 (1987), 336-59. For further bibliography, see http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?index=0&ref=Add_MS_39602, accessed 13 April, 2020.

(29) Y. Sakurai, "Synaxarion of the Hodegon Monastery," *Waseda RILAS Journal* 3 (2015), 113-42 (in Japanese, calendar in English). https://waseda.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=repository_uri&item_id=6023&file_id=162&file_no=1 On the scriptorium of the Hodegon Monastery, L. Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster 'tôn Hodegôn'," *BZ* 51 (1958), 17-36, 261-87. Recently, see the articles by E. Dobrynina. E.g., R. Etzeoglou, E. Dobrynina, "Το Ευαγγέλιο Syn. Gr. 225 του Ιστορικού Μουσείου της Μόσχας. Κωνσταντινούπολη – Μυστράς – Αγ. Όρος (?) – Μόσχα," in: V. Katsaros, A. Tourta (eds.), *Αφιέρωμα στον Ακαδημαϊκό Παναγιώτη Α. Βοκοτόπουλο*, Athens 2015, 381-90 (with bibliography).

(30) H. Buchthal, H. Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople: an atelier of late Byzantine book illumination and calligraphy*, Washington, DC 1978; R.S. Nelson, J. Lowden, "The Palaeologina Group: additional manuscripts and new questions," *DOP* 45 (1991), 59-68; Nelson, 113.

(31) See Masuda (n.8).

(32) The following Iconophile saints are commemorated in both versions: Theodore the Studite (11 Nov.), Stephanos Neos (28 Nov.), John Damaskenos (4 Dec.), Niketas (Hegoumenos of the Monastery Medikiou) (3 Feb. in Paris, 3 Apr. in Venice), 42 Martyrs in Amorion (6 Mar.), Joseph the Hymnographer (4 Apr.).

(33) *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, no. 1228.

(34) His brother Theodore Graptos is celebrated on 28 Dec. in both versions.

(35) Lowden, 112.

(36) Lowden, 114.

(37) Mneme Nikolaou Patriarchou Konstantinoupoleos

(38) Janin, 320-22.

- 27 May.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Stephanos I (r. 886-93, Venice only)
 31 May. Eustathios (r. 1019-25)⁽⁴¹⁾.
 18 Jul. Stephanou II of Amasea (r. 925–28)
 5 Aug. Euthymios I (r. 907-12, Venice only) Former hegoumenos of Mon. Psamatia⁽⁴²⁾

As a result, the Patriarchal lectionaries celebrate the following Patriarchs as a whole (Patriarchs in *Italics* indicate omissions)⁽⁴³⁾:

- Metrophanes (306-14) 4 Jun.
 Paul I Homologetes (337-51) 6 Nov.
 Nektarios (381-97) 11 Oct.
 John I Chrysostom (398-404) 13 Nov. (see also 27 Jan.)
 Arsakios of Tarsos (404-05) 11 Oct.
 Attikos (406-25) 11 Oct.
 Sisinnios (426-27) 11 Oct.
 Maximianos (431-34) 20 Nov. described as Maximos
 Proklos (434-46) 20 Nov.
 Phlabianos (446-49) 18 Feb.
 Anatolios (449-58) 20 Nov.
 Gennadios I (458-71) 20 Nov.
 John II of Cappadocia (518-20) 25 Aug.
 Epiphanius (520-35) 25 Aug.
 Menas (536-52) 25 Aug.
 Eutychios (552-65, 577-82) 6 Apr.
 John IV Nesteutes (582-95) 2 Sep.
 Kyriakos II (595-606) 30 Oct.
 Thomas I?⁽⁴⁴⁾ (607-10) 22 Feb.
 Paul III?⁽⁴⁵⁾ (688-94) 2 Sep.
 Germanos I (715-30) 12 May
(Iconoclastic controversy, first period: 730-87)
 Paul IV Neos (780-84) 30 Aug.
 Tarasios (784-806) 25 Feb.
 Nikephoros I (806-15) 2 Jun.; 13 Mar.
 (Iconoclastic controversy, second period: 814-43)
 Theodotos I Kassiteras (815–21)
 Antonios I (821–36)
 Ioannes VII Grammatikos (836–43)
 Methodios I (843-47) 14 Jun.
 Ignatios (847-58, 867-77) 23 Oct.
 Photios (858-67, 877-86) 6 Feb. [*mneme*]

⁽³⁹⁾ R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire Byzantin. 2: Les églises et les monastères des grands centres Byzantins: (Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique)*, Paris 1975, 40-42; Janin, *CPB*, 497-98; *ODB*, 815.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ In *Hagiologion*, he is celebrated on 18 May. Σ. Ευστρατιάδης, *Αριολόγιον της Ορθοδόξου εκκλησίας*, Athens n.d.

⁽⁴¹⁾ V. Stankovic, "The Alexios Studites' Patriarchate," *ZRVI* 39 (2001/02), 69-87.

⁽⁴²⁾ *ODB*, 1754; Janin, 116-17; Janin, *CPB*, 418; Ph. Germanis, *The Patriarch of Constantinople Euthymios I (907-912): life and work* (diss. in Greek), Thessaloniki 2014.

⁽⁴³⁾ See also Lowden, 34-35, Table 5.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ According to *Hagiologion*, Thomas I is commemorated on 19 or 21 Mar., and 18 Feb., and Thomas II (641–53) on 14 or 15 Nov.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ In the Patriarchal lectionaries, "Paulos *ho neos*" is celebrated twice, on 2 Sep. and 30 Aug. *Hagiologion* (378) considers him as Paul III, but usually "Paulos *ho neos*" is Paul IV.

Stephanos I (886-93) 27 May [*mneme*], Venetian addition
 Antonios II Kauleas (893-901) 12 Feb.
 Nikolaos I Mystikos (901-07, 912-25) 15 May [*mneme*]
 Euthymios I (907-12) 5 Aug. [*mneme*], Venetian addition
 Stephanos II (925–28) 18 Jul. [*mneme*]
 Tryphon (928–31)
 Theophylaktos (933–56)
 Polyeuktos (956-70) 5 Feb. [*mneme*]
 Basileios I Skamandrenos (970–74)
 Antonios III (974–79)
 Nikolaos II Chrysoberges (979-91) 16 Dec. [*mneme*]
 Sisinnios II (996–99)
 Sergios II (1001-19) 12 Apr. [*mneme*]
 Eustathios (1019-25) 31 May [*mneme*]⁽⁴⁶⁾

We can confirm that, adding the recent important Patriarchs in the form of *mneme*, the continuity of the Patriarchate after the victory of Orthodoxy is emphasized. Some Patriarchs have been omitted for an uncertain reason.

In the Patriarchal calendar, the following feasts are celebrated both by the *orthros* and the *leitourgia*, and constitute evidence of an important feast. Of particular note is the emphasis on St. Aberkios.⁽⁴⁷⁾

8 Sep. Birth of the Virgin Mary
 14 Sep. Exaltation of the Cross
 22 Oct. St. Aberkios
 8 Nov. Synaxis of the Archangels
 13 Nov. St. John Chrysostom
 21 Nov. Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple
 25 Dec. Nativity of Christ
 6 Jan. Theophany (Baptism of Christ)
 25 Jan. St. Gregory the Theologian
 2 Feb. Presentation of Christ to the Temple
 25 Mar. Annunciation
 11 May. Birth of the City (Constantinople), litany instead of *orthros*
 24 Jun. Birth of St. John the Baptist
 29 Jun. St. Peter and Paul
 6 Aug. Transfiguration of Christ
 29 Aug. Beheading of St. John the Baptist

Relationship with the Roman Church

The donation by the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (r.1042-55) to the Patriarchate enabled the everyday liturgy in Hagia Sophia. This was the main reason why several Patriarchal lectionaries were produced in a short time in the second half of the eleventh century.⁽⁴⁸⁾ During the reign of Constantine, the Byzantines experienced another great event: the schism of the Eastern and Western Churches. Is it the case that the decision that Patriarch Michael I Keroularios (r. 1043-59) had made, the excommunication of the Pope, did not influence the sphere of religious art, or at least the richly-illustrated Patriarchal lectionary in Venice?⁽⁴⁹⁾

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Consequently, the year 1025 provides us *terminus post quem* for the Patriarchal calendar.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ See also Lowden, 37-38, Table 6.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Nelson, 96.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ A. Xyngopoulos, "Το ιστορημένον ευαγγέλιον του Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βενετίας," *Θησαυρίσματα* 1 (1962), 63-88. http://eib.xanthi.ilsp.gr/gr/showpic.asp?gotonumber=&vmagnification=300&picpath=0400_man_evangel13c_006_3v&curTable=manuscripts&curRecord=400&vorder=7&vmode=first, accessed 16 March 2020.

I would like to point to one notable feature in the iconographic program of the manuscript. The Venice Lectionary includes 96 narrative miniatures in the initial letters and margins, except for the headpiece with the *Deisis* (f.4r) [Fig. 4] and single figures in the initial letters. One pericope is basically visualized by one picture in the manuscript, but the extreme exception is the episode of the prodigal son (ff. 219r-220v: *Kyriake pro tes apokreo*, Lk. 15:11-32), which is narrated by eleven sequences:

1. Christ in the initial E which corresponds with “Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος”, designating that the whole parable is narrated by himself (219r);
2. The elder son is faithful to his father, but the younger son runs away from home (219r);
3. The younger son, being hungry, sits alone on the rock (219r);
4. The younger son regrets and weeps, “Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee” (219v);
5. Going back home, the younger son and the father embrace (219v);
6. The father gives the order to the servants to dress the younger son (219v);
7. A servant brings out a fat calf to kill (220r);
8. They began their merry-making (220r);
9. The elder son complains to his father that he has never made a party for the faithful son (220r);
10. The father soothes that all of his property belongs to his elder son (220r);
11. The father reconciles the elder son and the younger son (221r, the episode does not correspond to the Biblical text).

Given the obvious emphasis on the cycle of the prodigal son, what is the intention of the Patriarchate, the patron of the manuscript? The prodigal son who betrays his father is the figure of the Roman Church; the tolerant father, however, always awaits his return. This is, of course, merely a hypothetical interpretation without documental evidence, but another illustrated Gospel lectionary, though not a Patriarchal one, may provide evidence that corroborates my theory: Skevophylakion (Sacristy) cod. 3 in the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The Vatopedi Lectionary shares the emphasis on the cycle of the prodigal son with the Venice Lectionary. The former narrates the story in ten sequences differently from the latter:

1. The initial E includes three persons, the father sitting, the elder son extending his hand to the father, and the younger son turning away from the father (129v);⁽⁵¹⁾
2. With a fan, the younger son blows the man and woman who hug each other at the dining table (130r);
3. The younger son, now poor, is standing in front of a rich man sitting (130r);
4. The younger son is feeding swine (130r);
5. The father and the younger son are embracing (130v);
6. The younger son is dressing with the help of servants (130v);
7. A servant slaughters a calf (131r);
8. The father and the younger son are on a luxurious banquet table. It shows a person playing lyre, roasted animals, a wine vase, and so on (131r);
9. The elder son complains to his father (131r);
10. Conversation of two old men with white hair and beard; one on the right in red clothes raises his hands, and the other on the left in grey clothes crosses his hands at his chest, a gesture of repentance (131v).⁽⁵²⁾

The most interesting image in the Vatopedi Lectionary is Scene 10 of the reconciliation; the reconciliation should be made between the elder son and the father, or between the elder and younger sons, or, as in the Venice

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Ευχαριστώ θερμά τον πατ. Φίλιππο, τον βιβλιοθηκάριο της Ι. Μονής Βατοπεδίου, ο οποίος βοήθησε ευγενικά την έρευνά μου στη μονή. The manuscript has partly been published by S. Kadas, “The Illustrated Manuscripts,” in: *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopedi: Tradition- History- Art*, vol.2, Mount Athos 1998, 593-94, figs. 540-41; Lowden, 87, fig.99. List of illustrations, S. Kadas, *Τα εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα του Αγίου Όρους*, Thessaloniki 2008, 112, though the description of f.3r is mistaken. See also Nelson, 107-08.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Kadas (1998), 592, fig.540-e.

⁽⁵²⁾ Kadas (2008), 112, describes as “συνομιλία πατέρα με πρεσβύτερο υιό (father’s conversation with the eldest son)”, who overlooks the latter’s representation of white hair and beard.

Lectionary, among the three, the father, the elder son and the younger son. The Vatopedi Lectionary, however, represents two old men, suggesting the Eastern and the Western Churches. It goes without saying that reconciliation must be made by the Western Church's repentance from the standpoint of Constantinople.

Furthermore, the Vatopedi Lectionary places at the beginning of the manuscript, the headpiece representing the Trinity with the Orthodox interpretation (f.3r) [Fig. 1]. In the center of the square headpiece, the enthroned Ancient of Days is depicted. Around this, eight smaller medallions are arranged; among them, on the top is the Hetoimasia, and below the Ancient of Days, Christ Immanuel, looking up and pointing above with his right hand, is depicted. Placing the Hetoimasia, the symbol of the Holy Spirit, above the Ancient of Days, and Christ Immanuel below the Ancient of Days, the creator of the iconography emphasizes that the Holy Spirit does not appear through the Son, but directly from God the Father. Thus, the Vatopedi Lectionary tries to establish the Orthodox standpoint of anti-filioque after the Great Schism.

The Vatopedi Lectionary includes another half-page headpiece with the *Deisis* (f.67r, the beginning of the second part of the *synaxarion*, of Matthew) [Fig. 2]. A comprehensive image of two Vatopedi headpieces can be found in the so-called Meleniko (Melnik) Lectionary at Athens (cod. 2645, f.1r) [Fig. 3].^[53] The Patriarchal Venice Lectionary has many elements in common with them [Fig. 4]. Perhaps from the standpoint of three aspects of Christ (Immanuel, Pantokrator, the Ancient of Days), we should consult the headpieces of the Paris Gospels, Cod.Paris.gr. 74.^[54] The iconography of the headpiece in the Byzantine Gospel lectionary is, however, a matter for another paper.

As evident in the Vatopedi and Venice Lectionaries, the parable of the prodigal son, in later-eleventh-century Constantinople, is a visual claim of the Orthodox Church against the Roman Church. Although the audience of the manuscripts was quite limited, the two surviving examples of the cycle of the prodigal son^[55] suggest that the connotation of the iconography was recognized by the inhabitants of Constantinople.

[53] <https://digitalcollections.nlg.gr/nlg-repo/dl/en/browse/3691>; http://www.csntm.org/manuscript/View/GA_Lect_1808, both accessed 8 April 2020. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, *Το Ευαγγέλιον του Μελενίκου εις Εθνικήν Βιβλιοθήκην Αθηνών*, Thessaloniki 1975; A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou, X. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, vol.1, Athens 1978, no.34, 139-49, fig.314.

[54] <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105494556?rk=42918;4>, accessed 8 April, 2020. Just to cite a few: S. Der Nersessian, "Recherche sur les miniatures du Parisinus Graecus 74," *JÖB* 21 (1972), 109-17; Sh. Tsuji, "The Headpiece Miniatures and Genealogy Pictures in Paris. Gr. 74," *DOP* 29 (1975), 167-203; G. Galavaris, *The Illuminations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels*, Vienna 1979, 93ff.; T. Masuda, "Picturization of John 1:1-18 in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration," *Aesthetics (The Japanese Society for Aesthetics)* 6 (1994), 59-72.

[55] We should add here the Paris Gospels, Cod.Paris.gr. 74 (ff.143r-v), which depicts the parable in seven sequences.

Appendix: Τάξις καὶ ἀκολουθία⁽⁵⁶⁾

γινόμενη τῇ α΄ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἰνδίκτου ἄπερχομένης τῆς λιτῆς ἐν τῷ Φόρω καὶ καθ' ἑξῆς:

Μετὰ τὸν ὄρθρον κατέρχεται ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ εἰσέρχεται διὰ τῆς πλαγίας ἐν τῷ ἱερατείῳ καὶ γίνεται εὐχὴ συναπτῆς πλὴν οὐ λέγει ὁ διάκονος *Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα* ἀλλ' οὕτως ἄρχεται *Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν*:

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐκφωνῆσαι τὸν ἀρχιερέα ἢ τὸν ἱερέα καὶ εἰρηνεῦσαι αὐτὸν οὐ λέγει *Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ κλίνομεν* ὁ διάκονος ὁ ποιήσας τὴν συναπτὴν ἀλλ' ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος ἰστάμενος ὀπίσω τοῦ ἀρχιερέως οἱ δὲ ψάλται λέγουσιν ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι ἕναρξιν τὸ μέγα τρισάγιον τοῦτο ψάλλεται μέχρι τοῦ Φόρου καὶ ὅτε ἀνέλθῃ ἡ λιτὴ ἐν τῷ Φόρω δοξάζουσιν οἱ ψάλται τὸ αὐτὸ τρισάγιον καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι τοῦτο καὶ τὸν λαὸν ποιεῖ ὁ διάκονος εὐχὴν ἀντιφώνου μὴ λέγει *Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα* ἀλλ' *Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν* καὶ γίνονται **ἀντίφωνα γ'**

Τὸ α'· *Μακάριος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν* [Ps 1:1]· *Ἀντιλαβοῦ μου, Κύριε. Στίχος β'*· *Καὶ ἐν ὁδοῖς ἀμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἔστι* [Ps 1:1]· *Ἀντιλαβοῦ μου, Κύριε. Στίχος γ'*· *Ὅτι γινώσκει Κύριος ὁδὸν δικαίων* [Ps 1:6]· *Ἀντιλαβοῦ μου, Κύριε. Στίχος δ'*· *Καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολεῖται* [Ps 1:6]· *Ἀντιλαβοῦ μου, Κύριε. Δόξα, καὶ νῦν τὸ αὐτό*· περισσή δὲ οὐ λέγεται.

Ἀντίφωνον β'· **Ψαλμὸς β'**· *Ἴνα τί ἐφρούραζαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά* [Ps 2:1]: *Ἀλληλούια. δειλινὸν τριπλοῦν.*

Στίχος β'· *Παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ* [Ps 2:2]: *Ἀλληλούια. Στίχος γ'*· *Δουλεύσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ* [Ps 2:11]: *Ἀλληλούια. Στίχος δ'*· *Μακάριοι πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτῷ* [Ps 2:13]: *Δόξα, καὶ νῦν.*

Ἀντίφωνον γ'· **Ψαλμὸς ξδ'**· *Σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος, ὁ Θεός, ἐν Σιών* [Ps 64:2]· **Τροπάριον, ἦχος γ'**· *Καταφυγὴ καὶ δύναμις* [Ps 45:2]: **Στίχος β'**· *Καὶ σοὶ ἀποδοθήσεται εὐχὴ ἐν Ἱεροσολήμῳ* [Ps 64:2]· *Καταφυγὴ καὶ δύναμις* [Ps 45:2]. **Στίχος γ'**· *Ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν, ὁ Θεός ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, ἡ ἐλπίς πάντων τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς* [Ps 64:6]· *Καταφυγὴ. Στίχος δ'*· *Εὐλόγησεις τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου* [Ps 64:12]· *Καταφυγὴ. Δόξα, καὶ νῦν. Τροπάριον, ἦχος δ'*· *Ἡ κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς Θεοτόκος*:

Καὶ μετὰ τὰ ἀντίφωνα λέγει ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τὰς προσυνήθειαι ἐκτενεῖς δεήσεις οὕτως:

Ἐπεὶ τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς καταστάσεως.

Ἐπεὶ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν βασιλέων.

Ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἄσειστον καὶ ἀφλεκτον καὶ ἀναίμακτον.

Καὶ σφραγίζει τὸν λαὸν γ' καὶ ἐκφωνεῖ: *Ὅτι θεὸς ἐλέους καὶ οἰκτιρῶν καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ὑπάρχεις, καὶ μετὰ τὸ Ἀμήν, κάθηται ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ.*

Εἶτα ὁ διάκονος λέγει: *Σοφία, ὁ ψάλτης τὸ προκείμενον: Μέγας ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ μέγας: Στίχος α'*· *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον, ὅτι ἀγαθός⁽⁵⁷⁾* [Ps 134:3]: **Στίχος β'**· *Οἰκοδομῶν Ἱεροσολήμῳ ὁ Κύριος* [Ps 146:2]. **Ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸς Τιμόθεον:** *Τέκνον Τιμόθεε, παρακαλῶ πρῶτον πάντων ποιεῖσθαι δεήσεις* [1Tim 2:1]. *Ἀλληλούια, ἦχος δ'*· *Σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος, ὁ Θεός, ἐν Σιών* [Ps 64:2]: **Στίχος β'**· *Εὐλόγησεις τὸν στέφανον* [Ps 64:12]. Καὶ λέγοντος τοῦ διακόνου *Σοφία, λέγει ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος: Ὁρθοὶ ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ ἀγίου εὐαγγελίου.* Καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ἡσυχάζοντος σφραγίζει ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τὸν λαὸν γ', καὶ λέγει: *Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.* Εἶτα ἐκφωνεῖ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς: **Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν,** καὶ λέγει ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος: *Ἐν σοφίᾳ πρόσχωμεν.* Καὶ τότε ἀπάρχεται τῆς περιοχῆς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς: ὁ δὲ τῶν διακόνων δευτερεύων ἐκφωνεῖ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα⁽⁵⁸⁾: *Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Ναζαρέτ οὗ ἦν τεθραμμένος* [Luk 4:16].

Καὶ τοῦ διακόνου λιτανεύοντος τὸ μέγα *Κύριε, ἐλέησον* σφραγίζει ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τὸν λαὸν γ' καὶ ἐκφωνεῖ: *Ὅτι ἐλέημων καὶ φιλόανθρωπος Θεός. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.* Ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος: *Σοφία: Τὰς κεφαλὰς,* καὶ ποιεῖ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν τῆς κεφαλοκλισίας, καὶ ἐκφωνεῖ: *Σὸν γὰρ ἔστι τὸ ἐλεεῖν καὶ σώζειν, ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν.* Καὶ

(56) The text was mainly edited from Paris.gr. 286 and Venice, IE gr. 2, and referenced other manuscripts as appropriate. Formerly the text was published in: A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei, khroniashchikhsia v bibliotekakh pravoslavnogo Vostoka*, Kiev 1895, vol.1, 152–54 (rep. in: Mateos, vol.2, 200–03). See also Lowden, 28-31.

(57) Paris: ἀγαθὸν ψαλμὸν

(58) Paris: λεγόμενα.

ἄρχονται οἱ ψάλται τοῦ τροπαρίου, **ἤχος β'**. Ὁ πάσης δημιουργὸς τῆς κτίσεως, ὁ καιροῦς, καὶ κατέρχονται ἐν τοῖς Χαλκοπρατείοις: καὶ ἄρχεται ἡ λειτουργία καὶ γίνονται τὰ ἀντίφωνα· εἰς δὲ τὸ γ' ἀντίφωνον⁽⁵⁹⁾ ψάλλεται Ὁ πάσης δημιουργὸς· καὶ εἰς τὸ Δόξα, καὶ νῦν· **Τροπάριον, ἤχος βαρύς**: Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη Θεοτόκε Παρθένε, λιμὴν καὶ προστασία: **Προκειμένον ἤχος πβ'**. Μνησθήσομαι τοῦ ὀνόματος σου [Ps 44:18]. **Στίχος α'**. Ἄκουσον θύγατερ, καὶ ἰδέ [Ps 44:11]. **Στίχος β'**. Καὶ ἐπιθυμήσει ὁ βασιλέως [Ps 44:12]⁽⁶⁰⁾. **Ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀδελφοὶ ὁ ἀγιάζων καὶ οἱ ἀγιαζόμενοι** [Heb 2:11]: **Ἀλληλούια. ἤχος β'**. Μεγαλύνῃ ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν. **Στίχος β'**. Ἴδου γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μακαριοῦσιν [Lk 1:48]. **Εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν**: Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἀναστᾶσα Μαριὰμ [Lk 1:39]: **Κοινωνικὸν Ποτήριον Σωτηρίου λήψομαι**: Ἐν δὲ τῇ Μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἡ ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἀγίου:

Εἰς τὰ εὐαγγέλια τὰ ἀναγινωσκόμενα· παρὰ τοῦ Πατριάρχου καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ταῦτα:

Τῇ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλῃ Κυριακῇ τοῦ Πάσχα. Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν [Jn 1:1].

Μηνὶ Μαΐω ια', εἰς τὸν γενέθλιον τῆς πόλεως. **Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην**: Ἔειπεν ὁ Κύριος τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ Μαθηταῖς· καθὼς ἠγάπησέ με ὁ πατήρ [Jn 15:9].

Μηνὶ Ἰουνίω ε', εἰς τὴν λιτὴν τοῦ Κάμπου⁽⁶¹⁾. **Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον**. Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ἐμβάντι τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς πλοῖον· ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ [Mt 8:23].

Μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίω α', εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἰνδίκτου ἐν τῷ Φόρω. Δέον γινώσκειν ὅτι μετὰ τὸ ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἀρχιερέα ἐν τῷ Φόρω μετὰ τῆς λιτῆς· καὶ ῥηθῆναι τὰ γ' ἀντίφωνα· Ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν καὶ δοξάσαι· καὶ πάντων σιωπόντων ἀναφωνεῖ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς⁽⁶²⁾ τὰς αἰτήσεις ταύτας:

Ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς καταστάσεως· καὶ εὐσταθείας τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν· καὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἐνώσεως, εἴπωμεν· Κύριε, ἐλέησον γ'·

Ὑπὲρ τῶν/τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτων/-του ἡμῶν βασιλέων/-ως⁽⁶³⁾, παντὸς τοῦ παλατιοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτῶν/-τοῦ, καὶ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ· εἴπωμεν· Κύριε, ἐλέησον γ'·

Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄσειστον καὶ ἄφλεκτον καὶ ἀναίμακτον διαφυλαχθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ χώραν· εἴπωμεν· Κύριε, ἐλέησον γ'·

Καὶ ἐσθ' ὅπως κατασφργίζει γ' τὸν λαὸν· καὶ γίνεται ἡ ἀκολουθία. **Εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν**. Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Ναζαρετ [Lk 4:16].

Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κε'· εἰς τὴν λιτὴν τοῦ Κάμπου, **ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν**⁽⁶⁴⁾. Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ἐνέβη ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς πλοῖον· καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ [Lk 8:22].

Τῇ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλῃ ε' τοῦ Νιπτῆρος τὸ Β'· **Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην** Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ὅτε ἔνιψεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς πόδας τῶν μαθητῶν [Jn 13:12].

Τῇ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλῃ Παρασκευῇ τοῦ Πάσχα⁽⁶⁵⁾. **Εὐαγγέλιον τῶν ἁγίων παθῶν τὸ Α'**· **Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην** Ἔειπεν ὁ Κύριος τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς· νῦν ἐδοξάσθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου [Jn 13:31].

Ὁφείλει γράφεσθαι καὶ ἡ κατήχησις ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου.⁽⁶⁶⁾

[Acknowledgment]

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(59) εἰς δὲ τὸ γ' ἀντίφωνον: not found in Venice

(60) Στίχος α'. Ἄκουσον θύγατερ, καὶ ἰδέ. Στίχος β'. Καὶ ἐπιθυμήσει ὁ βασιλέως.: not found in Munich

(61) Paris, Munich: (εἰς) μνήμην τοῦ σεισμοῦ

(62) Munich: ἱερεὺς

(63) Plural in brown ink and singular in red ink.

(64) Paris, Munich: Ματθαῖον [Mt 8:23]

(65) After this, in Paris: Ὅτε ἔνιψεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς πόδας τῶν μαθητῶν [Jn 13:12]

(66) Vatopedi 7 adds the following text at the end. Δέον γινώσκειν ὅτι ἄρχεται ὁ Λουκάς ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Κυριακῆς μετὰ τὴν ὕψωσιν, τότε γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἰσημερία γίνεται ὅκα λείπει νέον ἔτος: Γίνεται δὲ καὶ σὺναξις τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἐν τοῖς Χαλκοπρατείοις· ὑπὲρ Μιασινῶν· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ Φόρω καὶ εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν τῆς Μεγάλῃς Ἐκκλησίας ἀναγινώσκειται εὐαγγέλιον:

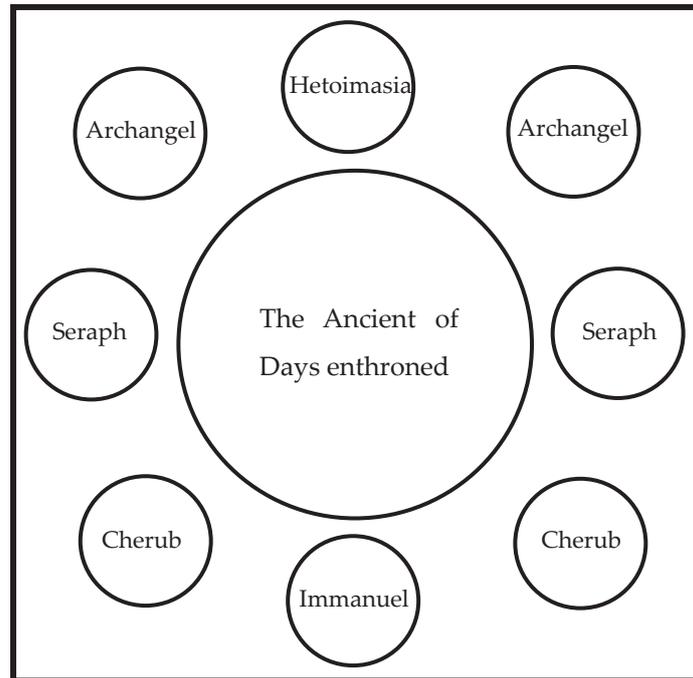


Fig.1 Vatopedi Monastery, Skevophylakion Cod.3, f.3r

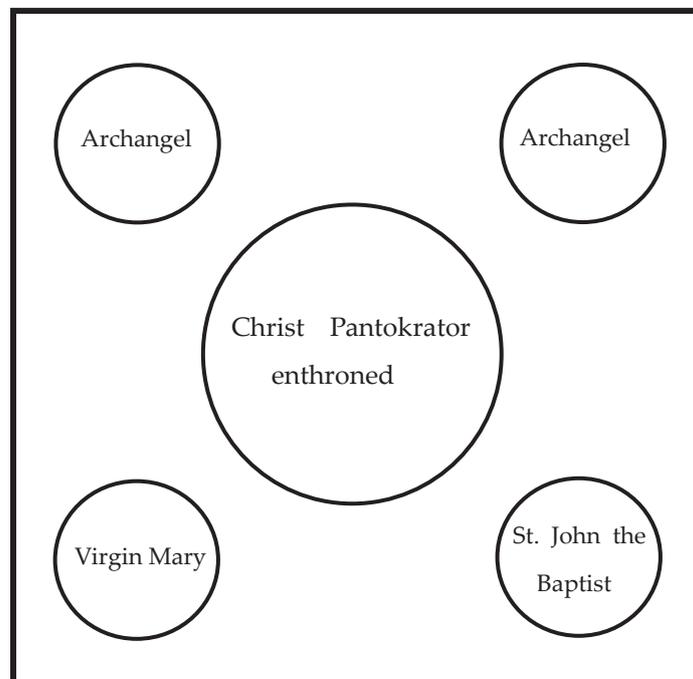


Fig.2 Vatopedi Monastery, Skevophylakion Cod.3, f.67r

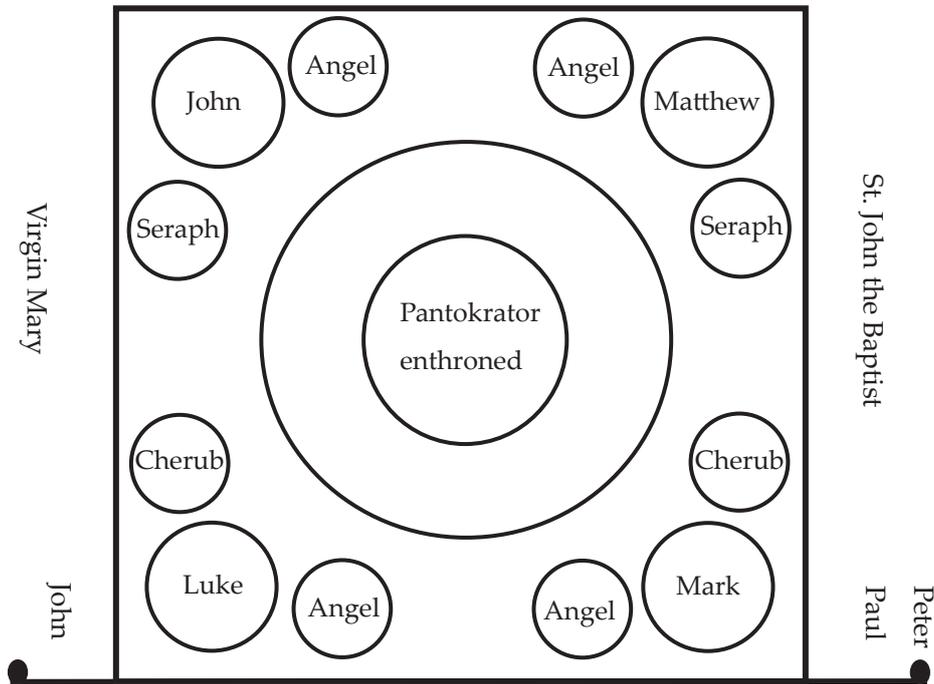


Fig.3 Athens, National Library Cod.2645, f.1r

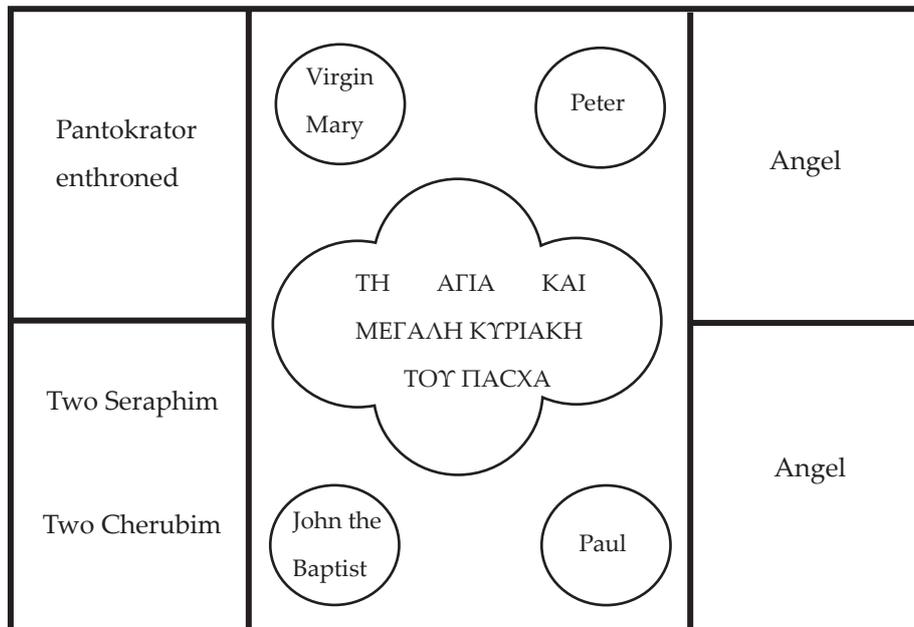


Fig.4 Venice, Istituto Ellenico Cod.gr.2, f.4r