

MATERIÁLY A DISKUSE

The Cyrillic Early Printed Liturgical Tetraevangelion Issued in Vilnius / Vievis in 1644 and Its Source. Research into the Saints and Feasts Present in the Menologia*

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The Cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion published by the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood in 1644 in Vilnius/Vievis is the only liturgical Gospel edition prepared at this Printing House and the fourth issued in Vilnius. A text critical study of several texts, excluding liturgical rubrics, from various sections of this volume has proved that it should be treated as a copy of the first Lviv Gospel edition issued in 1636 by the Dormition Brotherhood Workshop.

The Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia were equipped with an appendix, always placed at the end of the volume. It provided information on the feasts and commemorations of saints and various sacred events. This appendix with liturgical rubrics at the Tetraevangelion issued by the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood in 1644 has not yet been the subject of textual research.

The article focuses on the textual analysis of Menologia present in Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia. Special attention was given to the number of days in the twelve months, the presence or absence of saints and feasts, and verbatim correspondence of commemorations' names. The results of this research proved that Tetraevangelion issued by the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit on December 21, 1644, in Vilnius / Vievis reproduces the menologion of the first Lviv Gospel edition, issued at the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood Printing House on October 20, 1636.

Keywords: liturgical Tetraevangelion, Gospel, early printed books, Vilnius, Vievis, Lviv, Church Slavonic

Introduction

Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia can be treated not only as one complete volume but also as a collection of several independent texts gathered together. In the second case, four Gospel books, four Prefaces to the Gospels by Bl. Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria, four Chapter titles to the Gospels, and a manual with liturgical rubrics (divided into two main parts named Synaxarion and Menologion¹⁾) can be distinguished. Textual

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1) The Menologion starts with September and ends with August.

analysis has proven that each of the above-mentioned text sections may be treated as one independent unit, with its own textual variants specific to many or just a few of the almost 110 Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in different parts of Slavia Orthodoxa. The results of textual analysis allowed us to divide all of the Gospel editions issued before 1800 into several groups. The following ones can be listed as examples: Tetraevangelia issued in the Middle-Bulgarian and Serbian recensions of the Church Slavonic language; Tetraevangelia issued in Moscow before and after the year 1652; the first two Tetraevangelia issued in Kyiv (in 1697 and 1712).

Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv and Vilnius / Vievis

All eight²⁾ Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv, in comparison to all other Gospel editions printed in the lands of medieval Romania and Serbia, in Moscow, Kyiv and Pochaiv and in relation to the first three Vilnius editions, should be separated into one textual group, which in turn can be divided into two subgroups. The first subgroup consists of six Tetraevangelia issued at the Dormition Brotherhood Workshop in Lviv in 1636, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743, while the second includes two Gospel editions issued at Mykhailo Slozka Printing House in 1644 and 1665. Despite the small number of Tetraevangelia printed in Lviv in terms of the text edition, liturgical tradition and numerous³⁾ woodcut illustrations⁴⁾ to the Gospel text (Ostapczuk 2017a, 129–148), they occupy a unique place among all other editions of the Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia. The first Lviv Gospel edition issued in 1636 is treated as a book printed with the highest typographical technique. It served as the best example of typographical production and was not only the origin for following printed editions (Запаско – Мацюк 1983, 38–39) but for manuscripts as well.⁵⁾

Only four out of the nearly 110 Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia were issued in Vilnius. Research carried out by Ukrainian scholar Natalia Bondar proved that the second and third Gospel editions printed in Vilnius (in 1600 and c. 1620) copied the first one issued in 1575 in all its details (Бондар 2015, 109–112).⁶⁾ The fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion printed by the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit in 1644 in Vilnius or Vievis⁷⁾ was completely different in typographical layout from the previous three Vilnius Gospel editions. Bondar stated that it closely copied the Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv. For the purposes of identifying one particular Lviv Gospel edition that had served as the origin for the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion, further textual research has been suggested.

2) On the number of Gospel editions printed in Lviv, see: Ostapczuk 2017b, 181–189.

3) Запаско – Мацюк 1983, 40.

4) On the number of thematic illustrations to the Gospel's text at Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv, see: Ostapczuk 2017a, 141–143; 2023a.

5) The Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv were not only reprinted but also copied by scribes. As an example, the manuscript kept at the Lviv Historical Museum (No 36, 1660, 230 f.) can be indicated. See: Ясіновська 1996, 94–59 (No 46); Ostapczuk 2020a, 168–178.

6) See also: Родосский 1891, 51 (№ 36); Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew 2003, 154–155; Вознесенский 2016, 44; 2018, 36.

7) Title pages of this Gospel edition in various copies point to Vilnius (тщаниємъ вѣрѣства старроѣ храма шоществѣя сѣго дѣха в вилни) or Vievis (тщаниємъ вѣрѣства старроѣ храма шоществѣя сѣго дѣха в вевю) as a place of printing (Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew 2003, 105; Вознесенский – Николаев 2019, 78–79 {No 100}).

The fourth Vilnius Gospel edition and its origin

The fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion was issued by the Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit on December 21, 1644. Until that date, only two Gospel editions had appeared in Lviv. The first one was issued on October 20, 1636, at the Dormition Brotherhood Printing House, while the second was printed on May 18, 1644, at Mykhailo Slozka Workshop. This means that only the first two out of the eight Lviv Gospel editions can be considered as a potential source for the fourth Tetraevangelion issued in Vilnius, the one and the only printed by Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit.

All eight Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv constitute one textual group, which can be divided into two subgroups. Six Gospels printed by the Lviv Orthodox Confraternity can be classified into the first subgroup, and two editions issued by Mykhailo Slozka into the second one. Thus, textual analysis of the first two Lviv Gospel editions, which belong to two various subgroups, and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion should point to the source used by printers of the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood for their only Cyrillic early printed liturgical Gospel edition.

The textual analysis of various texts in these three⁸⁾ Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia proved that the first Lviv Gospel edition served as the origin for the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion. The following sections were examined: the first nine *zachalas* of the Gospel of Mark (i.e. Mk 1:1–2:22) with liturgical rubrics located at the bottom or top of the folios with Gospel text (Ostapczuk 2017c, 291–297), four Chapter Titles to Gospels (Ostapczuk 2019, 271–282) and the four Prefaces to Gospels by Bl. Theophylact (Ostapczuk 2020b, 87–97). The latter eight texts in Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia always preceded each of Gospel books. Thus, various sections of these three Gospel editions (i.e., the first two from Lviv and the fourth from Vilnius), with the exception of their last component, had been the subject of textual analysis in search of the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion's origin. The only section, i.e., containing liturgical rubrics, usually divided into two parts named Menologion and Synaxarion, placed at the end of each Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelion, has not been the subject of textual research yet.

Objectives and research methodology

To prove that the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion consequently⁹⁾ reproduces the first Lviv Gospel edition, textual and liturgical analyses of the last component of these books, i.e., Menologion, should be undertaken. This article is an attempt to fill this gap.¹⁰⁾ The Menologia of all Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia issued up to the end of the 18th century¹¹⁾ have been researched. As three Gospel editions issued in the second quarter of the 17th century are the main subject of this research, all references to textual variants of liturgical rubrics have been drawn exclusively from Tetraevangelia issued no

8) In these textual analyses more than these three editions were examined.

9) With the exception of numerous woodcut illustrations to the Gospel text.

10) This research could also provide some important information. For instance: whether the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion fully or only partially copies the liturgical tradition specific to the City of Lviv, whether it contains any local, i.e., Vilnius, or specific to other cities (Moscow, Kyiv, etc.) liturgical practices, etc.

11) The list of all editions of Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia see: Ostapczuk 2013, 137–148; 2020c, 201 (footnote No 5).

later than the first half of the 17th century, and 1652 to be exact.¹²⁾ Special attention was given to the number of days in the twelve months (section No 1), the presence or absence of saints and feasts (section No 2), and verbatim correspondence of commemorations' names (section No 3).

1. Number of days in Menologia

The Menologia present in the Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia issued before 1652 do not contain liturgical rubrics for each day in all twelve months. Therefore, this type of menologion, in contrast to the full one, is named abbreviated or short, as several days are missing in every month.¹³⁾ This parameter is too general to draw any conclusion with regard to the subject of the research. On its basis, it is not possible to prove which one of the first two Lviv Gospel editions was used as a source for the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion.

However, the very fact that some months have a different number of days in various Gospel editions can provide some important information. Only in one month, i.e., June,¹⁴⁾ the number of days in the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion¹⁵⁾ agrees with the number of days in the corresponding month in the Middle-Bulgarian and Serbian Gospel editions issued in the 16th century. In all the other eleven months, the numbers of days in the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion¹⁶⁾ do not match with the numbers of days in the corresponding months in Cyrillic early printed Gospel editions issued in the South Slavonic recensions of the Church Slavonic language, in Moscow and Vilnius (the first three). Having as a source for the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion one of these Gospel editions, printed outside of Lviv, would mean introducing to Menologion or removing from it some days with feasts or/and saints.¹⁷⁾ This fact proves that none of the Tetraevangelia issued outside of the city of Lviv could have served as the source for the fourth Vilnius Gospel edition.

While ten months, i.e., from November to August, in the Menologia of the first two Lviv and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia feature the same number of days, only two, i.e.,

12) In 1653, Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelion with a full Menologion was issued for the first time in Moscow.

13) For instance, the Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv provide liturgical rubrics only for five days in March (9, 17, 25–26 and 30). The 16th century Gospel editions feature liturgical rubrics solely for three days in March (9, 25 and 26). More on the number of days in twelve months of Menologia in Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia issued up to 1652, see: Ostapczuk 2022, 41–48.

14) For a list of all of the days present in the twelve months of the Menologia in all Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia issued before the year 1652, see: Ostapczuk 2022, 46–47.

15) This month, i.e. June, contains the following number of days: 8, 11–12, 14, 19, 24, 27–30.

16) These months feature the following number of days: September: 1–11, 13–16, 18, 20, 22–24, 26, 30; October: 1–3, 6–7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 18, 21–26, 28; November: 1, 3–4, 6–8, 11–14, 16–17, 21–25, 27–28, 28–30; December: 1, 4–6, 9–10, 12–13, 17, 20–22, 24–30; January: 1–2, 4–7, 10–23, 25, 27–31; February: 1–3, 8–9, 12, 14, 24; March: 9, 17, 25–26, 30; April: 1, 14, 23, 25, 27, 30; May: 1–3, 7–11, 15, 21, 24–26; July: 1–2, 4–5, 8, 10–11, 13, 15–16, 20, 22, 24–25, 27, 31; August: 1–2, 6–7, 9, 14–16, 18, 25, 28–29, 31.

17) September can serve as an example. If one out of the eleven Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in the 16th century in the Middle-Bulgarian or Serbian recensions of the Church Slavonic language would have been applied as the source for the fourth Vilnius Gospel edition, the three following days in September should have been added: 7, 18 and 29. If one of the three Cyrillic Gospel editions issued in Moscow in the 16th century or one of the first three Vilnius Tetraevangelia would have been used, September 18 should have been added. If one of the five Cyrillic Gospel editions issued in Moscow between 1606 and 1633 would have been applied, September 18 should have been added and September 25 removed. If one of the three Tetraevangelia issued in Moscow between 1637 and 1644 would have been used, September 18 should have been added and September 19 and 25 removed.

September and October, in these three Gospel editions differ in the numbers of days.¹⁸⁾ The fact that the first Lviv and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia have 24 days in September¹⁹⁾ and 16 in October²⁰⁾ and the second Lviv Gospel edition has one more day in each of these two months (i.e., 25 days in September²¹⁾ and 17 in October²²⁾) clearly points to the source printers of the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood made use of. It is implausible that only two days were deliberately excluded by Vilnius printers when the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion was being prepared for printing. The first day is September 17, when the Orthodox Church commemorates the Holy Martyr Sophia and her three daughters, Faith, Hope and Love, and the second October 20, when Holy Great Martyr Artemius of Antioch is commemorated. It is most likely that these two days were not present in the source used by the Vilnius printers. The absence of September 17 and October 20 in the first Lviv Gospel edition attests that this Tetraevangelion served as the origin for the fourth Vilnius Gospel edition.

2. Liturgical analysis

2.1 The first two Lviv and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia as one liturgical group

It is not only the number of days in September and October but also the **number of feasts** and **saints** commemorated on various days clearly advocates the above-mentioned conclusion.

The fact that the first two Lviv²³⁾ (issued in 1636 and 1644) and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia constitute the same textual and liturgical group contrary to all other Gospel editions issued before the year 1652 is supported by several commemorations.

There are six saints, and three feasts present in the first two Lviv and in the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia but omitted in all other Gospel editions issued before the year 1652. These commemorations are reflected in the table below.

	Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in:	
	Middle-Bulgarian and Serbian recensions of Church Slavonic language, Moscow, and Vilnius (1575, 1600 and c. 1620)	Lviv (1636 and 1644) and Vilnius (1644)
12.01	Missing	Saint Philaret the Almsgiver of Amnia in Asia Minor ²⁴⁾

18) Ostapczuk 2022, 46–47; 2023b, 126.

19) I.e., 1–11, 13–16, 18, 20, 22–24, 26 and 28–30.

20) I.e., 1–3, 6–7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 18, 21–26 and 28.

21) I.e., 1–11, 13–18, 20, 22–24, 26 and 28–30.

22) I.e., 1–3, 6–7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 18, 20–26 and 28.

23) It concerns also all subsequent Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv.

24) I.e., **свѣтаго филарета милостиваго**. St. Philaret the Almsgiver (792) of Amnia in Asia Minor is mentioned in seven Lviv Gospel editions (except of last edition from 1743), the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion, six Moscow editions printed in 1653, 1657, 1663, 1668, 1677 and 1681, and first two Kyiv Tetraevangelia (but not on the December 1 but on December 2). In the Lviv Gospel editions and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion, there is also additional following liturgical rubric: **служба (...) свѣтотому ноеѣи**.

12.13	The Holy Great Martyr Eustatius and those with him	The Holy Great Martyrs Eustatius, <u>Auxentius</u> ²⁵⁾ and those with him ²⁶⁾
12.20 ²⁷⁾	Missing	The Forefeast of the Nativity of Christ ²⁸⁾
12.26	Missing	Holy Joseph the Betrothed ²⁹⁾
01.04	Missing	The Forefeast of the Theophany ³⁰⁾
02.14	Missing	Our Holy Father Cyril Bishop of Catania ³¹⁾ , Teacher of Slavs, and Bulgarians, who translated Greek into Slavonic and who baptized the Slavs and Bulgarians ³²⁾
04.14	Missing	Our Father among the Saints Martin, the Confessor, Pope of Rome ³³⁾
07.10	Missing	Our Venerable Father Anthony the Great, the Founder of Kyivan Cave Monastery ³⁴⁾
08.14	Missing	Translation of the precious relics of our Venerable Father Theodosius of the Kyivan Cave ³⁵⁾

There are three saints missing in the first two Lviv and in the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia but present in all other Cyrillic Gospel editions issued before 1652. These commemorations are reflected in the table below.

25) St. Auxentius is also mentioned in Moscow Gospel editions issued after 1685, in Kyiv and Pochaiv Tetraevangelia. I.e.: свѣтъхъ мученикъ евстратія, авѣнтина, евгенина, мардаріа и ореста.

26) I.e., свѣтъхъ мученикъ евстратія, авѣнтина и иже съ ними.

27) The Forefeast of the Nativity of Christ could be also mentioned on the other days preceding the Nativity of Christ. This commemoration on December 20 was introduced only in the Menologia of Tetraevangelia issued in Moscow in 1681 (предпразднество еже по плоти рождества господа бога и спаса нашего іиса Христа).

28) I.e., предпразднество рождества Христова.

29) I.e., свѣтаго носифа обручника. Holy Joseph the Betrothed is mentioned in eight Lviv Gospel editions, the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion and editions issued at the Pochaiv Monastery Printing House operating in the 2nd half of 18th century.

30) I.e., предпразднество богоавлениа. The Forefeast of the Theophany on January 4 is present in four Moscow Gospel editions issued in 1681, 1685, 1688 and 1694, and in five Kyiv Gospels issued in 1697, 1712, 1737, 1752 and 1759.

31) It is Saint Cyril, the Equal to the Apostles and Enlightener of Slavs, who is called here the Bishop of Catania. It was also attested in some manuscripts and Cyrillic early printed books (Спасский 1997, 43).

32) I.e., иже въ свѣтъхъ ѿца нашего кѳрилла епископа катанскаго оучителя слованомъ и болгаромъ, иже преложи рѣксѣю грамотѣ съ греческіина и крѣсти слованъ и болгаръ. The Commemoration of St. Cyril is also present in six Moscow Gospel editions issued in 1653–1681 and Kyiv Tetraevangelia printed in 1697 and 1712.

33) I.e., иже во сѣтъхъ ѿца шіего исповѣдника мартина папы римскаго. The Commemoration of St. Martin, the Confessor, Pope of Rome is present in all Lviv Gospel edition, the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion and all the Gospels issued in Moscow after the year 1653, Kyiv and Pochaiv.

34) I.e., прѣбнаго ѿца нашего антонія великаго первоначалника печерскаго монастыря иже въ киевѣ. The Commemoration of Father Anthony the Great of Kyivan Cave Monastery is mentioned in all Lviv Gospel editions (except of 1743 edition), the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion and all the Gospels issued after the year 1677 in Moscow, Kyiv and Pochaiv.

35) I.e., пренесение свѣтныхъ мощей преподобнаго ѿца нашіго деодосіа печерскаго иже въ киевѣ. The Commemoration of Translation of the Relics of Father Theodosius of the Kyiv Cave is also present in the Tetraevangelia issued in Kyiv (the first one was printed in 1697) and Pochaiv (the first one was printed in 1759).

Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in:		
	Middle-Bulgarian and Serbian recensions of Church Slavonic language, Moscow, and Vilnius (1575, 1600 and c. 1620)	Lviv (1636 and 1644) and Vilnius (1644)
01.03	Holy Prophet Malachias ³⁶⁾	Missing
01.03	Holy Martyr Gordius ³⁷⁾	Missing
07.17	Holy Great Martyr Marina ³⁸⁾	Missing

2.2 Exclusion of 1644 Lviv Gospel edition as the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion's origin
The fact that Tetraevangelion issued at Mykhailo Slozka Printing House in 1644 could not have served as the source for the fourth Vilnius Gospel edition is also supported by three other commemorations. Five saints and one feast are present exclusively in the Tetraevangelion issued by Mykhailo Slozka in 1644 but absent in all other Gospel editions, (including the first Lviv and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia) issued before the year 1652. These examples are reflected in the table below.

Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in:		
	Middle-Bulgarian and Serbian recensions of Church Slavonic language, Moscow, Vilnius (1575, 1600, c. 1620 and 1644) and Lviv Dormition Brotherhood Printing House (1636)	Lviv at Mykhailo Slozka Workshop (1644)
09.01	Missing	The Synaxis of the Most Holy Theotokos of Miasenae ³⁹⁾
09.01	Missing	The Memory of the Righteous Jesus ⁴⁰⁾ of Navi ⁴¹⁾
09.17	Missing	Holy Martyr Sophia and her three daughters, Faith, Hope and Love ⁴²⁾

36) The Commemoration of the Holy Prophet Malachias is missing only in eight Lviv Gospel editions and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion.

37) The Commemoration of the Holy Martyr Gordius is missing only in eight Lviv Gospel editions and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion.

38) The Commemoration of the Holy Great Martyr Marina is missing in all Lviv Gospel editions and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion.

39) With the exception of two of Slozka's Gospel editions (issued in 1644 and 1665), this feast is present in the Moscow Gospel editions issued after the year 1685, in Kyiv (the first was printed in 1697) and Poचाiv (the first was printed in 1759).

40) Or Joshua.

41) With the exception of these two of Slozka's Gospel editions, this commemoration is also present in three Cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued in Moscow in 1685, 1688 and 1694.

42) With the exception of these two of Slozka's Gospel editions, these saints are present in Menologia of the Cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia issued in Moscow after the year 1653, Kyiv (the first was printed in 1697) and Poचाiv (the first was printed in 1759).

2.3 The first Lviv Tetraevangelion as the fourth Vilnius Gospel edition's source
The fact that the first Tetraevangelion issued by the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood Printing House in 1636 was the source for the fourth Vilnius Gospel edition is directly supported only by one commemoration. This example relates to the absence of one saint, i.e., the Holy Great Martyr Artemius,⁴³⁾ exclusively in the first Lviv Gospel edition (1636) and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion (1644) and to his inclusion in all other Gospel editions issued before the year 1652.

3. Textual analysis

The above-mentioned conclusion is attested not only by the number of days in specific months or various saints and feasts omitted or included on different days of specific months but also by numerous textual variants revealed in the text critical study of liturgical rubrics.

3.1 The first two Lviv and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia as one textual group
Textual analysis of the Menologia revealed many readings,⁴⁴⁾ that attest the possibility of classifying the first two Lviv⁴⁵⁾ and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia as one group separate from all of the other Gospel editions issued before the year 1652. These textual variants, reflected in the table below, relate to:

- the presence of some textual readings in the first two Lviv and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia (right column) but their absence in all other Gospel editions issued before the year 1652 (left column);
- the absence of some textual readings from the first two Lviv and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia (right column) but their presence in all other Gospel editions issued before the year 1652 (left column).

Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in:		
	Middle-Bulgarian and Serbian recensions of Church Slavonic language, Moscow, and Vilnius (1575, 1600 and c. 1620)	Lviv (1636 and 1644) and Vilnius (1644)
	Information on the number of hours of day and night for each month ⁴⁶⁾	Omitted
Saturday c. 09.08–12	The Saturday before the Elevation	The Saturday before the Elevation of the Holy Cross ⁴⁷⁾

43) The Commemoration of the Holy Martyr Artemius is present in the Menologia of almost all of the Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia, except for the Gospel editions issued by the Lviv Dormition Confraternity (six editions) and the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood (one edition).

44) Only the most significant and important textual variants have been presented in this publication. Variant readings involving the omission or addition of the possessive pronoun, word order inversion, and etc., have been not been included.

45) It concerns also all subsequent Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv.

46) I.e., in September: дѣнь иматъ часъ вѣ. и ноць вѣ; in October: дѣнь иматъ часовъ дѣ. а ноць гѣ; in November: дѣнь иматъ часъ ї. а ноць дѣ; in December: дѣнь иматъ часъ љ. а ноць еѣ; in January: дѣнь иматъ часъ ї. а ноць дѣ; in February: дѣнь иматъ часъ дѣ. а ноць гѣ; in March: дѣнь иматъ часъ вѣ а ноць вѣ; in April: дѣнь иматъ часъ гѣ а ноць дѣ; in May: дѣнь иматъ часъ дѣ, а ноць ї; in June: дѣнь иматъ часъ еѣ а ноць љ; in July: дѣнь иматъ часъ дѣ, а ноць ї; in August: дѣнь иматъ часъ гѣ. а ноць дѣ.

47) I.e., соубота предъ въздвиженемъ честнаго креста.

12.05	Our Venerable <u>and Godbearing</u> Father Sabbas (the Sanctified) ⁶¹⁾	Our Venerable Father Sabbas the Sanctified ⁶²⁾
12.21	Our Father among the Saints Peter, (New) Metropolitan (of Moscow) <u>and The Wonderworker of All Russia</u>	Our Father among the Saints Peter, Metropolitan of Kyiv ⁶³⁾
12.27	Holy First Martyr <u>and Archdeacon</u> Stephen	Holy <u>Apostle</u> , First Martyr Stephen ⁶⁴⁾
Sunday after Theophany	Omitted	Liturgical information concerning the Sunday-Saturday Gospel pericope and Apostle lection during the part liturgical year ⁶⁵⁾
01.27	Translation of Relics of our Father among the Saints John Chrysostom	Translation of <u>Precious</u> Relics of our Father among the Saints John Chrysostom ⁶⁶⁾
02.01	Omitted ⁶⁷⁾	The Forefeast of the Meeting of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ ⁶⁸⁾
02.12	<u>The Repose of our Father among the Saints Alexis, Metropolitan (of Kyiv and All Russia, the Wonderworker</u>	Our Father among the Saints Alexis, Metropolitan of Kyiv ⁶⁹⁾
04.01	Omitted	Information about the place where liturgical pericope is to be found (5 th week of Great Lent) ⁷⁰⁾
04.27	Holy Hieromartyr Symeon, Kinsman of the Lord	Holy Hieromartyr Symeon, Kinsman of the Lord, <u>Archbishop of Jerusalem</u> ⁷¹⁾
04.30	Holy Apostle James, son of Zebedee	Holy Apostle James, <u>brother of Saint John the Theologian</u> ⁷²⁾ , son of Zebedee ⁷³⁾

61) I.e., прѣподобнаго и богоноснаго ѿца нашего савы осѣннаго.

62) I.e., прѣподобнаго ѿца нашего савы осѣннаго (sic!).

63) I.e., сватаго ѿца нашего петра митрополита киевскаго.

64) I.e., сватаго апостола пръвомоученика стефана.

65) I.e., и сіе вѣждь яко еѿлина и аплы ѿ нли маіпустной възпатъ исчитал до нли прїидѣщен наже естъ первую по просвѣщенїа недѣли. оувѣдавъ извѣстно въ кое число мѣца предъ маіпустною. нлею бѣдетъ, нла о мытарїи и фарїсен. и възпатъ исчетъ, на мимошешала нла възврати са. наѿни радъ досазающъ нли о мытарїи и фарїсен. аще же когда прензвѣдетъ нль, снхъ оставивъ, блюди прїати радъ о мытарїи и фарїсен.

66) I.e., възвращение честннхъ мощен сватаго отъца нашего иванна златоустаго.

67) The Forefeast of the Meeting of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ on February 1 was introduced in the Moscow Gospel edition in 1681.

68) I.e., прѣдпразднество стрѣтїенна господа бога и спаса нашего їс христа.

69) I.e., сватаго отъца нашего алеѿина митрополита киевскаго.

70) I.e., сдѣжа ея поетъ са въ ї. ю недѣлю сватына веѿм. ца. This liturgical rubric relates to the Commemoration of Our Venerable Mother Mary of Egypt.

71) I.e., стго осѣнногнїка сѿмеона сродника господна, архїеппа іерлїмскаго.

72) Text брата стмд иваннд богословд is present in all Moscow Gospel editions issued after the year 1677.

73) I.e., стго апостола иякова брата стмд иваннд богословд сына зеведеова.

05.03	Repose of our Venerable Father Theodosius, <u>founder of the cenobitic life on Russian lands, abbot of sacred Caves Monastery in Kyiv</u>	Repose of our Venerable Father Theodosius of the Caves in Kyiv ⁷⁴⁾
05.24	Our Venerable Father Symeon, <u>in</u> ⁷⁵⁾ the Wondrous Mountain	Our Venerable Father Symeon <u>on</u> the Wondrous Mountain, <u>the Stylite</u> ⁷⁶⁾
06.28	Translation of the Relics of the Saints (Wonderworking Unmercenarys) Cyrus and John	Translation of the <u>Precious</u> Relics of the Saint Wonderworking Unmercenarys Cyrus and John ⁷⁷⁾
07.16	Omitted	Information about the place where liturgical pericope is to be found ⁷⁸⁾
07.16	Holy Fathers of the Sixth Council	<u>The Memory</u> ⁷⁹⁾ of Holy Fathers of the Sixth <u>Ecumenical</u> Council ⁸⁰⁾
07.24	Holy Righteous Passion-bearers, Boris and Gleb	<u>Killing of</u> the Holy Passion-bearers, Russian Princes two brothers, Boris and Gleb, <u>in Holy Baptism were named Romanus and David</u> ⁸¹⁾
08.02	Translation of the Relics of the Holy Protomartyr Stephen	Translation of the <u>Precious</u> Relics of the Holy Protomartyr and Archdeacon Stephen ⁸²⁾
08.25	<u>Translation of the Relics of the Holy Apostle Bartholomew and Holy Apostle Titus</u>	<u>Return of the Relics of the Holy Apostle Bartholomew and Holy Apostle Titus</u> ⁸³⁾

3.2 Exclusion of 1644 Lviv Gospel edition as the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelion's origin
 Another set of textual variants revealed in a textual study of Menologia proves that Tetraevangelion issued at Mykhailo Slozka Printing House in 1644 could not have served as the source for the fourth Vilnius Gospel edition. These text readings, reflected in the table below, are found exclusively in 1644 Slozka's Gospel edition⁸⁴⁾ and are missing in all other Tetraevangelia issued before the year 1652, including the first Lviv and the fourth Vilnius editions.

74) I.e., представление преподобнаго отца нашего деодосия пещерскаго иже въ киевѣ.

75) In all of the Gospel editions issued before 1681 (except those printed in Lviv and the fourth Vilnius Tetraevangelia) there is въ (иже въ дивнѣи горы).

76) I.e., прѣподобнаго отца нашего симеона иже на дивнѣи горѣ столпника.

77) I.e., пренесение чѣстныхъ мощенъ стѣхъ вѣсрвѣрникъ кира и иванна.

78) I.e., служба сѣ мѣ. ꙗла по ѓи.

79) Word *memory* (память) was introduced in the Moscow Gospel editions in 1657.

80) I.e., память стѣхъ оцѣ шестаго вселенскаго събора.

81) I.e., оубиение стѣхъ страстотѣрпецъ кѣзенъ русскихъ обою братѣ по плоти бориса и глѣба, нареченныхъ въ стѣомъ крѣщении романа и давида.

82) I.e., перенесение чѣстныхъ мощенъ стѣго первоучника и архидиакона стѣдана.

83) I.e., возвращение мощемъ стѣго апостола вардоломея и стѣго апостола тита.

84) They are present in two of Slozka's Gospel editions issued in 1644 and 1665.

Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in:		
	Middle-Bulgarian and Serbian recensions of Church Slavonic language, Moscow, Vilnius (1575, 1600, c. 1620 and 1644) and Lviv Dormition Brotherhood Printing House in 1636	Lviv at Slozka Workshop (1644)
09.02	Holy Martyr Mamas	Holy Martyr Mamas of Gangra, Bishop of Nikomidia ⁸⁵⁾
09.04	Holy Hieromartyr Babylas	Holy Hieromartyr Babylas, Archbishop of Great Antioch and others ⁸⁶⁾
09.17	Omitted	Information concerning the place where the liturgical pericope is to be found ⁸⁷⁾
09.20	Holy Great Martyr Eustathius and those who with him	Holy Great Martyr Eustathius Placidus and those who with him ⁸⁸⁾
Saturday after Nativity	Omitted	Information concerning the Liturgical Gospel pericope ⁸⁹⁾
Sunday after Nativity	Omitted	Information concerning the Liturgical Gospel pericope ⁹⁰⁾
01.01	Memory of our Father among the Saints Basil the Great	Memory of our Father among the Saints Basil the Great Archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia ⁹¹⁾

3.3 The first Lviv Tetraevangelion as the fourth Vilnius Gospel edition's source

The fact that the first Tetraevangelion issued by the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood Printing House in 1636 served as the origin for the fourth Vilnius Gospel edition is supported by several textual variants. These readings revealed in descriptions of the saints and feasts, and one liturgical rubric are found exclusively in Mykhailo Slozka's Gospel edition and

85) Mykhailo Slozka's first Tetraevangelion, issued in 1644, includes the following information for this day: свѣтаго мученика маманта гагронскаго епископа никомидинскаго. The last two words were probably mistakenly moved here from the commemoration of the following day, when the Holy Hieromartyr Anthimus, Bishop of Nicomedia, is mentioned in the liturgical rubrics.

86) I.e., свѣтаго свѣщенномученика вавлвзі архієпископа великіа антиохіа и про^ѣ.

87) I.e., слѣжба прѣ^з и м^ѣн.

88) I.e., свѣтаго великомученика еустафіа плаквды и иже съ нимъ

89) I.e., аще будетъ отъзданіе праздника рождества христова въ сѣботѣ четъ са е^вліе прежде сѣботѣ по рождествѣ христовѣ. таже сѣботѣ прѣдъ кр^ѣщеніемъ.

90) I.e., вѣдати подобаетъ тако аще слѣдѣтъ са двѣ недели между рождествомъ х^вбымъ, и прѣпросвѣщеніа четъ са въ первю неделю е^вліе ма^к зачало ѡ. въ др^вгю же неделю е^вліе марко зачало ѡ. аще же слѣдѣтъ са сѣбота и єдина токмо неделя то четемъ въ сѣботѣ сѣботѣ по рождествѣ. въ неделю же, неделя прѣдъ кр^ѣщеніемъ.

91) I.e., память иже въ свѣтѣхъ ѿца нашего василиа великаго архієпископа кесаріа каппадокійскіа. There is also the following additional liturgical rubric: аще въ недею сей праздникъ, четъ са е^вліе прежде недеи прѣдъ кр^ѣщеніемъ. таже, обр^ѣзанию.

are missing from Tetraevangelia⁹²⁾ issued at the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood Printing House in 1636 and the fourth Vilnius Gospel edition printed in 1644. These examples are reflected in the table below.

Cyrillic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia issued in:		
	Lviv Dormition Brotherhood (1636) and Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood (1644) Printing Houses	Lviv at Mykhailo Slozka Workshop (1644)
09.18	Our Venerable Father Eumenius, the Wonderworker	Our Venerable Father Eumenius, <u>Bishop of Gortynia</u> , the Wonderworker ⁹³⁾
11.22	Holy Apostle Philemon and those who with him ⁹⁴⁾	Holy Apostle Philemon, <u>Archipus and Amafii</u> , and those who with him ⁹⁵⁾
07.02	Liturgical information: entire service on September 8 ⁹⁶⁾	Liturgical information: entire service for <u>Matins and Liturgy</u> on September 8 ⁹⁷⁾
08.14	The Forefeast of the Dormition of Theotokos ⁹⁸⁾	The Forefeast of the Dormition of <u>the Most Holy Theotokos</u> ⁹⁹⁾

4. The fourth Vilnius Gospel edition – a close copy of the first Lviv Tetraevangelion

The in-depth textual study of the liturgical rubrics present in the Menologia of the fourth Vilnius Gospel edition and other Cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia has proved that the printers who worked at the Vilnius Brotherhood Printing House consistently followed the origin, i.e., the first Lviv Gospel edition, they made use of. In only one case,¹⁰⁰⁾ they added some information that was not present in their source. The commemoration's title of the saints revered on April 14, "New Martyrs Antony, John and Eustathius who in

92) These saints and feasts were introduced in the Gospel editions issued a few years later. For instance, Father Eumenius, the Wonderworker commemorated on September 18, was introduced in Tetraevangelion issued in Moscow in the year 1653.

93) I.e., преподобнаго ѿца нашего еумениа епископа гортунскаго чудотворца.

94) In the Moscow Gospel editions issued in the years 1637–1651, only the Holy Apostle Philemon is mentioned (святаго апостола филимона).

95) I.e., святыхъ апостолъ филимона, архиппа и амафии, и иже съ нимъ.

96) I.e., служба вса септврня въ .їі.

97) I.e., служба вса на оутрени и на литоургии септврня въ .їі.

98) I.e., предпразднество оупениа вѣцы.

99) I.e., предпразднество оупениа пресвѣтыа вѣцы.

100) There is one textual variant in the commemoration of St. Nicolas on December 6 (Ostapczuk 2023b, 134).

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