EARLY PRINTED CYRILIC LITURGICAL TETRAEVANGELIA ISSUED IN THE LANDS OF 16TH CENTURY MEDIEVAL ROMANIA. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND MENOLOGIA ANALYSIS[*]

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Abstract The subject of this research is the general characteristics (typographical, textual, and compositional) and the analysis of the commemorations of saints and feasts present in the Menologia of the Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia issued in the 16th century. The study was based on all liturgical Gospel Books issued before 1800, with particular attention drawn to all Early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in the lands of medieval Romania, *i.e.* nine extant copies.

Different textual classifications of all Romanian Gospel editions into groups and subgroups were presented based on the text readings revealed in several Gospel fragments, prefaces to the Gospels and Chapter Titles. A textual analysis of Menologia focused on the number of days in the twelve months, the presence or absence of saints and feasts, and verbatim correspondence of commemorations' names, served as another way for the textual and liturgical classification of these nine extant Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia. The tables present the most convincing examples for all conceivable classifications. A full list of all the commemorations present in the Menologia of eight extant Romanian-Bulgarian early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia, as well as of all missing ones, are also presented in this publication.

Keywords: Medieval Romania, early printed books, Cyrillic, Tetraevangelion, Gospel, Menologion.

1. Early printed Cyrilllic Tetraevangelia – introduction

The Gospel, as one of the most important books for Christians, has been present in various literary traditions from the very beginning. Due to the type of source in which it was recorded, it is divided into two groups. The first one (represented by manuscripts, *i.e.*, handwritten sources) serves as an older and primary testimony. The second group (considered younger because of the many filiations with manuscripts)

is reflected in early printed books, *i.e.*, publications issued before the end of the 18th century[1]. These two traditions are very closely related and have much in common.

The four Gospels were part of different book types (Ostapczuk 2016: 131–143). Volumes, the main body[2] of which was the Gospel texts, are usually divided into two main categories: lectionaries and tetraevangelia. The first one is composed of excerpted Gospel pericopes, *i.e.*, liturgical fragments, arranged according to the church calendar in the order they should be read. The second category contains the continuous text of the four Gospels in its well-known order (*i.e.*, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John) with an integral addition containing liturgical rubrics (*i.e.*, information on the recitation of Gospel pericopes for different church services during the church year) attached usually at the end. Lectionaries or tetraevangelia have prevailed in different timespans of the Church Slavonic tradition[3]. Glagolitic and Cyrillic manuscripts attest the existence of both categories of Gospel books, while Cyrillic early prints clearly point to the salience of the second type, *i.e.*, the tetraevangelion.

The prevalence of tetraevangelia among early printed Cyrillic Gospel editions has been proven by statistics based on the records provided in early prints' catalogues[4]. In a three-hundred-year tradition[5] of Cyrillic early printing, the following number of various book types with Church Slavonic Gospel texts were published[6]:

– Lectionaries – 4[7],
– Bibles – 18,
– New Testaments with Psalms – 13,
– New Testaments – 38,

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[1] The year 1800 has been accepted in most of the countries, but there are some that have set another date (Nemirovskij 2007: 698; Petrov 2015: 59; Petrov 2021: 45).

[2] The four Gospel books also constituted a considerably small part of the New Testament or Bible.

[3] See: Žukovskaja (1976: 355-366); *Svodnyj katalog XI-XIII* (1984); *Evangelie ot Ioanna* (1998: 17 {1st pagination} and 55-82 {3rd pagination}); Alekseev (1999: 22); Garzaniti (2001: 517-584); Ostapczuk (2010: 89-114); Ostapczuk (2011: 91); Ostapczuk (2013: 137).

[4] For the list of 29 catalogues that served as a basis for statistical data see Ostapczuk (2013: 139 {footnote No 42}).

[5] The period is almost three-hundred-years long. It begun in 1512, when the first Tetraevangelion was published, and ended in 1800.

[6] Ostapczuk (2013: 137-164); Ostapczuk (2020: 201 {footnote No 5}).

[7] There are only four early printed Cyrillic lectionaries known. Three of them are Apostle-Gospel Sunday lectionaries. They were issued in 1620 in Uherce, 1640 in Luck and 1706 in Lviv. The only full Gospel lectionary was issued in 1707 in Kyiv. All of them were printed in the Ukrainian lands. For more information on Cyrillic early printed Lectionaries, see Ostapczuk (2013: 155-164).

– Liturgical Tetraevangelia – 110.

It is the Tetraevangelion that was the most often published in this timespan. Lectionaries, Bibles, and New Testaments (sometimes with the Book of Psalms) appeared only on the territories inhabited by the Eastern Slavs[8]. The texts have entered the publishing circuit almost one century after Schweipolt Fiol had issued the first early printed Cyrillic book in Cracow in the last decade of the 15th century[9]. The appearance of printed Tetraevangelia, in comparison to the aforementioned four, less frequently issued book types, is not so limited in terms of time and territories. Liturgical Gospel books, a necessary element of Orthodox worship, were always in relatively high demand. As a sign of Christ's presence, one copy was always kept on the altar in Orthodox churches and was used by the clergy during the most important services, *i.e.*, liturgies and other celebrations (baptisms, weddings, funerals, etc.)[10]. The establishment of a parish church or monastery was always closely related to equipping it with a liturgical Gospel book. These facts explain the central role of the Gospel in the Orthodox Church and the publishers' considerable interest in printing Gospels for their use in services.

An early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelion was issued for the first time in Church Slavonic 20 years after Fiol's first paleotype went out of press. This took place in 1512 in Tărgoviște, the capital of Wallachia, located in the eastern part of Muntenia. This Tetraevangelion was issued in Cyrillic alphabet in the Middle-Bulgarian recension of the Church Slavonic. From then up to the end of the 18th century, Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia were issued 110 times. During this time span, they were printed in the lands of medieval Romania (principalities of Wallachia and Transylvania), Serbia, Moscow, Vilnius, Lviv, Kyiv and Pochaiv. Three recensions of the Church Slavonic language were used: Middle-Bulgarian (in 11 editions, two of which are lost), Serbian (in 3 editions) and East Slavonic (in all remaining editions). Sixteen Gospels were issued in the 16th century, thirty-one in the 17th century and sixty-three in the 18th century.

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[8] Historical circumstances must be considered here, especially the Ottoman occupation of some of the lands inhabited by the Orthodox.

[9] Schweipolt Fiol was the first to use a printing press for production of books in Cyrillic alphabet. He worked in Cracow and published four books: Octoechos (1491), the Book of Hours (1491), the Lenten Triodion (1493) and the Pentecostarion (1493). See Petrov (2021: 74).

[10] Usually only one fragment from the Gospel is read during a service. Only on special feasts, such as Good Friday, more than one Gospel fragment may be read. Some pericopes consist of several Gospel fragments, sometimes even from different Gospels.

Early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia in the lands of medieval Romania were printed only in the 16th century. The Middle-Bulgarian recension of the Church Slavonic was used in all of them. The following eleven[11] editions were issued in:

1) 1512[12] in Tấrgovişte by Monk Makarije[13],

2-3) 1546 and 1551–1553[14] in Sibiu by Filip Pictor Moldoveanu (the Moldavian),

4) 1562 in Braşov by Deacon Coresi with Dyak Tudor,

5) 1565 in Braşov by Dyak Kalin,

6) 1577[15] in Braşov by Deacon Coresi,

7) 1579 in Braşov (or Sebeş) by Deacon Coresi with Manuil,

8) 1579 in Alba Iulia (Bǎlgrad) by Dyak Lorinţ,

9-10) 1582 and after 1582[16] at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist (Plumbuita on the River Colentina, now in Bucharest) by Hieromonk Lavrentie,

11) 1583 in Braşov (or Sebeş) by Deacon Coresi with Manuil.

Two out of these eleven Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel editions are now considered lost, namely the fifth[17] and sixth editions mentioned in the list presented above. The first lost Tetraevangelion, which was issued in 1565 in Braşov by Dyak Kalin[18], was a mere reissue (Deletant 1975: 166; Munteanu 2012: 21) of the first

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[11] There are also sometimes other editions mentioned, as Tetraevangelia published in Tấrgovişte by Dimitrie Liubavici in 1546-1555 (Munteanu (2012: 18) or in 1570 by Dyak Lorinţ (Munteanu 2012: 21).

[12] For the edition of the text, see Miklas (1999).

[13] Quite often he is believed to be the same person who had previously worked in Cetinje (contemporary Montenegro) and, after the fall of the Principality of Zeta to the Turks in 1499, fled via Venice to Wallachia, where he started his printing activity. For more information, see: Mârza (2004: 54–55), Nemirovskij (2008: 115-125); Eşanu/ Eşanu (2015: 21–23); Croitoru (2021: 38).

[14] On the printing date of this bilingual Gospel edition see: Gheţie/ Mareş (1985: 337); Demény/ Demény (1986: 303); Mareş (1990: 238–239). For the edition of the text, see ES 1971.

[15] Pr. V. Oltean dates this Gospel edition back to the year 1574; to illustrate it, he published the photo from the Tetraevagenlion issued by hieromonk Lavrentie printed in 1582 (Oltean (2019: 148).

[16] For a detailed typographical characteristic of these two Gospel editions see Demény/ Demény (1986: 117-120).

[17] Two Tetraevangelion copies kept at the National Library of Russia in Sankt Petersburg are sometimes described as the Gospel edition issued in 1565 in Braşov by Dyak Kalin (Demény/ Demény (1986: 186-187, 196-197). See also Oltean (2019: 251).

[18] Atanasov (1971: 418); Borsa *et al.* (1971: 236, no 204); Demény/ Demény (1986: 137-138); Guseva (2003: 1205); Petrov (2015: 131); Petrov (2021: 109); Croitoru (2021: 48).

Gospel edition by Coresi, with the only differences in its afterword[19], which contains information about the printer and the date of issue. In the absence of additional evidence, nothing certain can be said about the second lost Tetraevangelion[20].

There were only three Serbian Gospel editions issued in the 16th century: in Rujno (1537), Belgrade (1552) and Mrkšina Crkva (1662), and four East Slavonic Tetraevangelia that were printed three times in Moscow in 1553/54, 1558/59 and 1563/64, and once in Vilnius in 1575. Considering the number of Gospel editions in the Church Slavonic Language dating back to the 16th century[21], the typographic output of medieval Romania should be regarded as abundant, making a great contribution to the Cyrillic Gospel printing.

This is also attested by the fact that the first-ever printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelion issued in Tȃrgovişte in 1512 is treated as the prototype and model for subsequent Cyrillic Gospel[22] editions[23] printed by the Romanians[24] and the Serbians. All these further South Slavonic Cyrillic Tetraevangelia, despite their various recensions, are considered to be mirror images of the 1512 edition. They were printed with a few or no textual changes and all varied more in their typographic characteristics (Erich 2003: 92-94; Voznesenskij 2016: 39-40). The first and second Serbian Gospel[25] editions are considered exact copies of the Tȃrgovişte Gospel (Demény/ Demény 1986: 51–54; Erich 2003: 99-100; Nemirovskij 2008: 433). The Tetraevangelion printed in 1546 in Sibiu is also thought to be a mere

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[19] For the textual analysis of afterwords of early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia issued in 1562 and 1565, see: Korneeva-Petfulan (1927: 191); Demény/ Demény (1986: 192); Oltean (2019: 101-103, 122-123); Ostapczuk (2022b: 14-15).

[20] Borsa *et al.* (1971: 374-385, No 375); Deletant (1975: 173); Guseva (2003: 1205, No 6); Oltean (2019: 252).

[21] Due to the historical-political situation in the 17th and 18th centuries, there were no Cyrillic Gospels printed in Serbia, Montenegro or in the territories of medieval Romania. During these two centuries, Tetraevangelia were only issued in Eastern Slavic areas, *i.e.*, contemporary Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belarus.

[22] All early printed books issued by monk Makarije influenced the Romanian printing tradition (Erich 2003: 98-101).

[23] Mano-Zisi (1988: 244); Erich (2003: 99); Nemirovskij (2008: 433); Polimirova (2011: 218); Ivanova (2013: 28-29); Voznesenskij (2016: 39-40); Eşanu/ Eşanu (2015: 22); Eşanu/ Eşanu (2021: 110).

[24] Monk Makarije copied the traditions of manuscripts' ornamentation famous in Moldova and Wallachia (Erich 2003: 86-91).

[25] The third Serbian Gospel edition issued in 1562 in Mrkšina Crkva is treated as a reprint of the second Serbian Tetraevangelion issued in 1552 in Belgrade.

reissue of the 1512 Gospel edition[26], although with some editorial changes[27]. The same is assumed for all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia issued in the second half of the 16th century. The Tetraevangelion printed in 1562 by Deacon Coresi together with Dyak Tudor is considered one of the most consistent and faithful reproductions of the Tấrgovişte Gospel (Demény/ Demény 1986: 135; Voznesenskij 2016: 41). Therefore, the first early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelion, very popular in the northern and southern area of Danube (Eşanu/ Eşanu 2014: 337-402; Eşanu/ Eşanu 2015: 27, 63), can be unquestionably regarded as *editio princeps* (Demény 1971: 90; Stabile 2019-2020: 84), as it served not only as the first but also the best example of typographical production for all the following Romanian-Bulgarian and Serbian Gospel editions.

The importance of the Tấrgovişte Tetraevangelion is also attested by the fact that just twenty years after it went out of the press, it was used as the source for the Gospel manuscript. Its copy is now kept at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest under call number 503 (Panaitescu 2003: 338-340).

The Church Slavonic Tetraevangelion has its own long history. By the end of the 15th century, the tradition of texts that had to be included in the liturgical Gospels had been already formed[28]. In nine Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel editions, the following main components can be distinguished[29]:

– the four Gospel books (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John), preceded by Chapter Titles and Prefaces of Bl. Theophylact,

– an appendix with liturgical rubrics, *i.e.*, information about the feasts and veneration of saints and sacred events for the whole liturgical year, which is usually divided into two main sections: the Synaxarion – corresponding to the movable liturgical year (always starting with the Resurrection), and the Menologion – corresponding to the fixed liturgical year (always starting with September),

– an afterword[30] placed at the end of a volume, *i.e.*, a short additional text comprising data on the year and place of publication, sometimes containing extra

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[26] Demény/ Demény (1986: 58-60, 134-135, 276); Mârza (2004: 56); Nemirovskij (2007: 771); Stabile (2019: 63); Stabile (2019-2020: 84); Eşanu/ Eşanu (2015: 22); Eşanu/ Eşanu (2021: 110); Croitoru (2021: 45).

[27] Stabile (2019: 64-65); Croitoru (2021: 45); Eşanu/ Eşanu (2021: 112). Some texts (for instance in Preface of Bl. Theophylact to the Gospel of John) in this Gospel edition issued in 1546 in Sibiu were also omitted. See Stabile (2019: 64).

[28] For the detailed list of all texts included in Gospel manuscripts see: Dogramadžieva (1993a: 3-21); Dogramadžieva (1993b: 22-30).

[29] For the list of all component parts in the first Cyrillic Tetraevangelion see Nemirovskij (2008: 474-483).

[30] This text located at the beginning of a volume is called a foreword. These texts, *afterwords* and *forewords* are called *anagraphs*.

geographical and bibliographical information about the printers, as well as other details.

The content of the nine Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel paleotypes is, with one exception, identical.

In the times of manuscripts, there was a tradition of incorporating framed portraits of Evangelists in the size of a full page. They were usually depicted seated and writing, with their symbols above or next to them. These portraits were located on the pages opposite the beginning of the corresponding Gospels[31].

The only Romanian-Bulgarian[32] and the first[33] Tetraevangelion that has incorporated portraits of the four Evangelists is the edition issued in 1546 in Sibiu by Philip Pictor, the Moldavian (Voznesenskij 2016: 42). However, these unusual and unique[34] pictures[35], with a height equal to several-lines of text in this edition[36] that show only the Evangelists' torsos and their symbols, were printed in different places in three cases. They are on the pages opposite the end of the Preface of Bl. Theophylact (in the Gospel of Matthew) or where this text ends (in the Gospels of Mark and John). Only the portrait of St. Luke the Evangelist is printed on the page opposite the beginning of its Gospel[37]. It is placed in its lower part, below the silhouette of Jesus Christ enthroned (in Majesty) with the text на прѣстолѣ беше хсте съ ѿце҃ и дхо҃ въса испⷪ льнѣа неопісане and with іс хс ни ка monograph along with the printer's device[38]. The same portrait of Jesus Christ enthroned is also printed on the pages opposite the beginning of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark[39]. On the page that precedes the Gospel of Matthew, below the silhouette of Jesus Christ enthroned, the coat of arms of Sibiu[40] also appears (see: *Photo No 1*) [41]. However, the page opposite to the Gospel of John was left blank.

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[31] The beginning of a Gospel was marked with decorated headpiece. One of them, see: Eşanu/ Eşanu (2021: 110).

[32] The first East Slavonic Tetraevangelion with portraits of the Evangelists in the size of a full page was issued in Vilnius in 1575 at the Mamonich Printing House.

[33] Erich (2003: 94); Nemirovskij (2007: 772).

[34] Erich (2003: 94); Nemirovskij (2007: 771); Eşanu/ Eşanu (2021: 110).

[35] All portraits of the Evangelists with the coat of arms of Sibiu and Moldova and headpieces, see Escedy (2004: 305-307).

[36] The height of Matthew's portrait equals the height of six-lines of text.

[37] See Erich (2003: 94); Eşanu/ Eşanu (2019: 19).

[38] In the past, the printer's device was sometimes mistakenly deciphered as Митрофанъ (Nemirovskij 2007: 772). For the printer's device see: Eşanu/ Eşanu (2019: 15); Eşanu/ Eşanu (2021: 109).

[39] See: Demény/ Demény (1986: 276-277); Eşanu/ Eşanu (2021: 113).

[40] The coat of arms of Sibiu was printed four times (Eşanu/ Eşanu 2019: 15).

[41] See Demény (1969: abb III); Demény/ Demény (1986: illustration 73).

Photo No. 1[42]

Four portraits (*i.e.* torsos) of all four Evangelists with their symbols were also printed (Eşanu/ Eşanu 2019: 15), after the afterword, on the last folio (*recto* page)[43] of the volume (see: *Photo No 2*). Their sequence is as follows: John and Matthew, and right belowLuke and Mark (Nemirovskij 2007: 772). In the lower part of this page, the coat of arms of Moldova[44], where Filip Pictor Moldoveanu (the Moldavian) came from (Mârza 2004: 56; Eşanu/ Eşanu 2021: 108), was also printed (Mârza 2004: 56; Eşanu/ Eşanu 2019: 15).

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[42] Photos No 1 and 2 are from the copy preserved in Mukachevo (Ukraine). It is hardly accessible and often described as unknown preservation state (Eşanu/ Eşanu 2021: 114).

[43] E. L. Nemirovskij stated that they were printed on the verso side of folio 300 (Nemirovskij 2007: 772).

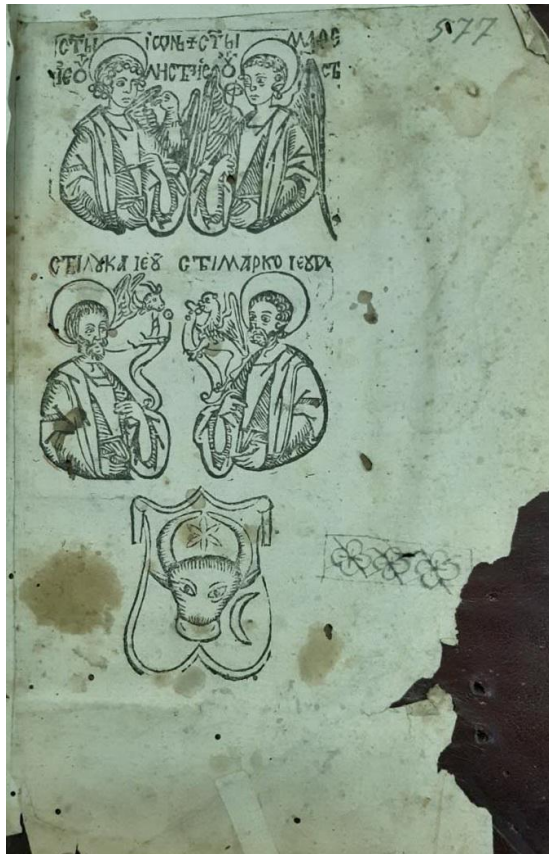[44] See Demény/ Demény (1986: illustration 26).

Photo No. 2

It is impossible to state whether the only Slavo-Romanian[45] Tetraevangelion issued in 1551–1553 in Sibiu by the same printer Philip Pictor the Moldavian had the Evangelists' portraits originally printed in. Only two fragments from this unfinished (Voznesenskij 2016: 43; Eşanu/ Eşanu 2021: 112) edition are preserved

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[45] The introduction of Romanian as a liturgical language began with the translation of the Psalms at the end of the 15th century, somewhere in Transylvania. After the Ottoman conquest of Hungary (1526-1541), Transylvania became an autonomous principality, and Orthodox believers were subject of the Lutheran Saxons' regime in the 16th century and after that of Calvinist Hungarian princes in the 17th century (Mureșan 2021: 146-147).

The Romanian translation in this Gospel edition was the subject of many publications. The following articles published over the past several years can be pointed as examples: Florescu (2010, 35-88); Florescu (2015); Nagy (2019-2020: 63-81); Stabile (2019: 59-87); Stabile (2019-2020: 83-102); Agrigoroaei (2018: 77-79).

today. The more extensive one, kept at the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg, contains the text of the Gospel of Mathew 3:17-27:55 (*zachalas* 6-113) [46]. The second one (two folios), containing the text from of the Gospel of Matthew 12:12-28, belonged to an Orthodox Church in Oiejdea (Alba County)[47], but it is now kept in the *Museikon collection* in Alba Iulia[48]. It is worth noting that this is the only bilingual liturgical Tetraevangelion issued in the 16th century. Although the part containing liturgical rubrics has not been preserved, we can undoubtedly state that the edition was prepared to be used for religious services in the Orthodox Church. This fact is attested by the numerous liturgical cues and texts in coloured ink indicating the beginning or end of Gospel pericopes and specifying the day the respective paragraph should be read on. The opening formulas of Gospel pericopes (*i.e.*, incipits)[49] in this Gospel edition were incorporated into the main text.

Another bilingual edition was issued in the 16th century (circa 1580) by a Belarusian Protestant[50] Vasyl Ciapiński[51] at his estate in the Province of Polatsk of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (now Belarus). This unfinished[52] New Testament edition with Gospel texts in Church Slavonic and Ruthenian languages in parallel columns was not intended for liturgical purposes.

The Slavo-Romanian Tetraevangelion issued in Sibiu in 1551-1553, printed by Philip Pictor the Moldavian, could have directly influenced deacon Coresi to print two separate Gospel editions in Romanian (issued in 1561) and Church Slavonic (issued in 1562) languages.

As stated above, several components can be identified in the early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia. Each distinguished section constitutes a single separate literary component, quite often equipped with its own peculiarities, *i.e.*,

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[46] Guseva (2003: 25, No 1); Stabile (2019: 59); Eşanu/ Eşanu (2019: 22-24).

[47] Mârza (1978: 147-154); Stabile (2019: 59); Stabile (2019-2020: 83); Eşanu/ Eşanu (2019: 24); Eşanu/ Eşanu (2021: 115).

[48] These two pages were discovered during restoration of the Triodion printed in Blaj in 1771. For photos of two pages of this bifolio fragment see *Museikon* (2022: 81, 83).

[49] The are several opening formulas, including: *At that time*, *The Lord said*, *The Lord spoke this parable*, *The Lord said to his disciples*, *The Lord said to the Jews who came to him*, *the Lord said to the Jews who believed in him.*

[50] The Romanian translation of the New Testament is thought to have been influenced by Reformation movements (Croitoru 2021: 43-44).

[51] Vasyl Ciapiński was a Belarusian writer, publicist, humanist, and enlightener. Influenced by the Reformation movement, he initiated the publishing of the Bible in a vernacular language on the Belarusian lands (then called Ruthenian). Filip Pictor **Moldoveanu (the** Moldavian), who published the Slavo-Romanian Tetraevangelion, is sometimes treated as "Saxon and Lutheran" (Stabile 2019: 69).

[52] V. Ciapiński (or Tiapinski) managed to print only part of the Tetraevangelion (Voznesenskij 2016: 43).

textual variants. A critical study of the text has proven that each literary section of the early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelion should be examined separately, as the results of the studies could vary from one literary component to another.

2. Textual study of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark

A textual analysis of the several fragments from the Gospels of Matthew (3:17-8:21, 13:44-15:11 and 26:1-27:62)[53] and Mark (1:1-2:23)[54] has proven that all of the early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia issued in the lands of medieval Romania[55] form a separate group (see Table No. 1) that can be classified into the three following subgroups (Ostapczuk 2019b: 379-380):

– three older Tetraevangelia issued in 1512, 1546 and 1551–1553[56], which represent the textual tradition of Monk Makarije's Gospel (see Table No. 2),

– five younger Gospel editions issued in 1562, twice in 1579 (in Brașov and Alba Iulia/ Bălgrad), 1582 and after 1582, which represent the textual tradition of Deacon Coresi's Gospel (see Table No. 3),

– the Tetraevangelion issued in 1583, which often shares textual variants common with the first, but very rarely with the second subgroup. Its text represents a mixed textual tradition (see Tables No. 2-4).

As it was already mentioned, only a large section of the Gospel of Matthew from the Slavo-Romanian Tetraevangelion issued in 1551-1553 is available for analysis. Text critical study of the three fragments from the Gospel of Matthew (3:17-8:21, 13:44-15:11 and 26:1-27:62) has proven that this edition follows the textual tradition of the Gospel issued in the same city in 1546 by Philip Pictor the Moldavian (Ostapczuk 2021a: 389-392).

3. Textual study of the Prefaces of Bl. Theophylact to the Gospels

A textual analysis of the Prefaces to four Gospels (Ostapczuk 2019a: 315-329; Ostapczuk 2022a: 88-95) written by the famous Byzantine biblical scholar and exegete Blessed Theophylact of Ohrid (ca. 1050/60 – ca. 1108) has proven another possible classification of the early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia issued in the lands

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[53] Ostapczuk (2021a: 386).

[54] Ostapczuk (2019b: 371-382).

[55] In terms of textual variants in the studied fragment of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, Serbian Tetraevangelia follow the tradition of Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel editions.

[56] The Tetraevangelion issued in Sibiu in 1551–1553 was included only in the classification of the Gospel editions based on the Gospel of Matthew. None of paratexts (*i.e.*, chapter titles, prefaces, or afterword) from this Tetraevangelion are extant today.

of medieval Romania. Regarding the length of four Prefaces, these eight[57] Gospels editions can be classified into the following four groups (see Table No. 5):

(a) three Gospel editions issued in 1512, 1579 (Brașov) and 1583,

(b) the Gospel edition issued in 1546,

(c) three Tetraevangelia issued in 1562, 1582 and after 1582,

(d) the Tetraevangelion issued in 1579 (in Alba Iulia).

This classification was based on the length of the Prefaces to the first two Gospels and the numerous textual variants (Ostapczuk 2019: 315-329) present in the short version of the Preface to the Gospel of Matthew.

The Gospel editions assigned to the first and second groups have the long Preface to the Gospel of Matthew, while those included in the third and fourth groups have the short one (see Table No. 5). In most of the researched editions[58], Bl. Theophylact is described as Archbishop of Bulgaria (архиепископа болгарскаго), while only in three Tetraevangelia with short Preface he is referred to as Archbishop of Ochrid (архиепископа wхридскаго). Aside from this significant textual reading, in the Preface to the Gospel of Matthew there are also many other important variants, two small text additions and one long omission (Ostapczuk 2019a: 315-329). They are presented in Table No. 6.

The short Preface to the Gospel of Mark is present only in one out of the eight Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel editions. It was printed in Sibiu in 1546[59]. All of the other Tetraevangelia issued in the lands of medieval Romania have a long Preface to the second Gospel.

Three Prefaces to the Gospels of Mark, Luke and John also have some interesting textual variants[60]; however, they are not significant enough to be used as a basis for a more developed classification of the eight Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel editions.

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[57] The Tetraevangelion issued in Sibiu in 1551–1553 was not included in this classification, as its extant copy only contains the text from the Gospel of Matthew.

[58] All early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia issued in the East Slavonic recension of Church Slavonic Language also denote Bl. Theophylact as the Archbishop of Bulgaria.

[59] A short Preface to the Gospel of Matthew is thought to be due to the Protestant influence (Croitoru 2021: 45). It is worth noticing that the Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelion issued in 1546 is the only one, out of all eight, with this type of changes in the Preface to the second Gospel. None of Coresi's Slavonic Tetraevangelia confirm these *corrections* made "due to the Protestant influence". Does the book printing under the patronage of Lutheran rulers or in an environment of *protestant propaganda* mean Reformation influence as Croitoru (2021: 37-75) tries to prove?

[60] The Tetraevangelion printed in Sibiu in 1546 has several textual variants in the Prefaces to the Gospel of Mark and John. In the Preface to the Gospel of John, there are more than two omissions mentioned by G. Stabile (2019: 64).

4. Textual study of Chapter Titles

A textual analysis of the Chapter Titles[61] has proven that eight[62] early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia issued in the lands of medieval Romania form a single group (see Table No. 7) that can be classified into the three following subgroups:
– two older Tetraevangelia issued in 1512 and 1546 (see Table No. 8),
– five newer Gospel editions issued in 1562, twice in 1579 (in Braşov and Alba Iulia/ Bălgrad), 1582 and after 1582 (see Table No. 9),
– the Tetraevangelion issued in 1583 that shares some textual variants common to the first subgroup (see Tables No. 8-10).

This division of the eight Bulgarian-Romanian Tetraevangelia into subgroups fully corresponds to the classification based on the textual variants revealed in the four Gospel fragments studied (*i.e.*, Mt 3:17-8:21, 13:44-15:11 and 26:1-27:62; Mk 1:1-2:2)[63].

5. Textual study of the Menologion

Early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia used for religious services required a special appendix with liturgical rubrics about the feasts and commemoration of saints or sacred events, complemented in many cases with additional information about the Gospel pericopes. Its second part[64], the Menologion, which corresponds to the fixed liturgical year, is divided into twelve sections, *i.e.*, months, and always starts with September. Gospel manuscripts and early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia as liturgical books were addressed to specific communities, often with various local religious traditions. Therefore, liturgical Gospel editions had to respond to their liturgical requirements, *i.e.*, to reflect not only the widely known feasts but also the local ones that were popular only in a particular area. For this reason, the Menologia present in early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia could not be liturgically and textually homogeneous (Žukovskaja 1993: 81-87). They can be researched in several different ways. In this part of the publication, the type of menologion, the number of days in every month and the number of commemorations in the respective days of corresponding months were examined.

Two types of Menologia are present in early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia: an abbreviated and a complete one[65]. The first one does not contain a list of feasts and saints for all of the days in each month, but only for those which are the most

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[61] Ostapczuk (2020: 200-216); Ostapczuk (2021b: 143-159); Ostapczuk (2021c: 109-125).

[62] The Tetraevangelion issued in Sibiu in 1551–1553 was not included in this classification, as its extant copy does not contain Chapter Titles.

[63] See Tables No 1–4.

[64] The first part is called the Synaxarion.

[65] Ostapczuk (2022c: 38). These two types of Menologia are also confirmed in the manuscript tradition (Stefanović 1989: 138).

important from the point of view of the publishers and liturgical tradition of the recipients. The second one – the full menologion – contains a list of feasts and saints for all the days in every month, *i.e.*, in September for all 30 days, in October for all 31 days, and so on[66]. All of the early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia issued in the lands of medieval Romania, as was the case of all other Gospel editions printed before 1652, have an abbreviated menologion (Ostapczuk 2022c: 38).

A comparison of the number of days in the twelve months of all early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia containing abbreviated Menologia[67] has proven that the eight Romanian-Bulgarian (together with three Serbian) Gospel editions form a single group with a completely different number of days compared to the number of days in the corresponding months in East Slavonic Tetraevangelia (Ostapczuk 2022d: 43-47). This statement is attested by the same number of days in as many as nine months (*i.e.*: September, October, November, December, January, February, June, July, and August) found in the Romanian-Bulgarian (and Serbian) Gospel editions (see Tables No. 11-19).

All of the early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia issued in the lands of medieval Romania have the same number of days in eleven months (see Table No. 20). Only in one month, *i.e.*, May, does the number of days in the Menologia of eight Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia slightly differ. On this basis, the eight Gospel editions could be classified into the following two subgroups (see Table No. 21):

– four Tetraevangelia[68] printed in Târgovişte in 1512, in Sibiu in 1546 and at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Bucharest in 1582, and after 1582,

– four Tetraevangelia issued three times in Braşov in 1562, 1579 and 1583, and once in Alba Iulia (Bălgrad) in 1579.

A comparison of feasts, saints, and sacred events in the twelve months of all the early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia has proven that the eight Romanian-Bulgarian (together with three Serbian) Gospel editions form a single group that lacks 26 commemorations present in all[69] East Slavonic Tetraevangelia (see Table No. 22). These commemorations include the Feast of Protection of Theotokos (October 1);

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[66] It is worth noting that the number of days in each month is not equal to the number of feasts and saints in corresponding months since several feasts and saints can be listed for one day.

[67] Early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia with abbreviated Menologia were issued in the Middle-Bulgarian and Serbian recension of Church Slavonic, in Moscow before 1562, in Lviv (eight editions), Vilnius (four editions) and once in Klintsy in 1782 (it is a mere reissue of Moscow 1648 edition).

[68] Three Serbian Tetraevangelia also belong to this group.

[69] Saints or feasts that were present only in some or in most of the East Slavonic Gospel editions were not included in these 26 commemorations that are omitted in the Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia.

Holy Apostles James (October 9) and Matthias (August 9); Saint Catherine of Alexandria (November 24); Saint Spyridon, Bishop of Trymithous (December 12); Saint Gregory of Nyssa (January 10); Prophet Jeremiah (May 1), etc.

Textual variants revealed in the descriptions of feasts, saints, and sacred events present in the Menologia of early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia issued in the lands of medieval Romania enabled the division of these eight Gospel editions into the following three subgroups (see Table No. 23):

– two[70] older Tetraevangelia issued in Târgovişte in 1512, in Sibiu in 1546,

– four Gospel editions issued three times in Braşov in 1562, 1579 and 1583, and once in Alba Iulia (Bălgrad) in 1579,

– two Tetraevangelia issued at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Bucharest in 1582, and after 1582, that share some textual variants common with the first and/ or second subgroup.

The list of all feasts, saints and sacred events commemorated in the Menologia of all the early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia issued in the lands of medieval Romania is displayed in Table No. 24.

It is worth noting that in the Menologia of eight Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia there is no mention of Saints Cyril and Methodius[71]. Saints[72] or events[73] connected with the East Slavs[74] have also been omitted, as well as saints typical for the Bulgarian church tradition (Loseva 2001: 30), such as: Mother Paraskeva of Epivates, Petka of Tarnovo (October 14)[75], or Father John of Rila (October 19)[76].

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[70] Three Serbian Tetraevangelia also belong to this group.

[71] Saint Cyril is mentioned on February 14 in some early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia as "Our Saint Father Cyril Bishop of Catania" (свѧтаго ѿца нашего курилла епископа катанскаго) or "Our Saint Father Cyril Bishop of Catania, Teacher of Slavs, and Bulgarians, who translated Russian writings from Greek and who baptised Slavs and Bulgarians" (иже въ свѧтъіхъ ѿца нашего курилла епископа катанскаго оучителѧ слованомъ и болгаромъ, иже преложи руоскꙋю грамотꙋ съ греческиина и крьсти слованы и болгары).

[72] For example, Venerable Father Anthony of Caves in Kyiv (July 10); Holy Martyr Mercurius of Smolensk (November 24), Saint James, the Bishop of Rostov, and Wonderworker (November 27), Venerable Athanasius recluse of Kyiv Caves (December 2), etc.

[73] For example, the Consecration of the Church of the Holy Great Martyr George in the Kyiv at the Golden Gates (November 26), Repose of Prince Vladimir (July 15) or Slaying of Saints Boris and Gleb (July 24), etc.

[74] On their presence in south Slavonic manuscripts see Stefanović (1989: 143-145).

[75] Her commemoration was introduced for the first time into the Tetraevangelia issued in 1636 (Lviv edition).

[76] His commemoration was introduced for the first time into the Tetraevangelia only in

Only two Serbian[77] saints were included in the Menologia of eight Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia[78]:

– Saint Sava – commemorated on January 14[79] as *Our Father among the Saints Sava, the first*[80] *Archbishop of Serbia*[81], and

– Saint Symeon, the first Serbian Saint (Subotin-Golubovič 2013: 39), – commemorated on February 13[82] as[83]:

(a) *Our Venerable Father Symeon of Serbia* in two Tetraevangelia printed in 1512 and 1546,

(b) The *Memory of our Venerable Father Symeon of Serbia, the New Myrrh-flowing* in six other Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel editions (with omitted "the New" in the Tetraevangelion issued in 1583 in Braşov).

The difference in the more developed wording of St. Symeon's commemoration in later Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel editions is very noticeable. It allows us to divide all early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia issued in the lands of medieval Romania in two groups, as do the results of comparing their Gospel texts with the tradition transmitted by manuscript sources[84]. The two Tetraevangelia issued in 1512 and 1546 contain many textual readings typical for Bl. Theophylact's Explanation of the Holy Gospel and the Second Athonite Redaction (*B*). Six other Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel editions, issued later, do not share these textual variants. They reflect more closely the textual tradition of the ancient Slavic Gospel text, or some later variety of it, and contain text variants common to the First Athonite Redaction (*A*).

Saint Symeon, one of the founders of the Hilandar Monastery, was buried in its *Catholicon* after his death (in 1199). The monks of this community (Subotin-Golubovič 2013: 39) started to commemorate him immediately[85] afterwards. His

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1685 (Moscow edition).

[77] Menologia of Apostole and Gospel manuscripts maintain Serbian feasts, and to a lesser extent, Cyrillo-Methodian saints (Stefanović 1989: 160).

[78] See also Stefanović (1989: 148-149); Vukašinović (2012: 57, 98).

[79] On his commemoration on January 12, 14 or even 15 see Subotin-Golubovič (2013: 40).

[80] In 1219 in Nicea he was appointed as the first Serbian archbishop by the patriarch Manuel Saratenos (Adashinskaya 2009: 8).

[81] On his commemoration in south Slavonic manuscript with the same name see: Stefanović (1989: 148).

[82] It is the day of his repose in 1199. The year 1200 is also sometimes mentioned, see Szefliński (2016: 61).

[83] On commemoration of Saint Symeon in manuscript Menologia see Stefanović (1989: 148-149).

[84] See Ostapczuk (2018: 69-70).

[85] The oldest hymnographical text devoted to Saint Symeon was composed by his son Saint Sava. He is also the author of his first *vita*, which is full of realistic details (Adashinskaya

veneration spread very quickly beyond the monastery walls after the translation of his relics to the Studenica Monastery in February 1207. This event marked the next stage of the emergence of St. Symeon's cult. One year (or two years) after the translation of the relics, *i.e.* in 1208 or 1209 (Szefliński 2016: 88-89), on February 13, myrrh started to flow from his new tomb in Studenica Monastery, and several miracles occurred[86]. From this moment, his cult[87] was recognised at national level (Adashinskaya 2009: 7; Szefliński 2016: 88). Saint Symeon's first tomb in Hilandar, after the translation of his relics, was still continuously venerated (Adashinskaya 2009: 6).

The two descriptions of St. Symeon's commemoration as a Father – in two oldest Bulgarian-Romanian Gospel editions, and as a Father the New Myrrh-flowing – in six other Tetraevangelia issued later in the lands of Medieval Romania seem to reflect two different stages of his cult; the older one, at the level of the Athonite monastery (Stefanović 1989: 149) and the newer one at national level. The second one is marked with the miracle of flowing Myrrh.

6. Conclusions

The textual variants and differences in the liturgical commemorations of feasts and saints present in the early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in the lands of medieval Romania have proven that these nine Gospel editions deserve more attention than they have received to date. The results obtained in the examination of the various components of these Tetraevangelia, *i.e.*, several Gospel fragments, four Prefaces and four Chapter Titles, as well as Menologia, have attested the necessity to study each literary unit separately. The textual variants of the Gospel editions' component parts allow for several different divisions of the nine Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia researched into subgroups. The classification of these Gospel editions based on the results of one literary unit is not always applicable to a classification based on the other.

2009: 6).

[86] See more: *Sveti Sava* (1998: 188); *Stefan prvovenčani* (1999: 76).

Later Serbian sources and legends, most probably originated around 1209 on Mount Athos (Vojvodić 2004: 31-34; Popović 2006: 48-49) and supported by texts composed by Domentian and Theodosje (Domentijan 2001: 130-138; Teodosije 1988: 70-73), point out that the first Myrrh-flowing had happened at the Hilandar Monastery during the first commemoration of St. Symeon. The first hierophany of St. Symeon on Mt. Athos is fictitious (Szefliński 2016: 68).

Another date for St. Symeon's hierophany is sometimes set on the fourth day after the translation of the relics to Studenica Monastery (Szefliński 2016: 89).

[87] His *vita*, begun in Hilandar by Saint Sava, was finished c. 1207 and by the end of 1213, his service had also been composed.

It is still possible to reveal many significant and unique textual readings and liturgical information in each of these nine Gospel editions that are of special interest to scholars of various disciplines, not only Orthodox theologians, or liturgists, but also those focused on history, literature, and linguistics.

The value of the early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in the lands of medieval Romania is of particular importance in many respects. For example, it helps us study the late history of the Cyrillic Gospel text and local liturgical traditions, as well as to uncover the real place of the Romanians in the Orthodox Commonwealth and research Gospel translations into the Romanian language, as "Slavonic Apostles, <...> Gospels, and Psalters, as well as other church-related books and manuscripts, have constituted the main source for the first Romanian translation of the Bible" (Munteanu 2012: 18).

The results of textual studies carried out on the early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in the lands of medieval Romania in Middle-Bulgarian recension of the Church Slavonic should contribute to the development of studies on the earliest Romanian translations of the Holy Scripture and the 16th century Orthodox liturgical tradition of the Romanian lands.

APPENDICES

Table No. 1

	Textual variants confirmed in:	
	all East Slavonic Gospel Editions	all Romanian-Bulgarian (and Serbian) Tetraevangelia
Gospel of Matthew[88]		
5:3[89]	<u>цр́твїе</u> небесноѥ	<u>цр́тво</u> небесноѥ
5:28	<u>любодеиствова</u> съ нею	<u>прѣлюбы сътвори</u> съ нею
5:32	развѣ словесе <u>любодѣинаго</u>	развѣ словесе <u>прѣлюбодѣаннаго</u>
5:42	хотащаго (…) <u>заꙗти</u>	хотащаго (…) <u>заимствовати</u>
7:26	мꙋжꙋ <u>оуродивꙋ</u>	мꙋжꙋ <u>боую</u>
8:10	слышавъ же і҃с <u>оудиви сѧ</u>	слышавъ же і҃с <u>чюди сѧ</u>
14:22	<u>понꙋди</u> і҃с оученики своѧ	<u>оубѣди</u> і҃с оученики своѧ
24:39	дондеже прииде <u>вода</u>	дондеже прииде <u>потопъ</u>
26:7	пристꙋпи (...) <u>стклаництꙋ</u> (...) имꙋщи	пристꙋпи (…) <u>алавастрь</u> (…) имꙋщи
27:22	да <u>распатъ</u> бꙋдетъ	да <u>пропатъ</u> бꙋдетъ
27:51	се <u>завѣса</u> (…) раздра сѧ	се <u>опона</u> (…) раздра сѧ
Gospel of Mark[90]		
1:6	поꙗсъ <u>оусмѣнъ</u> о чреслѣхъ его	поꙗсъ <u>оуснїань</u> о чреслѣхъ его

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[88] See Ostapczuk (2021a: 389). For more textual variants see the publications cited in the footnotes.

[89] The same textual variant (цр́твїе – цр́тво) was also confirmed in Mt 6:9.

[90] See Ostapczuk (2019b: 375).

1:7	нѣсмь достоинъ <u>преклонъ сѧ</u> раздрѣшити ремень сапогъ его	нѣсмь достоинъ <u>поклонъ сѧ</u> раздрѣшити ремень сапогъ его
1:36	гнаша <u>его</u> симонъ	и гнаша <u>по немь</u> симонъ
2:9	оудобѣе рещи <u>раслабленомоу</u>	оудобѣе рещи <u>ослабленомоу</u>

Table No. 2

	Textual variants confirmed in:	
	five newer[91] Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia and all East Slavonic Gospel Editions	three older[92] Romanian-Bulgarian (and Serbian) Tetraevangelia and Gospel edition issued in 1583
Gospel of Matthew[93]		
3:17	конецъ <u>богоꙗвлению</u>[94]	конецъ <u>праздникꙋ</u>
5:10[95]	<u>цр̃твїе</u> небесное	<u>цр̃тво</u> небесное
5:24	<u>шедъ</u> прежде смири сѧ	<u>иди</u> прежде смири сѧ
5:30	тѣло твое <u>идетъ</u>	тѣло твое <u>въвержено бꙋдетъ</u>
6:11	хлѣбъ нашъ <u>насꙋщныи</u> (=1583)	хлѣбъ нашъ <u>насѫщьствьныи</u>
7:14	<u>оузкаꙗ</u> врата и <u>тѣсныи путь</u>	<u>тѣсна</u> врата и <u>прискрьбень путь</u>

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[91] The newer Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia include the following five editions issued in: 1562 and 1579 in Braşov, in 1579 in Alba Iulia, in 1582 and after 1582 at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Bucharest.

[92] The older Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia include the following three editions issued in: 1512 in Tȃrgovişte, in 1546 and 1551–1553 in Sibiu.

[93] See Ostapczuk (2021a: 390).

[94] Or an abbreviated form богоꙗв.

[95] The same textual variant (цр̃твїе – цр̃тво) was confirmed in Mt 5:20 and 7:21.

8:6	отрокъ (…) <u>ослаблен</u>ъ	отрокъ <u>раслаблень</u>
8:8	нѣсмь <u>достоинъ</u>	нѣсмь <u>довольнь</u>
8:17	<u>недѹги</u> (…) и <u>болѣзни</u>	<u>азы</u> (…) и <u>недѫгы</u>
14:2	<u>въскресе отъ мертвыхъ</u>	<u>въста отъ мертвыхъ</u>
14:15	и <u>ѱасъ</u> оуже минѹ	и <u>година</u> оуже минѹ
26:38	<u>пождите</u> здѣ	<u>прѣбѫдѣте</u> здѣ
26:71	съ і͠смъ <u>назореомъ</u>	съ і͠смъ <u>назарѣниномь</u>
27:33	на мѣсто <u>нарицаемое</u> голгода	на мѣсто <u>глаголемое</u> голгода
27:33	<u>краниево</u> мѣсто	<u>лъбное</u> мѣсто
27:44	и разбоиника <u>распатаѧ</u> съ нимъ	и разбоиника <u>пропатаѧ</u> съ нимъ
Gospel of Mark[96]		
1:36	симонъ и <u>иже</u> съ нимъ	симонъ и <u>соущіи</u> съ нимъ
1:42	отъиде отъ него прокажение и <u>ѱистъ быстъ</u>	отъиде отъ него прокажение и <u>оуисти се</u>
2:14	глагола емоу, <u>по мнѣ гради</u>	глагола емоу, <u>послѣдствоуи ми</u>
2:21	возметъ <u>конецъ</u> его	возметъ <u>конѵиноу</u> его

Table No. 3

	Textual variants confirmed in:

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[96] See Ostapczuk (2019b: 376).

three older Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia with 1583 edition, Serbian and all East Slavonic Gospel editions	five newer Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia
Gospel of Matthew[97]	
4:17	ц͂рство небесное	ц͂ртвїе небесное
4:18[98]	симона глаголемаго петра	симона нарицаемаго петра
4:19	и глагола има грядѣта по мнѣ	и рече има идѣта по мнѣ
5:32	творитъ ю прѣлюбодѣиствовати	творитъ ю прѣлюбы дѣати
6:27	можетъ приложити възрастѹ	можетъ приложити тѣлеси
13:48	злыя извергоша вънъ	гнилыя извергоша вънъ
26:35	аще ми есть	аще ми ся клоучить
26:43	очи (or очеса) отеготенна	очи тежцѣ
26:65	ꙗко хѹлѹ глагола[99]	ꙗко власдимиж рече
26:65	слышасте хѹлѹ его	слышасте хоуление[100] его
27:40[101]	съниди съ крьрста	сълѣзи съ крьрста
Gospel of Mark[102]	
1:4	проповѣдаа (…) въ отъпоущение грѣховъ	проповѣдаа (…) въ оставленїе грѣховъ

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[97] See Ostapczuk (2021a: 391).

[98] The same textual variant (глаголти – нарицати) was confirmed in Mt 27:22.

[99] The word рече appears in a Serbian Tetraevangelion issued in 1537.

[100] The word хѹлениꙗ appears in a Gospel edition issued in 1579 in Braşov.

[101] The same textual variant (сънити – сълѣзти) was confirmed in Mt 27:42.

[102] For more textual readings, see Ostapczuk (2019b: 376-377).

1:34	страждоүщаа различными недоүгы	страждоүщаа различными <u>ѩзами</u>
1:44	повелѣ моиси	повелѣ моиси <u>въ законѣ</u>
2:1	<u>слышано</u> бысть ꙗко въ домоү есть	<u>слоүхъ</u> бысть ꙗко въ домоү есть
2:3[103]	и приидоша (…) носѧще <u>раслаблена</u>	и приидоша (…) носѧще <u>ослаблена</u>
2:18	и приидоша и <u>глаголаша</u> емоү	и приидоша и <u>рѣша</u> емоү

Table No. 4

	Textual variants confirmed in:	
	all Tetraevangelia except the Gospel edition issued in 1583	Tetraevangelion issued in 1583
Gospel of Matthew		
5:14	не можетъ градъ <u>оүкрыти сѧ</u>	не можетъ градъ <u>крыти се</u>
5:19	разоритъ единꙋ заповѣдеи	разоритъ единꙋ <u>ѿ</u> заповѣдеи
6:6	<u>затворивъ</u> двери (or дверь)	<u>затвори</u> дверь
13:44	(паки) подобно есть ц҃ртвїе	подобно есть ц҃ртво
15:3	за <u>преданиѥ</u> ваше	за <u>прѣщение</u> ваше
26:38	<u>бдите</u> съ мною	<u>быите</u> съ мною
Gospel of Mark[104]		

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[103] The same textual variant (раслабленъ – ослабленъ) was confirmed in Mk 2:4-5 and 2:10.

[104] See Ostapczuk (2019b: 377).

| 1:9 | Бысть въ онѣхъ днехъ | Бысть по днехь тѣхъ |
| 1:37 | глаголаша емоу, ꙗко вси тебе ищоутъ | глаголаша емоу, ꙗко вси тебе ищемъ |

Table No. 5

		Tetraevangelia issued in:			
		1512[105], 1579 (Brașov)	1546	1562, 1582 and after 1582	1579 (Alba Iulia)
Preface to the Gospel of Matthew	Long (болгарскаго)	+	+		
	Short (болгарскаго)				+
	Short (wхридскаго)			+	
Preface to the Gospel of Mark	Long	+		+	+
	Short		+		
Preface to the Gospel of Luke	Long				
	Short	+	+	+	+
Preface to the Gospel of John	Long	+	+	+	+
	Short				

Table No. 6[106]

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[105] Three Serbian Gospel editions follow the textual tradition of the Târgoviște Tetraevangelion.

[106] See Ostapczuk (2019a: 320-322).

Textual variants of the Preface to the Gospel of Matthew confirmed in Tetraevangelia issued in:	
1512, 1546, 1579 (Braşov) and 1583	1562, 1582 and after 1582
Ѳеофилакта архиепископа болгарскаго	Ѳеѡфилакта архїепископа ѡхрїдскаго
божественїи мѹжие	ст҃їи мѹжие
книгами просвѣщахѹ сѧ	книгами оучими бѣхж
чистъ имоуще смыслъ	чистъ имоуще помысль
божиѧ вѣдахоу хотѣнїѧ	вѣдѣхж бж҃їж волꙗ хꙑтѣнїе
ное, авраамъ, исаакъ, иꙗковъ, моисеи	ное, авраамъ, їѡвь, мѡуси
дастъ (…) бг҃ъ	дарова (…) бг҃ъ
въспоминаютъ того хотѣнїꙗ	въспоминаютъ бж҃їю волю
дх҃а бл҃гть	бж҃твнꙗ бл҃гть
хотахѹ ереси прозабнѹти	хотахѹ ереси възрасти
ниже всеконечнѣ	ни отънꙗдь
отъ сихъ оучими есмы	отъ сихъ оувѣдаемъ
моужествоу моудрости правдѣ	доблесть мждрость правдж
моужьствоу оубо егда	доблесть оубо егда
и цѣли ꙗко голоуби	ommited
егда отъзричетъ	егда ꙗвлѣеть
прѣлюбодеалъ ю есть	прѣлюбы сътвори съ нею
четири бл҃говѣстиꙗ	четири еѵ҃лїа

ЧЕТЫРИ СИА <u>ОБДЕРЖАТЪ</u>	ЧЕТЫРИ СИА <u>ИМАТЪ</u>
<u>ПРЕДАНИѦ</u>ᴵ (…) ПРѢЩЕНИѦ, <u>ОБѢТОВАНИѦ</u>ᴵᴵ	<u>ОУЧЕНИЕ</u>ᴵ (…) ПРѢЩЕНИѦ, <u>ОБѢЩАНИѦ</u>ᴵᴵ
ВѢРОВАВШИМЪ ОУБО <u>ПРЕДАНИЕМЪ</u>	ВѢРОВАВШИМЪ ОУБО <u>ОУЧЕНИЕМЬ</u>
<u>СИ РѢЧЬ</u>	<u>ЕЖЕ ЕСТЬ БЛ҃ГАѦ</u>
<u>СЫНОПОЛОЖЕНИЕ</u> БОЖИЕ	<u>ОУСН҃ЕНИЕ</u> БЖ҃ІЕ
ВѢСТИТЪ ЖЕ, ІАКО <u>БЛАГООУДОБНѢ</u>	ВѢСТИТЪ ЖЕ, ІАКО <u>ТОУНЕ</u>
ЧЕТЫРИ … <u>ЕѴ҃ЛИСТИ</u> :	ЧЕТИРИ … <u>БЛ҃ГОВѢСТНИЦИ</u>
ИѠАННЪ ЖЕ <u>БГ҃ОСЛОВЕСНѢИШИИ</u>	ИѠАННЪ ЖЕ <u>БГ҃ОСЛОВЬ</u>
ТРИ <u>БЛ҃ГОВЕСТИѦ</u>	Г҃ <u>ЕѴ҃ЛІЕ</u>
ИСТИННЫ БЛ҃ГЬ <u>ПРЕОУКАZА</u>	ИСТИННЫ БЛ҃ГЬ <u>ИСПОВѢДА</u>
О <u>ПЛОТНѢМЪ ТЬЧИЮ</u> БЫТИИ ХВ҃Ѣ <u>БЕСѢДОУЕТЪ</u>ᴵᴵ	О <u>ПЛЪТЬСТѢМЬ</u> БЫТІИ ХВ҃Ѣ <u>ТЪКМО ГЛАГОЛА</u>ᴵᴵ
ИМЪ ЖЕ ДОВОЛНО БѢ <u>НАВЫКНОУТИ</u>	ИМЪ ЖЕ ДОВОЛНО БѢ <u>ОУВѢДѢТИ</u>
omitted	ИНАКОЖЕ ЧЕТИРИ, СѪТЬ ЕѴ҃ЛІА (…) ПОДОБААШЕ БЫТИ И ЧЕТИРЕМЬ СТЛЪПОМЬ[107]
ommited	СЪБЛЮДШИИМЪ БѪДѪЩА БЛ҃ГАА (…) ОУЧЕНІЮ И ZАПОВѢДИ[108]
ХРАНѦЩИМЪ ЖЕ ВѢЧНАѦ ОБѢЩАВАЮЩЕ БЛАГАѦ БЛ҃ГОВѢСТИЕ ЖЕ	БЛ҃ГОВѢСТІЕ
НЪ ГЛАГОЛЕШИ МИ ІАКО НЕ ДОВЛѢ ЛИ ЕДИНЪ	И ВѢРОВА ХВ҃Ы И ПРОZРѢ И (…) НЕ РЕЧЕ ВИДЕНІЕ

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[107] This text was inserted after the words ОУЖЕ ПРѢЛЮБЫ СЪТВОРИ СЪ НЕЮ ВЪ СР҃ЦЫ СВОЕМЪ and before ИНАКО ЖЕ ЧЕТИРИ СОУТЬ ЕѴ҃ЛІА. It is also present in two Gospel editions issued twice in 1780 at Pochaiv Monastery (Ukraine).

[108] This text was inserted after the words ВѢРОВАВШИМЪ ИМЬ ОУБО ОУЧЕНІЕМЬ И ZАПОВѢДИ and before НЕ СЪХРАНИШИ БѪДѪЩАА ПРѢТАТ СѦ МѪЧЕНІА. It is also present in two Gospel editions issued twice in 1780 at Pochaiv Monastery (Ukraine).

блговѣстникъ (…) и сиѧ оубо сице наꙍнѣмъ же оуже поꙍало книги сице[109]	еже видѣхъ. си рѣꙋь прозрѣхь. нѫ ꙋто[110]

Table No. 7

Chapter Numbers	Textual variants of the Chapter Titles confirmed in:	
	all East Slavonic Gospel Editions	all Romanian-Bulgarian (and Serbian[111]) Tetraevangelia
Gospel of Matthew[112]		
4	наꙍало оуꙍениѧ <u>спасителева</u>	о оуꙍении <u>спсовѣ</u>
13	о <u>троудовитѣмъ</u>	о <u>раслабленнѣмъ</u>
18	о бѣсноуюцемъ сѧ	о бѣсноуюцимъ сѧ <u>глоусѣ</u>
22	о <u>бѣснѣмъ и нѣмѣмъ слѣпѣ</u>	о <u>бѣснѫцимъ сѧ слѣпѫ и глѫхѫ</u>
37	о <u>помышлаюцихъ</u>	о <u>глюцихъ</u>
40	о въпрошаюцихъ аце <u>лѣпо есть отъпоуцати жены</u>	о въпрошаюцихъ аце <u>достоитъ поустити женѫ</u>
51	о званныхъ на <u>браки</u>	о званныхъ на <u>бракь</u>
54	о законницѣ	о <u>въпросшимъ</u> ꙁаконницѣ

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[109] This text is after the words отъ давида есть х҃с and before книга родства і҃у х҃ртова. This text has also been omitted in the Tetraevangelion issued in 1579 in Alba Iulia.

[110] This text has been included in the Tetraevangelion issued in 1579 in Alba Iulia.

[111] Three Serbian Gospel editions that follow the textual tradition of the oldest Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia also have some interesting textual variants that were not confirmed in any other early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelion. The Chapter Title No. 38 to the Gospel of Matthew (the Parable of the Lost Sheep) can serve as an example. All Gospel editions have the following title о р҃ овецъ притꙍа (About one hundred sheep parable) while three Serbian editions read о девѣ(ть) десетѣ(ть) овецъ притꙍа (About ninety-nine sheep parable).

[112] See Ostapczuk (2020: 207-219).

64	о ѡбразѣ таинѣмъ	о ѡбразѣ таинѣмь и слоужбѣ
68	о испрошении тѣлесе господнıа	о прошении тѣлесе господнıа
Gospel of Mark		
28	о ѡтъпꙋщении женъ (=1583)	о пꙋщени жень
Gospel of Luke[113]		
33	о неповелѣннѣмъ въслѣдовати	о неповелѣннѣмъ послѣдовати
57	о ѡшьдшимъ	о ѡтъшьдшемъ
Gospel of John[114]		
6	о цр҃евѣ моужи	о ц҃рскомъ моужи
17	о оутѣшителѣ	о параклитѣ

Table No. 8

Chapter Numbers	Textual variants of the Chapter Titles confirmed in:	
	five younger Romanian-Bulgarian and all East Slavonic Gospel Editions	two older Romanian-Bulgarian (and Serbian) Tetraevangelia and Gospel issued in 1583
Gospel of Mark		
8	о избрании в҃і апостолъ	о избрании апостолъ
26	о злодѣющемъ сѧ	о бѣсноꙋѫщимъ сѧ
37	о въпросшихъ льстивнѣ ѡ кинсонѣ	о въпросшихъ ѡ кинсонѣ

113 See Ostapczuk (2021b: 147)

114 See Ostapczuk (2021c: 115).

| 41 | о женѣ двѣ цатѣ въвергшеи | о въвргшои двѣ цатѣ |

Gospel of Luke[115]		
7	о искꙋшении спасителевѣ	о искꙋшении сп̃совѣ
30	о преображении і̅с̅ (or і̅ꙋ̅) христовѣ	о преображении сп̃совѣ
39	о имꙋщимъ бѣса глꙋха	о имꙋщимъ бѣса нѣма
51	о рекшыхъ і̅совꙇ ирода ради	о рекшыхъ і̅совꙇ за ирода
57	о ошдшимъ на странꙋ далече	о ошдшимъ въ странꙋ далнꙗ
71	о въпрошаюцихъ кинса ради	о въпросшихъ о кинсонѣ

Table No. 9

Chapter Numbers	Textual variants of the Chapter Titles confirmed in:	
	three older Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia with 1583 edition, Serbian and all East Slavonic Gospels	five newer Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia
Gospel of Matthew[116]		
2	о избиенныхъ отрочицехъ	о избиении отрокь
34	о преображении і̅совѣ	о преображении сп̃совѣ
Gospel of Mark		
6	о левии мытари	о левіи и мытари
Gospel of Luke[117]		

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[115] See Ostapczuk (2021b: 147-148).
[116] Ostapczuk (2020: 211).
[117] See Ostapczuk (2021b: 149).

66	о (отъ)шьдшимъ приати севѣ цр̃твие	о ошьдшимъ приати севѣ цр̃тво

Table No. 10

Chapter Number	Textual variant of the Chapter Titles confirmed in:	
	all Tetraevangelia except the Gospel edition issued in 1583	the Gospel edition issued in 1583
Gospel of Mark		
25	о преображении і̃свѣ	о преображении сп̃свѣ

Table No. 11

Days in September	Tetraevangelia issued in:					
	1512, 1546, 1562, twice in 1579[118], 1582, after 1582, 1583 and Serbian redaction	Moscow in 1553/54, 1558/59, 1563/64 and Vilnius in 1575, 1600, c. 1620	Moscow in 1606, 1617, 1627, 1628 and 1633	Moscow in 1637, 1640, 1644, 1648 and 1651	Lviv in 1636, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722, 1743 and Vilnius (or Vevis) in 1644	Lviv in 1644 and 1665

[118] In 1579, Gospel editions were issued in Braşov by Deacon Coresi with Manuil and in Alba Iulia by Dyak Lorinţ.

1-6, 8-11, 13-16, 20, 22-24, 26, 28, 30	+				
1-11, 13-16, 20, 22-24, 26, 28-30		+			
1-11, 13-16, 20, 22-26, 28-30			+		
1-11, 13-16, 19-20, 22-30				+	
1-11, 13-16, 18, 20, 22-24, 26, 28-30					+
1-11, 13-18, 20, 22-24, 26, 28-30						+

Table No. 12

Days in October	Tetraevangelia issued in:					
	1512, 1546, 1562, twice in 1579, 1582, after 1582, 1583 and Serbian redaction	Moscow in 1553/54, 1558/59, 1563/64 and Vilnius in 1575, 1600, c. 1620	Moscow in 1606, 1617, 1627, 1628 and 1633	Moscow in 1637, 1640, 1644, 1648 and 1651	Lviv in 1636, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722, 1743 and Vilnius (or Vevis) in 1644	Lviv in 1644 and 1665
1-3, 6-7, 11, 16, 18, 20-24, 26	+					
1-3, 6-7, 9, 11-12, 16, 18, 20-26		+				
1-3, 5-7, 9, 11-12, 16, 18, 20-26			+			
1-7, 9, 11-12, 14, 16, 18, 20-26, 28-29				+		
1-3, 6-7, 11, 14, 16, 18, 21-26, 28					+	

1-3, 6-7, 11, 14, 16, 18, 20-26, 28						+

Table No. 13

Days in November	Tetraevangelia printed in:				
	1512, 1546, 1562, twice in 1579, 1582, after 1582, 1583 and Serbian redaction	Moscow in 1553/54, 1558/59, 1563/64, 1606, 1617, 1617, 1628, 1633 and Vilnius in 1575, 1600, c. 1620	Moscow in 1637, 1640	Moscow in 1644, 1648 and 1651	Lviv in 1636, 1644, 1665, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722, 1743 and in Vilnius (or Vevis) in 1644
1, 4, 6, 8, 12-17, 21, 23, 27-28, 30	+				
1-4, 6-8, 11-17, 21, 23-25, 27-28, 30		+			
1-4, 6-8, 10-17, 20-25, 27-28, 30			+		
1-4, 6-8, 11-17, 20-25, 27-28, 30				+	
1, 3-4, 6-8, 11-14, 16-17, 21-25, 27-28, 30					+

Table No. 14

Days in December	Tetraevangelia printed in:					
	1512, 1546, 1562, twice in 1579, 1582, after 1582, 1583 and Serbian redaction	Moscow in 1553/54, 1558/59, 1563/64 and Vilnius in 1575, 1600, c. 1620	Moscow in 1606, 1617, 1627, 1628 and 1633	Moscow 1637 and 1640	Moscow 1644 and 1651	Lviv in 1636, 1644, 1665, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722, 1743 and in Vilnius (or Vevis) in 1644
4-6, 9, 13, 17, 20, 25-30	+					
4-6, 9-10, 12-13, 17, 20, 22, 25-30		+				
4-6, 9-10, 12-13, 17, 20-22, 25-30			+			
3-6, 9-10, 12-13, 15, 17, 20-22, 25-30				+		
3-6, 9-10, 12-13, 15, 17, 20-22, 25-29					+	
1, 4-6, 9-10, 12-13, 17, 20-22, 24-30						+

Table No. 15

Days in January	Tetraevangelia printed in:			
	1512, 1546, 1562, twice in 1579, 1582, after 1582, 1583 and Serbian redaction	Moscow in 1553/54, 1558/59, 1563/64, 1606, 1617, 1617, 1628, 1633, 1637, 1640 and Vilnius in 1575, 1600, c. 1620	Moscow in 1644, 1648 and 1651	Lviv in 1636, 1644, 1665, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722, 1743 and in Vilnius (or Vevis) in 1644
1-7, 9, 11-18, 20-23, 25, 27, 29-31	+			
1-4, 6-7, 9-23, 25, 27-31		+		
1-4, 6-7, 10-12, 14-23, 25, 27-31			+	
1-2, 4-7, 10-23, 25, 27-31				+

Table No. 16

Days in February	Tetraevangelia printed in:					
	1512, 1546, 1562, twice in 1579, 1582, after 1582, 1583 and Serbian redaction	Moscow in 1553/54, 1558/59, 1563/64 and Vilnius in 1575, 1600, c. 1620	Moscow in 1606, 1617, 1627, 1628 and 1633	Moscow in 1637 and 1640	Moscow in 1644, 1648 and 1651	Lviv in 1636, 1644, 1665, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722, 1743 and in Vilnius (or Vevis) in 1644
1-3, 8, 13, 24	+					
1-4, 8, 11-12, 17, 24					+	
1-3, 8-9, 12, 24			+			
1-4, 8-9, 11-12, 17, 24				+		
1-3, 8-9, 24,		+				
1-3, 8-9, 12, 14, 24						+

Table No. 17

Days in June	Tetraevangelia printed in:				
	1512, 1546, 1562, twice in 1579, 1582, after 1582, 1583 and Serbian redaction	Moscow in 1553/54, 1558/59, 1563/64 and Vilnius in 1575, 1600, c. 1620	Moscow in 1606, 1617, 1627, 1628 and 1633	Moscow in 1637, 1640, 1644, 1648 and 1651	Lviv in 1636, 1644, 1665, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722, 1743 and in Vilnius (or Vevis) in 1644
8, 11–12, 14, 19, 24, 27–30	+				+
8, 11–12, 14, 19, 24–25, 27–30		+			
8-9, 11–12, 14, 19, 24–25, 27–30			+		
1–2, 8–9, 11–12, 14, 19, 23–25, 27–30				+	

Table No. 18

Days in July	Tetraevangelia printed in:				
	1512, 1546, 1562, twice in 1579, 1582, after 1582, 1583 and Serbian redaction	Moscow in 1553/54, 1558/59, 1563/64, 1606, 1617, 1627, 1628, 1633 and Vilnius in 1575, 1600, c. 1620	Moscow 1637, 1640 and 1644	1648, 1651, 1786	Lviv in 1636, 1644, 1665, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722, 1743 and in Vilnius (or Vevis) in 1644
1–2, 4–5, 8, 11, 15–17, 20, 22, 25, 27, 31	+				
1–2, 4–5, 8, 10–11, 13, 15–16, 20, 22, 24–25, 27, 31					+
1–2, 4–5, 8, 11, 13, 15–17, 20, 22, 24–25, 27, 31		+			
1–2, 4–5, 8, 11, 13, 15–17, 20, 22, 24–25, 27–28, 31			+		
1–2, 4–5, 8, 10–11, 13, 15–17, 20, 22, 24–25, 27–28, 31				+	

Table No. 19

Days in August	Tetraevangelia printed in:					
	1512, 1546, 1562, twice in 1579, 1582, after 1582, 1583 and Serbian redaction	Moscow in 1553/54, 1558/59, 1563/64 and Vilnius in 1575, 1600, c. 1620	Moscow in 1606, 1617, 1627, 1628 and 1633	Moscow in 1637, 1640, 1644, 1548 and 1651	Lviv in 1636, 1644, 1665, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and in Vilnius (or Vevis) in 1644	Lviv in 1743
1–2, 6, 15–16, 19[119], 25, 29, 31	+					
1–2, 6-7, 9, 15–16, 18, 25, 28–29, 31		+				
1–2, 6-7, 9, 15–16, 18, 24–25, 28–29, 31			+			
1–3, 6–7, 9, 13, 15–16, 18, 24–26, 28–31				+		
1–2, 6–7, 9, 14–16, 18, 25, 28–29, 31					+	

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[119] The commemoration of the Holy Brothers Florus and Laurus in East Slavonic Tetraevangelia (*i.e.*, issued in Moscow, Vilnius, Kiev, Lviv and Pochaiv) is always observed on August 18th, while in the Middle-Bulgarian Gospel editions, and in Serbian ones, this commemoration falls on August 19th. This detail, as do other peculiarities revealed in textual studies, confirm that all Middle-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia (together with Serbian ones) belong to one textual group, and that the East Slavonic Gospel editions belong to another one.

1–2, 6–7, 9, 14–16, 18, 25–26, 28–31						+

Table No. 20

Days in respective months of Menologia in Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia		
Month	Days	Number of days
September	1–6, 8–11, 13–16, 20, 22–24, 26, 28, 30	21
October	1–3, 6–7, 11, 16, 18, 20–24, 26	14
November	1, 4, 6, 8, 12–17, 21, 23, 27–28, 30	15
December	4–6, 9, 13, 17, 20, 25–30	13
January	1–7, 9, 11–18, 20–23, 25, 27, 29–31	25
February	1–3, 8, 13, 24	6
March	9, 25–26	3
April	1, 22–23, 25, 27, 30	6
June	8, 11–12, 14, 19, 24, 27–30	10
July	1–2, 4–5, 8, 11, 15–17, 20, 22, 25, 27, 31	14
August	1–2, 6, 15–16, 19, 25, 29, 31	10

Table No. 21

Days in the month of May in all Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia:		
Tetraevangelia issued in:	Days in May	Number of days

| 1512[120], 1546, 1582 and after 1582 | 2, 7–8, 11, 21, 24–26 | 8 |
| 1562, twice in 1579 and 1583 | 2, 7–8,   21, 24–26 | 7 |

Table No. 22

Month and Day	Commemorations omitted in all Romanian-Bulgarian (and Serbian) Tetraevangelia and present in all East Slavonic Gospel editions
09.03	Our Righteous Father Theoctistus, fellow ascetic of Saint Euthymius[121]
09.04	Holy Prophet and God-seer Moses
09.07	Holy Martyr Sozon
09.29	Our Venerable Father Cyriacus the Anchorite
10.01	The Protection of our the Most Holy Lady, the Theotokos
10.09	The Holy Apostle James the son of Alphaeus
10.25	Holy Martyrs and Notaries Marcian and Martyrius
11.03	Dedication of the Church of the Great Martyr George in Lydda, where precious body of the Holy Great Martyr George is placed
11.07	Our Venerable Father Lazarus, the Wonderworker, fasting, of Mount Galesius
11.11	Holy Martyrs Menas, Victor, and Vincent the Deacon
11.11	Our Venerable Father Theodore the Confessor, of Studion
11.24	Holy Great Martyr Catherine of Alexandria
11.24	Holy Great Martyr Mercurius of Caesarea in Cappadocia

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[120] Three Serbian Tetraevangelia also belong to this group.

[121] The English translation of all commemorations was to be rendered as faithfully as possible to Church Slavonic original.

11.25	Our Fathers among the Saints and Hieromartyrs Clement Pope of Rome and Peter Bishop of Alexandria
12.10	Holy Martyrs Menas, Hermogenes and Eugraphus of Alexandria
12.12	Our Venerable Father Spyridon the Wonderworker, bishop of Trymithous
12.22	Holy Great Martyr Anastasia Pharmakolitria
01.10	Our Father among the saints Gregory of Nyssa
01.28	Our Venerable Father Ephrem the Syrian
05.01	Holy Prophet Jeremiah
05.10	Holy Apostle Simon, the Zealot
05.15	Our Venerable Father Pachomius the Great
07.13	The Synaxis of the Archangel Gabriel
08.07	Our Venerable Father Domentius
08.09	Holy Apostle Matthias
08.28	Our Venerable Father Moses the Black

Table No. 23

Month and Day	Textual variants present in the Menologia of the Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia issued in:		
	1512 and 1546	1562, twice in 1579 and 1583	1582 and after 1582
09.03	Hieromartyr Anthimus	Holy Hieromartyr Anthimus	
09.04	Hieromartyr Babylas	Holy Hieromartyr Babylas	
c. 09.16	The Saturday after the	The Saturday after the Exaltation of the Cross	

	Exaltation		
c. 09.16	The Sunday after the Exaltation of the Cross	Omitted	
09.23	Conception of the Honourable Forerunner <u>John</u>	Conception of the Honourable Forerunner	
09.28	Our righteous Father <u>and</u> the Confessor Chariton	Our righteous Father the Confessor Chariton	
10.11	The Holy Apostle Philip, one of the <u>7</u> Deacons	The Holy Apostle Philip, one of the <u>Seven</u> Deacons	
10.22	Our Father among the Saints Abercius	Our Father among the Saints Abercius <u>Bishop of Hierapolis</u>	
10.23	Holy Apostle James, Brother of <u>God</u>	Holy Apostle James, Brother of <u>Lord</u>	
10.24	The Holy <u>Great</u> Martyr Arethas and these with him		Holy Martyr Arethas and these with him
11.08	The Synaxis of bodiless	The Synaxis of<u> the Supreme Commander Michael and other</u> bodiless	
11.13	Our Father among the Saints John Chrysostom	Our Father among the Saints John Chrysostom, <u>Archbishop of Constantinople</u>	
11.30	Holy <u>All-Praised</u> Apostle Andrew, the First-Called	Holy Apostle Andrew, the First-Called	Holy <u>and</u> <u>All-Praised</u> Apostle Andrew, the First-Called
c. 12.17	The Sunday of <u>the Holy</u> Forefathers	The Sunday of Forefathers	= 1512 and 1546
12.20	The Sunday before Nativity of Christ	Omitted	= 1512 and 1546

12.26	Synaxis of the <u>Most Holy</u> Theotokos	The Synaxis of the <u>Purest</u> Theotokos	
c. 12.26	The Saturday after the Nativity	Omitted	= 1512 and 1546
c. 12.26	The Sunday after the Nativity (= after 1582)	The Sunday after the Nativity <u>of Christ</u>	
12.29	Holy <u>Infants</u> slain by Herod	Holy <u>Martyrs</u> slain by Herod	
c. 01.03	The Sunday before the Theophany	Omitted	= 1512 and 1546
01.07	The Synaxis of Honoured and Glorious Prophet Forerunner and Baptist John	The Synaxis of Honoured and Glorious Prophet <u>and</u> Forerunner and Baptist John	
c. 01.07	The Saturday after the <u>Theophany</u>	The Saturday after the <u>Epiphany</u>	
01.14	omitted	Our Venerable Fathers slain in Sinai and Raithu	
01.23	Holy <u>Hiero</u>martyr Clement and Agathangelus	Holy Martyr Clement and Agathangelus	
01.29	Translation of relics of Holy <u>Hiero</u>martyr Ignatius the God-bearer	Translation of relics of Holy Martyr Ignatius the God-bearer	
01.30	Our Fathers among the Saints Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom	Our Fathers among the Saints <u>and Ecumenical teachers</u> Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom	
02.13	Our Venerable Father Symeon of Serbia	<u>Memory</u> of our Venerable Father Symeon of Serbia, <u>the New</u>[122] <u>Myrrh-flowing</u>	

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[122] In the Gospel edition issued in 1579 in Braşov "the New" is missing.

02.24	Finding of the Precious Head of Forerunner	Finding of the Precious Head of <u>John</u> Forerunner	
03.09	Holy Great 40 Martyrs	Holy Great 40 Martyrs <u>at Sebasta Martyred</u>	
05.07	Commemoration of the Apparition in Heaven of the Cross	Commemoration of the Apparition in Heaven of the Cross <u>during the Reign of the Great Emperor Constantinus</u>	
05.11	Saint Mocius and founding of Constantinople	Missing	= 1512 and 1546
06.28	Translation of Relics of the <u>Holy Martyrs</u> Cyrus and John	Translation of Relics of the <u>Saints</u> Cyrus and John	
07.15	Holy Martyr Cyricus and Julitta	Holy Martyr Cyricus and <u>his mother</u> Julitta	
07.25	Dormition of the Saint Anna, Mother of the <u>Most Holy</u> Theotokos	Dormition of the Saint Anna, Mother of the <u>Holy</u>[123] Theotokos	
07.31	omitted	The Forefeast of the Precious Cross	
08.16	Translation of the Image Not-made-by-hands of our Lord Jesus Christ	Translation of the Image Not-made-by-hands of our Lord Jesus Christ <u>from Edessa to Constantinople</u>	

Table No. 24

Month and Day	Feasts, Saints, and sacred events commemorated in Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia
09.01	Start of the New Year

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[123] The adjective "Saint" (с҃тыѧ) is missing from the Gospel editions issued in Braşov in 1579 and 1583, and in Alba Iulia (Bălgrad) in 1579.

09.01	The Memory of our Venerable Father Symeon the Stylite
09.02	Holy Martyr Mamas
09.02	Venerable John the Faster
09.03	(Holy)[124] Hieromartyr Anthimus
09.04	(Holy) Hieromartyr Babylas
09.05	Holy Prophet Zacharias, Father of the Forerunner
09.06	The Commemoration of the Miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae
09.08	The Nativity of our the Most Holy Lady the Theotokos
09.09	The Holy Ancestors of God Joachim and Anna
c. 09.09	The Saturday before the Exaltation
c. 09.09	The Sunday before the Exaltation
09.10	Holy Martyrs Women Menodora, Metrodora and Nymphodora
09.11	Venerable Theodora
09.13	The Consecration of the Holy Resurrection of Christ our God
09.13	Holy Hieromartyr Cornelius, the Centurion
09.14	The Exaltation of the Holy and Life-giving Cross
09.15	Holy Great Martyr Nicetas
c. 09.16	The Saturday after the Exaltation (of the Cross)
c. 09.16	(The Sunday after the Exaltation of the Cross)[125]
09.20	Holy Martyr Eustathius and his companions

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[124] The words in brackets are not present in all of the researched early printed Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel editions.

[125] This feast is present only in the editions issued in 1512 and 1546.

09.22	Holy Hieromartyr Phocas
09.23	Conception of the Honourable Forerunner (John)
09.24	Holy Protomartyr Thekla
09.26	Repose of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian
09.28	Our righteous Father (and) the Confessor Chariton
09.30	Holy Hieromartyr Gregory of Greater Armenia
10.01	Holy Apostle Ananias
10.01	Venerable[126] Romanus, the Melodist
10.02	Holy Hieromartyr Cypiran and Justina
10.03	Holy Hieromartyr Dionysius, the Areopagite
10.06	Holy Apostle Thomas
10.07	Holy Great Martyrs Sergius and Bacchus
10.11	Holy Apostle Philip, one of the Seven[127] Deacons
10.11	Our Venerable Father Theophanes the Confessor
c. 10.12	On following Sunday the Memory of the Holy Fathers of the Seventh Council
10.16	Holy Martyr Longinus the Centurion
10.18	Holy Apostle and Evangelist Luke
10.20	Holy Great Martyr Artemius
10.21	Our Venerable Father Hilarion, the Great

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[126] The Tetraevangelion issued in 1579 in Braşov has added "our father" (Ѿца нашего) after "Venerable".

[127] Two oldest Romanian-Bulgarian Gospels editions (1512 and 1546) have the number 7 (З҃).

10.22	Our Father Among the Saints Abercius (Bishop of Hierapolis)
10.23	Holy Apostle James, Brother of God (or Lord)[128]
10.24	Holy (Great) Martyr Arethas and these with him
10.26	Holy Great Martyr Demetrius
10.26	The Commemoration Earthquake
11.01	Holy Unmercenaries Cosmas and Damian
11.04	Our Venerable Father Joannicius the Great
11.06	Saint Paul, the Confessor
11.08	The Synaxis of (the Supreme Commander Michael and other) Bodiless
11.12	Our Father Among the Saints John, the Merciful
11.12	Venerable Nilus
11.13	Our Father Among the Saints John Chrysostom, (Archbishop of Constantinople)
11.15	Holy Confessors Gurias, Shamonas and Abibus
11.16	Holy Apostle and Evangelist Matthew
11.17	Saint Gregory, the Wonderworker
11.21	The Entrance into the Temple of our the Most Holy Lady the Theotokos
11.23	Our Fathers among the Saints Amphilochius of Iconium (and Gregory of Agrigentum)[129]
11.27	Holy Great Martyr James, the Persian

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[128] In two oldest Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia (1512 and 1546) there is бѡжиꙗ and in five others (1562, twice issued in 1579, 1582, after 1582, 1583) господнꙗ.

[129] Gregory of Agrigentum is missing from the Tetraevangelion issued in 1583.

11.28	Our Venerable Father Stephen the New
11.30	Holy (and All-Praised) Apostle Andrew, the First-Called
12.04	Holy Great Martyr Barbara
12.04	Our Venerable Father John of Damascus
12.05	Our Venerable and Godbearnig Father Sabbas
12.09	The Conception by Saint Anna
12.13	Holy Great Martyr Eustratius and those with him
12.17	Holy Three Youths and Holy Prophet Daniel
c. 12.17	The Sunday of (the Holy) Forefathers
12.20	Holy Hieromartyr Ignatius of Antioch the God-bearer
c. 12.20	The Saturday before Nativity of Christ
c. 12.20	The Sunday before Nativity of Christ[130]
12.25	The Nativity in the Flesh of our Lord, and God, and Saviour Jesus Christ
12.26	The Synaxis of the Most Holy (or Purest)[131] Theotokos
c. 12.26	The Saturday after the Nativity[132]
c. 12.26	The Sunday after the Nativity (of Christ)
12.27	Holy Protomartyr and Archdeacon Stephen
12.28	Holy 20.000 Martyrs burned in Nicomedia

[130] This feast is present only in four Tetraevangelia issued in 1512, 1546, 1582 and after 1582.

[131] In two the oldest Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel editions (1512 and 1546) there is "the Most Holy" (прѣсвѧтꙑи), while in six others (1562, twice 1579, 1582, after 1582, 1583) "the Purest" (прѣчтꙑѧ).

[132] This commemoration is present only in Gospel editions issued in 1512, 1546, 1582 and after 1582.

12.29	Holy Infants (or Martyrs)[133] slain by Herod
12.30	Holy Martyr Anysia
12.30	Venerable Zotikus
01.01	The Circumcision according to the Flesh of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ
01.01	Memory of our Father Among the Saints Basil the Great
01.02	Saint Sylvester, Pope of Rome
01.03	Holy Prophet Malachias
01.03	Martyr Gordius
c. 01.03	The Saturday before the Theophany
c. 01.03	The Sunday before the Theophany[134]
01.04	The Synaxis of the Holy 70 Apostles
01.05	The Eve of the Theophany
01.06	The Holy Theophany of the Lord and God and our Saviour Jesus Christ
01.07	The Synaxis of Honoured and Glorious Prophet (and) Forerunner and Baptist John
c. 01.07	The Saturday after the Theophany (or Epiphany)
c. 01.07	The Sunday after the Epiphany
01.09	Holy Martyr Polyeuctus

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[133] In two the oldest Romania-Bulgarian Gospels (1512, 1546) there is word "Infants" (младенецъ), while in six others (1562, twice 1579, 1582, after 1582, 1583) "Martyrs" (мⷱникь).

[134] This commemoration is missing from the Gospel editions issued in Braşov in 1562, 1579 and 1583 and in Alba Iulia (Bălgrad) in 1579.

01.12	Holy Martyr Tatiana
01.13	Holy Martyrs Hermylus and Stratonicus
01.14	(Our Venerable Fathers slain in Sinai and Raithu)[135]
01.14	Our Father among the Saints Sava the first Archbishop of Serbia
01.15	Our Venerable Fathers Paul of Thebes and John Calabytes
01.16	Veneration of the Precious Chain of Holy and Leader Apostle Peter
01.17	Our venerable and God-bearing Father Anthony the Great
01.18	Our Father among the Saints Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria
01.21	Our Venerable Father Maximus the Confessor
01.22	Holy Apostle Timothy
01.22	Righteous Martyr Anastasius of Persia
01.23	Holy (Hiero)martyr Clement and Agathangelus
01.25	Our Father among the Saints Gregory the Theologian
01.27	The Recovery of Relics of John Chrysostom
01.29	The Translation of Relics of the Holy (Hiero)martyr Ignatius the God-bearer
01.30	Holy Hieromartyr Hippolytus Pope of Rome
01.30	Our Fathers among the Saints (and Ecumenical Teachers) Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom
01.31	Holy Unmercenaries and Wonderworkers Cyrus and John
02.01	Holy Great Martyr Tryphon
02.02	The Meeting of the Lord and God and our Saviour Jesus Christ

[135] This commemoration is omitted in Tetraevangelia issued in 1512 and 1546.

02.03	Holy and Righteous Symeon, the God-receiver
02.08	Holy Great Martyr Theodore the Commander
02.13	Our Venerable Father Martinian
02.13	(Memory of) our Venerable Father Symeon of Serbia, (the New Myrrh-flowing)
02.24	Finding of the Precious Head of (John) the Forerunner
03.09	Holy Great 40 Martyrs (at Sebasta Martyred)
03.25	The Annunciation of Our Most Holy Lady, the Theotokos
03.26	The Synaxis of the Holy Archangel Gabriel
04.01	Our Venerable Mother Mary of Egypt
04.22	Our Venerable Father Theodore of Sykeon
04.23	Holy Great Martyr George
04.25	Holy Apostle and Evangelist Mark
04.27	Holy Hieromartyr Symeon, Kinsman of the Lord
04.30	Holy Apostle James, Son of Zebedee
05.02	Our Father among the Saints Athanasius the Great
05.07	Commemoration of the Apparition in Heaven of the Cross (During the Reign of the Great Emperor Constantinus)
05.08	Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian
05.11	(Saint Mocius and the Founding of Constantinople)[136]
05.21	Holy and Equals-to-the-Apostles Emperor Constantine and Empress Helena

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[136] These two commemorations are missing from the Gospel editions issued in Braşov in 1562, 1579 and 1583 and in Alba Iulia (Bălgrad) in 1579.

05.24	Our Venerable Father Symeon on the Wondrous Mountain
05.25	Third Finding of the Precious Head of Forerunner
05.26	The Holy Apostle Carpus, One of the 70
06.08	The Holy Great Martyr Theodore Stratelates
06.11	Holy Apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas
06.12	Our Venerable Father Onuphrios and Peter the Athonite
06.14	Holy Prophet Elisseus
06.19	Holy Apostle Jude, the Brother of God
06.24	Nativity of the Venerable Forerunner and Baptist John
06.27	Our Venerable Father Sampson the Hospitable
06.28	The Translation of the Relics of the Saint (Martyrs) Cyrus and John
06.29	Holy and All-Praised Apostle Peter and Paul
06.30	The Synaxis of the Holy and All-Praised Twelve Apostles
07.01	The Holy Unmercenaries and Wonderworkers Cosmas and Damian
07.02	The Placing of the Robe and Sash of the Most Holy Theotokos
07.04	Our Father among the Saints Andrew of Crete
07.05	Our Venerable Father Athanasius of Athos
07.08	The Holy Great Martyr Procopius
07.11	Holy Great Martyr Euphemia
07.15	Holy Martyr Cyricus and (his mother) Julitta
07.16	Holy Hieromartyr Athenogenes
07.16	Holy Fathers of the 6th Council

07.17	Holy Great Martyr Marina
07.20	Holy and Glorious Prophet Elias
07.22	Holy Mary Magdalene
07.25	The Dormition of the Saint Anna, mother of (the Most Holy or Saint) Theotokos
07.27	Holy Great Martyr Panteleimon
07.31	Holy and Righteous Eudocimus
07.31	The Forefeast of the Precious Cross[137]
08.01	Seven Holy (brothers) Martyrs Maccabees
08.02	Translation of the Relics of the Holy Protomartyr Stephen
08.06	Transfiguration of Our Lord, God, and Saviour Jesus Christ
08.15	The Dormition of our Most Holy Lady Theotokos
08.16	Holy Martyr Diomedes
08.16	Translation of the Image Not-made-by-hands of our Lord Jesus Christ (from Edessa to Constantinople)
08.19	Holy Martyrs Florus and Laurus
08.25	Translation of the Relics of the Holy Apostle Bartholomew and Saint Apostle Titus
08.29	The Beheading of the Precious Head of John, the Baptist
08.31	Deposition of the Precious Cincture of our Most Holy Virgin Theothokos

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[137] This commemoration is omitted in two the oldest Gospel editions issued in 1512 and 1546.

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Romanian Journal for Biblical Philology and Hermeneutics

CONTENTS