Vilnius
University
Press

MENOLOGIA OF CYRILLIC EARLY PRINTED LITURGICAL TETRAEVANGELIA ISSUED IN VILNIUS

Jerzy Ostapczuk
Christian Theological Academy in Warsaw
Broniewskiego 48, Warsaw 01-771, Poland
E-mail: j.ostapczuk@chat.edu.pl; jostap@wp.pl

Summary. *Merely four out of 110 Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia were printed in Vilnius. Three of them were issued at Mamonich Printing House (1575, 1600 and ca. 1620) and one at Vilnius Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit (1644). As these four editions were frequently consulted in various book studies and completely neglected in liturgical scholarship, the commemorations of saints and feasts present in Menologia (i.e., in the fixed liturgical calendar) of all of Vilnius Gospels and other typologically homogeneous books were chosen as the subject of this research. This study was based on all Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia, i.e., books issued before the year 1800. Special attention was paid to the three 16th c. Moscow (so-called anonymous) and the first two Lviv editions (issued in 1636 and 1644), as they are sometimes treated as the origins of Vilnius Gospels.*
Textual and liturgical analyses of Menologia were the main research methods applied in this publication. The varying number of days in the

twelve months, the presence or absence of saints and feasts, as well as the verbatim correspondence of the names of commemorations and the information on the recitation of the Gospel fragments at the Divine Liturgy have been analysed. The outcomes of the undertaken research have proven that three Mamonich Gospel editions copied the Muscovite liturgical tradition, whereas Vilnius Brotherhood's Tetraevangelion fully reproduced the first Lviv Gospel.

This means that one of the three 16th c. Moscow anonymous Tetraevangelia had served as the origin for the first Mamonich edition, and that the fourth Vilnius Gospel is an accurate copy of the first Lviv Tetraevangelion. Textual variants revealed in Vilnius Gospel editions must be treated as the result of the printers' text revision.

A full list of all 203 commemorations present in the Menologia of the four Vilnius Tetraevanalia was added to this study.

Keywords: *liturgical Tetraevangelion, Gospels, Vilnius, Mamonich, Orthodox Brotherhood, Menologia, Saints, Feasts*

Vilniuje leistų senųjų spausdintinių kirilinių tetraevangelijų menologijos

Santrauka. *Tik keturios iš 110 ankstyvųjų kirilica spausdintų tetraevangelijų buvo publikuotos Vilniuje. Trys iš jų buvo išleistos Mamoničių spaustuvėje (1575, 1600 ir maždaug 1620 m.), o viena buvo publikuota Vilniaus Šventosios Dvasios brolijos spaustuvėje (1644 m.). Kadangi apie šiuos keturis leidinius dažnai rašoma įvairiuose knygotyriniuose tyrimuose, bet jie visiškai ignoruojami liturginio mokslo tyrimuose, šio tyrimo pagrindu buvo pasirinktas šventųjų ir liturginių švenčių minėjimas menologijose (t. y. fiksuotų datų religiniuose kalendoriuose), pateiktose Vilniuje publikuotuose Šventojo Rašto leidimuose. Kartu buvo tiriamos šio tyrimo tematiką atitinkančios tipologiškai homogeniškos knygos. Šis tyrimas buvo paremtas visomis kirilica spausdintomis ankstyvo- siomis liturginėmis tetraevangelijomis, t. y. knygomis, publikuotomis iki 1800 metų. Ypatingas dėmesys buvo skirtas trims XVI a. Maskvoje spausdintiems (vadinamiesiems anoniminiams) ir pirmiesiems dviem Lvovo leidimams (1636 ir 1644 m.), kadangi šios publikacijos kartais laikomos Vilniaus evangelikų pirmtakėmis.*

Tekstinė ir liturginė menologijų analizė buvo pagrindiniai šioje publika- cijoje taikyti tyrimo metodai. Šio tyrimo objektas buvo įvairus paminėtų dienų skaičius dvylikoje mėnesių, įvairių šventųjų ir švenčių paminėjimas

*arba nepaminėjimas bei pažodinis (paraidinis) minėtinų švenčių pavadi-
nimų atitikimas bei Šventojo Rašto fragmentų panaudojimas Dieviškojoje
Liturgijoje. Atlikto tyrimo rezultatai įrodo, kad trys Mamoničių Šventojo
Rašto leidimai kopijavo Maskvos liturginę tradiciją, o Vilniaus brolijos
Tetraevangelija tiksliai atkartojo pirmąjį Lvovo Šventojo Rašto leidimą.
Tai reiškia, kad viena iš trijų Maskvos XVI a. tetraevangelijų pasitarna-
vo kaip pirmojo Mamoničių leidyklos varianto šaltinis bei kad ketvirtoji
Vilniaus Evangelija yra tiksli pirmosios Lvovo Tetraevangelijos kopija.
Skirtingų Vilniaus Šventojo Rašto leidimų tekstų tarpusavio skirtumai
atskleidžia, kad į juos derėtų žiūrėti kaip į spaustuvininko atliktos teksto
peržiūros rezultatą.*

*Šis tyrimas papildytas baigtiniu visų 203 paminėjimų, esančių keturių
Vilniuje publikuotų tetraevangelijų menologijose, sąrašu.*

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *liturginė tetraevangelija, evangelijos, Vilnius, Mamoničius,
Ortodoksų brolija, menologijos, šventieji, šventės.*

Out of 110 Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia, i.e.,
Gospel editions issued before the year 1800, only four were printed in Vilnius –
three times at the Mamonich Workshop (1575, 1600 and ca. 1620), and once at
Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit (1644).[1]

In most cases, early printed books (including Tetraevangelia) that were is-
sued at the same publishing house and by the same printer or his successors
are, as a rule, very similar both typographically and textologically. This opinion
also refers to all four Vilnius Tetraevangelia. The splendid design as well as other
details of the first[2] Vilnius Gospel edition printed in 1575[3] were reproduced to

---

1 Title pages of the fourth Vilnius Gospel in various copies point to Vilnius or Vievis as
the place of printing (JAROSZEWICZ-PIERESŁAWCEW, Zoja. *Druki cyrylickie z oficyn
Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI–XVIII wieku*. Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu
Warmińsko-Mazurskiego, 2003, p. 105; KAŽURO, Ina. *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos
kirilikos leidinių kolekcija 1525-1839. Katalogas*. Vilnius: Vilniaus Universiteto leidykla,
2013, pp. 185–187 {№ 62}; VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich, NIKOLAEV Nikolai
Viktorovich. *Katalog belorusskikh izdanii kirillovskogo shrifta XVI–XVIII vekov iz sobraniya
Otdela redkikh knig Rossiiskoi nacionalnoi biblioteki*. Vyp. 2: 1601–1654 gg. Sankt-Peter-
burg: Rossiiskaya Nacionalnaya Biblioteka, 2019, p. 78–79 {No 100}).

2 The first Vilnius Tetraevangelion, with marvellous engravings of the four Evangelists, and
Psalter printed in the next year, i.e., 1576, are considered the best and most brilliant edi-
tions issued by Mamonich Workshop.

3 RODOSSKII, Aleksei Stepanovich. *Opisanie staropechatnykh i cerkovno-slavyanskikh knig,*

a great extent by the second and third Tetraevangelia issued in Vilnius,[4] while the Gospel published by Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood in 1644[5] was completely different from the previous three Vilnius editions in its typographical layout.[6] Its typographical peculiarities were closely copied from the Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv.[7]

Textual analysis of several different texts of numerous Cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia, with special attention being paid to the first two Lviv Gospel editions issued at Lviv Dormition Brotherhood Printing House on 20 October 1636, and at Mykhailo Slozka Workshop on 18 May 1644 indicated the edition that served as the origin for the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion. The fol-

khraniashchikhsya v biblioteke S.-Peterburgskoi dukhovnoi akademii. Vyp. 1 (1491–1700 gg. vklyuch.). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. A. Katanskogo, 1891. p. 51 (№ 36); JAROSZEWICZ-PIERESŁAWCEW, Zoja. *Druki cyrylickie z oficyn Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI–XVIII wieku,* p. 154–155; VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Kirillicheskie izdaniya Evangeliya XVI veka. *Nacional'naya Biblioteka* 1/07, 2016, p. 44; VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Petr Timofeev Mstislavec i ego izdaniya. *Nacional'naya Biblioteka* 2/12, 2018, p. 36.

4   A detailed study of the first three Vilnius Tetraevangelia, see: BONDAR, Nataliya. *Vydannya Ivana Fedorova ta Petra Mstyslavcya z fondiv Nacional'noï biblioteki Ukraïny imeni V.I. Vernads'kogo. Doslidzhennya. Poprymirnykovyi opys.* Kyïv: Nacional'na Akademiya Nauk Ukraïny / Nacional'na Biblioteka Ukraïny imeni V.I Vernads'kogo, 2012, p. 119–151; BONDAR, Nataliya. *Vilnyus'ki Evangeliya 1575–1644 rr. z fondiv Nacional'noï biblioteki Ukrainy. Doslidzhennya, poprymirnikovyi opys, al'bom ilyustracii.* Kyïv: Nacional'na Akademiya Nauk Ukraïny / Nacional'na Biblioteka Ukraïny imeni V.I. Vernads'kogo Instytut Knygoznavstva, 2021.

5   For a detailed study of the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion, see: BONDAR, Nataliya. *Vilnyus'ki Evangeliya 1575–1644 rr. z fondiv Nacional'noï biblioteki Ukraïny.* p. 16–132; 262–281; 329–335.

6   BONDAR, Nataliya. Vzaemovplyvy kyrylychnykh vydan' Evangelii druhoï pol. XVI-pershoi pol. XVII st. viln'nyus'kogo ta l'vivs'kogo druku. In *Naukovyi potencial slavistyky: Istorichni zdobutky ta tendenciï rozvytku.* Tezy dopovidei mizhnarodnoi naukovoi konferencji do dnya slov'yans'koï pysmenosti i kul'tury (Kyïv, 21 travnya 2015 r.). Vidpov. red. O. S. Onishchenko. Kyïv: Nacional'nyi Universytet im. T. Shchevchenka, 2015, p. 109–112.

7   BONDAR, Nataliya. Vzaemovplyvy kyrylychnykh vydan' Evangelii druhoï pol. XVI-pershoi pol. XVII st. viln'nyus'kogo ta l'vivs'kogo druku. p. 110–111.
It is not the only early printed book issued in the 17th c. in Vilnius that serves as an example of the Ukrainian printing tradition's influence on the Vilnius'. Typographical analysis of various early printed books from the Vilnius Printing houses of the Orthodox Brotherhood, Academy *and Basilian Order*, carried out by Ina Kažuro proved their close typographical dependence on the Ukrainian books (Kažuro, Ina. *The Ukrainian tradition of Vilnius Book Printing (the 16th–17th c.).* Presentation from the International Research Conference Francysk Skaryna and the Renaissance book culture. Skaryna's Little Travel Book turns 500. Vilnius, September 22–23, 2022).

lowing texts were examined: the first nine *zachalas* of the Gospel of Mark (i.e., Mk 1:1-2:22),[8] four Chapter Titles to Gospels,[9] the four Prefaces to Gospels by Bl. Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria.[10] The Chapter Titles and the Prefaces always preceded each of the four Gospel books. Thus, it can be stated that the beginning, together with different middle parts of Gospel editions, have been textually examined leading therefore to the same conclusion. The only Tetraevangelion that was issued by Vilnius Orthodox Confraternity on 21 December 1644 reproduced in its different parts the text of the first Lviv Gospel edition, issued at Lviv Dormition Brotherhood Workshop on 20 October 1636.

Lviv Brotherhood, which was the oldest Orthodox Confraternity with the stauropegial rights, ran not only schools, hospitals, orphanages, or homes for the elderly, but also a printing house. Its importance increased with the introduction of the Union of Brest in 1596, as its main goal from this moment was to protect the Orthodox Church. It influenced the activities of other Orthodox Confraternities, including the one in Vilnius, with which it was closely cooperating for a long time.

Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit was founded in 1584.[11] It had the same objectives as Lviv Dormition Confraternity. Thus, it should not come as a surprise that Vilnius Brotherhood in the 1640s preferred to copy the first Lviv Gospel edition, issued by the Dormition Orthodox Brotherhood,[12]

---

8 OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Podlinnik vilenskogo (ev'eskogo) chetveroevangelia 1644 g. In Raman Scyapanavich Matulski (ed.). *Materialy Mizhnarodnaga Kangresa „500 gadou belaruskaga knigadrukavannya".* Chastka 1, XIII Mizhnarondyya kniganzauchyya chytanni. Minsk, 14-15 verasnya 2017 g. Minsk: Nacyanalnaya bibliyateka Belarusi, 2017, p. 291–297.

9 OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Tekstologicheskie raznochteniya v spiskakh evangel'skikh glav – eshche odna osnova dlya otozhdesvleniya podlinnika Vilenskogo Evangeliya tetr 1644 goda. In *Yazyk, kniga i tradicionnaya kul'tura pozdnego russkogo srednevekov'ya v nauke, muzeinoi i bibliotechnoi rabote*: Trudy IV Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferencji (Mir staroobryadchestva. Vyp. 10). Sbornik nauchnykh statei (=Trudy Istoricheskogo Fakulteta MGU, Vyp. XXX, Seriya II: Istoricheskie issledovaniya, XX). Sost. Yurii S. Belyakin, Elena Vladimirovna Voroncova, Nataliya Viktorovna Litvina. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 2019, p. 271–282.

10 OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Warianty tekstologiczne Przedmów do Ewangelii bł. Teofilakta Bułgarskiego jako podstawa do identyfikacji wzoru cyrylickiej tetraewangelii wileńskiego bractwa św. Ducha z 1644 roku. In Jan Stradomski, Marzanna Kuczyńska, Marina Čistiakova (eds.). *Słowianie w monarchii Habsburgów. Literatura, język, kultura* (=Krakowsko-Wieleńskie Studia Slawistyczne 17). Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2020, p. 87–97.

11 It was originally located at the Holy Trinity Monastery, but, in 1605, it was moved to the Holy Spirit Monastery.

12 The second Lviv Gospel edition was published by Mykhailo Slozka, the former director of Lviv Orthodox Brotherhood Printing House.

to one of the first three Vilnius Tetraevangelia printed at Mamonich Printing House. There may have been several reasons for this preference. Starting from the first decade of the 17th century, Kuzma and Luka Mamonich were the main publishers of books for the Greek-Catholic Church,[13] and from the second decade of the 17th century, the Mamonich Workshop issued books exclusively for use in this denomination.[14] Moreover, Mamonich Tetraevangelia – which will be discussed in the next paragraph – closely followed the Muscovite[15] liturgical tradition, while Lviv Gospel editions differed somewhat from it, not only liturgically but textually as well. Printing a Tetraevangelion that reflects the Muscovite traditions would mean spreading[16] these liturgical customs in the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and thus contributing to their gradual implementation. This would have caused even more diversity within the local liturgical tradition prevailing in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its conformity to the Muscovite customs.

13   VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Vilenskaya tipografiya Mamonichei vo vtoroi polovine 1590-h gg. In *Belorusskii sbornik. Stat'i i materialy o istorii i kul'ture Belorussi* 8, 2021, p. 59–60.

14   JAROSZEWICZ-PIERESŁAWCEW, Zoja. *Druki cyrylickie z oficyn Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI–XVIII wieku,* p. 73; 76–77; JAROSZEWICZ-PIERESŁAWCEW, Zoja. Drukarstwo cyrylickie w Rzeczypospolitej. In Antoni Mironowicz, Urszula Pawluczuk, Piotr Chomik (eds.), *Prawosławne oficyny wydawnicze w Rzeczypospolitej.* Białystok: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2004. p. 16–20; MIRONOWICZ, Antoni. Drukarnie bractw cerkiewnych. In Antoni Mironowicz; Urszula Pawluczuk; Piotr Chomik (eds.), *Prawosławne oficyny wydawnicze w Rzeczypospolitej.* Białystok: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2004, p. 56; SHCHMATAU, Viktar Fedaravich. *Mastactva belarusskikh staradrukau XVI-XVIII stst.* Minsk: Tekhnalogiya, 2000. p. 65.

15   Books published by Mamonich Printing House in the later times for use in the Uniate Church were rather typical for the Kyivian liturgical tradition (Petrovych, Michael. *Bringing Back the Saints:* The Contribution of the Roman Edition of the Ruthenian Liturgical Books (Recensio Ruthena, 1940, 1952) to the Commemoration of Slavic Saints in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Theology Saint Paul University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Theology (and Doctor of Theology). Ottawa, Canada: uOttawa, 2005. p. 46).

16   In the 17th century, the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood played an important role in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (KEMPA, Tomasz. Stauropegic Brotherhood of Vilno and Brotherhood Monastery as the Most Important Orthodox Centre in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the End of the 16th and in the 17th Centuries. In Andrzej Gil, Witold Bobryk (eds.). *On the Border of the Worlds. Essays about the Orthodox and Uniate Churches in Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages and the Modern Period.* Siedlce / Lublin: Akademia Podlaska / Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2010, p. 85–112).

The printing of a liturgical Tetraevangelion for the first time in Vilnius in 1575 was preceded by issuing ten Cyrillic Gospel editions. Seven of them[17] appeared in the lands of Medieval Romania and Serbia. It is hardly possible that they had reached Vilnius and could have served as the source of the first three Vilnius Tetraevangelia issued at the Mamonich Printing House.[18] It is worth noting that the Middle Bulgarian and Serbian Orthodox liturgical and textual traditions reflected in these seven Gospel editions differed to some extent from the East Slavonic ones. The three other Tetraevangelia that preceded the printing of the first Vilnius Gospel edition appeared in the lands of East Slavs.[19] They were issued in Moscow in 1553/54, 1558/59 and 1563/64. No direct historical evidence proving that one of these three Moscow Tetraevangelia had been used to prepare the first Vilnius Gospel[20] edition is known. Luka and Kuzma Mamonich, like those of their immediate Vilnius predecessors, aimed to sell[21] their editions on the Moscow market.[22] In order to succeed in their endeavours, they had to follow[23] the Muscovite tradition (including the litur-

---

17 These seven Gospel editions were printed in: 1512 in Târgovişte, 1537 in Rujno, 1546 and 1551–53 in Sibiu, 1552 in Belgrade, 1562 in Braşov and 1562 in Mrkšina Crkva.

18 Publishers of the first three Moscow Gospel editions also followed their own local tradition instead of five earlier Serbian and Ugro-Wallachian Tetraevangelia issued before 1553 (VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Kirillicheskie izdaniya Evangeliya XVI veka. p. 44).

19 Mamonich Printing House was founded in 1574 by merchant Kuzma Mamonich together with Piotr Timofeev Mstislavets, who, together with Ivan Fedorov, issued the first East Slavonic dated printed book, the Apostolos, on March 1, 1564, in Moscow. Mamonich Printing House ran in Vilnius for almost 50 years. Its last edition was published in 1623.

20 The Apostle issued in Moscow in 1564 was reprinted at Mamonich Workshop (BONDAR, Nataliya. Vilnyus'ki Evangeliya 1575–1644 rr. z fondiv Nacional'noï biblioteki Ukraïny. p. 114).

21 The ban on the trade and use of the so-called 'Lithuanian printed books' was introduced in Moscow in the 1620s (OPARINA, Tat'yana Anatol'evna. Knigi litovskoi pechati v speckhrane Moskovskogo Kremla. Slavyanovedenie 2, 2002, p. 140–142).

22 VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Petr Timofeev Mstislavec i ego izdaniya. p. 36. By the end of the 16th century, Moscow book markets became a priority for Mamonich Printing House (VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Vilenskaya tipografiya Mamonichei vo vtoroi polovine 1590-h gg. p. 64).

23 In some publications, it is mistakenly pointed out that the menologion of Vilnius Tetraevangelia in comparison to Moscow Gospel editions was supplemented (MILOVIDOV, Aleksandr Ivanovich (Sost.). Opisanie slavyano-russkikh staropechatnykh knig Vilenskoi publichnoi Biblioteki (1491–1800 gg.). Vil'na: Tipografiya A.G. Syrkina, 1908. p. 18 {№ 10}; VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich, NIKOLAEV Nikolai Viktorovich. Katalog belorusskikh izdanii kirillovskogo shrifta XVI–XVIII vekov iz sobraniya Otdela redkikh knig

gical one).[24] Therefore, the same feasts and saints that are present in the first three Moscow[25] Tetraevangelia were reflected in all three Mamonich Gospel editions.[26] This is most probably why their editions were well received not only in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania but in Muscovy as well.[27] The easiest way to succeed on the Moscow book market was to reprint the text of one of the three Moscow Gospels and its liturgical tradition. However, it cannot be excluded that the Gospel[28] manuscript,[29] whose Menologion reflected the Muscovite

Rossiiskoi nacionalnoi biblioteki, p. 24), but, in fact, this statement concerns a comparison with Apostolos issued in Moscow in 1564 (RODOSSKII, Aleksei Stepanovich. *Opisanie staropechatnykh i cerkovno-slavyanskikh knig, khraniashchikhsya v biblioteke S.-Peterburgskoi dukhovnoi akademii.* p. 28 {№ 12} and p. 30 {№ 15}).

24 SAPUNOV, Boris Viktorovich. Pechatnye belorusskie knigi v russkikh bibliotekakh vtoroi poloviny XVI – pervoi poloviny XVII vv. In *Belorusskii sbornik.* Stat'i i materialy po istorii i kul'ture Belorussi. Vyp. 1, Sost. Nikolai Viktorovich Nikolaev, Sankt-Peterburg: Rossiiskaya Nacionalnaya Biblioteka, 1998, p. 25; JAROSZEWICZ-PIERESŁAWCEW, Zoja. *Druki cyrylickie z oficyn Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI-XVIII wieku,* p. 76 (footnote No. 212); VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Kirillicheskie izdaniya Evangeliya XVI veka. p. 44; VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich, NIKOLAEV Nikolai Viktorovich. *Katalog belorusskikh izdanii kirillovskogo shrifta XVI-XVIII vekov iz sobraniya Otdela redkikh knig Rossiiskoi nacionalnoi biblioteki.* p. 9.

25 The fact that all the first three Moscow Gospel Tetraevangelia strictly follow the same liturgical tradition was already mentioned in publications (RODOSSKII, Aleksei Stepanovich. *Opisanie staropechatnykh i cerkovno-slavyanskikh knig, khraniashchikhsya v biblioteke S.-Peterburgskoi dukhovnoi akademii.* p. 25 {№ 11} and p. 27 {№ 12}).
It is worth noting that Moscow publishers in the 16th century were also called to correct the liturgical books as the need for this was proclaimed at the Moscow Church *Stoglav* Council of 1551 (called *The Hundred Chapters*). That is why it was Tetraevangelion that was issued as the first printed book in Moscow instead of Octoechos as it happened in Cracow and Cetinje or the Liturgy book in Târgovişte (VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Kirillicheskie izdaniya Evangeliya XVI veka. p. 45).

26 RODOSSKII, Aleksei Stepanovich. *Opisanie staropechatnykh i cerkovno-slavyanskikh knig, khraniashchikhsya v biblioteke S.-Peterburgskoi dukhovnoi akademii,* p. 30 {№ 15} and p. 51 {№ 36}.

27 VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Petr Timofeev Mstislavec i ego izdaniya. p. 37. This most probably resulted in an increase, during the printing process, of the press run of the second Vilnius Tetraevangelion (BONDAR, Nataliya. *Vilnyus'ki Evangeliya 1575–1644 rr. z fondiv Nacional'noï biblioteki Ukraïny.* p. 84).

28 The publishers of the Moscow Apostolos used more than one manuscript (VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Apostol 1564 g. i pervye opyty knigopechataniya v Moskve. *Nacional'naya Biblioteka* 1/01, 2014, p. 54).

29 Portraits of Evangelists in the first Vilnius Tetraevangelion were patterned on manuscripts and reprinted in all Vilnius Tetraevangelia (SHCHMATAU, Viktar Fedaravich. *Mastactva belarusskikh staradrukau XVI-XVIII stst.* p. 63–66; 77–78; 109). In the three Moscow

liturgical tradition, could have been used for the preparation of the first Vilnius Gospel edition.

There is evidence that the text from the first Moscow Gospel edition (1553/54) was reprinted in the decade when the first Mamonich Tetraevangelion was issued. It was Vasyl Ciapiński who used this Tetraevangelion as a source for the Church Slavonic text in his bilingual Gospel edition[30] (also known as *The first part of the New Testament*) issued no later than 1580. He not only reprinted the Moscow Gospel's text but also edited it with the help of the weekday[31] Gospel lectionary (*le*) of Preslav redaction and manuscripts by adding textual variants in the margins together with information on their origin (i.e., lectionary, Tetraevangelion or Moscow Gospel *recently printed*).[32]

In pursuit of success on the target market and in printing various books, the printers had to choose the most appropriate and desirable texts,[33] reprint and edit them,[34] more or less extensively.[35]

Gospel editions, there were no printed portraits of Evangelists as their publishers most probably intended to install in Tetraevangelia hand-painted ones (VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Apostol 1564 g. i pervye opyty knigopechataniya v Moskve. p. 48; Kirillicheskie izdaniya Evangeliya XVI veka. p. 44).

30 This statement is based on the lowest number of textual readings revealed in the research of five different Gospel editions (KLIMOV, Igor' Pavlovich. Moskovskii original cerkovnoslavyanskogo teksta v starabelarusskom Evangelii Tyapinskogo. In *Lingvisticheskoie istochnikovedenie i istoriya russkogo yazyka.* Sbornik statei (2002–2003). Moskva: Drevlekhranilishche, 2003, p. 378).

31 This type of Gospel lectionary is also called full *aprakos.*

32 KLIMOV, Igor' Pavlovich. Moskovskii original cerkovnoslavyanskogo teksta v starabelarusskom Evangelii Tyapinskogo. p. 373–385; KLIMOV, Igor' Pavlovich. Praca belaruskaga pratestanta Vasiliya Cyapinskaga nad carkounaslavyanskimi perakladami Evangellya. In *XI Mizhnarodnyya Kiryla-Myafadzieuskiya chytanni, prysvechannyya Dnyam slavyanskaga piśmenstva i kul'tury.* (Minsk, 24–26 maya 2005 g.). Materyyaly chytannyay. M.A. Byaspalaya (adk. red). Minsk: Belarusskii Dzyarzhauny Universitet kul'tury i mastactva, 2006, p. 72–75; KLIMOV, Igor' Pavlovich. *Evangelle u perakladze Vasiliya Cyapinskaga.* Minsk: BDUKM, 2012, p. 197.

33 VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Kanonik kak tip knigi u staroobryadcev. *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoi Literatury*, T. 48, 1993, p. 355–358.

34 Publishers used to proofread the text of the books during their printing, in quires, or slightly after the end of the process (BONDAR, Nataliya. *Vilnyus'ki Evangeliya 1575–1644 rr. z fondiv Nacional'noï biblioteki Ukraïny.* p. 50; 52).

35 ALEKSEEV, Anatolii Alekseevich. Mesto Ostrozhskoi Biblii v istorii slavyanskogo teksta Svyashchennogo Pisaniya. In *Ostrozhskaya Biblia*: Sbornik Statei, Moskva: Institut Russkogo Yazyka, 1990, p. 53–54; KLIMOV, Igor' Pavlovich. Moskovskii original cerkovnoslavyanskogo teksta v starabelarusskom Evangelii Tyapinskogo. p. 383–385; *Evangelle u perakladze Vasiliya Cyapinskaga.* p. 200; BONDAR, Nataliya. *Vilnyus'ki Evangeliya 1575–1644 rr. z fondiv Nacional'noï biblioteki Ukraïny.* p. 103.

All Cyrillic early printed Vilnius Tetraevangelia, i.e., the three issues produced at Mamonich Printing House (1575, 1600 and ca. 1620) and one at Vilnius Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit (1644), were chosen as the main subject of the present publication. These four editions were consulted in various book studies and in Gospel textual analyses, as it was already discussed, but they were completely neglected in the liturgical scholarship. Therefore, this research focused on the commemorations of saints and feasts presented in Menologia (i.e., in the fixed liturgical calendar) of these four Vilnius Tetraevangelia.

The objective of this publication is to provide a detailed study of the liturgical tradition reflected in the Menologia of the four Cyrillic Vilnius Gospels as well as in five other editions, i.e., the three so-called anonymous Moscow (issued in the 16th century) and the first two Lviv Tetraevangelia (printed in 1636 and 1644), treated as their potential origins.

This study was based on all 110 Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia, i.e., books issued before the year 1800 in different parts of *Slavia Orthodoxa*, i.e., in the Romanian and Serbian lands, in Kyiv, Lviv, Moscow and Pochaiv.

Textual and liturgical analyses of Menologia were the main research methods applied at this publication. The varying number of days in the twelve months, the presence or absence of saints and feasts, as well as the verbatim correspondence of the commemorations' names and information on the recitation of the Gospel fragments at the Divine Liturgy, have been researched.

The outcomes of the undertaken analyses enabled presenting the liturgical traditions of the four Vilnius Tetraevangelia and their relationships with the three Moscow anonymous 16th century editions and the first two Gospels issued in Lviv.

The Cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia used in religious services were equipped with a special appendix containing liturgical rubrics for the feasts and commemorations of saints or sacred events, complemented in many cases with additional information on the recitation of the Gospel pericopes. Its second[36] part, the Menologion, which corresponds to the fixed liturgical calendar, was divided into twelve sections, corresponding to the months of the year, and always started with September. All Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia issued by 1652, including the four Vilnius Gospel editions, have an abbreviated

---

A comprehensive study of Akathists, including a detailed analysis of editorial changes in different editions, was carried out by A.V. Popov (POPOV, Aleksei Vasil'evich. *Pravoslavnye Russkie Akafisty* (Liturgicheskaya Biblioteka). Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskoi Patriarchii Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Cerkvi, 2013, p. 40; 43–78).

36 The first part is called the Synaxarion.

menologion. This type of menologion does not contain feasts and commemorations of saints for all of the days in the twelve months, but only for those most important for the Christian tradition from the point of view of the printers or the target users of the Gospels.

A comparison of the number of days in the twelve months attested that the first three Vilnius Tetraevangelia differ from the fourth one. In this aspect, they closely follow the three 16th century Moscow editions, while the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion copies the first Lviv Gospel. As presented in the table below, the numbers of days in the respective months are exactly the same in the three Mamonich editions and in the three 16th century Moscow Tetraevangelia as well as in the fourth Vilnius and the first Lviv Gospel editions, but no longer in the second one issued by Mykhailo Slozka.

TABLE NO. 1: The Number of days in twelve months

Month	First three Vilnius editions	First three Moscow editions	Fourth Vilnius edition	First Lviv edition	Second Lviv edition
September	1-11, 13-16, 20, 22-24, 26, 28-30		1-11, 13-**16, 18**, 20, 22-24, 26, 28-30		1-11, 13-**18**, 20, 22-24, 26, 28-30
October	1-3, 6-7, 9, 11-12, 16, 18, 20-26		1-3, 6-7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 18, **21**-26, 28		1-3, 6-7, 9, 11, 14, 16,18, **20**-26, 28
November	1-4, 6-8, 11-17, 21, 23-25, 27-28, 30		1, 3-4, 6-8, 11-14, 16-17, 21-25, 27-28, 30		
December	4-6, 9-10, 12-13, 17, 20, 22, 25-30		1, 4-6, 9-10, 12-13, 17, 20-22, 24-30		
January	1-4, 6-7, 9-23, 25, 27-31		1-2, 4-7, 10-23, 25, 27-31		
February	1-3, 8-9, 24		1-3, 8-9, 12, 14, 24		
March	9, 25-26		9, 17, 25-26, 30		
April	1, 22-23, 25, 27, 30		1, 14, 23, 25, 27, 30		
May	1-2, 7-8, 10-11, 15, 21, 24-26		1-3, 7-11, 15, 21, 24-26		
June	8, 11-12, 14, 19, 24-25, 27-30		8, 11-12, 14, 19, 24, 27-30		
July	1-2, 4-5, 8, 11, 13, 15-17, 20, 22, 24-25, 27, 31		1-2, 4-5, 8, 10-11, 13, 15-16, 20, 22, 24-25, 27, 31		
August	1-2, 6-7, 9, 15-16, 18, 25, 28-29, 31		1-2, 6-7, 9, 14-16, 18, 25, 28-29, 31		

All Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia[37] share a great number of common feasts and saints as well as sacred events in their Menologia. All of the commemorations included in the four Vilnius, the three 16th century Moscow Gospel editions and in the first Lviv Tetraevangelion amounted to 203.[38] All of them are enumerated in the appendix to this publication. This group of commemorations clearly proves that all Cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia share a common basic liturgical component.

However, some commemorations are included in the first three Vilnius and the three 16th century Moscow Gospel editions but are absent in the fourth Vilnius and the first Lviv Tetraevangelia. Their presence in the first three Mamonich Tetraevangelia and the absence in the fourth Vilnius Gospel attests that these editions issued in two independent workshops followed slightly different local liturgical traditions, and that the first three Vilnius Tetraevangelia did not serve as the basis for the printing of the fourth one. Among these twelve commemorations, the following nineteen saints and one feast can be listed:

- September 2:   Our Venerable Father John the Faster,
- October 12:   Holy Martyrs Probus, Tarchus and Andronicus,[39]
- October 20:   Holy Great Martyr Artemius {of Antioch},[40]
- November 2:   Holy Martyrs Acindynus, Pegasius, Aphthonius,
                     Elpidephorus and Anempodistus,[41]
- November 15:   Holy Confessors Gurias, Shamonas and Abibus,[42]
- December 22:   The Forefeast of the Nativity of Christ,
- January 3:   Holy Prophet Malachias,[43]
                     Holy Martyr Gordius,[44]

---

37 The same concerns Church Slavonic Gospel manuscripts (Loseva, Ol'ga Viktorovna. *Russkie mesyaceslovy XI–XIV vekov*. Moskva: Pamyatki istoricheskoi mysli, 2001, p. 33–35).

38 The number of saints is higher as sometimes there are several saints mentioned in one commemoration (as on September 10, November 3, January 30) or even a group of saints (as on November 7, December 28 and 29).

39 Their commemoration is missing not only in Lviv and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia but also in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.

40 The words put in curly brackets were added to provide supplementary information on the saint or feast. These words were not found in the Menologia of the Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia.

41 Their commemoration is missing not only in the Lviv and the fourth Vilnius but also in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.

42 Their commemoration is missing only in Lviv and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia.

43 This commemoration is missing only in Lviv and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia.

44 This commemoration is missing only in Lviv and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia.

- January 9: Holy Martyr Polyeuctus,[45]
- April 22: Our Venerable Father Theodore of Sykeon,[46]
- June 25: Holy Righteous Martyr Febronia {of Nisibis},[47]
- July 17: Holy Great Martyr Marina.[48]

There are even more commemorations that can be found in the fourth Vilnius and the first Lviv Gospel editions but are absent in the first three Vilnius and the three 16th century Moscow Tetraevangelia. Their presence in the fourth Vilnius Gospel edition and their absence in the first three Mamonich Tetraevangelia also attests that these editions from two independent workshops follow slightly different local liturgical traditions, and that the first three Vilnius Tetraevangelia could not have served as the basis for the printing of the fourth Vilnius edition. Among these thirty-seven commemorations, the following thirty-five saints and three groups of saints (one consisting of 45 persons), as well as nine feasts, can be listed:

- September 18: Our Venerable Father Eumenius, the Wonderworker,
- October 14: Holy Martyrs Nazarius, Gervasius, Protasius and Celsus,
  Our Venerable Mother Paraskeva {of Epivates}, Petka of
  Tarnovo,
- October 28: Holy Martyrs Terence and Neonilla,
  Holy and Great Martyr Paraskeve {of Iconium},
  the so-called Pyatnicy,
- November 22: Holy Apostle Philemon and those who with him,
- December 1: Holy Prophet Naum,
  Saint Philaret the Almsgiver {of Constantinople},
- December 20: The Forefeast of the Nativity of Christ,
- December 21: Holy Martyr Juliana {of Nicomedia},
  Our Father among the Saints Peter, Metropolitan
  of Kyiv,
- December 24: Holy Righteous Martyr Eugenia,
- December 26: Saint Joseph the Betrothed,[49]

---

45 This commemoration is missing not only in Lviv and the fourth Vilnius but also in three Moscow 1644, 1648 and 1651 Gospel editions.

46 This commemoration is missing not only in Lviv and the fourth Vilnius but also in three Moscow 1644, 1648 and 1651 Gospel editions.

47 Their commemoration is missing not only in Lviv and the fourth Vilnius but also in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.

48 This commemoration is missing only in Lviv and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia.

49 This commemoration is included only in Lviv, the fourth Vilnius and all Pochaiv Gospel editions.

- January 2:   The Forefeast of the Theophany,[50]
- January 4:   The Forefeast of the Theophany,
- January 5:   Holy Martyr Theopemptus and Theonas and Venerable Syncletica,
- February 1:   The Forefeast of the Meeting of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ,
- February 12:   Our Father among the Saints Meletius, (Arch)bishop[51] of Antioch,
    Our Father among the Saints Alexis Metropolitan of Kyiv,
- February 14:   Our Venerable Father Auxentius,
    Our Holy Father Cyril, Bishop of Catania[52] (sic!),[53]
    Teacher of Slavs, and Bulgarians, who translated Greek into Slavic and who baptized the Slavs and Bulgarians,[54]
- March 17:   Our Venerable Father Alexios, the Man of God,
- March 30:   Our Venerable Father John Author of the Ladder,
- April 14:   Our Father among the Saints Martin, the Confessor, Pope of Rome,
    Holy New Martyrs Antony, John and Eustathius,[55] who in the times of the Wicked Algirdas suffered in Lithuania (in the city of Vilnius),[56]

---

50   This commemoration was already included in Moscow Gospel editions of 1606 and 1617. It did not reappear until 1681.

51   The words marked with parentheses were found only in a few Gospel editions.

52   He is mistakenly described as катанскаго instead of славıанскаго (SERGII (SPASSKII) Archiepiskop. *Polnyi mesyaceslov vostoka*. T. II: Svyatoi Vostok. Ch. I. Moskva: Pravoslavnaya Enciklopediya, 1997, p. 43). In the 16th century manuscript of Psalms with Tetraevangelion stored at SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia (No. 7), he is described as с҃тго кѷрилла философа и оуучителıа словенскаго (f. 123v, 13–14).

53   The Commemoration of Our Holy Father Cyril named as Bishop of Catania (сватаго ѿца нашего кѷрилла епископа катанскаго) was included in Moscow Gospel editions only from 1653 until 1681.

54   i.e., иже въ сват҃ыхъ ѿца нашего кѷрилла епископа катанскаго оуучителıа слованомъ и болгаромъ, иже преложи рѡскꙋѧю грамотꙋ съ греческиина и крьсти слованꙁи и болгарꙑ.

55   The Commemoration of the Holy New Martyrs Antony, John and Eustathius (с҃тыхъ новыхъ моуученкъ антониıа, iѡанна, и евстадиıа) was included in Moscow Gospel editions only from 1653 until 1681.

56   The words in brackets are not present in all of the researched early printed Cyrillic Gospels editions. In this case, words "in the city of Vilnius" are present only in the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion.

- May 2:   The Translation of the Precious Relics of Holy Martyrs
            Boris and Gleb, in Holy Baptism called Romanus and David,
- May 3:   Holy Martyrs Timothy and Maura,
            The Repose of our Venerable Father Theodosius of the Kyiv
            Caves,[57]
- May 9:   Holy Prophet Isaiah,
            Holy Martyr Christopher,
            The Translation of the Precious Relics of our Father among
            the Saints Nicholas,[58]
- July 10:   The Holy 45 Martyrs at Nicopolis {in Armenia},
            Our Venerable Father Anthony, the Great, the first Founder
            of Cave Monastery in Kyiv,
- July 31:   The Forefeast of the Procession of the Precious and the
            Life-giving Cross of the Lord,
- August 14: The Forefeast of the Dormition of the Theotokos,
            Holy Prophet Michaias,
            The Translation of the Precious Relics of our Venerable
            Father Theodosius of the Kyiv Caves.[59]

Nine out of these commemorations[60] were already introduced in earlier Gospel editions, i.e., in Moscow Tetraevangelion issued in 1606. It is clear that the Moscow Gospel editions issued in 1606, 1617, 1627, 1628 and 1633 did not influence (at least directly) the first Lviv[61] Gospel which served as the origin for the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion. This fact can be proven by the differences in the verbatim correspondence of the names of commemorations. For example:

---

57 This commemoration started to appear in the manuscript Gospel Menologia in the 13th century (LOSEVA, Ol'ga Viktorovna. *Russkie mesyaceslovy XI–XIV vekov*. p. 330).

58 This commemoration started to appear in the manuscript Gospel Menologia in 13th century (LOSEVA, Ol'ga Viktorovna. *Russkie mesyaceslovy XI–XIV vekov*. p. 336).

59 This commemoration is included only in Lviv, Kyiv, Pochaiv and the fourth Vilnius Gospel editions.

60 I.e., Holy Martyr Juliana (December 20), Saints Peter, Metropolitan of Kyiv (December 21), The Forefeast of the Theophany (January 2), Saint Meletius, Archbishop of Antioch, and Saint Alexis, Metropolitan of Kyiv (February 12), Father John, Author of the Ladder (March 30), Prophet Isaiah, Martyr Christopher, and the Translation of the Precious Relics of our Father among the Saints Nicholas (May 9).

61 The Lviv printers found it natural to borrow Slavic commemorations form Kyivian and Muscovite sources, but with their own criteria (PETROVYCH, Michael. *Bringing Back the Saints*. p. 80; 82).

- on December 21, the Commemoration of Saint Peter, Metropolitan of Kyiv, has the following formula въ тои же день иже въ свѧтыхъ ѿца нашего петра митрополита новаго[62] чюдотворца вьсеѧ рꙋсїи in the Moscow Tetraevangelia issued between 1606 and 1633, while, in the first Lviv Gospel, only свѧтаго ѿца нашего петра митрополита кїевскаго appears,
- on February 12, the Commemoration of Saint Alexis, Metropolitan of Kyiv, uses the following formula въ тои же день преставленїе иже въ свѧтыхъ ѿца нашего алеѯѣа митрополита всеа рꙋсїи чюдотворца in the Moscow Tetraevangelia issued between 1606 and 1633, while, in the first Lviv Gospel, only свѧтаго ѿца нашего алеѯїа митрополита кїевскаго appears,
- on May 9, the Commemoration of the Translation of the Relics of Saint Nicholas from Myra to Bari is outlined with the following formula пренесенїе честныхъ мощей иже въ стыхъ оца нашего николы ѿ мирѣ въ баръ градъ in the Moscow Tetraevangelia issued between 1606 and 1633, whereas, in the first Lviv Gospel, only пренесенїе честныхъ мощей стго оца нашего николы appears.

It is worth noting that in the four Vilnius and the three 16th century Moscow and in the first Lviv Gospel editions, the Commemoration of the Holy Martyr Sophia and her three daughters Faith, Hope and Love (September 17) is missing.[63] All these eight closely researched early printed Tetraevangelia belong to the group of the East Slavonic Gospel editions. Thus, it should not be surprising that most of the South Slavonic Saints,[64] such as Arsenius, Archbishop of Serbia (October 28), Sava, the first Archbishop of Serbia (January 12), Symeon of Serbia, the New Myrrah-flowing (February 13) and Father John of Rila (October 19) are omitted. These saints were introduced into East Slavonic early printed Tetraevangelia in later editions, i.e., Saint Sava in 1637, Saint Symeon in 1653, Saint Arsenius and John of Rila in 1685.

It is worth noting that East Slavonic Saints and sacred events started to appear in greater numbers in Gospel Menologia, beginning with the Moscow Tetraevangelion issued in 1606. In all older East Slavonic early printed

---

62   Oт московскаго in the three Moscow Gospel editions issued in 1627, 1628 and 1633.

63   For the first time, they were introduced into Gospel Menologia in the second Lviv Tetraevangelion issued by Mykhailo Slozka in 1644 and for the second time in Moscow Gospel edition issued in 1653, together with the inclusion of the full Menologion.

64   On the South Slavonic Saints in the manuscript Gospel Menologia, see: Petrovych, Michael. *Bringing Back the Saints*. p. 41 (footnote No. 79).

Tetraevangelia,[65] only two[66] commemorations of East Slavonic Saints can be found, i.e., the Repose of Prince Vladimir (July 15)[67] and Slaying of Saints Boris and Gleb (July 24).[68] It was the first Lviv Tetraevangelion that for the first time[69] had included in its Menologion several East or South Slavonic Saints, i.e., Saint Paraskeva, Petka of Tarnovo; Saint Cyril, Teacher and Baptist of Slavs and Bulgarians; Holy Martyrs Antony, John, and Eustathius of Vilnius; the Translation of the Precious Relics of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb, in Holy Baptism called Romanus and David; the Repose of Saint Theodosius and Saint Anthony of the Caves in Kyiv. Only one commemoration, i.e., the Translation of the Relics of Theodosius of the Kyiv Caves (August 14), included in the first Lviv Tetraevangelion, never appeared in any of Moscow Gospel editions, in contrast to all Lviv, Kyiv, Pochaiv and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia.

Based on the data presented above on the commemorations of saints and feasts in the first three Vilnius Tetraevangelia and the three 16th century Moscow Gospel editions, it is clearly noticeable that they are very similar from the liturgical point of view. It was only the textual analysis of the Menologion that revealed some variant readings in the verbatim correspondence of the commemorations and thus pointed out the numerous[70] differences between them. These textual variants displayed in the table below do not exclude the assumption that the printers of Mamonich Workshop applied one of the three 16th century Moscow Tetraevangelia as their source. They prove the fact that printed text was subject to the printers' revision, which introduced many changes.

65 In Apostolos, printed in Moscow in 1564, there are only Saint Boris and Gleb (July 24) mentioned, while the next edition issued in 1597 contains eight East Slavic Saints (Petrovych, Michael. *Bringing Back the Saints.* p. 37). The Menologion of the Ostrog Bible, issued in 1581, contains the following commemorations: Boris and Gleb, Vladimir, Theodosius, Metropolitan Peter, Arsenius and Sava of Serbia, the Translation of the relics of Nicholas (Petrovych, Michael. *Bringing Back the Saints.* p. 44).

66 Petrovych, Michael. *Bringing Back the Saints.* p. 44.

67 This commemoration started to appear in manuscript Gospel Menologia in the 13th century (LOSEVA, Ol'ga Viktorovna. *Russkie mesyaceslovy XI–XIV vekov.* p. 383).

68 This commemoration started to appear in manuscript Gospel Menologia in the 12th century (LOSEVA, Ol'ga Viktorovna. *Russkie mesyaceslovy XI–XIV vekov.* p. 391).

69 Some of these saints were introduced into Moscow Gospel editions even several years later, i.e., in 1653 (Saint Cyril, Teacher of Slavs, and Bulgarians; Holy Martyrs Antony, John and Eustathius) and in 1677 (Saint Anthony, of Caves in Kyiv).

70 The following differences were not taken into consideration: the order of words (September 7, January 31); the omission or addition (without a possessive pronoun) of the word 'Father' (November 17); the omission of the word 'Father' with the possessive pronoun (September 2); the omission of the possessive pronoun (January 2); etc.

Month and day	Readings in the three Mamonich Tetraevangelia	Readings in the three 16th century Moscow Tetraevangelia
September 9	сватыхъ богоѡц҃ъ иоакима и аннꙑ	свѧтыхъ праведныхъ и богоѡц҃ъ иоакима и аннꙑ
September 11	преподобнꙑіа матере ѳеодорꙑ	преподобнꙑіа ѳеодорꙑ
September 13	обновление храма сватаго въскресениіа христова	обновление храма христа бога нашего въскресениіа
September 14	вьсемирноіе въздвижение честнаго и животворѧщаго крьста	въздвижение честнаго и животворѧщаго крьста
September 26	преставление сватаго апостола и еваггелиста іѡ҃ богослова	преставление богослова и еваггелиста іѡа҃
October 2	свѧтыхъ моученикъ куприана и оустинꙑ	сватаго свѧщенномоученика киприана и иоустинꙑ
November 8	съборъ сватаго архистратига михаила и прочихъ безполтныхъ*	съборъ архистратига михаила и прочихъ безполтныхъ
November 25	преподобныхъ ѡ҃ц и свѧщенномоученикъ климента папꙑ римскаго и петра алеѯандрииского	иже въ свѧтыхъ ѡ҃ц нашихъ свѧщенномоученикъ климента папꙑ римскаго и петра алеѯандрииского
December 9	зачатие свѧтыіа анны. егда зачатъ богородицоу	зачатие свѧтыіа анны
December 17	свѧтыхъ триехъ отрокъ и сватаго пророка даниила	свѧтыхъ триехъ отрокъ ананиіа, азариіа и мисаила и сватаго пророка даниила
December 22	свѧтыіа моученицꙑ анастасии**	свѧтыіа великомоученица анастасиа фармаколитрие
December 29	свѧтыхъ младенецъ избиеньꙑхъ христа ради, д҃і тысѧщь	свѧтыхъ младенецъ д҃і тысѧщь за христа избиенныхъ отъ ирода
January 7	съборъ честнаго и славнаго пророка прѣдтеча и крьстителѧ іѡанна	съборъ честнаго и славнаго пророка и прѣдтеча и крьстителѧ господнѩ іѡанна
January 18	свѧтыхъ ѡ҃ц аѳанасиіа алеѯандрьскаго и кирила	свѧтыхъ ѡ҃ц нашихъ аѳанасиіа и кирила алеѯандрьскихъ

* This reading is confirmed in all Lviv Gospel editions and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion.
** This reading is also confirmed in all Lviv Gospel editions and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion.

January 30	свѧтъіхъ триехъ свѧтитель василїа великаго, григорїа богослова, и іѡанна златооустаго	свѧтъіхъ триехъ свѧтитель <u>великихъ архиереи</u> василїа великаго, григорїа богослова, и іѡанна златооустаго
March 26	соборъ <u>ст҃го</u> архаг҃гела гаврїила	соборъ архаг҃гела гаврїила
May 7	воспоминанїе иже на нб҃си ѩвльшаго сѧ знаменїа <u>ч҃наго</u> кр҃та***	воспоминанїе знаменїа иже на нб҃си ѩвльшаго сѧ кр҃та. <u>въ г҃ часъ дни. во ст҃ѣм градѣ иер҃лмѣ при цр҃и константинѣ</u>
June 29	ст҃ыхъ <u>врховныхъ</u> апостолъ петра и павла****	ст҃ыхъ <u>и всехвалныхъ</u> апостолъ петра и павла
August 6	<u>ст҃ое</u> преѡбраженїе г҃а нашего іс҃ х҃а	преѡбраженїе <u>великаго бг҃а и спаса</u> нашего іс҃ х҃а
August 16	пренесенїе нерꙋкотвореннаго ѡбраза г҃а нашего іс҃ х҃а еже есть оубрꙋсъ	пренесенїе нерꙋкотвореннаго ѡбраза г҃а нашего іс҃ х҃а <u>ѿ едеса въ цр҃ь гра҃д</u>

*** This reading is also confirmed in all Lviv Gospel editions and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion.

**** This reading is also confirmed in all Lviv Gospel editions and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion.

Textual analysis of the Menologia presented in the fourth Vilnius and the first Lviv Gospel editions proved that the Tetraevangelion printed by Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood copied its original very accurately. This fact is proven by only two commemorations revealed in the textual analysis of these editions which are presented in the table below.

TABLE NO. 3: Textual Readings of the fourth Vilnius and the first Lviv Gospel editions

Month and day	Readings in the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion	Readings in the first Lviv Tetraevangelion
December 6	иже въ свѧтъіхъ ѿца нашего николꙑ архиепископа <u>мирꙁликиискаго</u> чюдотво҃р	иже въ свѧтъіхъ ѿца нашего николꙑ архиепископа <u>миръ ликиискихъ</u> чюдотворца
April 14	ст҃ыхъ новоѩвле҃ныхъ моученкъ антонїа, іѡанна, и евстадїа. иже при олгердѣ нечестивомъ пострадавшихъ въ литвѣ. <u>въ градѣ вилни</u>	ст҃ыхъ новоѩвле҃ныхъ моученкъ антонїа, іѡанна, и евстадїа. иже при олгердѣ нечестивомъ пострадавшихъ въ литвѣ.

Conclusions

Liturgical and textual analyses of the Menologia presented in all four Vilnius Tetraevangelia, with special attention to five other editions, i.e., the first three Moscow and the first two Lviv Gospels, allowed us to draw three main conclusions, i.e.:

- the three Mamonich Gospel editions and the Tetraevangelion of Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood represent two slightly different liturgical traditions, i.e., Muscovite and Lviv,
- the Tetraevangelion issued in 1644 by Vilnius Orthodox Confraternity copied the text of the first Lviv Gospel edition printed in 1636 in every detail,
- one of the first three[71] Moscow Tetraevangelia had (most probably) served as the origin of the first Mamonich Tetraevangelion reprinted in 1600 and ca. 1620.

The last statement is also confirmed by the results of textual research on several other parts of Tetraevangelia, i.e., the three fragments from the Gospel of Matthew (3:17-8:21, 13:44-15:11, 26:10-27:62),[72] the first nine *zachalas* of the Gospel of Mark (i.e., Mk 1:1-2:22),[73] the four Chapter Titles to Gospels,[74]

71   Textual research carried out by I. Klimov on the Gospel of Matthew 2:12-13:26 has proven that the first Mamonich Tetraevangelion is most closely related to the second Moscow Gospel edition (KLIMOV, Igor' Pavlovich. Moskovskii original cerkovnoslavyanskogo teksta v starabelarusskom Evangelii Tyapinskogo. p. 378).

72   OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Tekstologicheskaya kharakteristika slavyanskogo perevoda Evangeliya v staropechatnom slavyano-rumynskom Evangelii tetr 1551–1553 gg. iz Sibiu. In Svetlina Nikolova (otg. red.), Ralph Klemins"n, Veselka Zhelyazkova, Margaret Dmitrova. *Slavyanski tekstowe i tradicii*. Sbornik v chest na Katrin Meri Makrob"rt (=Kirilo-Metodievski studii. Kniga 31). Sofiya: B"lgarska Akademiya na Naukite / Kirilo-Mteodievski Nauchen Cent"r, 2021, p. 389–391.

73   OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Evangeliye ot Marka v staropechatnykh izdaniyakh bogosluzhebnykh chetveroevangelii. In Anatolii Alekseevich Alekseev (otv. red.). *Slavyanskaya Bibliya v epokhu rannego knigopechataniya*. K 510-letiyu sozdaniya bibleiskogo sbornika Matfeya Desyatogo. Sankt-Peterburg: Institut russkoi literatury (Pushkinskii Dom) RAN / Biblioteka Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk, 2017, p. 357–367.

74   OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Spisok glav Evangeliya ot Matfeya v staropechatnykh kirillicheskikh bogosluzhebnykh Evagenliyakh tetr i ikh otmoshenie k rukopisnoy tradicii. *Slavia. Časopis pro slovanskou filologii*, 2020, R. 89, S. 2, p. 207–213; OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Oglavlenie Evangeliya ot Ioanna v staropechatnykh kirillicheskikh bogosluzhebnykh chetveroevangeliyakh. *Konštantínove listy*, 2021, T. 14/2, p. 115–119; OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Oglavleniya Evangeliya ot Luki v staropechatnykh kirillicheskich bogosluzhebnykh Evangeliyakh tetr. Tekstologicheskaya kharakteristika. *Rocznik Teologiczny*, 2021, T. 63/1, p. 150; 155. The last two publications mistakenly fail to explicitly mention any of the Vilnius

the four Prefaces to Gospels by Bl. Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria.[75] The outcomes of these textual analyses have proven that Mamonich Tetraevangelia, in all the researched parts, are textologically homogenous with the Moscow so-called anonymous Gospel editions. All differences in the verbatim correspondence of the commemorations revealed in the Menologia have to be treated as the result of the printers' text revision.

APPENDIX

The Saints and Feasts Included in All Vilnius, the Three 16th Century Moscow, and the First Lviv Gospel Editions

September

1 The Beginning of (the Indiction, that is)[76] the New Year
   Memory of our Venerable Father Symeon the Stylite
2 Holy Martyr Mamas
3 Holy Hieromartyr Anthimus
   Our Righteous Father Theoctistus[77]
4 Holy Hieromartyr Babylas
   Holy Prophet and God-Seer Moses[78]
5 Holy Prophet Zacharias, Father of (Saint John) the Forerunner
6 The Commemoration of the Miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae[79]
7[80] The Forefeast of the Nativity of the Theotokos
   Holy Martyr Sozon
8 The Nativity of our the Most Holy Lady the Theotokos

Tetraevangelia (OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Oglavlenie Evangeliya ot Ioanna v staropechatnykh kirillicheskikh bogosluzhebnykh chetveroevangeliyakh. p. 119; OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Oglavleniya Evangeliya ot Luki v staropechatnykh kirillicheskich bogosluzhebnykh Evangeliyakh tetr. Tekstologicheskaya kharakteristika, p. 150; 155).

75 OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Warianty tekstologiczne Przedmów do Ewangelii bł. Teofilakta Bułgarskiego jako podstawa do identyfikacji wzoru cyrylickiej tetraewangelii wileńskiego bractwa św. Ducha z 1644 roku. p. 91–93.

76 As mentioned above, the words in brackets are not present in all of the researched early printed Cyrillic Gospels editions. In this case, the words "the Indiction, that is" are present in all Lviv and in the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia as well as in the Gospel editions issued after 1653.

77 Father Theoctistus is absent in all South Slavonic, i.e., Romanian-Bulgarian, and Serbian, Tetraevangelia.

78 Prophet and God-Seer Moses is absent in all South Slavonic Gospel editions.

79 I.e., Colossae.

80 The Forefeast of the Nativity of the Theotokos and Martyr Sozon are missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.

9   Holy (and Righteous) Ancestors of God Joachim and Anna
10   Holy Martyrs Women Menodora, Metrodora and Nymphodora
11   (Our) Venerable (Mother) Theodora
The Saturday before the Exaltation (of the Holy Cross)
The Sunday before the Exaltation
13   The Consecration of the Church of the (Holy) Resurrection of Christ (our God)
     Holy (Hiero)martyr Cornelius, the Centurion
     The Forefeast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross[81]
14   The (Universal) Exaltation of the Holy and Life-giving Cross (of God)
15   Holy Great Martyr Nicetas
The Saturday after the Exaltation
The Sunday after the Exaltation
16   Holy Martyr Euphemia
20   Holy Great Martyr Eustathius, and those with him
22   Holy Hieromartyr Phocas
23   The Conception of the Honourable/Holy[82] (Prophet and) Forerunner
     (and Baptizer of the Lord) John
24   Holy Protomartyr (and Equal-to-the-Apostles) Thekla
26   Repose of the (Holy Apostle and) Evangelist John the Theologian
28   Our Righteous Father Chariton the Confessor
29   Our Venerable Father Cyriacus the Anchorite[83]
30   Holy Hieromartyr Gregory of Greater Armenia

October
1   The Protection of (our) Most Holy (Lady) the Theotokos[84]
     Holy Apostle Ananias
     Venerable Romanus, the Melodist
2   Holy (Hiero)martyr(s) Cyprian and Justina
3   Holy Hieromartyr Dionysius, the Areopagite
6   Holy Apostle Thomas
7   Holy Great Martyrs Sergius and Bacchus
9   Holy Apostle James of Alphaeus[85]
11   Holy Apostle Philip, one of the Seven Deacons

81 The Forefeast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross is missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia, and in Moscow Gospel editions issued from 1637 until 1681.

82 If two or more words are divided by slash, it means that they appear in different Gospel editions.

83 Father Cyriacus the Anchorite is missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.

84 The Protection of our Most Holy Lady the Theotokos is missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.

85 Apostle James of Alphaeus is missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.

Our Venerable Father Theophanes, the Confessor
On the Sunday after the 11th day of this month/On the following Sunday we celebrate the Memory of the Holy Seventh (Ecumenical) Council

16 Holy Martyr Longinus, the Centurion (who stood at the Cross of the Lord)
18 Holy Apostle and Evangelist Luke
21 Our Venerable Father Hilarion, the Great
22 Our Father among the Saints Abercius, Bishop (of Hierapolis)
23 Holy Apostle James, Brother of the Lord according to the flesh
24 Holy Martyr Arethas and those with him
25 Holy Martyrs and Notaries Marcian and Martyrius[86]
26 Holy (and Glorious) Great Martyr Demetrius
    The Commemoration of (the Great and Fearful) Earthquake

November

1   Holy Wonderworkers and Unmercenaries Cosmas and Damian
3[87] Holy Martyrs Acepsimas, the Bishop and (those with him) Joseph the Presbyter and Aeithalas the Deacon
    The Dedication of the Church (of the Great Martyr George) in Lydda, where the precious body (of the Saint Great Martyr George) is placed
4   Our Venerable Father Joannicius, the Great
    Holy (Hiero)martyrs Nicander, Bishop of Myra, and Hermas the Presbyter[88]
6   Our Father among the Saints Paul, Patriarch of the Constantinople (the Confessor)
7[89] Holy 33 Martyrs of Melitene
    (Our) Venerable (Father) Lazarus, the Wonderworker
8   The Synaxis of the (Holy) Supreme Commander Michael and the Other Bodiless Powers
11[90] Holy Martyrs Menas (of Egypt), Victor, and Vincent (the Deacon)
    Holy Martyr Stephanida
    Our Venerable Father Theodore of Studion
12 Our Father among the Saints John, the Merciful
    (Our) Venerable (Father) Nilus
13 Our Father among the Saints John Chrysostom, (Archbishop of Constantinople)
14 Holy (and All-Praised) Apostle Philip

---

86 Martyrs and Notaries Marcian and Martyrius are missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.
87 These commemorations (on November 3) are missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.
88 Martyrs Nicander, Bishop of Myra, and Hermas the Presbyter are missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.
89 These commemorations (on November 7) are missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.
90 These commemorations (on November 11) are missing in all South Slavonic Gospel editions.

16 Holy Apostle and Evangelist (of Christ) Matthew
17 Holy (Father) Gregory, the Wonderworker
21 The Entrance into the Temple of our the Most Holy Lady the Theotokos (and Ever-Virgin Mary)
23 Our Fathers among the Saints (Bishop/Bishops) Amphilochius, of Iconium, and Gregory (Bishop) of Agrigentum
24[91] Holy (Great)martyr Catherine
    Holy Martyr Mercurius
25 Our Venerable Fathers and Hieromartyrs Clement, the Pope of Rome, and Peter of Alexandria[92]
27 Holy (Great) Martyr James, the Persian
28 Our Venerable Father and Confessor Stephen the New
30 Holy Apostle Andrew, the First-Called

December

4 Holy Great Martyr Barbara
    Our Venerable Father John of Damascus
5 Our Venerable (and Godbearnig) Father Sabbas (the Sanctified)
6 Our Father among the Saints Nicholas, (the Archbishop of Myra in Lycia, the Wonderworker)
9 The Conception by Saint Anna (of the Holy Theotokos)
10 Holy Martyrs Menas, Hermogenes (and) Eugraphus[93]
12 Our Venerable Father Spyridon the Wonderworker, bishop of Trymithous[94]
13 Holy (Great) Martyr(s) Eustratius, (Auxentius), and those with him/them
17 Holy Three Youths (Ananias, Azarias, and Misael) and Holy Prophet Daniel
The Sunday of the Holy Forefathers
The Saturday before the Nativity of Christ
The Sunday before the Nativity of Christ
20 Holy Hieromartyr Ignatius of Antioch the God-bearer
22 Holy (Great) Martyr Anastasia (Pharmakolitria)[95]
25 The Nativity in the Flesh of our Lord, God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ
26 The Synaxis of the Most Holy Theotokos
The Saturday after the Nativity of Christ
The Sunday after the Nativity of Christ

---

[91] These commemorations (on November 24) are missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.
[92] Martyrs Clement, the Pope of Rome, and Peter of Alexandria are missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.
[93] Martyrs Menas, Hermogenes and Eugraphus are missing in South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.
[94] Father Spyridon, bishop of Trymithous, is missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.
[95] Martyr Anastasia is missing in all South Slavonic Gospel editions.

27   Holy (Apostle and) Protomartyr (and Archdeacon) Stephen

28   Holy 20,000 Martyrs burned in Nicomedia

29   Holy 14,000 Infants slain for Christ (by Herod) (in Bethlehem)

30   Holy Martyr Anysia

       Holy (Martyr) Zoticus

January

1   The Circumcision according to the Flesh of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ

      Memory of our Father among the Saints Basil the Great

The Saturday before the Epiphany/Theophany

The Sunday before the Epiphany/Theophany

2   Our Father among the Saints Sylvester, Pope of Rome

4   The Synaxis of the Holy Seventy Apostles

6   The Theophany of the Lord and God and our Saviour Jesus Christ

7   The Synaxis of Honoured and Glorious Prophet Forerunner and Baptist (of Lord) John

The Saturday after the Epiphany

The Sunday after the Epiphany

10   Our Father among the Saints Gregory of Nyssa[96]

11   Our Venerable Father Theodosius, the Cenobiarch

12   Holy Martyr Tatiana

13   Holy Martyrs Hermylus and Stratonicus

14   Our Holy Fathers slain in (Sinai and) Raithu

15   Our Venerable Fathers Paul of Thebes and John Calabytes

16   Veneration of the Precious Chains of Holy Apostle Peter

17   Our Venerable and God-bearing Father Anthony the Great

18   Our Father among the Saints Athanasius and Cyril, (Archbishops) of Alexandria

19   Our Venerable Father Macarius of Egypt[97]

20   Our Venerable and God-bearing Father Euthymius the Great

21   Our Venerable Father Maximus the Confessor

22   Holy Apostle Timothy

       Holy Martyr Anastasius {of Persia}

23   Holy Hieromartyr Clement, (Bishop of Ancyra) and (Holy Martyr) Agathangelus

25   Our Father among the Saints Gregory the Theologian

27   The Recovery of (Precious) Relics of Our Father among the Saints John Chrysostom

28   Our Venerable Father Ephrem the Syrian[98]

29   The Translation/Recovery of Relics of the Holy Hieromartyr Ignatius the God-bearer

---

96   Saint Gregory of Nyssa is missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.

97   Father Macarius of Egypt is missing in all South Slavonic Gospel editions.

98   Father Ephrem the Syrian is missing in South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.

30   Holy Hieromartyr Hippolytus Pope of Rome
     Our Fathers among the Saints (and Great Archbishops) Basil the Great, Gregory
     the Theologian and John Chrysostom
31   Holy Unmercenaries and Wonderworkers Cyrus and John

February
1   Holy Martyr Tryphon
2   The Meeting of the Lord (and God and Our Saviour) Jesus Christ
3   Holy and Righteous Symeon, the God-receiver
8   Holy the Great Martyr Theodore the Stratelates
9   Holy Martyr Nicephorus[99]
24   Finding of the Precious Head of (Saint) John (the Forerunner and) the Baptist
     (of Lord)

March
9   Holy Great Forty Martyrs of Sebaste
25   The Annunciation of Our Most Holy Lady, the Theotokos (and Ever-Virgin Mary)
26   Synaxis of the (Holy) Archangel Gabriel

April
1   Our Venerable Mother Mary of Egypt
23   Holy (Glorious) Great Martyr George
25   Holy Apostle and Evangelist Mark
27   Holy Hieromartyr Symeon, Brother/Kinsman of the Lord, (Archbishop of Jerusalem)
30   Holy Apostle James (Brother of Saint John the Theologian) Son of Zebedee

May
1   Holy Prophet Jeremiah[100]
2   Our Father among the Saints Athanasius the Great, (Patriarch of Alexandria)
7   The Commemoration of the Apparition of the Sign (of Precious) Cross over Jerusalem
8   Holy Apostle and Evangelist (of Christ) John the Theologian
     Our Venerable Father Arsenius the Great
10   Holy Apostle Simon, the Zealot[101]
11   The Founding of Constantinople and Saint Hieromartyr Mocius[102]

---

99 The Commemoration of Saint Martyr Nicephorus is missing in South Slavonic Gospel
    editions and in three Moscow Tetraevangelia issued in 1644, 1648 and 1651.
100 Prophet Jeremiah is missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.
101 Apostle Simon is missing in all South Slavonic Gospel editions.
102 These commemorations (on May 11) are missing in Middle-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia is-
    sued after 1560.

15 (Our) Venerable Father Pachomius the Great[103]
21 Holy and Righteous, Equals-to-the-Apostles Emperor Constantine and Empress Helena
24 Our Venerable Father Symeon of the Wondrous Mountain (the Stylite)
25 Third Finding of the Precious Head of (the Holy) John, the Baptist (of the Lord)
26 Holy Apostle Carpus, One of the Seventy

June
8   Holy the Great Martyr Theodore Stratelates
11 Holy Apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas
12 Our Venerable Fathers Onuphrios (the Great) and Peter the Athonite
14 Holy Prophet Elisseus and (Our) Saint (Father) Methodius the Patriarch
    of Constantinople
19 Holy Apostle Jude, the Brother of the Lord
24 Nativity of the Venerable (and Glorious Prophet and) Forerunner and Baptist John
27 Our Venerable Father Sampson the Hospitable
28 The Translation of the (Precious) Relics of the Holy (Unmercenaries) Cyrus and John
29 Holy (Glorious, and All-Praised Supreme Leaders) Apostle Peter and Paul
30 The Synaxis of the Holy, (Glorious) and All-Praised Twelve Apostles

July
1   Holy Unmercenaries and Wonderworkers Cosmas and Damian
2   The Placing of the (Precious) Robe and Sash of the Most Holy Theotokos (at Blachernae)
4   Our Father among the Saints and Venerable Andrew of Crete
5   Venerable Martha, Mother of Saint Symeon, the Wonderworker[104]
    Our Venerable Father Athanasius of (Mount) Athos
8   Holy Great Martyr Procopius
11 Holy and All-Praised Great Martyr Euphemia
13 The Synaxis of the Holy Archangel Gabriel[105]
15 Holy Martyr Cyricus and his mother Julitta {of Tarsus}
    The Repose of (Saint and Equal-to-the-Apostles) Prince Vladimir (of Kiev),
    (the Great Autocrat) of Rus' Lands, who in Holy Baptism was renamed Basil
16 Holy Hieromartyr Athenogenes
    Holy Fathers of the Sixth (Ecumenical) Council
20 Holy and Glorious Prophet Elias
22 Holy (Myrrh-bearer and Equal of the Apostles) Mary Magdalene

103 Father Pachomius the Great is missing in all South Slavonic Gospel editions.
104 Venerable Martha is missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia. She stopped appearing in Moscow Gospel editions in 1637 and was reintroduced again in the edition issued in 1681, but on June 4.
105 The Synaxis of the Holy Archangel Gabriel is missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.

24[106] Holy Martyr Christina

(The Slaying of) Holy and Righteous Passion-bearers (Russian Princes two brothers) Boris and Gleb, (in Holy Baptism named Romanus and David)

25 The Dormition of Saint Anna, Mother of the Most Holy Theotokos

27 Holy Great Martyr Panteleimon

31 Holy and Righteous Eudocimus {Military Commander of Cappadocia}

August

1   The Procession of the Precious Cross (of Lord)[107]

Holy (Seven) Martyrs Maccabees

2   The Translation of the (Precious) Relics of the Holy Protomartyr (and Archdeacon) Stephen

6   (Holy) Transfiguration of Our (Lord), (God, and Saviour Jesus Christ)

7   (Holy) Venerable Martyr Domentius[108]

9   Holy Apostle Matthias[109]

15 The Dormition of our Most Holy Lady Theotokos

16 Holy Martyr Diomedes

The Translation of the Image Not-made-by-hands of our Lord Jesus Christ, (i.e., cloth), (from Edessa to Constantinople)

18[110] Holy Martyrs Florus and Laurus

25 The Translation/Return of the Relics of the Holy Apostle Bartholomew and the Holy Apostle Titus

28 Our Venerable Father Moses the Black

29 The Beheading of the Precious Head of Saint John, (Forerunner and) the Baptist (of God)

31 The Deposition of the Precious Cincture of our Most Holy Virgin Mary Theotokos {in the Xalkoprateion Church brought from Zela (Zila) Diocese to the City of Constantinople}

Bibliography

1. ALEKSEEV, Anatolii Alekseevich. Mesto Ostrozhskoi Biblii v istorii slavyanskogo teksta Svyashchennogo Pisaniya. In *Ostrozhskaya Biblia*: Sbornik Statei, Moskva: Institut Russkogo Yazyka, 1990, p. 48–73.

2. BONDAR, Nataliya. *Vydannya Ivana Fedorova ta Petra Mstyslavcya z fondiv Nacional'noi biblioteki Ukrainy imeni V.I. Vernads'kogo. Doslidzhennya. Poprymirnykovyi opys.* Kyïv: Nacional'na

---

106 These commemorations (on July 24) are missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.

107 The Procession of the Precious Cross is missing in all South Gospel editions.

108 Martyr Domentius is missing in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia.

109 Apostle Matthias is missing in all South Slavonic Gospels.

110 In all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia, this commemoration falls on August 19.

Akademiya Nauk Ukraïny / Nacional'na Biblioteka Ukraïny imeni V. I Vernads'kogo, 2012, 311 p. ISBN: 978-966-02-6616-2.

3. BONDAR, Nataliya. Vzaemovplyvy kyrylychnykh vydan' Evangelii druhoï pol. XVI-pershoi pol. XVII st. viln'nyus'kogo ta l'vivs'kogo druku. In *Naukovyi potencial slavistyky: Istorichni zdobutky ta tendenciï rozvytku*. Tezy dopovidei mizhnarodnoi naukovoi konferencji do Dnya slov'yans'koï pysmenosti i kul'tury (Kyïv, 21 travnya 2015 r.). Vidpov. red. O.S. Onishchenko. Kyïv: Nacional'nyi Universytet im. T. Shchevchenka, 2015. p. 109–112.

4. BONDAR, Nataliya. *Vilnyus'ki Evangeliya 1575–1644 rr. z fondiv Nacional'noi biblioteki Ukrainy. Doslidzhennya, poprymirnikovyi opys, al'bom ilyustracii.* Kyïv: Nacional'na Akademiya Nauk Ukraïny / Nacional'na Biblioteka Ukraïny imeni V. I. Vernads'kogo Instytut Knygoznastva, 2021, 485 p. ISBN: 978-966-02-7751-9.

5. JAROSZEWICZ-PIERESŁAWCEW, Zoja. *Druki cyrylickie z oficyn Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI-XVIII wieku*. Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego, 2003. 309 p. ISBN: 83-7299-176-6.

6. JAROSZEWICZ-PIERESŁAWCEW, Zoja. Drukarstwo cyrylickie w Rzeczypospolitej. In Antoni Mironowicz; Urszula Pawluczuk; Piotr Chomik (eds.), *Prawosławne oficyny wydawnicze w Rzeczypospolitej*. Białystok: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2004, p. 9–32.

7. KAŽURO, Ina. *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos kirilikos leidinių kolekcija 1525–1839.* Katalogas. Vilnius: Vilniaus Universiteto leidykla, 2013, 472 p. ISBN: 978-609-459-261-4.

8. KAŽURO, Ina. *The Ukrainian tradition of Vilnius Book Printing (the 16th-17th c.).* Presentation from the International Research Conference *Francysk Skaryna and the Renaissance book culture. Skaryna's Little Travel Book turns 500*. Vilnius, September 22-23, 2022.

9. KEMPA, Tomasz. Stauropegic Brotherhood of Vilno and Brotherhood Monastery as the Most Important Orthodox Centre in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the End of the 16th and in the 17th Centuries. In Andrzej Gil, Witold Bobryk (eds.). *On the Border of the Worlds. Essays about the Orthodox and Uniate Churches in Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages and the Modern Period*. Siedlce-Lublin: Akademia Podlaska / Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2010, p. 85–112.

10. KLIMOV, Igor' Pavlovich. Moskovskii original cerkovnoslavyanskogo teksta v starabelarusskom Evangelii Tyapinskogo. In *Lingvisticheskoie istochnikovedenie i istoriya russkogo yazyka.* Sbonik statei (2002-2003). Moskva: Drevlekhranilishche, 2003, p. 372–388.

11. KLIMOV, Igor' Pavlovich. Praca belaruskaga pratestanta Vasiliya Cyapinskaga nad carkounaslavyanskimi perakladami Evangellya. In *XI Mizhnarodnyya Kiryla-Myafadzieuskiya chytanni, prysvechannyya Dnyam slavyanskaga pis'menstva i kul'tury.* (Minsk, 24-26 maya 2005 g.). Materyyaly chytannyay. M.A. Byacpalaya (adk. red). Minsk: Belarusskii Dzyarzhauny Universitet kul'tury i mastactva, 2006, p. 72–78.

12. KLIMOV, Igor' Pavlovich. *Evangelle u perakladze Vasiliya Cyapinskaga*. Minsk: BDUKM, 2012, 338 p.

13. LOSEVA, Ol'ga Viktorovna. *Russkie mesyaceslovy XI-XIV vekov*. Moskva: Pamyatki istoricheskoi mysli, 2001, 420 p.

14. MIRONOWICZ, Antoni. Drukarnie bractw cerkiewnych. In Antoni Mironowicz; Urszula Pawluczuk; Piotr Chomik (eds.), *Prawosławne oficyny wydawnicze w Rzeczypospolitej*. Białystok: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2004, p. 52–68.

15. MILOVIDOV, Aleksandr Ivanovich (Sost.) *Opisanie slavyano-russkikh staropechatnykh knig Vilsenskoi publichnoi Biblioteki (1491–1800 gg.)*. Vil'na: Tipografiya A.G. Syrkina, 1908. 160 p.

16. OPARINA, Tat'yana Anatol'evna. Knigi litovskoi pechati v speckhrane Moskovskogo Kremla. *Slavyanovedenie* 2, 2002, p. 140–148.

17. OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Podlinnik vilenskogo (eve'skogo) chetveroevangeliya 1644 g. In Raman Scyapanavich Matulski (ed.). *Materiyaly Mizhnarodnaga Kangresa „500 gadou belaruskaga knigadrukavannya".* Chastka 1., XIII Mizhnarondyya kniganzauchyya chytanni. Minsk, 14-15 verasnya 2017 g. Minsk: Nacyanal'naya bibliyateka Belarusi, 2017, p. 291–297.

18. OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Evangeliye ot Marka v staropechatnykh izdaniyakh bogosluzhebnykh chetveroevangelii. In Anatolii Alekseevich Alekseev (otv. red.). *Slavyanskaya Bibliya v epokhu rannego knigopechataniya.* K 510-letiyu sozdaniya bibleiskogo sbornika Matfeya Desyatogo. Sankt-Peterburg: Institut russkoi literatury (Pushkinskii Dom) RAN / Biblioteka Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk, 2017, p. 357–367.

19. OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Tekstologicheskie raznochteniya v spiskakh evangel'skikh glav – eshche odna osnova dlya otozhdesvleniya podlinnika Vilenskogo Evangeliya tetr 1644 goda. In *Yazyk, kniga i tradicionnaya kul'tura pozdnego russkogo srednevekov'ya v nauke, muzeinoi i bibliotechnoi rabote*: Trudy IV Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferencji (Mir staroobryadchestva. Vyp. 10). Sbornik nauchnykh statei (=Trudy Istoricheskogo Fakul'teta MGU, Vyp. XXX, Seriya II: Istoricheskie issledovaniya, XX). Sost. Yurii S. Belyakin, Elena Vladimirovna Voroncova, Nataliya Viktorovna Litvina. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 2019, p. 271–282.

20. OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Warianty tekstologiczne Przedmów do Ewangelii bł. Teofilakta Bułgarskiego jako podstawa do identyfikacji wzoru cyrylickiej tetraewangelii wileńskiego bractwa św. Ducha z 1644 roku. In Jan Stradomski, Marzanna Kuczyńska, Marina Čistiakova (eds.). *Słowianie w monarchii Habsburgów. Literatura, język, kultura* (=Krakowsko-Wieleńskie Studia Slawistyczne 17). Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2020, p. 87–97.

21. OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Spisok glav Evangeliya ot Matfeya v staropechatnykh kirillicheskikh bogosluzhebnykh Evagenliyakh tetr i ikh otmoshenie k rukopisnoy tradicii. *Slavia. Časopis pro slovanskou filologii*, 2020, R. 89, S. 2, p. 200–216.

22. OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Tekstologicheskaya kharakteristika slavyanskogo perevoda Evangeliya v staropechatnom slavyano-rumynskom Evangelii tetr 1551-1553 gg. iz Sibiu. In Svetlina Nikolova (Otg. red.), Ralph Klemin"n, Veselka Zhelyazkova, Margaret Dmitrova. *Slavyanski tekstowe i tradicii.* Sbornik v chest na Katrin Meri Makrob"rt (=Kirilo-Metodievski studii. Kniga 31). Sofiya: B"lgarska Akademiya na Naukite / Kirilo-Mteodievski Nauchen Cent"r, 2021, p. 383–396.

23. OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Oglavlenie Evangeliya ot Ioanna v staropechatnykh kirillicheskikh bogosluzhebnykh chetveroevangeliyakh. *Konštantínove listy*, 2021, T. 14/2, p. 109–125. DOI: 10.17846/CL.2021.14.2.109-125.

24. OSTAPCZUK, Jerzy. Oglavleniya Evangeliya ot Luki v staropechatnykh kirillicheskich bogosluzhebnykh Evangeliyakh tetr. Tekstologicheskaya kharakteristika. *Rocznik Teologiczny*, 2021, T. 63/1, p. 143–159. DOI: 10.36124/rt.2021.05.

25. PETROVYCH, Michael. *Bringing Back the Saints: The Contribution of the Roman Edition of the Ruthenian Liturgical Books (Recensio Ruthena, 1940, 1952) to the Commemoration of Slavic Saints in the Ukrainian Catholic Church.* A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Theology Saint Paul University, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Theology (and Doctor of Theology). Ottawa, Canada: uOttawa, 2005, 401 p.

26. POPOV, Aleksei Vasil'evich. *Pravoslavnye Russkie Akafisty* (Liturgicheskaya Biblioteka). Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskoi Patriarchii Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Cerkvi, 2013. 624 p.

27. RODOSSKII, Aleksei Stepanovich. *Opisanie staropechatnykh i cerkovno-slavyanskikh knig, khraniashchikhsya v biblioteke S.-Peterburgskoi dukhovnoi akademii*. Vyp. 1 (1491-1700 gg. vklyuch.). Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. A. Katanskogo, 1891. 448 p.

28. SAPUNOV, Boris Viktorovich. Pechatnye belorusskie knigi v russkikh bibliotekakh vtoroi poloviny XVI – pervoi poloviny XVII vv. In *Belorusskii sborink.* Stat'i i materialy po istorii i kul'ture Belorussi. Vyp. 1, Sost. Nikolai Viktorovich Nikolaev, Sankt-Peterburg: Rossiiskaya Nacionalnaya Biblioteka, 1998, p. 21–31.

29. SERGII (SPASSKII) ARCHIEPISKOP. *Polnyi mesyaceslov vostoka.* T. II: Svyatoi Vostok. Ch. I. Moskva: Pravoslavnaya Enciklopediya, 1997, 398 p.

30. SHCHMATAU, Viktar Fedaravich. *Mastactva belarusskikh staradrukau XVI-XVIII stst.* Minsk: Tekhnalogiya, 2000. 129 p.

31. VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Kanonik kak tip knigi u staroobryadcev. *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoi Literatury*, T. 48, 1993, p. 355–358.

32. VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Apostol 1564 g. i pervye opyty knigopechataniya v Moskve. *Nacional'naya Biblioteka* 1/01, 2014, p. 48–57.

33. VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Kirillicheskie izdaniya Evangeliya XVI veka. *Nacional'naya Biblioteka* 1/07, 2016, p. 38–46.

34. VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Petr Timofeev Mstislavec i ego izdaniya. *Nacional'naya Biblioteka* 2/12, 2018, p. 33–38.

35. VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich. Vilenskaya tipografiya Mamonichei vo vtoroi polovine 1590-h gg. In *Belorusskii sbornik. Stat'i i materialy o istorii i kul'ture Belorussi.* Vyp. 8, 2021, p. 57–64.

36. VOZNESENSKII, Andrei Vladimirovich, NIKOLAEV Nikolai Viktorovich. *Katalog belorusskikh izdanii kirillovskogo shrifta XVI-XVIII vekov iz sobraniya Otdela redkikh knig Rossiiskoi nacionalnoi biblioteki.* Vyp. 2: 1601-1654 gg. Sankt-Peterburg: Rossiiskaya Nacionalnaya Biblioteka, 2019, 212 p. ISBN: 978-5-8192-0559-4.