

Scriptoria in Chalkoprateia, Blachernai, Nea Ekklesia, St. Theodore in Sphorakiou and Theotokos in Pege: Additional notes on encaenia in Byzantine lectionary manuscripts

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Abstract

The author has published three papers focusing on the importance of encaenia entries in the study of Byzantine lectionary manuscripts. As the subsequent investigation progressed, numerous manuscripts containing encaenia were discovered, and several new conclusions were drawn from the data obtained from them. The most significant conclusion among them is that, in addition to Chalkoprateia, scriptoria also existed in Blachernai, Nea Ekklesia, St. Theodore in Sphorakiou, and Theotokos in Pege. Furthermore, St. Theodore and Theotokos in Pege were subordinate to Chalkoprateia, and it is hypothesized that they shared models and materials. On the other hand, Blachernai and Nea Ekklesia were independent from Chalkoprateia. However, Nea Ekklesia was under the Patriarchate, unlike Blachernai, which was independent from it. A thorough examination of encaenia enables the discernment of the prevailing power dynamics among the preeminent ecclesiastical institutions in Constantinople from the late 11th to the early 12th century.

In this paper, the author has identified a total of 12 Patriarchal lectionaries, all of which are Gospel lectionaries (*evangelion*). While the Patriarchal lectionary of the Acts and Epistles (*praxapostolos*) has not yet been discovered, there is a strong possibility that it once existed, because without a *praxapostolos*, with a comprehensive compendium of liturgical directives, it would be impossible to conduct daily services in substantial religious institutions employing only an *evangelion*.

Some of the latest data obtained includes phenomena that are difficult to explain rationally. Several manuscripts list a large number of encaenia and the proper names of specific churches. The hypothesis that an alliance between these churches existed is substantiated, yet the extant historical documents are insufficient for determining the nature of said alliance. In the interest of future research, the current study is limited to only the presentation of the data.

A thorough examination of Byzantine scriptoria, as evidenced by colophons, appears to have reached its zenith, with scant novel research conducted in recent years. I have written three papers on the importance of encaenia entries in Byzantine lectionary manuscripts,⁽¹⁾ as encaenia indicate the organization that ordered the manuscript. Given the extremely large number of manuscripts with the encaenia of the five prominent churches in Constantinople, it is improbable that all the manuscripts were utilized in these churches, because a few lectionary manuscripts are sufficient for the execution of the liturgy in any religious institution, no matter how large.

The hypothesis in my “Scriptorium of Chalkoprateia” suggests that the Chalkoprateia Church functioned as a scriptorium rather than an orderly in the context of manuscripts with Chalkoprateian encaenia; and the Church of

(1) T. Masuda, “Patriarchal Lectionaries of Constantinople: A New Criterion for the Encaenia,” *Waseda RILAS Journal* 8 (2020), 179-94 (https://www.waseda.jp/flas/rilas/assets/uploads/2020/10/179-194_Tomoyuki-MASUDA.pdf); “The Lectionary Cod.1 in the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos and its Encaenia,” *Bulletin of the Graduate School of Letters, Arts and Sciences of Waseda University* 66 (2020), 543-559 (https://www.waseda.jp/flas/glas/assets/uploads/2021/02/MASUDA_Tomoyuki_0543-05591.pdf); “Lectionary Production in the Scriptorium of Chalkoprateia,” *Waseda RILAS Journal* 11 (2024), 135-158 (https://www.waseda.jp/flas/rilas/assets/uploads/2024/02/135-158_Tomoyuki-MASUDA.pdf).

Theotokos in Chalkoprateia had a professional scriptorium and received commissions from other churches and monasteries to produce lectionaries. While colophons frequently document the name of the scribe, the Chalkoprateia scriptorium indicated that a manuscript was produced there by inscribing encaenia instead of a colophon. This hypothesis is the only possible explanation for the large number of manuscripts inscribed with the encaenia of Chalkoprateia.

The results of the research have been presented in accordance with its progression. The survey of lectionaries of the 9th to 13th century in large databases of Greek New Testament manuscripts (Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts (CSNTM), Chicago; Institut für neutestamentlich Textforschung (INTF), Universität Münster⁽²⁾) is nearing completion.⁽³⁾ A comprehensive evaluation of the microfilms from Mount Athos housed in the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki (Monastery of Vlatadon) has yet to be conducted; however, an initial assessment reveals that approximately 80% of the available microfilm manuscripts have been reviewed. This paper contributes to the ongoing discourse by addressing salient issues that have not been sufficiently explored in the author's previous three papers.

Addition to the Patriarchal Lectionaries

The Patriarchal lectionary is the Gospel lectionary (*Evangelion*) used from the mid-11th to the 12th century in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Cathedral Church of St. Sophia, and several metropolitan churches under the Patriarchate's jurisdiction.⁽⁴⁾ The calendar of the *menologion* (immovable feast) in the second half of the lectionary exhibits a high degree of similarity and can be classified into two recensions (Paris and Venice) with only minor discrepancies.⁽⁵⁾ A preliminary analysis suggests that the Paris recension is the older of the two, with the Venice recension representing a revision of the Paris recension.

Two elements set the Patriarchal lectionary apart from other lectionary manuscripts. First, a manual entitled "*taxis kai akolouthia*"⁽⁶⁾ is included between the movable (*synaxarion*) and immovable feasts (*menologion*), indicating the liturgical movements of the Patriarch and other senior clerics. Second, a distinguishing feature is the use of the encaenia of the five churches⁽⁷⁾, except the Church of Anastasis in Jerusalem and St. Sophia. While the Chapel of the Virgin in the Patriarchate and the Palatine Chapel were indisputably administered by the Patriarchate, the churches of St. Theodore *en tois Sphorakiou*, Chalkoprateia and Nea Ekklesia were also, at least in some capacity, under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate.

My preceding article indicated that nine manuscripts are the Patriarchal lectionaries.⁽⁸⁾ The present article adds three more manuscripts to the aforementioned list: Istanbul, Ecumenical Patriarchate; Skevophylakion 8⁽⁹⁾; Vat.gr.

(2) I would like to thank Dr. Greg Paulson for allowing me access to the restricted manuscripts.

(3) See below for the location of the microfilm of each manuscript. List of New Testament lectionaries: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_New_Testament_lectionaries#:~:text=A%20New%20Testament%20Lectionary%20is,New%20Testament%20papyri (accessed 30 Jan., 2025)

(4) 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; Masuda, "Patriarchal Lectionaries."

(5) T. Masuda, "Establishment of the Patriarchal Menologion in the Eleventh- and Twelfth- Century Constantinople," *Waseda Institute for Advanced Study Research Bulletin* 5 (2013), 117-33. https://www.waseda.jp/inst/wias/assets/uploads/2022/04/RB005_117-133.pdf

(6) Masuda, "Patriarchal," 189-90.

(7) 31 Oct. egkainia tou eukteriou tes hyperagias Theotokou tou en to Patriarcheio; 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. It is evident that "22 Dec. anoixia tes Megales Ekklesias" and "23 Dec. egkainia tes Megales Ekklesias" are also included. Nevertheless, the encaenia of the Great Church does not serve as an indicator of a Patriarchal lectionary, as evidenced by numerous manuscripts produced in the Capital that adopt it. The Patriarchal lectionary was meticulously crafted for utilization in the six churches previously referenced.

(8) Cambridge Univ. Lib., Dd.8.23; Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Auct.T inf.2.7; Athos, Vatopedi 7; Kyiv, Vernadsky Nat. Lib., Φ.301 (KDA), 23 л; Munich, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek gr.621; Paris.gr.286; Paris.gr.294; Sofia, Dujčev gr. 157; Venezia, Istituto Ellenico gr. 2. Masuda, "Patriarchal," Table 1, 181 n.10. I do not have access to the Kyiv manuscript. Moscow, State Hist. Mus., gr. 225 was confirmed to be non-patriarchal.

2041⁽¹⁰⁾; and Sinai.gr. 2090. The Istanbul lectionary is an illustrated lectionary⁽¹¹⁾ with cyclic miniatures from the life of Christ. The Venice lectionary, Istituto Ellenico, gr.2, which contains a multitude of illustrations among the Patriarchal lectionaries, notably features a substantial cycle of the Prodigal Son. This observation led to a hypothesis that the iconographical intention is the Orthodox side's claim to the Great Schism of the Church.⁽¹²⁾ We must ascertain the nature of the iconographical program devised for the Istanbul lectionary illustrations, a discussion of this matter being for the future.

According to the microfilm information, the Istanbul lectionary was in the possession of the Church of Panagia Kamariotissa on Chalke (Heybeliada) of the Princes' Islands.⁽¹³⁾ The manuscript possibly did not move from Constantinople after the 11th century; however, its location from the 12th to the 20th centuries is uncertain. If this manuscript was indeed produced for Panagia Kamariotissa, it can be deduced that Panagia Kamariotissa was a chapel directly under the Patriarchate.

Patriarchal Gift for Hagia Eirene?

Vatican, BAV, Ott.gr.175 is a small and well-illuminated manuscript of 24.2x18.0 cm, 70 folia, with a single column of text. Several scholars have noted its relationship with the Patriarchate.⁽¹⁴⁾ Instead of the usual two-part *synaxarion-menologion* structure, this manuscript has the following order: f.1r: Easter; f.4r: 11 May, *Genethlion tes Poleos*; f.6v: 5 Jun., *Lite tou Kampou*; f.7v: 1 Sep., *Arche tes Indiktou en to Phoro*; f.11r: 25 Sep., *Lite tou Kampou*; f.12v: Holy Thursday, Washing of Feet; f.14v: Holy Friday, *Evangelia ton hagian pathon*; (f.46 is a later repair; f.47r: *Katechesis tes Megales Paraskeues*).

All the Patriarch's liturgical movements are described in the Typikon of St. Sophia in calendrical order; however, this order is based on the manual that prescribes his ritual acts in the *taxis kai akolouthia* recorded in the Patriarchal lectionaries.⁽¹⁵⁾ It is unlikely that a small manuscript with such an irregular sequence was produced for the rite of the Patriarchate. An interesting description is found on Holy Friday (ff.47r-48r):

Κατήχησις τῆς μεγάλης Παρασκευῆς: ἀπόταξις καὶ σύνταξις γινομένη τῇ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλῃ Παρασκευῇ τοῦ Πάσχα: Συναγομένων πάντων τῶν κατηχομένων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Ἀγίας Εἰρήνης τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ καὶ νέα. Ἔρχεται ὁ Πατριάρχης περὶ ὥραν ἕκτην καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν τριτοέκτην.....⁽¹⁶⁾

On Holy Friday, the catechesis⁽¹⁷⁾ was recited at the Church of Hagia Eirene, where the Patriarch and high clergies apparently performed the service. It is conceivable that the manuscript was bestowed on the Church of Hagia Eirene by the Patriarchate to commemorate the Patriarch's visit.

Scriptoria in Chalkoprateia, Blachernai, Nea Ekklesia, St. Theodore in Sphorakiou and Theotokos in Pege

The establishment of the group of Patriarchal lectionaries reveals that the churches of St. Theodore *en tois*

(9) G. Soteriou, *Κειμήλια του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου*, Athens 1938, 86-92, figs.60-62, 64a; Damaskenos Metropolitēs Helbetias (ed.), *To Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο. Η Μεγάλη του Χριστού Εκκλησία*, Athens 1989, 141, figs.135-50.

(10) E. Velkovska, "Il lezionario evangelico Vaticano gr. 2041," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* NS 52 (1998) (=S. Lucà, L. Perria (eds.), *Όπώρα. Studi in onore di mgr Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno*, II), 153-59. My discussion on the Patriarchal lectionary dismisses her theory that this manuscript was produced for the Patriarchal Chapel of Theotokos and St. Aberkios.

(11) On the list of the illustrated lectionaries, see Masuda, "Ivion," 555-58. There have been some additions since then.

(12) Masuda, "Patriarchal," 186-88.

(13) T.F. Matthews, C. Mango, "Observations on the Church of Panagia Kamariotissa on Heybeliada (Chalke), Istanbul," *DOP* 27 (1973), 115-32.

(14) Y. Burns, "The Lectionary of the Patriarch of Constantinople," *Studia Patristica* 15 (1984), 516-20; J. Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary. The Story of a Byzantine Book*, New York 2009, 29-30; Nelson, "Patriarchal Lectionaries," 89-90; E. Velkovska, "Il lezionario patriarcale Ottoboni gr.175," in: M. D'Agostino, P. Degni (eds.), *Alethes Philia. Studi in onore di Giancarlo Prato*, Spoleto 2010, 687-94.

(15) Masuda, "Patriarchal," 190. It should be noted that the Patriarchate only notes "Οφείλει γράφεσθαι καὶ ἡ κατήχησις ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου", with no mention of Hagia Eirene.

(16) See also J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la grande église*, vol.2., Roma 1963, 78.

(17) Mateos, vol.2, 79-81, n.6.

Sphorakiou, Chalkoprateia, and Nea Ekklesia were under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate in the 11th and 12th centuries. In addition to these three churches, there are a significant number of manuscripts with the encaenia of the churches of Blachernai and Theotokos *en te Pege* (Table 1⁽¹⁸⁾). The most significant novel finding advanced in this paper is that, in addition to the Chalkoprateia, the four churches of St. Theodore *en tois Sphorakiou*, Nea Ekklesia, Blachernai, and Theotokos *en te Pege* also possessed a scriptorium, which indicated the producer by adding encaenia instead of a colophon. To date, 103 manuscripts containing the encaenia of these five churches have been identified.⁽¹⁹⁾

The relationship between all 103 manuscripts is, however, complex (Table 2).

- encaenia of only Chalkoprateia: 23 mss
- encaenia of only Theotokos in Pege: 5 mss
- encaenia of only St. Theodore in Sphorakiou: 4 mss
- encaenia of only Nea Ekklesia: 16 mss
- encaenia of only Blachernai: 16 mss
- encaenia of Chalkoprateia+Sphorakiou: 11 mss
- encaenia of Chalkoprateia+Pege: 25 mss
- encaenia of Sphorakiou+Pege: 1 ms
- encaenia of Chalkoprateia+Sphorakiou+Blachernai: 1 ms
- encaenia of Chalkoprateia+Sphorakiou+Nea Ekklesia: 2 mss

The total number of manuscripts with the encaenia of Chalkoprateia is an overwhelming 62. It is unlikely that a single ecclesiastical body would use such a large number of manuscripts in its liturgy, suggesting the existence of a scriptorium in Chalkoprateia.⁽²⁰⁾

Sixteen manuscripts feature the single encaenia of Nea Ekklesia, while only two manuscripts possess the triple encaenia of Nea Ekklesia, Chalkoprateia, and Sphorakiou. This observation suggests that Nea Ekklesia functioned directly under the Patriarchate rather than within the jurisdiction of Chalkoprateia. Fifteen manuscripts feature the single encaenia of Blachernai, while two have the triple encaenia of Blachernai, Chalkoprateia, and Sphorakiou. Notably, Blachernai was not subordinate to the Patriarchate or Chalkoprateia and was regarded as a highly autonomous entity. Both Nea Ekklesia and Blachernai were equipped with scriptoria, though these facilities were not as expansive as those found in Chalkoprateia. With respect to the Blachernai Scriptorium, its activity during the 9th and 10th centuries merits particular attention.

For the same reason, the churches of Theotokos in Pege and St. Theodore in Sphorakiou may also have had scriptoria. The number of manuscripts with the single encaenia of Pege is not substantial (5), but the number of manuscripts with the double encaenia of Pege and Chalkoprateia is not insignificant (25). Four manuscripts have been identified that contain the single encaenia of Sphorakiou, while 11 manuscripts contain the double encaenia of Sphorakiou and Chalkoprateia. The rationale behind the double encaenia is that both Pege and Sphorakiou functioned as subordinate ecclesiastical entities within the jurisdiction of Chalkoprateia, suggesting the potential reception of manuscript materials and models from Chalkoprateia. A codicological study would be necessary to substantiate this claim. It can be posited that Sphorakiou was under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate and further subordinated to Chalkoprateia, as evidenced by the Patriarchal lectionary's use of its encaenia. In contrast, Pege was not included in the Patriarchal lectionary and was only under the jurisdiction of Chalkoprateia.

It is not easy to rationalize the existence of manuscripts with triple encaenia. Of the five churches presumed to contain scriptoria, Patriarchal lectionaries celebrate encaenia of Chalkoprateia, Nea Ekklesia, and St. Theodore in Sphorakiou. Therefore, hypothesizing that Patriarchal lectionaries were produced in the scriptoria of these three churches is reasonable. Chalkoprateia likely assumed a leadership role in this production. The Virgin's Chapel in the

(18) Gray lines indicate manuscripts already pointed out in my previous "Patriarchal" (with slight modifications). White lines indicate manuscripts newly noted in this article. In instances where the date differs from Gregory-Aland, it is my judgment.

(19) As already mentioned, many manuscripts on Mount Athos have not yet been examined. *Iviron 1389*, which Professor R.S. Nelson has kindly shared with me, also has the encaenia of Chalkoprateia.

(20) Masuda, "Chalkoprateia."

Patriarchate and the Palatine Chapel were not equipped with a scriptorium; this fact is highly compelling and has the potential to refute my hypothesis.

Patriarchal Praxapostolos?

Notably, all 12 Patriarchal lectionaries enumerated above are classified as Gospel lectionaries (*Evangelion*). Approximately 75% of the extant lectionary manuscripts are classified as Gospel lectionaries, while the remaining 25% are designated as *Praxapostolos* (lectionary of the Acts and Epistles) or manuscripts that serve as both *Evangelion* and *Praxapostolos*, with the rare exception of the *Prophetologion*⁽²¹⁾ (lectionary of the Old Testaments).⁽²²⁾ Consequently, numerous smaller churches would have conducted their liturgy based exclusively on the Gospel lectionary. The practice of utilizing a *Praxapostolos* manuscript for the reading of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles during liturgical services was exclusive to larger churches and monasteries. Even fewer religious institutions read the Old Testament.

A significant number of *Praxapostolos* manuscripts contain meticulous liturgical instructions, including *antiphon*, *stichos*, *troparion*, and other elements, suggesting frequent utilization by multiple users over time. In practice, these *Praxapostolos* manuscripts were probably used as liturgical manuals in churches and monasteries. To execute an unabridged liturgy, a set of three manuscripts, *Evangelion*, *Praxapostolos*, and *Prophetologion*, would be required; however, a corresponding set of manuscripts has yet to be identified.

The most intriguing fact in this regard is the manuscript *Athens, NLG 840* (12C). This manuscript is of medium size (20 x 29 cm), yet it contains a substantial amount of information (65 lines x 2 columns). The Athens lectionary consists of immovable feasts for a period of six months (September to February) (ff. 1-7 are later paper repairs) and encompasses all the elements of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, Old Testament, liturgical instructions (including Psalm readings), and the lives of the saints. Furthermore, at the beginning of each month, an illustration of the saint to be celebrated on the first day of the month is presented.⁽²³⁾ Consequently, the presence of three distinct lectionaries within a single volume is a remarkable occurrence. If the part of the immovable feast (*menologion*) was a total of two volumes (the lost manuscript is from March to August), the part of the movable feast (*synaxarion*) would have been two to four volumes. The letters are extremely small, and it seems implausible that an elderly clergyman could have perused it in a darkened church. The manuscript's utilization remains shrouded in mystery; however, some indications offer insights into its patron.

The manuscript's 9 Dec. Conception of St. Anna, which is a paper-leaf postfix (f.140), is followed by the original folia on St. Stephanos *Neolampes en to hagio Antipa*, not widely known elsewhere, with detailed hagiography. This individual was associated with the Church of St. Peter (*plesion tes Hagias Sophias*) following the Great Church and, subsequently, with the Church of St. Antipas⁽²⁴⁾ (ff. 141r-v). The manuscript's provenance may be linked to a church associated with this saint. The feast day of St. Antipas is 11 Apr. and not included in this manuscript.

The existence of a Patriarchal *Prophetologion* remains unconfirmed; however, the possibility of multiple Patriarchal *Praxapostoloi* exists. This necessity arises from the requirement for a manual to facilitate the execution of the liturgy in the Cathedral Church of Hagia Sophia, the Patriarchate, and the five churches. Indicia pertaining to the existence of a Patriarchal *Praxapostolos* have been ascertained in select surviving manuscripts.

Andreou's seminal publication⁽²⁵⁾, the critical text of the manuscript, *Moscow, State Historical Museum, V. 21, S. 4* has laid the foundation for the subsequent research on *Praxapostolos*. The Moscow lectionary comprises texts

(21) Regarding *Prophetologion*, S.G. Engberg has conducted pioneering research for more than four decades. See <https://ku-dk.academia.edu/SysseEngberg>.

(22) However, Old Testament lections are usually included in *Evangelion* and *Praxapostolos*. Among the manuscripts included in Table 1, e.g., *Sinai.gr.288* and *Vat.Barb.gr.478* contain Old Testament lections.

(23) f.50r: Apostle Ananias and an angel (1 Oct.); f.89r: Martyrdom of St. Kosmas and St. Damianos (1 Nov.); f.130r: Prophet Naoum (1 Dec.); f.183r: St. Basileios (1 Jan.); f.228v: Martyrdom of St. Tryphon (1 Feb.).

(24) S. Eustratiades, *Ἀγιολόγιον τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἐκκλησίας*, Athens 1995 (1935), 432; R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. 1er partie: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Tome III, Les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1969² (= Janin, *Églises*), 38, 398-99 no.2.

(25) G. Andreou, *Il Praxapostolos bizantino. Editione del codice Mosca GIM Vlad. 21 (Savva 4)*, Münster 2023.

that document the Patriarch's liturgical actions on Holy Thursday, Holy Saturday, 22 Dec., 1 Jan., and 5 Jan.⁽²⁶⁾ The manuscript in question contains the encaenia of Chalkoprateia and Pege Church, suggesting that it was likely produced in the Pege scriptorium. So, is the Moscow lectionary the Patriarchal *Praxapostolos*? To ascertain this, a meticulous examination of the calendars of the Moscow lectionary and two other manuscripts with analogous content is imperative: Athens, NLG 205; Sinai.gr. 286.

The Athens and Sinai manuscripts contain a single encaenia of Chalkoprateia, suggesting that they were produced in the Chalkoprateian scriptorium. Of the 382 annual feasts, there are 229 days on which the Patriarchal calendar and the three manuscripts coincide. A total of 120 feasts are identified in the selection of saints documented in the three manuscripts; these selections differ from the Patriarchal lectionary. The majority of the 120 feasts are either omitted or undergo minor augmentations in the Patriarchal calendar, which, in essence, adheres to the Patriarchal calendar. A closer examination reveals that two manuscripts, Athens and Sinai, have 19 coinciding feast days. Notably, the Moscow lectionary frequently stands out due to its distinctive selections.

A remarkable distinction between the three manuscripts and the Patriarchal lectionary pertains to the inclusion of feast days commemorating historical events, such as 19 Jan. (μνήμη τοῦ γεγονότος θαύματος παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου ἐν τῇ Νικαέων μητροπόλει ἐπὶ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς) and 25 Jun. (ἀνάμνησις τῆς ἐπελεύσεως τῶν Σαρακηνῶν).

A comparison of the three manuscripts reveals discrepancies in the description of the Patriarch's movements. For instance, an examination of the description of 5 Jan. (*paramone ton Photon*) in the Moscow manuscript (ff.263v-265v)⁽²⁷⁾, the Athens manuscript (f.185r)⁽²⁸⁾, and the Sinai manuscript (f.258r)⁽²⁹⁾ demonstrates such variations.

The calendar of the Patriarchal lectionary—despite the existence of two recensions, Paris and Venice—exhibits perfect agreement. The fact that even if 229 of the 382 feasts coincide with the Patriarchal calendar, there are other additions and omissions, indicates that the three manuscripts are not the Patriarchal *Praxapostoloi*.

The Patriarchal *Praxapostolos* probably existed, for while there are 12 Patriarchal *Evangelia*, without their paired *Praxapostoloi*, a full-fledged liturgical execution would be impossible. The following conclusions are currently being drawn: the Chalkoprateia scriptorium, which possessed an archetype of the Patriarchal *Praxapostolos*, produced manuscripts with omissions and additions to the calendar at the request of manuscript order holders (Athens and Sinai). In subsequent work by the Pege scriptorium under the Chalkoprateia affiliation, a manuscript with varying patterns of omissions and additions was produced in response to a request from another client (Moscow). The institution that commissioned the three manuscripts would have utilized them, interpreting the Patriarch's movements as *Hegoumenos*, *Episkopos*, and other roles.

A Church of St. Peter and Paul

The feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul is held on 29 Jun., during which Mt 16:13-19 is read. This text includes the phrase “it is upon this rock that I will build my church (ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν)” (16:18), which is recited on the day commemorating the foundation of churches (encaenia). In many ready-made lectionary manuscripts, it is marked “29 Jun. *ton hagion apostolon Petrou kai Paulou, to auto kai eis egkainia*.” In several manuscripts, the phrase “and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it” (16:18) is appended with the note “*telos ton egkainion*” to elucidate that in the encaenia, the text to be perused is Mt 16:13-18 (except Mt:16:19). The Athens manuscript, NLG 169 (11C), for instance, is inscribed with “29 Jun. *ton hagion apostolon Petrou kai Paulou, to auto de kai egkainia ekklesias*,” suggesting that it was a prefabricated product intended for use in any church.

However, in some manuscripts (Athos, Koutloumousiou Monastery, 90 (10C); El Escorial (Spain), Escorial, X. III. 12 (11/12C); Venice, Marciana National Library, Gr. I. 9 (12C)), the date 29 Jun. is recorded as “*ton hagion apostolon Petrou kai Paulou, to auto kai eis egkainia Petrou kai Paulou*.” This means that the three manuscripts

⁽²⁶⁾ Andreou, *Praxapostolos*, 258, 259-61, 343, 359, 363-66, respectively.

⁽²⁷⁾ Andreou, *Praxapostolos*, 363-64.

⁽²⁸⁾ https://manuscripts.csntm.org/manuscript/View/GA_Lect_587, GA_Lect_587_0185a.JPG

⁽²⁹⁾ https://manuscripts.csntm.org/manuscript/View/GA_Lect_809, GA_Lect_809_0261.JPG; Andreou, *Praxapostolos*, 365-67.

were produced for a church of St. Peter and Paul, whose encaenia is 29 Jun. It is not uncommon for the encaenia of a church to coincide with the feast day of its titular saint.

According to R. Janin, there were five churches of St. Peter and Paul in the Capital.⁽³⁰⁾ Of these, the Church of St. Peter and Paul *en to Orphanotropheio*⁽³¹⁾ had its encaenia on 29 Oct. This church's encaenia on 29 Oct. are documented, as far as I know, in four manuscripts (Carpentras (France), Municipal Library, 10 (L 11) (9C); Sinai.gr. 225 (11C); Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 33 (A.D. 1172); London, BL, Add MS 22735 (12C)). Due to the insufficient number of manuscripts to substantiate the hypothesis of a scriptorium within the church, it can be posited that the four manuscripts in question were produced for the Church of St. Peter and Paul *en to Orphanotropheio*.

The manuscript *Athos, Lavra Monastery, A 86* (9C) is a significant exemplar in art history, serving as an early lectionary adorned with narrative illustrations and the encaenia of the Church of St. Peter and Paul on 1 May. The precise identification of the church as referenced by Janin remains ambiguous.⁽³²⁾

Although the feast day of St. Peter and Paul is traditionally on 29 Jun., several manuscripts specify the date as 27 Aug. (Jerusalem, Patriarchate, Hagios Sabas 360 (11C); Sinai.gr. 231 (11C)).

The Church of St. George in Lydda

The 13th-century Chicago manuscript, *Lutheran School of Theology, Gruber 52*, commemorates “*ta egkainia tou naou tou hagiou megalomartyros Georgiou en Lydde*” on 3 Nov. Four other manuscripts (*Athens, NLG 185* (12C); *Münster, Bible Museum, MS 1* (AD 1247, +Chalkoprateia); *Sinai. Arab. 172*⁽³³⁾ (13C, +Pege); *Jerusalem, Patriarchate, Saba 188* (13C)) also mention “*ta egkainia tou hagiou megalomartyros Georgiou*” on 3 Nov. Although the words “*en Lydde*” are absent, they can be judged to be the same encaenia.⁽³⁴⁾ The manuscripts *Mv* and *Mr* in the *SynCP* also mention “*egkainia tou Georgiou en Lydde*” on 3 Nov.

In addition, the manuscript, *Athens, Benaki Mus., TA 314* (A.D. 1127) has triple encaenia (3 Nov. *egkainia tou hagiou Georgiou*; 17 Dec.(sic) *egkainia tes Theotokou [en tois Chalkoprateiois]*; 30 Jul.(sic) *egkainia tes hagian Sorou en Blachernais*). The manuscript *London, BL, Add.19993* (1334/35, Cyprus) has double encaenia (3 Nov. *egkainia tou hagiou Georgiou*; 31 Jul. *egkainia tes Theotokou en Blachernais*). Even excluding the 14th-century London lectionary, it is highly suggestive that six manuscripts from the 12th to 13th centuries have the encaenia of the Church of St. George in Lydda.

The 12th and 13th centuries were turbulent times for the Church. According to tradition, the martyrion with the relics of St. George was built in Lydda (now Lod) by the Emperor Justinian. Destroyed by Caliph Hakem in 1010, the church was rebuilt before the Crusaders arrived. John Phokas visited the church in 1185 and noted that the saint's tomb was under the altar.⁽³⁵⁾ After the Battle of Hattin (1187), the church was destroyed by Saladin's army, but in 1191 Lydda was recaptured by Richard the Lionheart, and the church was rebuilt. In 1291, the Saracens drove the Crusaders out of Palestine and the church was again in ruins. At the end of the 19th century, after many vicissitudes, the *Hiera Mone tes Hagiotaphitikes Adelphotetos* (the Greek Orthodox Monastery of St. George Lod) was finally erected on the site by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, where it remains to this day.

Six manuscripts from the 12th to 13th century have encaenia of the Church of St. George in Lydda. There is no statistical evidence of how many manuscripts contain encaenia to say that there was a scriptorium in this church;

⁽³⁰⁾ Janin, *Églises*, 399-401.

⁽³¹⁾ This church, sometimes called Apostoleion/ Martyrion tou hagiou Paulou en to Orphanotropheio, was dedicated to Petros-Paulos-Ioannes Prodromos-Stephanos (protomartyr)-Barnabas-Ioseph (Patriarch)-Kleopas-Trophimos-Dorymedon-Kosmas-Damianos-Basse-Sabas-Abramios et al. See the entry of 29 Oct. of the followings: H. Delehay, *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum. Acta Sanctorum, Propylaeum Novembris*, Brussels 1902 (=SynCP); A. Dmitrievsky, *Описание литургических рукописей*, vol.1, Толька, Kiev 1895; Mateos, *Le typicon*.

⁽³²⁾ The manuscript includes three encaenia: 19 Sep. tou hagiou apostolou Thoma; 25 Apr. tou hagiou apostolou Petrou; 1 May. ton agion apostolon Petrou kai Paulou. Yusuke Shimizu, “Miniatures and Encaenia in the Lectionary Cod. A86 of the Great Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos” (in Japanese), *The Waseda Journal of Art History* 61 (2023), 13-23.

⁽³³⁾ The text is in Greek with many Arabic writings.

⁽³⁴⁾ *Hagiologion*, 94, includes the entry “egkainia naou tou Georgiou en Lydde”.

⁽³⁵⁾ A. Stewart (trans.), *The Pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas in the Holy Land (in the year 1185 A.D.)*, London 1889, 34.

however, there is art historical evidence for the existence of a scriptorium in St. George's Church. The Chicago lectionary contains a series of very beautiful, peculiarly patterned initials. It is safe to say that this is an important example of Crusader decorative art. The scriptorium of St. George's Church evidently had an excellent crusader painter.

Manuscripts with a Single Encaenia

With the exception of the great churches of Constantinople, manuscripts describing a single encaenia were most likely made for that church. Examples are given below:

○ Moscow, State Historical Museum, V. 15, S. 43 (A.D. 1055): 26 Oct. *egkainia tou hagiou Th*____ (Theodorou/ Theodotou/ Theodoulou) *en tais Koustiais*⁽³⁶⁾

○ Paris.gr. 382 (10C): 23 Jun. *egkainia tou Prodromou ton Stoudion*⁽³⁷⁾

It is a *Praxapostolos* produced for the Stoudios Monastery, probably by the Stoudios Monastery itself. It is unlikely that it was produced by a professional scribe. The existence of a scriptorium at the Stoudios Monastery has been documented since the 9th century⁽³⁸⁾. The manuscript in question constitutes a significant source of information regarding 10th-century liturgical practices at the monastery, which were analyzed by Andreou. Its *menologion* includes a number of idiosyncratic choices of saints not adopted by the Patriarchate. Some of the characteristic saintly choices are listed below:

29 Oct. Kleopas (ap, brother of Ioseph *mnestor*); 28 Nov. (together with Stephanos Neos) Paulos, Petros, Andreas and other hosiomartyrs who martyred in the reign of impious Constantine for the holy icons; 6 Dec. Nikolaos of Myra and other Nikolaos under Justinian the Great; 26 Jan. Translation of the Relics of our holy fathers and confessors Theodoros, Abbot of Stoudios, and Joseph, his brother (archbishop of Thessalonike); 1 Mar. prophets Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Melchisedek, and martyrs Markelos and Antonios, and hagia Eudokia; 4 Apr. (together with Theodoulos and Agathopous) Zosimas who found hosi Maria, Platon, holy father and confessor of the Stoudios; 28 Jun. Iakobos, holy father and confessor of the Stoudios⁽³⁹⁾; 20 Jul. memory of Stoudios Patrikios, founder of the Monastery τῶν Στουδίων.⁽⁴⁰⁾

By this time in the Byzantine world, at least in Constantinople, the selection of saints that would later be unified as the Patriarchal calendar was nearly settled. Against this trend, the Stoudios Monastery had adopted a rather unique calendar. It gives a sense of distance between the Patriarchate and the Stoudios Monastery.

○ Torino, National Univ. Lib., B.II.22 (10/11C): 23 Dec. *eis ten mnemen tou hosiou patros hemon Paulou kai archimanditou tes autes mones tou naou*; 27 Jan. *egkainia tes hagias tou Theou ekklesias tes autes mones tou naou*; 2 May (f.245v) *eis ten mnemen ton hagion martyron Hesperou, Zoes, kai ton teknon auton Theophilou kai Kyriakou. ὧν τα λίσανα κεῖντε ἐνθάδε. eis egkainesmon tes ekklesias tes autes tes mones tou naou*

We can see from these descriptions that hosios Paulos was once the *archimandrites*; the manuscript celebrates the encaenia of the catholicon dedicated to Christ on 27 Jan.; the church had the relics of Hesperos, Zoe and others.

⁽³⁶⁾ Unidentified.

⁽³⁷⁾ G. Andreou, "Alcune osservazioni sul menologion del lezionario Paris gr. 382 (X sec. ex)," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 3-2 (2005), 5-16; id., "New Evidences Relating to the Studite Rite," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 3-5 (2008), 27-40.

⁽³⁸⁾ N. Eleopoulos, *Η βιβλιοθήκη και το βιβλιογραφικόν εργαστήριον της μονής των Στουδίου*, Athens 1967; N.F. Kabrus, "Студийский скрипторий в IX в.," *Византийский Временник* 44 (1983), 98-111; I. Hutter, "Theodoros βιβλιογράφος und die Buchmalerei in Studiu," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* NS 51 (1997) (=S. Lucà, L. Perria (eds.), *Όπώρα. Stidi in onore di mgr Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno*, I), 177-208 (with further bibliography); K. Parry, "Theodore the Stoudite and the Stoudios Scriptorium in Ninth-Century Byzantium," in: R. Ast, M. Choat, J. Cromwell, J. Lougovaya, R. Yuen-Collingridge (eds.), *Observing the Scribe at Work: Scribal practice in the ancient world*, Leuven 2021, 139-53.

⁽³⁹⁾ On Iakobos the Stoudite, see O.P. Dominguez, "Saint Iakobos the Confessor, the Baptiser of the Patriarch Photios," *JÖB* 66 (2016), 179-86.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ In this manuscript, the monastery is called μονή τῶν Στουδίων, not τῶν Στουδίου.

The Church of St. Hesperos and Zoe *en to Deutero* fulfills these conditions;⁽⁴¹⁾ however, manuscript **P** of the *SynCP* lists the encaenia of St. Zoe and Hesperos *en to Deutero* as 9 Aug.

- Sinai.gr. 293 (11C): 5 May *egkainia tou naou tes hyperagias Theotokou en tois Kyrou*

Manuscripts **H**, **D**, and **Mv** of the *SynCP* and the Typicon of the Great Church also list the encaenia of the Church of Theotokos *en tois Kyrou* on 5 May. The Patriarchal lectionaries and many other manuscripts name the church on 4 Nov. without the word encaenia, probably for the *panegyri* of the Virgin's icon.

- Athens, NLG 2363 (11C): 16 Dec. *eis ta mnemosyna tou Nikolaou tou hagiostatou Patriarchou Konstantinoupo-leos tou ktetoros*; 14 Aug. *eis ta anoixia tes hagian tantes ekklesias*

Manuscript made for the Monastery on Mount Olympos, founded by Patriarch Nikolaos II Chrysoberges (r. 979-91).⁽⁴²⁾

- Vat.gr. 2138 (A.D. 991): 27 Apr. *egkainia tes Hagias Eirenes tes Archaias kai Neas*; 29 Jul. *Hagia Theotokos en to Pegadio* (without encaenia)

The manuscript was made for the Church of St. Eirene *tes Archaias kai Neas*⁽⁴³⁾, but its relationship to Theotokos *en to Pegadio*⁽⁴⁴⁾ is unknown.

- Athos, Iviron 1 (11C): 23 Oct. *egkainia tou naou tou hagiou apostolou Iakobou tou adelphotheou*⁽⁴⁵⁾

Manuscript for the Chapel of St. James, Brother of the Lord⁽⁴⁶⁾, in the precincts of the Chalkoprateia.

Manuscripts with Encaenia that do not Identify a Church

- British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian B XVIII (11C): 9 Sep. *ton hagian Ioakeim kai Annes, to auto de legetai kai eis egkania naou tes Theotokou*

There is no record of a Virgin's church with encaenia on 9 Sep.; the church that ordered this manuscript is unknown.

- Vat. gr. 2144 (9C): 1 May. *to auto de kai eis egkainia ekklesias*

Nea Ekklesia is the most representative church with its encaenia on 1 May, although the 18 lectionaries describe the proper name *Nea Ekklesia*. A church of St. Peter and Paul also had encaenia on this day (Lavra A 86).

Manuscripts with Plural (Two to Four) Encaenia

In addition to the five major churches in Constantinople, many manuscripts include encaenia of multiple churches. This suggests some relationship between the churches whose encaenia are celebrated in the same manuscript; however, historical documents are scarce, and in many cases the relationship between the churches is unknown. In the case of double encaenia that include Chalkoprateia, it can be assumed that the manuscript was produced for the other church by the scriptorium of Chalkoprateia. For example, it is likely that the manuscript Athos, Docheiariou 27, was produced by the Chalkoprateian scriptorium for a church of St. Nicholas. However, a church of St. Nicholas with its encaenia on 5 Dec. (one day before the saint's feast) is not known.

(41) Janai, *Églises*, 114. There is little information about this church. This is probably the first note on hosios Paulos and the catholicon.

(42) Nelson, Patriarchal Lectionaries, 99; A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou, X. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, vol.1, Athens 1978, 149-54, no.35; I. Hutter, "Le copiste du Métaphraste: On a Centre for Manuscript Production in Eleventh Century Constantinople," in: *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito: Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4-10 ottobre 1998)*, ed. G. Prato, Florence 2000, vol.2, 567.

(43) Janin, *Églises*, 103-06 no.2.

(44) Dmitrievsky, 80, records the *mneme* of Theotokos *en to Sosthenio tou Pegadiou* on 8 Jun.. Janin, *Églises*, 232.

(45) Masuda, "Iviron."

(46) C. Hennessy, "The Chapel of Saint Jacob at the Church of the Theotokos Chalkoprateia in Istanbul," *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, 12 (2012), 351-66.

○ Paris, gr. 304 (14C?): 19 Sep. *egkainia tou naou tou hagiou apostolou Thoma*; 5 Nov. *egkainia en tois Sphorakiou*; 9 Jul. *mneme ton egkainion tou naou tes Theotokou en te Pege*

If the previously mentioned theory is correct, this manuscript was produced for a church of St. Thomas in the scriptorium of Sphorakiou or Pege. The encaenia on 19 Sep. is celebrated by the Church of St. Thomas *en tois Amantiou*.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The 9th-century Lavra A 86 with narrative illustrations has the same encaenia.

○ Venice, Marciana National Library, Gr. I. 47 (978) (A.D. 1046): 21 Sep. *egkainia tes hyperagias Theotokou* (4-5 letters) *te palaia Petra*; 31 Oct. *egkainia tou eukteriou tes hyperagias Theotokou* (3 letters?) *en to Patriarcheio*

A substantial number of manuscripts of commendable quality produced in the Capital refer to the name Theotokos *en te Petra*⁽⁴⁸⁾ without mentioning encaenia, on 21 Sep. This reference is regarded as a *panegyri* of the Virgin's icon.⁽⁴⁹⁾ No other manuscripts give this date as the encaenia of Theotokos *en te Palaia Petra*. Furthermore, it is the manuscript that incorporates only the Virgin's Chapel in the Patriarchate⁽⁵⁰⁾ among the five (six including St. Sophia) encaenia of the Patriarchal lectionaries. Is it possible that there was a scriptorium in Theotokos *en te (Palaia) Petra* that produced the manuscript for the Patriarchal Chapel of the Virgin? However, the quality of this manuscript is not very high.

○ Moscow, Russ. State Lib., gr.23; Messina, Univ. Lib., gr.93⁽⁵¹⁾: 31 Oct. *egkainia tes Theotokou en to Patriarcheio*; 18 Dec. *egkainia ton Chalkoprateion*

The two manuscripts were produced by the Chalkoprateia scriptorium for the Virgin's Chapel in the Patriarchate. This makes sense, given the close relationship between Chalkoprateia and the Patriarchate. However, if this is indeed the case, why does the Venice lectionary include the encaenia of the Petra Church?

The Patriarchal lectionaries encompass the encaenia of six churches, including the Virgin's Chapel in the Patriarchate. However, why did the Moscow and Messina manuscripts adopt only the encaenia of St. Sophia, Chalkoprateia, and the Virgin's Chapel out of the six churches? The following hypothesis can explain this phenomenon. All twelve Patriarchal lectionaries are classified as *Evangelia*, and the Moscow and Messina manuscripts are designated as *Praxapostoloi*. The Patriarchal *Evangelion* met the standard specifications for the six churches; however, given the variation in their dimensions and liturgical content, a *Praxapostolos* had to be produced individually for each church.

○ Vat.Barb.gr. 502 (12C): 23 Oct. *mneme tou hagiou apostolou Iakobou tou adelphou tou Kyriou* [.....] *egeneto ta egkainia*; 27 Nov. *egkainia tou naou ton Asomaton*; 9 Jul. *mneme ton egkainion tou naou tes Theotokou en te Pege*

Despite the assumption that the manuscript was produced at the Pege Church, the latter's relationship to the Chapel of St. James in the precincts of Chalkoprateia remains ambiguous. An 11th-century manuscript, Iviron 1, which includes narrative illustrations, was produced for the Chapel of St. James.⁽⁵²⁾ The church of Archangels with encaenia on 27 Nov. is not recorded.

○ Istanbul, Patriarchate, Triados 13 (11) (11C): 18 Dec. *egkainia ton Chalkoprateion*; 9 Jul. *egkainia tou naou tes Theotokou en te Pege*; 25 Apr. *egkainia tou hagiou Apostolou Petrou plesion tes Megales Ekklesias*; 27 Apr. *egkainia tes Hagias Eirenes*

It can be assumed that the manuscript was produced at the Pege scriptorium under the Chalkoprateian jurisdiction. The relationship between the Churches of St. Peter near the Great Church⁽⁵³⁾ and St. Eirene is unclear, although

(47) Janin, *Églises*, 248-50.

(48) Janin, *Églises*, 223 no.101.

(49) Masuda, "Patriarchal," 182, Table 2.

(50) On the mss in Moscow and Messina, see the next entry.

(51) Studied by G. Andreou, *Praxapostolos*, the manuscripts M and S.

(52) Masuda, "Iviron 1."

(53) Janin, *Églises*, 398-99 no.2.

both churches were closely associated with the Patriarchate (see our discussion above regarding Vat.Ott.gr. 175).

○ Florence, BML, Plut.6.21 (10C): 16 May *egkainia tes hagas Dynameos*; 31 Jul. *egkainia tes hagas Sorou en Blachernais*

The manuscript was produced by the Blachernai scriptorium for the Church of St. Dynamis.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The manuscript, Paris.Coislin gr.31 (12C), contains solely the description “16 May *egkainia tes Hagas Dynameos*.” This suggests that it was produced for the Church of St. Dynamis, although the location of its scriptorium remains unknown.

○ Sinai.gr. 288 (11/12C): 21 Sep. *Panagia Theotokos en te Palaia Petra*; 17 Oct. *Theotokos en to Paradeiso Peran*; 5 Nov. *mneme ton egkainion tou hagiou martyros Theodorou en tois Parakeiois*; 18 Dec. *anoixia ton egkainion ton Chalkoprateion*

The two encaenia indicate that the manuscript was produced by St. Theodore in Sphorakioi under the supervision of Chalkoprateia. The references to *Theotokos en te Palaia Petra* and *Theotokos en to Paradeiso*⁽⁵⁵⁾ (not encaenia) suggest who ordered the manuscript. The relationship between the two churches is unclear.

Manuscripts with Multiple (More than Four) Encaenia

Several manuscripts celebrate the encaenia of an extremely large number of churches. Did any kind of alliance exist among these churches? The sheer number of churches, as well as the proper names of many churches without encaenia, would make a logical explanation of this phenomenon almost impossible. The enumeration of data is to be the sole focus of this study.

○ Athos, Panteleimonos gr.86⁽⁵⁶⁾

Panteleimon 86 lists 5 encaenia:

- 6 Sep. *Theotokos eis ten Hagian Annan [en to Deutero]*⁽⁵⁷⁾
- 19 Sep. *Apostolos Thomas [en tois Amantiou]*⁽⁵⁸⁾
- 29 Oct. [*Hagioi Petros kai Paulos*] *tou Orphanotrophiou*⁽⁵⁹⁾
- 4 Nov. [*Theotokos*] *en tois Kyrou*⁽⁶⁰⁾
- 1 Dec. *Naos tou megalou Palatiou*⁽⁶¹⁾

○ Syracusa, Alagoniana Library, 3 (1125 AD)

The Syracuse lectionary includes ten encaenia:

- 31 Oct. *Eukterion ton(sic) Patriarcheion*
- 5 Nov. *Hagios Theodoros en tois Parakiois (=Sphorakiois)*
- 28 Nov. *Prophetes Elissaios [en tois Antiochou]*⁽⁶²⁾
- 16 Dec. *Hagios Christophoros [plesion tou Hagiou Polyeuktou⁽⁶³⁾ (en te oikia ton Promounton⁽⁶⁴⁾)]*⁽⁶⁵⁾

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Janin, *Églises*, 101.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Janin, *Églises*, 216 no.90, mentions that probably 16 Oct. is encaenia.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Studied by G. Andreou.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Janin, *Églises*, 174, no.27.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ *SynCP*; Typicon. Lavra A 86 has this encaenia.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ *SynCP*; Typicon; Dmitrievsky.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ It appears to be a misnomer. The encaenia of *Theotokos en tois Kyrou* is 5 May (Sinai.gr. 293, etc.), and 4 Nov. would be the *panegyri* of the icon.

⁽⁶¹⁾ One of the Patriarchal encaenia. However, the adjective “megalou” is rare.

⁽⁶²⁾ Janin, *Églises*, 110-111, no.1.

⁽⁶³⁾ Janin, *Églises*, 405-06, no.1; M. Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium. The discovery and excavation of Anicia Juliana's palace-church in Istanbul*, London 1989.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Janin, *CB*, 417.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Janin, *Églises*, 539-40, no.4.

- 18 Dec. *Hagia Theotokos* [*en tois Chalkoprateiois*]
 30 Dec. *Hagioi M' martyres* [near Chalkoun Tetrasyon]⁽⁶⁶⁾]⁽⁶⁷⁾
 7 May *Hagios Akakios tou Heptaskalou*⁽⁶⁸⁾
 19 Jul. *Hagios Phokas*⁽⁶⁹⁾
 31 Jul. *Hagia Theotokos en Blachernais*
 4 Aug. *Hosios Prokopiou* [*plesion tes Chelones*]⁽⁷⁰⁾

In addition to these, the following proper names of churches are listed.

- 6 Sep. *Hagia Theotokos* [*en to oiko tes Annes en to Deutero*]⁽⁷¹⁾
 22 Sep. *Hagia Theotokos peran en Chrysopolei*⁽⁷²⁾
 4 Oct. *Hagia Theotokos* [*peran en tois Oneiratais (Honoratou)*]⁽⁷³⁾
 4 Nov. *Hagia Theotokos* [*en tois Kyrou*]
 1 Dec. *Hagios Theodoros en tois Parzou*⁽⁷⁴⁾
 13 May *Hagia Theotokos en t/ Diakinesim/* [*en tois Diakonisses?*]⁽⁷⁵⁾
 15 May *Hagia Theotokos en to Periteichismatati*⁽⁷⁶⁾
 8 Jun. *Hagia Theotokos eis ten Systemen (en to Sosthenio)*⁽⁷⁷⁾
 15 Jun. *Hagia Theotokos en tois Marinakiou*⁽⁷⁸⁾
 16 Jun. *Hagia Theotokos en Eudokianais*⁽⁷⁹⁾
 25 Jun. *Hagios Theodoros en te Resio*⁽⁸⁰⁾
 25 Jul. *Hagia Theotokos en to Pegadio (en to Pagidio near Neos Embolos)*, Ioakeim-Anna, Eupraxia-Olympias⁽⁸¹⁾
 17 Aug. *tes hagian Theotokou en Armatiou*⁽⁸²⁾
 28 Aug. *tes hagian Theotokou peran epi Noulophou (peran Pinnoulopho)*⁽⁸³⁾

○ University of Glasgow, Hunter 440 (1258/ 59)⁽⁸⁴⁾

In addition to four encaenia, this manuscript incorporates numerous church proper names.

encaenia:

- 19 Oct. *Hagios Tryphon*
 18 Dec. Chalkoprateia
 5 May [*Hagia Theotokos en tois*] *Kyrou*

(66) C.A. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople*, Copenhagen 1959.

(67) Janin, *Églises*, 485-86, no.6; Janin, "Les églises byzantines des saints militaires," esp.66-67.

(68) Janin, *Églises*, 14-15, no.2.

(69) Unidentified. Only the ms **Da** commemorates the encaenia of Hagios Phokas peran (*SynCP*, 829-830, *Synaxaria Selecta* 54).

(70) Janin, *Églises*, 444, no.4. In the Typikon of the Great Church, *mneme* of Hagioi Prokopios kai Christophoros near Chelone is celebrated on 24 Nov.

(71) Above-mentioned Panteleimon 86 adopts it as the encaenia.

(72) The *SynCP* and the typicon of the Great Church celebrate the *synaxis* of the Church of Theotokos peran en Chrysopolei on 22 Sep.

(73) The *SynCP* and the typicon of the Great Church celebrate the *eorte* of the Church of Theotokos peran en tois Oneiratais (Honoratou) on 4 Oct. Janin, "L'Église byzantine sur les rives du Bosphore (Côte asiatique)," *REB* 12 (1954), 69-99, esp.89-90; C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, "Remains of the Church of St. Polyeuktos at Constantinople," *DOP* 15 (1961), 244.

(74) Unknown. The toponym Pardou is recorded in Janin, *CB*, 404.

(75) Three mss (**S**, **T**, **D**) of the *SynCP* celebrate its *mneme* on 13 May.

(76) Janin, *Églises*, 222, no.99.

(77) Janin, *Églises*, 231-32, no.118.

(78) 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, 58, no.3.

(79) Janin, *Églises*, 178, no.39.

(80) In the mss (**S**, **T**, **D**) of the *SynCP*, on 26 Jun. Janin, *Églises*, 150-51, no.9; Janin, "Les saints militaires," *EO* 34 (1935), 62-63.

(81) Janin, *Églises*, 208, no.84.

(82) Janin, *Églises*, 157-58, no.7.

(83) Janin, *Églises*, 228, no.105.

(84) For notes on each monument, see Masuda, "Ivion," 545-46.

7 May *Hagios Akakios en to Heptaskalo*

Proper nouns of the churches

16 Dec. *Hagia Theotokos en Blachernes* (synaxis)

7 Jan. *Hagios Ioannes Baptistes en tois Sparakiois*

10 Feb. *Hagia Theotokos en tois Areobindou*

14 Feb. *Hagios Auxentios en tois Kallestratois*

5 May *Hagioi Neophytos- Gaios- Gaiakos en to oiko ton hagion Anargyron en Blachernes*

13 May *Hagia Theotokos en tois Diakonesois*

23 May *Hagia Theotokos en Sophinianais*

25 May *Hagioi Sergios kai Bakchos peran en Rouphinianais*

30 May *Hagioi Eusebios- Telios- Romanos- Charalampios- Christine, kai tou plethous ton hagion ton en Nikomideia kauthenton ek Dexikratianes, plesion tou hagiou Laurentiou*

1 Jun. *Hagioi Hermilos kai Stratonikos en Phirmoupolei*

1 Jul. *mneme ton anargyron Kosma kai Damianou en Blachernes*⁽⁸⁵⁾

4 Jul. *Hagios Hyakinthos en tois Troadisiois Embolois*

8 Jul. *Hagios Prokopios plethion tes Cherones kai en to Kondylio homios kai eis to Tauron*

26 Jul. *Archangelos [Michael] peran en Chales* (synaxis)

1 Aug. *Hagioi Z [7] Paides Makabaion peran en te epi Elaia hagiotate ekklesia*

13 Aug. *Hagioi Pamphilos- Xistos- Hyppolytos en to martyrio tes Hagias Euphemias en tois Olibriou*

18 Aug. *Hagioi Phloros- Lauros- Iouliane* (their sister) *en to nao tou Hagiou Ioannou Baptistou en tois Beltiadou plethion tou hagiou Philippou*

22 Aug. *Hagios Agathonikos en to martyrio tes Hagias Theodoras en te Xyrokerko, Anthouse epi Hippoichnois Eirenaios en Kainoupoleos*

28 Aug. *Hagia Theotokos peran Pynoulapho* (mneme)

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⁽⁸⁵⁾ According to the manuscript, there was a chapel of Hagioi Anargyroi (of Rome) in the precincts of the Blachernai Church, where the relics of Hagioi Neophytos, Gaios, and Gaiakos were located (see also 5 May). However, according to the Typikon of the Great Church, the synaxis of Anargyroi on 1 Jul. will take place at the Chapel *eis ta Paulinou*, and the synaxis of the three martyrs (the third is Gaiane, not Gaiakos) on 5 May will take place at the Church of Anargyroi *en tois Dareiou*. Mateos, vol.1, 282, 328.

Table 1 Manuscripts with the Encaenia of Five Churches in Constantinople

Manuscripts	Date	Gregory-Aland no. (ð)	Text Type	Egkainia tou Theodorou en tois Egkainia ton Chalkopration Egkainia tes Neas Basilikes Ekklesias Egkainia tou naou tes Theotokou en te Egkainia (tes hagas Sorou) tes Theotokou en Blachernais
Modena, Estense Lib., Gr. 73 α.W.2.6	9/10C	111	Gospels ^{esk}	5 Nov
Paris.gr. 296	10/11C	77	+Gospels ^{esk}	18 Dec
Venice, Marc. Lib., Gr. Z. 12	10/11C	139	+Gospels ^{esk}	1 May
Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 308	10/11C	479	+Gospels + Apostles ^{esk}	9 Jul
Athens, Benaki, TA 247	11C	2024	Apostles ^e	31 Jul
Edinburgh Univ. 222	11C	578	Gospels ^e	
Sinai.gr. 241	11C	875	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Athens, NL 2676	11C	1813	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Athens, NL, Metoch. Panag. Taphou 11	11C	792	Gospels ^e	
Athos, Lavra , B74	11C	1153	Apostles ^e	
Athens, NL 205	11C	587	Apostles ^e	
Paris.gr. 320	11/12C	148	Apostles ^e	
Athos, Vatopediu, 925	1105	1141	Gospels +	
Sinai.gr. 286	12C	809	Apostles ^e	
Sinai.gr. 287	12C	1590	Apostles ^e	
Vat. gr. 2068	12C	613	+Apostles ^e	
Athens, NL 62	12C	449	Gospels ^{esk}	
Athens, NL 64	12C	432	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Athens, NL 101	12C	590	+Apostles ^e	
Athens, NL 124	12C	448	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Oxford, Auct. D. inf. 2.15	12C	29	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Moscow, State Hist. Mus., V. 22, S. 30	12C	62	+Apostles ^e	
Moscow, Russ. State Lib., gr.23	12C	1366	Apostles ^e	
Messina, Univ. Lib., gr.93	12C	606	Apostles ^e	
Athos, Docheiariou 27	12C	625	+Apostles ^e	
Münster, Bible Mus., MS 1	1247	1684	+Gospels ^{esk}	
BL Add. 39.602	980	181	Gospels ^{esk}	
Nara, Tenri Univ., Japan	11C	1066	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Venice, Marci. Lib., Gr. Z. 549 (655)	11C	108	+Gospels ^e	
Jerusalem, Hag.Sabas 266	11C	1298	Apostles ^{esk}	
Sinai.gr. 288	11/12C	1365	Apostles ^{esk}	
Athens, NL 174	12C	394	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Oxford, Auct.F.6.25	1067	203	Gospels ^e	
BL Add. 11.840	12C	189	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Athens, NL 163	12C	383	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Venice, Marc. Lib., Gr. I. 48 (1199)	12C	268	Gospels ^{esk}	
Athens, NL 4074	13/14C	2474	Gospels ^{esk}	
Athens, NL 70	12C	430	Gospels ^e	
Athos, Vatopedi 879	12C	1127	Gospels ^e	
Jerusalem, Hag.Sabas 360	11C	1019	Gospels ^{esk}	
Athens, Byz. Mus., gr.131	12C	1664	Apostles ^e	
Duke Univ., Clark 85	1052	451	Gospels ^{esk}	
Sinai.gr. 217	11C	851	Gospels ^{esk}	
Sinai.gr. 229	11C	863	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Istanbul, Triados 13 (11)	11C	883	Apostles ^e	
Athens, NL 147	11C	1525	Gospels+Apostles ^L	
Athens, NL 164	11C	384	Gospels ^e	
Athens, NL 2168	11C	1800	+Gospels ^e	
Athens, NL, Megalê tou Genous Scholê 02	11C	1788	Gospels ^{esk}	
Vat.gr. 350	11C	539	Gospels ^e	
Jerusalem, Hag.Sabas 23	11C	996	Gospels ^{esk}	
Jerusalem, Hag.Stavros 26	11C	1023	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Jerusalem, Hag.Stavros 44	11C	1024	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Moscow, State Hist. Mus., V. 21, S. 4	11C	59	Apostles ^e	
Athos, Dionysiou, 20	11C	639	Gospels ^e	
Venice, Marc. Lib., Gr. Z. 551 (826)	11C	110	Gospels ^{esk}	
Princeton Univ. Lib., Garrett MS. 9	11C	1621	+Gospels ^{esk}	

Manuscripts	Date	Gregory-Aland no. (ð)	Text Type	Egkainia tou Theodorou en tois Egkainia ton Chalkopration Egkainia tes Neas Basilikes Ekklesias Egkainia tou naou tes Theotokou en te Egkainia (tes hagas Sorou) tes Theotokou en Blachernais
Madison (NJ), Drew Univ., Ms. 2	11C	301	+Gospels ^{esk}	5 Nov
Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Wake 19	11C	212	+Gospels ^{esk}	18 Dec
Vienna, ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 128	11/12C	1662	Gospels ^{esk}	1 May
Cambridge Univ. Lib., Dd. 8.49	11/12C	4	Gospels ^{esk}	9 Jul
Paris.gr. 306	12C	145	Apostles ^e	31 Jul
Athens, NL 63	12C	428	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Sinai.gr. 208	12C	1754	Gospels ^{esk}	
Sinai.gr. 235	12C	869	Gospels ^{esk}	
Athos, Koutloumousiou 61	12C	697	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Duke Univ., Clark 92	11C	2412	Gospels	
Sinai.gr. 232	1074	866	Gospels ^{esk}	
Athens, NL 68	11C	434	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Vat. Barb.gr. 502	12C	609	+Apostles ^e	
Sinai. Arab. 172	13C	1774	Apostles ^P	
Athens, NL 67	11C	437	+Gospels ^e	
Athens, NL 190	12C	412	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Paris.suppl.gr. 104	11/12C	39	Gospels +	
Vat. Barb. gr. 471	11C	536	Gospels ^{esk}	
Paris.gr. 304	14C?	144	Apostles ^e	
Vat.gr. 2144	9C	563	Gospels ^{esk}	
Paris.Suppl.gr. 1096	1070	374	Gospels ^e	
Duke Univ., Clark 12	11C	1966	Gospels ^e	
Duke Univ., Clark 65	11C	1839	Gospels ^e	
Athos, Protaton 11	11C	729	Gospels ^e	
Sinai.gr. 219	11C	853	Gospels ^e	
Münster, Bible Mus., 17	11C	2137	+Gospels ^e	
Athos, Esphigmenou, 20	11C	663	Gospels ^e	
Athos, Dionysiou, 17	11C	636	Gospels ^e	
Athos, Dionysiou 16	12C	635	Gospels ^e	
Paris.gr. 293	12C	75	Gospels ^e	
Istanbul, Triados 4 (2)	12C	773	Gospels ^e	
Athens, NL 2513	12C	1224	+Gospels ^e	
Yale Univ. Beinecke 1180	12C	1643	Gospels ^e	
Athos, Pantokrator 10	12C	1055	Gospels ^e	
El Escorial, Escorial, X. III. 16	12C	43	+Gospels ^e	
Paris.gr. 277	9C	63	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Sinai.gr. 215	9C	849	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Sinai.gr. 214	9C	848	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Athos, Lavra, A30	10C	1073	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Athos, Lavra , A56	10C	1077	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Athos, Lavra , A82	10C	1082	Gospels ^{esk}	
BL, Arundel 547	10C	183	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Athos, Lavra A92	10C	1091	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Paris.Suppl.gr. 1081	10C	373	Gospels ^{esk}	
Oxford, Laud. Gr. 34	1047	20	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Paris.gr. 289	1066	71	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Vat. Barb.gr. 478	11C	608	+Apostles ^e	
BL Add. 28.817	1185	330	+Gospels ^{esk}	
Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Wake 18	12C	211	Gospels ^e	
Vat. Barb. gr. 448	12C	534	Gospels ^{esk}	

Table 2 Overlapping Relationship of the Encaenia

