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## OLD TESTAMENT SAINTS IN MENOLOGIA OF CYRILLIC EARLY PRINTED TETRAEVANGELIA\*

Cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia used in religious services required a special appendix providing information<sup>1</sup> about feasts, saints or sacred events for whole liturgical year. Vast majority of these commemorations are found in the second part of this addition, called menologion<sup>2</sup>. It corresponds with fixed liturgical year, which is divided into twelve smaller subsections, each correlating to one of twelve months<sup>3</sup> of the year.

Commemorations present in menologia of cyrillic early printed<sup>4</sup> Tetraevangelia can be divided into several groups<sup>5</sup>, i.e.,

– feasts in honour of Jesus Christ, e.g., Nativity, according to the Flesh of our Lord, God and Saviour Jesus Christ (December 25) or Transfiguration of Christ (August 6);

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<sup>1</sup> The information given about the commemoration of the feasts or saints is complemented in many cases with additional information about the Gospel readings (i.e., pericopes).

<sup>2</sup> Its first part is called the Synaxarion. It corresponds with the movable liturgical year and starts with Easter (the “Feast of Feasts”), the most important feast of the Orthodox Church.

<sup>3</sup> As a principle, menologia in cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia always started with September.

<sup>4</sup> For the list of feasts and saints in manuscript Gospels’ menologia, see: Лосева 2001a: 142–420.

<sup>5</sup> The Orthodox Church has a group of twelve Great Feasts, eight of which are in honour of Jesus Christ and four dedicated to the Theotokos. Apart from them, five other feasts are ranked as great – i.e., the Circumcision in the flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ (January 1), Nativity of saint John the Baptist (June 24), Holy, Glorious, and All-Praised Leaders of the Apostles, Peter and Paul (June 29), the Beheading of saint John the Baptist (August 29), and the Protection of our Most Holy Lady Theotokos and Ever-Virgin Mary (October 1).

- feasts dedicated to the Virgin Mary<sup>6</sup>, the Theotokos, e.g., Nativity (September 8) or Entrance into the Temple (November 21);
- commemorations of saints, e.g., saint Symeon the Stylite (September 1) or saint Mamas of Caesarea (September 2);
- commemorations of different events:
  - ecclesiastical events, e.g., Elevation of the Holy Cross (September 13) or dedication of the Church of the Great-martyr George in Lydda (November 3) and Founding of the Church of the Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre) in Jerusalem (September 13);
  - state events, e.g., Start of the Indiction, the beginning of the Liturgical Year (September 1)<sup>7</sup> or Founding of Constantinople as the capital of the Roman Empire (May 11);
  - historical events, e.g., translation of the Holy Cross from Malta to Gatchina City (October 10) or celebration of the victory of the Russian Emperor Peter the Great over King Charles XII of Sweden at Poltava in 1709 (June 27);
  - miraculous events, e.g., apparition of the Sign of the Precious Cross over Jerusalem (May 7);
  - weather phenomenon<sup>8</sup>, e.g., the Great Earthquake at Constantinople (October 26).

Most of commemorations present in menologia of cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia are linked to saints. Among them, we can enumerate relatives of Jesus Christ, apostles, evangelists, apostolic fathers, apologists, martyrs<sup>9</sup>, confessors, theologians, wonderworkers, teachers<sup>10</sup>, monks and nuns, abbots, and abbesses<sup>11</sup>, (arch)bishops, metropolitans, patriarchs<sup>12</sup>, and sometimes even popes<sup>13</sup>, princes<sup>14</sup> and emperors<sup>15</sup>. In menologia of cyrillic early printed Tetra-

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<sup>6</sup> Each feast dedicated to the Virgin Mary is closely connected with Jesus Christ.

<sup>7</sup> Since 464, September 1 has been treated as the New Year (Лосева 2001a: 142–161).

<sup>8</sup> Fires, solar eclipses and other phenomena were mentioned in menologia of Gospel manuscripts, see: Лосева 2001a: 195.

<sup>9</sup> For the number of the martyrs commemorated in months March–August in menologia of cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia see: Остапчук 2022.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., saint Cyril, Equal-to-the-Apostles and Teacher of the Slavs (February 14), who is mistakenly mentioned as Bishop of Catania or saints Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom, the Three Holy Hierarchs, who were sometimes mentioned as Ecumenical teachers.

<sup>11</sup> E.g., saint Euphrosyne (May 23), princess and abbess of Polotsk.

<sup>12</sup> E.g., saints Sophronius I (March 11) or Cyril (March 18), patriarchs of Jerusalem.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., saints Sylvester I (January 2) and hieromartyr Hippolytus (January 30), popes of Rome.

<sup>14</sup> E.g., holy prince Theodore of Novgorod (June 5).

<sup>15</sup> E.g., saints Constantine and Helen, equals to the Apostles and rulers of the Roman Empire (May 21).

evangelia, Old Testament figures<sup>16</sup> are also mentioned, although fairly seldom<sup>17</sup>. Nowadays, they do not play as important role in Church as they did in Early Christianity (Danielou 2013: 6). The beginning of their commemorations is thought to be closely connected with late Judaism and Jerusalem traditions as well as with opening tombs and the translation of their relics in 4th–6th centuries (Charkiewicz 2015: 147–148, 155, 340, 345). They were already constantly present in 8th–9th century liturgical calendars (Сергий архиепископ 1997: 403; Charkiewicz 2015: 345).

The aim of this publication is to study commemorations of prophets and other holy figures<sup>18</sup> who lived in the Old Testament era and died<sup>19</sup> before Jesus Christ's Nativity and were mentioned in menologia of cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued no later than the end of the 18th century.

However, two facts must be established before an analysis of Old Testament saints present in menologia of cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia can be presented.

Two types of menologia were present in cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia. An abbreviated menologion does not contain commemorations of feasts, saints, or sacred events for all of the days<sup>20</sup> in every month, but only for those most important from the point of view of publishers and target users. A full menologion contains commemoration of feasts, saints, or sacred events for all days in every month, i.e., in September, for all 30 days, in October for all 31 days, and so on.

The first type of menologion was present in all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued before 1652 and seven editions printed later, i.e., in a reprint of the 1648 Moscow edition published in Klinty in 1786 (Вознесенский 1994:

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<sup>16</sup> Old Testament saints were introduced into Eastern liturgical calendars later than martyrs and the apostles (Charkiewicz 2015: 147).

<sup>17</sup> In liturgical calendars, the number of Old Testament saints is outnumbered by New Testament figures (Charkiewicz 2015: 355).

<sup>18</sup> Synaxis of the Archangel Michael and the other Bodiless Powers (сѡборъ [сѡдѡтѡро] архистратига михаила и прѡчнѡхъ безпѡлѡтнѡхъ [снѡзъ]) or simply of the Bodiless Powers (сѡборъ беспѡлѡтнѡхъ) on November 8 as well as synaxis of the Archangel Gabriel (сѡборъ [сѡдѡтѡро] архангѡла гавриила) sometimes with other Bodiless Powers (и прѡчнѡхъ беспѡлѡтнѡхъ снѡзъ) on March 26 are mentioned in all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia.

Only Synaxis of the archangel Gabriel (сѡборъ сѡдѡтѡро архангѡла гавриила), commemorated on July 13, is missing from eleven cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued in Middle-Bulgarian and Serbian recensions of Church Slavonic language.

<sup>19</sup> There are other Old Testament saints mentioned in menologia of cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia born in the Old Testament era that were still alive when Jesus Christ was born as well as events that apply to these persons, i.e., holy prophet Zachariah (September 5), the Conception by saint Anna of the Most Holy Theotokos (December 9), Synaxis of saint John the Baptist (January 7), finding of the Precious Head of saint John the Baptist (February 24), the Beheading of saint John the Baptist (August 29).

<sup>20</sup> The basic unit of menologion is the calendar day (Дограмаджиева 2010: 546).

31, № 85; Емельянова 2010: 263–265, № 169) and six<sup>21</sup> cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv in 1665, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743.

The second type of menologion was present in all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued in Moscow after 1652, in all ten Kyiv<sup>22</sup> and all five Pochaiv<sup>23</sup> editions. The first cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion with full<sup>24</sup> menologion, i.e., containing commemorations, sometimes even several, for each day, in every month, is the Moscow edition issued in 1653.

Cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia and manuscripts were addressed to various Orthodox communities, often differing in terms of regional liturgical traditions. Parishes and monasteries commemorated the widely venerated and most important feasts as well as the local ones, popular only in a particular area. This fact indicated that menologia of cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued before 1800 were not homogeneous regarding liturgical calendar<sup>25</sup> and could have reflected different aspects of local worship, i.e., of Moscow, Lviv, Vilnius, Kyiv, Pochaiv and South Slavonic territories.

Old Testament saints mentioned in menologia of cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia can be divided into several groups<sup>26</sup>:

- major prophets,
- minor prophets,
- other prophets<sup>27</sup>
- and other persons or groups of people.

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<sup>21</sup> Two cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia were issued in Lviv before 1652. They appeared in 1636 and 1644. The first one served as the origin for edition issued by Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit in 1644 in Vilnius/Vievie (Остапчук 2017; Остапчук 2019; Ostapczuk 2020a; Ostapczuk 2022).

<sup>22</sup> Ten cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia were issued in Kyiv, i.e., in 1697, 1712, 1733, 1737, 1746, 1752, 1759, 1771, 1773 and 1784.

<sup>23</sup> Merely five cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia were issued by the Pochaiv Dormition Monastery's Printing Press, in 1759, 1768, 1771 and twice in 1780. When this monastery was subordinated to the Greek Catholic (i.e., Uniate) Church, it became a centre of the Basilian monastic order. All cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued in Pochaiv were intended for use in the Uniate Church.

<sup>24</sup> Together with introducing a full menologion into cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion issued in Moscow in 1653, more than 50 martyrs were added in the months March-August (Остапчук 2022: 219–221).

<sup>25</sup> Жуковская 1993. The degree of divergence between menologia of cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia is much smaller than between menologia of Gospel manuscripts (Люсева 2001a: 15).

<sup>26</sup> Old Testament figures are sometimes divided into two main groups: forefathers and prophets (Charkiewicz 2015: 337–345).

<sup>27</sup> According to Orthodox theology, John the Baptist, the Forerunner, who bridges Old Testament prophecies and Jesus, was the last prophet of the Old Testament and the first of the New Testament.

## THE FOUR MAJOR PROPHETS

Out of four major prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, only the last one<sup>28</sup>, together with the Three Holy Youths, is mentioned (on December 17) in all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia. Names of these three youths (Ananias, Azarias, Misael) are present only in editions issued in Moscow, Kyiv and Pochaiv, but missing in cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued in Middle-Bulgarian and Serbian recensions of Church Slavonic language, as well as in editions issued in Vilnius and Lviv.

Prophet Jeremiah<sup>29</sup>, whom Orthodox Church remembers on May 1, is present in all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued in the East Slavonic recension of the Church Slavonic language in Moscow, Vilnius, Lviv, Kyiv and Pochaiv. He is absent in all Romanian-Bulgarian and Serbian editions in question.

Prophet Isaiah<sup>30</sup> is present in all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued after 1606<sup>31</sup> in the East Slavonic recension of Church Slavonic language in Moscow, Lviv, Kyiv and Pochaiv. Only in two Lviv editions, printed in 1704 and 1722, he is commemorated on May 8 instead of May 9.

The fourth major prophet, Ezekiel<sup>32</sup>, is only present in eight out of 110 cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia. Three Moscow editions issued in 1685, 1688 and 1694 and five Kyiv issued in 1697, 1712, 1737, 1752 and 1759 mention his commemoration on July 21<sup>33</sup>. This means that commemoration of prophet Ezekiel is missing in the Moscow cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion issued in 1689. This unique and richly ornamented Moscow edition (printed *in plano* (1°)<sup>34</sup> in 150 copies, sized 65 cm x 44 cm, see: Поздеева 2011: 40) is the prototype of one of the subgroups of Moscow Gospel editions. Five Kyiv cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia that contain commemoration of prophet Ezekiel form two subgroups of liturgical editions: the two oldest Tetraevangelia issued in 1697 and 1712 and three printed *in octavo* (8°) in the 18th century.

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<sup>28</sup> i.e., СВАТАГО ПРОРОКА ДАНИИЛА.

<sup>29</sup> i.e., СВАТАГО ПРОРОКА ЈЕРЕМІИ.

<sup>30</sup> i.e., СВАТАГО ПРОРОКА ІСАІА. In the Lviv Gospel edition issued in 1704, before СВАТАГО is *прене* added. It was most probably mistakenly copied from the commemoration of translation of the relics of saint Nicholas the Wonderworker from Myra to Bari (ПРЕНЕСЕНІЕ МОЩЕЙ НІЖЕ ВО СТЬІХЪ БІЦА НАШЕГО ННКОЛАИ ЧЮДОТВОРЦА ОТЬ МУРЪ ВЪ БАРЪ ГРАДЪ).

<sup>31</sup> The only cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion issued after 1606 that does not mention prophet Isaiah is the Vilnius edition printed circa 1620. It is a mere copy of two previous Vilnius cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued in 1575 and 1600.

<sup>32</sup> i.e., СВАТАГО ПРОРОКА ЕЗЕКІА.

<sup>33</sup> In Gospel manuscripts, prophet Ezekiel was sometimes commemorated on June 19 (Лосева 2001a: 365; Дограмаджиева 2010: 187).

<sup>34</sup> For the second and the last time cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion *in plano* (1°) was issued in Moscow in 1759 on 341 folios.

## THE TWELVE MINOR PROPHETS

The commemorations of six out of twelve minor prophets, i.e., Hosea (October 17)<sup>35</sup>, Joel (October 19)<sup>36</sup>, Abdias<sup>37</sup> (November 19)<sup>38</sup>, Abbaꝑum<sup>39</sup> (December 2)<sup>40</sup>, Haggai<sup>41</sup> (December 16)<sup>42</sup> and Amos (June 15)<sup>43</sup>, were introduced for the first time into cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion issued in Moscow in 1653, together with inclusion of the full menologion. These six minor prophets are present in all further Moscow, all Kyiv and all Pochaiv cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia.

Commemorations of two minor prophets, Nahum (December 1)<sup>44</sup> and Micah (August 14)<sup>45</sup>, are present in all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued in Moscow after 1653, Kyiv and Pochaiv. However, these two commemorations occur for the first time in the Lviv cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion issued in 1636, as well as in all further Lviv editions and the one issued by the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit in 1644 in Vilnius/Vevis<sup>46</sup> – a faithful reprint of the first Lviv cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion.

The only minor prophet whose commemoration was integrated into the Moscow cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion slightly before introducing the full menologion in 1653 is Sophonias (December 3)<sup>47</sup>. This occurred in the 1637. He is present in all further Moscow (starting with 1637 edition), as well as in all Kyiv and all Pochaiv cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia.

Commemorations of two minor prophets, Jonah (September 22)<sup>48</sup> and Zachariah (February 8)<sup>49</sup>, are present in only nine out of 110 cyrillic early printed

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<sup>35</sup> i.e., свѣтаго пророка носни.

<sup>36</sup> i.e., свѣтаго пророка нонѣа.

<sup>37</sup> Or Obadiah.

<sup>38</sup> i.e., свѣтаго пророка абдѣа. In Gospel manuscripts, prophet Abdias was sometimes commemorated on December 30 (Лосева 2001a: 235).

<sup>39</sup> Or Habakkuk.

<sup>40</sup> i.e., свѣтаго пророка аббаꝑума.

<sup>41</sup> Or Aggaeus.

<sup>42</sup> i.e., свѣтаго пророка аггеа.

<sup>43</sup> i.e., свѣтаго пророка амоса.

<sup>44</sup> i.e., свѣтаго пророка наꝑума.

<sup>45</sup> i.e., свѣтаго пророка мѣхеа. In Gospel manuscripts, prophet Micah was sometimes commemorated on January 3, 4 or 5 (Лосева 2001a: 239–242; Дограмаджиева 2010: 125–126) and April 21 (Лосева 2001a: 322).

<sup>46</sup> Title pages of this cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion in different copies point to Vilnius (тѣанѣмъ брѣства ставрѣ: храма сошествѣа ст҃го д҃ха в вѣни) or Vievis (тѣанѣмъ брѣства ставрѣ: храма сошествѣа ст҃го д҃ха в вѣю) as the place of printing (Jaroszewicz-Piereslawcew 2003: 105; Вознесенский, Николаев 2019: 78–79, No 100).

<sup>47</sup> I.e., свѣтаго пророка софонѣа.

<sup>48</sup> i.e., свѣтаго пророка нонѣ.

<sup>49</sup> i.e., свѣтаго пророка захарѣи. The only cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion that has, after the noun захарѣи, added the adjective серповѣдѣа is the Moscow edition issued in 1681.

In some Gospel manuscripts, he was commemorated on December 30 (Лосева 2001a: 235).

Tetraevangelia. Four Moscow editions issued in 1681, 1685, 1688 and 1694, and five Kyiv, two oldest and three issued *in octavo* (8°), mention them. In 1689 Moscow cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion printed *in plano* (1°), the commemorations of prophets Jonah and Zachariah, as of Ezekiel, are missing.

The only minor prophet that is present in almost all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia is Malachi (January 3)<sup>50</sup>. He is the last of Old Testament prophets who admonished Israel, foretelling the coming of Jesus Christ with the Forerunner as well as the Last Judgment (Mal 3:1–5, 4:1–6). Holy Fathers called him “the seal of Prophets”. Malachi is mentioned in all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia except eight<sup>51</sup> issued in Lviv and one printed by the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit in 1644.

#### OTHER PROPHETS<sup>52</sup>

Two prophets Elisseus (or Elisha)<sup>53</sup> and Elias<sup>54</sup> honoured by Orthodox Church on June 14<sup>55</sup> and July 20, respectively, are mentioned with no exception in all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia.

Commemoration of prophet Samuel<sup>56</sup> on August 20 was incorporated for the first time into cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion, together with the introduction of the full menologion in Moscow edition in 1653. His commemoration is present in all futher Moscow, as well as in all Kyiv and all Pochaiv editions.

Prophet Moses<sup>57</sup>, whom Orthodox Church claims as the first prophet in the Old Testament (Charkiewicz 2015: 342) and remembers on September 4<sup>58</sup>, is missing in all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued in the Middle-Bulgarian and Serbian recensions of Church Slavonic language but is present in all editions issued in Moscow, Vilnius, Lviv, Kyiv and Pochaiv.

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<sup>50</sup> і.е., свѣтаго пророка малахїя.

<sup>51</sup> There were eight cyrillic early issued Tetraevangelia printed in Lviv in 1636, 1644, 1665, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743.

<sup>52</sup> The Old Testament mentions more than 35 prophets (Jelonek 2007: 58).

<sup>53</sup> і.е., свѣтаго пророка єлїсея.

<sup>54</sup> і.е., свѣтаго (и славнаго) пророка нїлїя.

<sup>55</sup> In Gospel manuscripts, prophet Elisseus was sometimes commemorated on July 20 (Лосева 2001a: 388; Дограмаджиева 2010: 198).

<sup>56</sup> і.е., свѣтаго пророка самїїа.

<sup>57</sup> і.е., свѣтаго пророка боговнѣца монсея. The word order is sometimes different, i.e., свѣтаго пророка монсея боговнѣца, свѣтаго и боговнѣца монсея пророка, etc. Adjective боговнѣца is missing in two Lviv cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued by Mykhailo Slozka and three Kyiv editions printed *in octavo* (8°).

<sup>58</sup> In menologia of Gospel manuscripts, he was sometimes commemorated on July 20 (Дограмаджиева 2010: 198).

## OTHER PERSONS OR GROUPS OF SAINTS

Commemoration of the Righteous Jesus (or Joshua) of Navi<sup>59</sup> on September 1<sup>60</sup> is present only in five out of 110 cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia. Two editions issued by Mykhailo Slozka in Lviv in 1644 and 1665 and three Moscow printed in 1685, 1688 and 1694 mention this Old Testament figure.

Commemoration of Righteous Job the Long-Suffering<sup>61</sup> on May 6 was incorporated for the first time into cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion together with the introduction of the full menologion in Moscow edition in 1653. His commemoration is present in all futher Moscow, as well as in all Kyiv and all Pochaiv editions.

Commemorations of Holy Forefathers<sup>62</sup> on the second Sunday before the Nativity,<sup>63</sup> Holy Fathers<sup>64</sup> on the first Sunday before the Nativity<sup>65</sup> and Seven<sup>66</sup> Holy Maccabean Martyr Brothers<sup>67</sup> on August 1 are mentioned, with no exception, in all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia. Together with the Seven Maccabean Martyrs, their mother Solomonia and their teacher Eleazar<sup>68</sup> are also mentioned in some cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia. Commemorations of Solomonia and Eleazar on August 1 were introduced for the first time in Moscow edition issued in 1681 and are present in all futher Moscow, as well as in all Kyiv and all Pochaiv cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia.

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<sup>59</sup> i.e., ПАМАТЪ ПРАВЕДНАГО ИИСУСА СЫНА НАВУНА. The adjective ПРАВЕДНАГО is missing in two Lviv cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued by Mykhailo Slozka.

<sup>60</sup> In menologia of Gospel manuscripts, he was sometimes commemorated on September 19 or October 15 (Лосева 2001a: 143–177; Дограмаджиева 2010: 74).

<sup>61</sup> i.e., СВАТАГО И ПРАВЕДНАГО И МНОГОСТРАДАЛНАГО ІУВА. Starting with cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion issued in 1685, the word order МНОГОСТРАДАЛНАГО ІУВА is changed into ІУВА МНОГОСТРАДАЛНАГО.

<sup>62</sup> i.e., НЕДЕЛЯ (СВАТЫХЪ) ПРАՄЦЪ. On this Sunday the ancestors of Christ according to the flesh and those who spoke of his birth in the flesh are commemorated.

The Forefather Abraham, together with Lot, is commemorated on October 9 (Лосева 2001a: 172; Дограмаджиева 2010: 83) in the Ostromir Gospel lectionary (*lesk*), the oldest dated East Slavonic (1056–1057) manuscript kept at the National Library of Russia (F.п.І. 5).

<sup>63</sup> This second Sunday before the Nativity falls between December 11–17.

<sup>64</sup> i.e., НЕДЕЛЯ ПРѢДЪ РОЖДѢСТВОМЪ ХРѢИМЪ (СВАТЫХЪ ОТЕЦЪ). The words СВАТЫХЪ ОТЕЦЪ were introduced for the first time into cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion issued in Moscow in 1637.

On this Sunday, all who were well-pleasing to God from Adam to saint Joseph the Betrothed of the Most Holy Theotokos, and those who are mentioned in the genealogy of Luke 3:23–38 are commemorated. The holy prophets, together with Daniel and the three holy youths, and prophesses are also remembered on this day.

<sup>65</sup> This Sunday before the Nativity falls between December 18–24.

<sup>66</sup> The names of seven brothers are as follows: Abim, Antonius, Gurias, Eleazar, Eusebonus, Alimus and Marcellus.

<sup>67</sup> i.e., СТЫХЪ (З.) М҃УНИКЪ МАККАВЕН.

<sup>68</sup> i.e., ОУЧЕНЕЦА НХЪ ЕЛЕАЗАРА И МАТЕРЕ НХЪ СОЛОМОННИ.



## CONCLUSIONS

There are only twenty-seven Old Testament figures mentioned by name<sup>69</sup> and three groups of people (one of which consists of 7 persons) that can be found in menologia of cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia.

Only three<sup>70</sup> Old Testament prophets (Daniel with the Three Holy Youths, Elisseus and Elias), as well as Holy Forefathers, Fathers and Seven Maccabean Martyr Brothers, are present, with no exception, in all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia<sup>71</sup>.

The commemoration of prophet Malachi is present in almost all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia. The group of nine editions that do not mention this prophet in their menologia consists of all eight Lviv and the fourth Vilnius cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia.

Two prophets (Jeremiah and Moses) are mentioned in all cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued in the East Slavonic recension of the Church Slavonic language.

Commemorations of eight Old Testament figures (six minor prophets with prophet Samuel and Righteous Job the Long-Suffering) were incorporated into cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion together with the inclusion of the full menologion<sup>72</sup> in the Moscow edition in 1653.

Only four prophets, viz. Isaiah, Sophonias, Nahum and Micah, can be found in cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued before 1653. Isaiah was already present in the 1606 Moscow edition, Sophonias in the 1637 Moscow one, Nahum and Micah can be found for the first time in the 1636 Lviv cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion.

Commemorations of six Old Testament figures were introduced into Moscow cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued in 1680s. Solomonia and Eleazar –

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<sup>69</sup> In menologia of Gospel manuscripts, more Old Testament figures were mentioned: Lot on October 9 (Лосева 2001a: 172); King David on the Sunday after the Nativity (Лосева 2001a: 233); High Priest Aaron on July 20 (Дограмаджиева 2010: 198). Many of Old Testament saints are missing from Church calendars but are mentioned in liturgical texts (Charkiewicz 2015: 340–341).

<sup>70</sup> Only twenty Old Testament prophets were mentioned in menologia of different cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia.

<sup>71</sup> They had already been present in menologia of the oldest Gospel manuscripts (Лосева 2001a: 225–226, 361–362, 388, 397).

<sup>72</sup> Most of Old Testament figures were attested for the first time in the oldest full menologion of the 12th century Mstislav Gospel lectionary (Лосева 2001a: 160, 178, 205, 215–216, 223, 239, 266, 333, 362, 406). This liturgical calendar was classified by O. Loseva as belonging to the second group of Eastern Gospel menologia, that contains some Greek commemorations dated to the 2nd half of 9th – 1st half of 10th century (Лосева 2001b: 16–17). The first group of Eastern Gospel menologia has Greek commemorations dated to no later than the middle of the 9th century (Лосева 2001b: 16). For more on the menologion of the Mstislav Gospel lectionary (*le*), see: Невоструев 1997: 350–570.

mother and teacher of the Seven Maccabean Martyr Brothers, prophets Jonah and Zachariah were incorporated into the 1681 Moscow edition. Four years later, in 1685, two other figures, prophet Ezekiel and Righteous Jesus (Joshua) of Navi, were integrated into the Moscow Gospel edition. The last person was also present in two early printed Tetraevangelia issued by Mykhailo Slozka in Lviv in 1644 and 1665. The last four Old Testament figures introduced in the 1680s into Moscow Tetraevangelia occurred for the last time in the 1694 Moscow Gospel edition.

The results obtained in this research prove that the liturgical tradition reflected in menologia of cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia is not homogeneous and attest to the possibility of dividing all studied editions issued by the end of the 18th century into groups<sup>73</sup> and subgroups<sup>74</sup>.

#### CYRILLIC EARLY PRINTED TETRAEVANGELIA, CITED IN THE ARTICLE<sup>75</sup>

Tetraevangelion, 1512, Târgoviște: (...) ѸЕТВОРОБЛГОВЕСТІЕ, СЦЕННОНОНОКЪ МАКАРІЕ, ВЪ ЛѢТО ҃ЗК҃, КР҃Г҃Ъ СЛ҃НЦУ҃ К҃. ЛОУНН Ф. ННДНКТІВНЪ ДІ. МСАДА ІОУНІА. КЕ ДНЪ.  
Ed. Miklas 1999.

Tetraevangelion, 1606, Moscow: (...) ТЕТРОЕВАНГІЕ, СР҃ЪУЪ ѸЕТВЕРОБЛГОВЕСТІЕ (...) ВЪ ЦР҃ТВЮЩЕМЪ ГРАДѢ МОСКВѢ (...) ВЪ ЛѢТО ҃З Р҃ДИ, ЮНА, ВЪ КФ ДНЬ.

Tetraevangelion, 1636, Lviv: ЄВАНГЕЛІОНЪ СР҃ЪУЪ: БЛГОВЕСТІЕ БГОДХНОВЕННЫ ЄВАНГЕЛНСТЪ. БЛГВЕНІЕ СТ҃ЪНШІ ПАТРІАР. Н ПР҃ЪОСЦЕННАГО КУРЪ ПЕТРА МОГНАЛЫ. МІТРОПОЛНТЫ ПРАВО: ТЩАНІЕМ БРАДСТВА СТАВРО: ХРАМА ОУСПЕНІА ПР҃ТЫА БЦА. ВЪ АВОБЪ. В ЛѢТО Ѡ СЪДАНІА МІРА, ҃ЗРМА, А Ѡ РЖТВА ХВА, ҃ДХЛС. АБГ: К.

Tetraevangelion, 1637, Moscow: (...) КНИГА ЕВАНГІЕ (...) ВЪ ЦР҃ТВЮЩЕМЪ ГРАДѢ МОСКВѢ (...) ҃ЗРМЕ, МЦА, ФЕВРАЛА, ВЪ Г ДНЬ.

Tetraevangelion, 1644, Lviv: ЄВАНГЕЛІОНЪ СР҃ЪУЪ: БЛГОВЕСТІЕ БГОДХНОВЕННЫХ ЄВАНГЕЛНСТЪ. БЛГОСЛОВЕНІЕМ СТ҃ЪНШНХЪ ѸЕТВЕРОПРЕСЛОЛННХЪ ПАТРІАРХЪ. ТЩАНІЕМ ЖЕ Н НЖДНВЕНІЕМ БРАТСТВА СТАВРОПИГІОНЪ: ХРАМА ВСПЕНІА ПР҃ТЫА БГОРОДНЦА. ВПАСНО ВТОРНЦЮ НЗДАДЕ СА. ВЪ АВОБЪ. В ЛѢТО Ѡ СЪЗДАНІА МІРА, ҃ЗРНВ, А Ѡ РЖТВА ХВА, ҃ДХМД. МАА, НІ.

<sup>73</sup> The following groups can be listed as examples: Tetraevangelia issued in the Middle-Bulgarian and Serbian recensions of the Church Slavonic language; Tetraevangelia issued in Moscow before the year 1652; Tetraevangelia issued in Moscow after the year 1652; Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv.

<sup>74</sup> Gospel editions printed in Lviv can be listed as examples. They can be divided into two subgroups: Gospels issued at the Printing House run by the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood and Gospels printed by Mykhailo Slozka.

<sup>75</sup> For the list of all researched cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia see: Ostapczuk 2013: 137–148; Ostapczuk 2020b: 201 (footnote 5).

- Tetraevangelion, 1644, Vilnius: Євѣліє снрѣвъъ: бѣговѣстїє бѣгодѣхновѣнныхъ євѣлнстѣ. бѣгловенїє стѣвншаго патрїархн кѣ парфенїа. тшанїемъ брѣства старрѣ: храма сошествїа стѣго дѣха. в влннн. в лѣто ѿ рождѣства хѣва, фѣхмѣ. декѣ: кѣ.
- Tetraevangelion, 1648, Moscow: (...) кннга євѣліє (...) вѣ бѣгохраннмомъ н црѣтвѣющемъ градѣ москвѣ (...) фѣрнѣ, мѣа генавра, вѣ сѣ днѣ.
- Tetraevangelion, 1653, Moscow: (...) кннга євѣліє (...) вѣ црѣтвѣющемъ градѣ москвѣ (...) фѣрѣв, мѣа октавра, вѣ кѣ днѣ.
- Tetraevangelion, 1665, Lviv: Євангелїонъ снрѣвъъ. бѣговѣстїє бѣгодѣхновѣнныхъ євангелнстѣ. за прнвнлїє: є: королев: мѣтн, а за бѣгословенїє стѣвншї патрїх. н бѣголюбнваго є: мѣтн гѣна ѿца афанасїа желнборскаго єпа, лвоксѣ: галн: н кѣ: подѣ: вѣ лвоѣ. в тнпографїн мїханла слюзкн. рокѣ фѣхѣе. мѣа марта, л.
- Tetraevangelion, 1681, Moscow: євѣліє їнса хрѣта (...) напечѣта са во тнпографїн црѣтвѣющагѣ велнкаго града москвы (...) вѣ лѣто ѿ сотворенїа мїра фѣрѣ: ѿ рѣтва же по плотн бѣа слова, фѣхпа, нндїкта, є. мѣа октѣврїа.
- Tetraevangelion, 1685, Moscow: євѣліє їнса хрѣта (...) напечѣта са во тнпографїн црѣтвѣющагѣ велнкаго града москвы (...) вѣ лѣто ѿ сотворенїа мїра фѣрѣг: ѿ рѣтва же по плотн бѣа слова, фѣхпѣ, нндїкта, н. мѣа маїа.
- Tetraevangelion, 1688, Moscow: євѣліє їнса хрѣта (...) напечѣта са во тнпографїн црѣтвѣющагѣ велнкаго града москвы (...) вѣ лѣто ѿ сотворенїа мїра фѣрѣз: ѿ рѣтва же по плотн бѣа слова, фѣхпн, нндїкта, вї. мѣа септѣврїа.
- Tetraevangelion, 1689, Moscow: євѣліє їнса хрѣта (...) напечѣта са во тнпографїн црѣтвѣющагѣ велнкаго града москвы (...) вѣ лѣто ѿ сотворенїа мїра фѣрѣз: ѿ рѣтва же по плотн бѣа слова, фѣхпѣ, нндїкта, вї. мѣа авгѣста.
- Tetraevangelion, 1694, Moscow: євѣліє їнса хрѣта (...) напечѣта са во тнпографїн црѣтвѣющагѣ велнкаго града москвы (...) вѣ лѣто ѿ сотворенїа мїра фѣсѣ: ѿ рѣтва же по плотн бѣа слова, фѣхѣд, нндїкта, в. мѣа авгѣста.
- Tetraevangelion, 1697, Kyiv: євѣліє нлн бѣговѣствованїє гѣда бѣа н спаса ншѣго їнса хрѣта (...) в стон, велнкѣ, ѣвдотворнѣ, кїєво печѣрскѣ лаврѣ (...) вѣ лѣто ѿ созданїа свѣта фѣсѣ: ѿ воплощенїа же бѣа слова, фѣхѣз, мѣа декѣврїа.
- Tetraevangelion, 1704, Lviv: Євангелїонъ снрѣвъъ. бѣговѣстїє бѣгодѣхновѣнныхъ євангелнстѣ. бѣгословенїемъ стѣвншї ѣтѣропрѣстоанї патрїархѣ. тшанїемъ же н нжднвенїемъ брѣсѣа лвоксѣ: ставропїїгїнн храмѣ вспенїа пр: бѣца нздасѣ. вѣ лвоѣ. вѣ лвоѣ. в лѣто ѿ сѣзданїа мїра, фѣрн, а ѿ рѣ хѣва, дѣх (Sic!). ноеврїа кн.
- Tetraevangelion, 1712, Kyiv: євѣліє нлн бѣговѣствованїє гѣда бѣа н спаса ншѣго їнса хрѣта (...) в стон, велнкѣ, ѣвдотворнѣ, кїєво печѣрскѣ лаврѣ (...) вѣ лѣто ѿ созданїа свѣта фѣсѣ: ѿ воплощенїа же бѣа слова, фѣхѣвї, мѣа марта.

Tetraevangelion, 1722, Lviv: ЄВАНГЕЛІОНЪ СРЪЧЪЪ. БѢГОВѢСТІЕ БѢГОДѢХНОВѢННЫ  
ЄВАНГЕЛНСТЪ. ТЩАНІЕМЪ Н НЖДНВЕНІЕМ БРАТСТВА ЛВОВСКАГО: СТАВРОПИГІОН. ХРАМА  
ВСПЕНІА ПР: БЦА, НЗДАСА, ВЪ ЛВѢТО Ѡ СѢДАНІА МІРА, ЗСКФ, А Ѡ РЖ: ХВА,  
АѢКВ.

Tetraevangelion, 1737, Kyiv: (...) НАПЕЧАТА СА КНИГА СІА СЦЕННОЕ ЕВЛІЕ, ВО СТѢН  
КІЕВОНЕЧЕРСКОМ ЛАВРѢ (...) ВЪ ЛѢТО Ѡ СОТВОРЕНІА МИРА ЗСМЕ, Ѡ РЖТВА ЖЕ ХРѢТОВА,  
ЗДѢЛЗ.

Tetraevangelion, 1752, Kyiv: (...) НАПЕЧАТА СА КНИГА СІА СЦЕННОЕ ЕВЛІЕ, ВО СТОМ  
КІЕВОНЕЧЕРСКОМ ЛАВРѢ (...) ВЪ ЛѢТО Ѡ СОТВОРЕНІА МИРА ЗСЗ, Ѡ РЖТВА ЖЕ ПО ПЛОТН  
БГА СЛОВА, ЗДѢНН.

Tetraevangelion, 1759, Kyiv: (...) НАПЕЧАТА СА КНИГА СІА СЦЕННОЕ ЕВЛІЕ, ВО СТОМ  
КІЕВОНЕЧЕРСКОМ ЛАВРѢ (...) ВЪ ЛѢТО Ѡ СОТВОРЕНІА МИРА ЗСЗЗ, Ѡ РЖТВА ЖЕ ПО ПЛОТН  
БГА СЛОВА, ЗДѢНОФ.

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#### СТАРОЗАВЕТНИТЕ СВЕТЦИ В МЕСЕЦОСЛОВИТЕ НА КИРИЛСКИТЕ СТАРОПЕЧАТНИ ЧЕТИРИЕВАНГЕЛИЯ

(Резюме)

Статията изследва старозаветните светци, които присъстват в месецословите на старопечатните кирилски четириевангелия, т.е. на книгите, издадени между XVI и XVIII в. В литургичните календари на кирилските издания на евангелията се срещат три групи светци и се споменават по име едва двадесет и седем старозаветни персонажи. Трима пророци – Елисей, Илия и Даниил, заедно с тримата отроци, патриарсите, отците и седемте братя Макавеи присъстват във всички старопечатни кирилски четириевангелия. Пророк Малахия липсва във всички издания от Лвов и в четвъртото Вилнюско издание, а двама пророци – Иеремия и Моисей, отсъстват от всичките единадесет южнославянски четириевангелия. Шестима от малките пророци заедно със Самуил и Праведния Йов са добавени в кирилските издания на евангелията с включването на пълния месецослов в Московското четириевангелие през 1653 г. Четирима пророци (Исаия, Софоний, Наум и Михей) се срещат в някои от изданията, отпечатани преди 1653 г. Шест други старозаветни персонажи – Соломония и Елеазар, Йона, Захария, Иезекиил и Иисус Навин, са въведени в московските четириевангелия, издадени през 80-те години на XVII в. Последните четирима се срещат за последен път в евангелиския месецослов, публикуван през

1694 г. Резултатите от настоящото изследване доказват, че литургичната традиция, отразена в месецословите на старопечатните кирилски четириевангелия, не е хомогенна и стабилна, а е подлагана на промени. В месецословите на кирилските евангелски издания присъстват старозаветни светци, но те са по-малко от новозаветните и другите персонажи, почитани от православната църква.

*Ключови думи:* кирилски старопечатни четириевангелия; месецослов; Стар завет; светец.

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