

THE LITURGICAL AND TEXTUAL TRADITION OF ACTS AND PAUL IN THE  
BYZANTINE APOSTOLOS LECTIONARY

by

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## **Abstract**

The Apostolos is a corpus of manuscripts containing New Testament and liturgical material. For Byzantines it was the primary form in which the Acts and Epistles were received as Scripture. Lectionary studies were almost abandoned after the mid-twentieth century, and the recent revival of interest in the Greek Lectionary has concentrated exclusively on the Gospel Lectionary. The last study of the Apostolos is five decades old and reflects the methodologies of another era. Building upon the work of recent Lectionary scholarship this thesis takes a new approach to the Apostolos, analysing New Testament and liturgical textual traditions together.

The text of Acts and the Pauline corpus as transmitted in the Lectionary is compared with the continuous text. It is shown that one Apostolos witness is not usually copied to another and that consequently there is no 'Lectionary text' of Acts and Paul. Instead, Apostolos copies reflect textual variation in the evolving Byzantine tradition. Digital methods allow the present thesis to explore groupings among Apostolos manuscripts combined with detailed attention to the contents of each codex. This study concentrates on the Apostolos in its scribal, monastic, liturgical, and theological context as well as in light of other manuscript traditions.

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## Abbreviations

A	Apostolos manuscript
AD	Apostoliki Diakonia Lectionary edition
ANT	The 1904 Antoniades Patriarchal Edition of the New Testament
AP	Week after Pentecost e.g., AP1A
Byz/Byz	The Byzantine text; the text attested by the majority of Byzantine minuscule witnesses
CBGM	Coherence Based Genealogical Method
CBM	K. Spronk, G. Rouwhorst and S. Royé eds., <i>Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts</i>
CT	Continuous text
De Vries	I. M. De Vries, <i>Epistles, Gospels and Tones</i>
E	Week after Easter e.g., E1A
EA	Evangelio-Apostolos manuscript
ECM	<i>Editio Critica Maior</i>
esk	ἐβδομάδες/σαββατοκυριακαί: an Apostolos manuscript containing lections for weekdays and Saturday/Sunday
G-A	Gregory-Aland number
GNT <sup>4</sup>	United Bible Societies Greek New Testament, 4 <sup>th</sup> edition
Gregory	C.R. Gregory, <i>Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes</i>
ID	Lection Identifier
IGNTP	International Greek New Testament Project
INTF	Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung
ITSEE	Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing
Lect/Lect	The text read by the majority of Lectionary witnesses

L	The siglum appended to a number (e.g., L156) to refer to a Lectionary manuscript in the Gregory-Aland system
<i>Liste</i>	Liste Handschriften, as cited in bibliography
LXX	Septuagint
MP	Inventory of the Pantoiktirmon Monastery
MG	MS Messina Gr. 115
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
NA <sup>28</sup>	Nestle-Aland Greek New Testament, 28 <sup>th</sup> edition
NA28	Nestle-Aland edition when counted as a witness
Byz <sup>pt</sup> /Lect <sup>pt</sup>	A division in the Byzantine or Lectionary traditions
PR	Pierpont-Robinson New Testament edition
RS	Rule of the Monastery of St. John Stoudios
sk	σαββατοκυριακαί: an Apostolos manuscript containing lections for Saturday and Sunday
SAL	Saliberos Apostolos edition
STE	Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis
<i>Studies</i>	Chicago Studies in the Lectionary Text
TE	Acts of the Monastery of the Theotokos Eleusa
T&T	<i>Text und Textwert</i>
THS	Typikon of Hagia Sophia
TP/MTP	Test Passage/Menologion Test Passage
TR	Textus Receptus
UC	Uncertain Lection assignment e.g., UC1
VU	Variation Unit

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## INTRODUCTION

“Εἰς βασιλεία γὰρ εἰσερχόμεθα τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀστραπτόντων ἐπιβαίνομεν χωρίων.  
Πολλῆς τὰ ἔνδον γέμει σιγῆς καὶ μυστηρίων ὑπὲρ ρήτων. Ἀλλὰ προσέχετε μετὰ  
ἀκριβείας · ἡ γὰρ τῶν Γραφῶν ἀνάγνωσις τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐστὶν ἄνοιξις.”

“It is the kingdom of heaven we are entering, after all: we are going to places where lightning flashes. Inside, it is all silence and mysteries beyond telling. Pay precise attention, however: the reading out of the Scriptures is the opening of the heavens.”

John Chrysostom, *Homily II on Isaiah*<sup>1</sup>

### I. The Apostolos Tradition

An Apostolos is a Greek manuscript containing lections (also called anagnosmata, pericopae) from Acts, Paul and the Catholic Epistles. The Apostolos codex is a relative of the Gospel Lectionary (εὐαγγέλιον) and Prophetologion Lectionary codices, and certain examples contain combinations of Gospel, Praxapostolos and Old Testament material.<sup>2</sup> Lections are prepared for recitation in the cycle of Offices of the Orthodox Church in monastic, parish or cathedral worship, and in the Byzantine Eucharistic rites.

The most reliable catalogue contains over six hundred entries for extant Apostolos codices, the earliest examples (nineteen) of which are dated to the ninth century A.D.<sup>3</sup> These are listed below:

L171 (St. Petersburg, Russ. Nat. Bibl., Gr. 38, fol. 8): 1 leaf

L178 (Leipzig, Univ. Bibl., Cod. Gr. 69): 1 leaf

L249 (St. Petersburg, Russ. Nat. Bibl., Gr. 44): 69 leaves

L846 (St. Catherine's Sinai, Gr. 212): 114 leaves

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<sup>1</sup> PG 56: 109. Translation adapted from R.C. Hill, *St. John Chrysostom: Homilies on the Old Testament: Homilies on Isaiah and Jeremiah*. (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2003), 61-67.

<sup>2</sup> For OT lections in Byzantium see E. J. Pentiuć, *The Old Testament in Eastern Orthodox Tradition*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 223-262.

<sup>3</sup> According to descriptions as found in the document produced from the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF) database and kindly given to me by Ulrich Schmid [10/01/12]. An exact figure is difficult due to errors and inconsistencies in the data.

L1575 (No catalogue information)<sup>4</sup>  
 L1576 (Österr. Nat. Bibl., Pap. K. 17): 1 leaf  
 0203 (London, Brit. Libr., Or. 3579B): 1 leaf  
 0205 (Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Or. 1699): 2 leaves  
 L1637 (Ann Arbor, Univ. Libr., 37): 144 leaves  
 L1855 (St. Petersburg, Russ. Nat. Bibl., Gr. 775): 2 leaves  
 L1952 (Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. F. 6. 25\*): 1 leaf  
 L2123 (Vat., Borg. gr. 19, fol. 46. 47): 2 leaves  
 L2125 (Bibl. Vat., Chis. R IV 11 (gr. 11), ff. 17-42. 46-61.63. 98-100.103-104.107-110): 52 leaves  
 L2132 (Damascus, Kubbet-el-Chazne): 1 leaf  
 L2214 (St. Catherine's, Sinai N. E. MG 31): 1 leaf  
 L2215 (St. Catherine's, Sinai N. E. MG 36): 7 leaves  
 L2216 (St Catherine's, Sinai N. E. MG 73): 6 leaves  
 L2234 (St Catherine's, Sinai N. E. M 74): 2 leaves

However, most of the manuscripts dated to the ninth century are highly fragmentary, amounting to no more than a few leaves, and often palimpsest.<sup>5</sup> In comparison, thirteen Apostolos manuscripts are dated by the *Liste* to the tenth century.<sup>6</sup> Of the nineteen codices dated to the ninth century, fifteen have been positively identified as containing majuscule script and therefore originating from the period of transition to minuscule.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The online *Liste* reveals that L1575 is scattered into five fragments: 2 leaves are Paris Bib. Nat. Copt. 129,11, fol. 52. 53; 2 leaves at Cambridge University Library Or. 1699; one leaf at London British Library Or. 3579B; one leaf each in Austrian Nat. Lib. Pap. K. 16 and K. 17 respectively. *Liste Handschriften* [online] <http://intf.uni-muenster.de/vmr/NTVMR/ListeHandschriften.php> [accessed 13/07/2015] See K. Schüssler, "Eine Griechisch-Koptische Handschrift Des Apostolos (l 1575, 0129, 0203)." K. Aland ed., *Materialien Zur Neutestamentlichen Handschriftenkunde I*. [Arbeiten Zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung 3] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1969), 218-265.

<sup>5</sup> Parker comments regarding rewritten majuscule codices used to prepare Middle/Late Byzantine Lectionary manuscripts: "040 [was rewritten] as L299 . . . 0134 as L26, 0209 as L1611, 0233 as L1684, 0257 as L2904 . . . the majuscule lectionary palimpsests were rewritten, for the most part, a rather later point." D.C. Parker, "The Majuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament." B.D. Ehrman and M.W. Holmes eds. *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 44.

<sup>6</sup> These are L156 L173 L179 L250 L473 L586 L597 L909 L2211 L2212 L2233 L1730. L156 and L173 are included in the current selection; see Chapter 2 below.

<sup>7</sup> The Alands provide figures for the chronological distribution of Lectionary and minuscule MSS. Though out of date, this confirms the 9<sup>th</sup> century as the period of transition to minuscule in continuous text manuscripts and the 10<sup>th</sup> as the period of transition for Lectionary manuscripts. Their ratio of 'uncials' to minuscule in continuous text MSS is 53:13 (IX) and 17:124 (X). In Lectionaries the comparable figures are 113:5 (IX) and 108:38 (X) – only by the eleventh century do minuscule Lectionary manuscripts outnumber majuscules by a ratio of 227:15. K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*. E. F. Rhodes trans. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 83.

Based on a survey of extant tenth century Apostolos codices it appears that six are written in majuscule and three in minuscule – four lack images or description. Furthermore, many early Apostolos manuscripts present lection arrangements which differ from the fully-developed Byzantine system, either of the Palestinian ‘Jerusalem’ anagnostic system or according to local custom.<sup>8</sup> The result of these realities is that only from the eleventh century is there ample evidence for a full study of the tradition. The Apostolos researcher is faced with fragmentary pre-tenth century evidence and then an abundance of later codices: upwards of fifty are dated to the eleventh century (over 8% of catalogued examples) and over ninety (15%) are from the twelfth century. Consequently, the concentration in this thesis is necessarily on the Apostolos tradition as found in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, but in reference to early traditions where possible. A separate study is necessary focussing on the early codices and their context.

In general, Apostolos lections are arranged according to two concurrent annual sequences which are generally referred to as the ‘Synaxarion’ and ‘Menologion’. The basic structure and content of the Synaxarion can be examined in Appendix 1 and that of the Menologion in Appendix 5. These tables are based on previous editorial sources, corrected where necessary, and consultation of manuscript sources. Appendix 1 contains a comparison of the structure of the Synaxarion and anagnosmata in manuscript sources in Pascha and Pentecost, since it was not feasible to compare data for the entire year’s cycle within the limits of a doctoral study. For similar reasons, the Menologion data in Appendix 5 is from the September-February portion of that cycle. The Synaxarion follows the ecclesial liturgical year and the Menologion “follows the civil calendar of the Byzantine Empire and starts on 1<sup>st</sup> September.”<sup>9</sup> However, some Apostolos manuscripts are of a select or deluxe variety and contain alternative anagnostic arrangements for specific institutions or local commemorations.<sup>10</sup> The two sequences,

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<sup>8</sup> For arrangements of anagnostic systems and echoes of earlier traditions in Middle/Late Byzantine Apostolos manuscripts see Chapters 4 and 5 below.

<sup>9</sup> D.C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 56.

<sup>10</sup> Highly select Lectionaries are usually given individual treatment and the current thesis is no exception. As a result, some ‘select’ Apostolos manuscripts are studied but the majority examined in the present thesis are not of this variety. Many further individual studies of this of Apostolos codices of this kind are required.



Synaxarion and Menologion, usually form discrete sections within an Apostolos codex, but certain codices contain only one sequence of pericopae e.g., Menologion only.

There is a spectrum of content in the Synaxarion ranging from ‘full’ codices which present a full arrangement of lections for Saturday, Sunday and weekdays, and those which present lections for one of these divisions exclusively or a limited combination. In its most fully-developed form, the liturgical cycle of the Byzantine Church is divided into seasons which prioritise lections from the Gospels of John, Matthew and Luke. Johannine lections dominate the period from the Vigil of Pascha to Pentecost Sunday, with Matthew and Luke fulfilling that function for Pentecost to Holy Cross Day and Holy Cross Monday to Lent respectively – the presence of Markan pericopae is notably more limited.<sup>11</sup> In principle, there is an appointed reading from the fullest form of the Apostolos to accompany every Gospel lection from Pascha until the pre-fast Week, when the Liturgy of the Presanctified is celebrated.<sup>12</sup> The Pascha (Johannine) period in the Gospel Lectionary is accompanied by a series of lections from Acts, while Matthew and Luke in the Synaxarion cycle are typically accompanied by lections which draw on the text of the Pauline corpus. The Catholic Epistles are least represented in the Synaxarion, appearing mostly in the period approaching the Great Fast. The table below gives an approximate percentage for each NT work in the model of the Synaxarion cycle presented by De Vries and Scrivener, indicating the three most common Apostolos works for each season.

Liturgical Season	Gospel lections	Apostolos lections
John: Easter-Pentecost	John, Mark	1. Acts 50/50 (100%)
Matthew: Pentecost-Holy Cross	Matthew, Mark	1. Romans 40/119 (34%) 2. 1 Corinthians 33/119 (28%) 3. 2 Corinthians 25/119 (21%)
Luke: Holy Cross-Great Fast	Luke, Mark	1. 1 Thessalonians 16/126 (13%) 2. Colossians 14/126 (11%) 3. Hebrews 12/126 (10%)

<sup>11</sup> See ‘Cycle of the Gospels’, I. M. De Vries, *The Epistles, Gospels and Tones of the Byzantine Liturgical Year* (Exeter: Catholic Records Press, 1954), 16.

<sup>12</sup> De Vries, *Epistles, Gospels and Tones*, 15.

Great Fast & Holy Week	Selections from all	1. Hebrews 14/23 (61%) 2. Galatians 3/23 (13%) 3. Romans 2/23 (9%)
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Table 1: Major selections from NT works in Apostolos Synaxarion

The Apostolos Synaxarion cycle is derived from the structure of the Gospel Lectionary and therefore, in its fully developed Byzantine form, is likely to have arisen slightly after the Byzantine Gospel Lectionary which was in place by the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> The fragmentary nature of the pre-tenth century evidence for the Apostolos renders elusive any solid conclusions regarding its origins. No theory has yet been advanced with regards to the origins of the Apostolos, and those which have been advanced for the Gospel Lectionary have often been excessively speculative.<sup>14</sup> Therefore it is prudent to limit this discussion to a survey of the evidence for the existence of lections from Acts, Paul and the Catholic Letters. Evidence for pericopae from these NT works can be found in certain majuscule manuscripts and compared to the Byzantine Apostolos anagnostic system found in manuscripts of the tenth century and beyond.<sup>15</sup>

First, a comparison of a sample of Acts lections found in pre tenth-century codices including (Greek) Acts in Codex Bezae (05), 020, 044, 014 and the later Byzantine Apostolos anagnostic arrangement:

<sup>13</sup> The most convincing discussion of Gospel Lectionary origins and dating can be found in C.R.D. Jordan, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John in Greek Gospel Lectionaries from the Middle Byzantine Period*. (Birmingham: Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 2009), 12-15; 520.

<sup>14</sup> For further discussion see Chapter 1 below. Art historians and codicologists typically pose the origins question in terms of a transition from one codex type to another rather than a literary production or theological motivation. Anderson, for example, asks “At what point did the number of readings [in the lection system] become large enough to justify, in terms of opposing pressures, the production of a separate book?” J.C. Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 4.

<sup>15</sup> In doing so I develop further Jordan’s suggestion, that “[t]he system of pericopae found in Gospel lectionaries of 8th-11th century may have existed . . . for a period of time in the form of lectionary rubrics, which are found in the margins of continuous text manuscripts, or in the form of lectionary tables . . . Parts of the lectionary system probably date to the period of the early church.” Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 13.

Assignment	Byzantine <sup>16</sup>	05 (VI/VII) <sup>17</sup>	020 (IX)	044 (VIII/IX)	014 (IX)
Thursday, 3 <sup>rd</sup> week of Pascha	Acts 8:26- 39	Acts 8:26 [†] onwards	Acts 8:26 onwards	None	Acts 8:26- 39
3 <sup>rd</sup> Saturday of Pascha	Acts 9:19- 31	None [Lac]	None	Acts 9:19-31	Acts 9:19- 31
5 <sup>th</sup> Sunday of Pascha	Acts 11:15- 26, 29-30	Acts 11:19- 30 <sup>18</sup>	Acts 11:19- 30 <sup>19</sup>	Acts 11:19- 27; 29-30	Acts 11:19-27; 29-30
Ascension of Our Lord	Acts 1:1- 12/Acts 1:1- 8	None	None[Lac]	Acts 1:1-12	
Saturday before Pentecost	Acts 28:1- 31	None[Lac]	Acts 28:1 onwards	Acts 28:1 onwards	Acts 28:1 onwards

Table 2: Acts Lections in a Selection of pre-10<sup>th</sup> century MSS

Second, a comparison of Pauline and Catholic Epistle lections in codices pre-dating the tenth century and the later Byzantine arrangement:

<sup>16</sup> As represented by De Vries, *Epistles, Gospels and Tones*.

<sup>17</sup> According to Parker the hands which added lectionary apparatus to Bezae (Acts N, O, O<sup>2</sup>) “all fit into the period 550-650 . . . it is clear that the habit of noting lections was in the manuscript was of a fairly short duration – a hundred years at the most.” D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 44.

<sup>18</sup> There is a numeral (κθ = 29) in the left margin of Bezae which accompanies the ἀρχή. The IGNTP transcription notes that “the lectionary number refers to the day after Easter” i.e., the fifth Sunday of Pascha. See *Codex Bezae: Cambridge Digital Library* [online] <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00002-00041/753> [accessed 14/07/14]

<sup>19</sup> No ἀρχή is present in 020 here but there is a minuscule identifier f.7v κυ(ριακη) [num]ε[/num] which is accompanied by the incipit and adapted opening phrase of v.19 “εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις διασπαρευεντες . . .” The τέλος, however, is present in majuscule at v.30 (f.8v), suggesting that this element of the lection apparatus was present at an earlier date.

<b>Assignment</b>	<b>Byzantine</b>	<b>020 (IX)</b>	<b>044 (VIII/IX)</b>	<b>049 (IX)</b>
Tuesday, 1 <sup>st</sup> week after Pentecost	Romans 1:1- 7,13-17	None	None	None
Saturday after Pentecost	Romans 1:7-12	Romans 1:7-12	Romans 1:7- 12	Romans 1:7-12
4 <sup>th</sup> Sunday after Pentecost	Romans 6:18- 23	Romans 6:18- 23	Romans 6:18- 23	Romans 6:18- 23
31 <sup>st</sup> Saturday after Pentecost	Col 1:1-7	Col 1:1-7	None	Col 1:1-6
23 <sup>rd</sup> Sunday after Pentecost	Eph 2:4-10	Eph 2:4-10	Eph 2:4-10	Eph 2:4[†]-10
Monday, Cheese Fare Week	3 John 1:1-14	No Catholic Epistles	None	None
Sunday of Orthodoxy (1 <sup>st</sup> of Great Lent)	Heb 11:24-26; 11:32-12:2	Heb 11:24-27; 11:33-40	None	Hebrews not present

*Table 3: Epistle Lections in a Selection of pre-10<sup>th</sup> century MSS*

Strictly speaking, this data reveals some history of what might be termed the ‘proto-Apostolos’, since there is not enough evidence to suggest that the fully developed anagnostic cycles observed in post-tenth century manuscripts existed in Lectionary codices prior to the ninth century. However, there are enough observable similarities in the pericopae detailed above and those found in tenth century manuscripts to suggest a trajectory towards the Apostolos Lectionary proper.

Writing in relation to the Gospel Lectionary, Royé states that “foregoing scholars have observed that, in the history of the development of pericopes in the four Gospels, the liturgical readings (ἀναγνώσματα) were already fixed in Tetraevangelion codices long (I

mean for more than a century) before Tetraevangelia were transformed into Evangelion codices.”<sup>20</sup> Even the limited data sample above confirms this much for the Apostolos.

Apostolos lections were present in nascent form in the lection apparatus of eighth-ninth century majuscule Praxapostolos codices. Certain Acts lections might be traced to a much earlier period as suggested by the lection apparatus of Codex Bezae (05) and by certain features of Acts in the tradition of liturgical recitation i.e., consecutive narrational arrangement of pericopae interspersed with certain extracted passages.<sup>21</sup> In contrast, anagnosmata from the Pauline corpus and Catholic Letters are likely to have developed some time after the end the Second Iconoclast Era (814-842) and flourished during the transition to minuscule as the dominant Lectionary script.<sup>22</sup> In the data sample above it is notable that certain weekday Epistle lections are missing from the majuscule lection apparatus, especially the Tuesday after Pentecost which is in flux even in the later Apostolos Synaxarion tradition (see data for AP1C Appendix 1). This evidence hints at a stage in the development of Apostolos lections where certain major Sunday Epistle lections were fixed - perhaps the Paschal and Pentecost cycles - but where weekday lections were yet to reach their later, full arrangement. Also, the Hebrews pericope for the Sunday of Orthodoxy, which commemorates the end of iconoclasm, does not seem to be present in Codex Athous Lavrensis (044) (VIII/IX), the earliest source surveyed for the Epistles. This suggests that some Sunday lections - like their weekday counterparts - developed after the ‘victory of Orthodoxy’ in 843. Undoubtedly this later development will have been influenced by long-standing liturgical and theological custom in the reading of the Epistles, but the evidence for such practices is no longer clearly available in the manuscript tradition.

Much further study is needed on the ‘proto-Apostolos’ and therefore this topic cannot detain the present study. However, as several scholars note, traditions of liturgical recitation of Acts, Paul and the Catholic Epistles must have existed since the earliest

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<sup>20</sup> S. Royé, “Stages in the Creation, Establishment and Evolution of Byzantine Codex Forms”, K. Spronk, G. Rouwhorst and S. Royé, eds. *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in their Liturgical Context: Challenges and Perspectives*. [Subsidia 1] (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 259.

<sup>21</sup> See discussion below of Ericsson’s “dislocated lessons”. Chapter 1, Section II, page 30.

<sup>22</sup> For the significance of this date see below Chapter 2, Section IIb, page 59.

period of Christian history.<sup>23</sup> While the concern of the current thesis is the tradition as it exists in its Middle and Late Byzantine forms, some awareness of the pre-history of the *Apostolos* is informative for later discussion. For example, where anagnostic arrangements differ in the *Apostolos* tradition proper this may be due to the influence of earlier or local liturgical customs. Furthermore, the evidence surveyed above concerns only the Synaxarion tradition. The custom of reading Scripture on festal commemorations, as in the *Menologion*, undoubtedly has a related yet distinctive history in need of further research. The association of *Apostolos* pericopae with certain commemorations must be very ancient indeed and therefore requires concentrated attention on a wide range of patristic and liturgical sources not possible within the limits of the present thesis.

The *Menologion* of each *Apostolos* codex is arranged according to the commemorative and festal customs of the institution for which it was produced, and thus exhibits considerable geographical and chronological variety in lections presented. The stable form of the *Menologion*, in which a number of set commemorations are spread throughout the Byzantine liturgical year, is an editorial idealisation of the manuscript tradition. While many major feasts are widely commemorated for theological reasons, the lection assigned to such a feast may appear in its full form only in a minority of manuscripts. There are a number of commemorations and lections which appear only in a minority of codices.

*Apostolos* manuscripts are not exclusively in content, but may also contain liturgical text including prokeimena, stichera, Psalms, ekphonic notation necessary for the recitation of lections, tables of lections (sometimes referred to as anagnostic tables) and incipits (the opening phrase of a lection), and marginal material such as commentary. The latter is indicative of post-liturgical use in a monastic institution. Thus the *Apostolos* manuscript,

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<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, most existing literature on liturgical reading and circulation of *Apostolos* material in early Christianity has a Western focus. See for example: H. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts*. (Chelsea, MI: Yale University Press, 1997), 98-99; E. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*. M. Beaumont trans. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998), 83-90; G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*. (New ed.) (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 360-366. An exception (though primarily focussed on the Gospel Lectionary) is G. Rouwhorst, "The Liturgical Reading of the Bible in Early Eastern Christianity: The Protohistory of the Byzantine Lectionary." K. Spronk, G. Rouwhorst and S. Royé, eds. *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts*, 155-171; G. Rouwhorst, "The Bible in Liturgy." J.C. Paget and J. Schaper, eds. *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginnings to 600*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 822-842. Parsons discusses the Lectionary context of Acts in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries see M.C. Parsons, *Acts*. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 4-5.

as with other Lectionaries, is a synthesis of multiple biblical and extra-biblical traditions and sources, both in its initial composition and subsequent use.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, as Jordan points out “Apostolos and Gospel pericopae appear sporadically in μηνᾶια, εὐχόλογια and ψαλτήρια, the main text of which are hymns, prayers and Psalms.”<sup>25</sup> As a result sometimes such liturgical codices are erroneously catalogued as select or deluxe type Apostolos manuscripts. Evidently these codex types are interrelated and the topic is worthy of fuller study, but once again the range and variety of such manuscripts makes such a study impossible here. However, this aspect of the tradition crucially reveals that Apostolos research cannot take place in isolation from the wider study of Byzantine liturgical and biblical codices.

The Apostolos is closely related to and, it will be argued, often prepared from the minuscule continuous text Praxapostolos tradition, which consists of manuscripts containing some or all of the following works: Acts, Pauline Epistles, Pastoral Epistles, Catholic Epistles. Some Praxapostoloi contain lection apparatus which served at least two purposes: to enable the liturgical recitation of Scripture from the codex itself; to enable the production of Apostolos codices from the apparatus contained therein.<sup>26</sup> If attention is focussed on codices dated from 1000-1399 A.D., according to the *Liste* search tools there are 180 catalogued minuscule manuscripts containing text from Acts.<sup>27</sup> If Romans is taken as representative of the presence of Pauline material in minuscules there are 110 such manuscripts catalogued. Of course, it is not known what proportion of Byzantine minuscules are no longer extant and there are also manuscripts yet to be catalogued in terms of lection contents. Additionally, the *Liste* often does not contain adequate descriptions of the work-content of NT codices. These three factors suggest that the actual number of Praxapostolos manuscripts is considerably higher. However, since the purpose

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<sup>24</sup> In his discussion of the Latin Western liturgical-biblical tradition van Liere writes that “[a]lthough a lectionary, strictly speaking, was not a bible, we can see that the line between bibles and liturgical books was sometimes a thin one.” This distinction holds even less for the Byzantine tradition in which arrangements of Apostolos pericopae permeate the margins of apparently “non-liturgical” manuscripts (see discussion Introduction below, and Chapter 4 below) and in which Lectionary manuscripts function as the normative public Scripture for monastic institutions and for the laity. F. van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 29.

<sup>25</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 4-5.

<sup>26</sup> There is also the possibility that such apparatus in continuous text manuscripts allowed the private reading of the appointed liturgical pericopae in monastic institutions, but there is little textual evidence of this practice.

<sup>27</sup> *Liste Handschriften* [online] <http://intf.uni-muenster.de/vmr/NTVMR/ListeHandschriften.php> [accessed 30/06/2015]

of this investigation is to calculate the proportion of Praxapostolos manuscripts likely to contain lection apparatus we may take 180 entries as a representative sample.<sup>28</sup> The following continuous text codices contain lection apparatus either in tables, ἀρχαί and τέλη (boundary markers) or identifiers:<sup>29</sup>

- 30001 (Basel Univ. Libr. AN IV 2) (XII): ἀρχαί and τέλη
- 30006 (Paris BnF Gr. 112) (XIII): ἀρχαί and τέλη
- 30018 (Paris BnF Gr. 47) (XIV): ἀρχαί and τέλη; identifiers
- 30035 (Coislin Gr. 199) (XI): ἀρχαί and τέλη; identifiers
- 30043 (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 8409, 8410) (XI): identifiers
- 30051 (Oxford Bodleian Laud. Gr. 31) (XIII): lection tables; identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη
- 30062 (Paris BnF Gr. 62) (XIV); identifiers
- 30081 (Greek Patriarchate Alexandria MS 59; London BL Add. 20003) (1044); ἀρχαί and τέλη; identifiers
- 30088 (Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III" Ms. II. A. 7) (XII): identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη
- 30103<sup>30</sup> (Moscow State Historical Museum V. 96, S. 347) (XII): lection tables
- 30104 (London BL Harley 5537) (XI): identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη
- 30105 (Oxford Bodleian Auct. T. inf. 1. 10) (XII): lection tables; identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη
- 30110 (London BL Harley 5778) (XII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη
- 30141 (Vat. Gr. 1160) (XIII): lection tables; lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη
- 30177 (Munich BSB Cod.graec. 211) (XI): lection identifiers
- 30180 (Vatican Borg. gr. 18 ff. 1-238) (XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη
- 30201 (London BL Add. 11837) (XIV): lection tables; identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη
- 30204 (Bologna Univ. Libr.) (XIII/XIV): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη
- 30206 (London Lambeth 1182) (XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη
- 30218 (Vienna Austr. Nat. Libr. Theol. gr. 23, NT: ff. 486-623) (XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη
- 30226 (Biblioteca de El Escorial X. IV. 17) (XII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

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<sup>28</sup> According to Parker there are 2820 extant minuscule manuscripts in total, with Praxapostoloi less numerous than Gospel codices. D.C. Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 40-41.

<sup>29</sup> This is based on my own extensive examination of manuscripts as well as information provided by the *Liste*. The term "lection identifiers" is here used to mean any paratext which indicates the presence of a lection or draws the user's attention to a lection incipit or boundary.

<sup>30</sup> Minuscule 103 is a commentary or catena manuscript.



30234 (Copenhagen Royal Libr. GKS 1322, 4°) (XIII): lection tables; lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30256<sup>31</sup> (Paris BnF Armen. 27 [9]) (XI/XII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30321 (London BL Harley 5557) (XII): lection tables; lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30330 (St Petersburg Russian Nat. Libr. Gr. 101) (XII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30367 (Florence Bib. Medicea Laurenziana Conv. Soppr. 53) (XIV): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30378 (Oxford Bodleian E. D. Clarke 4) (XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30383 (Oxford Bodleian E. D. Clarke 9, fol. 1-181) (XIII): lection identifiers

30424<sup>32</sup> (Vienna Austr. Nat. Libr. Theol. gr. 302, ff. 1-353) (XI): lection tables; lection identifiers

30429 (Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bib. Codd. Aug. 16.7.4°, ff. 1-185) (XIV): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30431 (Straßburg Priesterseminar 1) (XII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30436 (Uppsala Univ. Library Gr. 1, ff. 3-182) (XIII): lection tables; lection identifiers

30451 (Vatican Reg. gr. Pii II 50) (XII): lection identifiers

30459 (Bib. Medicea Laurenziana Pluteo IV. 32) (XI): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30460<sup>33</sup> (Venice Bib. Naz. Marciana Gr. Z. 11 (379)) (XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30465 (Paris Bib. Nat. Gr. 57) (XI): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30506 (Oxford Christ Church Wake 12) (XI): lection tables; lection identifiers

30614 (Bib. Ambrosiana E. 97 sup.) (XIII): lection tables; lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30623 (Vat. gr. 1650) (XI): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30642 (London Lambeth 1185) (XIV): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30665 (Oxford Bodleian Auct. F. 6. 24) (XIII): lection tables; lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30676 (Münster Bibelmuseum MS. 2) (XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30824 (Grottaferrata Monastery A. a. 1) (XIV): lection tables; lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30876 (Ann Arbor MS. 16) (XII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

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<sup>31</sup> Minuscule 256 is a diglot Greek-Armenian Praxapostolos and therefore its lection apparatus is worthy of further research, especially in analysis of the Byzantine and Armenian Lectionary traditions.

<sup>32</sup> Minuscule 424 is a commentary or catena manuscript.

<sup>33</sup> Minuscule 460 is a polyglot Greek-Latin-Arabic manuscript in three columns, with Greek lection identifiers in the right-hand margin of Romans (f.284).

30915 (Bib. de El Escorial T. III. 12) (XIII): lection tables; lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30945 (Athos Dionysiu 37) (XI): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30996 (Athos Iviron 28) (XIV): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

30999 (Athos Iviron 31) (XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31072 (Athos Lavra G80) (XIII): lection tables

31094 (Athos Panteleimonos 29) (XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31140 (Athos Esphigmenu 67, ff. 1-208) (1242): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31241 (Sinai Gr. 260) (XII): lection identifiers

31251 (Sinai Gr. 270) (XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31270 (Modena Bib. Estense G. 71, a.W.2.7 [II C 4]) (XI): lection tables; identifiers

31315 (Jerus. Orth. Pat. Taphu 37) (XII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31359 (Paris BnF Suppl. Gr. 1335) (XII): ἀρχαί and τέλη

31398 (Athos Pantokratoros 56) (XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31448 (Athos Lavra A' 13) (XII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31501 (Athos Lavra A' 79) (XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31503 (Athos Lavra A' 99) (XIV): lection tables; identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31505 (Athos Lavra B 26) (XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31563 (Athos Vatopedi 929) (XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31597 (Athos Vatopedi 966) (XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31609 (Athos Lavra A' 90) (XIII): lection tables; lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31642 (Athos Lavra L' 128) (XIII): lection identifiers

31732 (Athos Lavra A' 91) (XIV): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31733 (Athos Lavra B' 5) (XIV): lection tables; lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31740 (Athos Lavra B' 80) (XII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31746 (Athos Lavra W' 114) (XIV): lection tables; lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31795 (NY Morgan 714; Sofia Centre Byz. Slav. 369) (XII): lection tables; lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31828 (Athens Nat. Libr. 91) (XI): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31831 (Athens Nat. Libr. 119) (XIV): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31832 (Athens Nat. Libr. 89) (XIV): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31842 (Vat. gr. 652) (XIII/XIV): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

31890 (Jerus. Orth. Pat. Taphu 462) (XIV): lection tables; lection identifiers

31897 (Jerus. Orth. Pat. Stavru 57) (XII/XIII): lection tables; lection identifiers

32005 (Bib. de El Escorial Y. III. 2) (XIII): lection identifiers

32086 (Sinai Gr. 278) (XIV): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

32374 (Baltimore Walters Art Museum MS. W. 525) (XIII/XIV): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη  
 32412 (Chicago Uni. Libr. Goodspeed 922) (XII): lection identifiers  
 32431 (Athos Kavsokalyvia 4) (XIV): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη  
 32554<sup>34</sup> (Bucharest Rom. Academy 3/12610): lection tables; lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη  
 32805 (Athens Studitu 1) (XII/XIII): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη  
 32918 (Vatican Borg. gr. 18 ff. 239-444) (1273): lection identifiers; ἀρχαί and τέλη

There are 84 such manuscripts in total, 46.7% of the *Liste* sample of Praxapostolos codices. This evidence counts against the argument that Apostolos manuscripts are seldom prepared from continuous text manuscripts, or the related argument that a type of NT and liturgical text passed from a select number of early Praxapostolos *Vorlagen* into the Lectionary and was subsequently transmitted from Lectionary to Lectionary manuscript. On the contrary, the number of codices containing lection apparatus as well as the chronological and geographical distribution suggests that the opposite is the case. It was quite common, if not the norm, for the Apostolos manuscript to be prepared from a Praxapostolos. In fact, there are so many Praxapostolos codices possessing lection apparatus of some kind that it is obvious many also had a liturgical function. Many such manuscripts are Tetraevangelion-Praxapostolos codices, suggesting that the production of an Evangelio-Apostolos (EA) Lectionary would have been possible from one such codex. The Apostolos researcher should expect to find elements of a continually changing and evolving manuscript tradition, both in NT and liturgical text, and not simply a static tradition transmitting text and rubrics from the pre-tenth century period of initial formation.

The last time the Apostolos was subject to any extended research was by Ericsson and Cocroft in the wake of the *Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament* at the University of Chicago, which ran from 1933 onwards.<sup>35</sup> It is surprising that these

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<sup>34</sup> Minuscule 2554 is an illuminated codex and therefore may be demonstrably related to another manuscript.

<sup>35</sup> D.E. Ericsson, *The Book of Acts in the Greek New Testament*. (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Chicago, 1961); R.E. Cocroft, *A Study of the Pauline Lessons in the Matthaean Sections of the Greek Lectionary*. [Studies and Documents 32] (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1968). See Chapter 1, Section II, pages 26-31.

authors did not pay attention to the number of continuous text codices containing lection apparatus. While the technical constraints of the period made analysis of such a large number of manuscripts difficult, even within the limited number of manuscripts surveyed there is little evidence of engagement with other codex types. This insight is crucial to the analysis offered in the chapters that follow.

There are several points of terminology in need of clarification. ‘Apostolos’ is used to refer both to the individual manuscript and to the wider tradition. ‘Praxapostolos’ is used to refer to continuous text manuscripts containing the Acts and Epistles although, as observed above, such manuscripts may also contain extensive apparatus for liturgical recitation.

Throughout this thesis, the terms ‘lection’ and ‘anagnosma’ are used interchangeably to refer to the extracts of biblical text presented for liturgical recitation in the Apostolos, the plural being ‘lections’ and ‘anagnosmata’ respectively. The arrangement of lections presented in any given codex is referred to as its lection or anagnostical system or arrangement. Basic terminology used for the Synaxarion lection system is as follows: ‘esk’ (ἐβδομάδες/σαββατοκυριακαί) describes an Apostolos manuscript containing lections for weekdays and Saturday/Sunday and ‘sk’ (σαββατοκυριακαί) describes a manuscript containing lections for Saturday and Sunday only. However, this is approximate since the exact lection system in the various parts of the Synaxarion varies from codex to codex.<sup>36</sup> The term ‘reading’ as a noun is reserved for the state of text or variants present in the biblical or liturgical text of a manuscript.

In the discussion of ‘lection numbers’ present in some codices,<sup>37</sup> Greek numerals are presented in the transcription tags [num][/num] recommended by the International Greek New Testament Project (IGNTP).<sup>38</sup> Other features such as marginal text, illegible text or corrections are also presented in tags according to IGNTP guidelines, and these are described where relevant in the thesis.

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<sup>36</sup> For further discussion of lection system nomenclature see Chapter 2, Section IIIa, pages 83-86.

<sup>37</sup> See Chapter 3, Section Vb, pages 166-171.

<sup>38</sup> R. Kevern, M. L. Lakmann, M.B. Morrill, and D.C. Parker. *IGNTP-INTF guidelines for the transcription of manuscripts using Unicode. Manual. International Greek New Testament Project - Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster*. (2011: Unpublished) [online] <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1482/>

Where an Apostolos is recorded as a NT textual witness, for instance in the data set out in Appendices 2 and 3 and in certain tables, the witness is identified according to the INTF VMR number e.g., 40156. In contrast, for ease of reading Apostolos manuscripts discussed in the main body of the text are identified by the siglum L e.g., L156.

UBS GNT<sup>4</sup> is cited throughout the thesis and in the data provided as this was the current edition at the time when the research was conducted.<sup>39</sup> Since the Lectionary witnesses included in the critical apparatuses of GNT<sup>4</sup> and GNT<sup>5</sup> do not differ in Acts and the Pauline corpus this does not impact upon the relevance of the results.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> B. Aland, K. Aland, I. Karavidopoulos, C.M. Martini, and B.M. Metzger eds. *The Greek New Testament*. (4<sup>th</sup> rev. ed.) (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012).

<sup>40</sup> B. Aland, K. Aland, I. Karavidopoulos, C.M. Martini, and B.M. Metzger eds. *The Greek New Testament*. (5<sup>th</sup> rev. ed.) (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2014).

## II. Research Questions and Thesis Outline

This thesis focusses on the text of Acts and Paul as transmitted in the Apostolos tradition. In order to do justice to this tradition, equal attention must be given to each aspect: the NT text and its relationship to the wider textual tradition, and liturgical text and its relationship to liturgy and theology. It is hoped that the title and contents of this study reflect this reality, avoiding the twin pitfalls of either treating the Apostolos as a mere vessel for transmitting NT text or else viewing it as an arcane Byzantine tradition unworthy of the attention of biblical scholarship. Lectionary research requires a critical synthesis of textual criticism, liturgical studies, Byzantine history and codicology. This synthesis is difficult to achieve because few scholars are, by nature, conversant in all of these disciplines. The present writer is no exception, but it is hoped that by attempting such a synthesis one may interact with other researchers who have attempted this and pave the way for future methodologies which will be fruitful in Lectionary research.

In everything that follows the question of the 'Lectionary text' takes centre stage. As alluded to above and discussed in the chapter which follows, the 'Lectionary text' view may be broadly defined as the theory that the Lectionary witnesses transmit a common text, distinguished from the wider NT textual tradition by variant readings and adaptations, which may be traced to an earlier *Vorlage*. On this view, the text of Acts and Paul transmitted by Middle and Late Byzantine Lectionary witnesses would lead us to such a textual archetype or archetypes, or at least provide evidence sufficient for a scholarly reconstruction of earlier stages in the tradition. A related view, often advocated in codicology and historical discussion of the Lectionary, is that the liturgical texts and anagnostic arrangements presented by later Byzantine Lectionary manuscripts may lead back to a liturgical archetype, allowing researchers to trace the origins of the Lectionary system.

While each chapter in this study approaches the Apostolos from a different perspective, each views the evidence through the lens of this question. In order to test the validity of archetypal theories all the evidence must be examined, separately and in synthesis, in light of this question. What does each piece of evidence suggest about the way in which NT and liturgical text came to be present in each manuscript? Do the patterns of copying, variation, commemoration, liturgical use, storage, textual transmission and theological

reflection reveal a tradition traceable to earlier centuries, or something different? It will be argued that the Apostolos tradition is in fact a biblical-liturgical synthesis completed in the tenth century, echoing earlier textual and liturgical traditions but not carrying them into later centuries. Are the NT and liturgical traditions of the Apostolos homogeneous or do they exhibit a degree of continued variation, evolution and flux? In the present thesis it is argued that, far from being homogeneous, the Apostolos tradition contains much textual and liturgical variation. It may be objected that placing the 'Lectionary text' question in the centre contradicts the interdisciplinary approach, prioritising text-critical goals at the expense of others. However, as will be seen, answering the 'Lectionary text' question necessitates the opening up of many other avenues of research that liberate the manuscript tradition from a narrow textual criticism and open it up to new possibilities.

Chapter 1 discusses the Apostolos in past and present scholarship. First, the discussion introduces the place of Apostolos scholarship within the wider study of the Greek Lectionary, which includes the Gospel Lectionary and OT Lectionaries. Next, the discussion moves on to the three key disciplines in which the Apostolos has been researched: NT textual criticism; art history/codicology and liturgical studies. Attention is drawn to the key themes in each discipline, the commonalities and differences in the manner in which each discipline approaches the manuscript tradition. Each theme will be analysed critically. The key research question of this chapter may be summarised as: 'what methodologies are effective for studying the Apostolos tradition?'. As suggested above, the chapter traces the key arguments and historical factors which have caused the dominance of archetypal 'Lectionary text' approaches to the Lectionary, and therefore the Apostolos, and questions this dominant narrative. Chapter 1 concludes with a survey of the place of Apostolos witnesses in some printed editions of the Greek NT. Throughout the chapter, attention is drawn to the relative paucity of previous Apostolos scholarship and its limitations and an attempt is made to advocate an interdisciplinary approach to the corpus.

Chapter 2 examines the sources for the study of the Apostolos. The chapter begins in Section I with an exploration of references to the Apostolos in Byzantine sources outside the manuscript tradition itself. Here the central research questions include: 'how do Byzantines represent and reflect upon the Apostolos manuscript?'; 'what historical evidence is there for the use, copying and storage of Apostolos and Praxapostolos

manuscripts?'; 'how does the Apostolos relate to Liturgy in Byzantium?'. Section II of Chapter 2 discusses the criteria for selecting a sample of Apostolos manuscripts in the present study. Attention is drawn to the advantages and disadvantages of following the criteria set out by previous researchers. Section III moves on to a discussion of the manuscript sample. Exceptional features of various codices in the sample are discussed. The key research question is 'what can direct study of Apostolos manuscripts reveal about the tradition?'. Section IV concludes the chapter with an examination of the continuous text sources examined for the present thesis and how these complement and shed light upon the Apostolos sample.

Chapter 3 focusses on the text-critical aspect of Apostolos research. Section I deals with the selection of test passages and sources of textual investigation proper to the Apostolos tradition. Section II discusses a selection of test passages and determines the relationship of the Apostolos text found in the Synaxarion to that of the wider NT textual tradition. Is there a 'Lectionary text'? How do Apostolos witnesses relate to Byzantine minuscule witnesses, earlier Byzantine textual traditions, earlier manuscript witnesses and patristic traditions? How might the textual tradition of Acts and Paul in the Apostolos be characterised in relation to the 'Byzantine' textual tradition? How do the Byzantine printed editions, and the *Ausgangstext* represented by NA28, relate to Acts and Paul in the Apostolos? Section IV explores the NT textual grouping of Apostolos witnesses. Are there identifiable groups of Apostolos witnesses? How do these relate to alleged Byzantine sub-groupings or recensional centres? What does this reveal about the circulation and copying of Apostolos manuscripts in Byzantium and its milieu? Once again, analyses of liturgical and biblical text cannot be separated and Section V examines variation in the liturgical text of the Synaxarion, including anagnostic numbering and lection identifiers. The key question here is whether there are common patterns between NT and liturgical textual variation.

Chapter 4 moves beyond a text-critical focus and into a study of the Apostolos corpus and its paratextual, palaeographical and codicological features. Key research questions in this chapter include: 'what size are Apostolos codices?'; 'how are Apostolos codices copied, in what scribal hands, and with what degree of skill?'; 'which scripts and hands are used for which texts?'; 'what codex types are there?'; 'how much variation is there in the arrangement of Acts and Epistles sections of the anagnostic cycle?'; 'how many



Apostolos codices contain notation to aid liturgical recitation and what is the significance of this feature of the tradition?'. Each of these questions is set within the wider research context set out above. If there are few deluxe Apostolos manuscripts, how does this relate to the theological significance accorded to them in Byzantine sources (Chapter 1)? If different hands are used for NT and liturgical texts, does this suggest that texts were copied from multiple sources? How widely applicable are such conclusions? How often can evidence be found that one Apostolos was copied from another, or from continuous text sources? Section IX of Chapter 4 examines patterns of anagnosma variation in the Synaxarion and what this means for the Apostolos tradition, its transmission and origins. As in Chapter 3, this involves continual comparison with continuous text evidence, this time from the lection tables of Praxapostolos codices in order to determine their relationship to lection boundary variation in the Apostolos. Section X concludes the chapter with an examination of the correction patterns in Apostolos codices. What do these patterns reveal about the liturgical use of Apostolos codices and Byzantine bibliographic practice in relation to this tradition?

Chapter 5 concentrates exclusively on the Menologion, discussing patterns of textual variation (Sections I and II) and festal commemoration variation (III). In the text-critical discussions the research questions regarding the place of the Apostolos in the NT tradition are repeated, albeit from a different perspective. Here the purpose is not only to relate the text of Acts and Paul in the Lectionary to the NT textual tradition, but also to compare and contrast the text(s) transmitted by the Synaxarion and Menologion sections of Apostolos witnesses. Does this evidence suggest a 'Lectionary text' model of transmission? Key research questions in Section III include: 'what do patterns of festal commemoration reveal about the copying, storage, production and provenance of Apostolos codices?'; 'what sources were festal commemorations drawn from?'; 'how does festal commemoration variation in the Apostolos relate to NT textual variation?'; 'are there identifiable textual groupings from recensional or monastic centres and do these correlate with groupings identified for the Synaxarion in Chapter 3?'. In answering these questions, the chapter builds on lines of enquiry opened in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. Once again, each of these lines of enquiry is directed towards answering the critical question of the 'Lectionary text'/archetypal theories of liturgical and NT transmission.

## 1. THE APOSTOLOS IN PAST AND PRESENT SCHOLARSHIP

### I. The Apostolos and Lectionary Studies

The vast majority of research on the Greek Lectionary has been directed towards the Gospel tradition. Several factors have resulted in this state of affairs. First, these manuscripts are more numerous. Second, it has been convenient to make individual studies of each Gospel, rendered logical by the structure of the Byzantine lection system itself. Third, the Apostolos tradition has – to some degree correctly – been viewed as derivative from the Gospel Lectionary in structure and origin and therefore neglected. Until the late twentieth century, the primary concern of textual critics was to discover and reconstruct the earliest (or ‘original’) text of the NT. It was widely hypothesised that Gospel Lectionary manuscripts would preserve earlier texts. Underlying this theory were three key assumptions: that the Gospel Lectionary was the product of a recension predating the earliest extant (majuscule) witnesses of that tradition; that one Lectionary manuscript was copied to another; and that the scribal practices of Byzantine copyists were inherently conservative. As a result, it was believed that lections present in later manuscripts might preserve earlier readings. The Chicago *Studies* conceived of this in terms of the traditional language of text-types: Lectionary manuscripts contained a shared text which, while reflecting the Koine or Byzantine text of later centuries, preserved Alexandrian or Caesarean readings. There was little attempt to discover how the Apostolos tradition might affect this view of the Greek Lectionary or to theorise regarding its text and origins. Finally, the fields of Byzantine and liturgical studies were nascent until the twentieth century, meaning that research into the ‘paratextual’ features of the Lectionary remained of secondary importance.

In this introduction to the Apostolos tradition in previous and current scholarship, a number of key questions come to the fore. How do textual scholars, art historians, Byzantinists and codicologists view the Apostolos tradition? What methodologies are employed in the study of this tradition? To what extent has research focussed on text and non-textual issues? Which codices have been studied and in what detail? What are the main methodological trends in Apostolos research and how do they affect the results of each study? These questions are asked with a view to discovering the strengths and weaknesses of each approach and the validity of each study for current and future

research. The interaction of these questions with the closely related field of Gospel Lectionary research is addressed when necessary. It is neither possible nor useful to replicate the histories of Gospel Lectionary research which have already been produced other than to refer to debates and developments which impact directly on the present subject. Some of these areas of interaction include: where manuscripts contain both Gospel and Apostolos lections; where a major methodological development has been made in Gospel research which impacts on present study; when a particular codex has been identified which may shed light on an aspect of the Apostolos tradition.

## II. The Apostolos in Textual Scholarship

Gregory examines over 300 Apostolos codices in his major work on NT textual criticism.<sup>41</sup> Gregory also provides an overview of the lections in the Synaxarion and Menologion sections of the Byzantine Lectionary for which he uses several manuscripts as well as previous edited sources, the most prominent for the Synaxarion being those of Scholz and von Matthäi.<sup>42</sup> Gregory appears to consult codices independently of editorial sources. One is Evl. 32 (Gotha, Landesbibliothek Memb. I 78), now designated L32 and dated to the eleventh century.<sup>43</sup> The other is Evl. 292 (Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale L11), now designated L292 and identified as a palimpsest majuscule Lectionary dated to the ninth century.<sup>44</sup> Gregory's work forms the basis for later editorial collations of Apostolos anagnostic arrangements. Gregory acknowledges the terminological distinction between the continuous text *πραξαπόστολος* and the *ἀπόστολος* as a Lectionary codex and comments on the difference in terms between Western European scholarship and Greek usage.<sup>45</sup>

Scrivener's discussion of the Greek Lectionary in his *Plain Introduction* refers to the Apostolos tradition several times. In his discussion of the distinction between Gospel and Apostolos codices, Scrivener writes that the "general name of Lectionary is often, though incorrectly confined to the latter class."<sup>46</sup> The origin of this counter-intuitive assumption is unclear, since the majority of editors use the terms 'Lectionary' and 'Gospel Lectionary' synonymously. Scrivener also is aware of possible 'interpolations' into the continuous NT text from Apostolos lectionaries. Examples include the presence of *ἀδελφοὶ* or *τέκνον Τιμόθεε* in the continuous text of 2 Timothy 4:5 as well as "a peculiarity of style kept out of sight by the addition of *Χριστὸς* in the common text of 1 Thess ii:19; iii:13; 2 Thess i:8, 12."<sup>47</sup> Scrivener believes that the clarifying Byz reading *κρατοῦντος δὲ τοῦ ἰαθέντος χωλοῦ* (Acts 3:11) - found in the majority of continuous text

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<sup>41</sup> C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*. Vol. 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs', 1900), 465-478.

<sup>42</sup> I.M.A Scholz, *Novum Testamentum Graece*. (Leipzig: Fleischer, 1830); C.F. von Matthäi, *Novum Testamentum Graece*. (Ronneburg, 1807).

<sup>43</sup> Gregory, *Textkritik*, 343.

<sup>44</sup> *Liste Handschriften* [online] <http://intf.uni-muenster.de/vmr/NTVMR/ListeHandschriften.php> [accessed 09/09/14]

<sup>45</sup> Gregory, *Textkritik*, 355.

<sup>46</sup> F.H.A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*. (4<sup>th</sup> ed.) (London: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1883), 74.

<sup>47</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 12.

minuscule manuscripts – is caused by “several words . . . inserted or substituted in order to suit the purpose of public reading”<sup>48</sup> suggesting a Lectionary origin for a widely attested continuous text reading.

The bulk of Scrivener’s work on the Apostolos tradition consists of collating and comparing the lection systems of individual codices and cataloguing the manuscripts themselves. On the subject of lections, Scrivener is aware of liturgical and geographical variations in the Menologion sections of Lectionary codices, so that “the character of the menology . . . will often guide us to the country and district in which the volume itself was written.”<sup>49</sup> Following scribal usage, Scrivener also proposes that the terms *Συναξάριον* and *Εκλογάδιον* are used in a closely related manner to “a table of daily lessons for the year beginning at Easter” which vary less than the Menologial anagnostic system.<sup>50</sup> In total Scrivener catalogues 288 “Lectionaries containing the Apostolos or Praxapostolos”,<sup>51</sup> though his system is complicated by the fact that the same NT codex can be assigned separate numbers in multiple catalogues according to its contents i.e., an *Evangelio-Apostolos* can appear twice.<sup>52</sup>

Several codices catalogued by Scrivener and not included in the current manuscript selection are noteworthy, since he does not exclude codices with select or alternative lection systems from his list. This includes a number of ‘Apostolos’ manuscripts with liturgical or OT content or which blur the boundaries of codex classification e.g., the MS Mosc. Typogr. Syn. 31, dated to 1116, containing “a few lections from 1 John at the end of lections from the Old Testament”<sup>53</sup> and “(Evst. 290) Lond B-C. III. 44 . . . a *Typicum* [Τυπικὸν] in two separate hands, [which] contains twenty-nine lessons: viz. eleven from the Old Testament, six from the Apocrypha, two from the Gospels . . . [and] ten from St. Paul’s Epistles.”<sup>54</sup> Rom. Barberini 18 is a palimpsest said to contain “Lessons from the

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<sup>48</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 76. On this issue the editors of GNT4 concur: “The reading κρατοῦντος δὲ τοῦ ἰαθέντος χωλοῦ (P S most minuscules, followed by the Textus Receptus), which identifies the colorless αὐτοῦ of the earlier witnesses, is obviously a secondary development, probably connected with the beginning of an ecclesiastical lection at this point.” B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, (2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed.) (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 269.

<sup>49</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 77.

<sup>50</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 77.

<sup>51</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 368-376.

<sup>52</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 78.

<sup>53</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 368.

<sup>54</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 371.

Old Testament, with a few from the Catholic Epistles at the end.”<sup>55</sup> Another palimpsest (Evan. 561) dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> or ninth century is said by Scrivener to be “written over the Gospels and table of Lessons, and containing Rom xv. 30-33 [AP10G]; 1 Cor iv. 9-13 [AP10A]; xv 42-5; 2 Cor. ix 6, 7 [Uncertain].”<sup>56</sup> Scrivener’s collation of Synaxarion and Menologion lections is drawn from eleven codices, including Lectionaries and liturgical books such as the Ευχολόγιον. The current designations and locations of these sources are set out below, while the content and provenance of each relevant manuscript is discussed later in the study of the Menologion.

<b>MS: Scrivener</b>	<b>Current ID</b>	<b>Current Location</b>
Evangelist. Arund. 547	BL Arundel 547/L183	British Library
Parham 18	BL Add MS 39600/ G-A Minuscule 912	British Library
Harl. 5598	BL Harley 5598/ L150	British Library
Burney 22	BL Burney 22/L184	British Library
Gale O. 4.22	Gale O. 4.22/L186	Trinity College, Cambridge
Christ’s Coll. Camb F. 1.8	Christ’s Coll. Camb F. 1.8	Christ’s College, Cambridge
Wake 12	Christ Church, Wake 12/G-A Minuscule 506	Christ Church, Oxford
Codex Bezae (D)	Cambridge Nn. 2. 41/G-A 05 (D)	Cambridge University Library
Apostolos B-C III.24	Paris Bib. Nat. Gr. 68/G-A Minuscule 21	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Apostolos B-C III.53	Besançon MS. 44	Bibliothèque d’étude et de conservation
Euchology B-C III.42	BL Burney 22	British Library

Table 4: Sources for Lectionary Tables in Scrivener [Source: Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, p.80]

<sup>55</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 369.

<sup>56</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 369.

Kenyon erroneously describes Apostolos manuscripts as ‘Praxapostoli’ and notes that at that time there were approximately 300 known extant Apostolos codices.<sup>57</sup> Kenyon briefly discusses the terminology of Greek Lectionaries and approves of Brightman’s view that the term ‘Evangelistarium’ (εὐαγγελιστάριον) in Byzantine manuscripts refers to the “table of lessons” rather than the codex-type.<sup>58</sup> Kenyon’s introduction to textual criticism discusses all Lectionary manuscripts under the heading of ‘minuscules’. In a statement indicative of the past approach to Lectionary research, he describes them as “a whole class of authorities . . . of less value than those [minuscules] already described, but serving to swell the total.”<sup>59</sup>

Lake erroneously believes that an Apostolos contains “a selection from the Acts.”<sup>60</sup> Lake writes of Liturgical-biblical manuscripts that “[t]hese may be conveniently termed ‘Lectionaries’, though they are strictly known by various names, according to the name of the New Testament from which they have been compiled . . . general faithfulness to an originally continuous text . . . gives to the evidence of lectionaries both its value and its limitations.”<sup>61</sup> In the introduction to the *Studies*, Colwell and Rife correctly define the ἀπόστολος as a “[l]ectionary with lections from the Acts and Epistles.”<sup>62</sup>

Ericsson’s doctoral thesis on the text of Acts in the Lectionary is one of two textual studies to focus exclusively on the Apostolos tradition.<sup>63</sup> As such, it is necessary to summarise Ericsson’s methodology, hypotheses and findings in some detail. Using the TR as his collation base, Ericsson selects 4 lections (Acts 3:19-26; 10:21-33; 12:25-13:12; 20:16-18, 28-36) in 24 Apostolos manuscripts. The lections are spread over the second, fourth, fifth and seventh weeks after Easter in the Byzantine calendar respectively, with only the final lection being for a Sunday liturgy (κυριακή ζ). Ericsson acknowledges the potential weakness of the TR as a base text, yet concludes that readings which distinguish the text

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<sup>57</sup> F.G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. (London: MacMillan and Co., 1901), 109-110.

<sup>58</sup> F.E. Brightman, “The Marginal Notes of Lections.” *Journal of Theological Studies*. Vol. 1 (3), (1900), 446-454. In fact, this is very unlikely to be correct since ‘Synaxarion’ is generally used for such tables. See below Chapters 4, Section IX, 227-237.

<sup>59</sup> Kenyon, *Handbook*, 109.

<sup>60</sup> Lake, *The Text of the New Testament*. (London: Rivingtons, 1908), 51.

<sup>61</sup> Lake, *Text*, 51.

<sup>62</sup> E.C. Colwell and J.M. Rife, “Special Uses of Terms in the Gospel Lectionary.” E.C. Colwell and D.W. Riddle eds. *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), 7.

<sup>63</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*.

of Acts in the Lectionary from the TR are of greatest interest.<sup>64</sup> “Majority variants” are then selected from the collated text of these four lections - defined as “a reading in which 50 per cent or more of the manuscripts used in this study agree against the TR”<sup>65</sup> – while minority Lectionary variants are analysed separately. For the majority variants, Tischendorf’s apparatus is used to select twenty-six instances at which there are three or more variant readings (termed ‘multiple variants’), “chosen by a random process.”<sup>66</sup> The resulting textual data is compared to the continuous text tradition via von Soden’s apparatus and textual groupings, and several other manuscripts available to Ericsson.<sup>67</sup> The use of the TR and von Soden’s groupings are methodological techniques common to the works in the *Studies*.<sup>68</sup>

Ericsson’s textual methodology is driven by his hypothesis that the Lectionary contains a homogeneous text.<sup>69</sup> His approach is indicative of this from the outset, since eight ‘randomly’ selected manuscripts are used (in the four lections) to establish what he describes as a textual ‘pattern’ - only once this pattern has been established are the remaining manuscripts collated. The Apostolos witnesses to Acts are ranked in terms of their percentage of majority and minority Lectionary variants. As a result, Ericsson is confident that his study is “representative of the Lectionary as a whole. Individual manuscripts may deviate from the standard, but the family as a group is probably adequately represented here.” The supposed homogeneity of the text – conceived of in terms of relation to the TR and von Soden’s groupings – is, in Ericsson’s words, “demonstrated in each of the tests applied to it”.<sup>70</sup> In the conclusions of his study, Ericsson states that there is a minority strain in the Apostolos text of Acts which “seems to go back to more ancient text forms than does the majority text”, and also suggests that the Menologion textual tradition differs from that of the Synaxarion.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, these aspects of the tradition are seen as subsidiary to the central conclusion, namely that one

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<sup>64</sup> “The disadvantage of using this base is that potentially significant readings in which the Lectionary agrees with TR are lost sight of.” Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 5.

<sup>65</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 6.

<sup>66</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 9.

<sup>67</sup> Ericsson notes that von Soden rarely cites ‘K’ type Byzantine witnesses in Acts and therefore supplies four majuscules supposedly of this type (H L P 049) and five minuscules. Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 14.

<sup>68</sup> A. Wikgren, “Chicago Studies in the Greek Lectionary of the New Testament.” J.N. Birdsall and R.W. Thomson eds. *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey*. (Freiburg: Herder, 1963), 99, 102, 104, 105-107.

<sup>69</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 15.

<sup>70</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 72.

<sup>71</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 72.



“may properly speak of ‘the Lectionary text’ as a distinct entity.” Ericsson believes that “the lectionaries, as a family, associate themselves most closely with von Soden’s I<sup>43</sup> group” while the minority strain is “not possible to define . . . with precision. It has both Alexandrian and Western affinities.”<sup>72</sup> The textual comparison concludes with a summary of the relationship between the ‘Lectionary text’ of Acts and its counterparts in two modern Greek editions, the Patriarchate edition (Antoniades, 1904)<sup>73</sup> and an edition of the printed Apostolos of Μιχαήλ Σαλίβερος produced in Venice from 1879 onwards (Saliberos, 1921).<sup>74</sup> Ericsson concludes that Antoniades agrees primarily with the majority Lectionary tradition and therefore rejects readings unique to the Lectionary tradition, while the Saliberos edition is regarded as having a close affinity to the TR and not “descended from the tradition represented by the Lectionary manuscripts used in this study.”<sup>75</sup> Ericsson’s conclusions regarding the Saliberos edition are largely unsubstantiated since he uses only a single lection test-passage (Acts 8:40-9:42) in comparison to one Lectionary (L809, supposedly a representative witness) to establish the nature of the Saliberos text.

Within the context of the methodological and technological limitations of the period, Ericsson’s textual study has several features to commend it. First, he makes a legitimate attempt to compare the various sub-traditions within the Apostolos codex, a feat not always attempted by other *Chicago Studies*. Second, his analysis of ‘majority’ and ‘minority’ variants in four lections is revealing of a small strand of the Apostolos textual tradition in relation to continuous text witnesses. Third, the desire to compare the texts of Apostolos witnesses to contemporary printed editions demonstrates a willingness to move beyond the TR, even if the actual methodology is lacking in this respect. Finally, the appreciation of minority/Menologial readings suggests that – despite the overarching hypothesis of a ‘Lectionary text’ – an evidence-driven approach to the Apostolos raises significant research questions regarding the ‘minority’ traditions. Even though the question about multiple states of text in the manuscript tradition is posed in terms of

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<sup>72</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 72-73.

<sup>73</sup> *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη ἐγκρίσει τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας*. (Constantinople: 1904). See I.D. Karavidopoulos, “Textual Criticism in the Orthodox Church: Present State and Future Prospects.” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, Vol.47 (1-4) (2002), 392-394.

<sup>74</sup> Μ. Ι. Σαλίβερος, εκδότης. *Ἀπόστολος ἡτοι Πράξεις καὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Καθ’ ὅλον το ἔτος ἐπ’ Ἐκκλησίας Ἀναγινωσκόμενα*. (Ἀθήνα: 1921).

<sup>75</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 71.

tradition textual groupings now widely criticised, the impetus to appreciate rather than entirely subsume textual variation is clear. Yet the limitations of the hypothesis-led approach, both in relation to the Apostolos and in the Chicago school more generally, are equally clear. Homogeneity is assumed and concluded based on a supposedly random process of variant-selection, when in fact the process of selecting lections, test passages and variants must be careful and based on some prior reasoning or evidence. Clearly the number of lections analysed is too small,<sup>76</sup> and even though a limited number of manuscripts were available they could have been more extensively collated. Insufficient evidence is given regarding the provenance, historical context or paratextual features (such as colophons or tables) of any of the manuscripts utilised in the study. More detailed analysis of the relationship between Synaxarion and Menologion data could have been undertaken even within the limited witnesses selected and this may have led to more sophisticated conclusions rather than the binary question of the existence of a single, standard text.

Finally, for all its detailed data Ericsson's study lacks terminological clarity. The text of 'the Lectionary' and that of the limited study (i.e. four Acts lections in the Apostolos) are regularly conflated and compared uncritically to the 'Lectionary text' as discovered by related but different methodologies in different portions of the Lectionary tradition (and therefore distinct codices) by other Chicago *Studies*. For instance, Bray's contemporary study of Luke in the Gospel Lectionary, which rejects some of the previous assumptions and methodologies of the *Studies*, can hardly demonstrate the same 'Lectionary text' as does Ericsson,<sup>77</sup> yet the relationship of the Apostolos 'Lectionary text' and its Gospel equivalents is never explained. One reason for this terminological and methodological confusion may be that Ericsson distils the textual tradition of Acts from the Apostolos codex as a whole. His study is therefore open to the criticism that a scholarly construct has been applied to the Apostolos tradition. This obscures the fact that Byzantine copyists produced a unified codex containing New Testament and liturgical material, which ought to be analysed as comprehensively as possible. Issues which might be paramount to

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<sup>76</sup> Ericsson even acknowledges this in a telling statement: "The sources on which this study has been based are rather meager [sic]." Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 12.

<sup>77</sup> W.D. Bray, *The Weekday Lessons from Luke in the Greek Gospel Lectionary*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959).

understanding the tradition, such as the comparative textual character of Acts and Pauline lections within the same manuscript or tradition, are therefore overlooked.

Like the textual element of his work, Ericsson's study of the paratextual/codicological features of Apostolos manuscripts is limited to the twenty-four Chicago manuscripts, examined on microfilm. There is an analysis of the arrangement of Acts anagnosmata and, drawn from this evidence, a discussion of the origins of the standard Byzantine arrangement of lections. Ericsson records minor variations in lection systems in 2/24 manuscripts (L1021, L1356) and, in keeping with his textual hypothesis, characterises the lection traditions as "rather uniform."<sup>78</sup> There is a discussion of the consecutive arrangement of Acts lections, and Ericsson concludes that the Sunday lections, containing a narrative arrangement, developed first (superseding an earlier, non-narrative system) and were joined later by the arrangements of Weekday lections.<sup>79</sup> The "dislocated lessons [lections]" are, according to this model, surviving editorial interpolations from earlier arrangements of Acts lections which the redactors of the final form were unable to remove or rearrange due to established liturgical custom.<sup>80</sup> Burns refers to a similar system of lection-extraction in the Gospels, referring to the phenomenon as "*Bahnlesung* . . . [e]xcerpts chosen in the order in which they are found in the continuous text, but each does not necessarily continue where the previous one ends."<sup>81</sup> Editorial theories dominate Ericsson's discussion of the origins of the Apostolos tradition: a "particular person, or group of persons, made a systematic effort to adapt Acts for Lectionary usage"; "the men who prepared Acts for its permanent place in the Lectionary"; "a systematic effort at some place to prepare a set of lessons."<sup>82</sup> The conclusions regarding uniformity of lection traditions are considerably weakened by the study's sample and methodology, and compounded by the attempt to draw conclusions about the whole manuscript tradition from Acts alone.

Usefully, Ericsson examines variations in the incipits of Acts lections and divides Lectionary and continuous text into 'families' according to their affinity in incipit

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<sup>78</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 43.

<sup>79</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 44.

<sup>80</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 45.

<sup>81</sup> Y. Burns, "The Historical Events that Occasioned the Inception of the Gospel Lectionary." *Internationaler Byzantinisten Kongress, Vienna*. Vol. XVI (2) (1982), 126.

<sup>82</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 44, 45, 47.

readings, providing an avenue for future research. The study of non-standard incipits is the closest Ericsson's study comes to examining the relationship between continuous text and Apostolos codices directly, rather than relying on textual data. This leads him to discover not only incipit variation but also minuscule 1838, which is a continuous text manuscript containing lection divisions, incipits and other material evidently used to prepare lectionaries.<sup>83</sup> Yet Ericsson concludes on the basis of 1838's textual character (drawn from his limited collations) that the manuscript is of little importance: once again the NT textual focus of the *Studies* means that key evidence is neglected. Indeed, little is said about the relationship between manuscripts, or manuscripts as artefacts and objects of liturgical reading, use and veneration. This is reflected in the conclusion of Ericsson's study which – on the basis of scant evidence – places the origin of Acts lections in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>84</sup>

Kubo has utilised Ericsson's textual methodology in a brief study of the text of the Catholic Letters in six Apostolos manuscripts (L147, L809, L1153, L1441, L1590 and L1294 [two lections only]).<sup>85</sup> Like Ericsson, Kubo uses the TR as a collating base and compares the Lectionary variants to a group of continuous text manuscripts selected from von Soden's apparatus ('control group').<sup>86</sup> Kubo summarises his findings in three categories: singular readings/readings not supported by control group; minority variants supported by the control group; Lectionary and non-Lectionary support for majority variants. The exact manuscripts used for the control group are, unhelpfully, not specified. In the first category, Kubo discovers 95 'genuine' (i.e. unique and not attested outside the control group) singular readings, though these are not listed. Only the genuine singular reading  $\sigma\omega\nu$  εκλεκτη for TR συνεκλεκτη (1 Pet 5:13) is mentioned, and it is not specified which of the five witnesses attests this reading.<sup>87</sup> In the second group, L1441 emerges as a unique witness from the limited collations attesting "67 of the total 137 of the non-majority variants, more than twice as many as the next one, MS 147 [L147], with 26."<sup>88</sup> In the final category Kubo defines majority variants as "those that are read at least three

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<sup>83</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 58-59.

<sup>84</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 74.

<sup>85</sup> S. Kubo, "The Catholic Epistles in the Greek Lectionary, A Preliminary Investigation." *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, Vol. 1 (1963), 65-70.

<sup>86</sup> Kubo, "Catholic Epistles", 65-66.

<sup>87</sup> Kubo, "Catholic Epistles", 66.

<sup>88</sup> Kubo, "Catholic Epistles", 67.

times by the five manuscripts studied” other than in instances where one of the manuscripts did not contain the relevant lection.<sup>89</sup>

In total Kubo discovers 108 majority variants from the TR and concludes that “the lectionary text is the closest to the K group, in fact almost one and a half times closer than to the I group, and two and two-thirds to the H group.”<sup>90</sup> The minority readings, as in Ericsson’s study, are characterised as ‘Alexandrian’ while it is suggested that there is a trend towards conforming the Lectionary text to the Byzantine standard. According to Kubo, his collations reveal two further points of interest; the poor quality of the TR as a witness to Byzantine sub-groups and that “the large percentage of readings not supported by the control group shows that the lectionary text has a small area of distinctive quality.”<sup>91</sup> In terms of paratextual/codicological study, Kubo’s study is limited to the remark that “some manuscripts did not contain all of the lections . . . [e]specially I Pe 5 : 6-14, 2 Pe I : 10-19, and I Jn I : 1-7”.<sup>92</sup> The total usefulness of Kubo’s study to current research is severely limited by his failure to provide an apparatus, or even a list of witnesses, for each of his textual groups. As a result of this oversight, it is difficult to pursue his lines of enquiry. While it is helpful to know, for instance, that L1441 is potentially distinctive, the actual data would contextualise this statement and make a clearer evaluation possible. Furthermore, like Ericsson’s study, Kubo’s suffers from the methodological issues related to the use of the TR and von Soden’s textual groupings. The lack of detailed data means that one has to navigate von Soden’s apparatus to understand even the summary which Kubo gives of the relationship between the ‘Lectionary text’ of the Catholic Letters and the control group. This limitation would not exist if the Lectionary and continuous text witnesses to each reading were set out clearly.

The second Apostolos study to take place in the wake of the *Studies* is that of Cocroft on the Pauline lections in the Matthaean (Pentecost-Holy Cross) section of the Synaxarion.<sup>93</sup> Unlike Ericsson, Cocroft devotes a section of his work to documentary study of the Apostolos manuscripts in his sample, including the following codices examined in the

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<sup>89</sup> Kubo, “Catholic Epistles”, 68.

<sup>90</sup> Kubo, “Catholic Epistles”, 69.

<sup>91</sup> Kubo, “Catholic Epistles”, 70.

<sup>92</sup> Kubo, “Catholic Epistles”, 65.

<sup>93</sup> Cocroft, *Pauline Lessons*.

present thesis: L170, L809, L1141, L1364, L1439, L1440, L1442, and L1596.<sup>94</sup> In order to select lections for collation, Cocroft creates a series of charts detailing the portions of each NT work presented in lections in the Pentecost-Holy Cross period which he labels the “textual sequence”.<sup>95</sup> These provide him with evidence for a discussion of the structure of Pauline lections, though this is badly limited by the exclusive use of Gregory’s editorial representation of the standard ‘Byzantine’ lection system.<sup>96</sup> While the descriptions of Apostolos codices exhibit sensitivity to lection systems and palaeographical features, no attempt is made to draw links between this data and the continuous text manuscript tradition. As a result, Cocroft agrees with Ericsson in attributing the origin of the lection systems to early editorial activity: “the primary consideration of those who drew up the lectionary sequence was to choose lessons in a manner that the chronological and textual orders coincided.”<sup>97</sup>

Once the structure of the Pentecost-Holy Cross period is outlined, Cocroft narrows the sample of lections for collation to those in the seven weeks following Pentecost, deemed “sufficiently large . . . to yield conclusions likely to hold true for the rest of the Pauline lessons”.<sup>98</sup> These lections are collated against Scrivener’s TR and yield 7647 variant readings.<sup>99</sup> The term ‘variant reading’ is given no definition other than to note that “all variant readings, no matter how insignificant were listed.”<sup>100</sup> All the variants discovered in the Lectionary sample are used to construct a “composite collation” which Cocroft believes “may be considered the lectionary text of the lessons collated.”<sup>101</sup> The study then moves to a comparison of this composite ‘lectionary text’ to three main text-types. The  $\alpha$  ‘Byzantine’ text is represented by 018, 020, and 049; the  $\beta$  ‘Neutral’ by P46, 01, 02, 03, and 04; and the  $\delta$  ‘Western’ by 06, 010, 012.<sup>102</sup> Cocroft concludes that “the text of the

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<sup>94</sup> Cocroft, *Pauline Lessons*, 36-64.

<sup>95</sup> Cocroft, *Pauline Lessons*, 3.

<sup>96</sup> For example, lections other than those presented in Gregory are detailed for the 2<sup>nd</sup> week after Pentecost in L1365 and L1442, but Cocroft does not investigate these further. Cocroft, *Pauline Lessons*, 66.

<sup>97</sup> Cocroft, *Pauline Lessons*, 7.

<sup>98</sup> Cocroft, *Pauline Lessons*, 65.

<sup>99</sup> Cocroft, *Pauline Lessons*, 67.

<sup>100</sup> Cocroft, *Pauline Lessons*, 68.

<sup>101</sup> Cocroft, *Pauline Lessons*, 69.

<sup>102</sup> Cocroft, *Pauline Lessons*, 70.

Pauline lessons in the Matthaean section . . . is largely Byzantine, with an insignificant amount of Neutral and Western coloring.”<sup>103</sup>

While the use of text-types can hardly be faulted given the predominant methodologies of the era, Cocroft’s construction of a ‘Lectionary text’ for this comparison is highly problematic. First, the textual sample from an extract of one portion of the lection system is too narrow to be definitive. Second, mere collation against the TR may not necessarily reveal where, if anywhere, the *Apostolos* uniquely differs from the general Byzantine textual tradition. Third, the construction of a composite text-type from all of the variant readings against the TR distorts the character of each witness and tends towards an artificial homogeneity. Witness-by-witness comparison of *Apostolos* codices to each other and to the continuous text tradition is absent, so that the exact manner in which the Pauline lections relate to the other witnesses is obscured in his analysis. Cocroft’s methodology is circular in as much as it assumes the existence of a ‘Lectionary text’ and then constructs one from all the available variants. This method makes the study difficult to use for further investigation of *Apostolos* witnesses beyond the apparatus listing variant readings in individual witnesses.<sup>104</sup>

Wikgren provides a brief analysis of the studies of both Ericsson and Kubo in his 1963 appraisal of the *Chicago Studies*. At the time of writing, Wikgren notes that “[i]n the *Apostolos* Lectionary (Acts, Catholics, Paul) virtually nothing of text study had been undertaken until quite recently.”<sup>105</sup> Much of Wikgren’s article is simply a summary of the findings of the respective theses, though at times the conclusions are extended. For example, based on Kubo’s study Wikgren writes that L1441 “appears to contain a non-lectionary text ‘contaminated’ by a lectionary in a very restricted area” since “5 of its 7 majority [continuous text] readings are in James, and 4 of them in one lection.”<sup>106</sup> Wikgren points out the shared witnesses between the two studies (L147, L809, L1153) and notes that the two latter witnesses “have a very high percentage of the majority readings, 97% and 94% respectively.”<sup>107</sup> There is an awareness that this fact, along with

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<sup>103</sup> Cocroft, *Pauline Lessons*, 93.

<sup>104</sup> Cocroft, “Appendix 3.” *Pauline Lessons*, 242-275.

<sup>105</sup> Wikgren, “Chicago Studies”, 113. According to Wikgren “much remains to be done, particularly in the *Apostolos*.” A. Wikgren, “Chicago Studies”, 96.

<sup>106</sup> Wikgren, “Chicago Studies”, 117.

<sup>107</sup> Wikgren, “Chicago Studies”, 117.

the limited number of witnesses in each study “may reinforce other findings regarding a certain homogeneity among lectionaries . . . conclusions here would depend upon comparison of more documents.”<sup>108</sup> Wikgren’s original research is his comparison of the majority Lectionary readings to the Nestle text in 1 and 2 Corinthians.<sup>109</sup> In 1 Corinthians the Nestle text agrees with genuine Lectionary majority readings in 36/170 instances, and 30 are cited in the apparatus. In 2 Corinthians 24/114 majority and minority readings (28 majority) are read by Nestle, and 20 in the apparatus. However, in Antoniades the figures are 15/42 and 11/28 respectively. The result of this comparison is that the Nestle edition is a better representative of the ‘Lectionary text’ than the Patriarchate edition.<sup>110</sup> This method of comparing contemporary texts, while crude when derived from the findings of other studies, may prove useful in current Lectionary research.<sup>111</sup>

In his conclusions on the state of Lectionary research, Wikgren summarises the different textual affinities of various portions of the ‘Lectionary text’ in traditional text-type terminology.<sup>112</sup> One of Wikgren’s remarks is particularly perceptive: “[t]his summary in terms of New Testament books must of course be taken *cum grano salis* and with differentiating emphases apropos particular lections and sections as well as majority and minority readings.”<sup>113</sup> However, this does not alter Wikgren’s view of the ‘Lectionary text’, since he concurs with the view of the *Studies* in this respect. In Wikgren’s view there was a fourth century recension of the Lectionary text which was transmitted from one witness to another, gradually (though never completely) assimilated to a Byzantine or ‘K’ type text.<sup>114</sup> However, by Wikgren’s own admission in his summary of the *Studies*’ findings, different portions of the same codices may have textual affinities with (in the terminology of the day) different text types. There is little desire on Wikgren’s part – nor on that of Ericsson or Kubo – to consider the Apostolos (or any other Lectionary) manuscript as a codex which may have several exemplars and therefore several co-

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<sup>108</sup> Wikgren, “Chicago Studies”, 117.

<sup>109</sup> It is not clear which edition was used. Unless Wikgren had advance access to the 1963 NA<sup>25</sup> then this is the text of the 24<sup>th</sup> edition. K. Aland and E. Nestle eds. *Novum Testamentum Graece*. (24<sup>th</sup> ed.) (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1960).

<sup>110</sup> Wikgren, “Chicago Studies”, 118.

<sup>111</sup> For example, this allows comparison with the apparatus studies of parallel branches of textual criticism. See e.g. “Epiphanius in the Apparatus of NA<sup>27</sup>”. C.D. Osburn, *The Text of the Apostolos in Epiphanius of Salamis*. (Atlanta: SBL, 2004), 259-268.

<sup>112</sup> So the affinity between von Soden’s I<sup>a</sup> group and the text of Paul in the Apostolos means the latter demonstrates a “Western” strain. Wikgren, “Chicago Studies”, 120.

<sup>113</sup> Wikgren, “Chicago Studies”, 120.

<sup>114</sup> Wikgren, “Chicago Studies”, 121.



existent texts, or as a tradition with a complex compositional history. Furthermore, it is difficult to understand how Wikgren could have appreciated the variety of ‘text-types’ present in the minority readings of Lectionary witnesses yet retained the notion of an over-arching ‘Lectionary text’. Wikgren makes no attempt to refine the term ‘Lectionary text’ even when it becomes clear that, strictly speaking, he uses it refer to the common readings of any group of Lectionaries in any given study. What has not been elucidated is the relationship between the majority readings of individual traditions e.g., that of the Apostolos to that of the Gospels, or the common readings of one group of witnesses with the textual tradition in general. The final point of relevance to the current study is that Wikgren mentions a research paper on Romans in the Apostolos, but this paper is no longer extant as far as the current writer can ascertain.<sup>115</sup>

Metzger offers a survey of the Greek Lectionary tradition and its contents, as well as a brief history of scholarship.<sup>116</sup> Though focussing on Gospel Lectionaries, Metzger addresses several issues which apply equally to the Apostolos. First, he discusses the problems involved in selecting and citing Lectionary manuscripts in a critical edition.<sup>117</sup> Second, he discusses the issue of presenting minor adaptations (such as incipits) in apparatus, which are present in the text of Lectionaries.<sup>118</sup> This concern is indicative of a trend towards greater appreciation of the relationship between structure, content and text on the part of textual critics.

Vaganay and Amphoux incorrectly describe the I<sup>a</sup> type Apostolos codex as an ‘Epistolary’.<sup>119</sup> They comment that “the most popular [lection] system, and probably the most recent, selects readings from the Catholic Epistles during the weeks preceding Lent. The other system, and that used on Saturdays and Sundays, only uses the Pauline Epistles which are read through more slowly.”<sup>120</sup> These statements appear to give the misleading impression that the Saturday-Sunday lection system comprehensively covers the Pauline

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<sup>115</sup> H. Scott, “The Lectionary Text of Romans.” (Chicago, 1959) cited in Wikgren, “Chicago Studies”, 117.

<sup>116</sup> B.M. Metzger, “Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition of the New Testament.” K. Aland ed. *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*. [ANTF 5] (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972), 479-497. See Postscript below, 287-288.

<sup>117</sup> Metzger, “Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition”, 491.

<sup>118</sup> Metzger, “Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition”, 494.

<sup>119</sup> L. Vaganay and C.-B. Amphoux, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*. J.K. Elliott trans. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 24.

<sup>120</sup> Vaganay and Amphoux, *Introduction*, 25.

canon. It is also unclear why Vaganay and Amphoux believe that the Lent Apostolos lections from the Catholic Letters are the most recent development, since no explanation or source is given. Duplacy is aware of the distinction between Byzantine and non-Byzantine lection systems and recommends further study of the topic.<sup>121</sup>

Birdsall examines the lection system in MS L586 (Birmingham Cod. Peckov. Gr. 7, ff. 1-3; 352-365).<sup>122</sup> L586 is the designation of the palimpsest section of minuscule 713, which contains leaves of a majuscule (sk) Apostolos manuscript dated by the Alands to the tenth century. Birdsall gives the extant portions of the lection system – which comprises both Synaxarion and Menologion lections – in full and comments on the potential value of this exercise. “Lectionaries written in majuscule are not frequent . . . [t]he data here given may contribute to the future plotting of the history of this part of the lectionary, especially for the readings of the Menologion, which seems almost untouched by previous research.”<sup>123</sup>

Osburn gives the latest summary of the state of Lectionary research, including the Apostolos.<sup>124</sup> There is a discussion of the *Studies* and the various theories regarding the origin of the Greek Lectionary tradition. On the topic of origins, Osburn soberly concludes that “too little research on has been undertaken on the lectionary text of the Gospels and apostolos in the Greek synaxarion and menologion to permit a firm conclusion on the place(s) and date(s) of origin.”<sup>125</sup> Osburn emphasises that future studies on this topic must make extensive use of Patristic references to lections and reading-traditions, a body of evidence hitherto neglected.<sup>126</sup> The growing awareness of the interdisciplinary nature of Lectionary research is evident in Osburn’s recommendation that “more work is needed on the relationship between lectionaries and the developing liturgical tradition.”<sup>127</sup> Jordan’s thesis on John in the Greek Lectionary is unfortunately

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<sup>121</sup> J. Duplacy, *Études de critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament*. J. Delobel ed. (Leuven: Peeters, 1987), 106-107.

<sup>122</sup> J.N. Birdsall, “Two Lectionaries in Birmingham.” *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. 35 (2) (1984), 448-454.

<sup>123</sup> Birdsall, “Two Lectionaries”, 450-451.

<sup>124</sup> C.D. Osburn, “The Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament.” B.D. Ehrman and M.W. Holmes eds. *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 93-114.

<sup>125</sup> Osburn, “Greek Lectionaries”, 98.

<sup>126</sup> Osburn, “Greek Lectionaries”, 109.

<sup>127</sup> Osburn, “Greek Lectionaries”, 109.

omitted from the discussion although many of Osburn's methodological recommendations are reflected in Jordan's work, especially in the latter's recommendation of an interdisciplinary approach.<sup>128</sup> The *status quaestionis* as understood by Osburn may be summarised by saying that the work of twentieth century Lectionary researchers - while making significant textual headway – mostly reveals how little is still known or understood about the tradition. In this situation the Apostolos suffers most from a lack of thorough investigation.

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<sup>128</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 77.

### III. Art History, Codicology and Liturgical Studies

Apostolos research in the related disciplines of art history and codicology has been limited by several factors. Formal illustration in Apostolos manuscripts is rare in comparison to the Gospel Lectionary codex, especially in lectionaries designed for regular liturgical use (sk, esk). Consequently, any attention devoted by Art Historians to Apostolos codices tends to be directed towards Evangelio-Apostolos manuscripts, selected on the basis of their outstanding artistic features such as miniatures or deluxe headpieces. Otherwise attention has been devoted to select or deluxe lectionaries, which are largely outside of the purview of textual scholars due to their exceptional anagnostic arrangements.

Another factor in the neglect of the the Apostolos tradition is the scant ornamentation of Apostolos codices in comparison to their Gospel Lectionary equivalents.<sup>129</sup> As explored in the investigation of Byzantine liturgical commentary on the Apostolos codex, the book itself plays a subsidiary role in the liturgy and is not ceremonially elevated. Lacking such deluxe features means that Apostolos codices are less likely to elicit the interest of scholarship, especially since high value manuscripts are often easier to date and contextualise. If the Apostolos tradition does capture the interest of codicological research it is because of a prior interest in the liturgical material found within a manuscript, or due to the relationship between the Apostolos codex and other Byzantine codices. Finally, the Apostolos has been neglected in part because past scholarship in both disciplines has demonstrated a methodological bias in favour of recensional and ‘archetypal’ theories of book production and origins.<sup>130</sup> While it is hardly possible to explore this issue in full, it is nonetheless vital to understanding previous approaches to the Apostolos both in codicology and textual studies. Essentially, the later chronology of the tradition and its apparent reliance on the Gospel-Lectionary tradition means it is potentially of less value

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<sup>129</sup> Reflected in the classic studies of Byzantine illustration. See e.g., K. Weitzmann, “Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine manuscripts.” C. Mango and I. Ševčenko eds., *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*. [Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium 1971] (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1975). 69-109. Weitzmann mentions illustration cycles from scenes in Acts in manuscripts of Cosmas Indicopleustes’ *Christian Topography*, apparently reflecting ‘an earlier stage’ of codicological development – perhaps illustrated Praxapostolos codices. Weitzmann, “Cyclic Illustration”, 106-107.

<sup>130</sup> The work of K. Weitzmann is at the centre of these methodological debates. See e.g. *Illustrations in Roll and Codex, a Study of the Origin and Method of Text-Illustration*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947). For critique of Weitzmann’s method see e.g. J. Lowden, *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992). On reception of archetypal theories M. Lyon-Dolezal, "Manuscript studies in the twentieth century: Kurt Weitzmann reconsidered." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*. Vol.22, No.1 (Jan 1998), 215 – 263.

in the search for archetypes, whether textual or visual, while the specific emphasis on discovering sources for Byzantine illuminations has resulted in the neglect of less luxurious codices.

Lyon-Dolezal's thesis on the art and text of the Greek Lectionary does not include any Apostolos codices. In her introduction Lyon-Dolezal states that "[t]he lectionary is, simply, a Gospel book",<sup>131</sup> suggesting a laxity of terminology if not understanding. In contrast to this statement, the Apostolos is briefly mentioned later on, when Lyon-Dolezal writes "those fewer lectionaries formed by the readings from the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles."<sup>132</sup> Lyon-Dolezal's main contributions to Lectionary studies in general are her historical survey of Gospel Lectionary scholarship and her innovative methods in studying the content of the εὐαγγέλιον. Since Jordan explores Lyon-Dolezal's contribution to the former in his thesis on John's Gospel,<sup>133</sup> this survey will be limited to several observations concerning her methodology.

Lyon-Dolezal is critical of early textual approaches to the 'Lectionary text' and dismisses Gregory's conclusions about the origins of the Greek lection system.<sup>134</sup> Lyon-Dolezal is also critical of the *Studies* project of establishing a single, homogeneous 'Lectionary text' and cites Pellett's study of the Holy Week lections as precedent for moving away from this assumption.<sup>135</sup> Similarly Weitzmann is heavily criticised for a 'genealogical' approach to images in the Lectionary, in imitation of the text-critical emphasis on establishing the 'original' text.

[According to Weitzmann] the image is formed of two parts, the content or iconography which is equivalent to the readings of the text and the style, the equivalent of palaeography . . . like the members of the [Chicago] lectionary project . . . Weitzmann accepted the notion that the methodology of textual criticism to which he was attracted can actually re-create a close approximation to the lost original text [. . .] All iconographic possibilities were conceived in the hypothetical archetype.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> M. Lyon-Dolezal. *The Middle Byzantine Lectionary: Textual and Pictorial Expression of Liturgical Ritual*. (University of Chicago: Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 1991), 8.

<sup>132</sup> Lyon-Dolezal, *Middle Byzantine Lectionary*, 10.

<sup>133</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 36-37.

<sup>134</sup> Lyon-Dolezal, *Middle Byzantine Lectionary*, 10.

<sup>135</sup> Lyon-Dolezal, *Middle Byzantine Lectionary*, 22-23.

<sup>136</sup> Lyon-Dolezal, *Middle Byzantine Lectionary*, 40-42.

In contrast to the dominant Weitzmann-*Studies* approach to the Lectionary, Lyon-Dolezal writes that “it is as implausible that there was an original lost illustrated Lectionary as that there was an original lost textual archetype.”<sup>137</sup> Lyon-Dolezal’s study instead focusses on the analysis of a small number of related manuscripts, she explains: “[i]t is the demonstrable diversity among lectionaries that permits a more restricted analysis of a select group of them . . . . In this manner, a better understanding of the purpose of these books and therefore the possible motivation behind the selection of their images may be attained.”<sup>138</sup> Despite her focus on images – which can hardly be relevant to the largely aniconic Apostolos tradition – Lyon-Dolezal’s approach is advantageous to Apostolos research. Once the methodology is freed from the impetus to discover an archetype, research of a Lectionary tradition is able to focus on what is discoverable from the codices such as their relationship to one another in text, images or lection systems.

Lyon-Dolezal provides an extensive collation and analysis of the lection contents of an entire manuscript (Vat. Gr. 1156) and a collation of the feasts commemorated in three entire manuscripts (Vat.Gr. 1156, Venice San Giorgio Greci. 2, Paris. Bib. Nat. Suppl. Gr. 1096).<sup>139</sup> A stated parallel to such work in earlier scholarship is Braithwaite’s article on Codex Macedonianus.<sup>140</sup> Unfortunately Lyon-Dolezal’s Menologion data, while providing the feasts commemorated in each manuscript, does not provide the lection associated with each. Nevertheless, the availability of such data means that one is able to identify geographical and chronological trends. Additionally, once such data is available in one study it can provide a basis for approaching previously under-studied codices and identifying their possible provenance. Once the data is available, each new collation of a Menologion can be added to the overall picture. Consequently, this approach can potentially provide text and art scholarship with data of increasing value over time, especially if it were to be digitally stored and searchable. Another advantage of Lyon-Dolezal’s approach compared to that of the *Studies* is that the text and lection systems of individual manuscripts can be given concentrated attention, allowing identification of exceptional and standard codices. In the case of Vat. Gr. 1156, for instance, Lyon-Dolezal

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<sup>137</sup> Lyon-Dolezal, *Middle Byzantine Lectionary*, 67.

<sup>138</sup> Lyon-Dolezal, *Middle Byzantine Lectionary*, 153.

<sup>139</sup> Lyon-Dolezal, *Middle Byzantine Lectionary*, 304-313; 314-337.

<sup>140</sup> W.C. Braithwaite, "The Lection-System of the Codex Macedonianus." *Journal of Theological Studies*. Vol. os-V, No. 18 (1904), 265-274.

concludes that “the persistent textual complexity [of the manuscript] sustains the interpretation that this lectionary was produced for a special purpose.”<sup>141</sup> In contrast, writers such as Ericsson consistently defend the homogeneity of lections and texts based on a narrow sample collated in multiple manuscripts. Lyon-Dolezal’s research demonstrates that refining the breadth and depth of a Lectionary study is essential to understanding the extant manuscript tradition. Broader studies revealing textual trends must be complemented by focussed attention on the features of individual codices. The strength of Lyon-Dolezal’s thesis is that she regards the extant manuscripts as evidence of a living Byzantine tradition rather than merely descendants of a lost archetype, a view which is influential in subsequent Lectionary research.

This shift towards an interdisciplinary and exploratory approach is exemplified by the attempt of the *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts* (CBM) to set the Apostolos manuscript tradition in its historical context. According to the CBM editors the Apostolos codex is “a recomposed Praxapostolos, in the anagnostic-liturgical (re)arrangement of Acts, Paul and the Catholic Letters.”<sup>142</sup> Additionally, “the exterior apparatus of the Praxapostolos (tables at the beginning and the end of the codex) became the basis of the interior liturgical structure of Apostolos codices.”<sup>143</sup> The project is codicological in emphasis, and the aim is to comprehensively catalogue Apostolos (and other Byzantine) manuscripts using categories and methods which serve to elucidate the connection between one Byzantine biblical-Liturgical codex and another.<sup>144</sup> “A leading idea underlying the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts Programme is that the majority of the Byzantine biblical and patristic manuscripts were intended for use in the liturgy and that, therefore, the codicological forms of these manuscripts are closely related to their liturgical function.”<sup>145</sup>

Unlike early textual studies of the Apostolos, the CBM editors are not interested in discovering an archetype for Byzantine liturgical systems. However, two works within the initial volume suggest that historical concerns are still of importance, especially where

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<sup>141</sup> Lyon-Dolezal, *Middle Byzantine Lectionary*, 252.

<sup>142</sup> K. Spronk, G. Rouwhorst and S. Royé, “The CBM Publication Plan.” K. Spronk, G. Rouwhorst and S. Royé, eds. *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in their Liturgical Context: Challenges and Perspectives*. [Subsidia 1] (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 302.

<sup>143</sup> Spronk, Rouwhorst and Royé, “Publication Plan”, 303.

<sup>144</sup> For discussion of CBM terminology with regards to Apostolos manuscripts, see Chapter 4.

<sup>145</sup> G. Rouwhorst, “The Liturgical Reading of the Bible in Early Eastern Christianity”. *CBM*, 153-171.

lection systems are concerned. Rouwhorst, for instance, offers a ‘protohistory of the Byzantine lectionary’ which is reminiscent of the *Studies* and of Metzger’s later comments.<sup>146</sup> While Rouwhorst is concerned with the history of liturgical reading, Royé writes about the evolution of liturgical codices: “how did the original codex forms evolve from liturgical practice? For which particular ascetico-liturgical ends were codices manufactured?”; “[w]hat led to the eventual re-composition of original codex forms, for instance, how did the Tetraevangelion codex evolve into the Evangelion . . . the Praxapostolos into the Apostolos[?]”<sup>147</sup> By ‘evolution’ Royé primarily means the gradual re-arrangement of corpora into new codices, and thus proposes to investigate the content of individual monastic libraries rather than harvesting manuscripts remotely (digitally, or in dislocated collections) as witnesses.<sup>148</sup>

Compared to earlier Western European scholarship, Royé’s approach has the advantage that it allows manuscripts to be studied *in situ* (of recent and historical usage, if not production). This is particularly useful when attempting to understand the liturgical function of a codex. Many of the early textual studies of the Greek Lectionary are plagued by the inability to appreciate the Byzantine character of the manuscript tradition and by the attempt to project the anagnostic arrangements in later codices back into earlier periods for which there is little evidence. However, Royé’s concept of the evolution of codices – Apostolos or otherwise – is not without issues. It may be falsely assumed that there is an underlying teleology towards the ‘final’ form of the corpus e.g., the ‘Byzantine’ lection system as opposed to local anagnostic-liturgical systems. The term ‘evolution’ also suggests that decisive recensional activity has been ruled out altogether in favour of a continuous, linear model of codex development which may not accord with historical events. In fact, Royé envisages a number of discrete stages of εὐαγγέλιον development suggesting that the term ‘evolution’ is open to misunderstanding.<sup>149</sup>

The CBM project is of more use to the present study when presenting concrete data concerning the Apostolos tradition. For example, Litsas’ study of uncatalogued Athonite

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<sup>146</sup> Metzger, “Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition”, 479-497.

<sup>147</sup> S. Royé, “The Coenobitic Τυπικόν and Principles of Liturgical Codex Composition: The Liturgical Context of the Collection of Byzantine manuscripts of Mone Karakallou.” *CBM*, 236.

<sup>148</sup> Royé, “Coenobitic Τυπικόν”, 237.

<sup>149</sup> S. Royé, “Stages in the Creation, Establishment and Evolution of Byzantine Codex Forms.” *CBM*, 75.



manuscripts (approximately 3202) is revealing,<sup>150</sup> while the editors' article states that the CBM will catalogue 319 extant Apostolos codices, one more than the current INTF *Liste* – the figure is lower than it would have been because the CBM editors exclude certain types of Apostolos codices.<sup>151</sup> Lena suggests that the MS Berat 17. (G-A 1764) may be an Apostolos manuscript because he does not possess the relevant images.<sup>152</sup> However, on closer examination (and as the G-A classification suggests) this codex is a continuous text Praxapostolos. In his work on the Coenobitic Τυπικόν in Royé utilises two Apostolos manuscripts in the collection of the Καρακάλλου monastery on Mount Athos (codices 36 and 273). The former is classed as a continuous text manuscript in the *Liste* (minuscule 1037) while the latter cannot be located in the *Liste* at all, highlighting the need for thorough cataloguing of Athonite manuscripts and revision of the *Liste* accordingly.

Recent work in codicology has emphasised the study of multiple codices from the same or close locations e.g., cities or monastic foundations. Ševčenko studies Gospel/Apostolos Lectionaries, hagiographies and theological texts produced in Arabic, Georgian and Greek at St Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai from the tenth-thirteenth centuries.<sup>153</sup> This approach sheds light on the scribal practices and linguistic abilities of monks at the foundation during this period. Ševčenko's work is designed to provide "a frame of reference for the study of the production of icons, both in terms of chronology and in terms of working methods."<sup>154</sup> However, her method and discoveries are also vital for textual criticism. By concentrating on the patterns of manuscript production over a discrete period at a certain institution, Ševčenko is able to draw conclusions which would assist in the dating and contextualisation of Sinaite manuscripts. "Much of the work done in the monastery itself in the period between the tenth and thirteenth centuries was fairly utilitarian, intended for the use of its own community and nearby metochia [dependencies]; it was executed by individuals working within the monastery, but without the apparatus of a full-scale workshop."<sup>155</sup> Several of the Sinaite Apostolos manuscripts

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<sup>150</sup> E.K. Litsas, "The Study of Mount Athos Manuscripts: Problems and Suggestions." *CBM*, 201-214.

<sup>151</sup> Spronk, Rouwhorst and Royé, "The CBM Publication Plan." *CBM*, 303.

<sup>152</sup> "There are no data on the content, so it is not possible to know if the text is presented in pericopes or if it is a continuous text." J. Lena, "The Byzantine Manuscripts in the Central State Archive of Albania (Tirana)." *CBM*, 222.

<sup>153</sup> N.P. Ševčenko, "Manuscript Production on Mount Sinai from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century" in, S.E.J. Gerstel and R.S. Nelson eds., *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 233-258.

<sup>154</sup> Ševčenko, "Manuscript Production on Mount Sinai", 243.

<sup>155</sup> Ševčenko, "Manuscript Production on Mount Sinai", 258.

in the current study certainly qualify as utilitarian, both in terms of script and in containing limited rubrication and ornamentation. Ševčenko's approach exhibits a strong contrast to that of earlier textual studies, especially the *Studies*. The former starts with what can be discovered about the history of book-production within recognisable chronological and geographical limits, while the latter samples large numbers of disparate codices in order to discover a supposedly uniform tradition. The advantage of Ševčenko's method is that it can be replicated, where possible, for other foundations and locations in the Byzantine world. A similar study is that of Peristeris on the Mar Saba Monastery, which focusses on literary and scribal activity in a number of liturgical and biblical codices.<sup>156</sup>

Understanding patterns of book production in this manner is particularly important for the vexed question of the 'Lectionary text'. The *Studies* make decisions about the copying of one Lectionary from another without consulting a sufficiently broad range of documents, and without paying attention to the actual communities in which these codices were produced and used. However, while the interdisciplinary move within codicology is a welcome development, there continues to be a lack of clarity among book historians with regards to textual issues. In the *New Cambridge History of the Bible*, for example, Parpulov states regarding the Greek Lectionary: "[v]ery few lectionaries have the exact same set of passages. At the same time, the biblical text in them shows practically no variant readings."<sup>157</sup> Clearly there is some misunderstanding here: the text of Gospel or Apostolos lections may be homogeneous in comparison to earlier states of the NT text, but is incorrect to say that the biblical text of Lectionaries shows no variation. This highlights the need for liturgical and textual scholars working on the Lectionary to be clearer about their respective methodologies and to define 'variation' in terms of the textual history of the relevant tradition, whether OT, NT or liturgical.

In the field of liturgical studies, Galadza's work on the Jerusalem Lectionary has involved the examination of Apostolos manuscripts as well as significant methodological commentary. Galadza transcribes and analyses the content of the hagiopolite (Jerusalem)

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<sup>156</sup> Archbishop A. Peristeris, "Library and Scribal Activities at the Monastery of St. Sabas" in, J. Patrich ed. *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*. (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 171-194.

<sup>157</sup> G. Parpulov, "The Bibles of the Christian East." R. Marsden and E. A. Matter, eds. *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 2 From 600 to 1450*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 317.

Evangelio-Apostolos codex Sinai Gr. N.E. MF 8 (L2212, tenth century, classified in the *Liste* as U-1+asel).<sup>158</sup> The contents of this codex are examined including seven Menologion commemorations, five of which contain Apostolos lections. While the lections are not transcribed in full, identifiers and generous incipits/explicits are included and textual variants in the NT text are footnoted.<sup>159</sup> Several of these are common orthographic variations within the Byzantine textual tradition e.g., μαχαίρης for μαχαίρας (Heb 11:37). Galadza suggests that “[n]umerous errors in the Greek text suggest the copyist was more familiar with Arabic than with Greek.”<sup>160</sup> The presentation of the transcription makes comparison with the data in this study straightforward. Therefore, Galadza’s study of L2212 provides evidence which can be incorporated into the comparison of Palestinian with Constantinopolitan or standard ‘Byzantine’ lection systems and festal commemorations. Galadza undertakes another similar study, this time focussing on the feast of St. James in Georgian, Armenian, Melkite (Byzantine Rite Catholic) and Constantinopolitan sources.<sup>161</sup> In this work Galadza draws attention to the theological causes of liturgical development and the differences between lections and dates assigned to that commemoration. The Apostolos lection for St. James varies between Gal 1:11-19 (Constantinopolitan) and Gal 1:11-20/James 1:1-12/Acts 15:13-29 (Armenian, Georgian).<sup>162</sup>

In his study on sources for the Jerusalem liturgy, Galadza draws attention to several differences between Palestinian and Constantinopolitan lection-traditions, a distinction seldom appreciated by earlier textual scholarship. Regarding these differences Galadza writes that “when Aland uses the term “jerusalemische Reihenfolge” (Jerusalem order) to label certain lectionaries, he does not elaborate upon the structure and content of this order, nor does Caspar René Gregory’s foundational *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, which presents only the Byzantine lectionary order.”<sup>163</sup> Galadza highlights the differing

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<sup>158</sup> D. Galadza, "A Greek Source of the Jerusalem Lectionary: Sinai Gr. N.E. MF 8 (10th c.)." D. Atanassova and T. Chronz eds. *SYNTAXIS KATHOLIKE. Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag*. (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2014), 213–228.

<sup>159</sup> Presumably from NA<sup>28</sup> since this is cited as the standard edition. D. Galadza, “Greek Source”, 223.

<sup>160</sup> Galadza, “Greek Source”, 218.

<sup>161</sup> Galadza, “Liturgical Byzantinization in Jerusalem: Al-Biruni’s Melkite Calendar in Context,” *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*. Vol III s. 7 (2010), 69-85.

<sup>162</sup> Galadza, “Liturgical Byzantinization”, 77, 78, 82.

<sup>163</sup> Galadza, “Sources for the Study of Liturgy in Post-Byzantine Jerusalem (638-1187 CE)”. [Dumbarton Oaks Papers 67] (Washington, DC: Harvard University Press, 2013), 78.

εὐαγγέλιον cycles in the Jerusalem and Constantinopolitan lection systems, with Mark and Luke occupying different portions of the Synaxarion in each tradition. Also, Galadza notes a fundamental compositional difference between the two systems: “Jerusalem’s liturgical books began with Christmas (25 December) or Annunciation (25 March), while Constantinopolitan liturgical books began with Easter in the Kanonaria or September in the Synaxaria.”<sup>164</sup> Awareness of this distinction is highly problematic for many of the previous theories regarding the origin of Gospel and Apostolos lection systems. Once it is established that Greek lectionaries in territory outside Byzantine political and ecclesiastical control continued to exhibit variation in lections, reading the ‘Byzantine’ lection system into early sources becomes even more difficult.

Janeras’ work focuses on the issue of how one can determine from lection systems and paratextual features whether a Lectionary manuscript is of the Palestinian or Constantinopolitan type, or whether there is Palestinian influence on a liturgical-biblical codex.<sup>165</sup> To this end, Janeras compares Armenian, Georgian and Greek/Greek-Arabic lection systems and their distinctive features. The Georgian and Constantinopolitan pericopae for Pascha and the six following Sundays are compared, with Mateos’ edition of the Τυπικόν of Hagia Sophia as the Constantinopolitan witness.<sup>166</sup> The Georgian system presents a series of 1 John lections in contrast to the ‘Byzantine’ Acts lections. The Apostolos lections for Sundays in Lent also differ considerably in the Jerusalem liturgy. Janeras writes that “[e]n lignes générales, et pour simplifier, on peut dire que les lectionnaires hagiopolites ont, pour les dimanches du Carême, l’épître aux Romains et l’évangile de Luc, tandis que les lectionnaires byzantins présentent l’épître aux Hébreux et l’évangile de Marc.”<sup>167</sup>

The influence of the Jerusalem Lectionary on Greek manuscripts is summarised in three categories. The first are apparently EA[+OT?] (ὅλον) manuscripts: “[l]ectionnaires pléniers, que l’on pourrait appeler, peut-être, typica. Ils contiennent les péricopes bibliques, plus les psaumes intercalaires.”<sup>168</sup> Second, Gospel Lectionary manuscripts

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<sup>164</sup> Galadza, “Post-Byzantine Jerusalem”, 67.

<sup>165</sup> S. Janeras, “Les lectionnaires de l’ancienne liturgie de Jérusalem.” *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia*. Vol. 2 (2005), 71-92.

<sup>166</sup> S. Janeras, “Lectionnaires de Jérusalem”, 84. See J. Mateos S.I., *Le Typicon De La Grande Église (Tome 1): Le Cycle Des Douze Mois*. (Rome : Pontificium Institutum Orientalium, 1962).

<sup>167</sup> Janeras, “Lectionnaires de Jérusalem”, 86.

<sup>168</sup> Janeras, “Lectionnaires de Jérusalem”, 82.

which follow the ‘Jerusalem’ liturgical order (Christmas-Epiphany) but may be influenced by the ‘Byzantinisation’ of Palestinian liturgy. Finally, continuous text manuscripts which contain “une liste des péricopes pour les fêtes et les temps divers de l’année liturgique suivant l’ordre propre à Jérusalem, donc à partir du cycle de Noël-Epiphanie.”<sup>169</sup> It is notable that Apostolos codices seem to be omitted from this list, perhaps due to a dearth of evidence. According to Janeras the Gospel Lectionary MS Sinai Gr. 210 (L844, IX, lsel) is thoroughly hagiopolite in its contents, providing a useful starting-point for comparison of other Lectionary manuscripts. The difference in Apostolos lections in hagiopolite manuscripts of various languages points to a variety of anagnostic arrangements which may have evolved simultaneously. Consequently, some attention to this tradition is a methodological prerequisite for the present thesis. This contrasts with earlier scholarship which concentrates on the ‘Byzantine’ system and therefore emphasises uniformity. Owing to the mutual influence of Palestinian and Constantinopolitan liturgical and monastic traditions on one another there is also the possibility that there may be echoes of the Jerusalem traditions in Apostolos manuscripts produced elsewhere in the Byzantine world.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Janeras, “Lectionnaires de Jérusalem”, 82.

<sup>170</sup> For evidence of Jerusalem influence on a Byzantine Gospel lectionary MS see C. Jordan, “The Rediscovery of the Sherborne Lectionary.” *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. 64 (2) (2013), 482-497.

#### IV. Apostolos Manuscripts in Editions

A selection of NT editions is surveyed here, with a view to discovering which Apostolos manuscripts have been used in the preparation of texts and which have been cited in the apparatuses of each edition. For each edition the Apostolos manuscripts used – if any – are listed and their current sigla and location are provided. The editions prepared in Greece may not, strictly speaking, be referred to as critical editions since the texts were prepared for ecclesiastical purposes. There is no evidence to suggest that consistent text-critical principles were used in the preparation of the texts. Although these editions are eclectic in the sense that readings are selected from a variety of witnesses, their goals preclude the text being viewed as a representative guide to those witnesses without further investigation. The absence of an apparatus in each edition makes further investigation difficult, so the writer is limited to stating which codices were used and comparing this to other editions and the current study. These statements also apply to the Pierpont-Robinson Byzantine edition, which uses von Soden’s K-text as its base text and does not consult manuscript witnesses individually.<sup>171</sup>

Karavidopoulos states that Lectionary manuscripts were used in the preparation of the 1904 Patriarchal Edition of the (continuous text) NT (Antoniades).<sup>172</sup> In the preface to the Antoniades edition there are three categories of witnesses used: Gospel codices, which includes continuous text and Lectionary witnesses; manuscripts which contain Revelation (continuous text); ‘Praxapostoloi’ for the remaining portions of the NT.<sup>173</sup> While the Gospel category includes numerous Lectionary codices, investigation of the *Liste* classification and catalogues of the manuscripts labelled ‘Praxapostoloi’ suggests that fewer Apostolos codices were used. The Apostolos manuscripts from the Great Lavra on Athos used in the Antoniades edition are described in the table below. The category ‘Selection?’ indicates whether the manuscript is included in the current study.

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<sup>171</sup> M.A. Robinson and W.G. Pierpont eds. *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform*. (Southborough, MA: Chilton, 2005).

<sup>172</sup> I. D. Karavidopoulos, “The Ecumenical Patriarchate’s 1904 New Testament Edition and Future Perspectives.” *Sacra Scripta*. Vol. X (1) (2012), 7.

<sup>173</sup> B. Antoniades, *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη ἐγκρίσει τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας*. (Constantinople: 1904; Reprint Athens, 2004), 3-4.

<b>MS ID</b>	<b>Liste ID</b>	<b>Contents</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Selection?</b>
B 74	41153a	lae	XIV	No
B 79	41154	lae	XII	No
B 90	41156	la	XIV	No
Γ 123	41159	lae	XIV	Yes

*Table 5: Lavra MSS used in 1904 Antoniadēs Edition*

The MS Lavra B 74 (L1153a) is described by Eustratiades as containing “τας ἀναγινωσκομένας ἀποστολικὰς περικοπὰς.”<sup>174</sup> Lavra MS B. 79 (L1154) “[π]εριέχει τὰς κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἀναγινωσκομένας ἀποστολικὰς περικοπὰς”<sup>175</sup> i.e., it is a daily (e) type Apostolos. No information about the content-arrangement of Lavra MS B 90 (L1156) is provided; Eustratiades simply describes it as containing “τὰς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγινωσκομένας ἀποστολικὰς περικοπὰς.”<sup>176</sup> The majority of Lavra manuscripts (Lectionary and continuous text) used in the Antoniadēs edition date from tenth-thirteenth centuries A.D. (Middle and Late Byzantine periods).

Apostolos manuscripts from the Iviron Monastery used in Antoniadēs – as far as one can ascertain – are displayed below.

<b>MS ID</b>	<b>Liste ID</b>	<b>Contents</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Selection?</b>
30σ	42266	le	XIII	No
28σ	42265	le	XII	No

*Table 6: Iviron MSS used in 1904 Antoniadēs Edition*

<sup>174</sup> S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925), 21.

<sup>175</sup> Eustratiades, *Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts*, 22.

<sup>176</sup> Eustratiades, *Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts*, 24.

Antoniades writes in the preface to his 1904 edition that there are two distinct text types in the Lectionary witnesses, one “related to the ordinary Byzantine copies, the other, tho[ugh] showing this relation, has in addition certain variants and highly significant readings not entirely unattested elsewhere.”<sup>177</sup> The reason for this phenomenon, according to Antoniades, is due to two co-existent Constantinopolitan traditions and differences in the Synaxarion and Menologion traditions: “both of these types belong to the Church of Constantinople and were in public and official use, at least from the ninth century to the sixteenth.”<sup>178</sup> Rife is critical of Antoniades’ claims regarding the 1904 edition: “the Antoniades text is not a better representative of late non-Lectionary manuscripts than is the Textus Receptus, but . . . it is a weak lectionary text somewhat marred, from the critical standpoint, by certain arbitrary methods employed in its formation.”<sup>179</sup> In his study of instances where the Byzantine textual tradition sub-divides Wachtel partially vindicates Antoniades’ view of his own text. For the Gospels, Wachtel concludes that “[i]t can be established that there are passages of variation where the Lectionary tradition is split as described by Antoniades, although the distinction of the two types is not equally clear at every passage of variation.”<sup>180</sup>

The traditional Greek text of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* (AD) Εκλογάδιον is that of the Antoniades edition, re-arranged liturgically for the modern Orthodox calendar.<sup>181</sup>

A total of twenty-seven Apostolos manuscripts cited in the apparatus of UBS GNT<sup>4</sup> are not utilised in this study.<sup>182</sup> Of these, four are EA type codices and the rest are A. GNT<sup>4</sup> also cites the text of the AD edition using the siglum *l*<sup>AD</sup>, treating AD as representative of the “lectionary text of the Greek Church”.<sup>183</sup> *Lect*<sup>pt. AD</sup> is used when “a part of the lectionary manuscript tradition [is] in agreement with the lectionary text of the Greek

<sup>177</sup> J. M. Rife, trans. “The Antoniades Greek New Testament.” E.C. Colwell and D.W. Riddle eds. *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), 57.

<sup>178</sup> Rife, “Antoniades New Testament”, 58.

<sup>179</sup> Rife, “Antoniades New Testament”, 66.

<sup>180</sup> K. Wachtel, “Early Variants in the Byzantine Text of the Gospels.” J.W. Childers and D.C. Parker eds. *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies*. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), 39.

<sup>181</sup> *ΕΚΛΟΓΑΔΙΟΝ: ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΑ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΜΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΩΡΤΩΝ*. (Αθήνα: Αποστολική Διακονία της Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδος, 2003).

<sup>182</sup> For GNT4 textual methodology see Chapter 3, Section 1b, pages 104-113.

<sup>183</sup> B. Aland, K. Aland, I. Karavidopoulos, C.M. Martini, and B.M. Metzger eds. “Introduction.” *Greek New Testament*. (4<sup>th</sup> rev. ed.), 23.



Church.”<sup>184</sup> Two other features also make Apostolos readings easier to determine in the apparatus of GNT<sup>4</sup>. One is the superscript fraction indicating the frequency of attestation of a certain reading in a Lectionary manuscript. The other is the occasional citation of *l<sup>m</sup>* which describes a reading present in the Menologion section of a manuscript, or where the Menologion has a variant from the Synaxarion reading.

Only two Apostolos manuscripts are cited in the NA<sup>28</sup> NT edition. The first is L846 (Sinai Gr. 212, IX), an EA type codex which contains lections according to a Palestinian system, referred to as ‘Jerusalem’ in the *Liste*. The second is L249 (St Petersburg Gr. 44, IX), also of the ‘Jerusalem’ type and highly lacunose with only 69 leaves remaining. Neither of these manuscripts are included in the consistently cited witnesses of Acts. The rationale for the inclusion of these manuscripts in NA<sup>28</sup> is their exceptional age and provenance in comparison to the rest of the Lectionary tradition. However, the fragmentary nature of these codices means that much of their already limited lection systems is lost. As a result, the citation of Apostolos witnesses in the critical edition is scarce. In the Letters of Peter the *Editio Critica Maior* (ECM) excludes eleven Apostolos manuscripts from its selection “because they are of minor importance for the history of the text” while the Greek-Coptic Apostolos L1575 is noted as textually significant.<sup>185</sup> The ECM is edited according to the coherence-based genealogical method (CBGM) which excludes Lectionary witnesses from its analysis of the genealogical relationship between the texts of witnesses.<sup>186</sup> However, the ECM draws attention to divisions between Byzantine witnesses and sub-readings in the Byzantine tradition, so this may be of use in investigating similar divisions in Apostolos lectionaries.<sup>187</sup> Since the volumes of the ECM relevant to the Apostolos do not currently extend beyond the Catholic Letters it has not been included in this study of contemporary editions.

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<sup>184</sup> Aland et al, “Introduction”, 23.

<sup>185</sup> B. Aland, K. Aland, G. Mink, H. Strutwolf and K. Wachtel eds. *Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maior. 4, Die Katholischen Briefe: Part 2 Supplementary Material* [Installment 2: The Letters of Peter] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2013), B 41; B 44.

<sup>186</sup> K. Wachtel. “The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method: A New Way to Reconstruct the Text of the Greek New Testament”, S. Kloppenborg and J.H. Newman eds. *Editing the Bible. Assessing the task past and present*. (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 123-138.

<sup>187</sup> See e.g., “The Byzantine Variants in the Letters of Peter.” B. Aland, K. Aland, G. Mink, H. Strutwolf and K. Wachtel eds., *Editio Critica Maior. 4, Die Katholischen Briefe: Part 2 Supplementary Material* [Installment 2: The Letters of Peter], B 43.

## V. Conclusions

In this chapter the methodologies and results of previous Apostolos research have been discussed and evaluated. First, the history of the Apostolos in textual scholarship was explored from its beginnings in the classic figures of NT textual criticism, through the Chicago *Studies* and into recent research and reflection. There are four major historical trends: early neglect and misunderstanding of the Lectionary in general, and the Apostolos in particular; growing interest in the twentieth century associated with a flurry of scholarly activity in the *Studies*; a period in which Lectionary research ground almost to a halt in the wake of methodological doubts; recent research which revisits previous methodologies and assumptions. As time progresses, Lectionary researchers increasingly advocate interdisciplinary awareness and methodology. The emphasis on the 'Lectionary text' as an identifiable, homogeneous tradition reduces over time and gives way to a nascent interest in paratextual topics such as the history of lection-traditions. Second, we surveyed the limited work done on the Apostolos in the three related disciplines of art history, codicology and Liturgical studies. Here a wide variety of disparate yet connected interests are in evidence: art, liturgy and text are given attention by a variety of scholars for different purposes. Lyon-Dolezal's thesis is a landmark in Lectionary research because she pioneers research into all three aspects (art, liturgy, text), while the recent work on the Jerusalem Lectionary questions a number of key assumptions associated with the *Studies* and their theories of Lectionary origins. The approach of the CBM project was described and analysed with regards to the Apostolos tradition and found to be innovative, yet in need of further refinement with regards to classification and terminology.

Within this broad sketch of Lectionary research, Apostolos codices have been studied intermittently with small numbers of lections and manuscripts collated, providing data that can be compared to this and future studies. It is notable that the trend towards interdisciplinary methodology evidenced by textual critics is not as evident in the other disciplines, though attention is increasingly paid towards the biblical content of such manuscripts. The specialisations necessary for each discipline necessitate collaborative work on the Apostolos and other Byzantine biblical-liturgical codices of a kind which has not existed previously.

Finally, this chapter surveyed the inclusion of Apostolos manuscripts in some historic and current NT editions as well as the theories associated with each edition's approach to Lectionary witnesses. On this topic there are two tendencies. Antoniades, Karavidopoulos and the UBS GNT editions demonstrate some interest in the textual tradition of the Apostolos and are informed by examination of codices and views on the nature of the Apostolos text. Alternatively, the approach embodied by the ECM and NA<sup>28</sup> editors, founded on the CBGM methodology, is mainly to leave Lectionary manuscripts aside.

## 2. SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF THE APOSTOLOS TRADITION

### I. Monastic and Ecclesiastical Sources

#### a) Introduction

In his study of Acts, Ericsson opens with an introductory description of Apostolos manuscripts as “Church Bibles.”<sup>188</sup> Aside from the obvious anachronism of Ericsson’s terminology such an opening remark reveals the lack of contextualisation practised by the authors of the *Chicago Studies* in their otherwise pioneering research. The predominant concern of Ericsson’s thesis is to demonstrate the existence of an “Lectionary archetype”. Following the methodology of the *Studies*, this means a textual witness which can be identified as the ancestor of the shared readings of the extant Lectionary manuscripts. This methodology raises pertinent questions about how one goes about researching the origins, meaning and function of Apostolos lectionaries. It is significant that the conceptual boundaries of Ericsson’s search for the “archetype” or ancestor of the Apostolos tradition are strictly textual. He writes:

This study demonstrates that almost all Lectionary MSS go back to a Lectionary archetype, though it may well be an archetypal group or text-form, rather than a particular MS.<sup>189</sup>

So while there is considerable flexibility on Ericsson’s part for what might constitute the ancestor of all the existing Apostolos lectionaries, the degree of agnosticism does not spread any further than conventional text-critical idealisations of manuscript traditions. This is an *a priori* error when approaching a manuscript tradition as seldom understood as the Greek Apostolos, it is not an error restricted exclusively to textual scholars: similar criticisms continue to be made of Weitzmann’s art-historical work in the field of Byzantine manuscript studies.<sup>190</sup> In the case of the *Chicago Studies*, the case for a common textual ancestor was assumed to be appealing from the beginning and biased

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<sup>188</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, v.

<sup>189</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, vi.

<sup>190</sup> K. Weitzmann set out the perceived affinities of the two disciplines in his seminal work “The Relation between Text Criticism and Picture Criticism” in *Illustrations in Roll and Codex, a Study of the Origin and Method of Text-Illustration*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 182-192.

both the methodology and interpretation of the data, as has been argued persuasively by Lyon-Dolezal among others.<sup>191</sup>

How convincing is the approach represented by the *Studies* to the Apostolos tradition and is there an alternative? This question will predominate in this chapter as the available Byzantine sources are examined. The sources include monastic inventories, liturgical commentaries and theological treatises. All are valuable as evidence of the use, function and meaning of Apostolos lectionaries. Throughout this section several critical questions are asked. Do the Byzantine sources indicate uniformity or diversity; either in contents, codicological parameters, or hitherto unconsidered features? Despite the limitations of chronology and social context, what common features are there in what Byzantines write about the Apostolos and continuous text Praxapostolos traditions? What liturgical and theological significance was the Apostolos codex, in its numerous forms, given? By returning to the sources themselves, it is hoped that this thesis may construct an evidence-led method for understanding the relationship of Apostolos manuscripts to other liturgical and Scriptural codices in the Byzantine world. In short, in contemporary scholarship the Byzantines have been allowed to speak more clearly about their own traditions.<sup>192</sup> In this thesis it will be argued that Lectionary research should follow suit.

Such an *ad fontes* method necessitates interrogating some of the more excessive claims and aims of the *Studies*. To what extent is the search for an “archetype” of the Apostolos desirable in terms of the descriptions of the manuscript tradition offered by Byzantine writers? At this stage it is necessary to entertain several options regarding the origins and history of the Apostolos tradition. For instance, it is possible that the text presented in Acts, Pauline and Catholic Epistle lections across the Byzantine period is generally copied from whichever continuous text codices were available. Another possibility, avoided or at least not considered by Ericsson in his search for the “archetype”, is that there is an ‘ancestral’ text-form or family to which Apostolos lections are related in some fashion but that this is not likely to be easily identifiable with the extant manuscript

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<sup>191</sup> M. Lyon-Dolezal, “The Elusive Quest for the ‘Real Thing’: The Chicago Lectionary Project Thirty Years on” in *Gesta*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (1996), 128-141.

<sup>192</sup> See e.g., R. Taft, S.J. *Through their Own Eyes: Liturgy as the Byzantines Saw It*. (Berkeley, CA: InterOrthodox Press, 2006); J. Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium: Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Greek Apocrypha*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

tradition. The evidence of Byzantine references to the Apostolos should form a key part of writing an historical account which addresses these questions.

## **b) Monastic Inventories and Liturgical Typika**

The following survey and analysis of Byzantine authors and sources relevant to the Apostolos tradition follows a basic chronological order. The relevant passage is given in Greek where a critically edited text is available with an accompanying translation, or simply in the most up-to-date available translation with transliterated Greek terms where necessary for purposes of clarity. Such a method has been followed on the grounds of convenience, referring to the Greek text only where there are issues in the English translation or where the existing translation is in another modern language.

The earliest references to the Apostolos and Praxapostolos traditions are brief notes in several monastic documents. The *Rule* of the monastery of St John Stoudios (RS), Constantinople, which dates to the ninth century, contains two references to the Apostolos, each being present in one or other of the two textual traditions edited by Miller:

[12] “It should be known that on Saturdays and Sundays we read the Apostolos whenever there is no feast of the Lord or commemoration of a saint on those days”<sup>193</sup>

[15] “It should be known that during all of Holy Week – with the exception of Holy Saturday – we sing the hours just as we do during the previous weeks. We also make our prostrations until the time when the morning trisagion begins, which is said after the stichera of the verse. After this comes the prokeimenon, the reading of the Apostolos, the reading of the Propheteia, and the Gospel.”<sup>194</sup>

There are a number of reasons for suggesting that the references to Apostolos in RS are to codices rather than simply to the act of reading from non-Gospel collections. The triple description “the reading of the Apostolos, the reading of the Propheteia, and the Gospel”

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<sup>193</sup> T. Miller, “Stoudios: Rule of the Monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople” [Version A] in Thomas, J. and Constantinides Hero, A. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, Vol. 1* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 104.

<sup>194</sup> Miller, “Stoudios” [Version B], 106.

[15] suggests a reference to several discrete codices. The labels *προφητεία* and *εὐαγγέλιον* primarily refer to manuscripts containing OT and Gospel lections respectively, with *εὐαγγέλιον* referring more often to a Gospel Lectionary than a *τετραεὐαγγέλιον*. Furthermore, both *προφητεία* and *εὐαγγέλιον* are Lectionary collections usually presented in discrete codices.<sup>195</sup> Miller concludes that “the Prophetologion, along with the larger Old Testament canon, was a component part of a larger complex of tradition [. . .] The textual token of that heritage was the Old Testament, with the more familiar literary expression of it being those portions included in the Prophetologion.”<sup>196</sup> Hence, as there is other vocabulary Byzantine authors may use when referring to other OT codices, e.g. Psalters, it is reasonable to conclude that the description offered in RS is specifically of a *Apostolos* manuscript with the context of other Lectionary manuscripts.

By extension, it follows that *Apostolos* must refer to a Lectionary codex which contains the Acts and Epistles. Additionally, the reference to alternate readings of the codex containing non-Gospel material [12] reinforces this conclusion. This is because lections set for festal Saturdays and Sundays in the Menologion are often, though not exclusively, Gospel lections - depending on local practice.<sup>197</sup> It follows that recourse to another codex would be necessary when the Menologion section of the *εὐαγγέλιον* typically used for feast-day lections was unsuitable. It seems that it is possible to verify the existence of *Apostolos* manuscripts fitting the specific description of a discrete codex independently of the extant manuscript evidence for the ninth century. It may also be the case that RS provides evidence for the existence of a ninth century *Apostolos* codex which actually contained rubrics and liturgical features such as the *prokeimenon* and *sticheron* as does, for example, the eleventh century L23.

If, as argued, the reference in a ninth century monastic *typikon* such as RS is to a codex rather than simply a collection of non-Gospel material, this provides evidence of the tradition of an earlier period than the majority of extant manuscripts, namely that of the

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<sup>195</sup> J. Miller, “The Prophetologion: The Old Testament in Byzantine Christianity?” Magdalino, P. and Nelson, R. *The Old Testament in Byzantium*. (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), 55-76.

<sup>196</sup> Miller, “The Prophetologion”, 75.

<sup>197</sup> Typically, there are alternative lections available in editorial calendars of the Menologion, reflecting differing usages within and beyond the Greek liturgical tradition. For example, De Vries lists several alternate readings from John and 1 Corinthians for the (major feast) Holy Cross Day. See De Vries *Epistles, Gospels and Tones*, 29.

now fragmentary majuscule Apostolos manuscripts of the ninth century and before.<sup>198</sup> Potential continuity with this period would suggest that the origins of the tradition are located reliably in the aftermath of the Second Iconoclast controversy, the last major upheaval in the Byzantine Church after which many manuscripts are extant.<sup>199</sup>

The next source investigated is the Typikon of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia, Constantinople) (THS), the product of a textual tradition which may be dated from at least the tenth century onwards. Mateos' eclectic edition of this text relies heavily on the source he designates 'H': "Cod. 40 du monastère de la Sainte-Croix à Jérusalem" (tenth-eleventh centuries).<sup>200</sup> Mateos comments of H that "[c]et excellent ms., qui content le Synaxaire et le Typicon de la Grande Eglise, est connu depuis longtemps."<sup>201</sup> The purpose of THS was to regulate liturgical activity in Constantinople, and when synthesised with Palestinian typika its descendants gradually became normative for parish and cathedral worship in and beyond the Greek-language liturgical tradition.<sup>202</sup> Monastic documents of this kind regulate both the liturgical and practical aspects of monastic institutions and their associated churches, and were the model for parochial practice until relatively recent Orthodox reforms.<sup>203</sup> According to Rentel, fully-developed typika such as THS partially evolved from earlier Synaxaria (daily commemoration calendars) which were originally attached to Praxapostolos manuscripts.<sup>204</sup> Thus the associations with the use of Apostolos codices are clear, since influence between typika and Apostolos manuscripts was in both directions, the first regulatory and the second arising from liturgical practice. The reference to the Apostolos tradition in THS is as follows:

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<sup>198</sup> Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 81.

<sup>199</sup> According to Mango "between A.D. 750 and 850 books were very scarce . . . there did not exist at that time a central library, except the one at the Patriarchate . . . The bibliographic effort of the Orthodox monasteries, an effort that we associate in particular with St. Theodore the Studite, has to be seen in this context: for as long as the Patriarchate was in the hands of the Iconoclasts, the Orthodox opposition was denied access to the only repository of books that was reasonably comprehensive". C. Mango, "The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750-850." C. Mango and I. Ševčenko eds., *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, 43-44.

<sup>200</sup> J. Mateos S.I., *Le Typicon De La Grande Église (Tome 1): Le Cycle Des Douze Mois*. (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium, 1962), iv.

<sup>201</sup> Mateos, *Typicon*, iii.

<sup>202</sup> See D. Galadza, "Worship of the Holy City in Captivity: The Liturgical Byzantinization of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem After the Arab Conquest (8th-13th c.)" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis: Pontificium Institutum Orientale, 2013).

<sup>203</sup> Mother Mary, K. Ware and eds., *The Festal Menaion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1977), 543.

<sup>204</sup> A. Rentel, "Byzantine and Slavic Orthodoxy" in G. Wainwright and K. Westerfield Tucker eds., *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 287.



Κανὼν τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας ἀναγνώσεων πράξεων, ἀποστόλων, εὐαγγελίων καὶ προφητικῶν, καὶ ἐκάστης ἀκολουθίας ἀπὸ τῆς κυριακῆς πρὸ τῆς ἀπόκρεω μέχρι τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος.<sup>205</sup>

Rule for the Great and Holy Church of God of the readings of the Acts, Apostles, Gospels and Prophets, and every service from the Sunday of the Meatfare until the descent of the Holy Spirit [at Pentecost].

Although the codices are not mentioned specifically, THS confirms the picture of a series of OT and NT Lectionary collections. The separation of πράξεων and ἀποστόλων may simply indicate awareness that lections were extracted from two distinct authorities, the Acts and the Apostolic writings. It would be difficult to press this as evidence for awareness of the distinction between codices containing or lacking Acts lections either way. Aside from this issue, it is important to note the sections of the liturgical year mentioned in reference to lections from the Scriptures. This includes the period from Meatfare Sunday, the third Sunday in the Lenten Triodion to which 1 Cor 8:8-9:3 is assigned, to Pentecost Sunday, eight weeks after Pascha. The two Lectionary periods from the Monday after Pentecost until Holy Cross Day (Matthew) and Holy Cross Day to the beginning of the Lenten Triodion (Luke), as well as the first two weeks of the Lenten Triodion, are not mentioned.

It is uncertain whether all typika regulating Apostolos lections contained an entire cycle of lections or what relationship may be identified between the lections in Apostolos manuscripts and the documents which regulate them, appended or otherwise. Since both traditions are in a state of constant development, the correspondence is often tentative. Consulting the Menologion lections listed in THS, for example, one finds that the Apostolos lections listed vary in extent and designation in comparison to modern editorial representations. On 8<sup>th</sup> September (Nativity of the Theotokos) THS lists two possible lections, Galatians 4:22-27 and Philippians 2:5-11. De Vries' Byzantine calendar, however, records only the Philippians lection.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> Mateos, *Typicon (Tome 1)*, 2.

<sup>206</sup> De Vries, *Epistles*, 29.

According to the THS tradition the Philippians is in fact an ‘alternative’ lection for this date: “ἄλλος ἀποστόλος πρὸς Φιλιππησίους . . .”<sup>207</sup> This may be to accommodate two coexisting traditions of reading from the Apostolos on this feast day at the time of composition. The implication may be that the Galatians lection assigned to this feast day is of greater antiquity than the Philippians lection, which later displaced its rival. Alternatively, THS may reflect the traditional practice of a certain locale, perhaps Constantinople itself. Either way, this may be evidence of the kind of development and interaction between *typika* and *Apostolos* manuscripts suggested by the respective function and origin of each tradition and likely to be borne out in an investigation of the *Menologia* and *Synaxaria* of a range of extant manuscripts. For example, if the Galatians lection is older it may be distributed throughout older manuscripts, or if it reflects a unique Constantinopolitan provenance, *Apostolos* lectionaries with connections by patronage or copying to the city might incorporate it more often.<sup>208</sup>

Finally, it is notable that the *Menologion* section of THS regularly uses the term ἀπόστολος to refer exclusively to the liturgical reading of lections from the Pauline/Catholic Letters. Unfortunately Mateos’ French translation collapses the distinction by rendering both “Apôtre”.<sup>209</sup> In contrast, Acts lections are referred to with the phrase “Ἀνάγνωσμα τῶν Πράξεων”. This usage is reflected throughout the text, for example on the feast day of the Protomartyr Stephen (December 27<sup>th</sup>)<sup>210</sup> and on the festal commemoration of St Philip (November 14<sup>th</sup>).<sup>211</sup> This suggests that the distinction between the two collections/works was understood by the compilers of THS.

The next text which concerns this investigation is a monastic brevia (inventory) [INV 7] for the Monastery of the All-Merciful [Pantoiktirmon] (MP), another Constantinopolitan source dated to the eleventh century. The brevia itself is located in the *Diataxis* of the Byzantine historian and public official Michael Attaliates, along with various ordinances for the foundation of a monastic institution and alms-house complex.

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<sup>207</sup> Mateos, *Typicon (Tome 1)*, 20.

<sup>208</sup> See Chapter 5 below.

<sup>209</sup> E.g. Mateos, *Typicon (Tome 1)*, 165.

<sup>210</sup> Mateos, *Typicon (Tome 1)*, 164.

<sup>211</sup> Mateos, *Typicon (Tome 1)*, 102.

First, there are two short references in MP which confirm the existence of the *Apostolos* codex and its associated terminology. The first is “Βιβλίον ἕτερον Ἀπόστολο(ς) τὸ ὕφο(ς) μονό(καιρον)”<sup>212</sup> which Talbot translates as “Another book, the *Apostolos*, in minuscule.” This confirms the developing identification of *Apostolos* with the physical codex held by monastic communities. The second is a reference to “Ἀναγνωστικά”,<sup>213</sup> which may be translated somewhat inadequately as ‘Lectionaries’, though how this relates to the description *εκλογαδιον* found in manuscripts and contemporary sources is currently unclear. Like the sources examined above MP distinguishes between Lectionary collections, the implication being that *Apostolos* is a sub-division of various books which could be classed as Ἀναγνωστικά. Earlier in the text, for instance, the inventory refers to “Εὐαγγέλι(ον) μονόκα(ιρον)” (Gospel Lectionary in minuscule) and “Τετραεὐαγγέλιον λιτόγρα(φον)” (majuscule four-Gospel codex).<sup>214</sup> This coheres with the conclusions drawn in the discussion of RS, and suggests a continuity of bibliographic practice in Constantinople through the ninth-eleventh centuries.

There is an extensive reference to the *Praxapostolos* manuscript in MP and this must be quoted at length:

[359] Βιβλίον [βαμβύκινον] ὁ Πραξαπόστολος ἐρμηνευμένος, ἔχον καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς καὶ αὐτὰς ἐρμηνευμένας, σὺν τούτοις ἔχον καὶ τὸν Ἰώβ, Παροιμίαις Σολωμόντος, Ἐκκλησιαστήν, Ἄισμα ἁσμάτων, Σοφίαν Σολομόντος καὶ Σοφίαν Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σηράχ, τὰ ἀμφοτέρω μετὰ ἐρμηνείας, καλόγραφον ὄλον.<sup>215</sup>

[359] A book in paper, a *Praxapostolos*, with commentary [ermēneuomenos], containing also the seven Catholic Letters also with commentary [ermēneuomenos], and also containing the Book of Job, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach, all with commentary, all in beautiful writing.<sup>216</sup>

<sup>212</sup> A-M Talbot, trans. “Attaleiates: Rule of Michael Attaleiates for his Almshouse in Rhaidestos and for the Monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon in Constantinople” J. Thomas. and A. Constantinides Hero, eds. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, Vol. 1* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 1242.

<sup>213</sup> Talbot, “Attaleiates”, 359.

<sup>214</sup> Talbot, “Attaleiates”, 358.

<sup>215</sup> P. Gautier, *La diataxis de Michel Attaliatē* [Revue des études byzantines 39. Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1981].

<sup>216</sup> Adapted from Talbot, “Attaleiates”, 359.

The use of the term Praxapostolos here can be taken to mean that the manuscript in question contained text from the full tradition including from Acts as well as the Paulines and Catholic Letters. This reference seems to provide details of a codex which contained text from this ‘full’ tradition in addition to OT continuous text material. This suggests a relevant continuous text preparatory exemplar for an Apostolos codex such as L1141 which contains a comprehensive set of lections from OT and NT sources.<sup>217</sup> Furthermore, if we are to take the inventory at face value, text from another source was also present in this codex, possibly *catena* relevant to the various works. Therefore, it may well be a comprehensive manuscript of the kind represented by the NT manuscript G-A 424, which contains lection apparatus and patristic commentary. It is difficult to imagine that the liturgical use of such a book would be desirable, given the enormous amount of material present and the difficulties inherent in locating lections in ‘regular’ manuscripts, but it may well have been used to prepare Apostolos codices.

Another source which confirms the Lectionary-type distinction made in MP and RS is the inventory located in the Acts of the Monastery of the Theotokos Eleusa [Theotokos of Mercy] (TE), dated to somewhere between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries A.D.<sup>218</sup> The source itself is recorded as a diplomatic edition of the manuscript which also contains a Typikon and several prose works associated with the monastery’s activities. The provenance of TE in Macedonia may be contrasted with the Constantinopolitan location of the sources so far examined. TE refers to:

Βιβλίον ἀπόστολος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καθημερινός, καὶ ἕτερον βιβλίον ἀπόστολος ἐκλογάδην. Προφητικὰ βιβλία δύο τῆς ἀκολουθίας. —Πραξαπόστολος βιβλίον ἐν μετὰ κεφαλαίων χρυσογράμμων, ἦγουν ἔκθεσις τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου.

One Apostolos for every day of the year. Another book [with] selections from the apostolic epistles. Two books, [containing readings] from the Prophets for the

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<sup>217</sup> For a fuller discussion of L1141 see below Section IIb, pages 89-90.

<sup>218</sup> For the extensive debates over the dating of this document and its text see introduction: A. Bandy and N. Ševčenko, “Eleousa Inv.: Inventory of the Monastery of the Mother of God Eleousa in Stroumitza” J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, eds. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, Vol. 1* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 1668.

office. A Praxapostolos with gold-lettered initials, that is, a commentary on the [Acts and Epistles of the] Evangelist John.<sup>219</sup>

TE makes two important distinctions. First, between Apostolos manuscripts which run according to different cycles and work-collections, perhaps approximating contemporary distinctions between k, sk, and esk. Second, between OT and NT Lectionary collections in codices. Each of these distinctions contributes to the pattern which emerged from the earlier sources: a series of distinct collections referred to with a relatively consistent Lectionary vocabulary. As with MP, the Praxapostolos manuscript is described as being accompanied by some form of meta-textual material, though to what extent commentary and TE's "ἔκθεσις" [exposition] can be equated is unclear.<sup>220</sup> Additionally, the reference in TE to a high-quality decorated Praxapostolos in gold majuscule letters suggests that such codices continued to be stored, if not used, long into the Middle or even Late Byzantine periods, depending on the date given to the document's composition. Notwithstanding its potentially unorthodox contents,<sup>221</sup> if a fairly lengthy existence is assumed for the Praxapostolos codex described in TE it is reasonable to hypothesise that ornate codices – presumably containing text reflecting earlier exemplars – continued to exist in monastic foundations even as the minuscule Lectionary became normative. What

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<sup>219</sup> Adapted from Bandy and Ševčenko, "Eleousa", 1672.

<sup>220</sup> The possible resonances of the term in earlier Greek literature are highlighted by consulting Sophocles' dictionary, including "ration" (Dan 1:5 LXX<sup>MSS</sup>) and "order" (Aristotle). A paraphrase of "ἡγοῦν ἔκθεσις τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου" may more accurately reflect its meaning: "that is, according to the collection/order exposted/composed by John the Evangelist"; E.A. Sophocles, J. H Thayer, H. Drisler eds. *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods: from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900), 434.

<sup>221</sup> The translation of Bandy and Ševčenko takes the reference as one to the apocryphal *Acts of John*. Bandy and Ševčenko, "Eleousa", 1676. The *Acts* survive only in several Greek and Latin fragments. According to Ehrman, it "was eventually condemned as heretical at the Second Council of Nicaea in the eighth century, so that most manuscripts of it were either destroyed or lost". B.D. Ehrman, *Lost Christianities: The Battles for Scripture and the Faiths We Never Knew* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 42. The compilers of the Université de Fribourg's online *Project Typika* comment regarding TE: "Il est précisé qu'il s'agit bien d'une "composition" de l'évangéliste Jean, c'est-à-dire l'ensemble de ses Actes et de ses Epîtres." [http://elearning.unifr.ch/apb/Typika/fiche\\_artefact.php?id=186](http://elearning.unifr.ch/apb/Typika/fiche_artefact.php?id=186) [online] [accessed 05/08/13]. There is a matrix of issues in need of resolution here. For instance, the disputed dating of TE makes judgements on the likelihood and significance of the *Acts* being present in a Byzantine monastery difficult. According to Petit the dating could be as early as 1119 and as late as 1539. L. Petit, "Le monastère de Notre-Dame de Pitié en Macédoine," in *Izvestiya russkogo arkeologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinople*, Vol. 6 (1900), 114-125. In contrast Bandy and Ševčenko place the document in its current form in 1449, once Macedonia was under Ottoman rule. Both dates would be significant: an earlier date would be less remarkable in terms of the survival of the apocryphal *Acts*, while a later date would make the copying of a majuscule Lectionary of any kind exceptional. In the absence of further evidence, it is difficult for this discussion to contribute anything to this issue. It is known that the 11<sup>th</sup> century L2024 (11<sup>th</sup> century) contains binding leaves from the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, which at least suggests that extra-canonical works were present and available in monastic libraries in this period.

effect, if any, the text and rubrics found in such manuscripts had on the wider Apostolos tradition represented by the majority of minuscules is another topic for future research.

The next source for investigation is the monastic foundation document of the Skoteine monastery, which Talbot describes as “a foundation of uncertain location in the diocese of Philadelphia, known only from the *diataxis*, or rule, composed in 1247 by the hieromonk Maximos, *ktetor* and *hegoumenos*.”<sup>222</sup> This thirteenth century source briefly notes the existence of Apostolos codices in two separate listings:

[24] “Since we are obliged to give a detailed list of the possessions and acquisitions of the monastery in the present written disposition, this is what it has . . . The Apostolos for daily use.”<sup>223</sup>

[27] “In the dependency there is a volume of the menaion for September and October. Another one on paper comprising six months. Another for March. One for April. One for May. One for June. Another for July and August. Another for October. The Sunday gospels. An Apostolos without decoration.”<sup>224</sup>

It seems that the extant manuscript profile is affirmed by the Skoteine document, including an ‘e’ (daily) type Apostolos Lectionary (either containing Acts lections or not) as well as an undecorated Apostolos codex. These form by far the majority of the manuscript tradition as it stands today. It also confirms the assumption that the Apostolos was routinely stored along with a whole range of Scriptural and liturgical codices in provincial as well as central monastic foundations. Less clear is whether an inventory such as this refers to manuscripts which were in regular liturgical use or available for private reading.

Next, the testament for the *Prodromos* [St John the Forerunner] Monastery on Athos reads “Βιβλία (δὲ) ταῦτα· τετραεὐάγγελιον καὶ πραξαπόστολος βέβρανα.”<sup>225</sup> In the Dumbarton

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<sup>222</sup> A-M. Talbot, “Skoteine Monastery” in A.P. Kazhdan ed. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

<sup>223</sup> G. Dennis trans. “Skoteine [Boreine]: Testament of Maximos for the Monastery of the Mother of God at Skoteine near Philadelphia” in J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, Vol. I* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 1185.

<sup>224</sup> Dennis, “Skoteine”, 1186.

<sup>225</sup> N. Oikonomidès, “Actes de Docheiariou” in *Archives de l’Athos XIII*. (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1984), 135-137.

Oaks series Reinert translates this as “A book containing the four Gospels and a Praxapostolos, [both] on parchment” – one or two continuous text manuscripts.<sup>226</sup> This source confirms the existence and use of a Praxapostolos at a minor Athonite location,<sup>227</sup> perhaps suggesting that such codices played a significant part in the worship and book-production of small communities as well as those with large churches and an elaborate liturgical life. Therefore Apostolos manuscripts could have been produced at these locations from continuous text codices as well as in Constantinople and at major provincial monastic institutions.

### c) The Apostolos in Liturgical Commentary

So far all the sources examined merely refer to the existence of certain manuscripts. What has not been explored is the significance and meaning accorded to the various Apostolos codices and their place within Byzantine prayer and worship. In investigating the sources, one discovers that theological reflection on the Apostolos tradition, either in liturgical worship or in general, primarily belongs to the late Byzantine era. Germanos, Patriarch of Constantinople (715-730 A.D.), a major influence on the developing Greek liturgical tradition, comments several times on the appearance of the Gospel-book (εὐαγγέλιον) in the Divine Liturgy and its function within the economy of salvation.<sup>228</sup> In contrast, Germanos invests the corresponding Apostolos codex with no particular meaning. It is known that reading of Acts and the Paulines took place in the eighth century liturgy,<sup>229</sup> and we have determined the likely existence of Apostolos codices during this period. As a result, the absence of extensive reflection on the use of such manuscripts confirms the well-attested prominence of liturgical Gospel-reading, which is typically associated with the Incarnation and is the role of whichever ordained figure is the superior: presbyter, bishop or patriarch.

Burns explores the multiple resonances of bishop, incarnation and Gospel Lectionary and concludes that the origins of that lection system are to be found in the developing

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<sup>226</sup> S. Reinert, “Prodromos: Testament of Neilos for the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner (Prodromos) on Mount Athos” in J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 1393.

<sup>227</sup> Reinert, “Prodromos”, 1389.

<sup>228</sup> P. Meyendorff trans. *St Germanus of Constantinople on the Divine Liturgy*. (New York: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1985), 43-44.

<sup>229</sup> Meyendorff, *St Germanus*, 20.

symbolic and theological synthesis underway in the early Byzantine Church, culminating in the era of Justinian in the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>230</sup> Can the same origin in early Byzantine theological concerns be posited uncritically for both Gospel and Apostolos lection traditions? What clues can later liturgical commentaries give us about the conspicuous absence of reflection on the Apostolos tradition prior to the thirteenth centuries?

An analysis of the significance given to the reading of Scripture in the liturgical commentary of Nicholas Cabasilas (1322-c.1391) goes some way to answering these questions. For Cabasilas, the theological importance of the Gospel-book as an ‘icon’ of the Incarnation places the Epistle lections, and therefore the Apostolos codex, in a subsidiary and theologically dependent position. For instance, reciting the Apostolos lection, according to Cabasilas, has a quasi-penitential function and consequently is accompanied by the *κύριε ἐλέησον*:

Ἄλλ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου μετὰ ἱκεσίας ὁ ὕμνος· πρόσκειται γὰρ τὸ «Ἐλέησον». Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου καθαρὰν ἱκεσίαν ποιούμεθα τὴν ὕμνωδιαν, ἵνα μάθωμεν ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς διὰ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου σημαίνεται· ὃν τοῖς εὐροῦσιν ἅπαν τὸ ζητούμενον ἐν χερσίν.<sup>231</sup>

For the Epistle [tou Apostolou] in particular our praise is mingled with supplication, since we add the prayer, ‘Have mercy’. For the Gospel our supplication consists simply in the hymn itself, that we may know the Gospel represents Christ, and he that has found Christ has obtained all that he could desire.<sup>232</sup>

Here the chanting of the Gospel lection is a Christocentric act, and in doing so the presiding presbyter or bishop is an icon of Christ, who is the icon of God (Col 1:15). The *εὐαγγέλιον*, in its proper liturgical function, seems to mirror Christ’s own part in the economy of salvation. For Cabasilas, to recite the Gospel lection in the Divine Liturgy is to sing to God in the language God establishes in the Incarnation. In such a schema the recitation of the Apostolos stands separately between the divine and human, not only

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<sup>230</sup> Burns, “Inception of the Gospel Lectionary”, 126.

<sup>231</sup> R. Bornert, J. Gouillard, P. Périchon, and S. Salaville eds. *Nicolas Cabasilas, Explication de la divine liturgie*. (Sources chrétiennes 4 bis. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967), 56-307.

<sup>232</sup> Adapted from J.M. Hussey and P.A. McNulty trans. *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy: Nicholas Cabasilas*. (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press 1991), 61.



being an inspired human act rather than inherently Christocentric but also accompanied by a supplication *not* required of Christ. This first aspect of the subsidiary significance of the Apostolos may be called the hymnic.

The second aspect of this Gospel-Apostolos relationship in Cabasilas is concerned with the position of the respective lections in the Liturgy itself. In the Eucharistic rites the Apostolos lection precedes the Gospel. Cabasilas is at pains to emphasise that this represents inferiority of honour rather than vice versa:

Why do we not read the Gospel first? Because that which Our Lord himself said constitutes a more perfect manifestation than the words of the Apostles. Now the Lord did not display to all men the extent of his power and goodness at once (this was the result of his second manifestation), but he proceeded from that which was more obscure to that which was clearer. That is why, if we wish to illustrate the gradualness of his showing of himself, it is better to read the Epistle [ta Apostolika] before the Gospel. And therefore those texts which reveal his supreme manifestation are kept to the end, as we shall show.<sup>233</sup>

The anticipatory and typological function of the Apostolos lection in the Liturgy is clear. The words of the Apostles are by implication obscure while the revelatory content of the Gospel lection is completely open to sight. Thus the Christocentric analogy is now also extended to the position and order of the anagnosmata.

Finally, there is the distinction between the revelatory or iconic function of the εὐαγγέλιον codex in the Divine Liturgy and the Apostolos, which is aniconic. This is discussed in an extensive section which it is worth reproducing here in order to get a full view of the evidence:

What do the readings from Holy Scripture at this point in the liturgy signify? Their significance [. . .] is this: they represent the manifestation of the Saviour . . . The first showing of the Gospel, with the book closed, represents the first appearance of the Saviour, when, while he himself remained silent, the Father made him manifest; when he, saying nothing, had need of another's voice to proclaim him. But that

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<sup>233</sup> Adapted from Hussey and McNulty, *Commentary*, 62.

which is represented here is his more perfect manifestation, during which he mingled with the crowd and made himself known not only by his *own* words, but *also* by that which he taught to his Apostles in sending them to the lost sheep of Israel. This is why the Epistle *and* Gospel are read.<sup>234</sup>

The εὐαγγέλιον as a codex is given an inherent liturgical significance which adds another layer of meaning to the hymnic aspect observed above. In the Byzantine Eucharistic rites, the raised display of the closed Gospel Lectionary occurs at the beginning of the liturgy of the Catechumens. Accompanied by a priestly blessing for the worshippers, this effects or symbolises the blessing of Christ upon those gathered. As Jordan observes, some Gospel Lectionaries had deluxe covers and their liturgical function probably contributed to this tradition of decoration.<sup>235</sup> Cabasilas sees a dual relationship between the display of Gospel Lectionaries and the inferior position of the Apostolos. First, the display of the Gospel Lectionary not accompanied by recitation of the Gospel lection symbolises the silence of Christ and his proclamation by John the Baptist, and His manifestation of the Father. Second, the teaching of the Apostles is dependent upon Christ's initiative and his sending them out. The reading of the Gospel lection is a more complete manifestation of this reality than the initial display of the codex, but the reading of the Apostolos is not directly reflected upon at all. In fact, the liturgical 'meaning' of the Apostolos as the tradition of the Apostolic teaching is ultimately derived from the Incarnation via the Gospel Lectionary, in the second degree. If the Apostolos signifies anything it is tied closely to the dominant Christocentric liturgical theology.

Writing in the fourteenth century, Cabasilas is probably reinforcing existing lines of theological reflection on Byzantine Eucharistic worship. For this investigation it is worth noting that such commentaries deal with the existing reality of the Liturgy in the author's context. As the Apostolos is accorded a derivative position in Cabasilas' interpretations, it is likely that this is a development on the lack of reflection in earlier Byzantine sources. This might suggest that the origins and history of the Apostolos require a separate account from that given for the origin of the Gospel Lectionary given that the Apostolos lacks the same hymnic, positional and iconic significance in later writing.

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<sup>234</sup> Adapted from Hussey and McNulty, *Commentary*, 62.

<sup>235</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 183.

The latest source in the current investigation reinforces the subsidiary position of the Apostolos manuscript in the Liturgy, though in subtly different terms. Writing in the early fifteenth century, Symeon of Thessalonika (c. 1381–1429) makes the symbolism of the Apostolic mission more explicit than Cabasilas. Referring to the Apostolos lection in the Divine Liturgy, Symeon writes: “Then the apostolic words are read, an act which represents the sending of the apostles to the nations. Bishops and priests are seated during this reading, but not deacons, because the former have apostolic grace.”<sup>236</sup> In Symeon’s view the act of reading from the Apostolos mirrors the commission of the Apostles, which is dependent on Christ’s initiative. In contrast the Gospel lection may be directly identified with Christ’s own person and mission. This connection between the Gospel (as proclamation and as codex) and the authority of Christ is a major theme of Byzantine theological reflection. Much earlier, Maximus the Confessor (c.580-662) had made a similar connection between the episcopal office, the Gospel book, and Christ’s person in his argument that the Emperor cannot be regarded as a priest.<sup>237</sup>

During the recitation of the Apostolos in the Divine Liturgy only the deacons remain standing in view of their inferiority in relation to the Apostolic grace granted to Christ’s servants. Implicitly this confirms the role of the ἀναγνώστης (lector), whom we can infer chanted the Apostolos lection on the majority of occasions. In the later Byzantine Church the ἀναγνώστης was an ordained, clerical position and involved the individual concerned being tonsured by a bishop, but such a person was not in the episcopal position of symbolising Christ directly.<sup>238</sup> Thus the Apostolic frames of reference cohere well, in Symeon’s interpretation, with the task of reading the Apostolos lection.

This hierarchical mode of interpretation is developed by Symeon’s later discussion of the giving of the peace to the ἀναγνώστης following his recitation of the Apostolos lection:

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<sup>236</sup> Adapted from S. Hawkes-Teeples trans. *St Symeon of Thessalonika: The Liturgical Commentaries*. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2011), 121.

<sup>237</sup> “And you said, What, then, is not every Christian Emperor also a priest?” And I said, “He is not, for neither does he stand at the altar . . . Nor does he baptize [sic], or anoint, or lay on hands and make bishops and priest and deacons; nor does he anoint churches, or wear the symbols of the priesthood, the pallium and the Gospel book as the crown and purple robe are symbols of kingship.” Maximus the Confessor, “The Trial of Maximus”, G.C. Berthold, trans. *Maximus Confessor: Selected Writings*. [Classics of Western Spirituality] (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1985), 21.

<sup>238</sup> J.M. Hussey and A. Louth, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*. Rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), xl, xlv.

But he [the bishop] also gives the lector and a blessing both before and after [the reading]; first, to receive the power to proclaim the Gospel and then, the blessing in recompense for having done so, just as earlier he provides the one who read the apostles' words [ta rēmata apostolika] with peace and a blessing. However, he himself does not give the peace [to the reader of the Epistle], but through the first bishop or priest under him, because these have then the rank of apostles, while the first bishop has the rank of Christ. Therefore he himself greets the Gospel [to euaggelion] with peace because they preserve the image of the apostles.<sup>239</sup>

Both the reader of the Gospel lection and the Apostolos lection (presbyter/deacon and αναγνώστης respectively) are blessed by the presiding bishop. Yet the Gospel book and the act of reading from it can be directly associated with the presiding bishop, who stands for Christ in the overall symbolic interpretation. Conversely, the blessing to the αναγνώστης must be given indirectly through the next most senior member of the clergy present, representing the important but subsidiary nature of the Apostolos tradition to the worshippers. As in Cabasilas, the Gospel Lectionary has a directly Christocentric iconic function, whereas the revelatory function of the Apostolos codex and its lections are derived from the central focus of the Liturgy. Nevertheless, the role of the Apostolos tradition as normative revelation (Scripture) for Byzantine theology is reinforced within this Gospel-centric liturgical framework. There is no question that the liturgical action has any bearing on the status on the Apostolic words (τὰ ρήματα αποστολικά). The Apostolic nature and function of the Apostolos reading is as initiative of the Church's theology as the reading of the Gospel, only in a subsidiary fashion.

In conclusion, it can be observed that later Byzantine sources contain a fairly elaborate theological reflection which was necessary to contextualise the place of the Apostolos codex in the Liturgy. All this strongly suggests a long-standing derivative or secondary role for that tradition in comparison to the Gospel Lectionary, which leaves the question of origins and development open. Theological reflection in the sources also confirms the decorative inferiority of Apostolos books in the extant manuscript tradition. This suggests that the reflections of Cabasilas and Symeon are broadly accurate in assigning subsidiary revelatory significance to the Aposotlos. With the exception of several examples in the

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<sup>239</sup> Adapted from Hawkes-Teeple, *St Symeon*, 247-9.

sources we have examined and in the extant manuscript tradition, Byzantines placed lower emphasis on the Apostolos codex. Theology and book-culture evidently formed a hermeneutical circle, with the traditional status of the Apostolos codex affecting the production of such books and vice versa. How this relates to the manuscript tradition in text and illumination requires further exploration.<sup>240</sup>

#### **d) Conclusions**

Taft writes that “[i]n the Typikon of the Great Church, praxeis and apostolos seem to be two separate books. In manuscripts, apostolos usually designates a lectionary containing only the passages actually read during the service, while the term praxapostolos refers to a book with the whole New Testament text except for the Four Gospels and Revelation.”<sup>241</sup> While the evidence from Byzantine sources affirms this distinction, the sub-divisions and boundaries between codices are not always as straightforward. Certainly ‘Apostolos’ is the standard terminology for the Lectionary Acts and Epistles tradition in the Byzantine sources examined, and Praxapostolos may be used in a general sense. However, the evidence observed here, in conjunction with evidence for the high proportion of Praxapostolos codices containing apparatus set out in the Introduction, suggests that some Praxapostoloi were also recited in worship.

On the basis of non-manuscript evidence alone it is clear that there are degrees of awareness of the distinctions in vocabulary across various monastic institutions. Additionally, several sources demonstrate awareness of a general term ‘Lectionary’ of which Gospel, Propheteia and Apostolos books form significant sub-collections. While an Apostolos manuscript is in Ericsson’s terms a “Church Bible”, such codices found their place within the wider library or canon of Byzantine Scriptural and liturgical documents. Evidently the distinction between Lectionary collection or Lectionary and commentary was sometimes blurred.

In the sources there are references both to ‘regular’ Apostolos manuscripts for daily use, such as in the Skoteine document, and ornate codices of some variety. The evidence from

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<sup>240</sup> See Chapter 4 below.

<sup>241</sup> R. Taft, S.J., “Praxapostolos” in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

late Byzantine sources suggests that majuscule manuscripts continued to be possessed, if not used, by some monasteries even when the minuscule script had long dominated the continuous text and Lectionary manuscript traditions of the New Testament. This at least opens the possibility that the text, lection systems and liturgical rubrics of such manuscripts continued to have an after-life in the wider Apostolos Lectionary tradition. Liturgical material of Apostolos manuscripts which one has found to be confirmed in the Byzantine sources includes the Synaxarion lection calendar or table, the prokeimenon and possible commentary. Also, the distinction between Apostolos manuscripts containing lections for daily use and other types such as select lectionaries has been observed.

Returning to the research questions of the introduction, the sources suggest that the Apostolos tradition has more fluid boundaries than previously thought. This includes variation in the fixed and movable readings across geographical locations and centuries, possible relationship to OT or extra-canonical material in certain manuscripts, variations in liturgical usage and in the number of lections presented. It is important to recall that these Byzantine sources offer us a mere echo of the much louder voice of the manuscript tradition itself. This makes the quest for an Apostolos archetype - either in text-state or manuscript - even more challenging. Since there is not a single homogeneous manuscript tradition even in the Middle and Late Byzantine sources, it is even harder to imagine uniform origins in an earlier period where the evidence is even scarcer.

Finally, in the exploration of the theological significance given to the Apostolos tradition by Byzantine liturgical commentaries there is a pattern of inferiority and dependence on a long-standing Christocentric Gospel Lectionary narrative. The late date of fully-developed reflection on the Apostolos may mean that there were historical factors which precipitated the authoring of such interpretations, although these factors are obscure. The position of the Apostolos relative to the Gospel codex in the late Byzantine liturgy undoubtedly reflects a long-standing liturgical tradition in the Eucharistic rites of the Greek-speaking Churches. How far and in what ways this is reflected by the manuscript tradition has only been hinted in this section, for instance in the comparison between the practice of blessing with the Gospel book and the scarcity of extant deluxe Apostolos manuscripts.

The Apostolos Lectionary tradition functioned as the normative, canonical and revelatory textual form of the non-Gospel tradition in the Byzantine Church. While the Apostolos was clearly understood in 'Apostolic' terms the form that function took was inherently ecclesial, Gospel-centred and liturgical.

## II. Criteria for the Selection of Manuscripts

In the Chicago *Studies* the central criterion for manuscript selection is availability, representing a period in which large numbers of Gospel Lectionaries had not been subject to attention in Athos and elsewhere. In Metzger's study of Luke in the Gospel Lectionary, thirteen manuscripts are selected, many present in Chicago or elsewhere in the U.S. (L303, L1231, L1564, L1599, L1634, L1642, L1633).<sup>242</sup> Additionally, Colwell's previous fifty-eight Lectionary collations provide "further check on the reliability of the text derived from these fourteen manuscripts". A methodological problem here is that the 'reliability test' provided by Colwell's collations is limited to one lection (Luke 16:19-31).<sup>243</sup> As Colwell himself appreciates, testing for 'block mixture' i.e., copying of lections from different exemplars, is particularly necessary in Lectionary studies.<sup>244</sup> Without such tests it is difficult to determine how lections from any work or lection system were transmitted across the tradition. To presuppose that Metzger's sample is adequate to describe a 'Lectionary text' in Luke, rather than incidental agreement, is unwarranted. Nevertheless, Metzger's method of selection is the most thorough available in the period.

In his 2007 Ph.D. study into Gospel Lectionary influences on continuous text manuscripts, Kellett's criteria for the selection of Lectionary manuscripts are listed as follows: "availability, condition, content, date and location."<sup>245</sup> Kellett's also includes a contemporary edited Lectionary as a control in his sample, as well as a number of fragments. Since his research is primarily directed towards discovering textual relationships between Lectionary and continuous text manuscripts, he narrows his sample strictly to manuscripts exhibiting 'Byzantine' type lection systems. Kellett states bluntly that in the case of the Gospel Lectionary "the Jerusalem lectionaries preserve an earlier form of the text and are useful in clarifying the transmission history of the

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<sup>242</sup> B.M. Metzger, *The Saturday and Sunday Lessons from Luke in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), 6.

<sup>243</sup> Metzger, *Saturday and Sunday Lessons*, 7.

<sup>244</sup> See e.g. E.C. Colwell, "Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and Its Limitations" in, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 66 (2) (June 1947), 116-7; "Method in the Study of the Text of the Gospel Lectionary" in, *Prolegomena*.

<sup>245</sup> G. E. Kellett, *Synaxarion Lectionary Influences in the Gospels: A Study of the Interrelationship between Lectionary and Continuous Text Manuscripts*. (New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary: Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 2007), 83.



Lectionary.”<sup>246</sup> It is uncertain how well-founded such a conclusion is. This highlights an issue with excluding ‘Jerusalem’ lectionaries from a sample, however narrow the research focus. Valuable textual data has been excluded from Kellett’s study: had his study included ‘Jerusalem’ lectionaries there would have been grounds for comparing the textual states of earlier and later forms of lection text against earlier and later forms of continuous text. While being potentially complicated, this would have strengthened Kellett’s account of Lectionary influences on the continuous text of the Byzantine period.

It is notable that Kellett explicitly excludes provenance from his selection criteria writing that “given the supposed control Constantinople exercised in shaping the content and textual character of the Lectionary text, differences in the selections and arrangements of lections were minimal.”<sup>247</sup> While this may be entirely logical in the case of Kellett’s study, in the current selection greater attention has been paid to a wider sample of Lectionary types and arrangements in order to yield a more comprehensive data set.

Jordan’s study of Johannine lectionaries has much fewer criteria than the previous studies examined:

one randomly selected lectionaries dating from the eighth to the eleventh century that contained extant leaves of Johannine pericopae in the Synaxarion. Palimpsests and select lectionaries are excluded from the sample. Palimpsests are difficult to read using microfilm and the select lectionaries are probably best studied separately.<sup>248</sup>

The principal reason for Jordan’s decision to select Lectionary manuscripts ‘randomly’ is the high number of manuscripts which contain Johannine lections. John is the best-represented work in Lectionary manuscripts of the ‘Byzantine’ system and the majority of extant Lectionary manuscripts are εὐαγγέλιον codices. Given the size (126) of Jordan’s sample, the decision to exclude select Lectionaries is legitimate. However, a possible weakness of such exclusion is the inability to compare existing art-historical manuscript groupings against textual groups identified in the course of research. This could provide new insight into the copying history of prominent Gospel Lectionaries,

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<sup>246</sup> Kellett, *Synaxarion Lectionary Influences*, 86.

<sup>247</sup> Kellett, *Synaxarion Lectionary Influences*, 87.

<sup>248</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 43.

especially if it could be proven that art and text were copied from the same or related exemplars.

Another criterion for the selection of manuscripts is their textual character based on previous studies. In his summary of Greek Lectionary research, for example, Osburn cites Gospel Lectionaries found to have a “significant divergence from the dominant text” in the IGNTP edition of Luke.<sup>249</sup> One may consult the manuscripts sampled in the classic Chicago *Studies* for similar identification of textually significant witnesses. For instance, Riddle’s study of Markan lections in the Matthew-Luke periods of the Synaxarion utilises a ‘witness-value’ methodology in the selection of manuscripts. Riddle writes that “a few lectionaries have been recognized as having valuable readings . . . But neither Hort nor Scrivener was attracted to discover the secret of their value”.<sup>250</sup> Riddle’s established purpose, along with most of the early *Studies* was to establish the textual grouping of the Gospel Lectionary. He poses the investigation of his sample as “an enticing problem why manuscripts of the thirteenth century preserve so a high a proportion of neutral quality . . . [or] why the neutral element in an unmixed form should be so preserved.”<sup>251</sup> While a strength of this method is its ability to set the findings of Lectionary research into the wider context of the textual tradition, its debt to traditional text-type grouping leaves significant questions. For example, is Riddle’s sample implicitly biased by a search for ‘neutral’ readings in certain witnesses, rather than a comprehensive collation of all relevant witnesses? Another issue with the ‘witness-value’ criterion for this study is that few Apostolos witnesses have been grouped in this way by previous studies. Even so, this criterion is less desirable in the contemporary context given the much wider electronic access to manuscripts and the use of computer software to collate witnesses.

Finally, distribution of Lectionary types is also methodologically significant. The sample of manuscripts in this respect can affect the selection of test passages, since different Apostolos codices present different anagnostic arrangements in both Synaxarion and Menologion. Another related issue is the percentage of identifiably ‘Byzantine’

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<sup>249</sup> Osburn, “Greek Lectionaries”, 106.

<sup>250</sup> D.W. Riddle, “The Character of the Lectionary Text of Mark in the Week-Days of Matthew and Luke in, *Prolegomena*, 24.

<sup>251</sup> Riddle, “Lectionary Text of Mark”, 25.

lectionaries in comparison to those manuscripts which are known to present alternative lection systems. Working with L846, a select 'Jerusalem' type Lectionary containing text from the Pauline corpus, has revealed important similarities with later Byzantine lectionaries. The extent to which lectionaries of different kinds present the same portions of a work is of vital importance. If the disparity in the selection of manuscripts is too large then it will be difficult to measure the level of agreement between witnesses to a given text passage in a broad enough sample of Apostolos witnesses. Conversely, insufficient diversity will present an inaccurately homogenous picture of the development of Lectionary manuscripts and their texts. This error has often been made in earlier scholarly approaches to the Lectionary when it was assumed that uniformity of text, derived from the collation of very limited test passages, was indicative of functional uniformity across the tradition. In the selection which follows a balance between these two methodological pitfalls has been attempted, ensuring a sufficient range in terms of provenance, dating, and codex type while attempting to gather comparable textual data from each witness.

### III. The Apostolos Manuscript Selection and its Features

#### a) The Sample of Apostolos MSS

<b>MS ID</b>	<b>Alt ID</b>	<b>Lang</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>GNT4?</b>	<b>Liste Contents</b>	<b>CBM Class</b>	<b>Type- Acts</b>	<b>Type- Epistles</b>
40156	Paris Bib. Nat. Gr. 382	g	X	Yes	Lae	A	esk	esk-alt
41021	Jerus. Pat. Saba 612	g	XII	Yes	l+ask	EA	esk	sk-alt
40809	St Catherine's Sinai Gr. 286	g	XII	Yes	Lae	A	esk	esk
40060	Paris Bib. Nat. Gr. 375	g	XI	Yes	l+aesk	EA	esk	sk
40023	BL Cotton Vesp. B.18	g	XI	No	Laesk	A	esk	sk
42024	Benaki Mus. Athens MS. TA 247	g	XI	No	Lae	A[+e x]	esk	esk
41178	Monastery Ioannu Patmos 11	g	XI	No	Lae	A	esk	esk
40173	Russische Nationalbiblioth ek, St Petersburg Gr. 57	g	X	No	Laesk	A	esk	sk
41442	St Catherine's Sinai Gr. 292	g	XI	No	Laesk	A	esk	sk

40162	Glasgow Hunter 406	g	XII	No	Lae	A	esk	esk
40112	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 24	g	XI	No	l+aesk	EA	esk	sk
40241	Glasgow Hunter 419	g	XII	No	l+ae †	A	esk	esk
40604	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana S. Marco 704	g	XII	No	lae†	A	esk	esk
40164	Oxford Christ Church Wake 33	g	XII	No	Lae	A	esk	esk
41506	Lincoln College Gr.4	g	XII	No	laesk†	A	esk	sk
41894	Benaki Mus. Athens MS. TA 271	g	XIV	No	lae †	A	esk	esk
41141	Athos Vatopedi 925	g	XII	No	l+ae	EA[+ OT]	sel	esk
41126	Athos Vatopedi 866	g	XII	No	l+asel	EA	sel	sel
40257	BL Add. 29714	g	XIV	No	lae †	A	esk	esk
40169	BL Add. 32051	g	XIII	No	lae	A	esk	esk
40165	Lambeth Palace 1190	g	XI	Yes	lae †	A	esk	esk

40168	Lambeth Palace 1196	g	XII	No	lae	A	esk	esk
41300	Jerus. Pat. Stavru 67	g	XI	No	laesk †	A	esk	sk
40587	Nat Lib Athens 205	g	XI	No	lae	A	esk	esk
41188	Panteleimonos 67	g	XIV	No	lae	A	esk	esk
40170	Ann Arbor 35	g	XIV	Yes	lae †	A	esk	e-alt
40610	Sinai Gr. 295	g	XV	No	lae	A	esk	esk
41685	Munster BM Ms. 16	g	XV	No	lae †	A	esk	esk
42010	Nat Lib Athens 2010	g	XV	No	lae	A	esk	esk
41985	Christ's College GG. 2.3 (Ms. 253)	g	XV	No	l+aesk †	EA	e-sel	sk
41825	Nat Lib Athens 3041, fol. 72- 188	g	XVI	No	lae †	A	esk	esk
42058	Barlaam Meteora 7	g	XVI I	No	lae	A	esk	esk
41297	Jerus. Saba 222	g	XV	No	lae	A	esk	esk
41159	Lavra G 123	g	XIV	No	lae	A	esk	esk
41440	Sinai Gr. 290	g	XIII	No	lae	A	esk	e
41364	St Catherine's Sinai Gr. 285	g	XII	Yes	lae †	A	esk	esk

41298	Jerus. Pat. Saba 266	g	XI	Yes	Laesk	A	esk	sk
41590	Sinai Gr. 287	g	XIII	No	lae	A	esk	esk
41281	Sinai Gr. 296	g	XV	No	lae	A	esk	esk
41282	Sinai Gr. 297	g	XVI	No	lae	A	esk	esk
41439	Sinai Gr. 289	g	XII	Yes	lae	A	esk	sk
40846	Sinai Gr. 212	g	IX	No	l+asel	EA	sel(Jer us)	sel(Jerus )
41774	Sinai Arab. 172,2, fol. 273- 168	g	XIII	No	la/laP { † }	A	N/A	N/A
40030	Bodleian Cromw. 11, p. 149-340	g	XIII	No	l+a/l+aLi t	EA[?]	sel	sel
40177	BL Add. 11841	g	XI	No	laLit †/la	A[?]	sel	sel
N/A	Sinai. Ar. 170	g-ar	1285	No	la-Arb	A	alt	alt

*Table 7: Extract of the Final Selection of Apostolos MSS*

The above table represents an extract of the fuller version, which is located in Appendix 7. The final Apostolos selection numbers 46 manuscripts, 41 of which have been included in the main textual study of the Synaxarion. Table 7 lists the Apostolos codices in the order that they were examined. Two manuscripts (L846, L1774) have been examined in their entirety, but described only in the Menologion sections of each manuscript. For reasons that are explored below three codices (L30, L177, Sinai. Ar. 170) have not been detailed in either study but have also been examined in their entirety. Following the selection criteria (above) a total of 31/45 manuscripts which appear in the final selection were not included in the UBS GNT<sup>4</sup> sample of lectionaries. As a result, the textual data produced from these witnesses is new to this thesis. However, several have been the subject of codicological studies or examined by previous generations of textual scholars.

All but one of the manuscripts in the Apostolos sample are substantially Greek, though some contain Arabic numerals and liturgical material.

The *Liste* content-classification for each manuscript has been listed alongside the CBM classification, both of which are possible methods for detailing the content of an Apostolos MS in an abbreviated form. A recent development, the CBM (Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts) project aims “at developing a new methodology for cataloguing and investigation of Byzantine manuscripts” and to “provide a portal to the worldwide collection of Byzantine manuscripts”.<sup>252</sup> The approach of the CBM to the study of Byzantine manuscripts is repeatedly termed ‘codico-liturgical’ and the editors describe this approach as concerning “the complete codex forms in their original liturgical setting. Precisely for this reason we also return to the authentic designations in the codices themselves, often mentioned in the so-called colophons (*ta sēmeiōmata*).”<sup>253</sup> The CBM editors present a series of content-designations which must be examined with regards to the manuscript selection, especially as they claim that this nomenclature draws upon Kadas’ study of Byzantine sources dating as far back as the ninth century: “authentic names and appropriate abbreviations”.<sup>254</sup> Though unmentioned by the CBM editors, this attempt to root Lectionary content-descriptions in the usage of Byzantine sources is also a concern of Western scholarship at least as far back as the *Chicago Studies* and arguably further.<sup>255</sup> In order to examine the advantages of using this system in addition to that of the *Liste*, the principal CBM Apostolos classifications are shown in parallel in the table below. Parentheses indicate where the definition/classification is left undefined by the editors.

<b>Liste Classification</b>	<b>CBM Classification</b>	<b>CBM Description</b>
l+a (e, esk, sk, k)	EA	Evangelio-Apostolos Codex

<sup>252</sup> K. Spronk, G. Rouwhorst and S. Royé eds., “The leading principles, aim and methodology of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts Programme” in, *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in their Liturgical Context: Challenges and Perspectives* [Subsidia 1] (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 3.

<sup>253</sup> Spronk et al., “The CBM Publication Plan” in, *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in their Liturgical Context: Challenges and Perspectives* [Subsidia 1] (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 296.

<sup>254</sup> Spronk et al., “The CBM Publication Plan”, 296. Citing S. N. Kadas, *Tà σημειώματα τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἱεραρ Μειίστης Βατοπαιδίου* (Hagion Oros, 2000).

<sup>255</sup> E.C. Colwell and J.M. Rife, “Special Uses of Terms in the Gospel Lectionary” in, E.C. Colwell and D.W. Riddle, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1933).



la (e, esk, sk, k)	A	Apostolos Codex
l <sup>a</sup> Lit/l <sup>a</sup> Lit	[N/A]	Not an Apostolos Codex
l <sup>a</sup> sel	A	Apostolos Codex
l <sup>a</sup> unsp	A	[Unclassified Apostolos]

Table 8: Liste and CBM Classifications of Apostolos MSS

It is notable that l<sup>a</sup>Lit codices are excluded from the CBM definition of an Apostolos codex: “The l<sup>a</sup> Lit and l<sup>a</sup> Ps/Od are not Apostolos codices”.<sup>256</sup> They define the codex as “a recomposed Praxapostolos, in the anagnostic-liturgical (re)arrangement of Acts, Paul and the Catholic Letters.”<sup>257</sup> Junack includes l<sup>a</sup>Lit etc. manuscripts in his survey of the Apostolos in the Catholic Letters but notes that “[d]ie zuletzt gennante Gruppe, deren Inhalt in der Kurgefassten Liste mit l lit, La oder l<sup>a</sup> Lit umschrieben wird, ist völlig heterogen, sowohl bezüglich der Liturgika wie auch der neutestamentlichen Lesungen.”<sup>258</sup> As far as l<sup>a</sup>Lit manuscripts are concerned, the Alands apparently concur: “The lectionaries included in the list of New Testament manuscripts present a most varied assortment of types, even apart from about two hundred entries which actually should not have been included at all because they are only broadly of a liturgical nature, containing only scattered New Testament texts (this heritage from the past will not easily be shed).”<sup>259</sup> Yet it is unclear whether the Alands refer exclusively to l<sup>a</sup>Lit codices or whether l<sup>a</sup>sel manuscripts - which the CBM editors retain - are also in their purview, which is more likely the case. In reality both codex types are often highly fragmentary in their presentation of New Testament text which suggests that the distinction may be somewhat arbitrary. For instance, this boundary would exclude L177 (l<sup>a</sup> Lit †), which contains three lections from 1 John amid OT lections, from the Apostolos sample but leave L30 (l<sup>a</sup>a) which is a liturgical codex containing Menologion Apostolos lections and Gospel material.

<sup>256</sup> Spronk et al., “The CBM Publication Plan”, 302.

<sup>257</sup> Spronk et al., “The CBM Publication Plan”, 303.

<sup>258</sup> K. Junack, “Zu den Griechischen Lektionaren und ihrer Überlieferung der Katholischen Briefe.” K. Aland ed. *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*. [ANTF 5] (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972), 501.

<sup>259</sup> Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 163.

Another issue which arises from the CBM nomenclature is the classification of codices which do not conform to the principal descriptions. L1141 (Athos Vatopedi 925) may be described as a ‘comprehensive’ anagnostic codex since it contains OT, Gospel and Apostolos lections for the entire movable liturgical cycle. Both the *Liste* and CBM systems lack adequate terminology to describe the contents of such a codex, although the latter might list this MS under the heading of “[v]arious small codex-type groups”.<sup>260</sup>

The current writer proposes a new classification as EA[+OT] for L1141. A deeper problem for the CBM classification is that the fluid boundaries between Byzantine liturgical/biblical codex types may undermine the broader usefulness of the distinctions as scholarly tools. Additional classifications would prevent this from becoming a methodological error. The clear advantage of utilising the CBM method of classification is that researchers will be able to locate a Byzantine manuscript and contextualise it in terms of its contents and its relationship to similar codices. However, unless the CBM definition of an Apostolos codex is expanded to include atypical manuscripts the danger is that another academic construct will simply replace previous distortions of the tradition.

This issue is related to the ongoing debate in New Testament textual criticism regarding the inclusion of marginal materials as witnesses to the text. For the purposes of this study the inclusive principle that codices which contain Apostolos anagnosmata are worthy of examination has been followed, not least because this allows the majority of regular manuscripts to be set in realistic historical context. In Lectionary research there is not only a danger of excluding possible witnesses to a text, but also excluding material which might shed light on paratextual features of non-select manuscripts, such as festal traditions or liturgical rubrics. It may be the case that atypical manuscripts are archetypes or exemplars for the majority Byzantine Apostolos tradition, or that there are codex types which are derivative of forms which are under-represented in the selection of manuscripts catalogued by New Testament textual critics. For instance, if one is unable to access the information that a NT codex contains OT lections the unified approach to the study of biblical-liturgical manuscripts advocated by the CBM is unachievable. New Testament critics will continue to view the codex as a mere witness to the text and liturgists may remain unaware of the novel content.

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<sup>260</sup> Spronk et al., “The CBM Publication Plan”, 308.

Since the historical priorities of textual scholars differ from those of liturgists it is possible that the *Liste* definitions of work-content in Apostolos manuscripts do not accurately represent the entire tradition. Furthermore, in considering the Byzantine sources above it was noted that continuous text Praxapostolos codices with atypical contents were described as such, even if they contained additional OT material. Therefore the CBM definition of an Apostolos codex as a recomposed Praxapostolos may need to be broadened if an accurate codico-liturgical relationship is to be established between various types of continuous text and Lectionary manuscript traditions.

In the final selection table the work-content of two Synaxarion sections has been listed for each manuscript. Such a distinction is made necessary by the difference in many Apostolos manuscripts between the presentation of lections in the Acts (Pascha-Pentecost) and Pauline/Catholic Letters (Pentecost onwards) parts of the liturgical calendar. It was discovered early on in the examination of the Apostolos that a manuscript may contain a full Weekday-Saturday-Sunday cycle in Acts but revert to a Saturday-Sunday or, rarely, a Weekday-only cycle in the post-Pentecost period. The nomenclature has been adapted from the *Liste* and the definitions vary accordingly. ‘esk’ indicates a full cycle of lections (Weekday-Saturday-Sunday); ‘sk’ indicates Saturday and Sunday lections only; ‘e’ indicates Weekday only lections; ‘e-alt’, ‘e-sel’ and ‘esk-alt’ represent respective cycle systems of a select or alternative nature to the paradigmatic Byzantine lection systems set out elsewhere in this thesis. In this instance ‘sel’ designates a system which generally conforms to the standard Byzantine calendar but abbreviates it in a manner peculiar to one or a group of codices. In comparison ‘alt’ indicates a manuscript which contains a divergent anagnostic system, but which does not conform to the so-called ‘Jerusalem’ (Palestinian) calendars (Jerus). The Palestinian Lectionary calendars are not the direct focus of this study – as such L846 is the only manuscript in the final selection which might fall into this category. Many manuscripts in the final selection are Palestinian in provenance but present the developed Middle Byzantine anagnostic system.

## b) Features of Notable Manuscripts

L60 (Paris Bib. Nat. Gr. 375) is an EA type codex dated to the eleventh century and Jordan notes that “The scribe of L60 writes in a rapid style of minuscule giving it an untidy appearance.”<sup>261</sup> The manuscript contains Gospel and Apostolos lections in an atypical order, with the Apostolos lection directly following the relevant Gospel lection of the day in the Synaxarion (e.g., John-Acts, Matthew-Acts). The Pauline/Catholic Letters portion of the movable calendar is Saturday-Sunday only. L60 contains a Menologion (ff.151r onwards) presenting Gospel and Apostolos lections. The contents of the manuscript have been extensively explored by the Lakes,<sup>262</sup> and by Jordan.<sup>263</sup> As such there is little purpose in repeating Jordan’s apt observations in their entirety. However, there are several features of L60 specifically relevant to a discussion of the Apostolos tradition. First, there is significant hymnal material “beside the lection identifiers”, for instance on f.5v one reads ‘τροπαριον ηχος β: υπερ ευλογημενι υπαρχει θεοτοκε παρθενε προκειμενον ηχος β: μνησθησομαι του ονοματος σου εν πασι γενεα στιχος: ακουσον θυγατηρ και ιδε και κλινον το ους.’<sup>264</sup> On the topic of liturgical material Jordan suggests that “[s]ince L60 and L250 are Apostolos-Gospel lectionaries and contain texts that form the immediate liturgical context of their pericopae, it is probable that it was more common to weave such liturgical information around the pericopae in Apostolos-Gospel lectionaries than in Gospel lectionaries. Perhaps the copying of an Apostolos Lectionary and a Gospel Lectionary into one codex encouraged the insertion of texts from other liturgical codices.”<sup>265</sup> Second, Jordan transcribes the scribal colophon located on f.195r; the minuscule section reads: ‘ετελειωθη το παρον εκλογαδιον δια χειρος ηλιου πρεσβυτερου και μοναχου σπιλεστου μηνι νοεμβριω κς ημερα κυριακη ωρα θ (1) ζφλ ινδικτιωνος ε εν χωρα φραγκιας χαστρο δε κολονιας ως γαρ τω μετεβολην η τον γραμενον ουτος και εγραψα.’<sup>266</sup> Third, f.3r of L60 the Synaxarion headpiece title describes the manuscript: ‘αρχη των εκλογαδιν του αποστολου και του ευαγγελιου ολου του ενιαυτου αρχομενον

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<sup>261</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 127.

<sup>262</sup> K. Lake and S. Lake, *Dated Greek minuscule manuscripts to the year 1200*. [Monumenta palaeographica vetera. Series 1: Vol. V] (Boston, MA: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1934), 11.

<sup>263</sup> Jordan discusses the provenance and Latin script present in L60. Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 164-168.

<sup>264</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 92.

<sup>265</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 94.

<sup>266</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 165.

απο τη μεγαλη κυριακη του πασχα μεχρι τελος του πασχα.<sup>267</sup> It is notable that the term εκλογαδιον is used in both texts as a generic term for a Lectionary while ‘του αποστολου και του ευαγγελιου’ denotes the work-content of the codex.

L1021 (Orthodox Patriarchate Jerusalem Saba 612) is an EA Lectionary containing an esk pattern of anagnosmata for Acts and an sk system in the Epistles (*Liste* = 1+ask). The opening leaves (ff.1r-5v) are in a different, larger and less formal hand and on these leaves there are approximately thirteen lines per page. These leaves contain a Gospel lection (ff.1r-1v: Luke 3:23-29†), an Apostolos lection (ff.2r-4v: 1 Cor 15:20-28) and two fragments including the identifier of an Apostolos lection - ‘προς κορινθιους επιστολης παυλ(ου)’ (f.5v). The Gospel Lection is for the Tuesday of the 18<sup>th</sup> week after Pentecost and typically ends at Luke 4:1. The Apostolos lection is often recited at commemorations of the departed and would usually be present in the Menologion section of an Apostolos codex. Combined with the other two fragments, this pattern suggests that the first five leaves of L1021 are in fact supplementary to the rest of the manuscript. The scribal hand in this section is reminiscent of other Sabaite codices and this lends plausibility to the theory that these leaves were bound to the codex in the Laura at a different date. As such this is a small piece of evidence of the ongoing bibliographical work of the Laura.

Folios 182r-182v of L1021 contain Arabic paratextual material. On f.182r there is a note which is recorded by Peristeris as ‘Εγράφη ή παροῦσα βιβλος δια χειρὸς Ἀντωνίου ἐν τῇ ἐπωνύμῳ Λαύρα τοῦ ἡγιασμένου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα’. This note indicates that ‘this book was written by Antony in his own hand in the holy Laura of our father St Sabas’.<sup>268</sup> This note applies only to ff.6r-182v since the origin of the supplementary leaves is unclear. Above the note there is a prayer which reads ‘οτα παντα πληρων χε̄ ο θς̄ ημων δο(?) κε̄ ω̄ χε̄ ο θς̄ ημων ελεησον ημας αμ(ην).’ Sabaite Apostolos manuscripts are particularly significant for the role that they played in the synthesis of Constantinopolitan and Palestinian liturgical and anagnostical systems as well as the *typika* which governed the

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<sup>267</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 67. This may be translated “beginning of the Lectionary of the whole annual cycle of the Apostolos and the Gospel starting with the great Sunday of Pascha until the end of Pascha.”

<sup>268</sup> Translation adapted from Peristeris who has “by the hand of Antony in the Laura of St. Sabas”. Archbishop Aristarchos Peristeris, “Library and Scribal Activities at the Monastery of St. Sabas” in, J. Patrich ed. *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*. (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 176.



In L1141 the series of lections is presented together consecutively so that the lector/deacon/presbyter is able to read them in the prescribed liturgical order during the relevant liturgy. The OT-NT lection system begins on Vespers on the Wednesday of the Sixth Week of Pascha, which is a preparation for the commemoration the Ascension of Our Lord. In order to give a brief overview of the lection-arrangement in this codex, the order of the lections and their identifying patterns for this commemoration and the following Sunday are described in brief here. On f.20v there is an identifier ‘τη δεσπερινος της εβδ(ο)μαδ(ος) εις τ(ην) παραμονην της εις οῡνους αναληψ(εως) του κῡ ημων ιω̄ χῡ: αναγνωσμα το πρω(τον) προ(φητου) ησαιου’. This may be translated as ‘[At] Vespers [on] the third day of the sixth week [of Pascha], in the preparation for the Ascension into [the] heavens of Our Lord Jesus Christ: the first lection, from the Prophet Isaiah’. The prokeimenon and sticheron are also provided for the Isaiah lection, which is Isaiah 2:2-3a. On f.21r there is an identifier in the top margin on the left hand side indicating that it is the second OT lection of the day - ‘ανα(γνωσμα) β’ - which is accompanied in the body of text by the identification προ(φητου) ησαιου το ανα(γνωσμα)’; this lection is Isaiah 62:10-63:9. The next lection is Zechariah 14:1,4,8-11 which is indicated by the identifier ‘προ(φητου) ζαχαριου’ as well as by a note in the right-hand side margin which reads ‘ανα(γνωσμα) γ’ i.e., the third OT lection. There then follows the Gospel lection for the liturgy on Ascension Day - which is Luke 24:36-53 – with prokeimenon and stichera. Neither the Markan lection for ὄρθρος of the same day nor the Apostolos for the liturgy (Acts 1:1-12) are present.

For the Seventh Sunday of Pascha, which commemorates the Nicene Fathers, the lection order is as follows. On f. 22r the identifier ‘α του κυ(ριακη) ζ των αγιων προ̄ων των εν νικαι(α) ανα(γνωσμα) απ(ο) γενε(σεως)’ precedes the first OT lection, which is Genesis 14:14-20. The second OT lection is Deuteronomy 1:8-11; the identifier is largely illegible but the lection starts with an incipit which reads ‘ειπ(εν) μωσης προς τους υιους ιη̄λ’. On f.22v the third OT lection is identified by a note in the left hand margin which reads ‘ανα(γνωσμα) γ’ and an in-text identifier ‘δευτερονομιου’ (Deuteronomy 10:14-21). The Apostolos lection with prokeimenon and stichera for the liturgy (Acts 20:16-18, 28-36) follows these OT Vespers lections and is identified as ‘ο αποστο(λος) πραξεων των αποστολων’. This is followed on f.22v by the Gospel lection for the Sunday of the Holy Fathers. In L1141 this Gospel lection is John 14:1-11, which is usually the anagnosma

for the preceding Friday (of the sixth week of Pascha). The usual Gospel lection for the Holy Fathers is John 17:1-13. It is possible that preparation of the contents of this codex from multiple manuscripts may have caused confusion on the part of the scribes copying the Gospel lection. It may be that a lapse of attention caused the person(s) producing the codex to simply place the next available Johannine lection from the exemplar after the Feast of the Ascension into this section of L1141. This error provides tentative evidence that the codex was produced from multiple exemplars, though it is impossible to say whether such exemplars were lectionaries or continuous text manuscripts. Both this and the general arrangement of lections and liturgical material in L1141 suggest multiple exemplars were necessary in the preparation of the codex. Alternatively, there may be another comprehensive Lectionary codex which provided a complete exemplar for L1141. It is likely that there are other extant manuscripts of this kind which are catalogued as Gospel Lectionaries, yet the relative scarcity of such codices means there are no others in the final selection for comparison. Furthermore, current cataloguing systems make the identification of EA[+OT] manuscripts for a comprehensive study difficult.

The complexities of the anagnostic system in L1141 are further evidenced by the presence of the additional numbering system which allows the lector to comprehend the correspondence of OT lections to the Gospel-Apostolos system. Numbering OT lections in this manner would only be necessary if they had to fit into an existing EA lection system since these OT lections would usually be arranged in their appropriate liturgical order in the codex known as the Prophetologion, which presents a number of OT Vespers lections for the movable cycle. Useful further avenues of research would include collating the texts of Prophetologion lections present in NT manuscripts and comparing them to the wider Septuagintal tradition, as well as comparing the liturgical identifiers present in extant Prophetologion codices (over 174) with those in EA-type Lectionary manuscripts.<sup>273</sup> OT lections may also accompany the saints' lives in the Byzantine Μηναίων codex as in contemporary Greek editions of this tradition, so this represents yet

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<sup>273</sup> Miller, "The Prophetologion", 62.



another possible source for OT text in NT codices.<sup>274</sup> Yet another possible source for the composition of EA[+OT] codices is select Lenten Lectionary manuscripts which present a complete pattern of NT/OT anagnosmata for this liturgical period. Such a codex is described by the Lakes (Grottaferrata, La Badia Cod. Ad. 5) and dated to 1072, which is in the same period as L1141.<sup>275</sup> If the current theory of multiple exemplars is correct, L1141 would represent a composite codex-form which combines ἀπόστολος, εὐαγγέλιον and προφητολόγιον. Even if a codex of this type had its direct ancestors in a single identical or almost-identical exemplar which was copied faithfully, the nature of the composition dictates that there must be an ancestor in which OT, NT and liturgical material was initially drawn from several textual-liturgical traditions. Indeed, L1141 may not fit the CBM definition of an Apostolos MS because it represents a ‘recomposition’ of multiple codices rather simply a reordering of the continuous text Praxapostolos codex.

L164 contains a scribal colophon at the end of the manuscript recorded by the Lakes.<sup>276</sup>

L156 (Paris Bib. Nat. Gr. 382) is an A type parchment manuscript dated by the *Liste* to the tenth century. The first ten leaves of the codex in its current binding are supplementary and are on paper.<sup>277</sup> The manuscript has a note in the bottom margin of f.271r which may be a scribal colophon but is entirely illegible by microfilm. It was examined by a number of scholars over the centuries and is termed 33<sup>a</sup> by Gregory.<sup>278</sup> L156 was checked whether Martin records a colophon, but his observations are limited to the dimensions and content of the MS.<sup>279</sup> The Acts section of the codex is listed as presenting an extensive set of identifiers and rubrics due to the almost continuous numbering system which often

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<sup>274</sup> See e.g. A. Spanos, “Introduction” in, *Codex Lesbicus Leimonos 11: Annotated Critical Edition of an unpublished Byzantine Menaion for June*. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 3-16. On examination of an accessible Menaion codex (British Library Add MS 24378) one is unable to discover any biblical material or identifiers denoting the anagnosma for each feast. For instance, at Ὑψωσις τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιῦ Σταυροῦ (14<sup>th</sup> Sept; ff.30r-34r), which has lections in editorial calendars/modern editions from Exodus and Isaiah, there are no OT lections present (see below).

<sup>275</sup> K. Lake and S. Lake, *Dated Greek minuscule manuscripts to the year 1200* [Vol. X], 15.

<sup>276</sup> Transcription reads: “ετελειωθη μηνι ιουνιω κβ̅ ημερα ε̅ ωρα ι̅ ινδικτιωνος ε̅ εν ετη απο κτισεως κοσμου ς̅π̅ γραφιν δια χειρος νικονος ιερομοναχου. εν τοις καιροις αθανασιου ιερομοναχου του προεστοτος της μονης του αγιου νικολαου του σπηλαιου ητι κρεμαστου. και αν[ ] εν αυτη τη μονη εις ιλασμον και αφεσιν αμαρτιων πασης της εν χριστω αδελφοτητος : - ουτος οριθεις νικων ιερομοναχος ελαβεν το σχημα των μοναχων εν αυτη τη ριθειση μονη του αγιου νικολαου μηνι σεπτεμβριω ις̅ ημερα κυριακη ινδικτιωνος θ̅ ετους απο κτισεως κοσμου σ̅χ̅ν̅δ̅ ἄ γεγονεν δε ιερεις το δευτερω ετη της αποταγης αυτου.” Lake and Lake, *Dated Greek manuscripts*. [Vol. V], 15.

<sup>277</sup> Gregory, *Textkritik*, 466.

<sup>278</sup> Gregory, *Textkritik*, 466.

<sup>279</sup> J.P.P. Martin, *Description Technique des Manuscrits Grecs, relatifs au N. T., conservés dans les Bibliothèques des Paris*. (Paris, 1884), 173.

accompanies the standard identifiers. Several examples of this phenomenon are discussed below. It can be observed that the fourth Sunday of Pascha (f.35r) is listed as the 22<sup>nd</sup> Acts lection in the MS, the Tuesday of the fourth week of Pascha (f.36r) is the 23<sup>rd</sup> and the Thursday of the fifth week of Pascha (f.46r) is the 33<sup>rd</sup> Acts lection. The fact there is a number assigned to each anagnosma in the Acts portion of the codex suggests a well-developed method of scribal preparation for the lection system in L156.

αναγνωσμ(α) [num]κβ[/num] πραξεων

τη [num]β[/num] της [num]μ[ill]1[/ill]/[num] εβδομαδος {in top margin} αναγνωσμ(α)  
[num]κγ[/num] πραξεων

αναγνωσμ(α) [num]λγ[/num] πραξεων

L156 has been classified in the final selection table as esk in the Acts section of the calendar and esk-alt Epistles sections of the Synaxarion. The anagnostic system in this manuscript is highly divergent from the standard Byzantine calendar and is not presented in any other codex in the final manuscript selection. Appendix 6 presents in detail a large portion of the lection system in the section of the Synaxarion which substantially presents Pauline anagnosmata (Pentecost Sunday onwards). Appendix 6 assigns each lection a unique identification which details the successive occurrence of each work e.g., the first appearance of a 1 Corinthians lection is listed AC1 (1 Cor 1:10-18). There are two advantages to this system: the total number of occurrences of lections from each work in the anagnostic system of L156 can be determined; and this figure can be compared to the number of lections from each work in the standard calendar and other manuscripts. The table in Appendix 6 also details: the work content and extent of each lection; the start and end location for each lection in the manuscript; whether or not the lection corresponds to a known lection in the standard Byzantine system;<sup>280</sup> the ID in De Vries' editorial calendar; comments indicating the closeness of correspondence to the editorial calendar and other features of each lection.

In total Appendix 6 details 198 anagnosmata in the post-Pentecost section of the Synaxarion. Of these, 51 correspond exactly to the standard Byzantine lection system for

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<sup>280</sup> Here De Vries was used to represent the standard system: De Vries, *Epistles, Gospels and Tones*, 29.

this section of the Apostolos. In this selection 62 anagnosmata correspond closely to the standard system, which is defined as exhibiting a deviation of 1-2 verses from the standard form. For example, De Vries lists the lection for the fifth Tuesday after Pentecost (AP5C) as Romans 14:10b-18 while R38 in L156 has Romans 14:9-19. 49 anagnosmata have some similarity to the editorial form, which is defined as exhibiting a deviation of more than two verses from either the incipit or end of a standard lection in De Vries. An example of this is BC25 (2 Cor 11:5-21b) which is most similar to the standard lection for the thirteenth Friday after Pentecost (AP13F), which is 2 Cor 11:5-9. In many of the lections which are close or possess some similarity to standard lections the exact interpretation is open to debate. These descriptions are provided as heuristic devices for analysis of the contents of L156. Of the remaining 36 lections, 11 are classed as totally different i.e., unique to L156, and 27 are classed as extracting or continuing a portion of another standard lection. The total does not equal 198 since the definitions of continuing a previous lection and that of close similarity overlap several times. The 11 anagnosmata peculiar to L156 in the final selection of Apostolos manuscripts are:

R22	Romans 9:13b-19
R23	Romans 9:17-28
R24	Romans 9:29-33
R25	Romans 9:33-10:17
AC3	1 Cor 2:16-3:8
AC18	1 Cor 8:4-7
CO15	Col 2:8-12
1T12	1 Tim 6:11b-16
1TI2	1 Tim 2:1-7
R45	Romans 14:6-9
GA12	Gal 5:4-14

Several hypotheses regarding the origin of these atypical lections may be valid. It is possible that these derive from local liturgical traditions or a lection system unique to a

certain monastic foundation, Diocese, region or historical period. Another theory is that the unusual structure of the lection system in L156 left the scribes with superfluous Apostolos material that they inserted into the MS from a continuous text exemplar. Two pieces of evidence may support this theory. First, several lections in L156 often appear to extract or represent portions of one single lection in the standard Byzantine calendar, suggesting there would be material remaining that the scribes needed to copy from their exemplar. For example, the consecutive lections PH13 and PH14 (Philippians 4:9b-13; Philippians 4:13-20) appear to correspond to the standard lection for AP21B, Philippians 4:10-23. Second, the unusual pattern of lections in L156 is suggestive of an unmethodical approach to the copying of lections. Weekday lections are often interpolated in a delayed order between Saturday-Sunday lections, which suggests at least preparation from a codex or codices with a regular Byzantine anagnostic system. It is notable that the Saturday-Sunday lections almost always correspond directly or closely to the standard lection content. At the end of a Weekday cycle it seems as if the copyists simply supply a remaining portion of the work in question, as in the case of GA4 (Gal 2:20b-3:7) – this is often a cause of lections which are completely atypical. One may observe this pattern in a portion of the lections which do correspond to De Vries’ system in *ExLect156*:

<b>UID</b>	<b>Work Extent</b>	<b>De Vries Lection</b>	<b>Identifier</b>	<b>Notes</b>
AC47	1 Cor 15:58-16:3	1 Cor 15:58-16:4	AP19G	Exact correspondence
BC24	2 Cor 11:31-12:9	2 Cor 11:31- 12:10	AP19A	Exact correspondence
BC25	2 Cor 11:5-9	2 Cor 11:5-21b	AP13F	Some similarity
BC26	2 Cor 11:10-16	2 Cor 11:5-21b	AP13F	Extracts above lection
BC27	2 Cor 12:10-14a	2 Cor 12:10-20	AP14B	Some similarity
BC28	2 Cor 12:14b-19a	2 Cor 12:10-20	AP14B	Extracts above lection
BC29	2 Cor 12:19b-13:1	2 Cor 12:20-13:3	AP14C	Close similarity
BC30	2 Cor 1:8-11	2 Cor 1:8-12	AP20G	Exact correspondence

GA1	Gal 1:11-19	Gal 1:11-20	AP20A	Exact correspondence
BC31	2 Cor 13:2-7a	2 Cor 13:3-end	AP14D	Some similarity
BC32	2 Cor 13:7-11	2 Cor 13:3-end	AP14D	Extracts above lection
GA2	Gal 1:17-2:5	Gal 1:1-4, 20-2:6	AP14E	Some similarity, erroneously headed προς κορινθ(ιους) [num]β[/num]
GA3	Gal 2:6b-16a	Gal 2:6-10	AP14F	Some similarity
GA4	Gal 2:20b-3:7	No Match		Totally different
BC33	2 Cor 3:12-18	2 Cor 3:12-4x	AP21G	Exact correspondence
GA5	Gal 2:16-20	Gal 2:16-21	AP21A	Exact correspondence

Table 9: Extract of Appendix 6 for L156

Finally, there is also the possibility that the lection system in L156 is erroneous. The copyist(s) could have prepared the codex from either a defective Apostolos MS or continuous text manuscript, or read the Apostolos Lectionary tables in a continuous text manuscript incorrectly. However, it may be objected that this is intrinsically unlikely given the practical liturgical purpose of such codices. It also seems highly unlikely that skilled monastic scribes would produce a defective codex. The presence of liturgical material and identifiers in the margins suggests that L156 was brought to completion and its intact survival suggests that it was used liturgically. Consequently, it is best to conclude that the anagnostic system in the post-Pentecost section of the Synaxarion in L156 served a definite purpose and was part of the codico-liturgical system of the institution where it resided. In the absence of another Apostolos codex with a similar anagnostic system it is reasonable to conclude that L156 was prepared from a currently unknown continuous text exemplar.

The MS Sinai. Ar. 170 has been included in the final selection despite not containing substantial Greek Apostolos material. Folios 1r-193r contain an Arabic Apostolos Lectionary, while ff. 194r-206r are a Greek-Arabic diglot Psalter. The manuscript is dated to 1285 and according to Ševčenko it was produced by the scribe Gerasimos under the

patronage of Bishop Arsenius, Abbot of Sinai: f.194r mentions “an ecclesiarch Clement (referred to as Anba Aklimi)”.<sup>281</sup> Ševčenko comments that “the references to Arsenius in the work of so many scribes writing in so many different languages [Greek, Arabic, Georgian, Syriac] points to an impressive level of patronage, as well as to the diversity of linguistic groups living under the leadership of the Abbot of Sinai in this period. The fact that so many of these thirteenth-century manuscripts are still in the monastery today would seem to indicate that they were never meant to travel very far.”<sup>282</sup> Sinai. Ar. 170 is included in the manuscript selection due to the extensive Greek-Arabic Apostolos textual and paratextual material on f.207r. There are approximately 40 lines of text including several lines which appear to be interlinear Greek-Arabic for reference. There are two incipits of Apostolos lections in Greek on f.207r. The first reads ‘ο απο πραξεων [εν ταις ημ]εραις εκειναις εγενετο εν τω τον απολλω ειναι εν κορινθω παυλον’ and the second reads ‘αδελφοι οσοι εβαπτισθημεν εις χ̄ν̄ ιν̄’. The first is the opening verse of the lection for the Friday after the Ascension of Our Lord or for the Third Hour of the Eve of the Theophany (Acts 19:1). The second is for the Second Hour of the Eve of the Theophany (Rom 6:3). Following these there is a Gospel lection incipit in Greek with adjacent Arabic: ‘τω καιρω εκεινω ηλθεν ο ις̄’. This pattern suggests that these lections are for the Hours on the Eve of Theophany when the order is OT-Apostolos-Gospel for each hour.

Considering the presence of the Hours lections and the diglot Psalter section of the current binding it is possible that Sinai. Ar. 170 attests to bilingual liturgies, as well as providing evidence for the inter-relation of liturgical and paratextual material across codex types and languages. Ševčenko calls the entire codex a “Bilingual Greek/Arabic Lectionary of Acts and Epistles”.<sup>283</sup> However, other than the marginal material on f.207r the Apostolos material appears to be exclusively in Arabic – only the Psalms are diglot in two columns and this portion of the codex is highly lacunose and possibly supplementary. Instead the codex should be classified as an Arabic Lectionary with marginal Greek material. F.194r, for instance, contains the final phrase of an Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος in Greek and Arabic in

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<sup>281</sup> N.P. Ševčenko, “Manuscript Production on Mount Sinai from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century” in, S.E.J. Gerstel and R.S. Nelson eds., *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St Catherine’s Monastery in the Sinai*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 253.

<sup>282</sup> Ševčenko, “Manuscript Production on Mount Sinai”, 253.

<sup>283</sup> Ševčenko, “Manuscript Production on Mount Sinai”, 256.s

adjacent columns. The Greek text reads: ‘και της μελλουσης λυτρωσαι κολασεως τους ση{sic} βοωντας αλληλουια’. Sinai Ar. 70 may be useful in the current study in providing context for those Greek Apostolos lectionaries in the sample which contain Arabic numerals, identifiers and liturgical material, especially those of Sinaite provenance.

L257 (BL Add. MS. 29714) is listed in Turyn’s study of Greek manuscripts in British libraries. Turyn records a “subscription written in red on f.178v: † ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ Ἰγνατίου. ἐν ἔτει : Ϸω̄ ιδ̄ ἰν(δικτιῶνος) δ̄ εὐχθεθαί μοι διὰ τὸν κ(ύριο)ν οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες αὐτόν”; “The MS was written by Ignatius in A.M. 6814 = A.D. 1305/1306.”<sup>284</sup> According to Scrivener L257 was “bought of Nicholas Parassoh in 1874.”<sup>285</sup>

Scrivener records the following information about L162: “Glasgow, Hunt. Mus. V. 3.4 [AD 1199], 11x7 7/8, ff.239 (22), 2 cols., mus. rubr. Written by order of Luke of Antioch. Belonged to Caesar de Missy.”<sup>286</sup> There is a series of notes on f.239v. The subscription reads “ἐγραφη τα ιερα αυτ(ον) βιβλια οτε αποστολ(ος) και το αγ(ιον) ευαγγελ(ιον) προσταξει και συνδρομη του τιμιωτατου εν α(?)α(?) και καθηγουμενου κυρου λουκα του εν αντιοχεια.”

L170 (Ann Arbor MS. 35) is described by Clark, who records the following: “Colophon (nonscribal) . . . Inside front cover, on the wood: πραξαπωστολος του αγιου νικολαου του αναυσα.”<sup>287</sup> Clark reports the remarks of Scrivener, who writes regarding the provenance of the MS that it “[a]pparently belongs to the Constantinopolitan diocese, many of whose archbishops are named, and in the menology for May 21 (fol. 152b) we commemorate των εν αγιοις βαιςλεων ημων Κωσταντινου[sic?] και ελενης.”<sup>288</sup> While the former evidence may suggest a Constantinopolitan origin for the MS (or its exemplar) the latter is hardly a unique identifier as it is present in codices of various provenances.

There is likely to be a colophon on f.299v of L1178, but the INTF microfilm renders this illegible.

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<sup>284</sup> Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 69.

<sup>285</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 371.

<sup>286</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 369.

<sup>287</sup> F.W. Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), 314.

<sup>288</sup> Clark, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 314.

#### IV. Continuous Text and Liturgical Manuscripts

In addition to Apostolos manuscripts, six continuous text and liturgical sources are consulted in this study. The primary purpose of their inclusion is to illuminate features of the Apostolos tradition where there is probable mutual influence between continuous text and Lectionary codices e.g., in the lection tables of continuous text manuscripts. These manuscripts have been selected on the basis of availability for examination, chronology and geographical distribution. The table below details the continuous text NT and liturgical codices used in this study. Following this, the distinctive features of each manuscript are discussed.

MS Desc.	Liste ID	Contents	Date
Jerus. Stavru 57	31897	apP † (o. G)	XII
NY Morgan 714/ Sofia CSBS 369	31795	apr	XII
ON Wien Theol. gr. 302, ff. 1-353	30424	apKr	XI
Messina Gr. 115	N/A	Typikon	XII
BL Add. MS 24378	40927	Menaion	XIII
Synaxarion of the Monastery Theotokos Evergetis (STE)	N/A	Synaxarion	XII

Table 10: Continuous Text MSS for the Study of the Apostolos

The Menologion section of Minuscule MS 424 is the subject of a study by Birdsall.<sup>289</sup> Birdsall provides a critical edition of the text of the commemorations in the minuscules 424 and 250 (Paris Bib. Nat. Coislin. 224), using 424 (designated W) as the base text and drawing attention to variant readings in an apparatus. Unfortunately, the lection(s) for each commemoration are not included owing to the hagiographical emphasis of the publication. Birdsall compares the commemorations with a range of manuscripts and edited sources including: the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum*;<sup>290</sup> MS Berolinensis

<sup>289</sup> J.N. Birdsall, "A Byzantine Calendar from the Menology of Two Biblical MSS." *Analecta Bollandiana*, Tom. 84 (Fasc. 1-2) (1966), 29-57.

<sup>290</sup> C. de Smedt and H. Delehay eds. *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi / adiectis synaxariis selectis opera et studio Hippolyti Delehay*. (Bruxellis: Apud Socios Bollandianos, 1902).



219; L1748 (Copenhagen K. Bib. NkS 2126); the Ferrar Lectionary (Vat. Gr. 1217); the Georgian Sinaite calendar;<sup>291</sup> Vatican (Melkite) Syrian MSS. 19, 20, 21. Birdsall suggests that that the calendars of 424 and 250 are closely related to Constantinopolitan festal commemorations, with some “instances of congruence between the calendar of our two mss. and that of the Syriac sources . . . [pointing] to a variant calendrical tradition within the main Byzantine framework.”<sup>292</sup> There are also some previously unidentified saints in the calendars of both codices and in these instances, according to Birdsall, “no one alternative document is to be found in which all are repeated.”<sup>293</sup> Both codices exhibit displacement of commemorations (incorrect assignment of date) not evidenced in other sources of the same kind.<sup>294</sup> Inclusion of one of the manuscripts examined by Birdsall in this study may shed some light on these displaced commemorations and their place in the Byzantine lection system, especially if compared to a different combination of Greek sources.

Minuscule 1795 is a continuous text Praxapostolos codex the leaves of which are currently divided between New York and Sofia. 1795 is described at length by Džurova who analyses the textual content and transcribes the identifiers and location for biblical works and the ὑποθέσεις (introductions) to each work.<sup>295</sup> 1795 contains lection tables which correspond to the Byzantine system and the continuous text content also contains material relevant to the Lectionary. According to Džurova “[I]e manuscrit [1795] . . . commence par une Indication sur la lecture de l’ Apôtre pour le cycle de l’année qui commence à Pâques . . . Τὴ ἅγια καὶ Μεγάλῃ Κυριακῇ τοῦ Πάσχα.”<sup>296</sup> F. 20v contains a miniature depicting the Apostles Peter and Paul. Džurova compares the miniature to the art found in the (Tetraevangelion) MS Princeton Garrett 5 (Minuscule 905) and on this basis posits a likely Constantinopolitan provenance for 1795 in the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>297</sup> Given the limited nature of the current sample, the likely origin and

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<sup>291</sup> G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34*. [Subsidia hagiographica: 30] (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1958).

<sup>292</sup> Birdsall, “A Byzantine Calendar”, 32-33.

<sup>293</sup> Birdsall, “A Byzantine Calendar”, 30.

<sup>294</sup> Birdsall, “A Byzantine Calendar”, 30.

<sup>295</sup> A. Džurova, “Le Praxapostol Cod. Dujcev 369, l’Eptre aux Juifs et l’Apocalypse Cod. 714 de Pierpont Morgan Library = Olim Kos. 53.” *Byzantinoslavica*, Tom. LVI (2) (1995), 471-482. For the ὑπόθεσις on the Praxapostolos see V. Blomkvist, *Euthalian Traditions*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012).

<sup>296</sup> Džurova, “Cod. Dujcev 369”, 473.

<sup>297</sup> Džurova, “Cod. Dujcev 369”, 481.

identifiable context of 1795 increases the value of its Lectionary tables for understanding the Apostolos tradition.

Minuscule 1897 (Jerus. Pat. Stavru 57) is a continuous text Praxapostolos. It was examined by Hatch for his study of Jerusalem Greek manuscripts.<sup>298</sup> 1897 contains lection tables and “two parchment leaves containing part of an akolouthia, and at the end of the manuscript there are some synaxaria [tables of commemorations].”<sup>299</sup> According to Hatch ff. 147-186 are paper and contain a scribal colophon of the priest Lazarios dated to 1481 A.D.<sup>300</sup> This supplementary note acts as a *terminus post quem* for the rest of the codex. The Alands date the main portion of the manuscript to the twelfth/thirteenth centuries A.D.<sup>301</sup> There are several major lacuna (e.g. Rom 11:22 onwards) in the text of the Paulines and “many of the leaves are palimpsests.”<sup>302</sup>

BL Add. MS 24378 is classified in the *Liste* as a Lectionary manuscript, identified as L927 (I+aLit), whereas in reality it is a Menaion containing festal commemorations for the period September-February. Scrivener includes the manuscript in his list of Lectionaries: “2 cols. . . part of a Menaem [Menaion], in a small hand, written in a single column: imperfect and damaged in places.”<sup>303</sup> Yet upon examination it is clear that only f.1r is written in one column and that there is no Apostolos material evident elsewhere in the codex. The codex contains all the liturgical material expected in a Menaion - for which it is a valuable thirteenth century source – but no lections appear to accompany the commemorations. Therefore its classification as I+aLit in the wake of Gregory and Scrivener is mysterious.

The codex Messina Gr. 115 is a liturgical Τυπικὸν originating in the Monastery of Christ the Saviour in Messina, Sicily and dated to 1131 A.D. The present study uses the critical edition of this manuscript edited by Arranz.<sup>304</sup> In addition to liturgical material, Mess. Gr.

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<sup>298</sup> W.H.P. Hatch, *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in Jerusalem*. (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1934).

<sup>299</sup> Hatch, *Manuscripts in Jerusalem*, xxix.

<sup>300</sup> Hatch, *Manuscripts in Jerusalem*, xxix.

<sup>301</sup> Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 141.

<sup>302</sup> Hatch, *Manuscripts in Jerusalem*, xxix.

<sup>303</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 347.

<sup>304</sup> M. Arranz, *Le Typicon du monastère du Saint - Sauveur à Messine : codex Messinensis GR 115, A.D. 1131*. [Orientalia Christiana Analecta: 185] (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1965).

115 also contains a preface introducing the foundation by its founder, the Archimandrite Luke.<sup>305</sup> The manuscript includes Menologion commemorations and Apostolos lections which are included in the data. Its status as a Sicilian imperial foundation and the dating of the source provide useful grounds for comparison with Constantinopolitan and Palestinian calendrical sources.

STE refers to the Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis ('Benefactress'). The term 'Synaxarion' in this instance describes a source for festal commemorations and liturgical activity, rather than the movable section of the liturgical calendar (as in Lectionary codices). As such, it corresponds to the Menologion section of Apostolos codices and is included in the comparative data for commemorations. The source used here is the edition produced by Jordan.<sup>306</sup> MTE was "founded between 1049 and 1054 by the monk Paul" on ancestral land outside the walls of Constantinople.<sup>307</sup> The foundation was influenced by the Studite monastic tradition – a major copying centre and connected by Jordan to the emergence of the Byzantine NT text<sup>308</sup> - and was part of the Byzantine monastic reform movement.<sup>309</sup> The only extant source for STE and its sister text the *Hypotyposis* [description of activity] is the MS Atheniensis Graecus 788 (twelfth century).<sup>310</sup> These documents have a clear date and context and are detailed in their description of liturgical use of biblical manuscripts. This makes them highly valuable in the study of Apostolos codices in their monastic context. Furthermore, it is believed that MTE possessed a small scriptorium which produced biblical manuscripts. For instance, according to Irigoien the MS Athos Dionysiou 124 was copied at the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis and contains NT material but the *Liste* does not confirm this.<sup>311</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> T. Miller, "Luke of Messina: Typikon of Luke for the Monastery of Christ Saviour (San Salvatore) in Messina." J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero eds. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 637-648.

<sup>306</sup> R.H. Jordan, *The Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis: September-February*. [Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations] (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2000).

<sup>307</sup> R.H. Jordan and R. Morris eds., *The Hypotyposis of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, Constantinople (11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 9.

<sup>308</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 323.

<sup>309</sup> R. Jordan, "Evergetis: Typikon of Timothy for the Monastery of the Mother of God Evergetis." J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero eds. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 455-456.

<sup>310</sup> Jordan and Morris, *Hypotyposis of Theotokos Evergetis*, 89; 92-93.

<sup>311</sup> J. Irigoien. "Paléographie et codicologie: La production d'un scriptorium de Constantinople peu après le milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle." in *Miscellanea Codicologica*. (Ghent: Éditions Scientifiques, 1979), 183.

## V. Conclusions

This chapter has surveyed evidence relevant to Apostolos research, first in Byzantine monastic documents and literary/theological sources, then in Apostolos manuscripts, and finally in liturgical manuscripts. It was shown that the Apostolos has an important though subsidiary bibliographic, liturgical and theological significance in Byzantium and its environs. The criteria for selecting Apostolos manuscripts have been set out and examined, as well as the complex historical, textual and methodological issues surrounding each source. By approaching the Apostolos *ad fontes* it is possible to construct textual and codicological methodologies which are historically grounded, based on clear, contextually-relevant terminology and based in the perceptions and practices of the Byzantine producers and users of documents. Exploration of the Byzantine sources and the criteria for their selection highlights both the complexity and interdisciplinary nature of Apostolos research, in partial contrast with earlier studies. Many sources come with a large secondary literature and the various Lectionaries, typika, commentaries and theological texts interact with another, so that the Apostolos tradition cannot be isolated from other questions in the study of Byzantine manuscripts.

### 3. TEXTUAL VARIATION IN THE APOSTOLOS SYNAXARION

#### I. Textual Methodology

##### a) Sources for Textual Investigation

Since Jordan's recent research into the text of Johannine lections the logical place to begin Lectionary investigation has been the continuous text manuscript tradition. Jordan selects test passages on the following criteria. "T&T [*Text und Textwert*] John, GNT4 and a collation of Καινή Διαθήκη, τὸ πρωτότυπον κείμενον κατὰ τὴν ἔκδοσιν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου (EP) against ΕΚΛΟΓΑΔΙΟΝ. Ἀποστολικά καὶ Εὐαγγελικά Ἐναγνώσματα τῶν Κυριακῶν καὶ Ἑορτῶν (Eklogadion), a modern printed lectionary."<sup>312</sup> It is important to consider each of these sources for textual investigation of Apostolos witnesses to Acts and Paul in order to evaluate the validity of this methodology for a different corpus.

This discussion is limited to considering the T&T data relevant to the sample test passages and collations conducted in the preliminary stages. Consultation of *Die Apostelgeschichte* reveals the major variation units in the continuous text witnesses surveyed for Acts.<sup>313</sup> Jordan classifies a major variation-unit as instances "where more than a hundred witnesses transmit a reading differing from the majority text".<sup>314</sup> In T&T, '2' readings in the apparatus are "alter Text . . . (postulierter) ursprünglicher Text" [Initial text] and '1/2' readings are described as listing readings in which the Majority Text and Initial text are in agreement.<sup>315</sup> In a textual investigation of the Apostolos, the most important criterion in selecting test passages on the basis of T&T's continuous text data is adopting instances where '2' readings are common. This suggests a divided textual tradition in which there is not simply a sub-variant of a principal reading ('1B') but a genuine textual variant. Additionally, if minuscule witnesses - more likely to be contemporaries of the Apostolos manuscripts in our sample - witness '2' readings, then this is more likely to be fruitful. "Sonderlesarten" [singular readings] only merit further

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<sup>312</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 56.

<sup>313</sup> A. Benduhn-Mertz and K. Aland, *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. 3, Die Apostelgeschichte (Bd.1)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993).

<sup>314</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 57.

<sup>315</sup> Benduhn-Mertz et al., *Apostelgeschichte*, 401.

investigation if: they appear in initial collations of Apostolos manuscripts, in order to test for their further transmission; or if the singular reading is of specific textual interest on other grounds.

During initial investigations, a survey of T&T for Acts 1-9 showed that none of the test passages from the initial sample are major variation units in T&T. Only Acts 3:11 was shared as a point of variation between T&T and the initial sample of test passages. At Acts 3:11 T&T lists eight sub-variants of reading '1', which is attested by a clear majority of the witnesses surveyed, while only 05 attests the well-known variant form of the verse which begins 'εκπορευομενου δε του πετρου . . .', listed as '14'.<sup>316</sup> The scarcity of correlation between points of variation in the Apostolos and the Testellen in T&T suggest that it is not particularly useful as a source for textual investigation. While the major variation units in the continuous text tradition can be somewhat reliable grounds for textual variation in the Gospel Lectionary, as in Jordan's study, it is better not to use T&T as a direct frame of reference in the present investigation.

Acts 3:11 was initially chosen to test the hypothesis of Scrivener that L60 might demonstrate significant agreements with 05 and earlier forms of the text in Acts.<sup>317</sup> In fact, at Acts 3:11 L60 attests the T&T '1' reading, while L156 simply attests a sub-variant which omits δε. Later in the verse, L156 attests the singular reading 'σϑαμβοι' for the 1/2 reading 'εκθαμβοι', possibly as a result of grammatical error on the part of the copyist. Results notwithstanding, it is important that such relationships are tested in the preliminary stages of research, especially if they have already been postulated. This helps to clarify the process of determining a final selection of test passages which can account for the fullest range of textual phenomena, as well as being indicative of other variation units in the Lectionary.

Another source for textual investigation is the apparatuses of existing editions. It is useful to consult the apparatus of a critical edition for individual witnesses or reported *Lect* support for a reading. Both are features of UBS GNT<sup>4</sup>, which cites *Lect* support in a selective apparatus where the majority of Lectionary witnesses collated support the given reading. Additionally, GNT<sup>4</sup> and its previous incarnations are supplemented by the

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<sup>316</sup> Benduhn-Mertz et al, *Apostelgeschichte*, 442.

<sup>317</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 332.

*Textual Commentary* which cites *Lect* support in reference to major textual issues.<sup>318</sup> It is notable that in GNT<sup>4</sup> the siglum *Lect* already refers to the Apostoliki Diakonia edition collated along with the majority of Lectionary witnesses.<sup>319</sup> Furthermore, the apparatus of GNT<sup>4</sup> also displays instances in which important Lectionary witnesses disagree with the predominant *Lect* reading. All of these are avenues for potential investigation in the selection of test passages, since they offer the researcher reliable evidence of divisions in the Lectionary tradition.

Editions must be used with caution in textual investigation. For example, the GNT<sup>4</sup> apparatus for Acts 5:33 lists support for three alternate readings: the *Ausgangstext* reading (a) ‘ἐβουλοντο’; (b) ‘ἐβουλευοντο’; (c) ‘ἐβουλευσαντο’.<sup>320</sup> In the collations prepared for the edition, the evidence is scarce – only four Apostolos manuscripts are extant in this verse, with three supporting (b) (L1178, L156, L617) and one (L422) supporting (a). When the edited calendar of the Synaxarion is consulted the cause of this scarcity is clear, since the lection in question is Acts 5:21-33 (Saturday, 2<sup>nd</sup> week of Eastertide). As De Vries makes clear, “[i]n the Byzantine rite passages from the Scriptures are cited *exclusive* of the final verse number, e.g. vv-18-33 means exclusive of v.33.”<sup>321</sup> As a result, the mere consultation of a critical apparatus may not be an entirely reliable guide in selecting test passages. Without the information that the lection typically ends at 5:32, the apparatus of GNT<sup>4</sup> might give the impression that the *Byz* reading has no sub-variants or alternate forms worthy of investigation. This also highlights the issue of using editorial representations of the Apostolos in constructing a textual methodology, and highlights the need for preliminary lection-by-lection collations as advocated by Colwell.<sup>322</sup>

*Lect* support for a reading in the UBS *Commentary* is also in need of critical adaptation. There are instances in the initial textual investigation where *Lect* support is cited by

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<sup>318</sup> B.M. Metzger et al eds., *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994).

<sup>319</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*.

<sup>320</sup> B. Aland et al., *GNT4*, 436.

<sup>321</sup> De Vries, *Epistles, Gospels and Tones*, 17.

<sup>322</sup> E.C. Colwell, “Method in the Study of the Text of the Gospel Lectionary” in, *Prolegomena*. Though this has some tension with Colwell’s CT methodology, e.g. “the section of text used should be large enough to give several hundred places of variation.” E.C. Colwell, “Method in Establishing the Nature of Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts” in, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 57.

Metzger et al despite difficulties locating the verse in extant Apostolos manuscripts. At Romans 14:21 the *Commentary* notes:

The Textus Receptus incorporates a Western expansion, ἡ σκανδαλίζεται ἡ ἀσθενεῖ, which gained wide circulation (ⲛⲥ B D G Ψ 0209vid 33 614 *Byz Lect* vg syr<sup>h</sup> copsa arm al).<sup>323</sup>

Romans 14:21 is not present in any lection listed by De Vries in the Synaxarion calendar. The closest parallel is the weekday (Tuesday) lection for the 5<sup>th</sup> week after Pentecost, which is listed as Romans 14:9-19.<sup>324</sup> There are a number of possibilities. Firstly, it could be that several lectionaries collated for GNT<sup>4</sup> are extant in this verse, and that the editorial form of the lection is in fact a misrepresentation of the tradition. This is likely given the difficulties in representing the extent and variation in lection-division in printed editions. Much less likely is that the editors have erroneously cited *Lect* support next to *Byz* in the absence of supporting evidence. Finally, it could be that Rom 14:21 is present in a smaller range of ‘select’ Apostolos Lectionary manuscripts, either in a variant form of the Synaxarion calendar or in a specific feast-day associated with a particular provenance in the Menologion. If the latter is correct, an avenue of textual exploration is opened including the possibility of testing affinity between a local group of witnesses which exhibit similar anagnostic systems.

Investigation of printed Lectionary editions, Jordan’s final criterion for selecting test passages, also forms part of an adequate textual methodology. One option is to collate an editorial Byzantine edition against a printed Lectionary. Since the first is an eclectic text edited from a range of minuscules and lectionaries, this allows comparison of the affinity of the underlying manuscripts used for contemporary Greek lectionaries with a fair sample of *Byz* witnesses. In most instances it is likely that there will be little disagreement, but this method yields more accurate results than simply collating the sample of Apostolos witnesses against the *Textus Receptus* (TR), as was the case in previous studies. A major weakness of the various forms of the TR is that they are late, Western editorial texts

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<sup>323</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 470.

<sup>324</sup> De Vries, *Epistles, Gospels and Tones*, 20.



selected from a narrow range of witnesses.<sup>325</sup> In contrast, the purpose of a textual investigation of the Apostolos is to test its affinity to as wide a range as possible of witnesses, especially contemporary continuous text minuscules. This should allow identification of sub-variants within the Byzantine or ‘majority’ textual tradition which is evidence for reconstructing the textual history of that tradition in the Lectionary. Such a method also helps to answer the question of a ‘Lectionary text’ proposed by Colwell and the *Chicago Studies*.

Often the reliance on the TR as a collating base is a methodological flaw, since Lectionary disagreements with the TR do not highlight the place of various Lectionary witnesses within the unfolding history of the ‘Byzantine’ tradition. In other words, collation against the TR is more likely to yield a ‘Lectionary text’ hypothesis since it does not study the trajectory and evolution of the Byzantine NT text through the Lectionary and minuscule traditions. The methodology of the *Chicago Studies* often causes misinterpretation of the evidence. Metzger, for example, includes an Appendix of readings which cites supposedly non-Lectionary support for Lectionary readings in Luke. His evidence consists of “sixty-three non lectionary manuscripts which agree with variants from the Textus Receptus read by a majority of fourteen lectionaries.”<sup>326</sup> In fact, the data could be viewed more accurately as sub-variants within the Byzantine tradition, but the focus on the extent of agreement with the TR completely shifts Metzger’s interpretation to a dichotomy between ‘Lectionary’ and ‘non-Lectionary’ texts.

Studies in the Majority text as a collating base with regards to the continuous text manuscript tradition have resulted in similar conclusions. Ralston, for instance, concludes:

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<sup>325</sup> This flaw is pointed out by Colwell in an earlier period, even while the method was used. Colwell writes, “[i]n five lections the variants are so numerous and consistent as to demonstrate the existence of a lectionary text distinct from that of Stephanus” yet goes on: “As is well known, the printed text of Stephanus as a whole is not a perfect reproduction of the readings of any [. . .] codex.” E.C. Colwell, “Is there a Lectionary Text of the Gospels?”, in *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Jan 1932), 74.

<sup>326</sup> Metzger, ‘Appendix 1’ in, *Saturday and Sunday Lessons*, 91.

The traditional use of the *Textus Receptus* as the collating base has two problems: (1) the TR's many Caesarean readings which camouflage the existence of this texttype [sic] . . . (2) its relative statistical position as a Proto-Byzantine text.<sup>327</sup>

Often the tendency in textual studies of any tradition is simply to list the relationships of collated witnesses against existing textual groups or families. Arguably this has been a partial cause of disinterest in the Lectionary textual tradition, as it is possible that the textual value of the Greek Lectionary is in clarifying 'intermediate' stages in the development of the majority tradition. Simply comparing one stage of the Byzantine text found in certain lectionaries to another late form in the TR does not give any information about that the development of the tradition. Collation of Apostolos witnesses against a majority or eclectic *Byz* text may therefore have a similar effect to that described by Wallace: "rather than approximating the Byzantine text-type, the *Majority Text* represents it. In fact, it shows how far removed the TR really is from the mainstream of Byzantine witnesses." This also keeps open the possibility that "the reading of even the overwhelming majority of manuscripts might not accurately represent the Byzantine archetype."<sup>328</sup> In this study, these desiderata are achieved by collating a range of Byzantine printed editions as well as the TR.

The impetus to examine the text of the Apostolos in light of the wider Byzantine tradition draws attention to similar emphasis in Wachtel's study of Byzantine sub-variants in the Gospels. Several of Wachtel's points are important here. First, his study confirms that the Byzantine text is hardly homogenous.<sup>329</sup> Second, Wachtel supports the view expressed in this study that the apparatus of GNT<sup>4</sup> has significant instances where that undivided "*Lect*" and "*Byz*" support different readings.<sup>330</sup> Finally, Wachtel's methodology is similar in that he includes collations of contemporary Greek Lectionaries such as the *Apostoliki Diakonia* volume along with his collations of Byzantine witnesses. Analysing the relationships between printed Lectionary texts and the various manuscript traditions

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<sup>327</sup> T.R. Ralston, "The "Majority Text" and Byzantine Origins" in, *New Testament Studies*, Vol. 38 (1) (January 1992), 137.

<sup>328</sup> D.B. Wallace, "The Majority Text: A New Collating Base?" in, *New Testament Studies*, Vol. 35 (4) (October 1989), 613-614.

<sup>329</sup> "There are many variant passages where a strong minority of manuscripts that usually witness to the late Byzantine majority text pass down a different reading from the mainstream." Wachtel, "Early Variants", 29.

<sup>330</sup> Wachtel, "Early Variants", 29.

is good practice, since it allows conclusions to be drawn regarding the various stages or states of text within a tradition. This allows Wachtel to draw tentative yet significant conclusions:

Attestations of variants within the lectionary are so manifold that there is little plausibility in the theory that at the beginning of the lectionary tradition there was one specific text set up for liturgical reading that was then copied as a unity . . . It appears to be more likely that different text forms fed into the lectionary.<sup>331</sup>

A similar methodology adapted to the various features and constraints of the *Apostolos* may clarify Wachtel's conclusion.

Finally, an area often neglected in textual studies of the Lectionary is investigation of 'internal' textual/paratextual features of the tradition. These include unique textual adaptations made in Lectionary manuscripts, such as incipits and explicits, and lection identifiers. Jordan omits to record variations in lection identifiers in his study of the Gospel Lectionary, though notes that this is due to a technical error rather than a methodological oversight.<sup>332</sup> Recording variation in the identifier for a series of lections is vital for describing the origins and history of the *Apostolos*, since it is possible that paratextual information was copied from earlier or independent sources such as the tables of continuous text manuscripts or other codices. In the case of incipits and explicits, previous studies (such as Kellett's) have tended to emphasise the influence of such feature on continuous text witnesses. A weakness of this emphasis is that significant patterns of variation in such adaptations may be missed. One solution to this is to allow some test passages to be chosen on the basis of previous collations. This can be done by identifying instances in an initial collation where an incipit or other adaptation causes a minor (or major) divergence from the majority continuous text and then making further collations of *Apostolos* manuscripts on that basis. This has been tested in the preliminary stages of the present study. For example, at Romans 5:7 L1356 reads:

<V 6> ετι γαρ χριστος οντων ημων ασθενων κατα καιρον υπερ ασεβων απεθανεν <V 7>  
υπερ γαρ του αγαθου ταχα τις και τολμα αποθανειν

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<sup>331</sup> Wachtel, "Early Variants", 40.

<sup>332</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 61.

For while we were still weak, at the right time Christ died for the ungodly. Perhaps for a good person someone might even dare to die.

One research question might be “is this a unique Lectionary adaptation of this verse, or simply a mechanical error?” If the former is the case, the variant reading may be transmitted in other Apostolos witnesses in which case collation of the test passage in other witnesses is the next logical step. In fact, of the three other Apostolos witnesses tested, L1298 attests the *Byz* reading, while L846 and L1300 are not extant at this verse. While the method needs refining for a wider body of evidence, there is an argument to be made for selecting a range of test passages based on existing collations of Apostolos witnesses. Whereas in the Gospel tradition this could be done by sampling each critical apparatus, the scarcity of Apostolos evidence necessitates a freer, more investigative method.

#### **b) Criteria for the Selection of Test Passages**

The basis for the present study of NT textual variation in the Synaxarion is a selection of test passages. For the purposes of this study a test passage is defined as a verse which is later divided into variation units in the textual commentary and analyses which follow. This means that the full verse for each test passage is transcribed rather than simply a variation unit as in T&T. In the initial stages of research one hundred and thirty test passages were selected from the relevant portions of the Apostolos, ensuring an adequate representation of weekday and Saturday-Sunday anagnosmata as well as selecting pericopae that were likely to be present in the greatest number of witnesses possible. The primary sources at this stage were consultation of the apparatus of UBS GNT<sup>4</sup>, which provides the most data available for the division of Byzantine and Lectionary witnesses,<sup>333</sup> and selection according to internal criteria as discussed above. Of the initial 130 test passages, 109 were selected from GNT<sup>4</sup> and represent: instances where the GNT<sup>4</sup> Byz and Lect texts disagree with one another; instances where one or both of the Byz and Lect texts sub-divide; instances where one or more Apostolos witnesses disagrees with

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<sup>333</sup> I am also grateful to Professor David Parker and Dr. Klaus Wachtel for providing me with the notes used by Johannes Karavidopoulos in his preparation of Lectionary witnesses for the GNT<sup>4</sup> apparatus for Acts, which provided further data.

the shared Byz and Lect reading in a manner deemed to be textually or theologically significant.

Each of these types is significant for the research questions of the present thesis. First, where the Byz and Lect texts are cited as disagreeing, the current methodology tests the validity of this conclusion by collating more and different Apostolos witnesses, which may reveal different patterns of division. Second, where Byz or Lect readings sub-divide the current test passages may confirm the pattern identified by GNT<sup>4</sup> or indicate further groupings. Third, by far the majority of test passages in the initial selection are places where the apparatus of GNT<sup>4</sup> records agreement of Byz and Lect texts by citation of their respective sigla for the same variant reading, but where there is nevertheless one or a group of Apostolos witnesses which disagree with the majority tradition. These test passages are particularly significant because a fuller study, or a study of alternative witnesses to those utilised by the UBS study, may change the weight of such majorities or reveal further sub-divisions. Additionally, such test passages are likely to reveal the layers of Byzantine sub-division in the Apostolos tradition and thus clarify its relationship with the continuous text of the NT, a key question for Lectionary research. Finally, some test passages are selected where Lectionary witnesses agree with the *Ausgangstext* as represented by NA<sup>28</sup>, although the apparatus of NA<sup>28</sup> is not used in the selection of test passages since this is unlikely to reveal sub-divisions in the Byzantine textual tradition.

Each of these test passage types sheds light on the question of the 'Lectionary text'. If there is a pattern of textual variation indicative of widespread transmission from one Apostolos witness to another there should be identifiable Lectionary majority readings across the range of test passages selected, especially as care has been taken to select test passages from throughout the Synaxarion anagnostic cycle. Negative findings in this respect would suggest that the Apostolos tradition is related to the continuous text tradition in a different manner.

At this stage it is necessary to detail previous patterns of textual investigation. For example, how many witnesses have previously been cited as attesting each variant reading at each test passage, and possible relationships to other branches of the NT tradition such as patristic evidence or LXX citation. This allows the selection of as broad as possible a range of test passages within the limited scope of a doctoral study. Also, a further twenty-

one test passages were selected on the basis of other criteria as set out above i.e., based on consultation of other Byzantine editions, internal or linguistic factors, or possible unique Lectionary adaptations as discussed above. The table below summarises the findings of this stage of textual research. The column labelled ‘Type’ shows whether the Byz and Lects texts agree, divide or sub-divide at each test passage according to GNT<sup>4</sup>. The column labelled ‘Content’ contains the evidence used to evaluate the test passage, including its history of citation and relationship to continuous text evidence. Although the primary focus is on the Synaxarion, potential Menologion test passages are also identified at this point and discussed further in Chapter 5.

Initial ID	Critical Text	Location	Content	Lection	Weekday?
1	και συναλιζομενος	Acts 1:4	συναλιζομενος/συναυλιζομενος (various) Linguistic/stylistic issue, possible relevance of Lect evidence	Easter Night Liturgy	No
2	συ ο ποιησας	Acts 4:24	L593, L680, L1154, L443 read συ ει ο θεος against Byz Lect	Easter 2E	Yes
3	ο του πατρος ημων . . .	Acts 4:25	Lect maj reading but L1178, L60 read ημιν and αγιου στοματος	Easter 2E	Yes
4	[ο θεος] αβρααμ και [θεος]	Acts 3:13	LXX quotation, div in Byz trad, variant is position of ο θεος	Easter 1G (Sat)	No
5	θεος υμων	Acts 3: 22	Lect evidence div between υμων and ημων	Easter 2B	Yes
6	εσμεν μαρτυρες	Acts 5:32	Byz and Lect both εσμεν αυτου μαρτυρες; L591, L883, L680, L60, L1441 with lemma	Easter 2G	Yes
7	ακουσαντες	Acts 5:33	Byz trad divided between ακουσαντες/ακουοντες; possible linguistic change?	Easter 2G	Yes
8	λαον	Acts 5:37	L1178, L422, L156, L617 read λαον ικανον with Byz, not extant in many	Unsure	No
9	πληρης	Acts 6:5	Division in Byz? Some minuscules and TR read 'undeclinable form' πληρη	Easter 3A (Sun)	No
10	ανδρα [εν οροματι]	Acts 9:12	Three lectionaries disagree with Byz Lect. L884 L1590 εν οροματι; L60 ανδρα εν ονοματι	Easter 3G (Sat)	No
11	και εκπορευομενος εις	Acts 9:28	Division in Byz? Some witnesses read εις ομ εκπορευομενος	Easter 3G	Yes
12	εκκλησια	Acts 9:31	Division in Byz? Some (early and late) witnesses read εκκλησιαι	Easter 3G	Yes
13	κραββατου	Acts 9:33	Possible division in Byz; Some read κραββατω, change of case linguistic evidence?	Easter 4A (Sun)	No

14	Σαρωνα	Acts 9:35	Division in Byz; TR and some minuscules Σαρωνας, Byz Ασσαρωνα	Easter 4A (Sun)	No
15	τινα	Acts 10:5	L60 τον, L884 L1159 om; Byz Lect om but classed as different variant in GNT4?	Easter 4B	Yes
16	και καταβαινον . . . καθιεμενον	Acts 10:11	Byz Lect agree, but L60, L1178, L593 have sub-variants, various sub-variants in Lect	Easter 4B	Yes
17	τετραποδα . . . της γης	Acts 10:12	L1178 reads τετραποδα της γης και τα σηνια και τα ερπετα Sub-variant of Byz?	Easter 4B	Yes
18	ευθως ανελημφθη	Acts 10:16	Lect ανελημφθη, Byz ανεληφθη (linguistic change?)	Easter 4B	Yes
19	εισηλθεν	Acts 10:24	Byz εισηλθον; εισηλθεν L1356, L1153, L590, L598, L809, L1364, L1443, L1439, L938, L597, L751, L147; συνηλθον 1921	Easter 4C	Yes
20	του κυριου	Acts 10:33	του θεου Byz Lect; L60, L597, L1178 read κυριου with majuscules	Easter 4C	Yes
21	αρξαμενος	Acts 10:37	Not in GNT, but Lects divided between αρξαμενος (L1356, L1178, L883, L1154, L60) αρξαμενον et al	Easter 4E	Yes
22	ιησου χριστου	Acts 10:48	Byz and Lect divided between ιησου χριστου, του κυριου ιησου, του θεου (L170, L1590)	Easter 5A (Sun)	No
23	εις ιερουσαλημ	Acts 12:25	Byz and Lect agree, but L809, L1364, L921, L1439, L895, L938, L1156, L1021, L147 read απο; εξ ιερουσαλημ εις ανιοχειαν L1178	Easter 5C	Yes
24	ετροποφορησεν	Acts 13:18	L809, L1364, L938 disagree with Byz Lect reading ετροφοφορησεν (?), ετροφορισεν L593	Easter 5D	Yes
25	την γην αυτων	Acts 13:19	L164 disagrees with Byz Lect reading την γην αυτων, add της επαγγελιας L884	Easter 5D	Yes
26	ως. . . μετα ταυτα	Acts 13:20	Many divergences from Byz Lect: changed order L895, L938, L1156, L60, L147, L592/c) L1441, L1590, L1159, L597, L1021, L751; και μετα ταυτα start 1593	Easter 5D	Yes
27	λογον	Acts 14:25	λογον Lect maj reading; λογον του κυριου L680, L921, L597	Easter 5E	Yes
28	ο χριστος [ο] ιησους	Acts 17:3	Byz Lect ο χριστος ιησους; L680, L921, L895, L1441, L1590, L1159, L59 ιησους ο χριστος; L883, L1021, L751 ο χριστος; ο χριστος ο ιησους L593	Easter 6B	Yes
29	σητειν τον θεον	Acts 17:27	L60, L1356, L593 read ζητειν τον θεον against Byz Lect	Easter 6C	Yes

30	υμας ποιητων	Acts 17:28	L593, L1439, L599, L147 read ημας against Byz Lect with P74 B 049: VI reading?	Easter 6C	Yes
31	του ιησου	Acts 18:25	Several alternate readings. L1153, L598, L1159, L60 χριστου [?] ιησου; L1365, L680, L921, L1298 του κυριου ιησου; L599 την οδον κυριου (under influence of 18:26?)	Easter 6D	Yes
32	την οδον [του θεου]	Acts 18:26	L1356, L156, L165, L165, L883, L543, L60 read την οδον του θεου; L598, L1154 την οδον του κυριου; Byz Lect την του θεου οδον; τη του θεου οδω L1365, L1298; την του κυριου οδον L921, L599	Easter 6D	Yes
33	θεου	Acts 20:28	Byz divided; L603, L1439, L60, L1021, L598, L512 θεου; κυριου L599; κυριου και θεου Lect	Easter 7A (Sun)	No
34	αιματος του ιδιου	Acts 20:28	L60 has αιματος του ιδιου – further evidence in other lects? Byz Lect ιδιου αιματος	Easter 7A (Sun)	No
35	τοτε απεκριθη ο παυλος	Acts 21:13	Byz Lect απεκριθη τε ο παυλος; απεκριθη δε ο παυλος L883, L593, L884, L60	Easter 7B	Yes
36	κατηλθομεν	Acts 27:5	L1356, L1159 read κατηχθημεν against Byz Lect ½ reading (linguistic change?)	Easter 7F	Yes
37	καυδα	Acts 27:16	Various sub/alt readings; L60, L599, L1298, L751, L147, L592 κλαυδαν; κλαυδιον L1439, L884; κλαυδα L1178	Easter 7F	Yes
38	επετρατη τω παυλω	Acts 28:16	Complex divisions; L60 επετραπη τω παυλω with majuscules etc; other Byz subvariants	Easter 7G (Sat)	No
39	εν Ρωμη	Romans 1:7	Byz Lect both read εν ρωμη but there may be adaptations in witnesses not tested	A-Pentecost 1C	Yes
40	επιποθω γαρ ιδειν υμας	Romans 1:11	Possible lect adaptation; Om in L1356	Unsure	No
41	τοις εν Ρωμη	Romans 1:15	Byz Lect follow 1/2 reading, Or and some Latin om. Consistency in lectionary witnesses?	A-Pentecost 1C	Yes
42	αδικια πονηρια . . .	Romans 1:29	L Ψ 88 326 330 614 Byz Lect syrhh arm al add πορνεια	A-Pentecost 1E	Yes
43	οιδαμεν δε	Romans 2:2	Some minuscules om. Against 1/2 reading, poss. Lect adaptations/copying from CTs?	Unsure	No
44	ει δε η αληθεια	Romans 3:7	Byz Lect agree, yet some minuscules (2492, 2495 eg) om δε: Lect adaptations/copying from CTs?	Unsure	No
45	ουκ εστιν	Romans 3:12	1739 (10th c. minuscule) om.	Unsure	No
46	εις παντας	Romans 3:22	Byz Lect read εις παντας και επι παντας; L598, L599 read εις	A-Pentecost 2G (Sat)	No



			παντας with P40 et al. Div in traditions?		
47	πιστεως ιησου	Romans 3:26	Byz L598, L 599, L603 read ιησου; Lect reads ιησουν; 629 reads ιησου χριστου; 1984 ιησουν χριστον	A-Pentecost 2G (Sat)	No
48	λογιζομεθα γαρ	Romans 3:28	Byz divided between γαρ and ουν; Lect om with no exceptions in GNT3 apparatus	A-Pentecost 2G (Sat)	No
49	ναι και εθνων	Romans 3:29	Possible lect adaptation; Om in some witnesses surveyed	A-Pentecost 3G (Sat)	No
50	ευρηκεναι αβρααμ τον προπατορα ημων	Romans 4:1	Byz Lect αβρααμ τον πατερα ημων ευρηκεναι; Ευρηκεναι αβρααμ τον πατερα ημων L598, L599, L1364	Unsure	No
51	εχομεν	Romans 5:1	Byz Lectpt εχομεν; Byzpt L597, L599, many patristic witnesses εχομεν; VI reading, linguistic change	A-Pentecost 3A (Sun)	No
52	[τη πιστει]	Romans 5:2	Byz Lect τη πιστει; lemma {C} rating; L597 with A 88 Chrysostom reads εν τη πιστει	A-Pentecost 3A (Sun)	No
53	ταις επιθυμιας αυτου	Romans 6:12	Byz Lect αυτη εν ταις επιθυμιας αυτου; L597 Origenr some minuscules read lemma	A-Pentecost 4G (Sat)	No
54	εν τω νομω	Romans 7:23	Byzpt Lect εν; Byzpt om with A C 81 arm Chrysostom Cyril and others	A-Pentecost 3C	Yes
55	χριστον εκ νεκρων	Romans 8:11	UBS {D} L62, L1365; Τον χριστον εκ νεκρων Byz Lect; Ιησουν εκ νεκρων L809; various alternate readings	A-Pentecost 3D	Yes
56	της αγαπης του χριστου	Romans 8:35	1/2 Byz Lect; L598 reads θεου with e.g. 330, 451 and some Origen witnesses	Holy Martyrs	Yes
57	ει	Romans 11:16	ει Byz, L598, L1364; om Lect P46, minuscules Chrysostom	A-Pentecost 4E	Yes
58	και ουτοι [νυν]	Romans 11:31	νυν L1364; νυν δε L809; Byz Lect om. Adaptation? Other witnesses following L1364?	A-Pentecost 4F	Yes
59	ου κλεψεις ουκ επιθυμησεις	Romans 13:9	Byzpt Lect follows GNT3; Byzpt, L597, L598, L599 longer list (interpolated?) with Origenlat and other versional evidence	A-Pentecost 8G (Sat)	No
60	τω θεω	Romans 14:12	Byz Lect τω θεω with wide range of witnesses; L603 om with Polycarp, Pel., Augustine, B G etc.	Unsure	No
61	την ημετεραν διδασκαλιαν	Romans 15:4	L1356 την ημετεραν διδασκαλιαν; possible lectionary reading	A-Pentecost 7A (Sun)	No
62	υμας	Romans 15:7	Byz Lect υμας; L597 ημας - Place to test strength of Lect evidence on VI readings?	A-Pentecost 7A (Sun)	No
63	Πρισκαν	Romans 16:3	TR 81 209* 255 256 462 489 920 1311 1319 1827 1852 Πρισκιλλαν; div. in Byz	A-Pentecost 5F	Yes

64	μεμερισται	1 Cor 1:13	Byz Lect μεμερισται (½); L599 μη μεμερισται with P46vid, 1962 etc.	A-Pentecost 8A (Sun)	No
65	μυστηριον	1 Cor 2:1	Byz Lect L598pt μυστηριον (½); L598pt σωτηριον with 489.	Unsure	No
66	δε	1 Cor 2:10	δε Byz; Lect copbo(MSS) om. Consistent adaptation? Other examples in TP selection?	A-Pentecost 6D	Yes
67	φθειρη	1 Cor 3:17	Byz Lect φθερει with most witnesses; L809 φθειρη (VI?) with Ephraem – various other alternate VI forms	A-Pentecost 9A (Sun)	No
68	κρινει	1 Cor 6:13	Byz κρινει; κρινει p46 A B C etc; κρινει Lect with e.g. 330, 451, 629, itd, syr(p), (h)	A-Pentecost 9E	Yes
69	ιησου χριστου	1 Cor 6:11	Byz Lect L603pt ιησου; L603pt χριστου ιησου	Unsure	No
70	ει τις	1 Cor 7:13	ει τις Lect, L809 "beginning of lection" (?); Byz ητις A B D etc.	A-Pentecost 7D	Yes
71	υμας	1 Cor 7:15	υμας A C K, majuscules etc; Byz Lect ημας - VI reading?	A-Pentecost 7D	Yes
72	και μεμερισται και η γυνη η αγασμος και η παρθενος	1 Cor 7:34	Byz μεμερισται και η γυνη και η παρθενος η αγαμος; Lect order μεμερισται η γυνη και η παρθενος η αγαμος; other complex variant readings	A-Pentecost 7E	Yes
73	επι γης	1 Cor 8:5	Division in Byz? Some MSS read επι της γης; linguistic changes?	A-Pentecost 7F	Yes
74	εβαπτισθησαν	1 Cor 10:2	Byz Lect εβαπτισαντο, L603vid; L597 εβαπτισθησαν with major majuscules.	Theophany Eve	Yes
75	πινων	1 Cor 11:29	Byz Lect πινων αναξιος; 1739 424c πινων (Byz subvariant in Lect trad possible?)	Vespers, Holy Thursday	Yes
76	καυησωμαι	1 Cor 12:3	Byz L598 καυησωμαι; L597, L599, L1364, L1365 καυησομαι	A-Pentecost 9C	Yes
77	φορεσομεν	1 Cor 15:49	Lect φορεσομεν; Byz φορεσωμεν - VI reading, tradition weighted evenly against readings, more fathers Byz	Friday, Departed	Yes
78	οταν δε το φθαρτον . . .	1 Cor 15:54	Byz L809 read 1/2; 01, 088, fathers etc. Read οταν δε το θνητον . . .	Friday, Departed	Yes
79	νικος; που σου θανατε το νικος	1 Cor 15:55	Complex variants; Byz L809m read κεντρον; που σου αδη το νικος with Origen, Chrysostom, Athanasius et al	Friday, Departed	Yes
80	υπερ ημων	2 Cor 1:14	Byzpt ημων; υμων Byzpt Lect - VI reading, rest of tradition divided	A-Pentecost 10F	Yes
81	απλοτητι	2 Cor 1:12	Byz Lect απλοτητι with 01c D G etc; L1364 with p46 A B C Clement Origen etc	A-Pentecost 10F	Yes
82	πολλοι	2 Cor 2:17	Byz πολλοι; Lect λουποι - rest of trad divided	A-Pentecost 11C	Yes

83	καινα	2 Cor 5:17	Byzpt Lect καινα τα παντα; L809 τα δε; Byzpt with Origenlat Methodius Cyril etc τα παντα καινα; L1365 παντα τα καινα	A-Pentecost 12C	Yes
84	ημεις γαρ ναος θεου εσμεν	2 Cor 5:16	Byz Lect ημεις γαρ ναος θεου εστε; L597, L1365 629 ναος θεου - VI, word order and inclusion issues	A-Pentecost 12B	Yes
85	καυχασθαι δει	2 Cor 12:1	Byzpt καυχασθαι δει; Byzpt Lect καυχασθαι δη; L53 καυχασθαι δει	Unsure	No
86	αγαπων ησσον αγαπωμαι	2 Cor 12:15	Byzpt Lect αγαπων ηττον αγαπωμαι; Byzpt 1/2; L603 αγαπμε (listed 'sic')	A-Pentecost 14B	Yes
87	ταπεινωση	2 Cor 12:21	Some Byz MSS read ταπεινωσει: VI reading?	A-Pentecost 14C	Yes
88	πατρος ημων και κυριου	Gal 1:3	Byz Lect πατρος και κυριου ημων; L598 πατρος ημων και κυριου	A-Pentecost 14E	Yes
89	χριστου	Gal 1:6	Byz Lect χριστου; L599 ησου χριστου	A-Pentecost 14E	Yes
90	ευαγγελιζεται υμιν	Gal 1:8	Byzpt L603 ευαγγελιζεται υμιν; Byzpt Lect ευαγγελιζεται υμιν; some minuscules ευαγγελισεται υμιν	A-Pentecost 14E	Yes
91	ημων	Gal 4:6	Byz Lect υμων; L597, L598 ημων	A-Pentecost 15E	Yes
92	δια θεου	Gal 4:7	Byz Lect θεου δια χριστου; 1881 δια θεου; L55 δια ησου χριστου	Christmas Day	Yes
93	δε αγαρ σινα	Gal 4:25	Lect, some minuscule MSS δε αγαρ σινα; Byz L1364, L1365 γαρ αναρ σινα	John the Baptist	Yes
94	στηκετε ουν . . .	Gal 5:1	Byz Lect τη ελευθερια ουν η χριστος ημας ηλευθερωσεν στηκετε; L603, L809 om η; various complex variant readings	Unsure	No
95	φθονοι	Gal 5:21	L603, L809 φθονοι; Byz Lect Ephraim Chrysostom et al φθονοι φονοι	A-Pentecost 16D	Yes
96	περιτεμνομενοι	Gal 6:13	Byzpt περιτεμνομενοι; Byzpt Lect περιτεμνημενοι	A-Pentecost 22A (Sun)	No
97	τω χριστω	Eph 2:5	Byz Lect τω χριστω; L599 εν τω χριστω	A-Pentecost 23A (Sun)	No
98	ταις ιδιαις χερσιν το αγαθον	Eph 4:28	Byzpt ταις ιδιαις χερσιν το αγαθον; Byzpt Lect το αγαθον ταις χερσιν	A-Pentecost 18B	Yes
99	ημας	Eph 5:2	Byz Lect ημας; L597, 1241, 326 some patristic witnesses υμας - VI reading?	A-Pentecost 13G (Sat)	No
100	φωτος	Eph 5:9	Lect φωτος some minuscules; Byz L809 Chrystostom Theodoret πνευματος	Great Lent 40A (Sat)	No
101	γυναικες τοις ιδιοις ανδρασιν ως	Eph 5:22	Byz Lect Chrysostom γυναικες τοις ιδιοις ανδρασιν υποτασσεσθε τοις ιδιοις	A-Pentecost 18C	Yes

			ανδρασιν ως; L55 γυναικες υποτασσεσθε τοις ιδιοις ανδρασιν ως		
102	ημιν	Eph 6:12	Byz Lect ημιν; L53, L597 Ephraem et al υμιν	Holy Confessors	No
103	τουτο . . .	Phil 2:5	Lect apparatus lists as 'beginning of lection' Origen Augustine τουτο; Byz τουτο γαρ	Nativity of Theotokos	No
104	αυτω	Phil 4:21	Byzpt Lect αυτω; Byzpt L598, L599 with vg arm Chrysostom Theodoret etc. Εαυτω	A-Pentecost 21B	Yes
105	και αυξανομενον	Col 1:6	Some Byz MSS om και αυξανομενον; division in Byz trad	A-Pentecost 21C	Yes
106	τω πατρι	Col 1:12	Byz L597 τω πατρι; Lect with eg 1739mg 1877 2172 Basil Theodoret τω θεω και πατρι - various other variant readings	A-Pentecost 21C	Yes
107	υμας	Col 2:13	Byz with earlier witnesses om; Lect ημας - strange editorial reading? Look into reasons for its adoption	A-Pentecost 22B	Yes
108	οικτιρμου	Col 3:12	Division in Byz tradition, some witnesses οικτιρμων: linguistic change?	A-Pentecost 29A (Sun)	No
109	δε	1 Thess 5:21	Byzpt L1365 δε; Byzpt Lect with eg Origengr Chrysostom1/2 Theodoret om - consistent adaptation?	A-Pentecost 24F	Yes
110	της ανομιας	2 Thess 1:3	L1365 ανομιας; Byz Lect αμαρτιας	A-Pentecost 25B	Yes
111	ιησους	2 Thess 2:8	L1365 with eg A D G P etc ιησους; Byz Lect om	A-Pentecost 25D	Yes
112	λεγω	1 Tim 2:7	Byz L598 λεγω εν χριστω	A-Pentecost 26D	Yes
113	μη παροινον	1 Tim 3:3	TR and minuscule add μη ασχροκερδη; Lect support for expansive readings? Distinction of adaptations	A-Pentecost 26E	Yes
114	ος	1 Tim 3:16	L599 with eg A* C* Ggr Origenlat Jerome etc ος; Byz Lect θεος - other subvariants	A-Pentecost 28C	Yes
115	αγωνιζομεθα	1 Tim 4:10	L599 with eg A C Fgr Ggr etc; Byz Lect ονειδιζομεθα	A-Pentecost 28D	Yes
116	οτι	1 Tim 6:7	Several known variants: οτι/δηλον οτι/αληθες οτι, Lect δηλον οτι	A-Pentecost 27D	Yes
117	χαρις και ειρηνη	Titus 1:4	Byz Lectm (menologion) L1365 with fathers including Theophylact	Menologion	No
118	παντων υμων	Titus 3:15	L809m with eg A C D 1881; Byz L147m, L1153am, L1365 παντων υμων αμην	Menologion	No
119	εν ημιν	Philemon v6	Byz Lectm εν ημιν	Menologion	No
120	κυριου	Philemon v25	Byz Lectm with eg Chrysostom Theodoret Euthalius κυριου ημων	Menologion	No

121	υμων	Philemon v25	Byz L1153am υμων αμην	Menologion	No
122	της δυναμεως αυτου καθαρισμον	Hebrews 1:3	Byz της δυναμεως αυτου καθαρισμον; L603 with eg P46 Theodoret της δυναμεως δι αυτου καθαρισμον	Great Lent 37G (Sat)	No
123	αυτον	Hebrews 2:7	Variant in citation of Ps 8 - Byz Lect αυτον; L597, αυτον και κατεστησας αυτον etc with eg A C D Theodoret	A-Pentecost 29D	Yes
124	τινά/τίνα	Hebrews 5:12	Linguistic trends in Lect; study of accenting/neumes; Metzger et al cite Lect as supporting τίνα.	A-Pentecost 29D	Yes
125	ποησομεν	Hebrews 6:3	ByzptLect ποησομεν; Byzpt ποισηομεν - VI reading, possible Lect readings	Unsure	No
126	αυτους	Hebrews 8:8	Metzger et al Lect αυτοις; test of Lect support, VI/linguistic reading?	A-Pentecost 30B	Yes
127	δυναται	Hebrews 10:1	Byzpt with eg p46 Origen Theodoret δυναται; Byzpt Lect with eg A C D Chrysostom δυναται	Great Lent 41G (Sat)	No
128	εαυτους	Hebrews 10:34	Byz Lect εαυτους (1/2); 467, 489, 1881, L598 Antiochus εν εαυτοις - evidence of linguistic changes?	Great Lent 39G (Sat)	No
129	ημιν	Hebrews 13:21	Byzpt ημιν; Byzpt Lect ημιν - VI reading.	Menologion	No
130	των αιωνων	Hebrews 13:21	Byz L597 των αιωνων; om Lect with eg p46 Dgr Chrysostom Theodoret John-Damascus	Menologion	No

Figure 1: Initial Test Passage File

The initial selection of test passages has been fully collated, where possible, in the witnesses utilised in the first stages of research: L156, L1021, L809, L60, L23, and a slightly more limited range in L2024.

This disparity between witnesses transcribed in the early stages of research and those examined later results from the process of elimination which forms the next stage in the selection of test passages. In order to provide sufficient evidence to make valid conclusions about the Synaxarion NT textual tradition it is necessary to transcribe and collate as many witnesses in the selection as possible. However, the initial selection is too large to achieve within the confines of the present study. This methodological tension necessitates developing criteria for the elimination of test passages which are less illuminating according to the selection criteria set out above.

First, many test passages are eliminated which are consistently not extant in witnesses due to erroneously recorded pericope boundaries in previous editorial representations of the Synaxarion. Second, priority is given to test passages which illuminate substantive textual variants in the Byz/Lect textual traditions. The result is the elimination of many merely grammatical or linguistic instances of variation, although some are retained for balance in the final selection. Finally, test passages are eliminated which reveal no textual variation. It is possible that this process may bias the final results, especially if variants of a certain kind (e.g., linguistic) are disproportionately eliminated. However, within the limits of the present study care has been taken to include a representative sample of the initial selection of test passages in the final selection. The correspondence between the initial and final selections is shown in Section IV (below).

## II. Textual Commentary on Selected Test Passages

In this section, twenty Synaxarion test passages are selected for discussion from the final total of forty-five. The Apostolos data for each test passage is set out in a positive apparatus (numbered [1] etc.) listing each Apostolos witness to each textual variant. The ID numbers for each test passage is the final ID (listed Section IV below) rather than the initial IDs discussed above. Certain test passages are divided into variation units which are discussed separately. Each test passage is discussed in relation to continuous text and patristic evidence, the relationship of Apostolos witnesses to the printed editions, and previous scholarly studies, where applicable. The variation units correspond – where applicable - to those assigned in the collation of witnesses displayed in Appendix 2 and used to discuss affinity between witnesses in Section IV below. However, for the purposes of the textual commentary, variant numbers assigned in the full apparatus in Appendix 2 have been changed to letters for the sake of legibility (e.g., 1=a, 2=b). The test passages are discussed in the order in which they occur in the Synaxarion anagnostic cycle of the manuscript tradition rather than in biblical work order.

### [1] TP01 Acts 3:13

#### VU1:

a) ον υμεις μεν παρεδωκατε: NA28 PR L23 L2024 L1178 L173 L1141 L1126 L165  
L169 L1825 L1159 L1440 L1590 L1282

b) ον υμεις παρεδωκατε: ANT TR SAL L809 L60 L162 L604 L164 L257 L168 L1300  
L587 L1188 L610 L1685 L2058 L1364 L1439; L156 L1021 [ημεις]

VU1 concerns a linguistic variant, the presence of μεν in twelve Apostolos witnesses. By a slight majority most Apostolos witnesses support the alternative reading (b) in which μεν is not present. NA<sup>28</sup> has the longer reading (a), following the majority of all continuous text witnesses: only 05 and the first hand of minuscule 6 (XIII) share the shorter reading (b) with seventeen Apostolos witnesses. In the continuous text tradition it is almost certain that the omission of μεν occurred independently in each witness. The

near equal division of Apostolos witnesses between the two readings makes it difficult to speak of a Lectionary reading, unless the sample is unrepresentative of the wider tradition. However, Antoniades and the Saliberos Lectionary both lack *μεν*, suggesting that the shorter reading may be more representative of the Apostolos tradition. Further evidence in favour of this is the tendency of Apostolos witnesses to abbreviate/omit particles.

## VU2:

(a) *προσωπον πιλατου*: NA28 ANT TR PR SAL L156 L1021 L809 L60 L23 L2024 L1178 L173 L1442 L162 L112 L241 L604 L1506 L1894 L1141 L1126 L257 L169 L165 L168 L1300 L587 L1188 L170 L610 L1685 L2010 L1985 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1159

L1364 L1298 L1590 L1281 L1282 L1439

(b) *προσωπον ποντιου πιλατου*: L164

(c) *πηλατω [και ηρνησασθαι αυτον] κατα προσωπον αυτου*: L1440

In VU2 almost all of the Apostolos witnesses support the majority reading (a) *προσωπον πιλατου*. The expansive reading (b) *προσωπον ποντιου πιλατου* is present only in L164 (XII) and it is a singular reading in the entire textual tradition. The most likely cause of (b) is a scribal harmonisation of *πιλατου* to elsewhere in the Gospels and Apostolos (e.g., *ποντιου πιλατου*: Lk 2:1; 1 Tim 6:13 [NA<sup>28</sup>]). Variant (c), attested only by L1440 (XIII), is a more complex case. The whole phrase in L1440 reads: *ον υμεις μεν παρεδωκατε πηλατω και ηρνησασθαι αυτον κατα προσωπον αυτου κριναντος εκεινου απολυειν*. Here Pilate is the indirect object i.e., the recipient of the Israelites' handing-over of Jesus – the later proper noun is therefore unnecessary and *αυτου* suffices. The order of this reading and the change from *πιλατου* to *πηλατω . . . αυτου* rules out a mechanical cause, although it possible but unlikely that *αυτου* arose once *πηλατω* had been erroneously copied. Tischendorf's apparatus attests the phonetic variant *πειλατου* [cum B\*D . . . ζ Ln Ti πιλ.



cum ϰAB3CEP etc]<sup>334</sup> here which is not attested in the Apostolos witnesses despite the tendency of Lectionary witnesses to attest readings involving the interchange of vowels. The transposed order and case change involved in (c) suggests an origin in a continuous text exemplar since there are few adapted readings of this kind in L1440.

## [2] TP03 Acts 4:24

### VU1:

(a) και ειπον: ANT SAL TR PR L156 L1021 L809 L60 L23 L2024 L1178 L162 L164 L1141 L169 L165 L168 L587 L610 L1825 L2058 L1159 L1440 L1364 L1282 L1439 L173 L1506 L1894 L1300 L1685 L1188 L1297 L1126 L1298

(b) και ειπαν: NA28 L1590

Among Apostolos witnesses only L1590 (XIII) reads (a) ειπαν with the initial text (NA<sup>28</sup>) in VU1, while (b) is supported by the majority of Lectionary witnesses as well as other typical indicators of the Byzantine text (Antoniades, TR) and the continuous text witnesses 08 044 18 33 323 424 614 945 1241 1505 1739. In the modern editorial texts, the third person singular form (a) is adopted on grammatical grounds and due to the support of early and important witnesses (P74 01 02 03 05 1175). Therefore this is an example of singular Lectionary support for an older reading. It is possible that other Apostolos witnesses outside the sample support (a) ειπαν with L1590.

### VU2:

(a) δεσποτα συ ο ποιησας: NA28 ANT

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<sup>334</sup> C. von Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece Ad Antiquissimos Testes Denuo Recensui Apparaticum Criticum Omni Studio Perfectum*. 8<sup>th</sup> ed. Vol. 2., (Leipzig: Winter, 1869), 242.

(b) δεσποτα συ ο θεος ο ποιησας: TR SAL PR L156 L1021 L809 L60 L23 L2024  
L1178 L162 L164 L1141 L169 L165 L168 L587 L610 L1825 L2058 L1159 L1440  
L1364 L1590 L1282 L1439

(c) δεσποτα συ ει ο θεος ο ποιησας: L173 L1506 L1894 L1300 L1685

(d) δεσποτα κυριε ο θεος ο ποιησας: L1188

(e) δεσποτα κυριε ο ποιησας: L1297

(f) OM: L1126

VU2 concerns the prayer of thanksgiving given by the brothers in response to the encounter of Peter and John with the elders and chief priests (Acts 4:1-23). NA<sup>28</sup> adopts the *lectio brevior* (a) δεσποτα συ ο ποιησας (τον ουρανον και την γην . . .). The reasoning of the UBS editors is clear on this, though it is given a {B} rating: “The shortest form of text appears to be the oldest; the additions were doubtless made in the interest of heightening the apostles’ reverence in prayer. If one of the longer expressions were original, no scribe would have abbreviated it.”<sup>335</sup> Unusually, Antoniadēs’ edition also supports the short reading (a) against Lectionary and Byzantine witnesses. The second longest reading (b) δεσποτα συ ο θεος ο ποιησας – presumably derived from (a) - is attested by the majority of Apostolos witnesses and has continuous text support from 05 08 044 18 33 323 424 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739. Clark adopts (b) in his edition of Acts.<sup>336</sup> Reading (b) is the GNT<sup>4</sup> *Lect* text, so the results of this collation reinforce that conclusion with the proviso that reading (c) δεσποτα συ ει ο θεος ο ποιησας qualifies as a Lectionary minority variant. The Saliberos printed Lectionary reads (b) with *Lect*. The apparatus of GNT<sup>4</sup> cites L593 L680 L1154 and L1443 as attesting (c) and to this the present study can now add L173 L1506 L1894 L1300 and L1685. Reading (c) here may be a genuine ‘Lectionary’ variant as opposed to a mere reflection of the continuous text

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<sup>335</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 279. Bruce translates the reading δέσποτα as ‘Sovereign Lord’ on the basis of LXX usage (e.g., Ex 20:11; Isa 42:5): “[t]hey addressed God as Sovereign Lord . . . in time-honored liturgical language drawn from Hebrew Scripture.” F.F. Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 98.

<sup>336</sup> A.C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes on Selected Passages*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 24.

tradition, since the continuous text support for  $\sigma\upsilon\ \epsilon\iota\ \omicron\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  is limited to versional and patristic witnesses (it<sup>d</sup> cop<sup>sa,meg</sup> Irenaeus<sup>lat</sup>).

Reading (d)  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\ \omicron\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \omicron\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  is supported by L883 (XI) in the GNT<sup>4</sup> apparatus and L1188 (XIV) in the manuscript selection of this study. Among continuous text witnesses only minuscule 33 (IX) - Eichhorn's "queen of the cursives"<sup>337</sup> - supports reading (d). The disparate dates of the Apostolos witnesses supporting (d) with 33 suggests two possibilities: either that this reading had an 'afterlife' in continuous text or Lectionary witnesses which are no longer extant/not collated, or that the reading  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\ \omicron\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  arose independently in the Apostolos witnesses as a natural doxological expansion. The second explanation is more likely but the possibility of reading (d) passing from continuous text *Vorlagen* to Apostolos manuscripts cannot be entirely discounted. Minuscule 33 contains Lectionary apparatus, and according to the CBGM Genealogical Queries tool is related to other manuscripts minuscules contemporary with the Apostolos sample which contain lection identifiers or tables e.g., 1563 (XIII). Variant (e)  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\ \omicron\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  is attested only by L1297 (XV) in the whole NT tradition and is therefore likely descended from (d). L1126 omits the entire phrase so that the verse ends on  $\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\nu$ ; the opening phrase  $\omicron\ \delta\iota\alpha\ \sigma\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\alpha\upsilon\iota\delta\ \lbracket\tau\omicron\upsilon\rbracket\ \pi\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma\ .\ .\ .$  is also omitted from v.25,<sup>338</sup> producing a nonsense reading.

### [3] TP04 Acts 4:25

(a)  $\omicron\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\varsigma\ \eta\mu\omicron\nu\ \delta\iota\alpha\ \pi\upsilon\epsilon\nu\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\alpha\upsilon\iota\delta\ \pi\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$ : NA28 L60  
L1178

(b)  $\omicron\ \delta\iota\alpha\ \sigma\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\alpha\upsilon\iota\delta\ \pi\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$ : PR ANT L156 L809 L23 L162 L604 L164  
L1506\* L1141 L169 L1300 L587 L610 L1159\* L1364 L1590 L1282 L1439

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<sup>337</sup> J.G. Eichhorn, "Die Königin unter den Cursiv geschriebenen Handschriften" *Das NT*. (Bd. IV) (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Leipzig 1827), 217. The Alands characterise 33 as a mixed 'Alexandrian' and Byzantine witness in Acts, and in Category I outside the Gospels. Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 129.

<sup>338</sup> See discussion of point [3] below.

(c) ο δια στοματος δαβιδ του παιδος σου: TR SAL L1021 L2024 L173 L1506c L1894 L1188 L1685 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1159c L1440

(d) OM: L1126

Metzger devotes an extensive discussion to the problem of this phrase, the multiple variants of which are believed to be the result of scribal confusion in the early NT text.<sup>339</sup> Reading (a) is attested in the continuous text witnesses 08 044 33 323 1175 1739 and in orthographically variant forms in P74 01 02 03. Metzger comments, “[r]ecognizing that the reading of P74 & A B E al [(a)] is unsatisfactory, the Committee nevertheless considered it to be closer to what the author wrote originally than any of the other extant forms of text.”<sup>340</sup> L60 and L1178 are cited in GNT<sup>4</sup> as supporting (a) and it is not possible to find further Apostolos support for the older reading in the current selection. The CT Byzantine tradition is divided at this point between the various alternatives. For instance, minuscules 424 (XI) and 614 (XIII) support the shorter (b) ο δια στοματος δαυιδ παιδος σου along with Antoniades’ text and seventeen Apostolos witnesses in the selection. Reading (c) is supported by the Saliberos Lectionary, the TR and twelve Apostolos witnesses in the selection and finds support from minuscule 1505 (XIII) in the continuous text tradition. Two of the witnesses (L1159 and L1506) are corrected from (b) to (c) so as to include the definite article του. This suggests an awareness of a textual issue in this passage on the part of Lectionary copyists at some point in the tradition. Given the general principle that scribes prefer shorter readings,<sup>341</sup> the corrections towards (c) may point to the status of (b) as a secondary sub-reading.

#### [4] TP05 Acts 5:32

(a) και ημεις εσμεν μαρτυρες: NA28 L60 L173 L164 L169 L1300 L587 L610 L2058 L1440

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<sup>339</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 281; citing B.F. Westcott and F.J. Hort eds., *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, the Text Revised (2<sup>nd</sup> ed). Vol. 2 (Cambridge and London, 1896), 92. Bruce follows Metzger, Westcott and Hort et al in adopting the NA<sup>28</sup> text (a). F.F. Bruce, *Book of the Acts*, 98.

<sup>340</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 281.

<sup>341</sup> Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 281.

(b) και ημεις εσμεν αυτου μαρτυρες: ANT SAL TR PR L156 L1021 L809 L23 L2024 L1178 L162 L604 L1506 L1141 L165 L168 L1188 L1685 L1825 L1159 L1364 L1590 L1281 L1282 L1439

In the GNT<sup>4</sup> apparatus the reading (b) εσμεν αυτου is listed as the *Byz Lect* majority reading while several Apostolos witnesses diverge from the consensus and read (a) with NA28 P74 01 05\* 614 1175. According to GNT<sup>4</sup> L60 L591 L680 L883 L1441 [L597 add μεν] read (a) with the initial text; eight more Apostolos witnesses from the current selection can now be added to the total. Compared to the continuous text Byzantine tradition the Lectionary appears to divide more evenly at this test-passage, with a considerable minority of Apostolos witnesses attesting the older reading (a). A possible cause of this is the tendency to omit features regarded as superfluous such as possessive pronouns, rather than textual affinity to earlier readings in the continuous text. The absence of other secondary continuous text variants from the Lectionary at this test-passage e.g., εν αυτων εσμεν 945 1739 or εσμεν εν αυτω 1891, speaks in favour of this theory. The Antoniades and Saliberos editions both follow the majority Lectionary tradition at this point, which is identical to the TR.

#### [5] TP06 Acts 6:5

##### VU1:

(a) παντος του πληθους: NA28 AD ANT SAL PR TR L156 L809 L60 L23 L2024 L1178 L173 L162 L112 L604 L164 L1506 L1894 L1126 L257 L168 L1300 L1188 L610 L1685 L1985 L1825 L2058 L1159 L1440 L1364 L1590 L1281 L1282 L1439

(b) παντος του λαου: L1021 L1141

In VU1 only L1021 (XII) and L1141 (XII) attest (b) παντος του λαου against the majority Lectionary and continuous text reading (a). The only alternative reading in the continuous text tradition is that of 05 which reads παντος των μαθητων. A plausible though speculative explanation for the occurrence of reading (b) is that the context (the election of the seven; Acts 6:1-7) required clarification or generalisation in a liturgical setting,

which would suggest a specifically liturgical adaptation of the text. Even if this is too speculative, the continued use of λαός in Acts (e.g. 4:8; 4:10; 4:17; 5:21; 6:8) both before and after this lection would be enough to cause an insertion. Both L1021 and L1142 contain weekday lections, and the lection immediately preceding this lection (Third Sunday after Easter) is Acts 5:21-33, which features διδάσκοντες τὸν λαόν (5:25) and ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ τὸν λαόν, ἵνα μὴ λιθασθῶσιν (5:26). However, the absence of continuous text witnesses to reading (b) does not necessarily mean that it is a Lectionary minority reading in the sense that it arose and was transmitted uniquely in the Apostolos tradition. In this instance the evidence is too slight to make a sound conclusion.

## VU2:

(a) πλήρης πιστεως και πνευματος αγιου: NA28 PR L156 L809 L60 L23 L1178 L173 L162 L112 L604 L164 L1506 L257 L168 L1300 L610 L1685 L2058 L1440 L1590 L1281 L1282 L1439; L1126 [πληρις]

(b) πληρη πιστεως και πνευματος αγιου: SAL ANT AD TR L2024 L1894 L1141 L1188 L1825 L1159 L1364

(c) πληρις πιστεως και πνευματος αγιου και σοφιας: L1985 L1021

VU2 concerns two issues the first of which is the division between (a) πλήρης and (b) πληρη. Metzger notes that “the undeclinable form πλήρης, read by Ⲙ A C D E H P and many minuscules, was corrected in B and several minuscules to πλήρη, a reading that passed into the Textus Receptus.”<sup>342</sup> In this instance the Lectionary reflects the overall division of the continuous text tradition, though weighted towards (a). Printed Greek editions - both continuous text (Antoniades) and Lectionary (Saliberos, AD) - support πληρη, presumably for reasons of later stylistic preference. The second variation here is between πνευματος αγιου (a) (b) and πνευματος αγιου και σοφιας (c) in L1985 L1021. Reading (c) is not attested in the continuous text tradition or in any witness known to the current writer. Ericsson studies L1021 and lists Acts 6:5 in his Appendix of ‘Majority

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<sup>342</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 295.

Variants' but does not record any variant other than προχορων for προχορον at this verse.<sup>343</sup> It is likely that reading (c) is a repetition of the phrase πνεύματος [ἀγίου] καὶ σοφίας in Acts 6:3, or else a product of the repeated liturgical exclamation of σοφία in the Byzantine Eucharistic rites familiar to monastic (and possibly parochial) copyists.

## [6] TP07 Acts 9:28

### VU1:

(a) εισπορευομενος και εκπορευομενος εις ιερουσαλημ: NA28 L1825

(b) εισπορευομενος και εκπορευομενος εν ιερουσαλημ: ANT TR SAL L1178 L1159

(c) εισπορευομενος εν ιερουσαλημ: L1440; L60 [εισπορευωμενος]

(d) εισπορευομενος εις ιερουσαλημ: PR L156 L1021 L809 L23 L2024 L173 L162 L604 L164 L1506 L1894 L1141 L165 L168 L1300 L587 L1188 L170 L610 L2058 L1297 L1364 L1590 L1281 L1282 L1439

(e) πορευομενος εις ιερουσαλημ: L1685 L1298

The reading (d) εισπορευομενος εις is supported by the majority of Apostolos witnesses in the selection as well as important witnesses in the continuous text tradition: P74 020 424c 614 1241 1505. Ericsson lists (d) as a majority Lectionary variant, where all of his thirteen Apostolos witnesses to the verse omit και εκπορευομενος.<sup>344</sup> This picture of unanimity is disturbed slightly by the data from the current selection. Reading (c) εισπορευομενος εν is supported by L1440 and L60 as well as the continuous text witnesses 18 945 1739. In the Apostolos only the very late copy L1825 (XVI) supports the NA28 reading (a) εισπορευομενος και εκπορευομενος εις which stands upon the authority of 01 02 03 04 08 044 and a number of minuscules. The text of L1825 may descend from an older Lectionary or continuous text witness but the test passages in this study certainly show no indication of this. It may be that a copyist wrote the reading that

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<sup>343</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 81.

<sup>344</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 82.

he was familiar with from reading a continuous text manuscript. Antoniadēs' edition aligns with another minority reading (b) εἰσπορευομενος και εκπορευομενος εν, supported by only two Apostolos witnesses, as do the TR and the Saliberos Lectionary. Finally, the abbreviated reading (e) πορευομενος εις is attested by two lectionaries but no continuous text witnesses.

## VU2:

(a) εν τω ονοματι του κυριου ιησου: ANT SAL TR PR L1021 L809 L2024 L1178 L173 L162 L604 L164 L1506 L1894 L1141 L165 L168 L1300 L587 L1188 L170 L610 L1685 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1159 L1590 L1281 L1439; L23 L1298 [τωι]; L1364 [ill]εν τω[ill]

(b) εν τω ονοματι του κυριου: NA28

(c) εν τω ονοματι του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου: L1440

(d) εν τω ονοματι του κυριου ημων ιησου: L1282

(e) OM: L156 L60

Apostolos witnesses support (a) του κυριου ιησου by a clear majority, as do all the Byzantine/Lectionary printed editions. Reading (a) is supported in the continuous text tradition by 01C2 020 044 323 424 614 1241. No Lectionary witness attests the *lectio brevior* (b) του κυριου. The readings (c) and (d) are likely to be the product of natural liturgical expansion since the present writer is unable to find support for either reading in the continuous text tradition. Variant (e) renders Acts 9:28 και ην μετ αυτων εἰσπορευομενος εις ιερουσαλημ so that the entire second clause is absent. The witnesses L156 (X) and L60 (XI) are supported in this reading only by the later minuscule 1505 (XIII). Minuscule 1505 contains lection boundary markers which suggest a lection Acts 9:10-33 (ff. 117r-117v) which partially correspond to the standard 'Byzantine' lections for the Saturday and Sunday of the fourth week of Pascha (E4G, E4A). Therefore all three witnesses (L156, L60, 1505) may share a common continuous text ancestor, possibly containing a variant lection system, through which reading (e) passed to both Lectionary



and continuous text traditions. Further evidence that this may be the case is provided by the highly variant lection boundaries of L156 and the ‘generic’ lections possessed by L60.<sup>345</sup>

#### [7] TP08 Acts 9:31

(a) η μεν ουν εκκλησια καθ ολης: NA28 L1506 L1188 L1178

(b) αι μεν ουν εκκλησαι καθ ολης: ANT SAL TR PR L156 L1021 L809 L23 L2024  
L173 L162 L604 L164 L1894 L1141 L165 L168 L1300 L587 L170 L610 L1685 L1825  
L2058 L1297 L1159 L1440 L1364 L1298 L1590 L1281 L1439 L1506; L60  
[εκκλασαι]

(c) αι μεν ουν αι εκκλησαι καθ ολης: L1282

Regarding Acts 9:31 Metzger comments that “[t]he range and age of the witnesses that read the singular number are superior to those that read the plural.”<sup>346</sup> Unsurprisingly the majority of Lectionaries attest the secondary reading (b) εκκλησαι as do the Antoniades and Saliberos editions along with the continuous text witnesses 614 1505. It is probable that reading (b) passed into the Apostolos tradition from a family of continuous text witnesses. For example, minuscule 614, which reads (b), contains extensive lection tables (ff.1r-4v) and 1505 is listed as a potential descendant of 614 with an agreement 91.847% in the Catholic Letters.<sup>347</sup> While this is not conclusive evidence it provides a plausible setting for the transmission of such a Byzantine sub-variant into the Apostolos tradition. Clark adopts reading (b) with the Byzantine editions.<sup>348</sup> The GNT<sup>4</sup> apparatus records L1178 as a witness to (a) εκκλησια with e.g., 01 03 04 323 945 1175 173, to this one can now add L1506 (XII) L1188 (XIV). The later date of the manuscript L1188 is notable since the singular definite article decreases the possibility that the presence of reading (a)

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<sup>345</sup> See Chapters 4 and 5 below.

<sup>346</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 323.

<sup>347</sup> CBGM “Genealogical Queries” v.2.0 <http://intf.uni-muenster.de/cbgm2/PA5.php> [online] [accessed 15/06/2015]

<sup>348</sup> Clark, *Acts: A Critical Edition*, 57.

in this witness is merely phonetic in origin, unless two vowel interchanges were made consecutively. Reading (c) in L1282 erroneously repeats the definite article.

**[8] TP11 Acts 10:5**

**VU1:**

(a) μεταπεμψαι: NA28 ANT SAL TR PR L156 L1021 L809 L60 L23 L1178 L173 L162 L1506 L168 L1300 L587 L1188 L610 L1685 L2010 L1825 L1297 L1159 L1364 L1298 L1590 L1281 L1282 L1439

(b) μεταπεμψον: L1894 L1141 L170 L2058

(c) μεταπεμψε: L604 L164 L257 L1440

(d) μετακαλεσαι: L112

In VU1 the aorist middle imperative form (a) μεταπεμψαι is attested by a clear majority of all Apostolos witnesses while the same obtains for continuous text witnesses: P74 01 02C 03 04 08 020 044 18 33 81 323 424 945 1175 1241 1505 1739. Reading (c) μεταπεμψε attested by four Apostolos witnesses is the result of the vowel interchange αι → ε. Of the four witnesses that attest the unusual reading (b) μεταπεμψον three are copies from the chronologically later range of the current selection: L2058 (XVII) L179 (XIV) L1894 (XIV). In the continuous text tradition only minuscule 614, which possesses lection apparatus, (XIII) reads μεταπεμψον again suggesting an origin in continuous text witnesses for the sub-reading (b). All the witnesses reading (b) μεταπεμψον in VU1 read τον επικαλουμενον πετρον in VU2: the first verb was harmonised to the later participle. Reading (d) μετακαλεσαι is read only by L112 and is not represented in the continuous text tradition. In the following lection (Tuesday, 2<sup>nd</sup> of Easter) Acts 10:32 reads μετακάλεσαι Σίμωνα ὃς ἐπικαλεῖται Πέτρος. If the cause of reading (d) in L112 or its ancestor-text is this verse it is puzzling that in VU2 L112 reads τον επικαλουμενον πετρον.

## VU2:

(a) σιμωνα τινα ος επικαλειται πετρος: NA28 L2010

(b) σιμωνα ος επικαλειται πετρος: TR L1159

(c) σιμωνα τον επικαλουμενον πετρον: ANT SAL PR L156 L1021 L809 L60 L1178 L162 L112 L604 L164 L1506 L1894 L1141 L257 L168 L587 L1188 L170 L610 L2058 L1297 L1440 L1364 L1298 L1590 L1281 L1282 L1439; L23 [τον επικαλουμενον πετρος]; L1825 [τον επικαλουμενιν πετρον]

(d) σιμωνα τον καλουμενον πετρον: L173 L1685 L1300

This variation unit concerns two textual issues. First, the presence of *τινα* about which Metzger comments: “the expression “a certain Simon who is called Peter” may have seemed to copyists to lack proper respect for the chief of the apostles, and so the belittling *τινά* was dropped.”<sup>349</sup> Second, the question of the present indicative (b) *ος επικαλειται πετρος* or the present participle (c) *τον επικαλουμενον πετρον*. Only L2010 (XV) supports (a) *τινα ος επικαλειται πετρος* the *lectio difficilior* adopted by the critical editions, showing that late Apostolos copies continue to echo earlier textual traditions. L1159 supports (b) omitting *τινα* with continuous text witnesses 01 08 020 044 18 33 323 424 614 1241 1505, joined by the TR. The Saliberos and Antoniadēs editions support the Lectionary majority reading (c) which is also the GNT<sup>4</sup> Byz (continuous text) majority reading as well as possessing extensive versional and patristic support. Reading (d) *τον καλουμενον πετρον* is not present in the continuous text tradition and is likely to have arisen independently in three Apostolos witnesses, separated as they are by approximately five centuries: L173 (X) L1685 (XV) L173 (X).

### [9] TP14 Acts 10:24

(a) εισηλθεν εις την καισαρειαν: NA28 L809 L1141 L257 L162 L1364; L112 [καισαριαν]; L1439 [κεσαριαν]

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<sup>349</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 324.

(b) εισηλθον εις την καισαρειαν: SAL ANT TR PR L156 L60 L23 L1178 L173 L604 L164 L1506 L1894 L168 L1300 L587 L1188 L610 L1685 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1159 L1298 L1590 L1281 L1282; L1021 [καισαριαν]; L1440 [κεσαρειαν]

(c) ηλθον εις την καισαρειαν: L2010

(d) συνηλθον εις την καισαρειαν: L921<sup>350</sup>

Reading (a) is given a {C} (difficult) rating by the UBS committee.<sup>351</sup> The apparatus of GNT<sup>4</sup> cites *Lect*<sup>pt</sup> for readings (a) and (b) with the continuous text *Byz* tradition supporting reading (b). However, in the current selection the likely secondary reading (b) εισηλθον is attested by over two-thirds of the Apostolos witnesses, suggesting that this is the Byzantine and Lectionary majority reading here. The Saliberos and Antoniades printed editions also follow (b). A significant minority of Lectionary witnesses support (a) εισηλθεν with e.g., 03 05 044 81 614, suggesting an incomplete process of assimilation to the Byzantine majority reading in the Apostolos. Reading (c) ηλθον is absent from the continuous text tradition and should be regarded as a singular reading. L921 (XII) joins the tenth century minuscule 1175 in reading (d) συνηλθον. Minuscule 1175 contains lection boundary identifiers at this passage (Acts 10:21-33; ff.23r-24r) which suggests that reading (d) passed from 1175 or one of its relatives into a continuous text manuscript from which L921 was prepared.

#### [10] TP15 Acts 10:33

(a) ακουσαι παντα τα προστεταγμενα σοι υπο του κυριου: NA28 L60 L587 L1188 L1825; L1178 [υπο κυριου]

(b) ακουσαι παντα τα προστεταγμενα σοι υπο του θεου: ANT SAL TR PR L156 L1021 L809 L23 L173 L162 L112 L604 L164 L1894 L1141 L168 L1300 L1685 L2010 L2058 L1159 L1440 L1364 L1298 L1590 L1281 L1282 L1439

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<sup>350</sup> This MS is not in the selection for this thesis, but rather cited in GNT<sup>4</sup> – its inclusion in the apparatus here is for the sake of clarity in the presentation of data.

<sup>351</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 331.

(c) του ακουσαι παντα τα προστεταγμενα σοι υπο του θεου: L610

(d) ακουσαι παντα τα διατεταγμενα σοι υπο του θεου: L257

(e) ακουσαι παντα τα προστεταγμενα σοι υπο θεου: L1506 L1297

The reading του κυριου, adopted in the critical editions, is given a {C} (difficult) rating by the UBS committee.<sup>352</sup> Reading (a) υπο του θεου is the GNT<sup>4</sup> *Byz Lect* majority reading: all the Byzantine printed editions reflect this underlying tradition. The sub-reading (c) found in L610 has been formed by the erroneous addition of του to (b). Reading (a) υπο του κυριου is supported by L60 L597 and L1178 in the GNT<sup>4</sup> apparatus; to this we can now add L587 and L1188 from the current selection. In the continuous text tradition (c) is attested by a range of witnesses across the centuries: P45 01 02 03 04 08 044 81\* 323 614 945 1175 1739. The continuous text tradition contains another point of variation υπο/απο/παρα/υπερ which is absent from the Lectionary, suggesting that this belongs to an earlier strand of the textual tradition than that represented by the Apostolos. L1178 L1506 and L1297 omit του [θεου/κυριου] with 81 945 1241. L257 (XIV) reads (d) διατεταγμενα which has no other witness in the continuous text tradition; the feminine accusative form of the participle is in biblical usage elsewhere only in Judges 5:9 (LXX).

#### [11] TP16 Acts 10:48

##### VU1:

(a) προσεταξεν δε: NA28 L1021 L60 L610

(b) προσεταξεν τε: TR PR L156 L1178 L1442 L112 L164 L1506 L1300 L170 L1297;  
L1439 [ται]

(c) προσεταξε δε: L162 L1188 L1685 L1281

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<sup>352</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 333. Bruce adopts the *Ausgangstext* reading (c) “to hear all that the Lord has directed you to say.” Bruce, *Book of the Acts*, 210.

(d) προσεταξε τε: ANT SAL L809 L23 L173 L1141 L165 L168 L587 L2010 L1825 L2058 L1159 L1364 L1298 L1590 L1282; L1894 [προσσεταξε]

(e) προσεταξε: L604

VU1 concerns two linguistic variants: the presence of movable nu in the verb προσεταξε(v);<sup>353</sup> the alternative particles δε and τε. Various composite forms of these variants exist in both the continuous text and Lectionary textual traditions. Reading (b) προσεταξεν τε is supported by ten Apostolos witnesses in the sample and by continuous text witnesses e.g., P74 02 020 18 323 424 945 1241 1739. Reading (d) προσεταξε τε is supported by sixteen Apostolos witnesses in the current selection; the Antoniades and Saliberos editions follow this reading, which is not present in earlier continuous text witnesses. The reading (a) προσεταξεν δε adopted by the critical editions is supported by L1021 (XII) L60 (XI) L610 (XV) along with 01 03 08 044 33 81 614 1175 1505. The minuscule codices 33 81 614 1175 and 1505 all contain some variety of lection apparatus. This suggests that the ostensibly earlier reading (a) may have been transmitted to L610 L60 and L1021 from continuous text witnesses. Reading (c) is attested by four Apostolos witnesses. Since it is perfectly plausible that either linguistic variant could have arisen on multiple occasions it is better to be cautious about attributing Apostolos support for (a) or (c) to affinity with earlier texts, though this is possible. In conclusion, the Lectionary majority reading at this test-passage is προσεταξε[v] τε but the Apostolos divides less evenly between δε and τε than the continuous text tradition.

## VU2:

(a) εν τω ονοματι του ιησου χριστου βαπτισθηναι: NA28 L1188

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<sup>353</sup> G. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (Chichester: Wiley, 2010), 38-39. For summary of issues and scholarship of Atticism in NT TC see e.g., T. Wassermann, "Criteria for Evaluating Readings in NT Textual Criticism." B.D. Ehrman and M.W. Holmes eds., *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 590.

(b) βαπτισθῆναι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου: ANT SAL TR PR L156 L173 L112 L164 L1894 L168 L1300 L809 L1825 L2058; L165 [τωι]; L1021 [εἰς τὸ ὄνομα]

(c) βαπτισθῆναι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἰησοῦ: L23 L1442 L162 L604 L1506 L1141 L1297 L1159 L1364 L1298 L1590 L1282 L1439

(d) βαπτισθῆναι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ: L60 L1178 L587 L2010 L1281; L1685 [OM ἐν]

(e) βαπτισθῆναι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ: L610

(f) βαπτισθῆναι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ: L170

There are two points of variation here: the position of βαπτισθῆναι and the various forms of the proper noun. The Byzantine textual tradition subdivides in both instances, though much more evenly in the latter than the former. According to Metzger “[t]he position of βαπτισθῆναι was moved forward in order to make it plain that ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι goes with it and not with προσέταξεν αὐτοῦς”<sup>354</sup> i.e., it is a later adaptation. The GNT<sup>4</sup> apparatus cites no Apostolos support for the initial text reading (a) ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ βαπτισθῆναι and only L1188 (XIV) supports this reading in the current selection following continuous text witnesses e.g., P74 01 02 03 81C. The continuous text Praxapostolos manuscript 81 (XI) contains lection boundary markers, so this provides a plausible trajectory for the reading (a) into L1188 from the continuous text tradition. As in previous test passages it is notable that there is support here for an ostensibly earlier reading in a rather late Lectionary witness.

The remaining picture is complicated. GNT<sup>4</sup> uses the sigla *Lect*<sup>pt</sup> and *Byz*<sup>pt</sup> with regards to the rest of the alternatives and this is confirmed by the current selection. Reading (b) βαπτισθῆναι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου is attested by twelve Apostolos witnesses and the continuous text 020 424 1505 – all the printed Greek editions follow this shorter reading. Both minuscules 424 and 1505 contain lection apparatus. L1021 has the singular sub-reading εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, perhaps influenced by Paul’s admonition ἵνα μὴ τις εἴπῃ ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα ἐβάπτισα (1 Cor 1:16 Byz). Reading (c) is present in thirteen Apostolos

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<sup>354</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 336.

witnesses and the continuous text witnesses 18 1241. Reading (d) is attested by six Apostolos witnesses and continuous text witnesses 08 044 33 323 614 945 1739, of which 33 and 614 are known to contain lection apparatus. The expanded reading (e) του κυριου ιησου χριστου is found in L610 (XV) and in 05, while 81\* (XI) reads (e) but transposes βαπτισθῆναι. Clark adopts (e), presumably in favour of Codex Bezae.<sup>355</sup> The theologically difficult (f) βαπτισθῆναι εν τω ονοματι του θεου in L170 (XIV) is a singular reading.

In conclusion, in this instance the Apostolos reflects ongoing confusion and variation among copyists about the baptismal formula in Acts 10:48. Hurtado notes that “[a]t a number of points in the text of Acts, ancient readers were presented with ambiguities, especially whether the referent was God or Jesus, and the variants at these points reflect readers’ efforts to judge the matter.”<sup>356</sup> It should be added to Hurtado’s conclusion that these ambiguities reach beyond ancient readers so as to be reflected in the copying of Byzantine manuscripts. There is evidence that several variant forms of the formula passed into the Apostolos tradition from continuous text witnesses as well as some ongoing theological expansion and scribal confusion.

## [12] TP17 Acts 12:25

### VU1:

(a) βαρναβας [δε] και σαυλος υπεστρεψαν εις ιερουσαλημ: NA28 PR SAL L23 L173 L1442 L162 L164 L1506 L1894 L169 L1300 L1188 L170 L610 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1159 L1298 L1590; L60 [σαυλωσ]

(b) βαρναβας [δε] και σαυλος υπεστρεψαν εξ ιερουσαλημ: ANT TR L156 L165 L168 L2010

<sup>355</sup> Clark, *Acts: A Critical Edition*, 66.

<sup>356</sup> L.W. Hurtado, “God or Jesus? Textual Ambiguity and Textual Variants in Acts of the Apostles.” P. Doble and J. Kloha eds., *Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of J. Keith Elliott*. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 254. Acts 10:48 is not one of Hurtado’s chosen variants although Acts 10:33 (TP15); 20:28 (TP19) (see above) are included: Hurtado, “God or Jesus?”, 243-244.



(c) βαρναβας [δε] και σαυλος υπεστρεψαν απο ιερουσαλημ: L1021 L809 L604 L1141 L587 L1685 L1364 L1282 L1439

(d) βαρναβας και σαυλος υπεστρεψαν απο ιερουσαλημ εις αντιοχειαν: L1178

(e) βαρναβας και σαυλος υπεστρεψαν εξ ιερουσαλημ εις αντιοχειαν: L1281

(f) βαρναβας δε και παυλος υπεστρεψαν εις ιερουσαλημ: L112

VU1 in this verse consists of several instances of textual variation. The first is the preposition in the narrative of the journey of Barnabas and Saul από/ἐξ/εις ιερουσαλημ. Second, the presence or absence of δε, which for the sake of brevity is omitted from this discussion. Third, the proper noun Παύλος/Σαύλος. Finally, the phrase εις αντιοχειαν.

Regarding the first issue, the UBS committee adopts the reading εις ιερουσαλημ with a {C} rating noting that “Westcott and Hort declare, “εις Ἱερουσαλήμ, which is the best attested and was not likely to be introduced, cannot possibly be right if it is taken with ὑπέστρεψαν. Their conclusion is that the passage contains a primitive error that has infected all extant witnesses . . . After long and repeated deliberation the Committee decided that the least unsatisfactory decision was to adopt εις.”<sup>357</sup> In his 1964 article Parker argues strongly in favour of εις ιερουσαλημ on the basis of internal and external criteria, stating that “εις Ἱερουσαλήμ has the support of nearly all the best MSS . . . Other scribes have obviously altered εις to ἐξ or ἀπό to get around what looked like a [grammatical] difficulty.”<sup>358</sup> Yet the continuous text evidence from recent collations is less decisive: 01 03 020 81 1241 1505 support reading (a) βαρναβας [δε] και σαυλος υπεστρεψαν εις ιερουσαλημ while (b) εξ is attested by P74 02 33 945 1739 and (c) απο by 05 08 044 18 323 424 614 1175. In the current selection, the Apostolos witnesses mirror the ongoing division in the continuous text tradition: twenty read (a) εις; five read (b) εξ; ten read (c) απο. GNT<sup>4</sup> records *Lect<sup>pt</sup>* for (a) and (c) but only L1178 as a witness for (b) εξ ιερουσαλημ. L156 L165 L168 L2010 can now be added to the total, as well as the Antoniades edition. In comparison to the continuous text Byzantine tradition (GNT<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>357</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 352. Citing B.F. Westcott and F.J. Hort eds. *The New Testament in the Original Greek, the Text Revised* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed). Vol. 2 (Cambridge and London, 1896), 94.

<sup>358</sup> P. Parker, “Three Variant Readings in Luke-Acts.” *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 83, No. 2 (Jun. 1964), 168.

Byz supports (a) εις ιερουσαλημ) the Lectionary tradition is quite divided. In the Lectionary the textual and grammatical issues surrounding the preposition persist even into the late Byzantine period.

L112 is alone among Apostolos witnesses in reading (f) βαρναβας δε και παυλος υπεστρεψαν εις ιερουσαλημ along with Byzantine continuous text witnesses including 2 57 326 436 441. The eleventh century minuscule 436 contains lection boundary markers (f.33v) at this verse which provides a possible method of transmission of reading (f) into the Apostolos tradition. In this case the Lectionary presents evidence which is counter-intuitive in that a reading which is the product of the natural tendency to clarify and harmonise (evident also in the ‘Western’ reading ὃς ἐπεκλήθη Παῦλος 614 itp syr<sup>h</sup> with \* cop<sup>G67</sup>) has not been transmitted widely. Both variants (d) and (f) contain the phrase εις αντιοχειαν. GNT<sup>4</sup> records L1178 (XI) as supporting this reading and L1281 (XV) can now be added; εις αντιοχειαν is read in the continuous text tradition by e.g., 08 (VI) 323 424c 945 1175 1739. Minuscules 424 and 1739 both contain lection apparatus. As in the case of preposition variation, the Apostolos tradition here continues to echo – albeit in a limited manner - variation present earlier in the NT textual tradition.

## VU2:

(a) τον επικληθεντα μαρκον: NA28 AD ANT TR SAL PR L156 L1021 L809 L23 L1178 L173 L1442 L162 L112 L604 L164 L1506 L1894 L1141 L169 L165 L168 L1300 L587 L1188 L170 L610 1685 L2010 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1159 L1364 L1298 L1590 L1281 L1282 L1439

(b) τον επικαλουμενον μαρκον: L60

Here the Apostolos agrees with the majority reading in all continuous text witnesses (a) τον επικληθεντα μαρκον. L60, however, reads (b) τον επικαλουμενον μαρκον with P74 01 02 33 81 424\* 1175 1505, of which 33 81 424 and 1505 all contain lection apparatus.

## [13] TP19 Acts 20:28

(a) εκκλησιαν του θεου . . . δια του αιματος του ιδιου: NA28 L60

(b) εκκλησιαν του θεου . . . δια του ιδιου αιματος: TR SAL L1021 L112 L1126\* L169 L2010 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1439; L1895 [\*επλεσιαν]

(b) εκκλησιαν του κυριου και θεου . . . δια του ιδιου αιματος: AD ANT PR L156 L809 L23 L2024 L1178 L173 L1442 L162 L604 L1506 L1141 L1126c L165 L168 L1300 L587 L170 L610 L1685 L1159 L1440 L1364 L1298 L1590 L1282 L1281

(c) εκκλησιαν του κυριου και θεου . . . δια του αιματος του ιδιου: L1188

(d) εκκλησιαν του κυριου . . . δια του ιδιου αιματος: L164

In this instance the two points of variation have been presented together since the two variants are related. The UBS committee adopts the reading (a) εκκλησιαν του θεου . . . δια του αιματος του ιδιου – the presence of θεοῦ is given a {C} rating. Metzger comments:

“θεοῦ is the more difficult reading. The following clause speaks of the church “which he obtained διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου.” If this is taken in its usual sense (“with his own blood”), a copyist might well raise the question, Does God have blood?, and thus be led to change θεοῦ to κυρίου . . . The reading ἰδίου αἵματος is supported by many of the Byzantine witnesses that read the conflation κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ in the preceding variant.”<sup>359</sup>

Among Apostolos witnesses only L60 supports the *Ausgangstext* reading (a). Reading (c) is the *Byz Lect* majority in GNT<sup>4</sup> and it is also attested by the majority of Apostolos witnesses in this study. In GNT<sup>4</sup> the following lectionaries are cited as supporting (b) του θεου . . . δια του ιδιου αιματος: L592 L598 L603 L1021 L1439 – eight further Apostolos witnesses can now be added to this total, arguably making (b) minority reading in the Lectionary. The Saliberos Lectionary supports this minority tradition against AD and Antoniades, which read (c). Among continuous text witnesses (b) is the reading of the minuscules 614 1505 which both contain lection apparatus. L1178 (XIV) reads (c) του κυριου και θεου . . . δια του αιματος του ιδιου with 04c3: του κυριου και θεου corrected

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<sup>359</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 427. Bruce follows the editorial text but translates “[. . .] feed the church of God, the church which he purchased with the blood of his own Son” arguing that “[t]his sense of ὁ ἴδιος [one’s own] is well attested in the vernacular papyri . . . it is unnecessary to conjecture, with F. J. A. Hort, that υἱοῦ (“son”) may have dropped out of the text after ἰδίου.” Bruce, *Book of the Acts*, 391. Given the textual issues concerning θεός/ κύριος/υἱός in the Apostolos and wider Byzantine textual traditions the absence of a clarifying addition υἱοῦ is notable.

from του κυριου in *Ephraemi Rescriptus*. Reading (d) του κυριου . . . δια του ιδιου αιματος in L164 (XII) is shared only by a corrector of the minuscule 424 (XI) - corrected from κυριου to κυριου και θεου. Interestingly, 424 contains lection identifiers and other material suggestive of a close relationship to Apostolos codices. To conclude, while (c) is undoubtedly the Apostolos majority reading the tradition continues to reflect Byzantine sub-divisions and several witnesses attest earlier texts. The Lectionary tradition is more divided at Acts 20:28 than is suggested by the apparatus of GNT<sup>4</sup>.

#### [14] TP23 Rom 5:1

##### VU1:

(a) δικαιωθεντες ουν εκ πιστεως: NA28 ANT TR PR L156 L1894 L1141 L169 L1300 L1282

(b) δικαιωθεντες εκ πιστεως: SAL AD L1021 L809 L60 L23 L2024 L1178 L173 L1442 L162 L112 L604 L164 L1506 L257 L165 L168 L587 L1188 L170 L610 L1685 L2010 L1985 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1159 L1364 L1298 L1590 L1281; L1439 [δικαιωθενταις]

VU1 concerns a point of grammatical/stylistic variation. Reading (b) δικαιωθεντες εκ is most common among Apostolos witnesses while (a) δικαιωθεντες ουν εκ has the support of six witnesses. Both printed Lectionary editions support (b) while the printed Byzantine continuous text editions support (a). There is no recorded variation here in the continuous text tradition, suggesting that the absence of the conjunction ουν is unique to the Lectionary. Consideration of the context of Rom 5:1 in the Byzantine anagnostic system clarifies this: the verse opens the lection AP3A (Third Sunday after Pentecost) making the literary-theological connection with the previous passage in the continuous text (Rom 4:13-25) redundant. Is it not necessary to postulate a 'Lectionary text' or recensional theory for stylistic variants of this kind, nor can this type of textual variation be uncritically compared with test passages which record variation of a substantive kind, as

they are in Ericsson’s study.<sup>360</sup> The absence of οὖν may be described more accurately as caused by a scribal tendency among Lectionary copyists or, alternatively, an editorial decision at the stage of manuscript production. In fact the omission of redundant conjunctions could have taken place while copying from a continuous text *Vorlage* which possessed them. That some Apostolos witnesses follow the continuous text reading (a) is further evidence that this is an inconsistently observed scribal practice rather than an indicator of textual affinity.<sup>361</sup> Similar variations appear in the current selection at e.g., TP01 TP02 TP17 TP19 TP45.

## VU2:

(a) εχομεν προς τον θεον: NA28 AD ANT SAL TR PR L156 L809 L2024 L1442 L162 L604 L1894 L1141 L257 L169 L165 L168 L587 L610 L2010 L1985 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1364 L1298 L1590 L1281 L1282

(b) εχομεν προς τον θεον: L1021 L60 L23 L1178 L173 L112 L164 L1506 L1300 L1188 L170 L1685 L1159 L1439

Scholarly literature on VU2 is extensive and cannot detain the present study.<sup>362</sup> Metzger, commenting on the decisions made on the basis of collations for UBS GNT<sup>3</sup>, cites *Byz Lect* support for (a) εχομεν.<sup>363</sup> Later on, the GNT<sup>4</sup> apparatus cites *Byz<sup>pt</sup> Lect<sup>pt</sup>* support for (a) and (b). In the current selection the division of the Byzantine tradition is mirrored in

<sup>360</sup> Ericsson includes numerous readings of this kind in his list of ‘Majority Variants’ which he uses as evidence to reinforce his “assum[ption] that there is a distinct text-form which may be called ‘the ‘Lectionary Text’”. Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 19; 80-86.

<sup>361</sup> For instance, f.160v of minuscule 424 (XI), a continuous text Praxapostolos evidently used to prepare Apostolos lections, contains the identifier κυριακη [num]γ[/num] [num]α[/num] αρχη but οὖν is nonetheless present.

<sup>362</sup> The majority of commentators accept the indicative on internal grounds. Black does not demur from the consensus view but argues regarding the majority reading “[w]e could render: ‘let us enjoy [έχομεν] our state of peace with God’ without introducing any un-Pauline thought . . . this may be the force of the subjunctive.” M. Black, *Romans*. [New Century Bible] (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1973), 82. Fitzzymer writes “the better Greek MSS read *echōmen* . . . as Kuss, Lagrange and Sanday and Headlam prefer . . . That would introduce a parenetic nuance, and it has been understood so by patristic writers, making it the equivalent of *phylassein eirēnēn*, ‘keep peace’ (with God)”. J.A. Fitzzymer, S.J., *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. [The Anchor Bible] (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 395. Dunn takes the view that “[i]f an exhortation was intended ποιήσωμεν (as in Isa 27:5) would have been the more obvious choice”. J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8* [Word Biblical Commentary] (Milton Keynes: Word Publishing, 1991), 245.

<sup>363</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 452.

the division of Apostolos witnesses. However, reading (a) is attested by 24 witnesses compared to 14 for (b). It is notable that all of the printed Greek editions – both continuous text and Lectionary - follow the indicative form. If the cause of the persistent division in the continuous text tradition is vowel interchange, either between Paul and his amanuensis or in the NT textual tradition, the Apostolos tradition merely reflects this reality.

**[15] TP26 1 Cor 7:34**

(a) και μεμερισται και η γυνη η αγαμος και η παρθενος: NA28

(b) μεμερισται η γυνη και η παρθενος η αγαμος: TR SAL L56 L809 L2024 L162 L604 L1141 L169 L168 L587 L1188 L1685 L1825 L2058 L1364 L1590

(c) μεμερισται και η γυνη και η παρθενος η αγαμος: ANT PR L1178 L241 L1894 L610 L2010 L1159 L1281 L1282; L164 [μεμερισθαι]

(d) μεμερισται η παρθενος η αγαμος: L1297

This variation unit concerns the position of και and the number of times it appears as well as the word order. Reading (a) is adopted by the critical editions and given a {D} (very difficult) rating by the UBS committee. In the GNT<sup>4</sup> apparatus only L596 (XII) supports (a) among Apostolos witnesses but the continuous text and versional witnesses for this reading are extensive e.g., P15 03 104 256 263 365 1319 1573 1912 1962 vg cop<sup>sa</sup> Eusebius. One is unable find further support for (a) in the current Apostolos section. At this test-passage the continuous text *Byz* in GNT<sup>4</sup> supports (c) while the siglum *Lect*<sup>pt</sup> is cited for both (b) and (c). In the current sample the Lectionary witnesses divide with a slight weighting (15:9) in favour of (b) μεμερισται η γυνη και η παρθενος η αγαμος, which is also read by the Saliberos printed Lectionary. In contrast, the continuous text Antoniades edition follows the *Byz* reading with a significant minority of Apostolos witnesses. Reading (b) is supported in the continuous text, patristic and versional textual traditions by e.g, 1231 it<sup>ar</sup> vg<sup>mss</sup> Tertullian Ambrosiaster Jerome<sup>2/4</sup> Pelagius. It is difficult to label (b) a ‘Lectionary reading’ because so many witnesses disagree. More likely the

division in the Lectionary tradition reflects the various *Vorlagen* of lection-texts over the centuries. Another conflated reading present in the continuous text - και μεμέρισται και ή γυνή ή άγαμος και ή παρθένος ή άγαμος e.g., P46 01 02 33 81 1739 1881) – is not attested in any Apostolos witness. The erroneous omission of ή γυνή in L1297 is unique.

#### [16] TP27 Rom 13:9

##### VU1:

(a) το γαρ ου μοιχευσεις ου φονευσεις ου κλεψεις ουκ επιθυμησεις: NA28 ANT PR L156 L1021 L809 L60 L23 L2024 L1178 L173 L1442 L162 L112 L604 L1506 L1141 L169 L165 L168 L1300 L587 L1188 L170 L1297 L1590\* L1364 L1298 L1439

(b) το γαρ ου μοιχευσεις ου φονευσεις ου κλεψεις ου ψευδομαρτυρησεις ουκ επιθυμησεις: SAL TR L164 L1894 L257 L610 L1685 L2010 L1985 L2058 L1159 L1590c L1281 L1282

(c) το γαρ ου μοιχευσεις ου κλεψης ου ψευδομαρτυρησης ουκ επιθυμησης: L1825

VU1 concerns the presence of ου ψευδομαρτυρησης in the list of injunctions (Deut 5:9-21; Ex 20:15-17 LXX) which Fitzmyer describes as “a copyist’s addition, harmonizing the Pauline text with the OT Decalogue.”<sup>364</sup> GNT<sup>4</sup> cites continuous text *Byz<sup>Pt</sup>* and *Lect* in favour of the initial text (a) [OM ου ψευδομαρτυρησεις] with e.g., 02 03 06 Ψ 6 33 1175 1241 1739 2200 and numerous fathers and versions. Meanwhile *Byz<sup>Pt</sup>* supports (b) ου κλεψεις ου ψευδομαρτυρησεις ουκ επιθυμησεις with L592 L597 L598 L599 L885 L1159 L1141 L1590c and continuous text witnesses including 01 048 0150 81 104 1319 1506 1573. *Contra* GNT<sup>4</sup> L1141 does not read ου ψευδομαρτυρησεις (f.48r). To the remaining witnesses for (b) a further ten Apostolos witnesses can now be added, so that the Lectionary is much more divided at this test-passage than the apparatus of GNT<sup>4</sup> suggests: by a ratio of 26:12 in the current sample discounting the additional witnesses for (b) in GNT<sup>4</sup>. In this instance Saliberos follows (b) with the TR rather than the supposedly *Lect* reading (a), which is represented by Antoniades. According to GNT<sup>4</sup> L751 (XI) lacks ου

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<sup>364</sup> Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 679.

φονευσεις (c) as does L1825 (XVI) in the current sample. Reading (c) is notable in that outside the Lectionary it is attested exclusively by patristic traditions: Chrysostom<sup>1/2</sup> Jerome<sup>1/2</sup> (Origen<sup>lat 1/6</sup> Augustine<sup>1/15</sup> OM ου κλεψεις). It is intrinsically unlikely that this indicative of a genealogical relationship between the two traditions. In both situations - the copying of lectionaries and the quotation of lists in fathers or catenae – there may be a tendency to abbreviate or write on the basis of a ‘mental text’ list of injunctions.<sup>365</sup> This phenomenon may account for similar divisions of Byzantine and Lectionary witnesses at other points in the tradition.

## VU2:

(a) εν τω αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ως σεαυτον: NA28 ANT PR L23 L2024 L112 L604 L1506 L1188 L1159 L1590

(b) εν τω αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ως εαυτον: SAL TR L156 L1021 L809 L60 L1178 L173 L1442 L162 L1894 L1141 L257 L165 L168 L1300 L587 L170 L610 L1685 L2010 L1985 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1364 L1298 L1281 L1282 L1439; L164 [τω πλησιον]

(c) εν τω αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ως εαυτον πληρωμα ουν νομου η αγαπη: L169

Eight Apostolos witnesses support (a) ως σεαυτον with the initial text and continuous text witnesses e.g., P46 01 02 06 F G 81 104 365 630 1505 1739. Reading (a) is the NA<sup>28</sup> reading and is also followed by Antoniades’ edition. In the current selection, 29 Apostolos witnesses support (b) ως εαυτον agreeing with continuous text witnesses e.g, F G L P Ψ 33 1506 1881. Minuscule manuscripts on both sides of the textual divide contain lection apparatus, including 33 and 1505 for reading (a) and 104 (XI) and 1739 (X). The fact that 1739 contains lection apparatus provides a significant opportunity for variants from the textual family of 1739 to pass into the Apostolos tradition. The Saliberos Lectionary, with the TR, follows continuous text Byzantine witnesses which read (b). In this instance the Lectionary majority reading (b) disagrees with the majority reading of the whole NT

<sup>365</sup> For the concept of “mental text” see H.A.G Houghton, *Augustine's Text of John: Patristic Citations and Latin Gospel Manuscripts*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 68.



tradition. L169 (XIII) (c) πληρωμα συν νομου η αγαπη contains a singular reading under the influence of Rom 13:10. Evidence from the manuscript context makes this clear. The lection for AP8G (Eighth Saturday after Pentecost) is typically Rom 13:1-10 in the Byzantine system, but L169 omits ἡ ἀγάπη τῶ πλησίον κακὸν οὐκ ἐργάζεται (Rom 13:10 Byz) and transposes ἡ ἀγάπη to the end of the lection.

### [17] TP32 Eph 3:5

#### VU1:

(a) ο εν ετεραις γενεαις ουκ εγνωρισθη: ANT SAL TR L168 L2058 L1440 L1364  
L1281

(b) ο ετεραις γενεαις ουκ εγνωρισθη: NA28 PR L156 L809 L2024 L162 L604 L1894  
L1141 L257 L169 L587 L1188 L610 L1685 L2010 L1825 L1297 L1159 L1590 L1282;  
L164 [ω]

The low number of witnesses presented is caused by several factors: several manuscripts are select and do not include this lection; several are sk (weekend only) in the post-Pentecost calendar; in several instances the lection extent is variant in the manuscripts resulting in the omission of 3:5. A minority of Apostolos witnesses read (a) ο εν ετεραις γενεαις with the TR, including the Antoniades and Saliberos editions. This variation unit is not recorded in either critical apparatus NA<sup>28</sup> or GNT<sup>4</sup> so recent evidence on the continuous text tradition is not immediately available. However, Scrivener records the variant (b) in his edition of the TR,<sup>366</sup> while Tischendorf's apparatus records continuous text support for (b) in e.g., 01 02 03 04 06 010 012 018 020 025.<sup>367</sup> At this test-passage the Lectionary majority reading is evidently that of the initial text rather than the Byzantine minuscules underlying the TR.

#### VU2:

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<sup>366</sup> F.H.A. Scrivener, *The New Testament in the Original Greek According to The Text Followed in The Authorized Version, Together with The Variations Adopted In The Revised Version*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1881).

<sup>367</sup> Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 681.

(a) και προφηταις εν πνευματι: ANT SAL PR TR NA28 L809 L2024 L162 L604 L164 L1141 L257 L169 L168 L587 L1188 L1685 L2010 L1825 L1297 L1159 L1440 L1364 L1590

(b) και προφηταις εν πνευματι αγιω: L156 L1894 L610 L2058 L1281 L1282

Six Apostolos witnesses read (b) εν πνευματι αγιω, probably the result of natural theological expansion. There is no continuous text evidence for attestation of reading (b) in the current hand editions, while Tischendorf's apparatus simply records "d e aeth add αγιω".<sup>368</sup> Both the Antoniades and Saliberos editions follow the majority reading (a). In this instance the Lectionary majority reading is simply the (shorter) majority reading of the entire NT tradition.

#### [18] TP34 Eph 5:21

(a) υποτασσομενοι αλληλοις εν φοβω χριστου: NA28 ANT PR L156 L809 L2024 L1178 L162 L241 L604 L164 L587 L1188 L1685 L1364 L1590

(b) υποτασσομενοι αλληλοις εν φοβω θεου: TR SAL L1894 L1141 L610 L2010 L1825 L2058 L1159 L1440 L1281 L1282

(c) υποτασσομενοι αλληλοις εν φοβω κυριου: L169 L168 L1297

Ten Apostolos witnesses attest reading (b) εν φοβω θεου with continuous text witnesses including 6 81 614 630 1881 *pm*, and patristic witness Cl Ambst<sup>mss.</sup> indicating a division in the Byzantine textual tradition. Reading (a) εν φοβω χριστου is adopted by the critical editions and is attested by thirteen Apostolos witnesses in the current selection; it also has extensive continuous text support in e.g., 01 02 03 06<sup>1</sup> L P Ψ and many Byzantine witnesses. Among the printed editions Saliberos follows (b) φοβω θεου (with the TR) while Antoniades follows (a) with NA<sup>28</sup>. Reading (c) εν φοβω κυριου is least common in the Lectionary and also has little support in the continuous text and versional traditions: 018 bo<sup>mss.</sup>. Codex Mosquensis I (018), which shares (c) with three Apostolos witnesses,

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<sup>368</sup> Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 681.

is a ninth century Athonite majuscule placed in Category V (Byzantine) by the Alands.<sup>369</sup> Most of the evidence suggests that the Lectionary tradition mirrors the continuous text tradition at this test-passage. For reading (b) the minuscule manuscripts 614 and 1881 both contain lection apparatus. The only absent variant is ἐν φόβῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ for which NA<sup>28</sup> cites 06 011 012 which is unsurprising given the ‘Western’ text of these witnesses. Lectionaries do not always support the most expansive reading, as evidenced in the previous test-passage (see above). The absence of ἐν φόβῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ from the Lectionary tradition despite its theologically expansive nature may suggest that Lectionary copyists tend to transmit readings present in the exemplar rather than expand *ad hoc*. In this test passage the Lectionary tradition follows the division of continuous text Byzantine witnesses.

#### [19] TP37 Gal 6:13

(a) ουδε γαρ οι περιτεμνομενοι αυτοι νομον: NA28 ANT SAL TR L156 L173 L1442 L112 L2058 L1298

(b) ουδε γαρ οι περιτετμημενοι αυτοι νομον: PR AD L2024 L1178 L162 L604 L164 L1506 L1894 L1141 L257 L168 L1300 L587 L1188 L173c L610 L2010 L1825 L1159 L1364 L1590 L1281 L1282 L1021 L809 L23; L1297 L1985 [περιτμημενοι]

(c) ουδε γαρ οι περιτεμνωμενοι αυτοι νομον: L169

The NA<sup>28</sup> reading (a) οι περιτεμνομενοι is read by six Apostolos witnesses and continuous text witnesses including 01 02 04 06 010 012 018 020 33 71 1241 1739 *pm*. Both Antoniades and the Saliberos Lectionary follow (a) against the majority of lectionaries (current sample: 27) and the modern AD Lectionary which all read (b) οι περιτετμημενοι with continuous text witnesses e.g., P46 03 L Ψ 6 365 614 630 1175 *pm*. The Byzantine textual tradition is divided at this test-passage as indicated by the presence of *pm* for readings (a) and (b) in the NA<sup>28</sup> apparatus. Reading (c) in L169 is a nonsense reading

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<sup>369</sup> Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 113.

produced by orthographic error. To conclude, at this test-passage the Apostolos divides with the Byzantine continuous text tradition but is weighted towards reading (b).

**[20] TP39 2 Thess 2:8**

(a) ον ο κυριος [ιησους] ανελει τω πνευματι του στοματος αυτου: NA28

(b) ον ο κυριος αναλωσει τω πνευματι του στοματος αυτου: ANT TR PR L809 L2024 L1178 L162 L112 L241 L1506 L1894 L1126 L257 L169 L168 L1188 L610 L1685 L2010 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1159 L1364 L1590 L1281 L1282

(c) ον ο κυριος ιησους αναλωσει τω πνευματι του στοματος αυτου: L604 L1440

GNT<sup>4</sup> lists several Lectionary witnesses which read (a) ον ο κυριος ιησους ανελει: L1298 L1365 L1441. No further support was found for reading (a) in the current selection. The presence of [ιησους] in the edited text is given a {C} rating by the UBS committee.<sup>370</sup> The *Byz Lect* reading in GNT<sup>4</sup> is (b) ον ο κυριος αναλωσει, an instance in which the Byzantine tradition transmits a shorter reading than early witnesses. The results of the current collation confirm this. However, L605 (XIII) and L1440 (XIII) read (c) ον ο κυριος ιησους αναλωσει, a reading not present in GNT<sup>4</sup>. This is a sub-reading descended from (a) and (b), or else the product of a natural expansion. Among Byzantine continuous text witnesses (c) is read by e.g., 020 (IX) and 044 (IX). The former contains lection apparatus at this verse (f. 159r) while the latter is bound to leaves from a Lectionary manuscript (ff.263r-270v) suggesting that reading (c) could have been transmitted into the Apostolos from a continuous text *Vorlage*.

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<sup>370</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 568.

### III. Textual Commentary: Summary

Each of the variation units discussed involves either a division in the entire Byzantine textual tradition, a division between *Byz* and *Lect* or, rarely, the presence of earlier readings in Apostolos witnesses. It is highly significant that in many variation units Apostolos witnesses can be shown to share readings with one or more continuous text manuscripts containing lection apparatus, either in the form of lection tables,<sup>371</sup> or in marginal boundary markers surrounding the pericope in question. In certain instances one or more Byzantine sub-variants can be shown to be present both in Apostolos witnesses and in continuous text minuscules contemporary with the Apostolos manuscripts containing lection apparatus. The following variation units are instances where one or two variant readings in the Apostolos tradition are demonstrably present in extant continuous text manuscripts containing lection apparatus: TP03 VU2 (Acts 4:24); TP16 VU1 (Acts 10:48); TP16 VU2 (Acts 10:48); TP17 VU1 (Acts 12:25); TP17 VU2 (Acts 12:25); TP19 (Acts 20:28); TP27 VU1 (Rom 13:9); TP27 VU2 (Rom 13:9); TP34 Eph 5:21; TP39 (2 Thess 2:8). By definition this excludes further evidence from continuous text codices which contained lection apparatus which are no longer extant, or which have not been catalogued properly and therefore their lection contents are unknown. Although this is a limited sample of even the current selection, let alone compared to the total number of Apostolos and continuous text Praxapostolos manuscripts, it is reasonable to assume that this phenomenon would be repeated to comparable levels in a complete collation of Apostolos witnesses.

Therefore the pattern of correlation between shared readings and codices with lection apparatus constitutes textual evidence that the readings of Byzantine minuscule (Praxapostolos) manuscripts were regularly transmitted into Apostolos manuscripts. This disputes the standard model of Lectionary transmission which states that the production of Lectionary codices from continuous text *Vorlagen* – and therefore transmission of the latter's texts – is the exception rather than the norm. Evidence from the lection apparatus of continuous text manuscripts reinforces the general conclusion that the Apostolos tradition reflects sub-variation in the textual tradition represented by Byzantine witnesses. Even variants which appear to be liturgically adaptive in nature could have arisen in the

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<sup>371</sup> See Chapter 4 below.

preparation of a continuous text Praxapostolos for liturgical use, since there are so many continuous text witnesses of this variety. Since this conclusion from the NT textual profile of the Apostolos is reinforced in the examination of paratextual features below the burden of proof is on the opposing argument i.e., to demonstrate that Apostolos manuscripts are usually copied one to another.

Where there are variant readings mainly attested by Apostolos witnesses in the current selection (e.g., TP05, TP23) these are usually the result of identifiable scribal practices among Lectionary copyists or linguistic phenomena, rather than supportive of the 'Lectionary text' model. On the occasions where respective majorities of Apostolos and Byzantine continuous text witnesses divide against each other (*Byz vs. Lect*) this is best accounted for by the preparation of Apostolos codices from a certain witness or family of Byzantine witnesses which is no longer demonstrably extant. Division in the Apostolos tradition usually reflects division in the developing Byzantine continuous text tradition. In the rare instances where Apostolos witnesses transmit a unique variant reading not found in the continuous text tradition (e.g., reading (b) TP05 VU1; reading (c) TP05 VU2) there is little evidence of affinity between the witnesses concerned but rather multiple independent occurrences, which place the variants on a par with singular readings.

## IV. Textual Grouping among Apostolos Witnesses

### a) Textual Affinity Methodology

This section describes how the raw transcription data is prepared in several stages so as to be used to calculate levels of agreement and possible affinities between witnesses.

At each test passage the full verse and lection identifier is transcribed according to the International Greek New Testament Project (IGNTP) guidelines,<sup>372</sup> with several modifications to account for material unique to the Lectionary. These modifications concern the lection identifier and marginal material, which may be present in the lower margins of the manuscript. An example of this phenomenon as transcribed in L2024 is shown below.

Identifier	Incipit	Witness Reading
[bmg]σα(ββατω) [num]γ[/num]/[bmg]	την ταις ημεραις εκειν	και ημεις εσμεν αυτου μαρ

Figure 2: Transcription of L2024

Additionally, identifiers may be present in the side margins as shown below in an example from L1141.

Identifier	Incipit	Witness Reading
[smg]εβδ(ο)μα(δος) [num]κα[/num]/[sr]	αδελφοι	ασπασασθε παντα αγιον

Figure 3: Transcription of L1141

An excel file, *TPData*, is the basis for all the transcription work and comparison of witnesses in this study. This file records all the essential information for every test passage in every witness including: the location of the lection in the manuscript; the identifier recorded (if present) for that lection; the full transcription of the verse as a test passage; the ID of the test passage and the verse number of that test passage. The table below is an example of this format in L610

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<sup>372</sup> Kevern et al., *IGNTP-INTF Guidelines*.

Manuscript	MS ID	TP ID	Work Location	Lection IC	Folio	Identifier	Incipit	Witness Reading	Notes
I610	40610	TP02	Acts 3:13	E1G	6r	[tmg]τωσα	ενταις ημερ	ο θεος αβρααμ και ισαακ	ο θεος first position

Figure 4: Transcription of L610

This format allows both the transcriber to locate the test passage in any given witness, as well as describing the context of the test passage in the lection itself. In *TPData* each worksheet contains all the test passages transcribed for each witness so that each witness can be examined individually if necessary. This also provides a point of reference for the transcriptions located in all the files derived from this format, since these transcriptions have been methodically checked and corrected. *TPData* is not presented in the Appendix because most of its data is presented in the textual variation and identifier variation apparatuses.

Transcriptions stored in *TPData* are then used to make a test passage file in which the lection and location data is removed named *Apostolos Variation Units*. This format arranges the data so that each worksheet is assigned to a test passage rather than to a witness. Each test passage is then divided into variation units. Every witness in the current study is listed in the new file along with the transcription taken directly from *TPData*. A sample of the table for TP34 (Eph 5:21) is shown below.

MS Desc	MS ID	MS Reading	Notes
I1825	41825	υποτασσομενοι αλληλοις εν φοβω θς	Reads εν φοβω θεου
I2058	42058	υποτασσομενοι αλληλοις εν φοβω θς	Reads εν φοβω θ̄
I1297	41297	υποτασσομενοι αλληλοις εν φοβω κς	Reads φοβω κς
I1159	41159	υποτασσομενοι αλληλοις εν φοβω θς	Reads εν φοβω θ̄

Figure 5: File 'Apostolos Variation Units'

At this stage notes are retained in every format because they may concern textual or paratextual features e.g., the reading of a witness in relation to certain other continuous text or Lectionary witnesses, or descriptions from the examination stage of research which explain the absence of a test passage (L1298 is sk in the Pauline section).

The major change that takes place between *TPData* and *Apostolos Variation Units* is the reassignment of test passage IDs. In the original format the TP IDs refer to the 130 initial test passages selected in the initial stages of research (see above). In contrast, in the latter format IDs 1-45 have been assigned to the final selection of test passages utilised in the



textual analysis of the tradition. This is justified by the necessity for a manageable sample which can produce quantifiable results within the limited time allocated. Additionally, several test passages yield few results when adjusted to the actual lection-contents of the witness selection. For example, Initial TP111 (Col 1:12) is particularly difficult to record because the lection often ends at v.11 despite the editorial assumption that the lection boundary for AP21C (Tuesday, 21<sup>st</sup> week after Pentecost) is stable. The correspondence of original IDs to the current TP IDs is shown in the table below.

<b>Final TPID</b>	<b>Initial TPID</b>	<b>Work Location</b>	<b>Final TPID</b>	<b>Initial TPID</b>	<b>Work Location</b>
TP01	TP02	Acts 3:13	<b>TP23</b>	TP50	Romans 5:1
TP02	TP03	Acts 3:22	<b>TP24</b>	TP57	Romans 11:31
TP03	TP04	Acts 4:24	<b>TP25</b>	TP62	Romans 16:3
TP04	TP05	Acts 4:25	<b>TP26</b>	TP72	1 Cor 7:34
TP05	TP06	Acts 5:32	<b>TP27</b>	TP58	Romans 13:9
TP06	TP09	Acts 6:5	<b>TP28</b>	TP64	1 Cor 1:13
TP07	TP11	Acts 9:28	<b>TP29</b>	TP67	1 Cor 3:17
TP08	TP12	Acts 9:31	<b>TP30</b>	TP97	Gal 5:21
TP09	TP13	Acts 9:33	<b>TP31</b>	TP99	Eph 1:10
TP10	TP14	Acts 9:35	<b>TP32</b>	TP101	Eph 3:5
TP11	TP15	Acts 10:5	<b>TP33</b>	TP102	Eph 4:28
TP12	TP17	Acts 10:12	<b>TP34</b>	TP105	Eph 5:21
TP13	TP18	Acts 10:16	<b>TP35</b>	TP87	2 Cor 9:11
TP14	TP19	Acts 10:24	<b>TP36</b>	TP109	Phil 4:21
TP15	TP20	Acts 10:33	<b>TP37</b>	TP98	Gal 6:13
TP16	TP22	Acts 10:48	<b>TP38</b>	TP115	2 Thess 1:3
TP17	TP23	Acts 12:25	<b>TP39</b>	TP116	2 Thess 2:8
TP18	TP24	Acts 13:18	<b>TP40</b>	TP91	Gal 1:3
TP19	TP33	Acts 20:28	<b>TP41</b>	TP92	Gal 1:6
TP20	TP45	Romans 3:22	<b>TP42</b>	TP118	1 Tim 3:3

TP21	TP46	Romans 3:26	<b>TP43</b>	TP119	1 Tim 6:7
TP22	TP54	Romans 8:11	<b>TP44</b>	TP122	Hebrews 5:12
			<b>TP45</b>	TP124	Hebrews 10:1

Table 11: Correspondence of Final and Initial Test Passage IDs

In *Apostolos Variation Units* the researcher is able to view the text of each witness at each test passage in parallel and therefore compare the states of text in each witness. The next stage is to assign reading numbers to each variation unit in each test passage.

An example of the assignment of reading numbers to variation units is shown below, for a section of VU1, which is taken from TP01 (Acts 3:13):

	A	B	C	D
	<b>MS Desc</b>	<b>MS ID</b>	<b>Reading number</b>	<b>MS Reading</b>
1	NA28	NA28	1	ον υμεις μεν παρεδωκατε
3	Apostoliki	AD	Z	NP
4	Antoniades	ANT	2	ον υμεις παρεδωκατε
5	Textus Receptus	TR	2	ον υμεις παρεδωκατε
6	Saliberos	SAL	2	ον υμεις παρεδωκατε
7	Pierpont-Robinson	PR	1	ον υμεις μεν παρεδωκατε
8	I156	40156	2	ον υμεις παρεδωκατε
9	I1021	41021	2	ον υμεις παρεδωκατε
10	I809	40809	2	ον υμεις παρεδωκατε
11	I60	40060	2	ον υμεις παρεδωκατε
12	I23	40023	1	ον υμεις μεν παρεδωκατε

Figure 6: Variation Units with Reading Numbers

The NA28 variant reading is always assigned the number 1 and instances where the witness in question is lacunose or does not possess the relevant text are assigned the siglum Z. ‘Z’ always disagrees with the other states of text represented by reading numbers. Consequently, witnesses with a high level of lacunae or unusual lections/lection boundaries may appear to be highly heterogeneous. This is a limitation of the present method which is unavoidable without increasing the complexity of the collation process.

This process allows a computer program to read through the spreadsheet and count the number of agreements between each witness in every variation unit. This produces data

which describes the relationship between witnesses in each test passage. Each reading number is assigned manually to each variant within a given variation unit, checked against the original transcription. The program records every number assigned to every variant reading in each variation unit and uses this data to group witnesses. For example, witnesses 'x' and 'y' may share the variant reading '2' in VU1 but disagree in VU2, or 'x' may be lacunose in VU3 while 'y' reads '3'. Once the program has read through every variation unit it is able to calculate the level of agreement in all variation units between any two witnesses in the sample. This means that each witness can be ranked in order of its level of agreement with every other witness, which allows the researcher to discover how heterogeneous the tradition is. By referring back to the variation unit this quantitative data can be contextualized and it is possible to see how various witnesses sub-divide within the Byzantine tradition. The software process is conducted according to the methodology set out by Morrill's study of witnesses to the Gospel of John.<sup>373</sup>

In total there are sixty-three variation units in the present study which are drawn from two sources. First, forty variation units from the final selection of Synaxarion test passages (Table 9, above). Second, twenty-three variation units from the Menologion portion of the manuscript selection. Therefore the analysis of possible affinities follows data from both portions of the Apostolos tradition. Apparatus for both of these sources can be found in Appendix 2, where Synaxarion units are labelled VU1-40 and Menologion units MVU1-23 respectively. The apparatus shows the reading number assigned to each variant. The siglum 'Z' indicates a lacuna or absent text in a test passage where the witness has been transcribed and collated. The siglum 'ZZ' indicates that the program has, by necessity, counted the absence of the witness but that this witness was not transcribed for this test passage e.g., L2048 is only transcribed in the Menologion and is therefore 'ZZ' for each Synaxarion variation unit.

The electronic collation of sixty-three variation units also produces tables of affinity (Appendix 3). Each table ranks one witness against all other witnesses in the sample in descending order, so that the witness which agrees in the highest number of variation units is ranked first. This order runs on the basis of percentage agreement (column 3).

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<sup>373</sup> M. B. Morrill, *A Complete Collation and Analysis of all Greek Manuscripts of John 18*. (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Birmingham, 2012), 55-65. I am grateful to Dr. Morrill for his work on my data in his program and his technical expertise at this stage in the process.

The data in column 4 expresses this as a fraction, with the denominator showing the total number of variation units present in both witnesses. As a result it is sometimes necessary to disregard the highest ranking witness in any given table if the number of shared variation units is insufficiently high to provide useful grounds for comparison. For example, in the extract for L1021 (below), where L1021 and L587 share 37 variation units.

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41021	40241	1	100	2/2
41021	41774	2	85.7	6/7
41021	40587	3	78.4	29/37

*Table 12: Extract from Agreement Table for L1021*

Clearly this is a significant limitation in the affinity data. However, the diversity of pericopae presented in any sample of Apostolos manuscripts makes such a limitation inevitable given the size of the sample for the present study. Few witnesses, principally those of the comprehensive Saturday-Sunday-Weekday (esk) type, are present in all the test passages collated. Even then lacunae and variation in pericopae boundaries mean that many test passages which are key indicators of Byzantine sub-division are not extant in many Apostolos witnesses. In itself this diversity causes difficulty for the theory of a single homogeneous 'Lectionary text' because the text presented by many Apostolos witnesses seldom overlaps.

For the purposes of the analysis that follows agreements between witnesses in which fewer than twenty variation units are shared are disregarded. This is considerably lower than the limit expected for continuous text witnesses in T&T but is justified by the heterogeneous nature of the sample in relation to shared pericopae. Further Apostolos textual research might establish a larger number of pericopae shared by a greater range of witnesses, but this might bias the data in favour of agreement between codices containing a similar anagnostic arrangement e.g., between esk-type manuscripts.

## b) New Testament Textual Affinity and Grouping

Excluding comparison of witnesses with fewer than twenty shared variation units, the mean rate of agreement among all Apostolos witnesses in the sample is 65.9%.<sup>374</sup> As discussed above, the majority of variation units test sub-divisions in the Byzantine or *Byz/Lect* textual traditions and the results should be interpreted accordingly. Within that framework if the Apostolos transmitted a unique sub-family of that Byzantine tradition known as the ‘Lectionary text’ there should be an observable homogeneity among the majority of Apostolos witnesses. Apostolos witnesses would agree very often in Byzantine sub-divisions so as to exhibit textual affinity to one another against their continuous text minuscule contemporaries. However, as the relatively low mean agreement figure suggests, this is not the case. In contrast, when variation units are drawn from test passages at which Byzantine and Lectionary witnesses often divide, the Apostolos tradition is remarkably heterogeneous. This confirms the findings of the textual commentary, in which it was observed that Apostolos witnesses often divided evenly or near-evenly among two or more sub-variants within the Byzantine textual tradition in a similar manner to minuscule witnesses. The mean figure is more than 50% because in some instances one or more sub-variants is only supported by a minority of Lectionary and continuous text witnesses. The most likely cause of the low agreement is that Apostolos witnesses in the sample generally contain a mixed range of Byzantine sub-variants descended from a range of continuous text witnesses. It should be noted that if there are local sub-traditions within the Apostolos they cannot be identified by this method – this data only suggests that there is no single identifiable ‘Lectionary’ sub-tradition in the text of Acts and Paul in general.

However, within this general picture of textual heterogeneity there are groups of witnesses which appear to be more closely related in their NT text(s). The table below displays the statistically significant places where one witness agrees in more than 85% of shared variation units with another, in descending order. Where two entries share the same percentage agreement the entry with the highest number of shared variation units is ranked higher. Column 5 shows the original rankings of each witness to the other as displayed in Appendix 3 e.g., 1; 2 is displayed for 40023 and 41590 indicating that L1590

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<sup>374</sup> This calculation excludes printed editions.

is the second closest relative of L23 and that L23 has the closest affinity to L1590. Column 6 ('Adjusted Rank') shows the relationship of each witness to the other if entries where fewer than 20 variation units are discounted. This provides a more accurate estimation of the possible relationships between witnesses.

Rank	Witness A	Witness B	%	Variation Units	Rank (A; B)	Adjusted Rank (A; B)
1	40023	41590	92.9	26/28	1; 2	1; 1
2	42024	40587	90.9	40/44	5; 4	1; 1
3	41364	42024	90.6	29/32	3; 6	1; 1
4	41590	42024	90.6	29/32	3; 7	1; 2
5	42024	40023	90	18/20	8; 3	3; 2
6	40604	42024	89.2	33/37	2; 9	1; 5
7	42024	40162	87.9	29/33	10; 2	6; 1
8	41364	40162	87.5	35/40	4; 3	2; 2
9	41364	40809	87.5	35/40	5; 2	3; 1
10	41141	42024	86.7	39/45	1; 11	1; 7
11	40587	41364	86.5	32/37	6; 6	2; 4
12	40162	40809	85.4	35/41	4; 3	3; 2

*Table 13: Textual Agreement among Apostolos Witnesses*

L2024 (XI) and L587 (XII) are close textually, agreeing in 40/44 (90.9%) instances where the Byz and Lect traditions divide. Each is the closest relative of the other in NT text once statistically insignificant entireties are set aside. The four variation units where the collation program has treated L2024 and L587 as disagreeing are MVU09, MVU14, VU07 and VU08. In all but MVU14 this is accounted for by a lacuna or a test passage not being present in L587. In MVU14 L587 reads κληρονομος θεου δια χριστου while L2024 reads κληρονομος θεου δια ιησου χριστου. The reading in L2024 could have been produced by a copyist. This may indicate that L2024 and L587 are even more textually similar than the initial figure suggests, and that the two manuscripts may have been prepared from the

same or a very similar exemplar. It may be that these two codices are exceptional in that the Synaxarion section of L2024, the earlier of the two, could be the direct ancestor of L587. However, further investigation is necessary to confirm this. On this basis it might be expected that they would share other observable affinities e.g., in identifiers, provenance or codex type. In fact both are A type Apostolos codices with an esk (comprehensive) cycle of lections in both Acts and Epistles which accounts for the high number of shared pericopae. Both codices are of likely Constantinopolitan provenance and both contain ekphonic notation.<sup>375</sup> It may be that they were prepared in the same institution, although they do not share identical festal commemorations in the Menologion and L2024 is of a considerably higher production value.

L23 (XI), L1590 (XIII) and L2024 are all textually similar to another. L2024 and L1590 exhibit agreement in 29/32 (90.6%) variation units, with L1590 being the second closest textual relative to L2024. L23 and L1590 agree in 26/28 (92.9%) of variation units, with the lower number of shared pericopae accounted for by the fact that L23 is Saturday-Sunday only in the Epistles. L2024 and L23 agree in 18/20 (90%) of shared variation units. L23 has high production value, including ekphonic notation, as does L2024 (below). L1590 is a large A, esk-type codex currently held at Sinai. Similarly, L1364 (XII) is closely related to L2024 and L587 also now held at Sinai. L2024, L23, L1590, L587 and L1364 may be core members of a group drawn from Constantinople or its environs. The close agreement of L1590 and L1364 with Constantinopolitan witnesses such as L2024 and L23 might be explained by the circulation of this textual sub-group among deluxe or high-value Apostolos codices between monastic institutions.

The witnesses listed above might be regarded as members of this group with decreasing likelihood depending on their level of agreement with the core witnesses and shared features. For instance, L604 (XII) agrees with L2024 in 33/37 (89.2%) variation units. It shares the presence of ekphonic notation with the hypothetical core group members. By contrast, L2024 is closer to L1141 than all other witnesses, but L1141 is only the seventh closest relative of L2024. L1141 is an EA[+OT] codex of Constantinopolitan provenance but is evidently less exposed to the Byzantine sub-tradition represented by L2024 than is L587. Since no two witnesses transmit the same text in every lection, even in closely

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<sup>375</sup> For provenance and features see Chapters 4 and 5 below.

related Constantinopolitan witnesses such as L2024 and L587, it is highly unlikely that any one Apostolos codex in the selection was copied wholly from another. Likewise, a manuscript with an unusual anagnostic arrangement such as L1141 can be related more closely in its NT text than most witnesses to a ‘standard’ A (esk) type codex such as L2024. In the Menologion data the closest relative to L2024 (XI) is L1774 (XII) agreeing in 7/7 (100%) of variation units. As with L1364 and L1590 above, L1774 is now held at Sinai. However, L2024 does not share the same Menologion pericopae and it is likely that this agreement is coincidental. Additionally, some witnesses lower in the table may be textually related independently of the wider group. L1364 is the closest relative of L809 but is not closely related to the hypothetical core group members. L809 is, like L1364, held at Sinai, both are dated to the twelfth century and both contain ekphonic notation. This may indicate that these witnesses were prepared from similar continuous text sources in the same century.

To summarise, it is clear that these witnesses exhibit a considerably higher level of textual affinity than the average in the current selection. The close but inexact agreement even among Apostolos codices with very similar anagnostic arrangements suggests that each was copied from a textually similar but unique continuous text *Vorlage*. Further research, especially into the Byzantine text of Acts and Paul as transmitted by deluxe minuscule codices of eleventh-thirteenth centuries in Constantinople, may clarify these issues. It may be related in some way to the the Byzantine textual family which von Soden identified as K<sup>r</sup>, which might have emerged from continuous text codices containing lection apparatus in the early twelfth century.<sup>376</sup> This theory can be briefly explored by returning to the test passages commented on above in which continuous text witnesses with lection apparatus can be shown to share Byzantine sub-variants with Apostolos witnesses. In many of these test passages continuous text Praxapostoloi with lection apparatus attest to both or several Byzantine sub-variants, not simply one. Nor is there any observable shared group of variants between continuous text manuscripts with apparatus and the possible group of Constantinopolitan Apostolos codices observed in the affinity data. For example, in TP34 Eph 5:21 ([18] above) many of the core group members (L2024, L587, L1590, L809) read *εν φοβω χριστου* while the continuous text

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<sup>376</sup> H. von Soden, “Abteilung die Textformen A. Die Evangelien.” *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, in Ihrer Ältesten Erreichbaren Textgestalt Hergestellt auf Grund Ihrer Textgeschichte II.* (Berlin: Verlag von Arthur Glaue, 1907), 755-757.



witnesses with lection apparatus read εν φοβω θεου or even εν φοβω κυριου with 018 (Mosquensis I), an earlier majuscule with no relation to the K<sup>f</sup> family. Nor does L2024, the central hypothetical group member, consistently agree with any single Praxapostolos witness containing lection apparatus examined in the current study. Considering the extensive list of Praxapostoloi containing lection apparatus set out in the introduction of the present study, it is not surprising that there is no simple correlation between a textual family found in one group of later minuscules with lection apparatus and the Apostolos in general. Such codices likely transmitted various forms of the Byzantine text to the Lectionary via their apparatus and this best explains the mixed nature of the Apostolos tradition. The most that can currently be said of the Constantinopolitan group is that a certain set of continuous text witnesses probably influenced these Apostolos witnesses but that the exact mechanism by which this occurred is unclear.

The affinity data can also shed light on the relationship between the Apostolos NT textual tradition and the printed Greek editions. Following the same parameters of statistical significance observed above,<sup>377</sup> the average agreement of the Apostolos witnesses in the sample with the editions are: AD: 71%; PR: 68.6%; SAL: 65.6%; TR: 60.6% ANT: 60.4%; NA28: 33.9%. This suggests that the contemporary printed Greek Lectionary edition AD is a better representative of the Apostolos tradition than the earlier editions of Saliberos and Antoniades. The TR is a comparatively poor representative of the Apostolos. If the TR is treated as a textual witness, L2058 is its closest relative agreeing in 30/40 (75%) variation units. L2058 is also similar to SAL, agreeing in 33/39 (84.6%) variation units, but it is much less similar to AD, appearing 35<sup>th</sup> out of 37 witnesses in the adjusted ranking. Of all the Byzantine editions (i.e., all excluding NA28), SAL and PR are the least alike, agreeing in only 30/49 (61.2%) of variation units.

There is considerable range within the Apostolos sample in relation to the *Ausgangstext* represented by NA28. L1298 (XI) is closest to NA28 agreeing in 14/31 (45.2%) variation units, while L168 agrees in only 9/41 (22%). L60 agrees with NA28 in 14/33 (42.4%) variation units and is lowest ranked in relation to many of the Byzantine editions e.g., last in the case of PR and SAL. Two types of division, broadly speaking, are indicated by

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<sup>377</sup> Other than for AD, which is a Saturday-Sunday Lectionary and therefore lacking in many test passages.

degree of affinity to the NA28 text. First, instances where NA28 follows one of the Byzantine sub-variants, either the majority reading of the entire NT tradition (1/2 in T&T terminology) or a minority Byzantine sub-variant. Second, instances where NA28 disagrees with the entire Byzantine tradition. L1298 agrees with NA28 often in the second category as well as the first, and is also closest to the Antoniades text agreeing in 24/31 variation units (77.4%). Some representatives from the hypothetical Constantinopolitan group also agree more often than the average with NA28 e.g., L1590 and L2024. This may indicate that they share a number of Byzantine sub-variants of the first variety with NA28 i.e., instances where Maj and NA28 agree and may be further evidence that they were influenced by some kind of recensional activity or process. In contrast, L60 appears to be closer to NA28 than most Apostolos witnesses and further from the Byzantine tradition represented by the printed editions, suggesting that it transmits some early variants. Furthermore, the average agreement rate of L60 to other Apostolos witnesses is lower than the general average at 53.5%.

Since the Apostolos does not represent a single Byzantine textual family there is a degree of uncertainty to conclusions regarding the affinity of printed editions to the Apostolos as a whole. Certain witnesses are evidently closer to NA28, and therefore the early NT text, than the majority of Apostolos witnesses. This evidence confirms that Lectionary witnesses which otherwise transmit only Byzantine sub-variants can sometimes echo earlier textual traditions. The most likely cause of this is descent from a continuous text exemplar which transmitted such variants. As a result, in principle any variant reading from the continuous text tradition might be present in the pericopae of an Apostolos manuscript, but in practice this is rare. This simultaneously establishes and strictly limits the utility of the Apostolos for the ECM goal of documenting “the Greek textual history of the first millennium.”<sup>378</sup> The majority of Apostolos witnesses come to transmit a mixture of Byzantine sub-variants and are therefore as internally heterogeneous as their minuscule contemporaries. This occurs as part of a process whereby minuscules transmitting an evolving Byzantine text are used to prepare the text of Apostolos lections.

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<sup>378</sup> *INTF: ECM* [online] <https://www.uni-muenster.de/INTF/ECM.html> [accessed 27/07/15]

## V. Variation in Synaxarion Liturgical Material

### a) Lection Identifiers in Recent Scholarship

Jordan is apparently the only previous researcher to record variation in the text of Synaxarion lection identifiers in full, in this instance for the Gospel of John.<sup>379</sup> Ericsson records variation in the incipit of several Acts lections, but omits to discuss lection identifiers at all.<sup>380</sup> Lyon-Dolezal records the complete Menologion (festal commemorations) for several manuscripts, and the Gospel lections in the Synaxarion of the MS Vat. Gr. 1156 (L120; XI/XII), but does not record the identifiers in either instance.<sup>381</sup> In contrast, Lowden records the full identifiers, rubrics and lections for the Menologion of the *Jaharis Lectionary* and compares them to other illuminated codices of Patriarchal provenance.<sup>382</sup> Kellett's thesis focuses on the interrelationship between Gospel lections and the continuous text New Testament tradition. Yet Kellett simply records the identifier for each lection in his sample as adapted from the tables of Gregory and Colwell.<sup>383</sup> In the latter instance this is a methodological oversight in an otherwise detailed study, since any investigation of the relationship between Lectionary and continuous text traditions should account for the fact that both sets of codices transmit paratextual as well as biblical material. In conclusion, while Jordan and Lowden set the current standard for recording and analysing the text of identifiers their work focuses on the Gospel Lectionary, so that there is currently little documentation of Apostolos identifiers.

### b) Anagnostic Numbering Variation

Transcriptions for this study follow the principle that every lection identifier should be recorded with the full transcription of each test passage. These are recorded in *TPData* as indicated in the above description. Several points must be clarified. First, the lection identifier recorded is always for the lection in which the text of the test passage appears,

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<sup>379</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 243.

<sup>380</sup> Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 53-60.

<sup>381</sup> Lyon-Dolezal, *The Byzantine Lectionary: Textual and Pictorial Expression of Liturgical Ritual*. (University of Chicago: Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 1991), 304-353.

<sup>382</sup> J. Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary: The Story of a Byzantine Book*. (New York: Yale University Press, 2009), 94-117.

<sup>383</sup> Kellett, *Synaxarion Lectionary Influences*, 375-404.

which is indicated by the lection ID. Second, this means that the ‘location’ recorded for the test passage is the manuscript page on which the lection identifier – and hence the start of the lection – is present, rather than the test passage itself. This method aids the reader in locating the relevant text when necessary. While the basic features of the IGNTP guidelines have been followed in the transcription of paratextual material, the layout of the Apostolos codex requires the introduction of new tags. The tag [tmg][/*tmg*] indicates paratextual material in the top margin, while [bmg][/*bmg*] indicates the bottom margin and [smg][/*smg*] either side margin.

The extent of paratextual and liturgical material varies considerably between Apostolos manuscripts. In Appendix 7 there is a summary of the extent of such material. The comments range from ‘limited’ to ‘medium’ and ‘extensive’. The definitions for these descriptions are as follows. Manuscripts with ‘limited’ paratextual material are those which are always limited to the identifier and often lack the Προκείμενον (a chanted Psalm or canticle preceding the lection, equivalent to the Western *graduale*) and στιχηρόν text. L177, for instance, simply identifies the work from which the lection is taken. Manuscripts with ‘medium’ liturgical material constitute the majority of Apostolos codices in the sample. These manuscripts sometimes contain prokeimena and stichera but not in every instance and often contain limited identifiers. The difference between this category and the final ‘extensive’ category may be demonstrated using the example of the seventh Sunday of Pascha, which is also a commemoration of the Fathers of the First Ecumenical Council (Nicaea, 325). In the ‘medium’ category, L610 introduces the lection Acts 20:16-36[16-18; 28-36] with the formula [tmg]κυ(ριακη) των αγιων π̄ρων[/*tmg*] πραξεων των (αποστολων) (f.38v). In the ‘extensive’ category L170 introduces the equivalent lection with the following information (f.16v):

[tmg]κυ(ριακη) [num]ζ[/*num*]

αλλη ηχ(ος) [num]δ[/*num*] ο κς εβασιλισευς[/*tmg*]

προπ ηχ(ος) [num]πλδ[/*num*] π̄ρ̄ δε δοξας με προκειμ(ενον) ηχ(ος) [num]δ[/*num*]

ωδη των πρων ευλογητος κε ο θς τ(ων) πρων στιχ(ος) οτι δικαιος ει ε(?)

ο απο πραξεων τ(ων αποστολων)

While in the same lection (E7A), another ‘extensive’ L23 provides a ‘lection number’ yet omits the liturgical texts altogether: [tmg]αναγνω(σµα) [num]µγ[/num][[/tmg] κυ(ριακη) της [num]ζ[/num] εβδο(µαδος) πραξεων (f.65r) The lection numbers in L23 run consecutively from lection to lection through the Acts section of the Synaxarion. L23 is an esk type Apostolos and the running order of lections according to this system can be observed. For example:

(f.35r) [tmg]αναγνω(σµα) [num]κβ[/num][[/tmg] κυ(ριακη) της [num]δ[/num] εβδο(µαδος) πραξεων

*Lecture 22. Sunday of the Fourth Week [of Pascha]. Acts*

(f.36v) τη [num]β[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδο(µαδος) πραξεων [tmg]αναγνω(σµα) [num]κγ[/num][[/tmg]

*The Second Day of the Fourth Week [of Pascha]. Acts. Lecture 23.*

(f. 38r) [tmg]αναγνω(σµα) [num]κδ[/num][[/tmg] τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδο(µαδος) πραξεων

*Lecture 24. The Third Day of the Fourth Week [of Pascha]. Acts.*

These lections in L156 - which has a divergent lection system - follow the same numbering system in this instance:

(f.35r) αναγνωσµ(α) [num]κβ[/num] πραξεων

*Lecture 22. Acts*

(f.36r) τη [num]β[/num] της [num]β[ill]1[/ill]/[num] εβδοµαδος αναγνωσµ(α) [num]κγ[/num] πραξεων

*The second reading of the [uncertain] Week. Lecture 23. Acts*

(f. 37v) αναγνωσµ(α) [num]κδ[/num] πραξεων

*Lecture 24. Acts.*

One theory is that these numbers were used to prepare the Acts lections in L23 and L156. Copyists or editors may have possessed a continuous text Praxapostolos codex

and numbered a selection of Acts pericopae in the exemplar.<sup>384</sup> The copyists would then use these numbered extracts to prepare Acts lections, retaining the numbering system for reference along with the Lectionary identifier. This is an attractive theory because, as noted earlier, in the Pascha section of the Synaxarion Acts runs almost consecutively with several ‘dislocated lections’ which disrupt the continuous text order of the work. It might be that the numbering system was required in order to copy these dislocated lections in the correct order for liturgical reading. However, the Epistles section of L23 lacks this lection number system, as does that of L156. Either this weighs against the preparation hypothesis altogether, or it suggests that the Epistles section of such numbered codices was copied from a different exemplar and therefore with a method that did not require lection numbers. The disparity between the two sections counts against the idea that the lection numbers were copied from another Lectionary because under this scenario the same lection identifier system would be used in both sections. A final piece of the puzzle is that L23 lacks any corresponding table which would guide the copyist/user in the interpretation of these lection numbers, hinting that these numbers would only need to be present in the lection table or margins of the hypothetical continuous text exemplar.

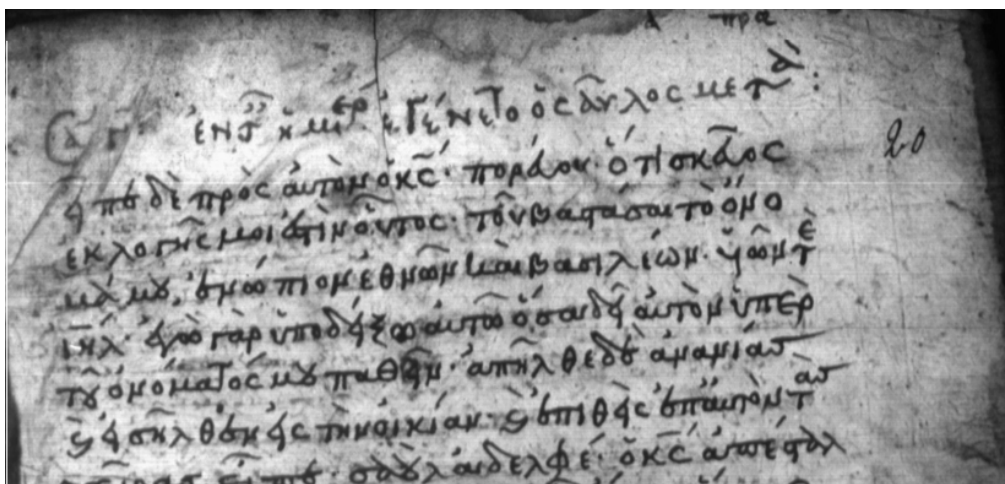


Figure 7: G-A 1897, f.20r

<sup>384</sup> There are equivalent anagnostic numbering systems in continuous text Tetraevangelion codices of the post-tenth century Byzantine period, Royé believes these partially enabled the production of Gospel Lectionary manuscripts. A comprehensive comparative study of Byzantine lection numbers in Apostolos, Evangelion and other liturgical-biblical codices is urgently needed. See S. Royé, “Stages in the Creation, Establishment and Evolution of Byzantine Codex-Forms.” Spronk et al., *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts*, 68-73.

The minuscule 1987 (XII) is an example of a continuous text Praxapostolos which contains similar lection numbers. In fact, 1897 effectively divides the entire text of Acts (but not the Epistles) into lections within the usual running order of the text, so that it appears to be an exemplar for the preparation of the Pascha section of an Apostolos Lectionary. On f.20r of 1897 (Fig.1) the lection identifier and incipit [tmg]σα(ββατον) [num]γ[/num] εν ταις ημερα(ις εκειναις) εγενετο ο σαυλος μετα[/tmg] and, in the text and right margin, τε(λος)[end of previous lection] and αρχη [num]κβ[/num]. Returning to the above examples, the lection numbers for the fourth week in Pascha in L23 and L1897 differ:

(E4A) L23: αναγνω(σμα) [num]κβ[/num] G-A 1897: [num]ις[/num] αρχη

(E4B) L23: αναγνω(σμα) [num]κγ[/num] G-A 1897: [num]κδ[/num] αρχη

(E4C) L23: αναγνω(σμα) [num]κδ[/num] G-A 1897: [num]κε[/num] αρχη

The cause of the disparity between numbering systems is unclear. L1300 (XI) also contains several lection numbers which also appear to exhibit yet another system. For instance, in L1300 the identifier for the second Thursday after Pascha reads τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]β[/num] ανα(γνωσμα) [num]ιβ[/num] πραξεων (f.9v) agreeing with L23 in one instance. On another occasion L1300 records the lection for the seventh Sunday of Pascha (E7A: Acts 20:16-36[16-18; 28-36]) as αναγνω(σμα) [num]γ[/num] (f.73r) while L23 has αναγνω(σμα) [num]μγ[/num] (f.65r). As a result we may be dealing with different copying techniques or systems between manuscripts or institutions. Yet on the basis of this evidence it is at least possible to infer that the Acts sections of L23, L156 and L1300 were prepared from a continuous text exemplar such as 1897, perhaps without the need for a lection table.<sup>385</sup> It is notable that L1300 and minuscule 1897 are both manuscripts of Palestinian provenance dated between the eleventh-thirteenth centuries; the provenance of L23 and L156 is unknown and both codices lack subscriptions.

In conclusion, the lection numbers phenomenon suggests that the text of lection identifiers is more complex, fluid and liable to ‘flow’ between continuous text and

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<sup>385</sup> Further discussion of lection tables and their implications for the relationship between Lectionary and continuous text manuscripts can be found in Chapter 4, Section IX, pages 227-237.

Lectionary codices than was previously assumed. If L23, L1300 and minuscule 1897 are but a few examples of variable numbering systems used to copy lections from continuous text to Lectionary manuscripts this may indicate a lack of uniformity in the preparation and copying of Apostolos lections. In which case concluding – or assuming – that the text of one lection descends directly from another lection in another Apostolos MS would be problematic.

### c) Synaxarion Lection Identifier Variation

While the work and commemoration identifier is always transcribed in every instance, the full text of the prokeimena and stichera is not always reproduced. The variation in liturgical material, among other evidence, strongly suggests that liturgical material was copied from other codices present in the Church or Monastery into Apostolos and other Lectionary manuscripts.<sup>386</sup> It is not clear how much textual variation, if any, there is in this tradition either chronologically, between manuscripts or between local traditions.<sup>387</sup> Neither is it clear how decisions were made about the preparation of liturgical material from multiple liturgical sources or what such copying involved. A detailed study of this is necessary but beyond the limitations of the present thesis. Upon occasion the presence of extended liturgical material is simply noted in *TPData* pending further investigation and it has not been considered worthwhile reproducing such material at length in the present thesis.

The different editorial decisions involved in copying lection identifiers provide further evidence that the whole contents of an Apostolos codex were seldom copied from one Apostolos to another in the manner suggested by a ‘Lectionary text’ paradigm. If the liturgical material required copying from a number of sources there is no reason to assume that lections were reproduced by the opposite technique – quite the contrary.

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<sup>386</sup> For example, the stichera may be copied from the στιχηράριον Liturgical MS, or perhaps from the Μηναίον (MS containing the fixed cycle of commemorations) or Οκτώηχος (‘Eight-tones’ MS containing variable hymnal material for Sundays).

<sup>387</sup> The last major study of this tradition dates from the 1930s and is a diplomatic edition of the MS Vindob. Theol. Gr. 181 (Austrian National Library). See C. Høeg, H.J.W. Tillyard, and E. Wellesz, eds. *Sticherarium (Vindob. theol. gr. 181)* (Copenhagen: 1935).



Appendix 4 presents an apparatus of the identifiers for every lection in the Synaxarion textual sample, omitting extensive liturgical text. Abbreviations and orthographic variations have been disregarded in the identifier apparatus. On the rare occasion that an identifier is illegible, lacunose, or difficult to reconstruct it has been omitted from the apparatus. Jordan's method of presenting identifier variation is followed here, other than that Jordan simply records the number of witnesses to each text in the identifier which means that the reader has to check which witnesses attest each text.<sup>388</sup> In the current study it is advantageous to include the siglum for each witness. Unfortunately the need for brevity prevents a full discussion of variation in every identifier. The following discussion is limited to a summary of the main findings with reference to selected examples. The object of this discussion is to determine the extent and kind of variation exhibited by lection identifiers in the manuscript tradition and whether there are textual affinities in Synaxarion liturgical material.

In the majority of test passages there is a clear majority identifier reading attested by at least ten witnesses including TP01, TP02, TP03/TP04, TP11/12/13, TP14/15, TP20/21, TP22, TP23, TP24, TP25, TP26, TP27, TP28, TP29, TP30, TP32, TP33, TP34, TP35, TP36, TP37, TP38, TP40/41, TP42, TP44, and TP45. In certain instances, the identifier present in the majority of witnesses is very close to the second most common identifier. For example, at TP02 for Monday in the 2<sup>nd</sup> week of Pascha (E2B) the primary difference between the two most common texts is the length of the phrase [πραξεων] των αποστολων. This indicates that the majority of identifier variation is superficial and confirms that most Apostolos codices transmit a standard form of most identifiers. In itself this does not indicate the source of such material, or indeed that there is any written source at all, because monastic copyists would have been familiar with the formulae for most identifiers.

There is more substantial identifier variation in the Sundays of Pascha than in any other part of the Synaxarion cycle. For example, on the Fourth Sunday of Pascha, the Sunday of the Paralytic (E4A) (TP09/10), a minority of codices contain the short forms; κυριακη [num]δ[/num] πραξεων: L1021 L173 L162 L604 L1300; κυριακη [num]δ[/num] του παραλιτικου πραξεων: L809 L1159 L1440. Most witnesses contain

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<sup>388</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 243.

an expanded form of the formula surrounding the Paralytic. L1298 contains liturgical text indicating when the pericope should be recited:

κυριακη [num]δ[/num] εις παραλυτικου τη μια των σαββατων ορθρου εις την λειτουργιαν  
πραξεων των αποστολων

Similarly, on the Sunday of the Myrrh-bearing Women (Μυροφόροι) (E3A) (TP06) there is greater identifier variation. The majority of codices simply read των μυροφορων but several expand considerably to incorporate the festal commemoration of Joseph of Arimathea, a connection to the Menologion. L1300 (XI) refers to the Sunday as κυριακη [num]γ[/num] συναξις ιωσηφ και των μυροφορων γυναικων πραξεων while L162 (XII) further expands to include ιωσηφ τον απο αριμαθιας και των μυροφορων γυναικων και των λοιπων μαθητων. L1178 (XII) refers to ιωσηφ απο του ξυλου and L60 (XI) refers to more disciples: μηνην τω αγιων ιωσηφ του απο αριμαθειας και νικομιδου και μαρια της μαγδαληνης και των λοιπων μαθητων. There is greater lection identifier variation in the Pascha (Acts) cycle than in the Pentecost (Epistles) portion of the Synaxarion suggesting that copyists paid particular attention to the preparation of pericopae for the former.

In some instances there is evidence of specific textual connections made by copyists between the Synaxarion and Menologion cycles of an individual codex in the Synaxarion identifiers. For instance, the lection for 22<sup>nd</sup> Sunday after Pentecost (AP22A) is also assigned to the Sunday before the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. L1442 (XI) and L1506 (XII) both include this information at AP22A in anticipation of the Menologion recitation of the lection. There are other features which indicate scribal awareness of codex features in the writing of identifiers. EA type codices contain identifiers which distinguish Gospel and Apostolos anagnosmata. The EA codices L1011 (XIV) and L1141 (XII) often add ο αποστολος to the identifier for this purpose. L1188 (XIV) transmits the kephalaia for Acts along with the lection identifier which suggests that the copyist(s) would have referred to a table in another codex as well as paying close attention to the whole anagnostic arrangement in the codex. Each of these features is codex-specific and provides some explanation for the variety of lection identifiers.

Formulae for the description of anagnostic features would not be copied directly from an exemplar especially if, as in the case of EA manuscripts, multiple biblical and liturgical

sources were needed. Instead the Synaxarion identifier tradition suggests, as with the lection numbers discussed above, a degree of free composition rather than strict transmission. This may count against Jordan's view that lection identifiers and NT text are transmitted together, at least in the case of Apostolos manuscripts.<sup>389</sup> While the standard form of each identifier could easily derive from the large numbers of Praxapostolos manuscripts with identifiers in their apparatus,<sup>390</sup> copyists evidently adapted and sometimes composed identifiers for the liturgical purposes of a given institution. Occasional misidentification of Epistle lections could be further evidence that copyists freely composed some identifiers. For instance, at TP31 L1297 describes an Ephesians lection as 1 Corinthians and at TP43 L257 describes a 1 Timothy lection as 2 Timothy. Alternatively, it is possible that this indicates a misreading of a lection rubric in the margin of a continuous text exemplar, or a misidentification of the work for those pericopae in the lection table of a Praxapostolos minuscule. It is unclear whether any identifier, erroneous or otherwise, would have been recited along with the incipit when pericopae were read.

There is little indication of correspondence between the NT textual affinities observed above and agreement in identifiers. For example, the core hypothetical Constantinopolitan group members L2024, L587, L1590, and L809 contain different minor variations of almost every Synaxarion identifier. They show no particular agreement on the Sundays in Pascha where it might be expected that they would agree in liturgical text given that their NT text is closely related. Nor do the codices now held at Athos or Sinai exhibit any obvious pattern of affinity in identifiers. This is probably because NT text and lection identifiers are generally copied from different sources without any major recensitional activity. The major textual centres may have determined the formulae for lection identifiers via Praxapostolos lection apparatus at an earlier stage in Lectionary development. By the tenth century copyists were free to adapt identifiers according to local usage and the type of Apostolos codex required.

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<sup>389</sup> Jordan writes that "Variation is greater in the transmission of the lection identifier text than in the text of John. There are less [sic] majority readings in the textual tradition of the lection identifiers when compared to the text of John. It seems that the transmission of the lection identifiers is less controlled, although both texts were transmitted together in the lectionary tradition." Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 261.

<sup>390</sup> See Introduction above.

It is methodologically problematic to compare the level of variation in Synaxarion identifiers with the level of variation in NT text. Such levels are largely determined by the definition of a 'variant reading' used in each case. While the apparatus in Appendix 4 technically presents a wider range of variant readings at each test passage than are found in the NT apparatus any direct comparison is difficult. As suggested, many of the identifier variants amount to additions and transpositions of words which are indicative of composition rather than transmission, while many NT variants are of a substantive kind and reveal relationships to the continuous text tradition. Essentially, two distinct textual traditions are present in the same codex.

## VI. Conclusions

Test passages have been selected from the sample of Apostolos witnesses according to a set of criteria which include: instances where the Byzantine text sub-divides; instances where the Byz and Lect texts presented by GNT<sup>4</sup> divide; instances where the Apostolos may transmit earlier readings represented by NA<sup>28</sup>. The NT text transmitted in the Synaxarion of the Apostolos has been examined in two ways. First, in a textual commentary which analyses variation units in relation to the wider continuous text tradition. Second, in terms of the affinity of Apostolos witnesses to one another and to the different forms of the Byzantine tradition represented by the printed Greek editions. In both analyses it was shown that Apostolos witnesses generally transmit a mixed Byzantine text and, upon occasion, may transmit earlier readings. This is because Apostolos codices are usually prepared from continuous text *Vorlagen* which transmit various forms of the Byzantine text as well as some older readings. Certain witnesses may be closer in their NT text to earlier continuous text traditions while a certain Byzantine sub-tradition or family centred on Constantinople may have influenced a group of eleventh-thirteenth century Apostolos witnesses. This evidence casts doubt on the 'Lectionary text' model presumed in previous scholarship.

The analysis of lection number variation in the Synaxaria of certain Apostolos codices highlights the level of variation in the production of this section of the manuscript tradition. In the analysis of lection identifiers it was shown that there is no correlation between affinity in NT text and affinity in liturgical paratext in the Synaxarion. There is considerable institutional freedom in the composition of lection identifiers and there are often signs of scribal awareness of the overall structure and anagnostic arrangement of certain Apostolos codices, including connections to the Menologion. This constitutes further textual evidence that the Synaxarion section of Apostolos manuscripts are likely to have been composed from multiple biblical and liturgical sources over the centuries and therefore present divergent forms of NT and liturgical texts.

## 4. THE SCRIBAL AND MONASTIC CONTEXT OF APOSTOLOS MANUSCRIPTS

### I. Introduction

This chapter explores the Apostolos manuscript selection as the product of monastic or parochial scribes and copying processes. As such, attention is given to codicological features of the Apostolos selection including codex dimensions, columnation, illustration, ornate headpieces and notable marginal material. Each section draws upon evidence amassed in the process of transcription and examination. Next, this chapter explores palaeographical features of the Apostolos selection and the frequency, type and patterns of correction in the manuscript tradition. The last section is a comparative study of the lection divisions and anagnostic systems in the selection, based on data which can be found in Appendix 1.<sup>391</sup> A brief exploration of lection tables in a sample of continuous text manuscripts aids this discussion.

Research questions which have predominated in the survey of source material and previous scholarship resurface here. For example, in looking at subscriptions and marginal material the question of how Byzantine scribes and users understood the Apostolos tradition comes to the fore. The investigation of palaeographical features is focused upon understanding the overall picture of the Apostolos manuscript. Are there typical or normative forms of the Apostolos? Does the manuscript tradition reinforce the assertion in third party sources that the Apostolos was of secondary prestige in relation to the Gospel Lectionary? Are there significant instances of illustration or ornamentation? The investigation of lection divisions and lection tables highlights the relationship between the Apostolos codex and its continuous text relative, the Praxapostolos. Does the evidence from the manuscript selection agree with the theory that Apostolos Lectionaries are copied from continuous text manuscripts and are therefore (re)composed, (re)arranged Praxapostoloi?<sup>392</sup> Are there significant patterns of correction? What does this indicate about the liturgical reading of Apostolos codices? What attention was given to the biblical and liturgical textual content of the Synaxarion?

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<sup>391</sup> For an equivalent study of the Menologion anagnostic systems see Chapter 5.

<sup>392</sup> Spronk et al., "CBM Publication Plan". *CBM*, 302.

The question of a 'Lectionary text' cannot be divorced from the analysis of the manuscript tradition. If the Apostolos represents a unique textual trajectory this implies descent of one lection from another, even if that particular lection is no longer extant. In Chapter 3 this question was addressed directly in the form of a textual analysis. Yet it is also vital to ask whether there is any evidence in the manuscripts themselves to support the conclusion that it was normative for an Apostolos to be copied from another, rather than from one or more continuous text manuscripts. If the 'Lectionary text' hypothesis is supported by the manuscript evidence the researcher would expect to find evidence of significant agreement or grouping among manuscript in terms of paratextual features, lection systems, or correction patterns. Additionally, there would be manuscript features indicating that one lection was usually copied from another. Conversely, analysis of the manuscript tradition may reveal patterns which indicate regular descent from Praxapostolos *Vorlagen*, as suggested in Chapter 3 and the Introduction.

## II. Codex Dimensions, Columns and Lines

The following table describes the mean folio dimensions of each Apostolos manuscript in the selection according to the *Liste Handschriften*,<sup>393</sup> and where possible verified by examination. The dimensions of MS St Catherine's Sinai Ar. 170 are unknown.

MS ID	Alt ID	Dimensions
40156	Paris Bib. Nat. Gr. 382	242 x 181
41021	Jerus. Pat. Saba 612	190 x 158
40809	St Catherine's Sinai Gr. 286	295 x 228
40060	Paris Bib. Nat. Gr. 375	235 x 170
40023	BL Cotton Vesp. B.18	281 x 215
42024	Benaki Mus. Athens MS. TA 247	280 x 200
41178	Monastery Ioannu Patmos 11	275 x 212
40173	Russische Nationalbibliothek, St Petersburg Gr. 57	252 x 193
41442	St Catherine's Sinai Gr. 292	228 x 168
40162	Glasgow Hunter 406	280 x 200
40112	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florenz Conv. Soppr. 24	186 x 138
40241	Glasgow Hunter 419	273 x 210
40604	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana S. Marco 704	280 x 215
40164	Oxford Christ Church Wake 33	287 x 212
41506	Lincoln College Gr.4	202 x 152
41894	Benaki Mus. Athens MS. TA 271	210 x 160
41141	Athos Vatopedi 925	250 x 190

<sup>393</sup> *Liste Handschriften* [online] <http://intf.uni-muenster.de/vmr/NTVMR/ListeHandschriften.php> [accessed 18/01/14]



41126	Athos Vatopedi 866	154 x 115
40257	BL Add. 29714	283 x 220
40169	BL Add. 32051	280 x 205
40165	Lambeth Palace 1190	257 x 185
40168	Lambeth Palace 1196	273 x 211
41300	Jerus. Pat. Stavru 67	222 x 176
40587	Nat Lib Athens 205	265 x 210
41188	Panteleimonos 67	173 x 140
40170	Ann Arbor 35	264 x 197
40610	Sinai Gr. 295	275 x 195
41685	Munster BM Ms. 16	275 x 190
42010	Nat Lib Athens 2010	290 x 220
41985	Christ's College GG. 2.3 (Ms. 253)	210 x 155
41825	Nat Lib Athens 3041, fol. 72-188	275 x 205
42058	Barlaam Meteora 7	280 x 210
41297	Jerus. Saba 222	277 x 190
41159	Lavra G 123	315 x 245
41440	Sinai Gr. 290	220 x 168
41364	St Catherine's Sinai Gr. 285	280 x 220
41298	Jerus. Pat. Saba 266	238 x 135
41590	Sinai Gr. 287	327 x 235
41281	Sinai Gr. 296	210 x 140
41282	Sinai Gr. 297	205 x 125
41439	Sinai Gr. 289	220 x 160
40846	Sinai Gr. 212	145 x 117

41774	Sinai Arab. 172,2, fol. 273-168	200 x 137
40030	Bodleian Cromw. 11, p. 149-340	217 x 160
40177	BL Add 11841	198 x 145
SAR170	Sinai. Ar. 170	UNC

Table 14: Codex Dimensions in the Apostolos Sample

The mean height of Apostolos manuscripts in the selection is 236mm, while the mean width is 206 mm, lower than the figure discovered by Jordan in his sample of Gospel Lectionaries.<sup>394</sup> This figure is skewed by several manuscripts which are below the modal range 250-300 x 200-300. L846 (145 x 117) is the only majuscule Apostolos in the selection, and is of a Palestinian lection system. Jordan suggests a relationship between the introduction of minuscule to the Gospel Lectionary and the size of codices: “small Lectionary codices were probably not made before the minuscule script was introduced to the Lectionary tradition.”<sup>395</sup> L846 disrupts this conclusion as far as the Apostolos tradition goes, but in general the current evidence supports Jordan’s other conclusion that “large codices were still made when lectionaries were written in minuscule.”<sup>396</sup> L177 (198 x 145) may and L1126 (154 x 115) are both select, so their unusually small dimensions be explained by their variant contents and production. L112 (186 x 138) and L1021 (190 x 158) are both Evangelio-Apostolos manuscripts of sk and esk types respectively – there is little in the content suggesting the need for a compact format. Economic causes can also be ruled out in the case of L112, since the manuscript possesses sizeable margins and is rubricated. Appeals to the relative length of the codex are also difficult since L112 is in fact lacunose.<sup>397</sup>

Another method of analysing this data is to compare the dimensions of codices now housed at the same monastic institution. This does not mean that every manuscript was produced at this location but it serves as a useful guide to the variable dimensions of

<sup>394</sup> 290 x 220 mm. Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 122.

<sup>395</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 123.

<sup>396</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 122.

<sup>397</sup> The current binding (ff.151r-152v) appears to contain portions of a Latin hagiographical text. The Greek liturgical text on f.150v ends abruptly and is followed by a subscription of uncertain origin: *hic liber est abbas florentine* A.C. 883. The *Liste* dates L112 to the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

manuscripts held in a given library. Here are the dimensions of codices now held at St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai:

40809	Sinai Gr. 286	g	XII	A	Minuscule	295 x 228
41442	Sinai Gr. 292	g	XI	A	Minuscule	228 x 168
40610	Sinai Gr. 295	g	XV	A	Minuscule	275 x 195
41440	Sinai Gr. 290	g	XIII	A	Minuscule	220 x 168
41590	Sinai Gr. 287	g	XIII	A	Minuscule	327 x 235
41281	Sinai Gr. 296	g	XV	A	Minuscule	210 x 140
41282	Sinai Gr. 297	g	XVI	A	Minuscule	205 x 125
41439	Sinai Gr. 289	g	XII	A	Minuscule	220 x 160
40846	Sinai Gr. 212	g	IX	EA	Majuscule	145 x 117
41774	Sinai Arab. 172,2, ff. 273-168	g	XIII	A	Minuscule	200 x 137

*Table 15: Dimensions of Apostolos MSS at St Catherine's Sinai*

There are no distinctive features with regards to codex dimensions which would mark out Apostolos manuscripts held at Sinai. For example, L1440 and L1590 are both daily (lae) minuscule Apostolos codices dated to approximately the thirteenth century, but L1590 is around a third larger than L1440.

Nor is there any general connection between the amount of biblical content in a Lectionary and its page dimensions. L1141 (Athos Vatopedi 925) (250 x 190) contains OT, Evangelion and Aposotlos lections but is in the modal range for manuscript

dimensions. This suggests that the predominant concern even in the production of an extensive (όλος) manuscript of this type was portability and ease of use for the deacon or lector. Extra content would therefore result in a binding with more leaves rather than a larger page. So as to underline the lack of correlation between codex content and page dimensions, the largest manuscript L1590 (327 x 235) is a regular daily (lae) Apostolos containing only NT lections and a standard range of liturgical material.

Comparing the modal size range for Apostolos manuscripts with Jordan's average for Gospel Lectionaries reveals that, in general, most Apostolos codices are the same size as most Gospel Lectionaries. Evidently the prestige of a codex was not necessarily related to its size other than in exceptional cases, but more likely due to decorative qualities and textual/liturgical value. The majority of Apostolos manuscripts, like their Gospel counterparts, were used liturgically and needed to be of an appropriate size and production cost for this function.

The following data for columns and lines is taken from examination of each codex, either in person or via digital image/microfilm. In addition, for lines the average stated in the *Liste* has been taken into account where necessary.<sup>398</sup>

<b>MS ID</b>	<b>Alt ID</b>	<b>Columns</b>	<b>Lines</b>
40156	Paris Bib. Nat. Gr. 382	1	25
41021	Jerus. Pat. Saba 612	1	12-18
40809	St Catherine's Sinai Gr. 286	2	22
40060	Paris Bib. Nat. Gr. 375	1	28
40023	BL Cotton Vesp. B.18	2	16
42024	Benaki Mus. Athens MS. TA 247	2	25
41178	Monastery Ioannu Patmos 11	2	21

<sup>398</sup> *Liste Handschriften* [online] <http://intf.uni-muenster.de/vmr/NTVMR/ListeHandschriften.php> [accessed 19/01/14]

40173	Russische Nationalbibliothek, St Petersburg Gr. 57	2	18
41442	St Catherine's Sinai Gr. 292	1	20
40162	Glasgow Hunter 406	1	20
40112	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florenz Conv. Soppr. 24	1	20
40241	Glasgow Hunter 419	2	26
40604	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana S. Marco 704	2	23
40164	Oxford Christ Church Wake 33	2	23
41506	Lincoln College Gr.4	1	19
41894	Benaki Mus. Athens MS. TA 271	1	18
41141	Athos Vatopedi 925	1	36
41126	Athos Vatopedi 866	1	19
40257	BL Add. 29714	1	28
40169	BL Add. 32051	2	29
40165	Lambeth Palace 1190	2	25
40168	Lambeth Palace 1196	2	23
41300	Jerus. Pat. Stavru 67	2	22
40587	Nat Lib Athens 205	2	24
41188	Panteleimonos 67	1	22
40170	Ann Arbor 35	2	28
40610	Sinai Gr. 295	2	22
41685	Munster BM Ms. 16	2	31
42010	Nat Lib Athens 2010	1	22
41985	Christ's College GG. 2.3 (Ms. 253)	1	19
41825	Nat Lib Athens 3041, fol. 72-188	2	45

42058	Barlaam Meteora 7	1	23
41297	Jerus. Saba 222	1	24
41159	Lavra G 123	2	20
41440	Sinai Gr. 290	2	27-33
41364	St Catherine's Sinai Gr. 285	2	26
41298	Jerus. Pat. Saba 266	1	22
41590	Sinai Gr. 287	2	25
41281	Sinai Gr. 296	1	19
41282	Sinai Gr. 297	1	21
41439	Sinai Gr. 289	1	20
40846	Sinai Gr. 212	1	9
41774	Sinai Arab. 172,2, fol. 273-168	1	15
40030	Bodleian Cromw. 11, p. 149-340	1	15
40177	BL Add 11841	2	22
N/A	SAR170	2	32

Table 16: Columns and Lines in the Apostolos MS Selection

Two manuscripts in the selection lack a recorded mean for line numbers. Folios 1r-5v of L1021 are in a different, larger hand averaging around 11 lines per page, while the rest of the manuscript averages 18 lines. L1440, as indicated by the *Liste*, averages 27 lines per page but the maximum number (33) is slightly higher. The variety of mean line numbers in the manuscript selection reflects the diverse hands (see below) and presentation of lections. It is difficult to detect any pattern in lines other than that expected from relative codex dimensions. For instance, if the twelve tenth-eleventh century Apostolos manuscripts in a minuscule hand are compared the mean line number is 22. If the ten equivalent codices from the thirteenth-thirteenth centuries are compared the average is identical. So, chronological comparisons reveal nothing in general. L846 is an exception to the rule because, as noted above, it is a compact majuscule codex.

Equal numbers of manuscripts in the sample present text in one or two columns (23 in each category). Evidently copyists employed a range of techniques for presenting lections across the centuries and there is little to distinguish Apostolos Lectionaries in this respect from continuous text minuscules of the same period.

### III. Lacunae and Supplements

Eleven manuscripts in the sample are recorded by the *Liste* as having lacunose portions:

MS ID	Alternative ID	Date	GNT4?	Type	Begins at/Lac (†)
40241	Glasgow Hunter 419	XII	No	l+ae †	AP3D
41506	Lincoln College Gr.4	XII	No	laesk†	E2E
41894	Benaki Mus. Athens MS. TA 271	XIV	No	lae †	E2B
40257	BL Add. 29714	XIV	No	lae †	†E2E- E2G; E3G; E4F-E7A
40165	Lambeth Palace 1190	XI	Yes	lae †	† E4A-E4C; AP12B onwards
41300	Jerus. Pat. Stavru 67	XI	No	laesk †	E2B
40170	Ann Arbor 35	XIV	Yes	lae †	† E1A-E3G; E4C- E4B;
41685	Munster BM Ms. 16	XV	No	lae †	† AP9A
41985	Christ's College GG. 2.3 (Ms. 253)	XV	No	l+aesk †	† E1G-E2G; E3G; E4B- E7A
41825	Nat Lib Athens 3041, fol. 72-188	XVI	No	lae †	† Sections of Menologion f.184r onwards
41364	St Catherine's Sinai Gr. 285	XII	Yes	lae †	Uncertain
40177	BL Add 11841	XI	No	laLit †/la	† f.86r onwards

Table 17: Lacunae in the *Apostolos* MS Selection



In addition to the codices listed above, there are further lacunae in:<sup>399</sup> L1442 (E4F); L112 (begins E3A); L169 (missing E3A-E4F); L2010 (begins E4A); L1297 (missing E1G-E2B; E2G-E3A); L1440 (E4F-E5D); L1298 (begins E3A); L1281 (begins E2E). L1364 is categorised as lacunose in the *Liste* for uncertain reasons – it may be that the current writer has not studied the lacunose portion of this codex, since all the observed Synaxarion lections are intact. Supplementary portions were found in the following manuscripts: L1021 (ff. 1r-5v); L156 (ff.1r-22v); L162 (f.9r). L169 may contain repaired leaves since ff.8v-16v appear to be written in a different hand, or it may be that another scribe copied this section. The supplement of L1021 contains: a lection starting at Luke 3:23 (f. 1r; Tuesday, 18<sup>th</sup> week after Pentecost in the Byzantine calendar); a lection starting at 1 Cor 15:20 (f. 2r); the identifier for a 1 or 2 Corinthians lection (f.5v). Supplements are considerably less common in the manuscript selection than lacunae.

The relatively high proportion of lacunose codices in the sample has two causes. First, in the selection criteria priority was given to codices not included in the GNT<sup>4</sup> sample of Apostolos manuscripts, and that edition favoured complete manuscripts. Second, the extant Apostolos tradition exhibits a high number of lacunose codices. The cause of this phenomenon could be the regular liturgical use of the Apostolos which would damage each codex over time. This could be especially true of Apostolos codices of the ‘e’ (weekday) or ‘esk’ (weekend-weekday) type, or those manuscripts containing a range of OT, Gospel and Apostolos pericopae. It might be expected that daily type Lectionary manuscripts subjected to frequent liturgical use would be repaired often. Yet many of the lacunose Apostolos manuscripts listed above lack repairs or supplements even though significant portions of the Synaxarion are lost. Missing lections would make daily or weekly liturgical reading from such codices difficult. Often the outer leaves of a codex are more likely to suffer damage and as a result a number of manuscripts lack lections for Pascha (written first in the codex), a period of key importance in the Liturgical cycle. So it is likely that a high number of manuscripts in this sample were infrequently or seldom used in the Liturgy and that their survival points to continued storage, perhaps out of

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<sup>399</sup> This suggests that the information associated with Apostolos manuscripts in the *Liste* is in need of further study and verification.

reverence or due to bibliographic customs.<sup>400</sup> The alternative is that Acts lections (Pascha) were no longer read from these codices and they were used only for the post-Pentecost (Epistles) period, but this is less plausible and still requires the production of new codices for Pascha lections.

If it is correct that the high number of lacunae indicates frequent liturgical use and subsequent disuse, this might explain the lack of extant early Lectionaries and the fragmentary nature of those which are extant. It would also explain a need to continually (re)compose and prepare Apostolos manuscript from continuous text *Vorlagen*, rather than copy directly from one Apostolos to another. In fact, the earliest extant Apostolos manuscripts are often palimpsest, overwritten by newer texts. L586 (Birmingham, Mingana Peckover Greek 7) (X) is an example of such a codex: fragments of a majuscule Apostolos (ff. 1-3; 352-265) overwritten with a continuous-order Gospel text (G-A 713; XII).<sup>401</sup> Birdsall details the visible lections of L586 and this only partially corresponds to the post tenth-century 'Byzantine' anagnostic system.<sup>402</sup> In the case of L586 the parchment of oft-used leaves may have worn out, making the re-use of the codex a more economically attractive proposition than its repair. Birdsall believes that several of the palimpsest leaves of L586 are from "either the centre of a gathering or the outside leaves of two consecutive gatherings."<sup>403</sup> If he is correct, it is possible to imagine the scenario: the outer leaves of a majuscule Apostolos are damaged over time during reading and discarded, while the inner leaves of a gathering, still in good repair, are reemployed in the production of a new codex. Such patterns may have been repeated across Byzantium.

If lacunose Apostolos manuscripts were regularly discarded, stored or overwritten this would provide an opportunity for the monastic institution to prepare a new codex and

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<sup>400</sup> Thorough study of this aspect of Byzantine bibliographic practice has not yet been made so there are no reliable figures for the average period of use for Byzantine manuscripts. Houston's research on literary manuscripts from private collections in antiquity may provide limited useful context, but it is probable that Byzantine liturgical codices were treated differently. "[A] useful life of between one hundred and two hundred years . . . [on the consensus view] that most literary works were prepared . . . by professional, trained scribes." G.W. Houston, "Papyrological Evidence for Book Collections and Libraries in the Roman Empire," W.A. Johnson and H.N. Parker eds., *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 251, 255.

<sup>401</sup> This manuscript was not included in the current selection due to its highly fragmentary nature, as well as the difficulties of reading palimpsest codices.

<sup>402</sup> J.N. Birdsall, "Two Lectionaries in Birmingham." *Journal of Theological Studies*. Vol. 35 (2) (1984), 448-454. The lection system of L586 is compared to others in the selection, see below Chapter 4 (Synaxarion Lection Systems).

<sup>403</sup> Birdsall, "Two Lectionaries", 449.

contemporary anagnostic systems, located in continuous text Praxapostoloi such as those surveyed in the Introduction, would be incorporated into the new Apostolos manuscript. In this manner older lection systems would be gradually supplanted over the centuries, leaving only fragmentary evidence for their existence behind. Rather than one or a series of Lectionary ‘recensions’, ecclesiastical and political centres (Jerusalem, Constantinople) would gradually exert influence over lection systems as the liturgies of the various centres evolved and were synthesised into an increasingly uniform tradition.<sup>404</sup> Such a process fits the current understanding of the relationship between the various liturgical centres in Orthodox Christianity during the medieval period.<sup>405</sup> Additionally, the fact that there are examples of unrepaired lacunose Apostolos manuscripts from across the centuries is further suggestive of their continued replacement and reproduction – this process was not confined to the pre-tenth century Lectionary. In itself this theory does not explain the evolution or diversity of lection systems, but it does provide a plausible historical setting for their evolution and it fits the wider textual and codicological evidence set out in this thesis.

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<sup>404</sup> For such copying centres see J. Irigoien, “Centres de copie et bibliothèques.” Mango and Ševčenko, *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, 17-28.

<sup>405</sup> See R. F. Taft, “The Middle Byzantine Synthesis.” *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History*. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 67-77. Alexopoulos argues that the typikon codex played a pivotal role in this cross-synthesis of liturgical traditions through the regulation of worship; for a summary of his findings see S. Alexopoulos, “The Place of the Typikon in the Codico-Liturgical Method.” K. Spronk, G. Rouwhorst and S. Royé eds., *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in their Liturgical Context: Challenges and Perspectives* [Subsidia 1] (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 31.

#### IV. Codex Types

The codex type is defined by: the lection content (e.g., Apostolos or Gospel lections); the frequency of lections; the nature of those lections in the overall anagnostic system (select, regular etc). In Appendix 7 the manuscripts in the selection are listed according to their designation in the *Liste* and according to their CBM classification.<sup>406</sup> There are significant issues with both of these classification systems. While the limitations of the CBM classification system have been explored above, attention now turns to the manner in which the *Liste* classifies Apostolos codices. The table below displays the *Liste* description, the CBM class, and the actual lection system of the Synaxarion of each Apostolos manuscript, divided into Acts (Pascha) and Epistles (post-Pentecost Sunday) sections. This data has not been correctly catalogued before.

<b>MS ID</b>	<b>G-A Contents</b>	<b>CBM Class</b>	<b>Acts lections</b>	<b>Epistles lections</b>
40156	lae	A	Divergent	Divergent
41021	l+ask	EA	Comprehensive	Saturday-Sunday
40809	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
40060	l+aesk	EA	Comprehensive	Saturday-Sunday; missing lections
40023	laesk	A	Comprehensive	Saturday-Sunday
42024	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
41178	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
40173	laesk	A	Comprehensive	Saturday-Sunday
41442	laesk	A	Lacunose	Saturday-Sunday
40162	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
40112	l+aesk	EA	Comprehensive	Saturday-Sunday

<sup>406</sup> For discussion of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts project (CBM), see Chapter 2. The definition and correspondence between the two systems is detailed in Chapter 1.

40241	l+ae †	A	Lacunose	Weekday lections only
40604	lae†	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
40164	Lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
41506	laesk†	A	Comprehensive	Saturday-Sunday
41894	lae †	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
41141	l+ae	EA[+OT] <sup>407</sup>	Comprehensive; some OT	Comprehensive
41126	l+asel	EA	Limited	None
40257	lae †	A	Comprehensive; some Lacunae	Comprehensive
40169	lae	A	Comprehensive; some Lacunae	Comprehensive
40165	lae †	A	Comprehensive; some Lacunae	Saturday-Sunday; lacunose
40168	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
41300	laesk †	A	Comprehensive	Saturday-Sunday
40587	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
41188	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
40170	lae †	A	Comprehensive	Saturday-Sunday
40610	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
41685	lae †	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
42010	lae	A	Comprehensive; some Lacunae	Comprehensive
41985	l+aesk †	EA	Select; some lacunae	Saturday-Sunday

<sup>407</sup> The class [+OT] in the CBM is my suggested addition, see Chapter 2 above.

41825	lae †	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
42058	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
41297	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
41159	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
41440	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
41364	lae †	A	Comprehensive	Saturday-Sunday
41298	laesk	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
41590	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
41281	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
41282	lae	A	Comprehensive	Comprehensive
41439	lae	A	Comprehensive	Saturday-Sunday
40846	l+asel	EA	Saturday-Sunday	None
41774	la/laP { † }	A	Select	Select
40030	l+a/l+aLit	EA [?]	Select	Select
40177	laLit †/la	A [?]	Select	Select
SAR170	la-Arb	A	Select	Select

*Table 18: Codex Types in Apostolos Sample*

The daily (lae) type Apostolos - containing only Apostolos lections and no Gospel material - is dominant: 24 codices in this sample are of this kind. Yet, as noted above, unrepaired lacunae are common in both sections. Eleven manuscripts in the selection present a ‘comprehensive’ (Weekday/Weekend) set of lections in the Acts section while being limited to Weekend lections in the Epistles. These are variously classed as laesk or l+aesk according to the *Liste* descriptions. L241 is lacunose in the Pascha section and presents weekday only lections (‘e’) in the Epistles: the reason for its designation as l+ae, as if it contained Gospel lections, is unclear. Seven manuscripts contain Gospel lections as well as Apostolos material, pointing to a close relationship between continuous text Praxapostolos and Tetraevangelion codices and their Lectionary counterparts. As noted

earlier, L1141 contains OT as well as Gospel and Apostolos lections and both the *Liste* and CBM systems lack an adequate description for this codex type. The codex type represented by the Athonite manuscript L1141 is rare in the current selection and it is unclear how common it is in the Byzantine monastic world. Presumably such a codex was prepared for a specific liturgical purpose, perhaps for the convenience of presenting all the necessary lections for the preparation for the Ascension in one document. The occurrence of such hybrid manuscripts suggests preparation from a number of parent codices containing biblical and liturgical material, unless it is possible to identify a similar codex L1141 as a potential ancestor/relative.

Another type of variation in lection arrangement occurs among the Evangelio-Apostolos (EA) codices, interacting with the sectional distinctions observed above. Some manuscripts of this variety order Gospel and Apostolos lections consecutively according to the movable liturgical calendar (Synaxarion). Others contain discrete Apostolos and Gospel sections. These distinctions are described below.

<b>MS ID:</b>	<b>Acts lections</b>	<b>Epistles Lections</b>
41021 (XII)	Comprehensive: Gospel section; Acts section	Saturday-Sunday: Epistles section
40060 (XII)	Comprehensive: Gospel → Acts	Saturday-Sunday: Epistles section
40112 (XI)	Comprehensive: Gospel section; Acts section	Saturday-Sunday: Epistles section
41141 (XII)	Comprehensive: [OT] → Gospel → Acts	Comprehensive: Gospel → Epistle
41126 (XI)	Limited: Gospel → Acts	None
41985 (XV)	Select: Gospel → Acts	Saturday-Sunday: Gospel → Epistle
40846 (IX)	Saturday-Sunday: Gospel section	None (Epistles in Menologion)

*Table 19: Arrangement of Lections in Evangelio-Apostolos MSS*

Variation in EA lection arrangement is indicative of a variety of copying/composition practices for manuscripts in this category. Nor is there any obvious correlation between textual agreement in Synaxarion lections and lection arrangement pattern. For example, L1141 and L1126 agree in the reading εἰσπορευομενος εἰς ἱερουσαλημ (TP07; Acts 9:28) despite exhibiting variant lection-patterns in Acts. Similarly, L60 and L1021 disagree on the inclusion of οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις in the list of injunctions at Rom 13:9 (TP27) despite exhibiting the same lection pattern in the Epistles. Variant lection arrangements must have also affected the reading practices of the user(s) of EA type codices. For example, in the case of L1141 the deacon or lector must have possessed a complete set of OT, Gospel and Apostolos manuscripts for each day in the Paschal season, while in L1021 the user had to consult Gospel and Apostolos lections separately. If the entire arrangement of Gospel, Apostolos and OT lections were simply transmitted from one EA codex to another a uniformity would be expected in that sub-tradition which is not apparent.

The variation in codex types reinforces the theory that lections were in general prepared and copied from continuous text manuscripts. There is a clear division in the post-Pentecost section of the Synaxarion between Apostolos manuscripts which contain weekday readings only and those that do not. This suggests that copyists prepared each section according to the needs of the institution and not simply from an existing Lectionary exemplar. Several other pieces of evidence fit this reconstruction. First, the evidence from monastic inventories (Chapter 2, Section Ib) that monasteries possessed a wide range of continuous text and Lectionary manuscripts from which new Apostolos manuscripts of various types could be prepared. Second, the theory explored in the discussion of anagnosma numbering systems that Acts and Epistles lections were prepared using different methods. Finally, the presence of codices such as L1141 and L241 which do not fit either pattern, as well as select manuscripts, suggests significant institutional freedom in the copying of Apostolos manuscripts over the centuries.

An alternative view is that the codices of each type (Comprehensive-Comprehensive; Comprehensive-Weekend) are direct relatives, but the burden of proof for this is too large. It would have to be shown that there are identifiable copying mechanisms between these codices in both biblical and liturgical material. The textual evidence in this thesis lends little support to this theory. It is possible that upon occasion the Pascha or post-Pentecost section of the Synaxarion may have been copied from one Apostolos to another, but even



on this account is difficult to eliminate continuous text codices altogether since even the lection systems within each codex type are variant in text, paratext and in lections presented.

## V. Marginal Illustrations

This section is limited to detailing marginal illustrations present in the Apostolos selection: elucidating their main features; exploring any relationship between text and image; and summarising findings regarding the manuscript tradition as a whole. The manuscripts are described in chronological order starting with the oldest.

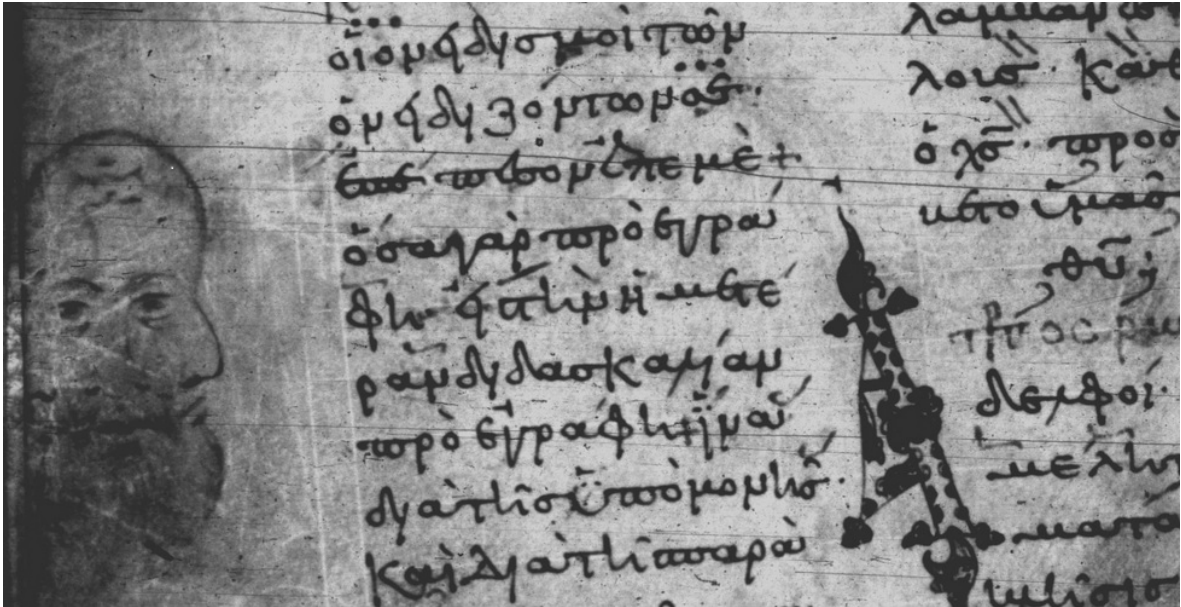


Figure 8: L156, f.80v

There is a distinctive image in the left margin of f.80v in L156 (Paris Bib. Nat. Gr. 382; X). It is not known whether the image and text are contemporary and this illustration appears to be without an obvious parallel in Byzantine art. The columns of text are unaffected by the image, which suggests that they precede its creation or else there would be an alteration of column width or position.<sup>408</sup> L156 lacks the characteristics shared by codices produced with marginal illustration in mind, such as a frame-like composition, sophisticated references between text and image, or commentary.<sup>409</sup> The image itself may be described as an “inversion illusion”: the face depicted is present on three sides (one portrait, two profile) and it partially resembles a theatrical mask from antiquity in form.<sup>410</sup>

<sup>408</sup> Weitzmann refers to the practice of restricting columns to provide space for images as ‘pseudo-marginal’ illustration. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex, a Study of the Origin and Method of Text-Illustration*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 114.

<sup>409</sup> K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 109-110.

<sup>410</sup> I am grateful to Professor Kathleen Maxwell for her observations and discussion of this image.

It is likely that the image depicts the Apostle Paul given the context and the bearded face.<sup>411</sup> There may be parallels with a 6<sup>th</sup> century fresco depicting St. Paul at a site in Ephesus,<sup>412</sup> and with the more elaborate depictions of Paul in the margins of Byzantine manuscripts such as those set out by Brubaker.<sup>413</sup> Such images may have influenced the illustrator who, consciously or otherwise, drew upon the conventions of Pauline depiction.

Following Brubaker it is worth exploring whether this image ‘exegetes’ the surrounding text, or indeed if there is any clear relationship between the two. The text in the left column of f.80v directly adjacent to the image is Romans 15:3-5, part of the Synaxarion lection for the 7<sup>th</sup> Sunday after Pentecost in the regular Byzantine calendar: “Ὅσα γὰρ προεγράφη, εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν προεγράφη, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς . . .” (Rom 15:4). There may be a connection for the scribe or illustrator between the image of Paul and the text which states that “whatever was written in former days was written for our instruction.” The image may be a visual endorsement of Pauline authorship, apostolic authority, or a reflection on the reading of Scripture, in which case the theme “εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν προεγράφη” is the key to interpretation. The uniqueness of this image may also count against its being contemporary with the original Apostolos text, though even if this is correct it raises significant questions regarding the continued use of the manuscript. As noted in this thesis L156 presents a distinctive, disjointed series of lections which do not conform to the standard Byzantine calendar. This may suggest an ‘afterlife’ for L156 as a manuscript for private reading which would provide a later user with the opportunity to illustrate the margin. If such a user or users did exist, this might explain the distinctive nature of the image and its possible resonances. This image awaits further investigation, including any possible parallels in Byzantine manuscripts, dating, and context.

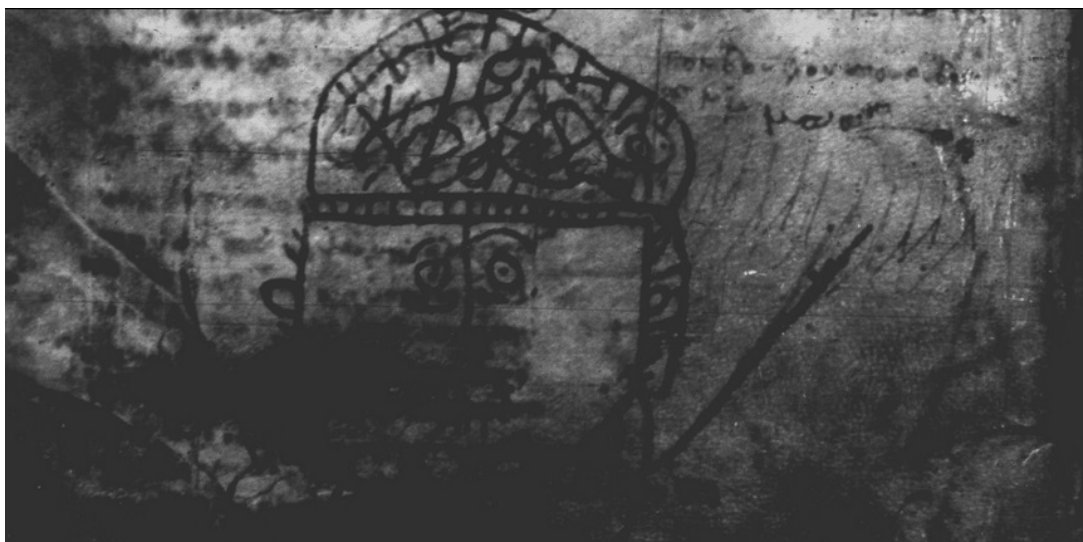
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<sup>411</sup> Individual depictions of St. Paul do not appear to be normative in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods (during which L156 and the other Apostolos codices in the sample were copied). In Frescoes, the Apostles Peter and Paul are frequently depicted in an embrace. See e.g., K.M. Skawran, *The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece*. (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1982), 45; (Paul individually) Fig. 394.

<sup>412</sup> This was suggested by Professor Richard Rutherford. See R. Pillinger, “The Grotto of St. Paul.” N. Zimmermann and S. Ladstätter eds. *Wall Painting in Ephesos*. (Istanbul: Zero Books/Ege Publications, 2011), 174-181.

<sup>413</sup> See e.g. L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianus*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 249.

Another distinctive though much less sophisticated image of a face can be observed on f.299r of L1178 (XI). The microfilm image is unclear and the present writer does not have access to a superior facsimile or to the manuscript itself, which is from Patmos. However, it appears that this section of L1178 is palimpsest suggesting that the image was produced after the text, perhaps once the manuscript was no longer in regular use.



*Figure 9: L1178, f.299r*

Later in the selection, the top margin in f.85v of L170 (Ann Arbor MS. 35; XIV) displays a line drawing which appears to depict two human figures and one equine figure. F.85r contains the lection identified as τη [num]β[/num] της [num]λα[/num] εβδομαδος, which finishes in the second column while the Apostolos text does not resume until τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]λα[/num] εβδομαδος on f.86r – no lection is skipped. The text in between is in a less formal hand and consists of liturgical material such as ήχοι (tones) for the liturgical recitation of lections, which may have been used to copy liturgical material into the regular cycle of lections. It appears that the usual order (τάξις) of the Apostolos codex was interrupted to include these texts, possibly because these leaves formed the end of a gathering. The image is marginal to the liturgical text but is written over another damaged (marginal) text which appears to describe the codex as βίβλος αποστολική. Therefore it is safe to assume that the image was produced between these two writing stages. Otherwise the context offers little evidence regarding the meaning of the image.



Figure 10: L170, f.85v

F. 136v of L170 contains a number of line drawings of various degrees of completeness and elegance. These include human faces surrounded by rudimentary nimbi, several incomplete human faces, two angelic figures and various liturgical objects. There are four images of Jesus Christ, as indicated by the presence of the cruciform nimbus. The most sophisticated depicts the Christ Pantokrator, while another depicts the Lord with both arms outstretched in a posture of benediction. The number and varied elaboration of the images on f. 136v suggest that the page was subject to embellishment over a fairly long period – several sketches overlap. This may be the by-product of institutional storage. While it seems the presence of biblical text is not a direct impediment to casual illustration on the part of Byzantine or post-Byzantine users, certainly the absence of lections here and on f. 85v has resulted in a freer use of these leaves.



Figure 11: L170, f.136v



Figure 12: L170, f.136v

L1894 (XIV) presents a marginal image of a ship (f.7r) in the Acts section of the Apostolos. The text is Acts 12:24 but the likely context of the image is Acts 12:25 (f.7v) which narrates the return of Barnabas and Saul to Jerusalem from Antioch.

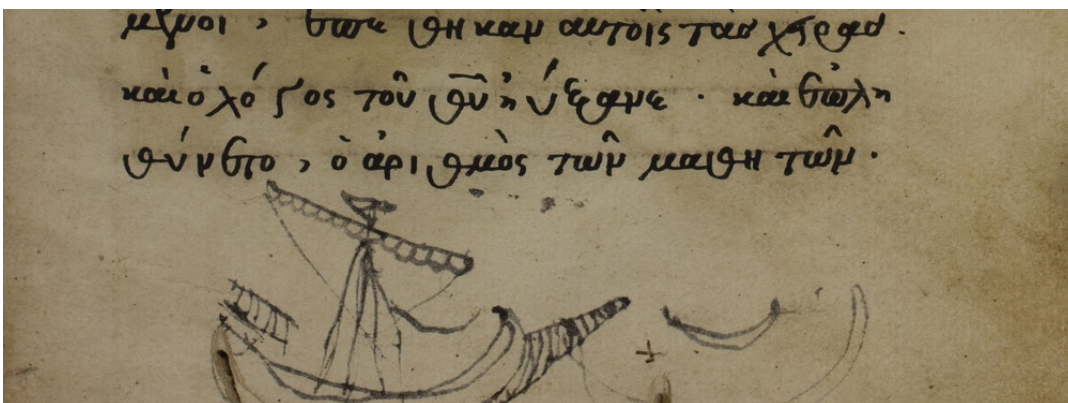


Figure 13: L1894, f.7r

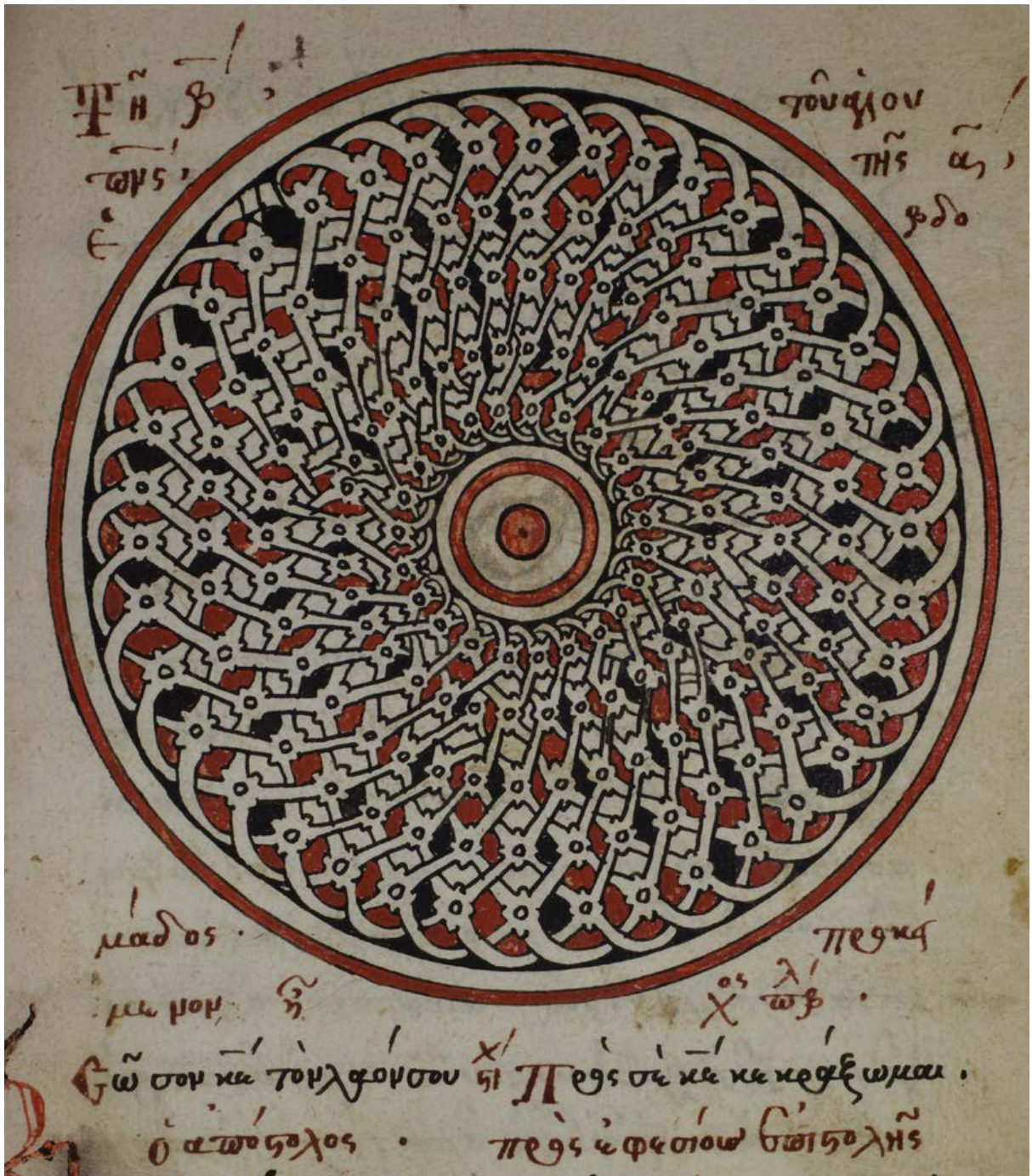


Figure 14: L1894, f.48r

L1894 also possesses the only image intrinsic to the production of an Apostolos codex in the sample. The cyclical illustration on f.48r is incorporated into the identifier and liturgical material for the lection τη [num]β[/num] του αγιου π(ε)ν(τηκοστη)ς της [num]α[/num] εβδομαδος. In the Byzantine calendar this Monday marks the Feast of the

Holy Spirit,<sup>414</sup> which initiates a new portion of the annual Synaxarion anagnostic-liturgical cycle. This may explain the insertion of this image into this particular liturgical context, but it leaves the actual design, which is evidently intricate and symbolic, unexplained.

Unlike its Gospel Book and Psalter counterparts, the Byzantine Apostolos codex is seldom illustrated. In the current selection almost all of the images examined are marginal, and most are likely to be produced without any formal purpose i.e., they are indicative of continued storage and perhaps individual use rather than schematic. The general lack of complex illustration in the Apostolos sample reflects the evidence from Byzantine inventories and liturgical commentaries already surveyed. There are several avenues for further research. First, several of the images discussed raise further questions about their production and meaning. Second, a comparative study of marginal line-drawings and sketches in other Byzantine codices (of any genre) would show whether or not the occurrence of such images in the Apostolos tradition is exceptional. Currently there is a paucity of literature dealing with material of this kind as opposed to sophisticated schemes of marginal illustration or miniatures. Finally, the Feast of the Holy Spirit and other significant days in the Synaxarion cycle should be investigated in a wider sample of manuscripts to determine if the image in L1894 has relatives.

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<sup>414</sup> This is distinct from the preceding (Pentecost) Sunday, which is the Feast of the Descent (κατάβαση) of the Holy Spirit.



## VI. Ekphonic Notation

In total 18/47 manuscripts in the selection contain full ekphonic notation.<sup>415</sup> These are listed in chronological order starting with the oldest: L173 (X); L23, L1178, L1300, L587, L1298 (XI); L604, L23, L809, L1178, L173, L1126, L1364, L1442, L162, L1141 (XII); L169 (XIII); L170 (XIV). The majority of these codices are dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, while the number of later manuscripts containing notation is considerably lower. The oldest manuscript in the sample, the ‘Jerusalem’ majuscule L846, contains breathings which anticipate ekphonic notation in their basic form, while four other manuscript contain regular punctuation and diacritics but make use of the τελεία to indicate the end of a sense or grammatical division: L177 (XI); L1590, L1774 (XIII); L257 (XIV). In contrast L846 lacks the τελεία.

Fewer codices in the Apostolos selection contain ekphonic notation than Jordan finds in the Gospel Lectionary: 8/126 manuscripts in his sample lack notation.<sup>416</sup> Jordan writes that “The presence of ekphonic notation and service identifiers in Gospel lectionaries proves that these manuscripts had a public function. A small number of lectionaries have no ekphonic notation, which may mean that they were used for private reading.”<sup>417</sup> Yet in the Apostolos evidence there cannot be a straightforward correlation between liturgical recitation and the presence of notation, since it is not possible that such a large number of codices containing liturgical pericopae could be intended solely for private reading. In fact, later Apostolos codices tend to lack notation when it is clear from other features that the practice of liturgical cantillation of Scripture continues.

In his 1952 paper Wellesz argues that pre-eleventh century neumes (signs) “[relate] to performance and should not be regarded as a notation. This is . . . why they are not to be found above every syllable . . . but only in places where a certain rhythmical or dynamic emphasis was required”<sup>418</sup> while more recently Lingas writes:

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<sup>415</sup> For the background and early Christian (papyrological) context of ekphonic notation see S. E. Porter, “Recent Efforts to Reconstruct Early Christianity on the Basis of its Papyrological Evidence.” S.E. Porter and A.W. Pitts eds., *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture: Social and Literary Context for the New Testament*. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 66-70

<sup>416</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 89.

<sup>417</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 115.

<sup>418</sup> E. Wellesz, “Early Byzantine Neumes.” *The Musical Quarterly*. Vol. 38, No. 1 (Jan. 1952), 68-79.

Sinaïte manuscripts with musical notation . . . fall into two main categories: those employed for the solemn cantillation (intoned recitation) of scripture, and those created to facilitate the fully melodic singing of psalms, canticles and hymns. In the former group are copies of medieval Constantinople's three lectionaries . . . bearing so-called ekphonic[sic] notation, as system of signs . . . corresponding to orally transmitted . . . formulas employed in Byzantium from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries.<sup>419</sup>

Troelsgård concurs, describing ekphonic notation as “a special kind of notation . . . Tracing its roots to Constantinople . . . [it] might have helped give a uniform style to the solemn cantillation of the Scriptures . . . it might ultimately have a connection with the punctuation signs of Ancient Greek grammar.”<sup>420</sup>

So the system of signs accompanying lection-text are not in themselves a full guide for the deacon or *anagnōstes*, nor are they ‘musical’ in a straightforward sense, but are related to systems of sense division and cantillation. They accompany a parallel tradition of oral transmission, the tradents of which are presumably the clergy and monks of Byzantine ecclesiastical institutions. It is possible that a codex could lack the relevant signs while still being used within that (oral) system, and given the nature of the Apostolos sample this is arguably the case. If, as Troelsgård and others suggest, ekphonic notation is a creative expansion of ancient punctuation systems, it would not be surprising that many Apostolos codices retain punctuation with limited signs to mark sense units.<sup>421</sup> In the manuscript tradition there is a spectrum ranging from punctuation to full ekphonic notation. Therefore it does not follow that the absence of signs is straightforwardly indicative of private use. The process of copying notation was probably laborious, so that there are also economic and organisational factors at play as well the local (liturgical) context, which probably determined how extensive a repertoire of notation each codex would obtain.

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<sup>419</sup> A. Lingas, “Late Byzantine Cathedral Liturgy and the Service of the Furnace.” S.E.J. Gerstel and R.S. Nelson eds., *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 180.

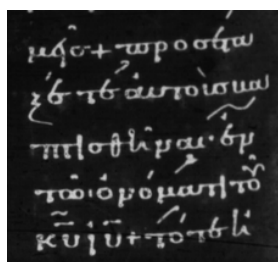
<sup>420</sup> C. Troelsgård, *Byzantine Neumes: A New Introduction to the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation*. [Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Subsidia vol. IX] (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2011), 26.

<sup>421</sup> As Troelsgård notes, “a few Ekphonic signs share their name and/or shape with neumes of other Palaeobyzantine notations, but their functions seem in most cases to be of a different nature.” Troelsgård, *Byzantine Neumes*, 26.

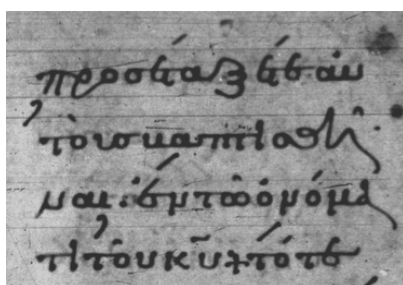
The disparity between Gospel and Apostolos traditions reflects both economic and liturgical factors, since the Gospel Book is more prestigious and therefore might merit higher production costs and also plays a greater role in the Eucharistic liturgy. As a result, institutions may have been disinclined to copy notation in Apostolos manuscripts despite their being subject to a similar liturgical function.

Textual variation and semiotic variation interact, and it is also evident that notation was usually added once the text had been transcribed. The following example in Acts 10:48 (TP11, VU2)<sup>422</sup> illustrates both of these points. The textual variation unit concerns the proper noun in the baptismal formula.

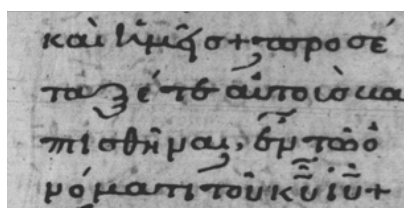
L23 (XI):



L173 (X):



L809 (XII):



προσετα=

προσεταξετε αυ=

προσεταξετε αυτους βα=

ξετε αυτους βα=

τους βαπτισθη=

πτισθηναι εν τω ο=

πτισθηναι εν

ναι εν τω ονομα=

νοματι του κῡ ιω̄

τωι ονοματι του

τι του κῡ

κῡ ιω̄

Figure 15: Ekphonic Notation in L23, L173 and L809

All three witnesses share sense divisions, marked by the τέλεια **+** at the start and end of the variation unit. The απόστροφος **?** has a variable position: over the last epsilon of προσεταξετε in L23; over the tau of αυτους in L173; over the alpha of αυτους in L809. At the point of textual variation L23 and L809 both read του κῡ ιω̄ and both witnesses place the συρματικη **~** above the upsilon of κῡ. In contrast L173 reads κῡ and lacks the

<sup>422</sup> See Chapter 3 (above).

συρματική. Evidently the copyists adapted their notation according to the text copied into the codex – to do otherwise would have been excessively laborious. Other features of these Apostolos manuscripts reinforce this theory: notation is often copied in red ink so that is visible for the deacon or *anagnostēs*, and lines are adequately spaced to allow the addition of notation. Agreement in sense divisions could indicate copying from one Apostolos to another, but it fits the other evidence better to assume that sense divisions would be guided by a number of factors. For instance, the local oral tradition which transmitted the relevant tones could have transmitted sense divisions, or the copyists of Lectionaries could have consulted other copies and compared the placement of the τέλεια without copying text and notation directly.

This analysis of the semiotic variation in Apostolos manuscripts leads to the question: from what source was ekphonic notation copied into the Apostolos codex? As noted earlier, Lectionary ekphonic notation differs from the Middle Byzantine musical notation proper, found in “such [manuscript] collections as the *Sticherarion*, the *Heirmologion* and *Asmatikon*”<sup>423</sup> which are the sources for the singing of psalms, canticles and hymns. Troelsgård mentions a “unique exercise of Ekphonic signs in the . . . Old Testament lectionary Sinai gr. 8 [X/XI] [which] presents the names of neumes, adapted to short melodic phrases written in a mixture of Palaeobyzantine notations.”<sup>424</sup> It is possible that the ‘meaning’ of such signs would be transmitted in addenda to Lectionary codices on a regular basis, but the present writer is unable to identify any such manuscripts in the current Apostolos selection or find evidence of any other codex containing such an ‘exercise’. However, further codices of this kind may be discovered and it is problematic to make any argument from absence. The most that can be said on the basis of the evidence is that it seems that ekphonic notation in Apostolos codices was transmitted orally or by a now (mostly opaque) textual tradition.

Furthermore, the liturgical material found in many Apostolos manuscripts seems to be copied without the relevant musical notation. In the examples below, f.39v of L809 introduces the lection for the fourth Sunday of Pascha along with the relevant τροπάριον, προκείμενον, and στιχηρόν, while f.37v of L1178 includes the προκείμενον.

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<sup>423</sup> Troelsgård, *Byzantine Neumes*, 26.

<sup>424</sup> Troelsgård, *Byzantine Neumes*, 26.

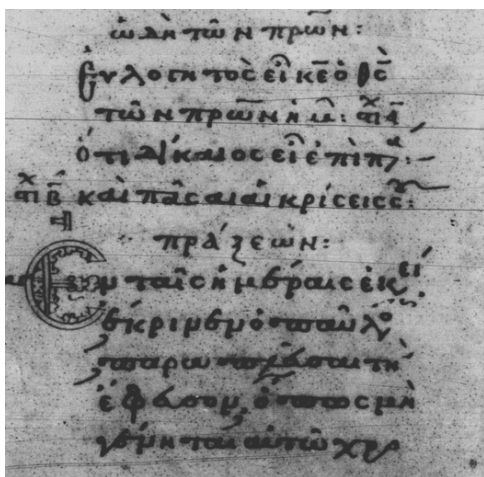


Figure 16: L809, f.39r

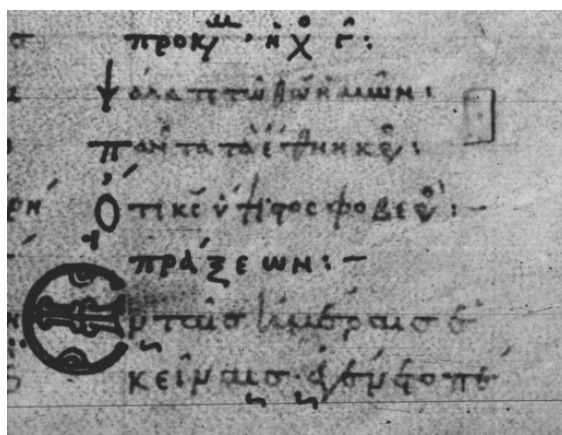


Figure 17: L1178 f.37v

In both examples the biblical material is accompanied by ekphonic notation while the liturgical material lacks neumes but contains punctuation. Also, the liturgical material is in a different hand – in L809 the liturgical hand makes use of majuscule letters while the biblical text is in full minuscule. In L1178 the ἦχος [num]γ[/num] (tone 3) is indicated for the προκείμενον which points to a relationship between this Apostolos codex and an *Oktoechos* manuscript. Given the abbreviated nature of the τροπάριον etc. it is probable that liturgical text was copied from another codex, again providing another hint that the Apostolos codex is regularly the recipient of text from multiple sources. It may be that the liturgical text simply served as an indicator that the user should search for the relevant text in another codex in the context of the liturgy. A subsidiary step in the copying process is indicated by addenda such as the one found in L1442 (XI) (below), which contains a list of prokeimena, stichera and tones which was probably used to copy these into the anagnostis-liturgical arrangement. Unlike the exercise in MS Sinai Gr. 8 (OT), the list in L1442 has no musical content.

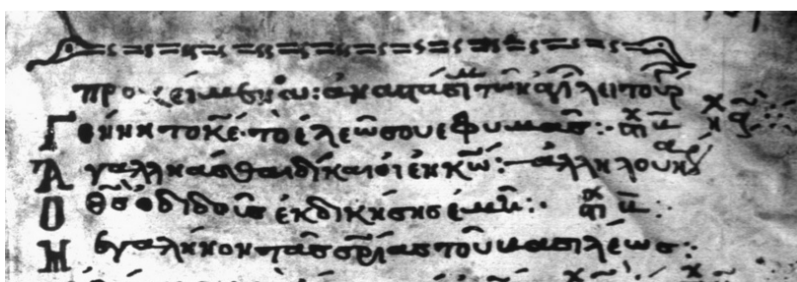


Figure 18: L1442, f.159r

Further work is needed on ekphonic notation in the Apostolos and other Byzantine Lectionary traditions, including full XML transcriptions of text and notation. In the intervening period the current thesis is limited to drawing several conclusions. First, there is a spectrum of punctuation to full notation in the Apostolos sample. Second, we can assume that all Apostolos codices were used for the solemn recitation of Scripture unless something exceptional in their structure indicates otherwise – ekphonic notation (or the absence thereof) is not a vital criterion here. Finally, the presence of ekphonic notation and the various issues surrounding its transmission are indicative of a series of complex relationships between musical manuscripts/oral traditions as well as the codico-liturgical relationships detailed in this thesis and elsewhere. This evidence provides further caution to the idea that the Apostolos tradition is uniform or that one Apostolos codex is copied from another, since variation in notation interacts with variation in liturgical and biblical texts.

## VII. Headpieces

The high incidence of lacunae in the opening leaves of the codex make Synaxarion headpieces difficult to identify in many manuscripts found in the selection. However, examples can be found of various forms: those identifying the opening of the Synaxarion (Acts/Pascha) cycle; those identifying other portions of the anagnostic cycle; those identifying the opening of the Menologion, or certain months or major commemorations. Headpieces occur in a variety of shapes and some contain majuscule script.

L809 (XII) contains a distinctively shaped headpiece which identifies the beginning of the Pascha section of the Synaxarion:



Figure 19: L809, f.1v

Considerable attention has been given to the ornamentation of the headpiece which (though illegible in microfilm) has intricate floral detail. The headpiece corresponds to the first (left) column of the lection text. Less attention has been given to the text *τη αγια και μ(ε)γ(αλη) κυ(ριακη) του πασχα ο απο πραξεων*, which is in the same minuscule hand as the rest of the codex and has evidently been arranged afterwards. This contrasts with L604 (XII), in which a majuscule text has been incorporated into the rectangular headpiece design, likewise corresponding to the left hand column:



Figure 20: L604, f.12v

The rectangular headpiece in L2024 (XI) (below) is accompanied by majuscule text and finished in gold, as are some lection identifiers and initials, which suggests a high production value for this codex. L2024 also lacks the usual identification Κυριακή του Πάσχα.

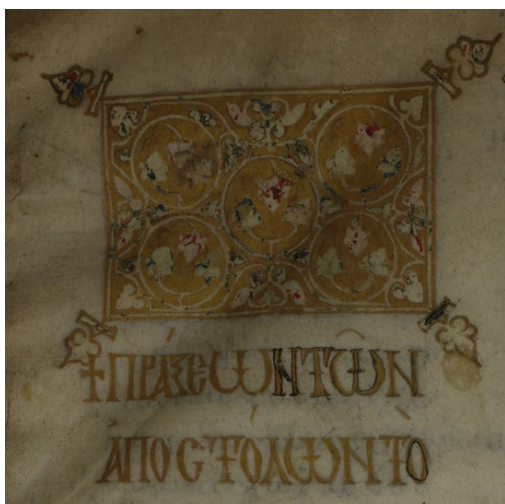


Figure 21: L2024, f.4r

L2024 also possesses deluxe colour headpieces identifying months in the Menologion, in this instance the lection for the 1<sup>st</sup> of July:





Figure 22: L2024, f.313r

In L1159 (XIV) a headpiece in black ink containing a knotted pattern frames the entire page, while majuscule text is positioned underneath:



Figure 23: L1159, f.1r

L1774 (XIII) contains headpieces identifying months in the Menologion which similarly span the entire page yet simply consist of an extended pattern with no linear boundary. In the example below the *nomen sacrum*  $\overline{\iota\epsilon} + \overline{\chi\varsigma}$  has been inserted above the headpiece, slightly to the right of the centre-page. The minuscule text identifies the lection for  $\mu\eta(\nu\alpha\varsigma)$   $\sigma\epsilon\pi(\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\beta\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma)$  [num] $\alpha$ [/num], the start of the (festal) liturgical year.



Figure 24: L1774, f.286r

The outer leaves of L173 (X) have been damaged but the headpiece (below) is still visible. Unlike the previous examples, the headpiece here identifies the codex rather than the opening of the liturgical cycle. The text is written in a semi-uncial script which differs from the biblical content of the Apostolos but is shared by the Menological identifiers and liturgical material. This suggests that the entire codex was planned beforehand and copied methodically. This degree of planning for both the Synaxarion and Menologion suggests a number of source codices for biblical, liturgical and festal material. The internal headpiece text identifies the codex as εκλογαδ(ιον) του αποστολ(ου) των σαββατοκυριακαι και των εορτων και των αγιων [α]ντιφων.

This title is curious because, as shown above, only the post-Pentecost (Epistles) section of L173 is 'sk' whereas the Acts section contains weekday lections. Perhaps the copyists were mistaken, or copied a headpiece title from another manuscript or according to a preconceived formula. Unfortunately, the ornamentation of the headpiece is rendered illegible by the poor microfilm image.

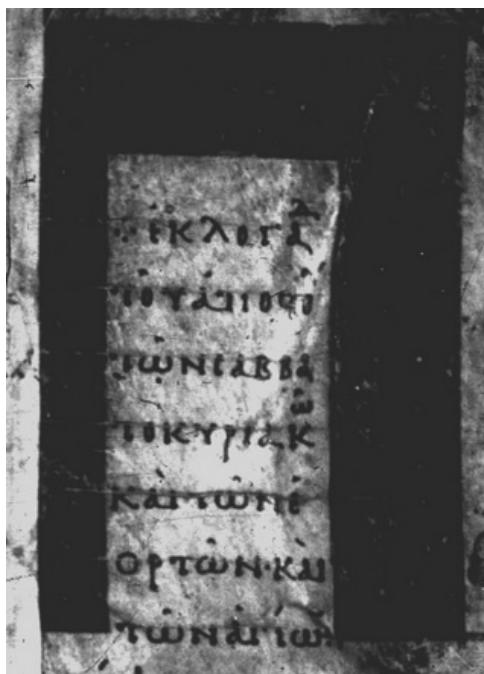


Figure 25: L173, f.1v

Sometimes a headpiece introduces a new section of the Synaxarion, as in the Evangelio-Apostolos L1141 (XII) (Fig. below), where the text in the top margin identifies the post-

Pentecost season with Luke's Gospel: εβδομας [num]η[/num] του αποστολου και πρωτη εβδομας του λουκα.



Figure 26: L1141, f.69v

In this instance there is a marked difference in detail between this headpiece and the one present on f.1r which is evidently colour and identifies the codex (as with L173) as αποστολος και ευαγγελιον:



Figure 27: L1141, f.1r

The Apostolos selection exhibits variation in size, shape, quality and script associated with headpieces. Both the variation in text and the composition of identifiers to fit the context and shape of a headpiece suggest a degree of freedom in the execution of such features on the part of copyists. It is likely that the text describing a manuscript was composed on the basis of common terminology rather than transmitted from one Apostolos to another, especially as the exact lection contents of each codex might differ. No one headpiece in the selection completely matches another and unlike the other

Lectionaries (such as the εὐαγγέλιον) there are few deluxe specimens between which clear genealogical relationships might be established.

## VIII. Scripts and Hands

The following manuscripts contain majuscule letters of some variety: L173 (X); L60, L23 (XI); L1178, L809, L241, L604, L1126 (XII); L610 (XV). The majority of these codices date to the tenth-twelfth centuries (Middle Byzantine), leaving L610 as an exceptionally late example.<sup>425</sup> In L2024, L241, L604, and L610 majuscule script is confined to the text associated with ornamental headpieces, as discussed above. L60, an EA type codex dated to 1021, contains a minuscule script containing several majuscule letters (mu, nu and eta) in both (Menologion) lection identifiers and biblical text:

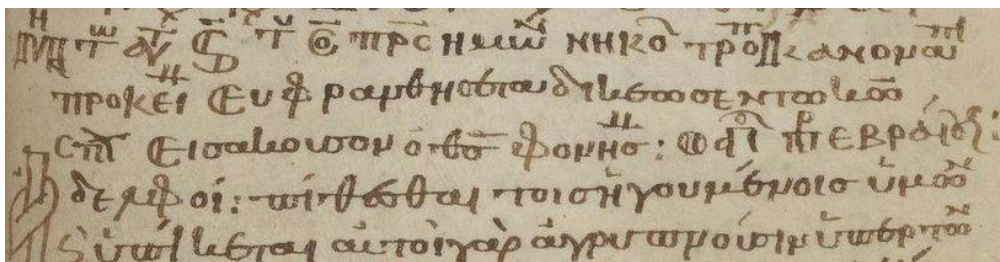


Figure 28: L60, f. 170r

The script in L60 is exceptional and related to the probable function of the manuscripts as a Greek codex written in/for a Western institution. As Jordan points out, f. 56v contains “majuscule and minuscule forms of the letters of the Greek alphabet with the Greek name of each letter transposed into Latin.”<sup>426</sup>

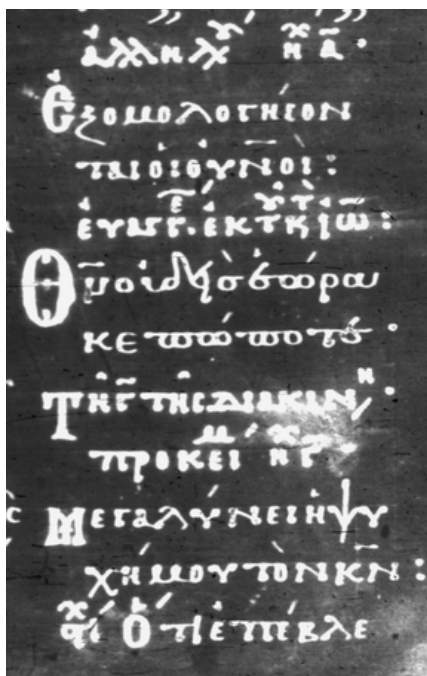
There are other manuscripts in the Apostolos selection which contain a script containing majuscule letters similar in kind to that of L60, though not in appearance. For instance, the lection identifiers (Synaxarion and Menologion) and liturgical material in L23 are all written in a different hand containing majuscule letters. Minuscule and majuscule scripts are seamlessly interwoven, as it were, suggesting that the manuscript was deliberately executed in this fashion to aid liturgical use. Barbour describes a similar script in the Moscow Historical Museum MS. 121 (also eleventh century) as “a late offshoot of Coptic uncial, now only used for headings etc.”<sup>427</sup> In order to illustrate this phenomenon, in the

<sup>425</sup> L610 is presumably dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century because it is written in a later Greek hand associated with the Renaissance.

<sup>426</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 167

<sup>427</sup> R. Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands A.D. 400-1600*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 3.

example below the liturgical and biblical text in L23 has been transcribed showing the differing scripts and pointing out the transition from one text (source) to another. The lection in this example is the first Tuesday of Pascha (Bright Tuesday) (E1C) which is assigned the lection Acts 2:14-21.



αλληλου(ια) ηχ(ος) [num]α[/num]  
 {Liturgical}  
 εξ ομολογησον=  
 ται οι ουννοι  
 ευαγγε(λιον) εκ του κ(α)τ(α) ιω̄  
 {Identifier for Gospel lection associated  
 with previous lection}

θ̄ν ουδεις εωρα=  
 κε ποποτε {John 1:18 Bright Monday  
 Gospel incipit}

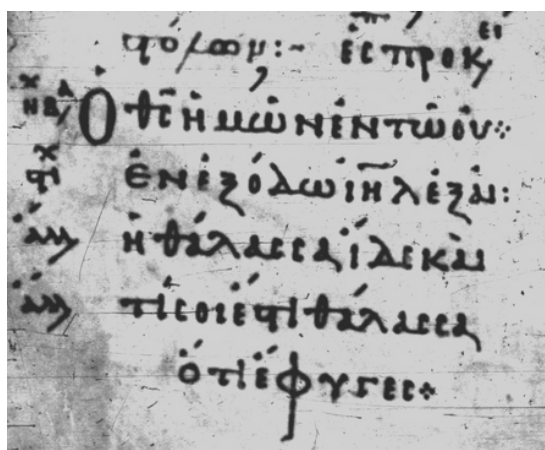
τη [num]γ[/num] της διακινη(σιμου)  
 προκει(μενον) ηχ(ος) [num]γ[/num]  
 {Identifier for next Apostolos lection}  
 μεγαλυνει η ψυ=  
 χη μου τον κν̄  
 στιχ(ος) οτι επεβλε . . .  
 {Prokeimenon and Sticheron for lection}

Figure 29: L23, f.10r, C2

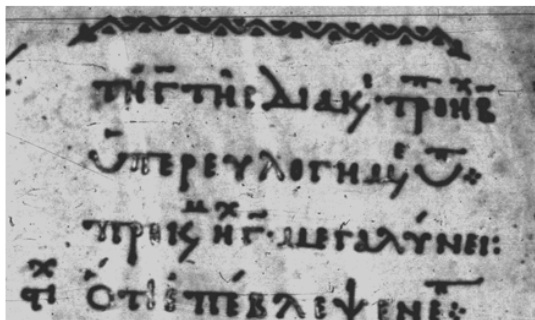
In L23 the Gospel incipit is written in the same (minuscule) hand as the Apostolos lection text. L23 is an A (Apostolos) type codex, meaning that Gospel text had to be copied from another source e.g., a Gospel Lectionary or continuous text Gospel manuscript. The presence of different hands for liturgical and biblical material as well as the structure (lection-liturgical material-identifier-liturgical material-lection) is indicative of a relatively sophisticated copying and production process. This process would involve two or more scribes or one copyist capable of producing both scripts, as well as several codices (Praxapostolos, Gospel Book, Octoechos/Sticherarion) as sources for the relevant material.<sup>428</sup> L23 could have been copied from another Apostolos which contained the same arrangement of liturgical-biblical material and scripts. Liturgical material may have

<sup>428</sup> This sophisticated setting is heightened when one considers that L23 also contains ekphonic notation (see discussion above).

been purposely transmitted in a newer script reflecting its freer composition while biblical text was written a conservative, ‘purer’ minuscule.<sup>429</sup> However, even if one argues in favour of an immediate Lectionary ancestor for the structure of L23 it would still be necessary to posit the existence of an archetype in which biblical and liturgical material was first copied from other sources. Furthermore, the complex structure of such material may count against the theory that such arrangements were copied from one Apostolos of this variety to another, especially as other codices containing such letters for identifiers/liturgical material differ from L23 in their arrangement of such material. For example L173 - another A (Apostolos) type manuscript - uses a similar copying technique and script for E1C but arranges the liturgical material differently:



στολων{end of last lection} εσπ(ερας)  
 προκει(μενον)  
 ο θς̄ ημων εν τω ου(ρανω)  
 εν εξοδω ιηλ̄ εξ αι(γυπτου)  
 η θαλασσα ιδε και  
 τι σοι εστι θαλασσα  
 οτι εφυγες [smg]ηχ(ος) βα(ρυσ)  
 στιχ(ος) αλλ(ηλουια)  
 αλλ(ηλουια)[/smg]{Psalm 113 LXX:  
 Liturgical text following preceding  
 lection}



τη [num]γ[/num] της διακι(νησιμου)  
 τροπ(αριον) ηχ(ος)  
 [num]β[/num]{Identifier for Apostolos  
 lection E1C}  
 υπερευλογημε(νη) υπ(αρχεις)  
 προκ(ει)μ(ενον) ηχ(ος) [num]γ[/num]  
 μεγαλυνει  
 [smg]στιχ(ος)[/smg] οτι επεβλεψεν  
 επ(ι)  
 {Prokeimenon and Sticheron for  
 lection}

Figure 30: L173, f.5v C1 & C2

L173 also contains the τροπάριον (a hymn, at this stage interchangeable with the sticheron) assigned the tone ἦχος Βαρύς for E1B as well as LXX material, indicating

<sup>429</sup> According to Barbour uncial letters were introduced to minuscule scripts “between about 890 and 980 (after which any of them may be found)” although she cautions “the counting of relative frequencies of each [uncial] form . . . may occasionally help to distinguish between different scribes . . . [but] is not an infallible guide in dating a manuscript”. Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands*, xxv-xxvi.

different sources for this anagnostic-liturgical arrangement. If we compare both manuscripts to the Typikon of Hagia Sophia (THS) we see that both codices extract the rubrics for E1B/C. In this instance bold text indicates agreement between THS and L23, italics agreement between THS and L173, and unformatted text indicates agreement between all three manuscripts. The THS text is abbreviated while the text of each codex is left in the (abbreviated) form in which it occurs.

L23	L173	THS <sup>430</sup>
<p><b>ἀλληλου(ια) ηχ(ος)</b> <b>[num]α[/num]</b></p> <p><b>εξ ομολογησον=</b> <b>ται οι οὔνοι</b> <b>ευαγγε(λιον) εκ του</b> <b>κ(α)τ(α) ιω̄</b></p> <p><b>θν̄ ουδεις εωρα=</b> <b>κε ποποτε</b></p> <p>τη [num]γ[/num] της διακινη(σμου) προκει(μενον) ηχ(ος) [num]γ[/num] μεγαλυνει η ψυ= χη μου τον κν̄ στιχ(ος) οτι επεβλε . . .</p>	<p><i>εσπ(ερας) προκει(μενον)</i></p> <p><i>ο θς̄ ημων εν τω ου(ρανω)</i> <i>εν εξοδα ιη̄λ̄ εξ αι(γυπτου)</i> <i>η θαλασσα ιδε και</i> <i>τι σοι εστι θαλασσα</i> <i>οτι εφυγες [smg]ηχ(ος)</i> <i>βα(ρυσ) στιχ(ος)</i> <i>αλλ(ηλουια)</i> <i>αλλ(ηλουια)[/smg]</i></p> <p>τη [num]γ[/num] της διακι(νησιμου) τροπ(αριον) ηχ(ος) [num]β[/num] υπερευλογημε(νη) υπ(αρχεις) προκ(ει)μ(ενον) ηχ(ος) [num]γ[/num] μεγαλυνει [smg]στιχ(ος)[/smg] οτι επεβλεψεν επ(ι)</p>	<p><i>Ἐσπέρας εἰς τὸ λυχνικόν</i></p> <p><i>[E1B, Vespers] Ὁ Θεὸς</i> <i>ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ</i> <i>Στίχος α' ἐν ἐξοδῷ . . .</i> <i>Στίχος β' Ἡ θάλασσα</i> <i>εἶδεν . . .</i> <i>Στίχος γ' Τί σοί ἐστι . . .</i></p> <p><i>[E1B, Orthros]</i> <b>Ἀλληλούια, ἦχος α'</b> <b>Ἐξομολογήσονται οἱ</b> <b>οὐρανοὶ</b> <b>Ἐυαγγέλιον κατὰ</b> <b>Ἰωάννων, κεφ. η' Θεὸν</b> <b>οὐδεις . . .</b></p> <p><i>[E1C Orthros]</i> <i>τῆ γ' τῆς διακαινησίμου . . .</i> <i>ἦχος β' Ὑπερευλογημένη . . .</i> <i>Προκείμενον, ἦχος γ' . . .</i> <i>Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ . . .</i> <i>Στίχος Ὅτι ἐπέβλεψεν . . .</i></p>

Table 31: Liturgical Texts in L23, L173 and THS

The hymn texts are abbreviated in both manuscripts and therefore refer the user to other codices. Since we can confidently establish a context in which multiple biblical and liturgical codices refer to each other liturgically it is not difficult to imagine the copying of such texts between codices of different kinds in the same institution. Moreover,

<sup>430</sup> Mateos, *Typicon (Tome 1)*, 98, 100.



liturgical texts are abbreviated at different points which indicates that the scribe(s) chose when to stop copying the text from the source codex based on internal factors e.g., space and positioning of text. Similar arrangements of liturgical and biblical material exist in Apostolos codices copied only in one script or by one hand. Here are the lection identifiers and liturgical texts for E1B abbreviated in a number of such (single hand) Apostolos manuscripts:

L164: τη [num]β[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος η συναξης της αγιου θκου προπ ηχος [num]β[/num] υπερ ευλογημενος υπ(αρχεις) προκειμενον ηχος πλ [num]β[/num]

L169: τη [num]β[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος προκειμενον ηχο(ς) [num]α[/num] γενοι το κε̅ το ελεος σου [smg]στιχ(ος)/[smg] αγαλλιασθε δικαιοι

L610: [tmg]τη [num]β[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδ(ομαδος)/[tmg] προκ(ειμενον) ηχο(ς) [num]δ[/num] μνησθησομαι του ονοματος στιχ(ος) ακουσον θυγατερ και ιδε

L1126 (Athos Vatopedi MS. 866) was examined by Eustratiades who records the following information about the manuscript. “Αἱ Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων . . . τὰ δύο φύλλα ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἀνήκουσιν εἰς ἀρχαιότερον Κώδικα τοῦ ζ´ · τὰ φύλ. 212-283 χαρτῶα.”<sup>431</sup> In the INTF microfilm only the majuscule script which is not overwritten on f.283r is visible. These leaves are evidently from another codex and one can identify them as containing Matt 6:19 and Mark 2:23-25 respectively.

Four manuscripts in the selection contain Arabic identifiers corresponding to the Greek liturgical material, as well as Arabic marginal material: Sinai Ar. 170; L1300 (f.143v); L1298 (f.70v; f.129r below); L1021 (ff. 182r-182v).

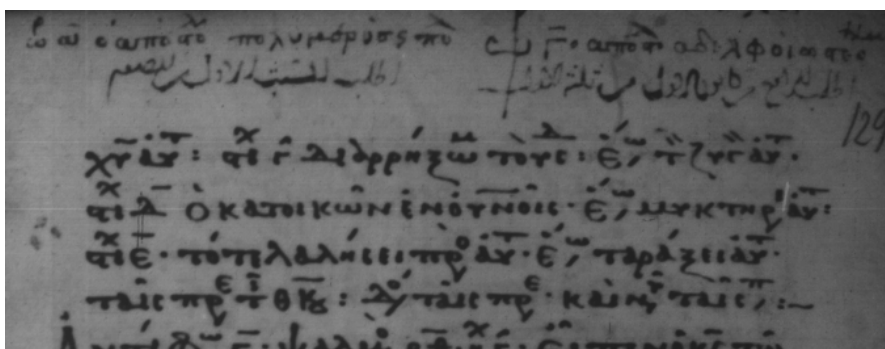


Figure 31: L1298, f.129r

<sup>431</sup> Eustratiades, *Catalogue*, 164-165.

In the Apostolos selection biblical text is written in a variety of hands, ranging from literary and decorative to informal. It has already been argued that L173, L2024 and L23 have higher production values due to the presence of headpieces, ornamentation and sophisticated anagnostic-liturgical arrangements. L112 may be placed in this category on palaeographical grounds. In L112 (XI) both biblical and liturgical texts are written in a literary minuscule while a range of initials are rubricated; the lineation, however, is slightly irregular.

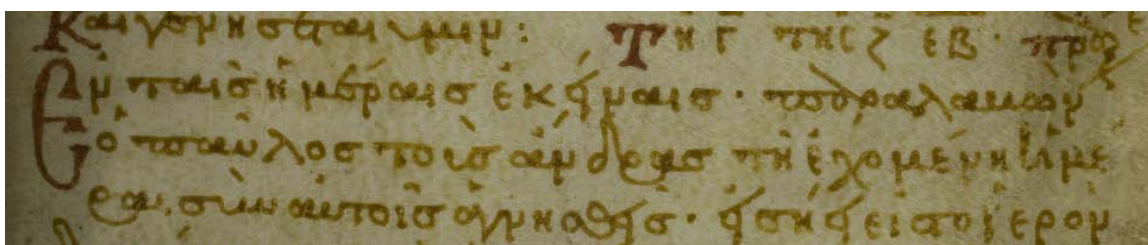


Figure 32: L112, f.27v

L2024 (XI), as well as possessing deluxe colour headpieces, exhibits a fine (light), formal hand and detailed initials which average at 5 lines in height. Certain letters (ε, χ) are slightly enlarged while others (ν, μ, λ) possess extended descending stems.

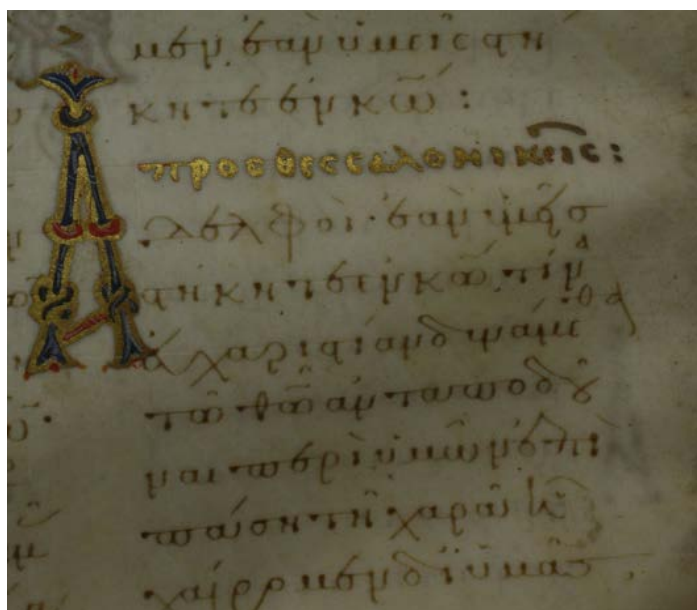


Figure 33: L2024, f.111v

manuscripts in this category may originate in major urban centres such as Constantinople, though without other evidence such as colophons or specific Menologial material this

amounts to little more than speculation. Many of the codices within the Apostolos selection are now held at provincial centres (Athos, Patmos, Jerusalem) and the palaeographical evidence suggests that they were also produced at provincial locations. Barbour suggests that “rough irregular hands, inferior materials (e.g. use of palimpsests, [and] crude decoration” may be indicative of provincial origins for Greek manuscripts but also cautions that “the script of some authenticated provincial manuscripts is sometimes, considered by itself, indistinguishable from known products of Constantinople.”<sup>432</sup> Therefore it is worth comparing examples of likely Constantinopolitan, Palestinian and Athonite codices in the Apostolos selection.

L170 (XIV) was associated by Scrivener with Constantinople on the basis of its festal commemorations. L170 exhibits a less developed form of what Barbour calls the “heavy liturgical style . . . the tendency [in formal hands] to enlarge some letters disproportionately to the rest”,<sup>433</sup> in this instance φ, θ are recognisably large (below) while elsewhere in L170 λ and κ are often enlarged. Ekphonic notation is rubricated and the initial epsilon, which is not particularly sophisticated in comparison to L2024, has evidently been planned. L170 may be compared with Barbour’s example of the ‘heavy liturgical style’ which is L1491 (BL Add. MS. 36751), copied by the scribe Theophanes in 1008 in the Iveron Monastery, Athos.<sup>434</sup> This suggests that similar styles may be identified in liturgical manuscripts from various centuries and locations.

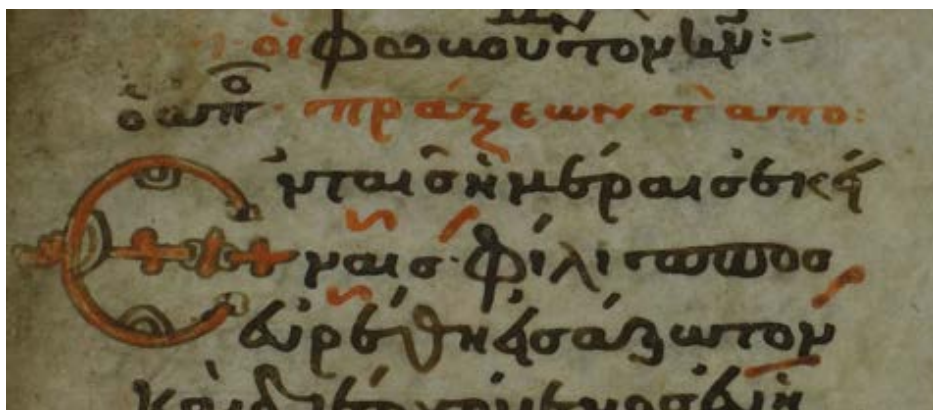


Figure 34: L170, f.8v.

<sup>432</sup> Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands*, xxi.

<sup>433</sup> Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands*, 17.

<sup>434</sup> Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands*, 17.

The supplementary leaves (ff. 1r-5v) of L1021, a known Sabaite manuscript, are also written in a less formal liturgical hand with a similar propensity to enlarge various letters:

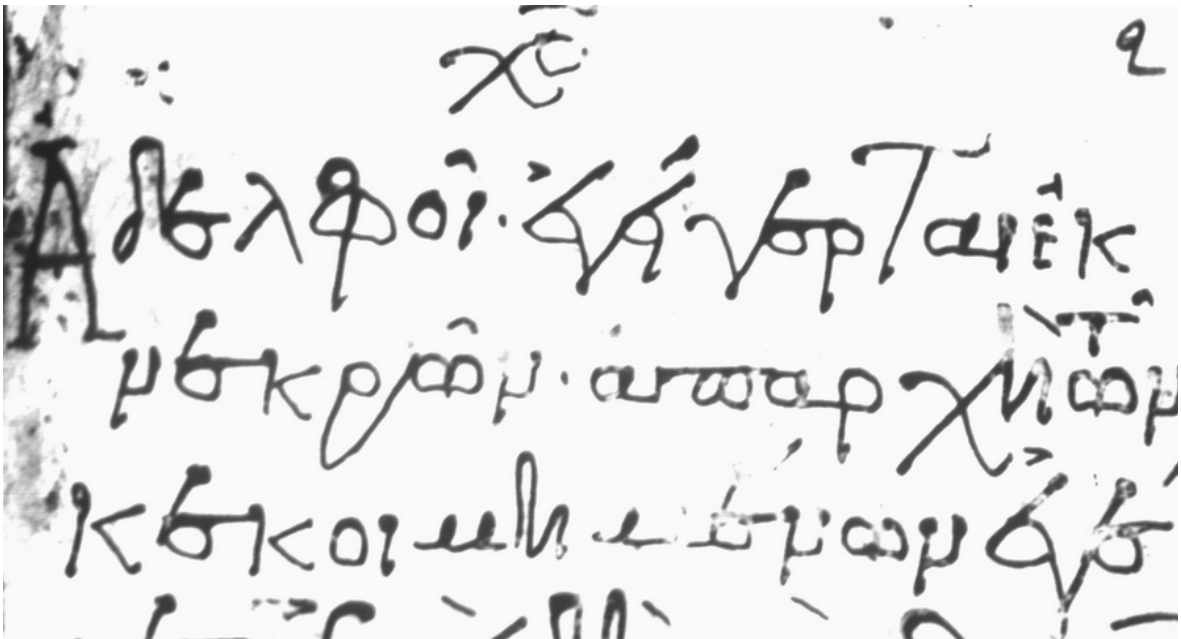


Figure 35: L1021, f.2r

L162 (XII) has a possible origin in Asia Minor<sup>435</sup> and contains many enlarged letters (ξ, λ, κ, ζ, τ). Initials, identifier text and notation are rubricated. The initials are well-proportioned (3-4 lines in height) but lack detail. This may be an example of a provincial Apostolos manuscript imitating prevalent Constantinopolitan conventions.

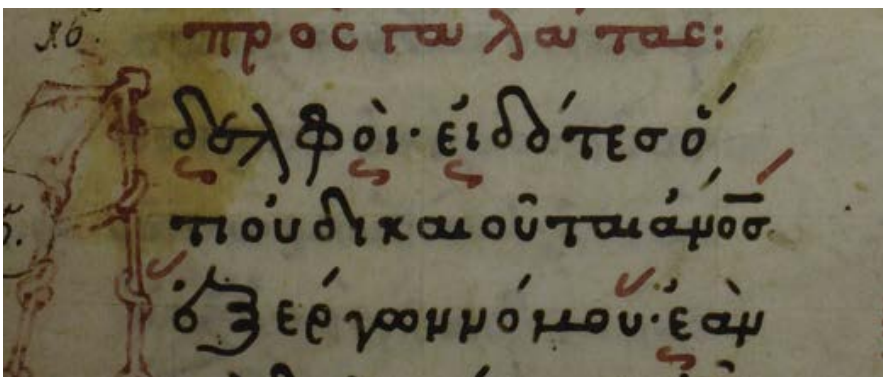


Figure 36: L162, f.190r

<sup>435</sup> See discussion of subscription above Chapter 2, Section IIIb, page 98.

In contrast, the main body of the Sabaite L1021 (XII) is written in a slightly flat, elongated hand with few enlarged letters (below). Initials exist but are poorly accommodated to the text and there are few columns and sparse margins, suggesting that fewer resources were put into the production of this manuscript.

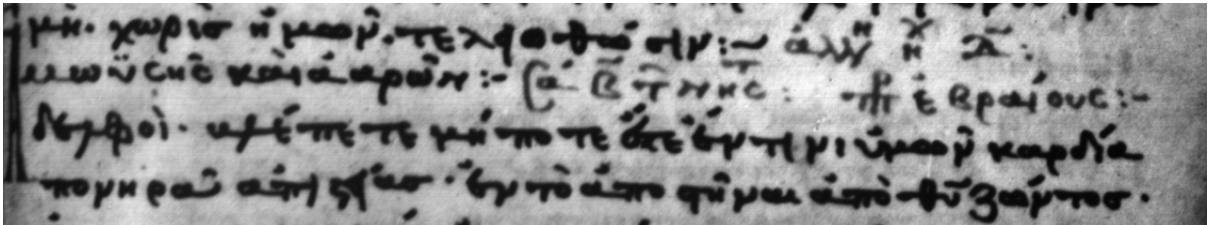


Figure 37: L1021, f.160r.

In L1178 (images below) (XI; now held in the Monastery of St. John, Patmos) lection identifiers are written in a majuscule hand reminiscent of liturgical manuscript headpieces. The biblical text is written in a well-spaced literary hand similar to that of L162 (above), while the work title is written in an intermediate hand which contains the majuscule v. As in L162, the initial is regularly proportioned but lacks any detail. Folio 297v contains an alphabetical list which contains several majuscule letters. These may have been written here by a later user as a guide for reading the lection identifiers or as practice for copying such identifiers.

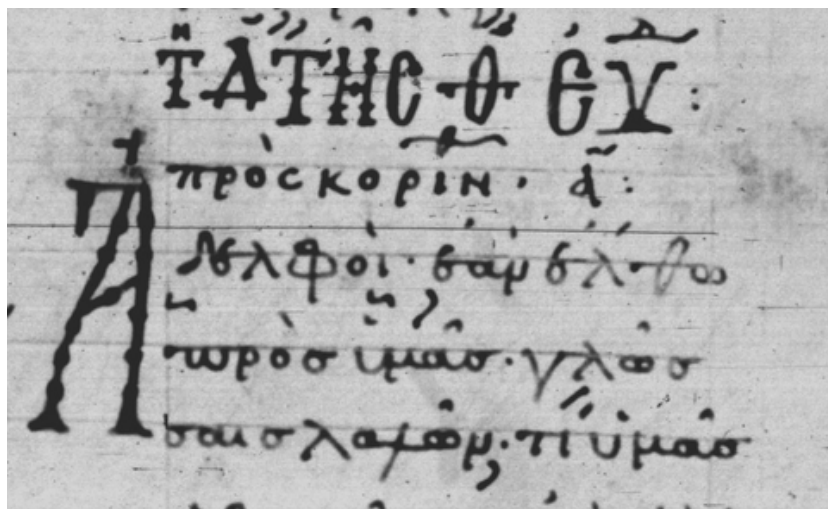


Figure 38: L162, f.183r

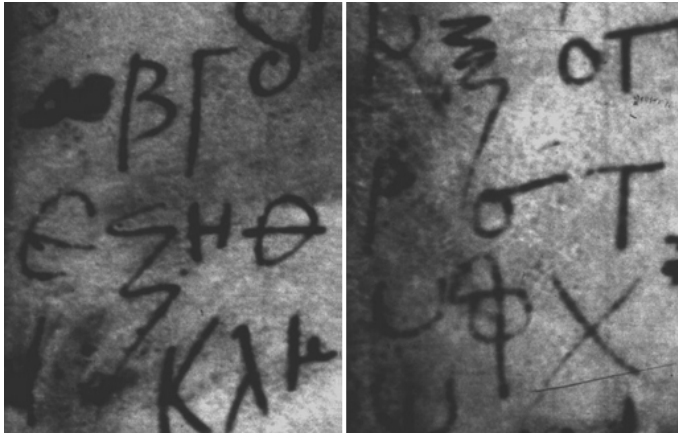


Figure 39: L162, f.297v

The Athonite manuscript L1141 (1105) is written by the scribe Athanasios in what may be described as an individual hand. Not only is there enlargement of letters but there is inconsistency in the size of each letter (φ being a point in case in the example below). The initials are an average of 3 lines high, while the identifier and liturgical text is written in a hand containing majuscule letters (γ, ν) and probably rubricated, while biblical text is in pure minuscule. There are a number of abbreviations and ligatures, often to a degree which would seem to make liturgical reading counterintuitive: the three epsilons of βλέπετε are superscript, for example (below) even though the copyist has left a considerable space preceding the word. Ruling is not visible by microfilm, but there are irregularities in the lineation of each page.

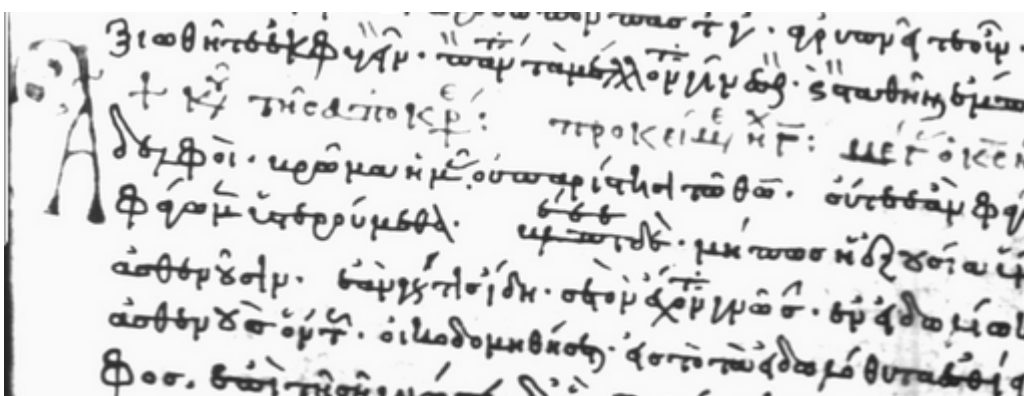


Figure 40: L1141, f. 109r

This brief examination of some examples from the Apostolos selection reveals that a variety of copying methods and hands were used over the centuries. Some codices are

evidently the product of one or several skilled scribes in institutions with access to multiple codices. Others contain features associated with provincial production, as would be expected from such a ubiquitous manuscript tradition. An observable correlation is between formal (and multiple) hands and the presence of complex, intricately structured liturgical material. While Apostolos manuscripts with a high liturgical value or from a prestigious institution were ‘composed’ from multiple biblical and liturgical (codex) sources, provincial codices may have been copied from one Lectionary to another or - more likely on the basis of the other evidence set forth here - from a narrower range of sources such as one or more local continuous text Praxapostolos manuscripts containing lection tables.

The formal hands from Athos, Constantinople, Palestine, Patmos and elsewhere share more in common with each other than with their transparently ‘provincial’ counterparts, making palaeographical evidence ancillary to other forms of investigation such as the arrangement of lections and liturgical material. In terms of copying practices and hands the Apostolos tradition is not uniform, and manuscripts were clearly produced based on the needs and liturgical practices of the institution and with the materials available. An adequate appreciation of the complexities of the copying tradition should precede the creation of a model of textual transmission,<sup>436</sup> since the palaeographical evidence is amenable to the theory that many Apostolos codices were composed from multiple sources.

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<sup>436</sup> This amounts to a methodological implementation of the canon “knowledge of documents should precede final judgments upon readings” to the study of the Apostolos. B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: 1896), 31.

## IX. Synaxarion Lection Boundaries and Lection Tables

This section analyses an extract from a larger body of data recording the lection boundaries in the Synaxarion of Apostolos manuscripts and the lection tables of continuous text Praxapostolos codices. The method is here to investigate areas of significant variation in continuous text manuscripts and compare this to the Lectionary tradition in order to determine whether variant lection traditions found their way into Apostolos manuscripts from the lection tables or apparatuses of their continuous text exemplars. This enables the identification of local traditions and change in lections and lection boundaries over time.

First, in order to provide a context for discussion it is necessary to provide a summary of findings from the full data (Appendix 1). In total the Synaxarion lections for 127 days from the Sunday of Pascha to the Sunday of the Publican were recorded in five non-Lectionary sources: THS; De Vries; Gregory; the minuscules 1897 and 1795; and the commentary MS 424. In 98/127 (77%) of these test days, THS and De Vries were in exact or close agreement, suggesting underlying agreement between Constantinopolitan (Cathedral) reading practices and the manuscripts underlying De Vries, which are not specified. Gregory and Scrivener concur with De Vries in 120/127 (95%) of test days in the sample.<sup>437</sup> The major source of disagreement between the editorial sources is caused by whether or not they follow the longer or shorter forms of lections where verses are skipped or split. In 8/127 (7%) test days, verses are split in THS and not in the other edited calendars. This reflects the reality of the manuscript tradition. For instance, on the Sunday of the Samaritan (E5A) the edited calendars and manuscripts disagree on the ‘internal’ boundary of the lection i.e, whether the copyist should skip vv.27-28:

THS	De Vries	Gregory (1900)	G-A 1795	G-A 424	G-A 1897 (XII)
Acts 11:19-26; 29-30	Acts 11:19-end	Acts 11:19-26; 29-30	Acts 11:19- end	Acts 11:19-26; 29-30	Acts 11:19-end

*Table 20: Variation in Lections in Praxapostolos MSS and Edited Sources: Sunday of the Samaritan*

<sup>437</sup> For Scrivener’s MS sources see above Chapter 1, Section II, page 25.



In general, the lection boundaries of the Apostolos tradition are stable. However, there are concentrated areas of high variation: in 10/127 (8%) of test days there is significant disagreement between all or most of the manuscripts and edited sources and in 11/127 (8%) THS records no service (and therefore no lection) where codices or edited sources do. Occasionally THS offers a completely divergent lection as in the case of the Wednesday after the Sunday of Pascha:

THS	De Vries	Gregory (1900)	G-A 1795	G-A 424	G-A 1897 (XII)
Acts 1:12-14; Acts 6:8-7; 5:47-60	Acts 2:22-38c	Acts 2:22-36; Scrivener 2:38-43	Acts 2:22-36	Acts 2:22-36	Acts 2:22-36

*Table 21: Lection Variation in Praxapostolos MSS and Edited Sources: Wednesday after Pascha*

Several observations may be made regarding the Synaxarion boundary data. First, the lection tradition in non-Lectionary manuscripts is characterised by a high degree of agreement in lection assignment (i.e., which pericope is assigned to a certain day) in most of the test days. Yet within that category there are many slight variations in lection boundaries which, as will be explored below, are reflected in the lection boundaries of Apostolos codices. This phenomenon is best explained by the slightly different incipits and explicits listed in lection tables and variation in the placement of ἀρχαί and τέλη in the margins of Praxapostolos codices. As such, this constitutes evidence further evidence in favour of the theory that Apostolos manuscripts are prepared from such apparatuses. Second, variation in the internal boundaries of certain lections show that copyists prepared lections in a less controlled manner than previously assumed: while the general boundaries may be consistent, text omitted in one manuscript may be present in another. Finally, the smaller areas of concentrated variation indicate the continued persistence of alternative lections – even the fully-developed ‘Byzantine’ tradition of the tenth-twelfth centuries is not entirely homogeneous.

The following table displays a major area of variation in the lections and lection boundaries for the week following Pentecost Sunday (E8A)<sup>438</sup> in several continuous text

<sup>438</sup> Adopting De Vries’ numbering system.

minuscule Praxapostolos manuscripts and editorial representations of the Byzantine calendar. Significant disagreements with the majority tradition are highlighted.

ID	THS (X)	De Vries	Gregory (1900)	G-A 1897 (XII)	G-A 1795 (XI)	G-A 424 (XII)
E8A	<b>Acts 8:26-39;</b> Acts 2:1-11	Acts 2:1-12	Acts 2:1-11	Acts 2:1-11	Acts 2:1-11	Acts 2:1-11
AP1B	Eph 5:8b-19	Eph 5:9-20	Eph 5:8-19	Eph 5:8-19	Eph 5:8b-[20]	Eph 5:8b-19
AP1C	Not recorded	Rom 1:1-8; 13-18	Rom 1:1-7;13-17	Rom 1:1-17	Rom 1:1-17	<b>Gal 5:22-6:2</b>
AP1D	<b>Heb 2:2-10</b>	Rom 1:18-28	Rom 1:18-27	Rom 1:18-27	Rom 1:18-27	<b>Heb 2:2-10</b>
AP1E	Not recorded	Rom 1:28-2:10	Rom 1:28-2:9	Rom 1:28-2:9	Rom 1:28-2:10	<b>1 Cor 12:7-11</b>
AP1F	Not recorded	Rom 2:14-29	Rom 2:14-29	Rom 2:14-28	Rom 2:14-29	<b>Rom 8:14-21</b>
AP1G	<b>Liturgy Gal 5:22-6:2</b>  <i>Alt: Rom 1:7b-12</i>	<i>Rom 1:7b-13</i>	<i>Rom 1:7-12</i>	<i>Rom 1:7-12</i>	<b>Rom 3:19-26</b>	<i>Rom 1:7b-12</i>
AP1A	Heb 11:33-12:2a	Heb 11:33-12:2b	Heb 11:33-12:2	Heb 11:33-12:2	<b>Rom 2:10-16</b>	Heb 11:33[?]-12:2b

Table 22: Variation in Lections in Praxapostolos MSS and Edited Sources: Pentecost Sunday to All Saints Sunday

The majority Apostolos lection tradition and its boundaries seem to belong to the ‘Studite’ era liturgical synthesis whereby a synthesised, standardised Hagiopolite-Constantinopolitan system came to dominate liturgical practice (and therefore the recitation of Scripture) from 843-1204.<sup>439</sup> Taft, writing about the εὐχολόγιον codex,<sup>440</sup>

<sup>439</sup> R. Taft, S.J., *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History*, 52-66.

<sup>440</sup> A term referring to prayer books of various kinds in the Byzantine rite, including those of the Divine Liturgy and other sacraments, monastic and parochial Offices and occasional services. Such codices are related to the Apostolos and often overlap in biblical and liturgical material. For instance, the present writer examined the MS British Library Harley 5561 (XIII) which contains select Gospel and Apostolos lections for various (and generic) festal commemorations as well as the Liturgies of Basil and St. John Chrysostom. The NT section is designated L340.

states that preceding the Studite synthesis there were “three separate traditions (Constantinopolitan, Italo-Greek, and Byzantino-Palestinian) and several distinct types (cathedral, parochial, monastic, mixed; pontifical or presbyteral), depending on their liturgical use.”<sup>441</sup> Where sources offer alternative lections to this standard tradition this may indicate the preservation of older, local, parish (as opposed to monastic), or specifically Constantinopolitan, Italian or Palestinian lection traditions.<sup>442</sup>

The Typikon of Hagia Sophia (THS) stands alone in recording Acts 8:26-39 in addition to the majority lection. In this instance the Typikon states that the recitation of Acts 8:26-39 follows the Patriarch performing baptisms in the Baptistry; the lection is described as “προανάγνωσις ἐκ τῶν Πράξεων”.<sup>443</sup> Evidently this is specific to the Great Church and therefore this Acts lection is unlikely to appear in parish or monastic manuscripts. The same applies to the secondary lection for AP1G in THS, where the Typikon specifies “ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ” for the lection Rom 1:7b-12.<sup>444</sup> The Apostolos lection for the Liturgy in THS differs from the majority tradition, while the majority lection is preserved as a local tradition in the Typikon. Not only this, but the same lection (Gal 5:22-6:2) is the AP1C lection in the MS 424. It may be that the alternate positions of this lection point back to an earlier period where the tradition was more divided on its assignment of this pericope. The shared tradition of its presence is caused by the theological suitability of its contents (the fruits of the Spirit) for Pentecost.

G-A 424 also agrees with THS in its assignment of the lection Heb 2:2-10 for the Wednesday after Pentecost (AP1D) and in including Rom 1:7b-12 for the Saturday after Pentecost (AP1G), which is a subsidiary lection in THS. While these affinities suggest a connection with Constantinopolitan custom, 424 possesses four unique lections for AP1C-AP1F, and agrees with majority tradition in AP1A (All Saints’ Sunday). Gregory

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<sup>441</sup> Taft, *Byzantine Rite*, 53 citing S. Parenti, *L'euclologio manoscritto IV (X sec.) della Biblioteca di Grottaferrata*. (Unpublished PhD Dissertation: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium, 1994). According to Parenti “[d]uring the tenth century, liturgical books began to record the form initiated after Iconoclasm: two *typoi* existed in Constantinople, one of the cathedral, called ‘ecclesiastical’ and another of ‘other churches’ and monasteries called ‘hagiopolites’.” S. Parenti, “The Cathedral Rite of Constantinople: Evolution of a Local Tradition.” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Vol. 77 (2011), 449-469.

<sup>442</sup> The issue of the relationship between the ‘Jerusalem’ and post-10<sup>th</sup> century ‘Byzantine’ Apostolos lection traditions is addressed in the discussion of the Menologia of Apostolos manuscripts (Chapter 5) below.

<sup>443</sup> Mateos, *Typicon (Tome 1)*, 136-138.

<sup>444</sup> Mateos, *Typicon (Tome 1)*, 144.

records 424 as formerly belonging to Aresnios, Archbishop of Monemvasia off the coast of the Peloponnese.<sup>445</sup> The variant lections in 424 may be local to the Peloponnese or to mainland Greece in general. Alternatively, 424 may be in agreement with parish tradition as opposed to the monastic practice of the Studite synthesis.

MS 424 contains κεφάλαια, lection boundary indicators, marginal commentary,<sup>446</sup> and the Αποδημιαί Παύλου,<sup>447</sup> while the lection table (Figure 35, below) contains lection numbers (for the post-Pentecost period) and κεφάλαια. 424 is not the only commentary manuscript to contain an extensive Apostolos (or Gospel) lection apparatus,<sup>448</sup> suggesting another source for lection text in addition to continuous text minuscules. 424 was probably used for liturgical reading and it was extensively corrected, while its text is a strong representative of the Byzantine tradition in the Catholic Letters.<sup>449</sup> In itself this suggests a plausible scenario in the manuscript tradition for the occurrence of superior Byzantine readings and a mixture of Byzantine sub-readings in the Apostolos textual tradition. Readings in the Epistles text of 424, its exemplar, and the MS it was corrected to/with may have been transmitted to: the Apostolos lectionaries prepared from its lection identifiers and tables; to commentaries as the *Vorlage* of another commentary MS; to other minuscules if used to correct or prepare minuscules/minuscules for liturgical reading. If this pattern is true of other commentary manuscripts containing lection identifiers then the traditions are truly mixed. It is probable that there are relationships between the biblical texts and lection apparatuses of all three major Byzantine NT codex types.

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<sup>445</sup> Gregory, *Textkritik*, 270. 424 contains the standard subscription in Romans: “αυτη η επιστολ(η) εγραφη απο κορινθ(ου) δια φοιβης της διακο(νον) της εν κεγχρεαις εκκλησιας στιχων [num]λγ[/num]”.

<sup>446</sup> According to notes of unknown origin appended to the MS, f.18[r?] onwards contain Theophylact’s commentary. The exact contents are not currently documented in the list contained by ITSEE, University of Birmingham.

<sup>447</sup> See L.C. Willard, *A Critical Study of the Euthalian Apparatus*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009) [Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung], 73-74; 160-169.

<sup>448</sup> Gram and Morrill find 11 post-10<sup>th</sup> century Commentary manuscripts (Andreas, Zigabenus, Theodoret, John Chrysostom, Oecumenicus, and Theophylact) containing lection apparatus in a sample from Romans 12. B. Morrill and J. Gram, “Parsing Paul: Layout and Sampling Divisions in Pauline Commentaries.” (Unpublished paper: 9<sup>th</sup> Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament [04/03/2015]). I thank John Gram for his kind permission to cite this evidence.

<sup>449</sup> According to a search of the CBGM tool ‘Potential Ancestors’ in Genealogical Queries v.2.0, the text of 424 has a high level of agreement with the Majority Text (MT) (95.19%) and the hypothetical *Ausgangstext* witness (A) (91.16%). This suggests that it often possesses 1/2 readings i.e. instances where the early and majority/ Byz traditions agree. See <http://intf.uni-muenster.de/cbgm2/PA5.php> [online] [accessed 12/03/15]. Reflecting an older methodology, the Alands place 424’s text of the Epistles in Category III (Eclectic). Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 161.

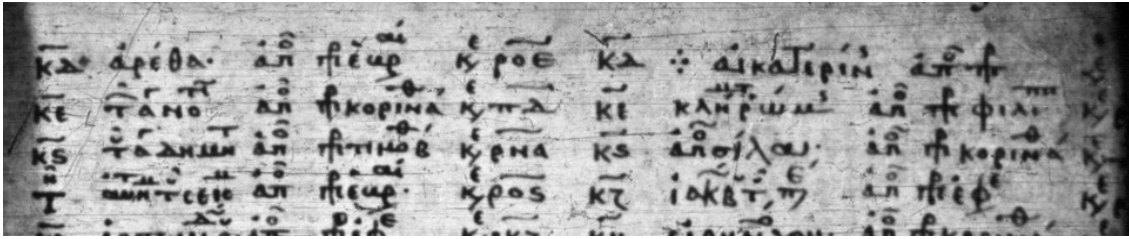


Figure 41: G-A 424, f. 5r.

The Praxapostolos 1897 (Jerus. Stavru 57) possesses such an extensive set of Lectionary identifiers (image below) as to suggest that it was used primarily as a liturgical text, even though the actual text runs in work order. It therefore blurs the boundaries between Praxapostolos minuscule and Apostolos Lectionary, albeit in a different fashion to MS 424. This further suggests a flow of biblical text and paratext between these codex types.

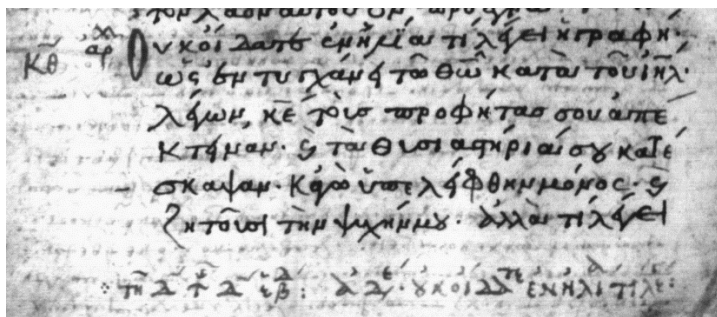


Figure 42: G-A 1897, f. 104v

Minuscule 1795 (XII; Ivan Dujčev Research Centre 369/Pierpont Morgan Library 714) differs from the majority tradition at AP1G and AP1A, assigning Rom 3:19-26 and Rom 2:10-16. It too is likely to be of Constantinopolitan provenance,<sup>450</sup> but exhibits agreement with the majority tradition against THS in the rest of the sample. Its unique lections and simultaneous disaffinity with THS may reflect a stage in the gradual conformity of urban parochial Apostolos manuscripts to the majority tradition.

Variation in the lections assigned to these dates can be used to investigate the Apostolos tradition. Selecting seven Apostolos manuscripts of known or likely-known provenance from the sample and examining their pericopae between Pentecost Sunday and All Saints' produces the following results:

<sup>450</sup> See discussion in Chapter 2, Section IV, page 98.

ID	L1021 (XII)	L162 (XII)	L1178 (XI)	L170 (XIV)	L156 (X)	L2024 (XI)	L1141 (XII)
E8A	Acts 2:1-11	Acts 2:1-11	Acts 2:1-11	Acts 2:1-11	Acts 2:1-11	Acts 2:1-11	Acts 2:1-11
AP1B	Not present	Eph 5:8-19	Eph 5:8b-18a	Eph 5:8b-18a	ID: Eph 5:8b onwards	Eph 5:8b-19	Eph 5:8b-19
AP1C	Not present (sk)	Rom 1:1-7; 13-18	Rom 1:1-7; 13-18 Alt: <b>Rom 8:5-13</b>	Not present (sk)	ID: <b>Gal 5:22</b>  <b>onwards</b>  Lection:  <i>Rom 1:1-7;</i> <i>Rom 1:13-17</i>	Rom 1:1-7;  13-17	Rom 1:1-7;  13-17
AP1D	Not present (sk)	Rom 1:18-27	Rom 1:18-27 Alt: <b>Rom 8:22-27</b>	Not present (sk)	ID: <b>Heb 2:2</b>  <b>onwards</b>  Lection: <i>Rom 1:18-27</i>	Rom 1:18-27	Rom 1:18-27
AP1E	Not present (sk)	Rom 1:28-2:10	Rom 1:28-2:9 Alt: <b>Rom 8:14-21</b>	Not present (sk)	ID: <b>1 Cor 12:7</b>  <b>onwards</b>  Lection:  <i>Rom 1:25-28</i>	Rom 1:28-2:19	Rom 1:28-2:19
AP1F	Not present (sk)	Rom 2:14-29	Rom 2:14-28 Alt: <b>1 Cor 2:9b-3:8</b>	Not present (sk)	ID: <b>Rom 8:14</b>  <b>onwards</b>  Lection:  <i>Rom 1:28-32</i>	Rom 2:14-28	Rom 2:14-28
AP1G	Rom 1:7b-12	Rom 1:7b-12	Rom 1:7b-12	Not present	Lection:	Rom 7:1b-12	Rom 7:1b-12

					Rom 1:7b-12		
AP1A	Heb 11:33-12:2a	Heb 11:33-12:2a	Heb 11:33-12:2a	Heb 11:33-12:2a	Lection: Heb 11:33-12:2a	Heb 11:33-12:2a	Heb 11:33-12:2a

Table 23: Lection Variation in Apostolos MSS: Pentecost Sunday to All Saints Sunday

There is a similar pattern of majority conformity and concentrated minority disagreement in the Apostolos sample for E8A-AP1A.

The Patmos MS L1178 presents alternative weekday lections between Pentecost Sunday and All Saints Saturday. These are consistently identified in the manuscript with the formula ἕτερος ἀπόστολος, as on f.95r (below) indicating Rom 8:6-13 for the Tuesday after Pentecost:

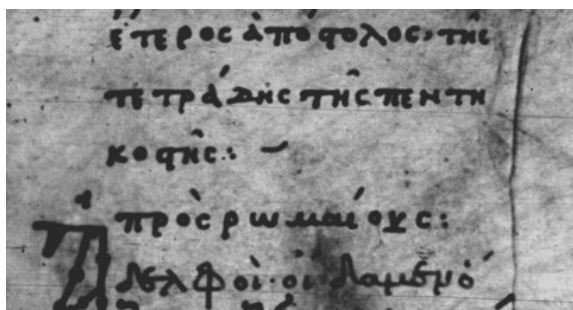


Figure 43: L1178, f.95r

The identifying formula suggests that the copyists prepared these lections either from a similar manuscript or from two or more sources/traditions with differing lections. The lection Rom 8:14-21 is, like Gal 5:22-6:2, a ‘floating’ lection, designated for AP1E in L1178 and AP1F in the commentary MS 424. Both the presence of the same divergent lection in L1178 and 424 and the alternate positions in each manuscript provide evidence of transmission from continuous text to Apostolos codices. The copyists of L1178 may have exercised freedom in rearranging the pericope Rom 8:14-21 for their local liturgical requirements or L1178 may have been copied from a continuous text manuscript which contained the lection at that alternate position. As with Gal 5:22-6:2, Rom 8:14-21 is theologically appropriate for Pentecost: “those who are led by the Spirit of God are

children of God” (Rom 8:14). Similarly, the three other alternate lections which are unique to L1178 in the current sample deal with the Spirit: 1 Cor 2:9b-3:8 (the Spirit searches the mind of God); Rom 8:22-27 (first fruits of the Spirit); Rom 8:5-13 (life according to the Spirit). This provides an insight into their presence in the tradition but not how they came to be copied into L1178 as alternative lections, though it is likely that other witnesses not collated must contain similar lections.

L156 (X), which lacks a colophon to determine definite provenance, attests to three Apostolos lection traditions in the week following Pentecost. The majority lection tradition is attested in the main body of the text at E8A, AP1B, AP1G and AP1A. As explored above L156 contains an unusual anagnostic arrangement that reveals a continuous work-order copying technique in weekday lections, while its Saturday-Sunday lections conform to the standard ‘Byzantine’ system.<sup>451</sup> This reality impacts upon the other lections located in the main body of the text, which are unique to L156. On Tuesday after Pentecost the majority lection is split into two discrete lections divided by an identifier (Rom 1:1-7; Rom 1:13-17) (image below):

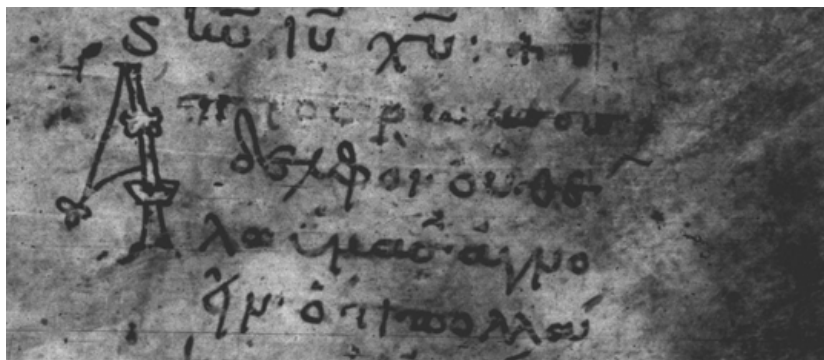


Figure 44: L156, f.46r

The remaining lections in the body of the text run in an extracted work-order (Rom 1:18-27; Rom 1:25-28; Rom 1:28-32) as if they have been copied *ad hoc* from a continuous text MS. The third tradition attested to in L156 is the Constantinopolitan one revealed in THS. In L156 this tradition is found in the identifiers for weekday lections among liturgical material following the lection for Pentecost Sunday. These identifiers are in a different hand from the main body of biblical text and consist of the identifier,

<sup>451</sup> See above, Chapter 1, Section IIIb, pages 92-96.



prokeimenon, sticheron and incipit for each weekday lection. In the image below, the incipit for the ‘floating’ lection Gal 5:22-6:2 is present:

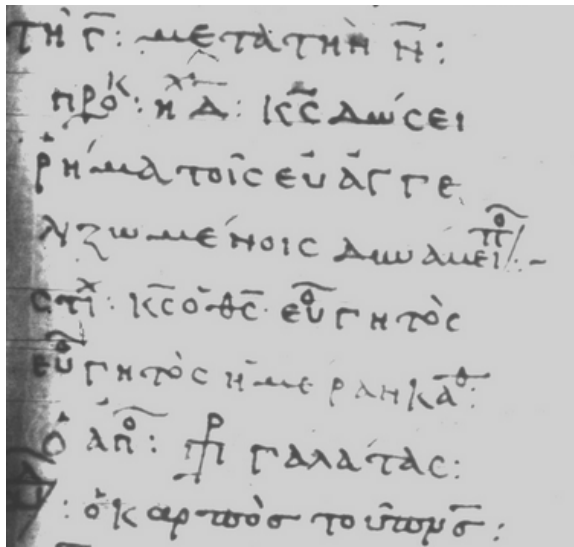


Figure 45: L156, f.53r

L156, like 424, may be more closely associated with the liturgical tradition of Hagia Sophia. Since the weekday lections in L156 are defective – in that they do not provide the correct lections for Pentecost-All Saints – later users, perhaps parochial, provided the correct weekday lections for this period. As a result, L156 should be associated with the Constantinopolitan tradition. The agreement between THS, L156 and 424 is evidence that identifiers and liturgical texts are transmitted between various codex types. Not only was L156 prepared erroneously (or at least in a divergent fashion) from its first exemplar, it was later corrected towards a minority lection tradition located in non-Lectionary manuscripts. Therefore this evidence further vindicates the theory of continuous text preparation of Apostolos codices. Similar arguments are made for the preparation of

Gospel Lectionaries by Jordan<sup>452</sup> and in Elliott's study of the Lectionary apparatus of minuscule G-A 543.<sup>453</sup>

The majority lection tradition is attested by L1021, L162, L170, L2024 and L1141, in full agreement with the minuscule 1897. Above it was suggested that L2024 has a high production value, perhaps associating it with Constantinople. On the basis of this sample, any possible association of L2024 with the imperial capital would have to be with a monastic foundation rather than the Great Church, since its lections follow the majority tradition. The codices representing the majority tradition range from across the Mediterranean and span the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. If, as suggested, the majority Apostolos lection tradition derives from the liturgical 'Studite' synthesis and its aftermath then this high level of agreement in lections indicates the pervasiveness of this tradition. Yet since manuscripts which contain divergent lection systems also possess lections from the majority tradition it is better to view this as a process of synthesis rather than a recension. Indeed, the historical process of synthesis itself undermines the predominant 'Lectionary text' hypothesis, since it would be difficult for a distinctive textual trajectory to develop in a lection tradition the boundaries of which are characterised by local variation and considerable fluidity.

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<sup>452</sup> Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 337-339.

<sup>453</sup> W.J. Elliott, "How to Change a Continuous Text Manuscript into a Lectionary Text." P. Doble and J. Kloha eds., *Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of J. Keith Elliott*. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 370-375. Elliott writes "[i]t may well be that readers of this article may have additional information, which could show further light on this continuous-lectionary usage [in G-A 543] . . . one suspects it began as an economy measure." Elliott, "How to Change", 375. Given the present study of 'continuous text lectionaries' such as 1897 and 424 in the context of the wider Apostolos tradition, the economic factor is one of several possibilities. Codices such as these may have been multi-functional, meeting the liturgical and literary needs of a specific community e.g., in the case of 424 a NT Praxapostolos with commentary, Euthalian apparatus, and lection apparatus. A complete study is needed comparing the number and type of continuous text manuscripts and Lectionaries containing each NT work in each century; this may reveal patterns which point to economic factors. I thank Jovan Stanojevic for observing that multi-functional continuous text codices like 424 also exist in versional NT traditions – here also comparative study is needed.

## X. Corrections

In the full data (including Synaxarion lection text and identifiers) in the current study there are 73 recorded corrections in a total of approximately 1700 test passages over 38 Apostolos witnesses, assuming an average of 45 test passages collated per manuscript. This amounts to less than one (0.52) mean corrections per 45 test passages in each witness. However, this mean figure is problematic since corrections in the sample are limited to 22 manuscripts. The remaining manuscripts in the sample have no recorded corrections in the current test passages – albeit a limited sample. The table below lists the number and type of corrections in each witness. It also displays the correction rate for each witness, calculated as the number of test passages containing corrections divided by the total number of test passages for each witness. The ‘correction rate’ figure is then expressed as a percentage.

<b>Witness ID</b>	<b>Change of Reading<sup>454</sup></b>	<b>Supplied after Omission</b>	<b>Total Corrections</b>	<b>Correction Rate</b>
40156	3	1	4	4/84 <b>(4.8%)</b>
40060	8	6	14	14/61 <b>(22.6%)</b>
42024	1	0	1	1/53 <b>(1.9%)</b>
40162	1	0	1	1/56 <b>(1.8%)</b>
40112	1	0	1	1/22 <b>(4.5%)</b>
40241	2	0	2	2/15 <b>(13.3%)</b>
40164	5	6	11	11/45 <b>(24.4%)</b>
41506	6	5	11	11/27 <b>(40.7%)</b>
41894	2	1	3	3/40 <b>(7.5%)</b>
41141	0	2	2	2/45 <b>(4.4%)</b>

<sup>454</sup> This category includes text supplied in the main body of text which was then subsequently removed by a corrector.

41126	1	0	1	1/8 <b>(12.5%)</b>
40169	1	0	1	1/33 <b>(3%)</b>
40165	0	3	3	3/16 <b>(18.8%)</b>
40168	0	5	5	5/45 <b>(11.1%)</b>
40170	4	0	4	4/21 <b>(19%)</b>
40610	0	1	1	1/45 <b>(2.2%)</b>
41685	1	1	2	2/44 <b>(4.5%)</b>
42010	1	0	1	1/37 <b>(2.7%)</b>
41159	1	1	2	2/45 <b>(4.4%)</b>
41440	0	1	1	1/28 <b>(3.6%)</b>
41590	2	2	4	4/45 <b>(8.9%)</b>
41281	0	1	1	1/41 <b>(2.4%)</b>

*Table 24: Corrections in Apostolos MSS*

Variation in the number of test passages collated in each manuscript – dictated by the nature of the tradition – makes the evidence difficult to interpret. If the correction rate for any witness with fewer than 30 collated test passages is regarded as statistically unviable, the mean rate of correction in the Apostolos sample is 7.1%. Among this group L60 (22.6%), L164 (22.4%), L168 (11.1%) contain an especially high ratio of corrections to test passages, while L1894 (7.5%) also skews the mean figure. Eliminating these four witnesses from the sample reduces the average correction rate to 3.7%.

There are clear limitations to these figures: the sample size means that they cannot provide definitive evidence regarding the correction practices of Apostolos users. However, this methodology has allowed the identification of manuscripts with notably higher correction practices. L60, L164 and L168 all contain weekday and Saturday-Sunday lections and this evidence suggests that they were extensively used and so corrected regularly. Conversely, the overall picture is of a remarkably low level of correction for a manuscript tradition focussed on the liturgical recitation of text, which may corroborate the argument

(above) that many Apostolos manuscripts now extant were used for relatively short periods. The majority of witnesses possessing a low correction level may be described as the ‘standard group’ while those exhibiting exceptional correction rates may be described as the ‘minority group’. Two alternative hypotheses may be entertained. Either manuscripts in the minority group are corrected often due to regular liturgical use and the opposite obtains for the standard group or, *vice versa*, the minority group was subject to closer (private) reading and scrutiny, while the deacon or *anagnostēs* orally ‘corrected’ the texts of the majority group during liturgical recitation, rendering scribal correction of the text superfluous. The latter view is preferable unless - as consistently argued against - it is the case that many Apostolos manuscripts were arranged for liturgical recitation but not used liturgically.

## XI. Conclusions

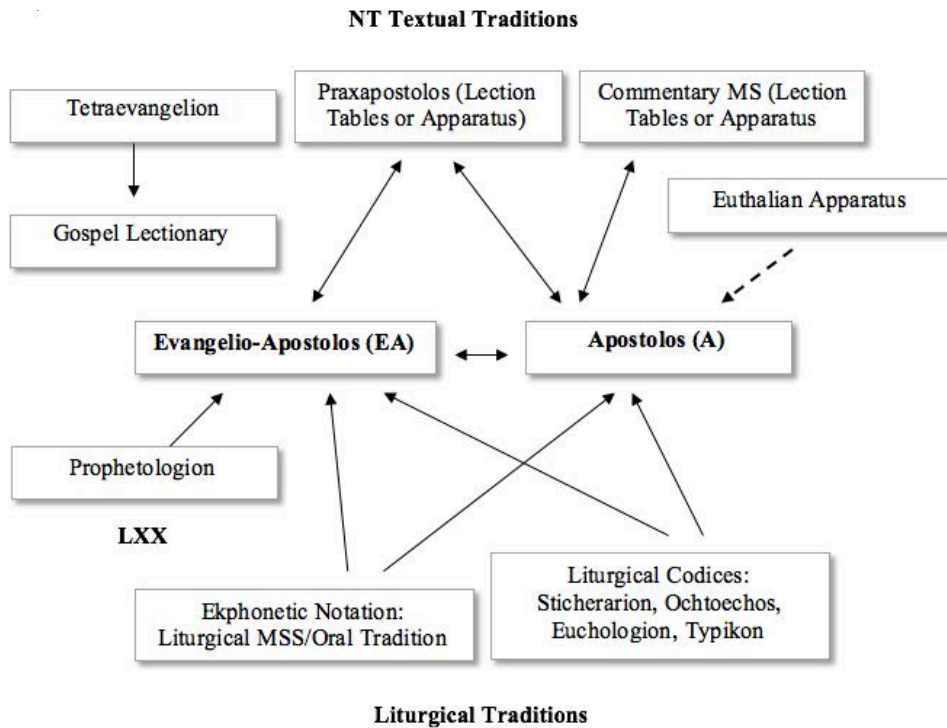


Figure 46: Proposed Relationship of Manuscripts to the Apostolos Synaxarion

This chapter has investigated the hypothesis that Apostolos codices are often prepared from a range of continuous text NT and liturgical codices according to local need and custom. It has been argued that this is the case, against the view of earlier scholarship that the normative copying mechanism in Byzantium was from one Lectionary codex directly to another. The methodology adopted here is to examine all the Apostolos manuscripts in the current selection in detail investigating: palaeographical features; scribal practices; Synaxarion lection order and content; ekphonic notation; bindings, lacunae and supplements; Synaxarion lection systems and their counterparts in the Lectionary apparatus of non-Apostolos codices; and correction patterns. The investigation necessitated referring to a wide range of non-Apostolos manuscripts and historical sources, and it was discovered that in each area there is evidence that the Apostolos codex is closely related to other manuscript types. Probable codico-liturgical relationships are proposed in the above model (Figure 46), with bi-directional arrows suggesting a two-way flow of biblical and/or liturgical text(s) between other codices and the Apostolos codex and a dotted line representing the possible relationship between codices containing Euthalian traditions and the Lectionary.

## 5. MENOLOGION VARIATION IN APOSTOLOS MANUSCRIPTS

### I. Menologion Methodology

This chapter investigates two aspects of the Menologion tradition within the Apostolos Lectionary. First, there is a text-critical examination of a number of NT test passages selected from lections common to all manuscripts in the selection while the latter section of the chapter exclusively analyses patterns of festal commemoration in the manuscript sample. Additionally, the paratextual and liturgical features of each lection in which a test passage occurs are discussed. This includes variation in the identifiers (and therefore festal commemorations) associated with each pericope and the historical context of each Menologion lection. Following this the chapter moves to a wider discussion of lection and festal commemoration variation in the manuscript tradition in an attempt to build on earlier discussions of manuscript provenance, geographical trends and commemorative traditions.

The selection of test passages follows the criteria set out in Chapter 3 for the Synaxarion,<sup>455</sup> with several adaptations to suit the unique structure of the Menologion. The first section of the text-critical discussion concerns test passages which are present in ‘Majority’ festal lections i.e., where the majority of Apostolos witnesses examined contain a pericope with stable boundaries even if there are variations in the commemoration assigned to that lection. The second section of the text-critical discussion deals with ‘Minority’ festal lections – lections shared only by a small family of codices – followed by several test passages which compare the readings attested by witnesses which contain the same NT text twice that is, in both the Synaxarion and Menologion

The first ‘Majority’ category tests the hypothesis that the Menologion and Synaxarion sections of Apostolos manuscripts share a common NT textual tradition. The second ‘Minority’ and ‘comparative’ section tests two hypotheses: that distinctive families of Apostolos manuscripts may share common patterns of minority readings in both liturgical and NT text; that a single Apostolos witness may possess multiple variants where the same text is presented more than once and therefore may be copied from multiple manuscript sources. The purpose of each of these methods is to answer the questions

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<sup>455</sup> See above Chapter 3, Section Ib, pages 111-212.

regarding the copying mechanisms and affinities set out in the introduction and in the previous chapters of the thesis.



## II. Textual Variation in the Apostolos Menologion

In this text-critical discussion of the Menologion, the data is set out as follows. Each lection is assigned a number [1] and each test passage is assigned an identifier which follows the format *MTPx*. The test passages are discussed in the order in which they occur in the anagnostic cycle of the manuscript tradition rather than NT work order. Every commemoration is assigned an identifier which allows the reader to refer to the complete Menologion data contained in Appendix 5. For example, the Nativity of the Theotokos is assigned the identifier NT. The date of each commemoration in the calendar is listed, followed by the lection(s) assigned to that date in square brackets e.g., [Gal 4:22-27] [Phil 2:5-12] for NT below. An apparatus which sets out variants in the identifiers for each commemoration follows, after which the variation units in each NT test passage are displayed in a positive apparatus as in Chapter 3 above. Each apparatus is accompanied by commentary on the textual issues presented by the passage.

### a) Majority Festal Lections

#### [1] Nativity of the Theotokos [NT] (8th Sept)

[Gal 4:22-27] [Phil 2:5-12]

NT ID Variants:

μηνη τω αυτω [num]η[/num] το γενεσιον της υπεραγιας θ̄κου: L2024

[smg][num]η[/num][[/smg] το γενεσιον της υπεραγιας θ̄κου: L169

μηνη τω αυτω [num]η[/num] εις το γενεσιον της θ̄κου: L604

μηνη σεμτεμβριω [num]η[/num] το γενεσιον της υπεραγιας θ̄κου: L1126 L1188

There are two lection traditions for NT, as indicated above. No manuscript in the sample possessed both. Despite the variation in lection assigned to NT, there is little variation in the identifier. L604 (XII) omits the description of the Theotokos as *υπεραγίας*.

### **MTP1 Gal 4:25**

a) *γαρ αγαρ σινα*: TR ANT PR L156m L173m L1298m; L1021m [CJB 8<sup>th</sup> Sept]; L1141m L1178m L2024m L604m L587m [JA 9<sup>th</sup> Sept]

b) *δε αγαρ σινα*: NA28; GNT<sup>4</sup> - L598 L599

The omission of particles considered redundant to the recitation of the text is a common scribal tendency in Lectionary manuscripts (see e.g., Synaxarion TP01 TP02 TP17 TP19 TP23 TP45 in Appendix). However, in this instance the Apostolos tradition transmits both readings present in the continuous text tradition. The Menologia collated in this study unanimously support reading a) which is the weakly preferred {C} initial text reading supported by P46 02 03 05 0278 323 365 1175. GNT<sup>4</sup> cites L598 L599 as supporting b) – both are eleventh century copies now held in the Greek Monastery of Santa Maria di Grottaferrata, Rome. There is the possibility that these two codices may have been prepared from older continuous text manuscripts brought to Italy from Calabria during or after the foundation of the monastery in 1004 A.D. No further Menologion support was found for reading a) in the current selection. L1021 contains the same lection (Gal 4:22-27) assigned to the Conception of John the Baptist but reads a) with the other Apostolos witnesses, illustrating the mixed nature of lection preparation.

### **MTP2 Gal 4:26**

a) *ητις εστιν μητηρ παντων ημων*: TR ANT PR L156m L173m L1298m; L1021mc [CJB 8<sup>th</sup> Sept]; L1141m L1178m L2024m L604m L587m [JA 9<sup>th</sup> Sept]

b) *ητις εστιν μητηρ ημων*: NA28 L1021m\*

In MTP2 the Apostolos tradition reflects the division in continuous text attestation. Both readings have early and Byzantine support. Reading a) is supported by the GNT<sup>4</sup> *Byz Lect*

as well as 01<sup>c</sup> 02 04<sup>3</sup> K L P, while b) is supported by P46 01\* 03 04\*. Patristic witnesses are similarly divided, both between fathers and internally in the manuscript tradition of each father. The majority of Apostolos witnesses in the present study support the *Byz Lect* reading a). L1021m (XII) has been corrected to the longer reading from b), reflecting the same pattern of correction towards the expanded text found much earlier in the tradition in 01 and 04. The older reading b) persists in the Apostolos tradition in L1021 (and L1443 GNT<sup>4</sup>) but a) is evidently preferred for what Zuntz regards as the “broader, pastoral application” of πάντων ἡμῶν.<sup>456</sup> From the fourth century onwards there was a gradual move of the entire textual tradition towards reading a). Evidently this process was not yet finished in the *Vorlagen* of these two Apostolos witnesses. Although, as noted above, L1021 assigns the same lection to a different festal commemoration, there is nothing in the pattern of textual evidence to suggest that its support for b) here is grounded in the copying mechanisms of Menological lections. On the contrary, it is more likely that the Apostolos tradition supports a) because the majority of Byzantine minuscules do and that L1021 transmits b) from its exemplar.

### **MTP3 Phil 2:9**

a) και εχαρισατο αυτω ονομα το υπερ παν ονομα: TR PR ANT AD L60m L1021m L1141m L1178m L2024m L169m L604m L587m L1126m L1188m

b) και εχαρισατο αυτω το ονομα το υπερ παν ονομα: NA28

Here all the Menologia collated support the GNT<sup>4</sup> *Byz Lect* reading a), omitting τό and, according to Metzger “meaning that Jesus was given an unspecified name subsequently defined as that name which is above every name.”<sup>457</sup>

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<sup>456</sup> G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 223.

<sup>457</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 546.

## MTP4 Phil 2:11

### VU1:

a) κυριος ιησους χριστος: TR PR ANT AD NA28 L60m L1021m L1141m L1178m  
L2024m L169m L604m L587m L1126m L1188m

b) κυριος ιησους: None in present selection; GNT<sup>4</sup> - L591

No witness in the current selection supports reading b) as L591 (XI) does with the 9<sup>th</sup> century continuous text majuscules 010 and 012. The Alands characterise these witnesses as ‘Egyptian’,<sup>458</sup> and Metzger describes the omission of Χριστός as ‘Western’ in character “perhaps in order to conform the expression to that in v.10.”<sup>459</sup> In *Text und Textwert* for Philippians, 010 and 012 are each other’s closest relatives agreeing in 10/11 (91%) Teststellen.<sup>460</sup> However, the presence of reading b) in L591 is unlikely to be indicative of an affinity to witnesses of either supposed text-type nor to the texts of either majuscule. As observed elsewhere (see e.g., Synaxarion Acts 10:33 TP15; 20:28 TP19) there is continuing confusion in Apostolos witnesses, as in minuscules, regarding divine and Christological formulae. In Lectionary witnesses this is further complicated by scribal interaction with a liturgical tradition containing such formulae in abundance. Therefore reading b) in L591 is likely to have arisen independently. Reading a) is the *Byz Lect* reading in GNT<sup>4</sup>. In this variation unit, the Apostolos tradition simply reflects the widespread Byzantine support for the longer reading.

### VU2:

a) εξομολογησεται: TR PR ANT NA28 L60m L1021m L1141m L1178m L2024m  
L587m

b) εξομολογησεται: L169m L604m L1126m L1188m

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<sup>458</sup> Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 110.

<sup>459</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 546.

<sup>460</sup> Excluding 04, with which each witness shares only one test passage. K. Aland ed., *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments II: Die Paulinischen Briefe*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), 91.

According to Metzger the GNT<sup>4</sup> committee discussed this variation unit in terms of possible assimilation to κάμψη (Phil 2:10) or, in the case of reading b) “indicative ὀμῆται (‘shall swear’) in Is 45:23).”<sup>461</sup> Both the Byzantine and Lectionary traditions are divided here, as are earlier witnesses. Given this reality, assimilation to another verb form is unlikely to be the cause of whichever reading is secondary. Instead, the division in the Apostolos and continuous text traditions may have been caused by vowel interchange or similar orthographic error.<sup>462</sup> The copyists of certain manuscripts in the present study make little distinction between vowels, most notably L60. If reading b) were originally caused by vowel interchange, its intelligibility evidently ensured its proliferation in the NT textual tradition. That issue aside, the variation unit is the same in Apostolos and continuous text traditions, a fact which essentially vindicates the model of textual transmission proposed in the present study. Since the majority of *Lect* witnesses cited in GNT<sup>4</sup> are based on Synaxarion transcriptions it is safe to conclude that there is little to distinguish Synaxarion and Menologion texts in this variation unit.

## [2] Dionysios the Areopagite [DA] (3rd Oct)

[Acts (a)17:16-34/ (b)16-23;30-34]

DA ID Variants:

μηνη τω αυτω [num]γ[/num] του αγιου διονουσιου του αρεοπαγιτου: L156 L604 L587  
L170

μηνη τω αυτω [num]γ[/num] του αγιου διονουσιου: L173

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<sup>461</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 546.

<sup>462</sup> See C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 365-375. Caragounis' views are criticised by M. Silva, “Biblical Greek and Modern Greek: A Review Article.” *Westminster Theological Journal*, Vol. 67 (2) (2005), 391-404 and positively assessed by J.K. Elliott, “The Development of Greek.” (Review) *Novum Testamentum*, Vol. 47 (2005), 607-609.

μηνι τω αυτω [num]γ[/num] του αγιου ιερομαρτυς διονουσιου του αρεωπαγιτου  
γενομενου επισκοπος μητροπολιτης αθηνων: L1178

[num]γ[/num] του αγιου ιερομαρτυς διονουσιου του αρεωπαγιτου γενομενου επισκοπος  
μητροπολιτης αθηνων: L169

The identifiers of L169 and L1178 refer to Dionysios specifically as Hieromartyr and as Metropolitan Bishop of Athens. By contrast, the majority of Apostolos witnesses simply refer to him as the Areopagite. Two forms of the lection are listed (above), depending on where the lection table or copyists places the internal pericope boundary for DA. Gregory understands the boundary as omitting vv.24-29 while De Vries simply records Acts 17:16-34. The minuscules examined do not reveal much: 1897 does not record a specific lection for DA while STE and Messina Gr.115 simply indicate Acts 17:16 onwards. As far as continuous text sources are concerned, the internal boundary does not seem to have been considered.

### **MTP5 Acts 17:27**

a) ζητειν τον κυριον: TR ANT PR

b) ζητειν τον θεον: NA28; GNT<sup>4</sup> - L1151 L60 L593<sup>1/2</sup> L1356<sup>1/2</sup> L751

c) Verse not present (follows (a) lection form): L156m L173m L1141m L1178m  
L2024m L169m L604m L587m L170m

The issue of the internal lection boundary is vital here. All of the Apostolos manuscripts in the present selection follow the (a) form of the lection for DA, omitting vv.24-29 and therefore lacking this variation unit. There is evidence that at least some Apostolos copyists were aware of the extracted nature of this text. In L173 (below) the τέλεια marks the end of v.23 “ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν + Τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους . . .” If the text was copied first and ekphonic notation added afterwards,<sup>463</sup> the presence of the τέλεια indicates that the scribe was aware of a disruption to the running order of the text.

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<sup>463</sup> See discussion of ekphonic recitation in Chapter 4, Section VI, pages 204-209.

Similarly, in L1141 (below) the copyist has left a considerable space between the end of v.23 and the start of v.30. These codices are otherwise quite different – in lection types, lection order, hands, presence of notation and other features – yet share a common textual division at these verses. This feature of the manuscript tradition suggests that the lection was extracted from a continuous text source, at least in an archetype of the tradition if not on a regular basis.

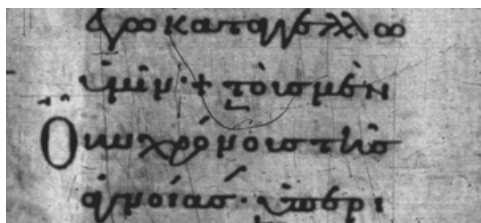


Figure 47: L173, f.132v

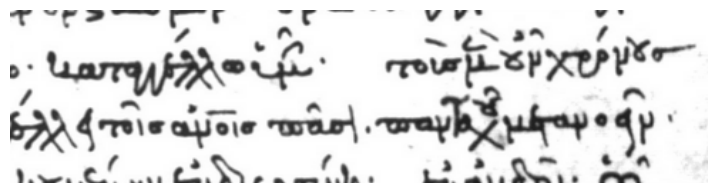


Figure 48: L1141, f.148r

There is further evidence of continuous text to Apostolos copying in the rest of the textual evidence for this variation unit. Reading a) is the GNT<sup>4</sup> *Byz Lect* majority reading (along with the printed Greek editions), while a significant number of minuscules and Apostolos manuscripts diverge from this tradition and read b) ζητειν τον θεον with the initial text. This suggests that both readings circulated in the Byzantine tradition and that upon occasion reading b) made its way into the Apostolos via continuous text exempla. Additionally, the apparatus of GNT<sup>4</sup> records two witnesses which are internally divided and support both readings (L593 L1356), which may suggest that lections in the Synaxaria and Menologia of these codices were prepared from different sources.

### MTP6 Acts 17:31

#### VU1:

a) διοτι εστησεν ημεραν: TR ANT PR L156m L173m L1141m L2024m L169m L587m L170m

b) καθοτι εστησεν ημεραν: NA28 L1178m

In VU1 L1178m (XI) reads b) καθοτι with NA28 and the continuous text witnesses P41 P74 01 02 03 05 08 044 33 323 614 945 1175 1505 1739. By contrast, the Byzantine reading a) διοτι is attested by the majority of Apostolos witnesses and also by the printed Greek editions. Either this is an echo of an earlier period of the NT textual tradition, or else reading b) in L1178m arose independently under the influence of Acts 2:24, where there is no variation from καθότι. Since minuscules of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries read b) it is perfectly plausible that its presence in L1178m might be indicative of affinity to a continuous text witness containing earlier readings. There are instances in the Synaxarion where L1178 agrees with the initial text rather than the Byzantine or Apostolos majority reading in Acts (see above e.g., TP04 Acts 4:25; TP08 Acts 9:31).

## VU2:

a) εν ανδρι: TR ANT PR NA28 L1178m L156m L1141m L2024m L169m L587m L170m L173m

b) εν ανδρι ιησου: None

Here 05 it<sup>ar, d</sup> and Irenaeus<sup>lat</sup> disagree with the majority tradition and add Ἰησοῦ. Any affinity of the Apostolos to ‘Western’ traditions is intrinsically unlikely. The purpose of this variation unit was to test whether the tendency to clarify, especially in the context of Christological formulae, would be in evidence here. In reality the Apostolos follows the majority of all witnesses.

## [3] Synaxis of Michael the Archangel [ARM] (8<sup>th</sup> Nov)

[Heb 2:2-10]

ARM ID Variants:



μηνι τω αυτω [num]η[/num] η συναξις του αρχαγγελου μιχαηλ: L156 L587

μηνι τω αυτω [num]η[/num] εις την συναξιν των αρχαγγελων: L173

[num]η[/num] του αρχαγγελου μιχαηλ: L1021

μηνι τω αυτω [num]η[/num] η συναξις του αρχιστρατηγου μιχαηλ: L1141 L2024

οκτωβριος [num]η[/num] η συναξις του αρχιστρατηγου μιχαηλ: L1774

μηνι τω αυτω εις την [num]η[/num] η συναξις του αρχαγγελου μιχαηλ: L170

μηνι τω αυτω [num]η[/num] η συναξις των ασωματων: L1126

L1126 is alone among the current selection of witnesses in describing the commemoration with ασωμάτων. L173 dedicates the day to the archangels (plural), whereas the rest of the manuscripts simply refer to the Archangel Michael. There is no correlation between patterns of identifier variation and NT text as represented in the test passages below, suggesting that the identifiers were freely composed according to custom, purpose and codex features.

### **MTP7 Heb 2:7**

a) εστεφανωσας αυτον και κατεστησας αυτον επι τα εργα των χειρων σου: TR SAL  
L156m L173m L1021m L170m

b) εστεφανωσας αυτον: NA28 PR ANT AD L2024m L1587m L1774m L1188m  
L1126m L1298m

c) εστεφανωσας: L1141m

This variation unit involves the writer's quotation of Psalm 8:6 (LXX) and the probable omission of Psalm 8:7 from the quotation in the initial text. Metzger comments "the Committee was impressed by the probability that the longer reading may be the result of scribal enlargement of the quotation (Ps 8:7), and therefore preferred the shorter reading,

supported by P46 B Dc K L al.”<sup>464</sup> Attridge views the citation as a discrete textual unit and comments that “[Psalm 8:4-6 LXX] may have been part of a traditional catena on which our homilist based his exposition . . . The citation omits one clause from the original, “You have set him over the works of your hands”. The verse, focusing on the present world, might have made the homilist’s rereading more difficult.”<sup>465</sup> As such there are theological and text-critical arguments for the authorial omission of Psalm 8:7 LXX. Following a natural tendency to expand, the later NT textual tradition re-appended the missing clause upon multiple occasions. An alternative view is that the longer reading a) is the *lectio difficilior* following Attridge’s view that it is less congruous with the author’s interpretative intentions but drawing the opposite conclusion to Metzger et al on this basis.<sup>466</sup>

GNT<sup>4</sup> cites *Byz. Lect<sup>pt</sup>* support for the shorter reading b), suggesting that a higher proportion of Apostolos witnesses support the longer citation than continuous text Byzantine witnesses. Early continuous text witnesses supporting reading a) include 01 02 04 05\* 024 044. In the current selection the Apostolos witnesses slightly favour the shorter reading b). The editorial Greek witnesses divide similarly, with Saliberos and the TR supporting a). Assuming that reading b) is authorial a pertinent issue is how reading a) came to be present in some Apostolos witnesses but not all.

Both readings may have found their way into the Apostolos tradition in several ways: copying of a version of the citation familiar to the scribe (including or omitting Psalm 8:7 LXX); copying from a continuous text NT or LXX witness which contained the longer reading; copying from another Apostolos or OT Lectionary which contained the longer reading. The explanation that the length of the citation may vary due to sporadic copying from LXX manuscripts is least likely, since this would be a laborious way to produce the text of a Menological lection. However, the presence of the singular reading c) εστεφανωσας [om. αυτον] in L1141 raises the possibility that this may have happened on

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<sup>464</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 592.

<sup>465</sup> H.W. Attridge, “Hebrews”. J. Barton and J. Muddiman eds. *The Oxford Bible Commentary*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1239.

<sup>466</sup> For citation of LXX in NT authors and manuscript tradition see M. Karrer, and J. de Vries, “Early Christian Quotations and the Textual History of the Septuagint: A Summary of the Wuppertal Research Project and Introduction to the Volume.” J. de Vries and M. Karrer, eds. *Textual History and the Reception of Scripture in Early Christianity*. [Septuagint and Cognate Studies] (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2013), 3-20.

at least one occasion. It is probable that the producers of L1141 consulted LXX manuscripts or Prophetologia because it contains OT lections. It may be that in this instance the scribe copied the citation directly from an OT manuscript and this caused the unique omission of αὐτὸν without the longer citation. The theory of a scribal “mental text” here is disputed by the general consistency of citation – there are few errors indicative of regular writing from memory. It is best to conclude that the Apostolos tradition divides as the continuous text tradition does because, in general, the text of this lection was copied from continuous text archetypes.

### **MTP8 Heb 2:8**

a) υποταξαι αυτω: TR ANT SAL AD PR L156m L173m L1021m L1141m L2024m L587m L1774m L170m L1188m L1126m L1298m

b) υποταξαι: NA28

The purpose of this test passage is to test whether there would be a tendency to omit the personal pronoun here in Lectionary witnesses. GNT<sup>4</sup> cites *Byz Lect* support for reading a) and this is reinforced by the unanimous evidence from the current selection.

### **MTP9 Heb 2:9**

a) χαριτι θεου: TR ANT SAL AD PR NA28 L156m L173m L1021m L1141m L2024m L587m L1774m L170m L1188m L1126m L1298m

b) χωρις θεου: None in current selection

The purpose of this test unit is to test whether any Apostolos witnesses attest reading b) χωρις θεου which is read by 0243 434<sup>cvid</sup> 1739<sup>txt</sup> and numerous manuscripts which transmit patristic commentaries. Reading a) is the majority reading of the entire tradition and the Apostolos witnesses unanimously follow this tradition.

### [3] Feast of the Presentation of the Theotokos [PMG] (21st Nov)

[Heb 9:1-7]

No identifier variants were recorded for this lection.

#### MTP10 Heb 9:1

a) ειχεν μεν ουν και η πρωτη: TR PR

b) ειχε μεν ουν [και] η πρωτη: NA28 ANT

c) ειχεν η πρωτη: SAL L156m L1141m L1178m L2024m L587m L1774m L170m;  
L173m L1021m L169m L1188m L1126m [JA 9<sup>th</sup> Sept]

According to the apparatus of GNT<sup>4</sup> this variation unit merely concerns the presence or absence of *καὶ*, with *Byz* cited for reading a) and *Lect* cited for the omission of *καὶ* with P46<sup>vid</sup> 03 6 263 1739 1881. However this distorts the Lectionary evidence, since all the witnesses collated also omit *μὲν οὖν*. This suggests that this is a genuine Lectionary adaptation, where the opening of the lection rendered the conjunctions irrelevant. The Saliberos printed Lectionary follows this tradition of adaptation whereas the other (continuous text) Byzantine editions do not. As in other instances of adaptation (Synaxarion TP01 Acts 3:13),<sup>467</sup> this is best viewed as a consistent scribal practice rather than an indicator of affinity to the text represented by P46 *et al.* Therefore the fact that all Apostolos witnesses omit *καὶ* distinguishes them from the Byzantine minuscule tradition only by liturgical usage.

### [4] Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria [CR] (25th Nov)

[Phil 3:20-4:3]

CR ID Variants:

μηνι τω αυτω [num]κε[/num] των αγιων πατριαρχων κλημεντος ρωμης πετρου  
αλεξανδρειας: L60

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<sup>467</sup> See Chapter 3, Section II, page 122.

μηνη τω αυτω [num]κε[/num] των αγιων ιερομαρτυρων κλημεντος και πετρου: L173

[num]κε[/num] των αγιων πατρων κλημεντος ρωμης και πετρου αλεξανδρειας: L1141

μηνη τω αυτω [num]κε[/num] των αγιων πατριαρχων κλημεντος ρωμης και πετρου  
αλεξανδρειας και του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος μερκουριου και της αγιας μαρτυρος  
αικατερινης: L2024 L587

[num]κε[/num] των αγιων ιερομαρτυρων κλημεντος και πετρου αλεξανδρειας: L169  
L1298

[num]κε[/num] των αγιων ιερομαρτυρων κλημεντος ρωμης και πετρου [app][\*]ζητει  
σεμ(τεμβριος) [num]δ[/num][\\*][C]&om;[\C][\app]: L1774

μηνη τω αυτω [num]κε[/num] εις την [num]κε[/num] των εν αγιοις πατρων ημων  
κλημεντος ρωμης και πετρου αλεξανδρειας και του αγιου μαρτυρος μερκουριου: L170

November 25<sup>th</sup> is consistently dedicated to Clement and Peter in the sources examined. The copyist of the identifiers in L1774 erroneously wrote that the lector should find the reading for 4<sup>th</sup> September and this was later deleted. In this manuscript Sept 4<sup>th</sup> is Phil 2:5-11 which is presumably how the confusion arose. L170, L2024 and L587 also commemorate Saint Merkourios, while L2024 adds St Catherine of Alexandria. According to Kazhdan and Ševčenko “evidence for Catherine's cult is late: the monk Epiphanius who visited Sinai ca.820 knew nothing of Catherine.”<sup>468</sup> The expanded set of festal commemorations may constitute further evidence that, as suggested above, L2024 is a deluxe monastic codex. Festal commemoration of Merkourios is first attested in Cappadocia in the sixth century which may indicate a provenance for L170 (XIV) and L587 (XI), but it is more likely that the cult had spread to other institutions by those centuries.<sup>469</sup>

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<sup>468</sup> A.P. Kazhdan and N.P. Ševčenko, “Catherine of Alexandria.” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) [online] <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-0939> [accessed 15/09/15]

<sup>469</sup> A.P. Kazhdan and N.P. Ševčenko, “Merkourios.” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) [online] <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-3479> [accessed 15/09/15]

### **MTP11 Phil 4:3**

a) και ερωτω: TR L169m\*

b) και ερωτω: PR ANT NA28 L156m L60m L173m L1021m L1141m L2024m L169mc  
L587m L1774m L170m L1298m

Reading a) και ερωτω is attested in the continuous text tradition only by the eleventh century minuscule 462 and the TR. It is possible that reading a) arose in the first hand of L169 as a result of scribal familiarity with the reading, independently as an orthographic error, or because L169 was copied from a continuous text manuscript which attested the reading. The transmission of reading a) from a continuous text witness is highly likely since minuscule 462 (XI) contains lection apparatus at the relevant verses, including the identifier απο εις τ(ου) αγι(ου) κλημ(εντος) in the right margin of f.173r. The rest of the Apostolos tradition supports the majority reading b) as do the other printed Byzantine editions recorded.

### **[5] Nativity of Our Lord [XR] (25th Dec)**

[Gal 4:4-7]

XR ID Variants:

μηνη τω αυτω [num]κε[/num] η γεννησις του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου: L60 L2024  
L1126

μηνη τω αυτω [num]κε[/num] εις την αγιαν του χριστου γεννησιν: L173

[num]κε[/num] η αγια του χριστου γεννησις: L1021

## MTP12 Gal 4:7

a) κληρονομος θεου δια χριστου: TR ANT PR L60m L173m L1141m L169m\*<sup>vid</sup>  
L587m L1178m L1188m L1126m L1298m\*

b) κληρονομος θεου δια ιησου χριστου: SAL L2024m L169mc L1298mc

There are at least nine variant forms of this unit in the present tradition, with the NA28/GNT<sup>4</sup> text adopting κληρονόμος διὰ θεοῦ, which is not attested by any Apostolos witness. In comparison the Apostolos tradition is merely divided between two Byzantine sub-readings a) κληρονομος θεου δια χριστου, which is the GNT<sup>4</sup> *Byz Lect* variant and b) κληρονομος θεου δια ιησου χριστου, which has continuous text support from 326 614<sup>c</sup> 2127 2495 and versional/patristic support from syr<sup>p, h</sup> eth<sup>pp</sup> Theodoret. It is reasonable to assume that b) is descended from a) – once the transition had been made from θεοῦ as the “source of the inheritance” (Metzger)<sup>470</sup> it would have been natural for later copyists to expand to Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, but far less likely that Byzantine copyists would omit Χριστοῦ if it was already present. Both L1298 and L169 were corrected towards reading b), which suggests a tendency of Apostolos copyists to expand Christological formulae in line with liturgical practice (see above Synaxarion e.g., VU2 TPO3 Acts 4:24; VU2 TP07 Acts 9:28).

## [6] Feast of the Epiphany [EPH] (6th Jan)

[Titus 2:11-3:7]

ID Variants:

μηνη ιαννουαριω [num]ς[/num] των αγιων θεοφανειων: L173

μηνη τω αυτω [num]ς[/num] εις τη αγια φωτα: L2024

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<sup>470</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 527.

μηνη τω αυτω [num]ς[/num] εις την μνημη των αγιων θεοφανειων: L604

μηνη τω αυτω [num]ς[/num] τα αγια θεοφανα του κυ ημων ιω χυ ευαγγελιον

εις την ορθρον κατα μαρκον κεφαλη [num]ε[/num]: L1126

Unlike the other sources L2024 describes the Theophany as the Άγια Φώτα – perhaps another indicator of its use in monastic liturgical practice. The EA type codex L1126 contains more extensive liturgical information in its identifiers, stating the position of the lection in the Morning Office (Orthros) and drawing a connection between the Markan lection and the Apostolos pericope. As explored above, L1126 lacks an Epistles (post-Pentecost) section in the Synaxarion, so this connection must have been necessary in order to allow the recitation of the appropriate Gospel lection of the day. This suggests that the Menologion section of L1126 must have been produced after the Synaxarion, otherwise such cross-referencing in the same hand would have been impossible.

### **MTP13 Titus 3:4**

VU1:

a) του σωτηρος ημων θεου: TR NA28 ANT PR L156m L173m L1021m L1141m  
L2024m L604m L587 L1774m L170m L1188m L1126m L1298m

b) του σωτηρος ημων ιησου χριστου: L60m

VU2:

a) οτε [δε] η χρηστοτης και η φιλανθρωπια: TR NA28 ANT PR L156m L173m L1021m  
L1141m L2024m L604m L587 L1774m L170m L1188m L1126m L1298m

b) οτε δε η χαρης και η φιλανθρωπια: L60m

In both variation units L60 contains singular readings. In VU1, reading b) του σωτηρος ημων ιησου χριστου may have arisen due to liturgical influence. In VU2, reading b) substitutes χάρης (vowel interchange, χάρις) for χρηστότης. This variant could have



arisen independently in L60, but the vowel interchange – particularly common in L60 - may suggest that this reading was transmitted from another witness. If this is the case, given the sensible nature of the variant reading b) it is surprising that it is not present in any known continuous text witness.

## **b) Minority Festal Lections and Synaxarion-Menologion Comparisons**

### **[7] Forefeasts/Afterfeasts of Christmas and Epiphany**

#### **MTP14 Rom 8:11 [Synaxarion TP22]**

a) και τα θνητα σωματα υμων δια του ενοικουντος αυτου πνευματος εν υμιν: NA28 TR L1298m L2010s

b) και τα θνητα σωματα υμων δια το ενοικουν αυτου πνευμα εν υμιν: ANT PR L156s L164s L257s L170s L610s L1825s L2058s

c) και τα θνητα σωματα ημων δια του ενοικουντος αυτου πνευματος εν υμιν: SAL

d) και τα θνητα υμων σωματα δια το ενοικουν αυτου πνευμα εν υμιν: L2024m L587m L604m L809s L2024s L1178s L162s L241s L604s L1141s L169s L168s L587s L1188s L1685s L1297s

This test passage compares the state of text for Rom 8:11 in Synaxarion (s) and Menologion (m) lections in various Apostolos codices. It concerns several issues: the position of σώματα; ἐνοικοῦντος against ἐνοικοῦν; and πνεῦμα vs. πνεύματος. Regarding the latter, Metzger comments “the Committee preferred the genitive case, on the basis of the combination of text-types.”<sup>471</sup> The Saliberos edition is alone in reading c) και τα θνητα σωματα ημων while including the genitive form against the majority of Apostolos witnesses, which general attest the nominative and the order d) υμων σωματα. Reading d) is the GNT<sup>4</sup> Byz. *Lect* reading and the current sample confirms this. GNT<sup>4</sup> lists L59<sup>1/2</sup> L147<sup>1/2</sup> L596 L921<sup>1/2</sup> L1141<sup>1/2</sup> L1365 and L1590<sup>1/2</sup> as supporting reading a) δια του

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<sup>471</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 456.

ενοικουντος αυτου πνευματος with numerous continuous text witnesses including 01 02 04 81 104 1319 *et al.*

The internal divisions of several Apostolos witnesses are striking and suggest different sources for the text of Synaxarion and Menologion lections here. In the current sample L2024, L604 and L587 attest the same reading d) in both anagnostic cycles. Reading b) with the order σωματα υμων plus the nominative is attested by seven Apostolos witnesses. The complex nature of these variant states of text in the Apostolos tradition point to transmission from various continuous text witnesses over the centuries. Expansion of the boundaries for the variation unit, in comparison to GNT<sup>4</sup>, reveals that the issues are interrelated in the manuscript tradition. Although the majority of Lectionary manuscripts read the nominative they are equally divided between the orders υμων σωματα and σωματα υμων.

#### **[8] Saint Sabas; Kyriakos the Anchorite (5<sup>th</sup> Dec)**

##### **MTP15 Gal 5:24**

- a) οι δε του χριστου: TR PR ANT AD L1126m L1774m
- b) οι δε του χριστου [ιησου]: NA28

##### **MTP16 Gal 6:2**

- a) ουτως αναπληρωσατε τον νομον του χριστου: TR ANT PR AD L1126m L1774m
- b) οϋτως αναπληρωσετε τον νομον του χριστου: NA28

Both of these test passages are found in ‘minority’ lections i.e., anagnosmata found in few witnesses (limited here to L1126 and L1774). In each instance both manuscripts studied follow the majority reading a).

**[9] Saint Stephen the Protomartyr (27<sup>th</sup> Dec)**

**MTP17 Acts 6:8**

a) στεφανος δε πληρης πιστεως και δυναμεως: TR PR AD ANT L1774m

b) στεφανος πληρης χαριτος και δυναμεως: NA28 L1126m

**MTP18 Acts 7:48**

a) αλλ ουχ ο υψιστος εν χειροποιητοις ναοις κατοικει: TR PR ANT AD L1126m  
L1774m

b) ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ ὕψιστος ἐν χειροποιήτοις κατοικεῖ: NA28

In MTP17 L1126 reads b) πληρης χαριτος with the earlier textual tradition including P74 01 02 03 05 against the majority reading b), suggesting that it was copied from a witness which attested the reading. MTP18 tests the Byzantine sub-division centred on the presence/absence of ναοῖς but both Apostolos witnesses attest the a) reading.

**[10] Commemoration of the Earthquake/λιτή του κάμπου [LK] (25<sup>th</sup> Sept)**

[Heb 12:6-10]

[Alternative commemorations: Paphnoutios, L1300 L169; Demetrios, L164; Theophilos of Ephesus, L170]

ID Variants:

η λιτη του καμπου δια το τρισαγιον{incorrectly marked as Romans}: L173

μηνη τω αυτω [num]κε[/num] εις τη λιτη του καμπου: L604

μηνι τω αυτω [num]κε[/num] λιτη του καμπου δια το τρισαγιον και μνημη του σεισμου:  
L1141

μηνι τω αυτω [num]κε[/num] μνημη επι τελουμεν του σεισμου εν τω καμπω: L1298

μηνι τω αυτω [num]κε[/num] μνημη επι τελουμεν του μετα φιλαν(θρωπ)ιας γενομενου  
φοβου και προ της αναστασεως δειξαντος ημιν την ημετεραν αναστας και του εν αγιοις  
πατρος ημων και ομολγητος θεοφιλος αρχιεπισκοπου εφεσου και της αγιας  
ευφροσυνης: L170

The commemoration of the earthquake as well as the patriarchal commemorations in L170 are specifically Constantinopolitan in provenance.<sup>472</sup> Lyon-Dolezal studies four Gospel Lectionaries which share various combinations of these commemorations (Rome Vat. Lib. cod gr. 1156 [L120 - X]; Venice, San Giorgio dei Greci cod. 2 [L279 - XI]; New York Morgan cod. M639 [L381 – XI]; Paris Bib. Nat. suppl. gr. 1096 [L374 – XI]).<sup>473</sup> Lyon-Dolezal writes that “clearly Constantinopolitan feast days are denoted in these lectionary menologia such as . . . natural disasters”<sup>474</sup> but she does not state the specific historical context of the earthquake mentioned in these manuscripts. In Lyon-Dolezal’s sample only L374 and L279 attest the earthquake commemoration, while Euphrosynes and Theophilos the Confessor, Archbishop of Ephesus (shared in the current sample) are shared by all of Lyon-Dolezal’s codices.<sup>475</sup> The likely origin of the commemoration is the earthquakes and subsequent theophany in 447/448 A.D. in Constantinople during the reign of Theodosios II (r. 408-450). The contemporary September Menaion states that during the earthquake a youth was taken into heaven and received a vision of angels singing the *Trisagion*. The Patriarch instructed the people to chant the *Trisagion* and this quelled the tremors.<sup>476</sup> This explains the reference to the hymn in the identifier of L1141. The association of L170 (XIV) with Constantinople is reinforced by the identifier data for LK. The agreement in identifiers between A, EA and E codices suggests that such text

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<sup>472</sup> Lowden lists this commemoration in his table of “Notable Constantinopolitan References in Patriarchal Manuscripts”. Lowden, *Jaharis Gospel Lectionary*, 32-33.

<sup>473</sup> Lyon-Dolezal, *Middle Byzantine Lectionary*, 146.

<sup>474</sup> Lyon-Dolezal, *Middle Byzantine Lectionary*, 146.

<sup>475</sup> Lyon-Dolezal, *Middle Byzantine Lectionary*, 316.

<sup>476</sup> I. Nikoliades, *September Menaion*, (Athens, 1904). The phrase εν τω καμπω refers to processional liturgy: Lowden, *Jaharis Gospel Lectionary*, 96.

was copied between codices of these types and perhaps Menologia and other liturgical documents.

### **MTP19 Heb 12:7**

a) ει παιδειαν υπομενετε: TR ANT

b) εις παιδειαν υπομενετε: NA28 PR L173m L604m L1141m L173m L1298m L170m

Here all the Apostolos witnesses agree with the initial text b) εις παιδειαν against the TR and Antoniades.

### **MTP20 Heb 12:8**

a) εστε και ουχ υιοι: TR ANT PR L173m L1141m L173m L1298m L170m L604m<sup>c</sup>

b) και ουχ υιοι εστε: NA28 L604m<sup>\*vid</sup>

The Apostolos witnesses support reading the order in reading a) which is shared by the majority of continuous text Byzantine witnesses. L604 has been corrected to reading a), most likely from b) και ουχ υιοι εστε and therefore its first hand agrees with NA28 and earlier witnesses.

### III. Menologion Lection and Festal Variation

This section moves to an analysis of the Menologial sections of nineteen Apostolos manuscripts building upon the methodology of Lyon-Dolezal, who presents complete data for a few deluxe manuscripts.<sup>477</sup> Additionally, three non-Apostolos Byzantine sources are compared: THS; STE; G-A 1897; MS. Mess Gr. 115 (MG). The current methodology is adopted for several reasons. First, limiting the current study to the first six months of the calendar maximises the available data, since the later months are more often lacunose in the Apostolos manuscripts examined. Second, this limitation allows a larger number of codices to be studied within the limited time available, and therefore yield more extensive data for the identification of trends in festal commemoration. Third, exclusively recording commemorations possessing Apostolos lections means that it is possible to identify consistently extant texts for the selection of test passages (see above), which enable simultaneous analyses of the NT textual tradition and festal traditions. Finally, since there are no deluxe or illustrated Apostolos manuscripts in the sample to anchor the identification of codices with certain urban or monastic centres, it is impossible to adopt an art-historical methodology. The current discussion is restricted to identifying several trends in the data, the full detail of which may be examined in Appendix 5.

The table below outlines patterns of specifically Constantinopolitan commemorations in seven Apostolos manuscripts. These are selected by consulting the lection tables outlined by Lowden,<sup>478</sup> Scrivener,<sup>479</sup> Gregory,<sup>480</sup> and Lyon-Dolezal<sup>481</sup> and by reference to THS. A weakness of the method currently employed is that local lections are less likely to be associated to an extant lection in the Menologion section of a codex. Instead, the user is more likely to be referred to a Synaxarion lection by the rubrics. However, there are still a sufficient number of geographically specific lections under the current methodology to produce usable results. The data is also cross-referenced with commemorations lacking a full lection to offset this weakness.

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<sup>477</sup> Lyon-Dolezal, *Middle Byzantine Lectionary*, 304-337.

<sup>478</sup> Lowden, *Jaharis Gospel Lectionary*, 94-117.

<sup>479</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 87-89.

<sup>480</sup> Gregory, *Textkritik*, 365-386.

<sup>481</sup> Lyon-Dolezal, *Middle Byzantine Lectionary*, 304-353. Lyon-Dolezal focuses heavily on Patriarchs of the imperial capital, remarking that “the remarkable quantity of Constantinopolitan patriarchs contained within the Vatican lectionary [L120] . . . is provocative.” Lyon-Dolezal, *Byzantine Lectionary*, 238.

Comm.	ID	L1141 (XII)	L1298 (XI)	L173 (X)	L170 (XIV)	L156 (X)	L1300 (XI)	L2024 (XI)	L1178 (XI)	THS	STE
Theotokos Chalkoprateion [1 <sup>st</sup> Sept]	CHA						Lac	Lac		X	
John Nesteutes, Patriarch <sup>482</sup> [2 <sup>nd</sup> Sept]	JNEU	X						X	X		X
Earthquake/ <i>Litē</i> of Kampos [25 <sup>th</sup> Sept]	LK	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	
Paphnoutios [25 <sup>th</sup> Sept]	PA				X	X	X		X	X	
Kyriakos, Patriarch <sup>483</sup> [31 <sup>st</sup> Oct]	KYR				X	X					
Paul the Confessor, Patriarch [6 <sup>th</sup> Nov]	PC	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Dedication of the Great Church [23 <sup>rd</sup> Dec]	DHS	X		X				X	X	X	
Theotokos of Blachernae [26 <sup>th</sup> Dec]	THE	X <sup>484</sup>								X	

Table 25: Constantinopolitan Commemorations in *Apostolos* MSS

Since THE commemorates a tenth century event i.e., the appearance of the Theotokos to St. Andrew of Constantinople, it would be surprising if it were widely commemorated in the majority of tenth-eleventh century *Apostolos* manuscripts.<sup>485</sup> At the beginning of the

<sup>482</sup> Reigned 582-595 A.D. J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), vii.

<sup>483</sup> Reigned 596-606 A.D. Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, vii.

<sup>484</sup> L1141 records the following in its identifier for the Synaxis of the Theotokos (26<sup>th</sup> Dec): ψαλλοντ(ε) τα αντ(ι)φωνα της εορτης τε ως[?] εν τη με(γα)λη εκκλη(σια) και εν ταις λιταις αυτης (f. 159v). This may be related to a commemoration of the vision of the Theotokos at Blachernae.

<sup>485</sup> See Nikephoros of Constantinople, *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool*. L. Rydén, ed. [Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia] (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

festal liturgical year on 1<sup>st</sup> September (Indict) several manuscripts record Symeon the Stylite (some add the Holy Women) without the service in the church of Theotokos Chalkoprateion (CHA): L1141 L257 L173 L170 L156 L604 L587. L170 and L156 are alone in recording a commemoration of Kyriakos, Patriarch (KYR), but both codices curiously lack a commemoration of his predecessor John Nesteutes. On September 1<sup>st</sup>, L1178 commemorates the falling asleep of Jesus of Navi (Joshua), Aethalas the Deacon of Persia, and the great fire of Constantinople (A.D. 470) (f.257r). The latter may be a clear indicator of association with the capital when taken with other evidence.<sup>486</sup> L2024 contains a commemoration of Symeon Stylites (f.173r) but the top portion of f.173r is lacunose, so that the remainder of the opening identifier for 1<sup>st</sup> September is lost. Certainly the length of the lacunose text suggests a longer identifier consonant with the description of services for CHA recorded by Lowden,<sup>487</sup> but it is impossible to know.

Surprisingly, the twelfth century source STE from the Theotokos Evergetis Monastery in Constantinople lacks the majority of specifically Constantinopolitan commemorations. It does, however, possess an extensive set of extra OT and monastic figures, a feature associated with Palestinian monasticism.<sup>488</sup> This may indicate the affinity of STE to these monastic traditions.

Along with the indicators of possible Constantinopolitan origin for L2024 discussed above, there are specific features of the Menologion in this codex which are worthy of attention. First, ff. 190v-191v and ff. 192r-193r contain a unique longer list of forefeasts and afterfeasts of Christmas and Epiphany, accompanied by an extensive series of complete lections (Rom 5:18-21; Rom 8:3-9; Rom 9:29b-33; Gal 3:28b-4:5; Col 3:18-22; Phil 3:3-9). This is a unique feature in the current sample and one associated with the deluxe Gospel lectionaries studied by Lyon-Dolezal and Lowden (above). Some of these are shared by L1298, which contains an extensive set of lections entitled *αναγνώσματα τοῦ δωδεκά ημέρου* (LTD) between 31<sup>st</sup> December and the Eve of the Epiphany: Rom

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<sup>486</sup> Gregory believes that the commemoration of the great fire is only evidence of Constantinopolitan provenance when combined with other evidence such as the commemoration of the vision of Theotokos Chalkoprateion (see below) (CHA). Gregory, *Textkritik*, 365. However, Gregory's view may be mistaken as he only examined a limited number of MS sources.

<sup>487</sup> "The *Taxis* and Akolouthia for September 1." Lowden, *Jaharis Gospel Lectionary*, 28.

<sup>488</sup> D. Galadza, "The Jerusalem Lectionary and the Byzantine Rite". B. Groen, D. Galadza, N. Glibetic, and G. Radle, eds. *Rites and Rituals of the Christian East*. [Eastern Christian Studies 22] (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 196.



L170: μνηι τω αυτω εις τ(ην) [num]ια[/num] το γενεθλιον το κωνσταντινουπολεως  
[Acts 18:1-11] . . .τη αυ(τη) ημε(ρα) του αγ(ιου) μαρ(τουριου) μοκιου ζητ(ει) εις  
μαρτ(υρων) (ff. 151v-152r)<sup>492</sup>

On the basis of this study these manuscripts may be firmly associated with the imperial capital or its environs: L587 L1178 L1141 L173 L2024. The following codices may be said to have been influenced by these traditions but with uncertain origin: L1300 L1298 L170 L156.

For comparison, commemorations of figures associated mainly with non-Constantinopolitan traditions such as the Hagiopolite liturgical tradition or elsewhere in the Mediterranean are displayed in the table below. The most reliable guide to Jerusalem hagiographical traditions, the liturgical *Typikon of St. Sabas* (Mar Saba Monastery), currently lacks a critical edition.<sup>493</sup> Galadza lists a number of saints often interpolated into the penitential litany of the Liturgy of St James in Palestinian manuscripts, which provides a useful guide for the present study.<sup>494</sup> The Georgian Jerusalem Lectionary edited by Tarchnischvili also provides a credible comparative frame of reference to the Greek tradition.<sup>495</sup> References to St. Sabas have been included as a matter of course, as have several local commemorations from other areas found in the Apostolos sample.

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<sup>492</sup> The post-March section of the Menologion appears to be in a later hand, perhaps post-15<sup>th</sup> century. This may explain the reference to the ‘birthday of Constantinople’ as opposed to ‘of the city’ – later festal commemorations may be produced from a generic calendar. As a result the instruction ζητει εις μαρτυρων for Mokios directs the user towards a generic lection for martyrs rather than a specific lection in the Synaxarion section of L170.

<sup>493</sup> J. Thomas, “The Imprint of Sabaitic Monasticism on Byzantine Monastic *Typika*.” J Patrich, ed. *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*. (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 74.

<sup>494</sup> Galadza, “The Jerusalem Lectionary and the Byzantine Rite”, 196.

<sup>495</sup> M. Tarchnischvili, *Le Grand Lectionnaire de L’Église de Jérusalem, Tome II*. [Scriptores Iberici Tome 13] (Louvain: Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1960).

5:18-21; Rom 8:3-9a; Rom 9:29b-33; 2 Cor 5:15-21; Gal 3:28-4:5; Col 3:1b-22; Phil 3:3-9a; Rom 8:8-14. The connection between these shared lections is unclear but they may be indicative of a fuller monastic anagnostic cycle related to a major centre such as the Stoudion. Second, L2024 also contains liturgical material related to Hagia Sophia, including a commemoration of the Dedication (23<sup>rd</sup> Dec), shared by L1141 and L173 but not L1298. Finally, L2024 contains deluxe headpieces of the variety observed in the Synaxarion throughout the Menological portion of the manuscript.

To supplement this evidence it is also helpful to list all the codices in the current sample containing the festal commemoration of the founding of Constantinople (11<sup>th</sup> May),<sup>489</sup> including variation in the identifiers of each codex:

L2024: μηνι τω αυτω [num]ια[/num] το γενεθλι(ον) της πο(λεως) και του αγ(ιων) ιερομ(α)ρ(τυρων) μωκιου και παχμ(ιου) [Acts 18:1-11] (f.207v)

L173: μηνι τω αυτω [num]ια[/num] του αγιου μωκιου και το γενεθλιον της πολεως [Acts 18:1-11] (f.158r)

L1141: μηνι τω αυτω [num]ια[/num] το γενεθλιον της πολε(ως) [Isaiah:54:9-10; Isaiah 65:18-24; Acts 18:1-11; John 14:15-27a] (ff.173v-174r)

L1178: μηνι τω αυτω [num]ια[/num] εις το γενεθλι(ον) τ(ης) πο(λεως) και του αγιου μωκιου [Acts 18:1 onwards] . . . εν δε τη μ(ε)γ(α)λ(η) εκκλη(σια) υποστρεφ(ουσης) της λιτ(ης) αναγινω(σκειται) ο απο ουτος πραξεων των αποστολων [Acts 25:13 onwards]<sup>490</sup> (ff. 290v-291r)

L587: μηνι τω αυτω [num]ια[/num] το γενεθλιον της πολε(ως) [Acts 18:1-11] . . . τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου ιερομ(α)ρ(τυρου) μωκιου και παχωμιου ζητ(ει) κυ(ριακη) [num]λ[/num]<sup>491</sup> [Col 3:12-16] (ff. 405v-406r)

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<sup>489</sup> For discussion of this commemoration and OT lections see Miller, “The Prophetologion”, 109.

<sup>490</sup> This identifier in L1178 matches Lowden’s transcription of the Jaharis Lectionary (G-A L351) on this date and clearly associates L1178 with Constantinople. Lowden, *Jaharis Gospel Lectionary*, 109.

<sup>491</sup> Assuming the 30<sup>th</sup> Sunday after Pentecost in the Synaxarion section of L1178 (f. 237v), where the Colossians lection is incorrectly marked as προς Εβραίους.

Comm.	ID.	Gregory	L170 (XIV)	L1126 (XII)	L169 (XIII)	L156 (X)	L1774 (XIII)	L257 (XIV)	MG	STE (XII)	1897
Miracle of Gabriel at Chonae [6 <sup>th</sup> Sept]	GCH				X			X		X	
Dedication of Anastasis Church, Jerusalem <sup>496</sup> [13 <sup>th</sup> Sept]	ERC	X					X	X			
Gourias, Samonas and Abibos [15 <sup>th</sup> Nov]	GSA	X			X				X	X	X
Silas, Bishop of Corinth [26 <sup>th</sup> Nov]	SILA				X	X					
James the Persian [27 <sup>th</sup> Nov]	JPER	X	X							X	
St Sabas <sup>497</sup> [5 <sup>th</sup> Dec]	SAB	X		X			X		X		X
Holy Fathers of Sinai [14 <sup>th</sup> Jan]	MS	X					X	X		X	X
Parthenios of Lampsakos [7 <sup>th</sup> Feb]	PLU	X					X			X	

Table 26: Possible Palestinian and Local Lections in Apostolos MSS

L1774 and STE share several commemorations of OT figures as well as St Sabas, which may indicate association with Jerusalem traditions, including the following: Zacharias; Jonah; Joel; Nahum. Sabas is commemorated in Mess Gr. 115, an Italo-Greek codex, but not in STE, or in L156 or L170, both previously suggested as Constantinopolitan codices.

<sup>496</sup> Present in the Georgian Jerusalem Lectionary. Tarchnischvili has (in translation) “In Anastasi, Dedicatio, quae sunt Encaenia.” Tarchnischvili, *Le Grand Lectionnaire Tome II*, 36.

<sup>497</sup> As above. Tarchnischvili has “Patris Sabae et sancti Nicolae”. *Le Grand Lectionnaire Tome II*, 55.

The figures Gourias, Samonas and Abibos (GSA) originate in Edessa and the legend in which they appear together is found in Greek and Syriac sources as well as being depicted in the Menologion of Basil II (MS Vat. gr. 1613).<sup>498</sup> Their commemoration is widely dispersed geographically among the witnesses examined, including Italy (MG), Constantinople (STE) and L169.

The pattern among witnesses attesting non-Constantinopolitan commemorations is more complex than the above investigation of possible Constantinopolitan manuscripts. Several factors are behind this. The first is methodological: uniformity should not be expected when investigating a heterogeneous set of traditions. The second is historical/geographical: the lack of a single defined redactional ‘centre’ for non-Constantinopolitan festal traditions is bound to result in plurality and the mixed transmission of multiple commemorations in different codices, especially if they were transmitted by monastic institutions which regularly exchanged liturgical documents and *typika*. As the data in the current thesis suggests, Apostolos manuscripts are generally prepared according to local need and usage, and this also applies to the hagiographical customs of local churches. Finally, there is the phenomenon whereby commemorations from one area and time are discovered in codices of another provenance, such as the commemoration of St. Sabas in the Italian source MG. Tracing the historical and theological trajectories of such commemorations is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, this phenomenon demonstrates the profoundly ‘mixed’ state of the festal tradition and, concomitantly, the NT textual tradition as transmitted in Menologion lections. This provides a reliable context for the textual evidence which suggests that transmission of a ‘Lectionary text’ from one local lection to another is rare, since there is a comparable degree of heterogeneity in NT text in both the Synaxarion and Menologion of the Apostolos codex.

Having focussed attention on the pattern of festal commemoration itself, the discussion now turns to the lections assigned to each commemoration in the manuscript sample. This analysis is limited to four significant streams in the data which underline what has been

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<sup>498</sup> A.P. Kazhdan and N.P. Ševčenko, “Gourias, Samonas, and Abibas.” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) [online] <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-2133> [accessed 15/09/15]

said above regarding heterogeneity of lections, commemorations and NT text. First, the following examples are instances where single lections are assigned to multiple commemorations:

**James 5:[7]12-20:**

Kyriakos, Patriarch L170 L156 (31<sup>st</sup> Oct)

Prophet Elisha (14<sup>th</sup> June): THS

**Heb 12:1-10:**

Martyrs Antoniou, Melassipou and Kassines (7<sup>th</sup> Nov): L1141 THS

Pamphilou (16<sup>th</sup> Feb): THS

Holy Martyrs Akindynos, Pegasios, Elpidephoros, Athonios and Anempodistos (2<sup>nd</sup> Nov): Gregory

**Heb 10:19-31:**

The Rich Man and Lazaros (5<sup>th</sup> Nov): L170 L1300 L173 L2024 L169 L157 L1141

Paul the Confessor (6<sup>th</sup> Nov): L1298 THS 31897

**Heb 11:9-40:**

Daniel the Prophet (17<sup>th</sup> Dec): L156

Sunday of Our Holy Fathers (7<sup>th</sup> Dec): L1298

Sunday before Christmas, Just of the Old Law (Movable): THS L170

**Rom 8:28-39:**

Ignatios of Antioch (20<sup>th</sup> Dec): L156

Martyr Tryphon (1<sup>st</sup> Feb): L1298 L1300 L173 L1141 L2024 L169 L604 L587 L1774 THS

Mamantios (2<sup>nd</sup> Sept): L257 31897

Holy Eulampios and Eulampia (10<sup>th</sup> Oct): Gregory

Holy Martyrs Basil, Artemidoros and Glaucon (26<sup>th</sup> Oct): THS

**Eph 6:10-17:**

Martyr Kallistratos (27<sup>th</sup> Sept): Gregory

Kyriakos the Anchorite (29<sup>th</sup> Sept): Gregory

Martyrs Eustratiou, Auxentiou, Eugeniou, Mardariou and Orestou (13<sup>th</sup> Dec): THS MG Gregory

Eustathios (20<sup>th</sup> Sept): L1126 L1774

Probos, Tarachos and Andronikos (12<sup>th</sup> Oct): Gregory

Martyr Menas (11<sup>th</sup> Nov): MG Gregory

Saturday after Epiphany (Movable): THS MG 31897 Gregory

These examples indicate that the position of one Menologial lection within several codices can vary enormously. This may explain why pericopae which share the same boundaries and festal assignment may differ in NT text, while pericopae in which the reverse is true agree textually. In other words, both NT and liturgical texts are likely to have been transmitted in multiple ways. For example, copyists may have taken a lection in one MS and copied it into a ‘daughter’ lection in another manuscript attesting the same commemoration, or they may have copied the same text into another manuscript with a different commemoration based on local usage, or else they may have used the pericope boundaries set for a festal commemoration in a Synaxarion (festal) table and prepared a Menologion lection from another NT codex, Lectionary or continuous text. Therefore, the patterns of festal commemorations and lections further suggest a profoundly ‘mixed’ liturgical-textual tradition.

Second, the table below displays instances where different lections are assigned to the same festal commemoration.

<b>Comm.</b>	<b>ID</b>	<b>Lection A</b>	<b>Lection B</b>	<b>Lection C</b>	<b>Lection D</b>
Indict (New Year) [1 <sup>st</sup> Sept]	NY	<b>Col 3:12-16:</b> THS 31897 STE MG Gregory <sup>499</sup> L173 L1774	<b>Gal 5:22-6:2:</b> THS	<b>1 Tim 3:13-4:5:</b> THS	<b>1 Tim 2:1-8:</b> De Vries 31897 L156 L1178 L2024 L169 L257 L604 L587 L1188
Nativity of the Theotokos [8 <sup>th</sup> Sept]	NT	<b>Gal 4:22-27:</b> THS	<b>Phil 2:5-12:</b> THS De Vries 31897 MG STE Gregory L60 L1300 L1021 L1141 L1178 L2024 L164 L169 L257 L604 L587 L1188 L1126	<b>Gal 4:22-5:1:</b> L156 L1298 L173 L257	N/A
Joachim and Anna [9 <sup>th</sup> Sept]	JA	<b>Gal 5:22-6:2:</b> THS	<b>Heb 9:1-7:</b> THS Gregory STE L170 L1188 L1126 L156 L1298 L1300 L173 L1021 L164 L169	<b>Gal 4:22-27:</b> THS Gregory 31897 L1141 L1178 L2024 <sup>500</sup> L604 L587 L1774	<b>2 Tim 2:1-10:</b> Gregory
Saturday after Christmas [Movable]	SAC	<b>Heb 9:1-7:</b> THS	<b>1 Tim 6:11-17:</b> De Vries STE Gregory 31897 MG L1126 L2024 L257 L587	<b>1 Tim 3:13-4:5:</b> L1188 L1021	N/A
Sunday after Christmas [Movable]	SUC	<b>Gal 1:11-19:</b> THS De Vries STE 31897	<b>1 Cor 15:1-[?]:</b> MG L1126	<b>Gal 2:6-19:</b> Gregory	N/A
Sunday after Epiphany	SUA E	<b>2 Tim 1:3/6-10/14:</b>	<b>Eph 6:7-14:</b> De Vries	<b>Eph 4:7-13:</b>	N/A

<sup>499</sup> Gregory adds lection Heb 2:11-18 but does not clarify the source.

<sup>500</sup> L2024 has Gal 4:22-6:2 (f.174r).

[Movable]		THS Gregory STE L156 L60 L173 L169 L257		Gregory 31897 L1298 L1021 L1141 L169 L257 L604 L587 L170	
Discovery of the Head of John the Baptist [24 <sup>th</sup> Feb]	DHJ	<b>Eph 4:1-7:</b> THS L60	<b>2 Cor 4:6- 10/12/16:</b> De Vries 31897 MG STE Gregory	N/A	N/A

Table 27: Assignment of multiple lections to single commemorations in Apostolos MSS

The above data shows that movable commemorations are particularly prone to attract multiple lections because the exact assignment of a lection (if any) to these days seems to be made on an institutional basis. Additionally, many of the lections assigned to movable feasts are those ‘floating’ lections described elsewhere in the current thesis,<sup>501</sup> such as Gal 5:22-6:2, which repeatedly occurs in THS in both the Synaxarion and Menologion. At times the tradition is divided evenly as at JA, while in other cases there is a clear majority lection tradition, such as in the recitation of Phil 2:5-12 for NT in all but four the Apostolos witnesses examined. In most of the above examples the divergent lection traditions from non-Lectionary sources (continuous text NT manuscripts, *Typika*) permeate the Apostolos manuscripts selection, which reinforces what has been argued throughout regarding the interrelationship between codices of various kinds. Upon occasion alternative lection traditions are present in Apostolos codices but not in extra-Lectionary sources e.g., the assignment of 1 Tim 3:13-4:5 to the Saturday after Christmas in L1188 L1021. In these cases it is likely that a fuller collation of NT manuscripts and liturgical sources would reveal other witnesses for the lection in question.

Third, there are ‘minority’ commemorations in several manuscripts in which neither the lection nor the commemoration conforms to known patterns in the sources examined:

L156: Preparation for the Presentation (Movable, f.233r) Heb 6:19a-7:7

Onesimos, Archbishop of Illyria (Uncertain date, f.235r) Philemon 1:1-25

<sup>501</sup> See above Chapter 4, Section IX, pages 234, 236.



Polyneutekos[?] (Uncertain date, f.228r) 1 John 5:1-7

Paneuphemos (Uncertain date, f.208r) James 1:1-12

L1178: Other Apostles (Uncertain date, f.270v) 2 Tim 1:3-18

L164: Holy Martyr Theodore and his companions (1<sup>st</sup> December, f.236v) Heb 12:17 onwards

L169: Holy Martyrs Zozontos, Eupsuxiou and Severus Kaine (7<sup>th</sup> September, f.146r)

1 Tim 3:1-11<sup>502</sup>

Kikilias and Agapiou, and Mark and the Apostle Philemon, and Arkippos and Apfia

and Passarionos (22<sup>nd</sup> November, f.60v) Philemon 1:1-end

L1774: Great Martyr Euphemia (16<sup>th</sup> September, image 380) 2 Cor 6:1-10

Finally, there are variations in the ‘generic’ lections for commemorations not assigned to specific figures but rather to be adapted according to local custom. Here it possible to compare the generic lections in the one ‘Jerusalem’ type codex in the selection with lections in the later Byzantine tradition.

L846 (IX) contains such lections, but only L60 (XI) in the ‘Byzantine’ tradition contains similar generic lections. These traditions are compared below:

L846: For Dedication [of the Church]: Hebrews 13:10-16

For Archangels: Hebrews 1:13-2:4

For Apostles: 1 Cor 4:9-16

For Prophets: 1 Cor 12:27-13-10

For Martyrs: Rom 5:1-5

Holy Women: 2 Cor 4:7-12

For Bishops: Heb 4:14-5:10

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<sup>502</sup> This commemoration is listed by Delehaye, who records “Ἀθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδοξοῦ μάρτυρος Σώζοντος Sept. 7.” H. Delehaye, “Synopsis Metaphrastica”. *Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typica*. (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), 276. Delehaye’s sources for the September Menologion may be found under the heading “Codices Selecti”. Having cross-referenced Delehaye’s codex descriptions with modern catalogues it is evident that L169 is not present. See Delehaye, *Synaxaires byzantins*, 275.

For the Departed [No identifier in Greek - Arabic in top margin]: 1 Thess 4:13-18

L60: For the Departed : 1 Thess 4:13-17

For the Departed: 1 Cor 15:47-57a

Clearly these results are of limited interest, other than the shared pericope 1 Thess 4:13-17 across the centuries for commemorations of the departed. A more valuable exercise is to compare the ‘generic’ lections in L846 with named festal commemorations in the ‘Byzantine’ tradition. This method reveals that generic lections in the majuscule ‘Jerusalem’ tradition represented by L846 are taken up as dedicated pericopae in the fully-fledged Byzantine Apostolos tradition. For example, the lection for Apostles in L846 (1 Cor 4:9-16) is recited at the following commemorations in liturgical sources (not exhaustive):

Mark the Evangelist (25<sup>th</sup> April): THS

Council of the Twelve Apostles (30<sup>th</sup> June): THS

Thomas the Apostle, Orthros (6<sup>th</sup> Oct): THS STE MG Gregory

James, son of Alphaeus (9<sup>th</sup> Oct): STE MG Gregory

Andrew the Apostle: THS De Vries 31897 STE MG Gregory

Since the pericope 1 Cor 4:9-16 is also part of the Synaxarion anagnostic cycle (AP10A) it would have been convenient for the producer of a codex to assign and easy for the user to recite.

There are similar examples of this phenomenon in the Apostolos manuscript tradition. For instance, the lection in L846 for Bishops (Heb 4:14-5:10) is recited at the commemoration of Our Holy Father Eumenios, Bishop and Wonder-worker (16<sup>th</sup> Sept) in L1774 (XIII). Gregory lists this lection as assigned to “τροφίμου καὶ τῆς συνόδου αὐτοῦ” (18<sup>th</sup> Sept) in Minuscule 13 (XIII), which contains Menologion tables (Synaxaria).<sup>503</sup> So, the evidence suggests that various Apostolos pericopae present in the

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<sup>503</sup> Gregory, *Textkritik*, 131, 367. A full study of the Apostolos tables in G-A Minuscule 13 (Paris Bib. Nat. Gr. 50) and their relationship to Lectionary manuscripts is necessary. Jordan explores possible NT textual affinities to the Gospel Lectionary in the Family 13 (Ferrar) group of which 13 is a primary member. See. Jordan, *Greek Gospel Lectionaries*, 359, 394, 436, 499.

earlier 'Jerusalem' Lectionary had an afterlife in manuscripts of the Byzantine system. This coheres with the theory of textual and liturgical relationships developed in the current thesis. It is not surprising that 'generic' lections of earlier centuries would become attached - by way of regular liturgical recitation and theological association - to certain commemorations and that this would pass into the textual tradition of various biblical and liturgical codices. Yet since most Apostolos manuscripts were not copied directly from a Lectionary archetype, the continued association of pericopae and commemorations is characteristically fluid and open to liturgical development and local usage. For the same reason we cannot expect the NT text of a given lection in L846 to agree with the same pericopae in a much later manuscript, as proposed by the Chicago *Studies* textual model. That model does not fit the reality of the manuscript tradition as explored in previous chapters, nor does it account for the likely method of copying Menologion lections. The fact that festal pericope boundaries are identical in Apostolos and non-Apostolos Byzantine sources shows that copyists would not have needed one Apostolos codex in order to prepare another. It would have been possible to prepare the Menologion of an Apostolos manuscript from a continuous text NT manuscript, *Typika* and other liturgical documents.

#### IV. Conclusions

This chapter has focussed on three types of variation in the Menologia of Apostolos codices. First, NT textual variation, which is analysed according to the same methodology as textual variation in the movable (Synaxarion) section of the manuscript tradition, and compared critically to the data discussed in Chapter 3. This methodology reveals that same the patterns of textual variation - non-uniform sub-variation within a majority Byzantine tradition - obtain in both the Synaxarion and Menologion lection traditions.<sup>504</sup> This finding interacts with the second area of investigation, which is variation in the identifiers and commemorations attached to Apostolos lections. Both the NT textual tradition and the festal traditions for each pericope are 'mixed' i.e., there is no obvious correlation between the pattern of NT textual variation in the witness sample and the patterns of identifier variation. This evidence strongly suggests that the central argument of this thesis, that Apostolos codices are in general prepared according to local custom and need from a variety of biblical and liturgical codices, applies equally to the Menologion as it does to the Synaxarion.

Finally, the festal traditions and pericopae of various geographical areas were subject to analysis. It is discovered that there can be a much higher degree of certainty regarding a Constantinopolitan provenance for certain manuscripts than there can be for provincial manuscripts. However, there is no obvious Constantinopolitan sub-tradition in the NT text of the Menologial pericopae among manuscripts identified as such, reinforcing the lack of correlation between patterns of variation discovered in the previous two analyses. It appears that the hypothetical group identified with the imperial capital may be exclusively limited to the NT text, which reinforces the theory that NT and liturgical text have separate, equally complex, trajectories of textual transmission. This in itself counts against the 'Lectionary text' theory, as on that model there should be clear commonalities between the liturgical and biblical texts of manuscripts in the same family or copied from one another. In the final section it is shown that multiple lections may be assigned to one commemoration or one pericope assigned to many different commemorations in various codices, yet it is not possible to trace a common NT textual trajectory through a single

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<sup>504</sup> This conclusion goes against Ericsson, *Book of Acts*, 29. For discussion of Ericsson's conclusions see Chapter 1, Section II, pages 28-29.

lection even when its boundaries are stable across the centuries. This reinforces the evidence from lection tables and other paratextual data discussed in Chapter 4 which suggests that Apostolos codices are often prepared from multiple continuous text sources.

There are several avenues of vital future research on the Apostolos Menologion tradition. First, critical editions of the liturgical *typika* associated with local festal traditions, especially that of the St. Sabas Monastery, would aid future attempts to locate Lectionary manuscripts in their proper historical context. Second, an online database of all known commemorations in various biblical-liturgical codices would aid future researchers in identifying patterns in the manuscript tradition and provide tools for a deeper analysis of the question as to whether there are shared patterns of affinity in biblical and liturgical variation. This may even aid in the identification of closer families of witnesses. Finally, the interdisciplinary methodology adopted in the current thesis, which focuses on analysing multiple features of the manuscript tradition such as lection patterns and their biblical texts, could be expanded to include a wider range of Lectionaries e.g., Gospel Lectionaries and Prophetologia.

## CONCLUSION

The minuscule Apostolos codex proper emerged in the tenth century. Each manuscript presents an arrangement of anagnosmata or lections which is recited along with liturgical material. The structure and dating of the Apostolos shows that it is dependent on the Gospel Lectionary and is likely to have appeared in its developed form after the former was established in its Middle Byzantine form in the post-Iconoclast era. Traditions of liturgical recitation of the Acts and Epistles undoubtedly go back to the earliest period of Christian history, yet this proto-Apostolos mostly lacks recoverable evidence. The survey of pre-tenth century witnesses shows that some Apostolos lections were firmly established as far back as the seventh century (in the margins of Bezae) for Acts and the eighth century for the Epistles, although some pericopae did not develop until the later structure of the Lectionary was established and the Epistles lections seem to have been established after Acts. The pre-tenth century evidence is fragmentary but deserves further discussion in a separate study. Discussion of the origins of the Apostolos tradition suggests that the search for an archetype, liturgical or textual, is likely to be a lost cause. It is probable that the Apostolos researcher will detect echoes of earlier liturgical and biblical texts in the lections of post-tenth century manuscripts.

The Apostolos manuscript is used to recite the Scriptures in monastic, parish and cathedral worship but the Apostolos codex is not the only codex used for this purpose. In fact, when the evidence is properly surveyed almost fifty percent of extant continuous text Praxapostoloi contain apparatus for the recitation of text. This initial piece of evidence counts against the widely held view that one Apostolos Lectionary would be copied to another and places the burden of proof on those who advocate this view. This evidence establishes the view of the present writer that the NT texts of Apostolos manuscripts are regularly prepared from continuous text *Vorlagen* over the centuries. Certain Apostolos manuscripts may be copied from a Lectionary archetype, but this must be demonstrated on the basis of individual studies.

The Apostolos is consistently neglected in textual scholarship. Even when it was studied by the major figures in nineteenth and twentieth century textual criticism there was much terminological misunderstanding and a lack of appreciation of its place in the transmission history of the NT. The works associated with the Chicago *Studies* devoted

only two major theses – those of Ericsson and Cocroft - to the topic. Both writers were limited by the methodologies and technology of the period and paid little attention to the liturgical tradition. Ericsson and Cocroft also neglected to compare Apostolos codices to their Byzantine Praxapostolos counterparts and therefore missed the connection. The *Studies* were content to assume that the Apostolos transmitted the ‘Lectionary text’ but failed to provide sufficient evidence that this was the case. Later Lectionary research does not focus on the Apostolos, but the methodological innovations presented by the work of Lyon-Dolezal and Jordan in particular provide new ways to approach the Apostolos. According to later scholarship, an interdisciplinary approach to Lectionary study is more effective because these manuscript traditions contain liturgical text, paratextual features, musical notation, and art as well as biblical text. When adapted to the unique features of the Apostolos this provides a more fruitful way of answering key questions, such as the existence of the ‘Lectionary text’ and the relationship to other manuscript types. Some Apostolos codices have been intermittently studied in the period since the *Studies*, but few are of enduring value other than the manuscripts utilised in the preparation of the UBS GNT editions.

Since the Apostolos has seldom been studied before any new research must thoroughly discuss the sources utilised in order to discover the key features of the tradition. This includes selecting a sample of Apostolos manuscripts to study based on clear criteria, including availability, likely provenance, date, anagnostic arrangement, and likely ability to prove useful in transcription and collation. If the criteria for such selection are developed clearly, future researchers will be able to apply the methods and results to a wider range of Apostolos codices. This research also has the advantage of bringing together the many smaller studies made of individual Apostolos manuscripts in secondary literature and consolidating their findings. Certain manuscripts contain exceptional arrangements of lections, especially L1141 which is a remarkably comprehensive Lectionary containing OT, Gospel and Apostolos anagnosmata, and L156 which contains a highly unusual arrangement of lections. It is necessary to adapt textual and liturgical methodologies to the reality of such complex manuscripts.

Study of the sources is not limited to the manuscript sample and all of the relevant material should be discussed together, including references to the Apostolos in monastic and church inventories, liturgical typika, theological commentaries and continuous text

manuscripts. By doing so it is discovered that there is a richness of evidence hitherto undiscovered. Monastic and church documents reveal that Apostolos manuscripts were stored with Praxapostoloi and a range of other continuous text manuscripts, and were considered by Byzantine writers to be one of many 'Lectionaries' including the Gospel Lectionary and Prophetologion. The documents provide further independent historical evidence that Apostolos codices could have been prepared from Praxapostolos archetypes over the centuries and across a range of institutions from Athos to Constantinople and beyond.

Byzantine theological/liturgical commentators view the Apostolos as revelatory in an important yet subsidiary sense to its counterpart the Gospel Lectionary. The Apostolos is identified with the Apostles who are 'sent by' Christ, whereas in the Gospel Lectionary Byzantines believed that they were encountering Christ's own person and mission through the recitation of the text. The subsidiary theological significance accorded to the Apostolos probably reflects the later origins of the formal, fully-developed anagnostic arrangement of Acts and Epistles pericopae in Byzantium. Furthermore, since continuous text Praxapostolos manuscripts continued to be used to recite Scripture and prepare Apostolos codices, it is likely that the Apostolos possessed less liturgical and bibliographic prestige. On this matter the theological commentaries and historical sources agree, once again highlighting the need to pay attention to a wider range of sources than the *Studies* allowed.

Study of the sources shows that the Apostolos is intrinsically likely to primarily transmit the Byzantine textual tradition of the NT. As a result, the best textual methodology is likely to be one that reveals sub-variants in the Byzantine tradition. This allows the researcher to discover how Apostolos witnesses are related to their counterparts in the continuous text tradition and to establish instances where continuous text readings entered the Lectionary tradition. It tests the hypothesis that Apostolos lections are usually prepared from continuous texts. Textual investigation of the Apostolos should consult a range of editions and apparatuses, including previous minor studies, T&T, Tischendorf and, most importantly, GNT<sup>4</sup>. GNT<sup>4</sup> shows where one or more Apostolos witnesses disagree with the majority Byzantine reading and where one or both Byzantine and Lectionary traditions divide. By applying these test passages to a new sample of Apostolos witnesses the researcher is able to show the relationship between the text of



Acts and Paul as transmitted in Apostolos witnesses and that transmitted in continuous text witnesses of the same period. Care should also be taken to select some test passages based on observable internal criteria, adaptations or linguistic issues. This method tests the hypothesis that Apostolos witnesses usually transmit similar variants to their continuous text counterparts. The evidence vindicates this hypothesis, and further shows multiple instances where continuous text witnesses with lection apparatus share one or more readings with Apostolos witnesses of the same century.

The textual evidence shows that most Apostolos witnesses are likely to be prepared from continuous text *Vorlagen*. Some of these Lectionary ancestors are commentary manuscripts as well as minuscules. Consequently, there is no ‘Lectionary text’ of the Apostolos in the sense argued by the *Studies*, as if the likely ancestor of every Apostolos lection is a lection in an earlier Lectionary witness. Instead, the Synaxarion lections of the Apostolos transmit various forms of the evolving Byzantine text drawn from continuous text witnesses. By calculating the number of test passages each Apostolos witness agrees in with every other witness it is possible to discover how closely each witness is related to the others. There is a fair degree of variation within the Byzantine tradition indicating that Apostolos witnesses are far from homogeneous in their NT text within that tradition. At the same time, there are a very few instances where Apostolos witnesses share readings with earlier textual traditions and few Apostolos witnesses agree closely with the *Ausgangstext* represented by NA<sup>28</sup>. It is not usually possible to reach earlier stages in the textual tradition by collating Apostolos witnesses and this limits their usefulness for the ECM-specific editorial goals.

The Apostoliki Diakonia edition is the best printed representation of the Apostolos tradition and the TR is the worst, but neither is particularly representative in general. This is because although the Apostolos is almost uniformly Byzantine, the Byzantine tradition is more heterogeneous in its sub-variants than usually supposed. It would be difficult to edit a single NT text which consistently represented the Apostolos majority reading in every variation unit, since in many instances the Apostolos simply divides more or less evenly in the same manner as do minuscule Byzantine witnesses. In conclusion, the Apostolos is part of the evolving, forming Byzantine tradition. It probably gives the textual critic a ‘snapshot’ of its textual ancestor, usually a continuous text ancestor which cannot be directly identified. Since a continuous text minuscule which is otherwise

Byzantine may contain an older reading, these readings sometimes find their way into Apostolos witnesses. This suggests that a kind of radical eclecticism is needed when approaching Apostolos witnesses since in principle an early reading could be present in any given witness but in practice it is unlikely. Further individual studies of certain manuscripts with a particularly unusual NT textual profile may establish their usefulness to the production of future critical editions.

There is probably a textual grouping of Apostolos manuscripts associated with Constantinople which also share some palaeographical similarities. However, only two witnesses are likely to show exact or almost exact agreement and it is therefore likely that a particular form of the Byzantine text present in continuous text witnesses in Constantinople influenced these Apostolos texts, rather than they were copied from each other. The most prominent members of this group are deluxe manuscripts which may suggest an imperial connection or that they were produced in the scriptoria of prestigious monastic institutions in the capital.

There is no correlation between variation in Synaxarion liturgical lection identifiers and NT textual variation. This suggests that NT text and liturgical text could have been prepared from multiple sources and further discounts the notion of the 'Lectionary text'. Discussion of the comparative 'level' of variation in NT and lection identifiers is misleading because the two are different in kind. Variation in lection identifiers probably indicates a degree of free composition from traditions passed orally between those individuals, mostly monks, who copied Lectionary codices. Study of lection identifier variation reveals that many Apostolos copyists were highly aware of the internal structure and anagnostic arrangement of both Synaxarion and Menologion sections of their codex. This also counts against the view that one Apostolos manuscript was mechanically copied to another, since the freely composed notes and identifiers often show copyists documenting features unique to the manuscript in question during the initial production of the manuscript.

Apostolos codices are prepared from a range of biblical and liturgical sources according to the needs of the institution and local liturgical patterns, which exhibit some degree of variation even in Middle and Late Byzantium and its ecclesiastical sphere of influence. NT text is copied from commentary or continuous text minuscule (and occasionally

majuscule) manuscripts. Gospel material was often copied from Gospel Lectionaries or Tetraevangelia and OT material might have been copied from LXX manuscripts or, more likely, Prophetologion manuscripts. Liturgical rubrics, identifiers, prokeimena and stichera may be copied from the margins of continuous text NT codices, or from other liturgical codices such as the Menaion, Typikon, Sticherarion or Ochtoechos which, as demonstrated in the discussion of sources, are usually at hand in the inventory of each institution. Lection tables found in the addenda of Praxapostolos codices influenced the formation of Apostolos anagnostic arrangements and commonalities can be found in the patterns of variation in such tables and that of Apostolos manuscripts. Euthalian apparatus may be copied into the margins of some Apostolos codices from other manuscript types and some manuscripts contain anagnostic numbering systems which clearly provide for the copying of lections from continuous text exemplars.

Ekphonic notation is not possessed by all Apostolos manuscripts and many were recited liturgically even without interlinear notation. Ekphonic notation was probably written after the text and there is much notation variation which must be effectively transcribed by future researchers.

Some manuscripts contain complete cycles of pericopae in the Synaxarion for both Acts and Epistles, while many are weekday-only in the Epistles.

The various patterns of variation in terms of liturgical and paratextual features count against the idea that one Apostolos was copied from another because of the sheer complexity of each manuscript. It is reductive to describe the Apostolos codex as a mere 'recomposed Praxapostolos' since the practice of manuscript production was clearly continuous and with varying degrees of precision and complexity.

A range of hands are used to copy Apostolos codices and some scribes show a great deal of sophistication, using multiple hands including majuscule or 'semi-uncial' to copy liturgical text, the structure of which may further suggest multiple sources for biblical and liturgical texts. Some Apostolos manuscripts may have been prepared by teams of copyists in a scriptorium-like setting, others are manifestly provincial or written in a poor hand. The key members of the probable Constantinopolitan group are deluxe, with generous margins and the use of gold and purple ink. When Synaxarion anagnosmata are

compared in a range of Apostolos and continuous text manuscripts it is discovered that at certain points in the liturgical cycle there are divergent lection traditions, indicating that even the fully-developed 'Byzantine' Lectionary system is not homogeneous. Local and older traditions of reading may continue, reflected in the anagnostic arrangements of later manuscripts.

A high number of Apostolos codices are lacunose or damaged, making it improbable that they were continually used liturgically. Apostolos manuscripts are often stored after their period of use, often for centuries, probably out of reverence and in order to make use of their texts. Some may have been privately read during their 'afterlife' but there is less evidence of private monastic reading in esk and sk type codices in general since these were specifically prepared for liturgical use. It is possible that Apostolos manuscripts were prone to deteriorate quickly, although no reliable figures are currently available for the useful life of a Byzantine manuscript. If this is correct it may explain both why new Apostolos codices are prepared from contemporary continuous text exemplars and why only echoes of earlier liturgical traditions and anagnostic arrangements persist. As each Apostolos was discarded and/or stored, its replacement would usually be prepared from the biblical and liturgical manuscripts available in the institution and not from an older Apostolos manuscript. Over time and via the circulation of manuscripts between locales the predominant lection tradition and arrangements would become more common, while earlier traditions would gradually fade away. This appears to rule out a major recension of the Apostolos, but it suggests that centres which are already known by liturgical scholars to have exerted influence at different times (Sinai, Jerusalem, Constantinople, Athos) could have shaped the Lectionary. If such an account is correct it further reduces the likelihood of a 'Lectionary text' of the Apostolos, since each manuscript would be prepared from the codices at hand.

The Menologion of an Apostolos codex combines one or more anagnosmata from Acts and the Epistles with a festal commemoration. The NT text as transmitted by the Menologion of the Apostolos tradition is very similar to that transmitted by the Synaxarion. Menologion lections transmit the Byzantine text with the same pattern of sub-division as in the Synaxarion, although it is harder to identify trajectories of transmission from continuous text witnesses since festal commemorations are unique to the Lectionary. Both the NT and festal commemoration tradition for each Menologion

lection are ‘mixed’, meaning that there is no obvious correlation between agreement in NT text and agreement in commemoration. Two witnesses may share the same commemoration and liturgical rubrics but transmit a different Byzantine sub-variant and *vice versa*. This counts against the ‘Lectionary text’ hypothesis because it suggests different underlying sources for Menologion liturgical and biblical texts.

Some manuscripts are Menologion-only and the evidence shows that all Menologion cycles were prepared according to local need and custom, as is the case with Apostolos manuscripts in general. As a result of this fact, there are variations in the figures commemorated by each manuscript and some are obviously indicative of provenance. This study identifies a range of manuscripts the Menologia of which contain evidence of association with Constantinople. Also, some manuscripts are evidently related to traditions of festal commemoration which originate in Sinai, Jerusalem or Palestine, Athos, Mainland Greece and perhaps Southern Italy or elsewhere in the realm of Greek-speaking Christianity. It is much easier to identify Constantinopolitan Menologia because there are clear historical markers set out by earlier scholars of deluxe Lectionaries.

Further avenues of research are needed on various topics as suggested throughout the current thesis. Recording and analysing the patterns of festal commemoration across a wider range of Apostolos manuscripts, Gospel Lectionaries and other manuscripts over the centuries and entering them into a database would help future researchers to identify affinities and confirm the existence of e.g., the Constantinopolitan group or Athonite traditions. Further information is needed about Byzantine bibliographic practices, especially in the libraries of monasteries still in existence on Athos, so that the hypotheses regarding copying and storage can be confirmed and adjusted. This information is promised by the CBM editors and would aid the clarification of the present thesis. Collation of a greater range and higher number of Apostolos witnesses would clarify the central hypothesis that there is no ‘Lectionary text’ but rather snapshots of an evolving Byzantine tradition. Finally, studies of individual select and deluxe Apostolos codices would shed further light on the theological significance of the tradition and possible private reading practices. Digital tools and methodologies provide opportunities for a much more extensive, methodical and more effectively disseminated corpus of work on the Lectionary shared between scholars in textual criticism, codicology and liturgical studies.

## POSTSCRIPT: AN APOSTOLOS CRITICAL EDITION?

In his seminal article Metzger discusses Lectionary manuscripts used in critical editions:

“[there is] the question [of] how to provide for the user of the apparatus the necessary information concerning the basic structure of the lectionary synaxarion and menologion. Although much of this kind of information must necessarily be provided through handbooks and other volumes of introduction, it appears to the present writer that as a minimum ought to contain a skeletal outline (with scriptural references) . . . so that the user may be able to identify the significance of the sigla by which a lectionary is cited.”<sup>505</sup>

Metzger’s argument was never followed and existing critical editions lack any information on the anagnostic cycles. This is probably because such a guide would be of limited value to the majority of users: critics and students interested in the major witnesses to older textual traditions. Unfortunately, no definitive Lectionary ‘handbook’ exists either, meaning that those who wish to locate pericopae in a previously undocumented Lectionary rely on outdated editorial representations of the Synaxarion and Menologion.

The data in the present thesis shows that there is considerable variation in Apostolos anagnosmata in the Synaxarion and Menologion, even in ‘Byzantine’ Lectionaries. If textually significant Lectionary manuscripts are to be properly transcribed and collated, a definitive guide to the structure and internal variation of pericopae and pericopae boundaries is necessary. In addition, the interdisciplinary nature of Lectionary research and the connections between various kinds of Lectionaries and biblical-liturgical manuscripts means that such a guide would be of great use to codicologists, art historians and students of Byzantine history.

Although Metzger envisaged a ‘handbook’, the revolution in digital humanities makes this format - with the necessity of large printed tables comparing lections - obsolete. In its place lies the possibility of an editable database and/or electronic edition which could display multiple lections or variant readings in parallel, perhaps with a *lemma* indicating the basic structure of the Synaxarion and Menologion which would be drawn from major manuscripts. Such an edition would be an ambitious undertaking, but there are comparable parallels in the work done by the IGNTP, as well as collaborative workspaces

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<sup>505</sup> Metzger, “Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition”, 494.

where scholars working on a given corpus can contribute transcriptions and other data which can be then be edited. Of course, such suggestions apply not only to the Apostolos but to other Lectionary traditions. Versional Lectionaries interact with the Greek Lectionary but there is currently no series facilitating comparative study of these anagnostic systems, and they are by definition excluded from the *Liste*.

When do the earliest Acts (or Gospel) lections appear in the margins/paratext of NT and other codices? A new edition could allow researchers to enter data which would otherwise be lost in notes or under the heading of ‘paratextual material’ in the *Liste*. What does each section of Lectionary manuscripts really contain, and how common are the different types? How do pericopae boundaries change over the centuries and are their clear local groups which might be connected to historical trends or local NT texts? What is the ‘Jerusalem’ Lectionary and how do its anagnosmata and origins differ from that found in Middle and Late Byzantine manuscripts? By providing accessible data such a project would allow researchers of different disciplines to collaborate and provide answers to the critical questions in Lectionary research.

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## **Digital Resources**

*Liste Handschriften* [online] <http://intf.uni-muenster.de/vmr/NTVMR/ListeHandschriften.php>

CBGM “Potential Ancestors” Tool: Genealogical Queries v.2.0 [online]

<http://intf.uni-muenster.de/vmr/cbgm2/PA5.php>

Codex Bezae: Cambridge Digital Library [online]

<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00002-00041/753>



**APPENDIX 1: Structure of Synaxarion Anagnostis Cycles**

<b>Day Title</b>	<b>ID</b>	<b>THS</b>	<b>De Vries</b>	<b>Gregory</b>	<b>G-A 1795</b>	<b>G-A 424</b>	<b>G-A 1897</b>
Easter Sunday	E1A	Acts 1:1-8	Acts 1:1-9	Acts 1:1-8	Acts 1:1-8	Acts 1:1-8	Acts 1:1-8
Monday, Easter Week	E1B	Liturgy Acts 1:12-17; 21-26; Local Acts 2:13-21	Acts 1:12-18; 21-end	Acts 1:12-17; 21-16	Acts 1:12-end	Acts 1:12-end	Acts 1:12-17; 21-26
Tuesday, Easter Week	E1C	Acts 2:14-22	Acts 2:14-21	Acts 2:14-21	Acts 2:14-21	Acts 2:14-21	Acts 2:14-21
Wednesday, Easter Week	E1D	Liturgy Acts 1:12-14, Local Stephen Acts 6:8-7;5:47-60	Acts 2:22-38c	Acts 2:22-36; Scr 2:38-43	Acts 2:22-36	Acts 2:22-36	Acts 2:22-36
Thursday, Easter Week	E1E	Liturgy Acts 2:38-43	Acts 2:38-43c	Acts 2:28-43	Acts 2:28-43	Acts 2:28-43;	Acts 2:38-43
Friday, Easter Week	E1F	Liturgy Acts 3:1-8	Acts 3:1-10	Acts 3:1-8	Acts 3:1-8	Acts 3:1-8	Acts 3:1-8

Saturday, Easter Week	E1G	Liturgy Acts 3:11-16, Local Acts 19:1-8	Acts 3:11- 17	Acts 3:11- 16	Acts 3:11- 16	Acts 3:11- 16	Acts 3:11- 16
St Thomas Sunday	E2A	Liturgy Acts 5:12-20	Acts 5:12- 21	Acts 5:12- 20	Acts 5:12- 20	Acts 5:12- 20	Acts 5:12- 20
Monday, Week 2	E2B	Liturgy Acts 3:19-26	Acts 3:19- end	Acts 3:19- 26	Acts 3:19- end	Acts 3:19- end	Acts 3:19- 26
Tuesday, Week 2	E2C	Acts 4:1- 10	Acts 4:1- 11	Acts 4:1- 10	Acts 4:1- 10	Acts 4:1- 10	Acts 4:1- 10
Wednesday, Week 2	E2D	Acts 4:13-22	Acts 4:13- 23	Acts 4:13- 22	Acts 4:13- 22	Acts 4:13- 22	Acts 4:13- 22
Thursday, Week 2	E2E	Acts 4:23- 21[sic 31?]	Acts 4:23- 32	Acts 4:23- 31	Acts 4:23- 31	Acts 4:23- 31	Acts 4:23- 31
Friday, Week 2	E2F	Acts 5:1- 11	Acts 5:1- 12	Acts 5:1- 11	Acts 5:1- 11	Acts 5:1- 11	Acts 5:1- 11
Saturday, Week 2	E2G	Acts 5:21-32; Local Acts 5:5- 15; 19- 20; 22- 24; 28-31	Acts 5:21- 33	Acts 5:21- 32	Acts 5:21- 32	Acts 5:21- 32	Acts 5:21- 32

Sunday, Myrrh- Bearing Women	E3A	Liturgy Acts 6:1- 7	Acts 6:1-8	Acts 6:1-7	Acts 6:1-7	Acts 6:1-7	Acts 6:1-7
Monday, Week 3	E3B	Acts 6:8- 7:5; 47- 60	Acts 6:8- 7:5b; 47- 59	Acts 6:8- 7:5; 47-60 Scr 6:8- 7:60	Acts 6:8- 7:5b; 47- 59	Acts 6:8- 7:5b; 47- 60	Acts 6:8- 7:60
Tuesday, Week 3	E3C	Acts 8:5- 18	Acts 8:5- 16	Acts 8:5- 17	Acts 8:5- 17	Acts 8:5- 17	Acts 8:5- 17
Wednesday, Week 3	E3D	Acts 8:18-26	Acts 8:18- 26	Acts 8:18- 25	Acts 8:18- 25	Acts 8:18- 25	Acts 8:18- 25
Thursday, Week 3	E3E	Acts 8:26-40	Acts 8:26- 39	Acts 8:26- 39	Acts 8:26- 39	Acts 8:26- 39	Acts 8:26- 39
Friday, Week 3	E3F	Acts 8:40-9:19	Acts 8:40- 9:19	Acts 8:40- 9:19	Acts 8:40- 9:19a	Acts 8:40- 9:19a	Acts 8:40- 9:19a
Saturday, Week 3	E3G	Acts 9:19-31	Acts 9:19- 32	Acts 9:19- 31	Acts 9:19b-31	Acts 9:19b-31	Acts 9:19b-31
Sunday, of the Paralytic	E4A	Acts 9:32-35	Acts 9:19[sic?] -43	Acts 9:32- 42	Acts 9:32- 42	Acts 9:32- 42	Acts 9:32- 42
Monday, Week 4	E4B	Acts 10:1-16	Acts 10:1- 17	Acts 10:1- 16	Acts 10:1- 16	Acts 10:1- 16	Acts 10:1- 16
Tuesday, Week 4	E4C	Acts 10:21-33	Acts 10:21-34	Acts 10:21-33	Acts 10:21-33	Acts 10:21-33	Acts 10:21-33
Wednesday, Week 4	E4D	Liturgy Acts 14:6-18	Acts 14:6- 18	Acts 14:6- 18	Acts 14:6- 18	Acts 14:6- 18	Acts 14:6- 18

Thursday, Week 4	E4E	Acts 10:34-43	Acts 10:34-44	Acts 10:34-43	Acts 10:34-43	Acts 10:34-43	Acts 10:34-43
Friday, Week 4	E4F	Acts 10:44- 11:10	Acts 10:44- 11:11	Acts 10:44- 11:10	Acts 10:44- 11:10	Acts 10:44- 11:10	Acts 10:44- 11:10
Saturday, Week 4	E4G	Acts 12:1-11	Acts 12:1- 11	Acts 12:1- 11	Acts 12:1- 11b	Acts 12:1- 11b	Acts 12:1- 11
Sunday, of the Samaritan Woman	E5A	Acts 11:19- 26;29-30	Acts 11:19-end	Acts 11:19-26; 29-30	Acts 11:19-end	Acts 11:19-26; 29-30	Acts 11:19-end
Monday, Week 5	E5B	Acts 12:12-17	Acts 12:12-18	Acts 12:12-17	Acts 12:12-17	Acts 12:12-17	Acts 12:12-17
Tuesday, Week 5	E5C	Acts 12:25- 13:12	Acts 12:25- 13:13	Acts 12:25- 13:12	Acts 12:25- 13:12	Acts 12:25- 13:12	Acts 12:25- 13:12
Wednesday, Week 5	E5D	Acts 13:13-24	Acts 13:13-25	Acts 13:13-24;	Acts 13:13-24;	Acts 13:13-24;	Acts 13:13-24
Thursday, Week 5	E5E	Acts 14:20-27	Acts 14:19c- 15:5	Acts 14:20- 15:4; Scr Acts 14:20-27	Acts 14:20b-27	Acts 14:20-27;	Acts 14:20-27
Friday, Week 5	E5F	Acts 15:5-12	Acts 15:5- 13	Acts 15:5- 12	Acts 15:5- 12	Acts 15:5- 12	Acts 15:5- 12
Saturday, Week 5	E5G	Acts 15:35-41	Acts 15:35-41b	Acts 15:35-41	Acts 15:35-41	Acts 15:35-41	Acts 15:35-41

Sunday, of the Blind Man	E6A	Acts 16:16-34	Acts 16:16-33	Acts 16:16-34	Acts 16:16-34	Acts 16:16-34	Acts 16:16-34
Monday, Week 6	E6B	Acts 17:1-7	Acts 17:1- 10	Acts 17:1- 9	Acts 17:1- 12	Acts 17:1- 9	Acts 17:1- 9
Tuesday, Week 6	E6C	Acts 17:19-28	Acts 17:19-28	Acts 17:19-28; Scr 27	Acts 17:19-28	Acts 17:19-28a	Acts 17:19-28a
Wednesday, Week 6	E6D	Acts 18:22-28	Acts 18:22-end	Acts 18:22-28	Acts 18:22-28	Acts 18:22-28	Acts 18:22-28
Thursday, Week 6	E6E	Liturgy Acts 1:1- 12	Orthros Acts 1:1- 13	Acts 1:1- 12	Acts 1:1- 12	Acts 1:1- 12	Acts 1:1- 12
Friday, Week 6	E6F	Acts 19:1-8	Acts 19:1- 9	Acts 19:1- 8	Acts 19:1- 8	Acts 19:1- 8	Acts 19:1- 8
Saturday, Week 6	E6G	Acts 20:7-12	Acts 20:7- 13	Acts 20:7- 12	Acts 20:7- 12	Acts 20:7- 12	Acts 20:7- 12
Sunday, Fathers of Nicaea	E7A	Liturgy Acts 20:16- 17;28-36	Acts 20:16- 18;28-37	Acts 20:16-18; 28-36; Scr 20:16-36	Acts 20:16-36	Acts 20:16-18; 28-36	Acts 20:16-36
Monday, Week 7	E7B	Acts 21:8-14	Acts 21:8- 15	Acts 21:8- 14	Acts 21:8- 14	Acts 21:8- 14	Acts 21:8- 14
Tuesday, Week 7	E7C	Acts 21:26-32	Acts 21:26-33	Acts 21:26-32	Acts 21:26-32	Acts 21:26-32	Acts 21:26-32
Wednesday, Week 7	E7D	Acts 23:1-11	Acts 23:1- 12	Acts 23:1- 11	Acts 23:1- 11	Acts 23:1- 11	Acts 23:1- 11
Thursday, Week 7	E7E	Acts 25:13-19	Acts 25:13-20	Acts 25:13-19	Acts 25:13b-19	Acts 25:13b-19	Acts 25:13-19

Friday, Week 7	E7F	Acts 27:1-28:1	Acts 27:1- 28:1b	Acts 27:1- 28:1	Acts 27:1- 28:1	Acts 27:1- 28:1	Acts 27:1- 28:1
Saturday, Week 7	E7G	Acts 28:1-31	Acts 28:1- end	Acts 28:1- 31	Acts 28:1- 31	Acts 28:1- 31	Acts 28:1- 31
Pentecost Sunday	E8A	Acts 8:26-39  Local; Acts 2:1- 11	Acts 2:1- 12	Acts 2:1- 11	Acts 2:1- 11	Acts 2:1- 11	Acts 2:1- 11
Monday, Week 1 AP	AP1B	Eph 5:8b-19	Eph 5:9- 20	Eph 5:8- 19	Eph 5:8b- [20]{τελος not present}	Eph 5:8b- 19	Eph 5:8- 19
Tuesday, Week 1 AP	AP1C	Not recorded	Rom 1:1- 8; 13-18	Rom 1:1- 7;13-17	Rom 1:1- 17; no intermedia te verses	Gal 5:22- 6:2	Rom 1:1- 17
Wednesday, Week 1 AP	AP1D	Heb 2:2- 10	Rom 1:18-28	Rom 1:18- 27	Rom 1:18- 27	Heb 2:2- 10	Rom 1:18- 27
Thursday, Week 1 AP	AP1E	Not recorded	Rom 1:28-2:10	Rom 1:28- 2:9	Rom 1:28- 2:10	1 Cor 12:7-11	Rom 1:28- 2:9
Friday, Week 1 AP	AP1F	Not recorded	Rom 2:14-29	Rom 2:14- 29	Rom 2:14- 29	Rom 8:14- 21	Rom 2:14- 28
Saturday, Week 1 AP	AP1G	Liturgy Gal 5:22- 6:2  Local; Rom 1:7b-12	Rom 1:7b-13	Rom 1:7- 12	Rom 3:19- 26	Rom 1:7b- 12	Rom 1:7- 12

Sunday, All Saints	AP1A	Heb 11:33-12:2a	Heb 11:33-12:2b	Heb 11:33-12:2	Rom 2:10-16	Uncertain	Heb 11:33-12:2
Monday, Week 2 AP	AP2B	Not recorded	Rom 2:28-3:19	Rom 2:28-3:18; Scr 2:1-6	Rom 2:28-3:18	sk only	Rom 2:28-3:18
Tuesday, Week 2 AP	AP2C	Not recorded	Rom 4:4-13	Rom 4:4-13; Scr 13:17-27	Rom 4:4-13	sk only	Rom 4:4-12
Wednesday, Week 2 AP	AP2D	Not recorded	Rom 6:13-end	Rom 4:13-25; Heb 9:1-7; Scr 2:28-3:4	Rom 4:13-end	sk only	Rom 4:13-end
Thursday, Week 2 AP	AP2E	Not recorded	Rom 5:10-17	Rom 5:10-16; Scr 3:4-9	Rom 5:10-16	sk only	Rom 5:10-16
Friday, Week 2 AP	AP2F	Not recorded	Rom 5:17-6:3	Rom 5:17-6:2; Scr 3:9-18	Rom 5:17-6:2	sk only	Rom 5:17-6:3
Saturday, Week 2 AP	AP2G	Rom 3:19-26	Rom 3:19-27	Rom 3:19-26	Not recorded	Rom 3:19-26	Rom 3:19-26
Sunday, 2nd AP	AP2A	Rom 2:10-16	Rom 2:10-17	Rom 2:10-16	Not recorded	Rom 2:10-16	Rom 2:10-16
Saturday, 3rd AP	AP3G	Rom 3:28-4:3	Rom 3:28-4:4	Rom 3:28-4:3	Rom 3:28-4:3; but recorded as AP2G	Rom 3:28-4:3	Rom 3:28-4:3
Sunday, 3rd AP	AP3A	Rom 5:1-10	Rom 5:1-11	Rom 5:1-10	Rom 5:1-10	Rom 5:1-10	Rom 5:1-10

Saturday, 4th AP	AP4G	Rom 6:11-17	Rom 6:11-18	Rom 6:11- 17	Rom 6:11- 17; but recorded as AP3G	Rom 6:11- 17	Rom 6:11- 17
Sunday, 4th AP	AP4A	Rom 6:18-23	Rom 6:18-end	Rom 6:18- 23	Rom 6:18- 23	Rom 6:18- 23	Rom 6:18- 23
Saturday, 5th AP	AP5G	Rom 8:14-21	Rom 8:14-22	Rom 8:14- 21	Rom 8:14- 21; but recorded as AP4G	Rom 8:14- 21	Rom 8:14- 21
Sunday, 5th AP	AP5A	Rom 10:1-10	Rom 10:1-11	Rom 10:1- 10	Rom 10:1- 10	Rom 10:1- 10	Rom 10:1- 10
Saturday, 6th AP	AP6G	Rom 9:1- 5	Rom 9:1- 6	Rom 9:1-5	Rom 9:1- 5; but recorded as AP5G	Rom 9:1-5	Rom 9:1-5
Sunday, 6th AP	AP6A	Rom 12:6-14	Rom 12:6-15	Rom 12:6- 14	Rom 12:6- 14	Rom 12:6- 14	Rom 12:6- 14
Saturday, 7th AP	AP7G	Rom 12:1-3	Rom 12:1-4	Rom 12:1- 3	Rom 12:1- 3/ Rom 1:1-3	Rom 12:1- 3	Rom 12:1- 3
Sunday, 7th AP	AP7A	Rom 15:1-7	Rom 15:1-8	Rom 15:1- 7	Rom 15:1- 7	Rom 15:1- 7	Rom 15:1- 7
Saturday, 8th AP	AP8G	Rom 13:1-10	Rom 13:1-11	Rom 13:1- 10	Rom 13:1- 10; but recorded as AP7G	Rom 13:1- 10	Rom 13:1- 10
Sunday, 8th AP	AP8A	1 Cor 1:10-18	1 Cor 1:10-18	1 Cor 1:10-17;	1 Cor 1:10-18	1 Cor 1:10-18	1 Cor 1:10-18



				Ven. 1844 1;10-17			
Saturday, 9th AP	AP9G	Rom 14:6-9	Rom 14:6-10	Rom 14:6- 9	Rom 14:6- 9; but recorded as AP8G	Rom 14:6- 9	Rom 14:6- 9
Sunday, 9th AP	AP9A	1 Cor 3:9-17	1 Cor 3:9- 18	1 Cor 3:9- 17	1 Cor 3:9- 17	1 Cor 3:9- 17	1 Cor 3:9- 17
Saturday, 10th AP	AP10G	Rom 15:30-33	Rom 15:30-end	Rom 15:30-33	Rom 15:30-33; but recorded as AP9G	Rom 15:30-33	Rom 15:30-33
Sunday, 10th AP	AP10A	1 Cor 4:9-16	1 Cor 4:9- 16c	1 Cor 4:9- 16	1 Cor 4:9- 16	1 Cor 4:9- 16	1 Cor 4:9- 16
Saturday, 11th AP	AP11G	1 Cor 1:3-9	1 Cor 1:3- 10	1 Cor 1:3- 9	1 Cor 1:3- 9; but recorded as AP10G	1 Cor 1:3- 9	1 Cor 1:3- 9
Sunday, 11th AP	AP11A	1 Cor 9:2b-12	1 Cor 9:2- 13	1 Cor 9:2- 12	1 Cor 9:2b-12	1 Cor 9:2b-12	1 Cor 9:2- 12
Saturday, 12th AP	AP12G	1 Cor 1:26-29	1 Cor 1:26-2:6	1 Cor 1:26- 2:5;Scr 1 Cor 1:26- 29	1 Cor 1:26-29; but recorded as AP11G	1 Cor 1:26-29; reads ενωπιου του θεου	1 Cor 1:26-29
Sunday, 12th AP	AP12A	1 Cor 15:1-11	1 Cor 15:1-12	1 Cor 15:1-11	1 Cor 15:1-11	1 Cor 15:1-11	1 Cor 15:1-11

Saturday, 13th AP	AP13G	1 Cor 2:6-9	1 Cor 2:6- 10	1 Cor 2:6- 9	1 Cor 2:6- 9; but recorded as AP12G	1 Cor 2:6- 9	1 Cor 2:6- 9
Sunday, 13th AP	AP13A	1 Cor 16:13-24	1 Cor 16:13-end	1 Cor 16:13-24	1 Cor 16:13-24	1 Cor 16:13-24	1 Cor 16:13-24
Saturday, 14th AP	AP14G	1 Cor 4:1-5	1 Cor 1:4- 6	1 Cor 4:1- 5	1 Cor 4:1- 5; but recorded as AP13G	1 Cor 4:1- 5	1 Cor 4:1- 5
Sunday, 14th AP	AP14A	2 Cor 1:21-2:4	2 Cor 1:21-2:5	2 Cor 1:21-2:4	2 Cor 1:21-2:4	2 Cor 1:21-2:4	2 Cor 1:21-2:4
Saturday, 15th AP	AP15G	1 Cor 4:17-5:6	1 Cor 4:17-5:5	1 Cor 4:17-5:5	1 Cor 4:17-5:5; but recorded as AP14G	1 Cor 4:17-5:5	1 Cor 4:17-5:5
Sunday, 15th AP	AP15A	2 Cor 4:6-15	2 Cor 4:6- 16	2 Cor 4:6- 15	2 Cor 4:6- 15	2 Cor 4:6- 15	2 Cor 4:6- 15
Saturday, 16th AP	AP16G	1 Cor 10:23-26	1 Cor 10:23-29	1 Cor 10:23-26	1 Cor 10:23-26a; but recorded as AP15G	1 Cor 10:23-26	1 Cor 10:23-26
Sunday, 16th AP	AP16A	2 Cor 6:1-10	2 Cor 6:1- 11	2 Cor 6:1- 10	2 Cor 6:1- 10	2 Cor 6:1- 7a	2 Cor 6:1- 10
Saturday, 17th AP	AP17G	1 Cor 14:20-25	1 Cor 14:20-26	1 Cor 14:20-25	1 Cor 14:20-25; but	1 Cor 14:20-25	1 Cor 14:20-25

					recorded as AP16G		
Sunday, 17th AP	AP17A	2 Cor 6:16b-7:1	2 Cor 6:16-7:2	2 Cor 6:16-7:1	2 Cor 6:16b-7:1	2 Cor 6:16b-7:1	2 Cor 6:16-7:1
Saturday, 18th AP	AP18G	1 Cor 15:39-45	1 Cor 15:39-46	1 Cor 15:39-45	1 Cor 15:39-45; but recorded as AP17G	1 Cor 15:39-45	1 Cor 15:39-45
Sunday, 18th AP	AP18A	2 Cor 9:6-11	2 Cor 9:6- 12	2 Cor 9:6- 11	2 Cor 9:6- 11	2 Cor 9:6- 11	2 Cor 9:6- 11
Saturday, 19th AP	AP19G	1 Cor 15:58- 16:3	1 Cor 15:58- 16:4	1 Cor 15:58-16:3	1 Cor 15:58- 16:3; but recorded as AP18G	1 Cor 15:58-16:3	1 Cor 15:58b- 16:3
Sunday, 19th AP	AP19A	2 Cor 11:31- 12:9	2 Cor 11:31- 12:10	2 Cor 11:31-12:9	2 Cor 11:31-12:9	2 Cor 11:31-12:9	2 Cor 11:31-12:9
Saturday, 20th AP	AP20G	2 Cor 1:8-11	2 Cor 1:8- 12	1[sic?]Cor 1:8-11	2 Cor 1:8- 11; but recorded as AP19G	2 Cor 1:8- 11; reads ευχαριστη θη υπερ υμων	2 Cor 1:8- 11
Sunday, 20th AP	AP20A	Gal 1:11- 19	Gal 1:11- 20	Gal 1:11- 19	Gal 1:11- 19	Gal 1:11- 19	Gal 1:11- 19
Saturday, 21st AP	AP21G	2 Cor 3:12-18	2 Cor 3:12-end	2 Cor 3:12-18	2 Cor 3:12-18; but	2 Cor 3:12-18	2 Cor 3:12-18

					recorded as AP20G		
Sunday, 21st AP	AP21A	Gal 2:16- 20	Gal 2:16- 21	Gal 2:16- 20	Gal 2:16- 20	Gal 2:16- 20	Gal 2:16- 20
Saturday, 22nd AP	AP22G	2 Cor 5:1-10a	2 Cor 5:1- 10b	2 Cor 5:1- 10	2 Cor 5:1- 10a; but recorded as AP21G	2 Cor 5:1- 10a	2 Cor 5:1- 10a
Sunday, 22nd AP	AP22A	Gal 6:11- 18	Gal 6:11- end	Gal 6:11- 18	Gal 6:11- 18	Gal 6:11- 18	Gal 6:11- 18
Saturday, 23rd AP	AP23G	2 Cor 8:1-5	2 Cor 8:1- 6	2 Cor 8:1- 5	2 Cor 8:1- 5; but recorded as AP22G	2 Cor 8:1- 5	2 Cor 8:1- 5
Sunday, 23rd AP	AP23A	Eph 2:4- 10	Eph 2:4- 11	Eph 2:4- 10	Eph 2:4- 10	Eph 2:4- 10	Eph 2:4- 10
Saturday, 24th AP	AP24G	2 Cor 11:1-6	2 Cor 11:1-7	2 Cor 11:1-6	2 Cor 11:1-6; but recorded as AP23G	2 Cor 11:1-6; reads ανειχεσθε	2 Cor 11:1-6
Sunday, 24th AP	AP24A	Eph 2:14-22	Eph 2:14- end	Eph 2:14- 22	Eph 2:14- 22	Eph 2:14- 22;	Eph 2:14- 22
Saturday, 25th AP	AP25G	Gal 1:3- 10	Gal 1:3- 11	Gal 1:3-10	Gal 1:3- 10; but recorded as AP24G	Gal 1:3-10	Gal 1:3-10
Sunday, 25th AP	AP25A	Eph 4:1- 7	Eph 4:1-8	Eph 4:1-7	Eph 4:1-7	Eph 4:1-6;	Eph 4:1-7

Saturday, 26th AP	AP26G	Gal 3:8-12	Gal 3:8-13	Gal 3:8-12	Gal 3:8-12	Gal 3:8-14	Gal 3:8-12
Sunday, 26th AP	AP26A	Eph 5:8b-19	Eph 5:9-20	Eph 5:8-19	Eph 5:8b-19	Eph 5:8b-19	Eph 5:8-19
Saturday, 27th AP	AP27G	Gal 5:22-6:2	Gal 5:22-6:3	Gal 5:22-6:2	Gal 5:22-6:2	Gal 5:22-6:2	Gal 5:22-6:2
Sunday, 27th AP	AP27A	Eph 6:10-17	Eph 6:10-18	Eph 6:10-17	Eph 6:10-17	Eph 6:10-17	Eph 6:10-17
Saturday, 28th AP	AP28G	Eph 1:16-23	Eph 1:16-end	Eph 1:16-23	Eph 1:16-23; but recorded as AP27G	Eph 1:16-23	Eph 1:16-23
Sunday, 28th AP	AP28A	Col 1:12-18	Col 1:12-19	Col 1:12-18	Col 1:12-18	Col 1:12-18	Col 1:12-18
Saturday, 29th AP	AP29G	Eph 2:11-13	Eph 2:11-14	Eph 2:11-13	Eph 2:11-13; but recorded as AP28G	Eph 2:11-13	Eph 2:11-13
Sunday, 29th AP	AP29A	Col 3:4-11	Col 3:4-12	Col 3:4-11	Col 3:4-11	Col 3:4-11	Col 3:4-11
Saturday, 30th AP	AP30G	Eph 5:1-8a	Eph 5:1-8c	Eph 5:1-8	Eph 5:1-8b; but recorded as AP29G	Eph 5:1-8b	Eph 5:1-8
Sunday, 30th AP	AP30A	Col 3:12-16	Col 3:12-17	Col 3:12-16	Col 3:12-16	Col 3:12-16	Col 3:12-16
Saturday, 31st AP	AP31G	Col 1:2b-7a	Col 1:1-7	Col 1:1-6	Col 1:2b-7a; but	Col 1:3-6	Col 1:1-6

					recorded as AP30G		
Sunday, 31st AP	AP31A	1 Tim 1:15-17	1 Tim 1:15-18	1 Tim 1:15-17	1 Tim 1:15-17	1 Tim 1:15-17	1 Tim 1:15-17
Saturday, 32nd AP	AP32G	1 Thess 5:14-23	1 Thess 5:14-24	1 Thess 5:14-23	1 Thess 5:14-23; but recorded as AP31G	1 Thess 5:14-28	1 Thess 5:14-23
Sunday, 32nd AP	AP32A	1 Tim 4:9-15	1 Tim 4:9-16	1 Tim 4:9- 15	1 Tim 4:9- 15	1 Tim 4:9- 15	1 Tim 4:9- 15
Saturday, 33rd AP	AP33G	2 Tim 2:11-19	2 Tim 2:11-20	2 Tim 2:11-19	2 Tim 2:11-19; recorded as AP32G	2 Tim 2:11-20	2 Tim 2:11-19
Sunday, of the Publican and Pharisee	AP33A	2 Tim 3:10-15	2 Tim 3:10-16	2 Tim 3:10-15	2 Tim 3:10-15	2 Tim 3:10-15	2 Tim 3:10-15

## APPENDIX 2: Apparatus of Apostolos Variation Units

### I. Synaxarion Variation Units

#### VU01 [Acts 3:13 TP01]

1) ον υμεις μεν παρεδωκατε : 40023 40165 40169 40173 41126 41141 41159 41178  
41282 41440 41590 41825 42024 NA28 PR

2) ον υμεις παρεδωκατε : 40060 40156 40162 40164 40168 40257 40587 40604  
40610 40809 41021 41188 41300 41364 41439 41685 42058 ANT SAL TR

Z: 40112 40170 40241 41281 41297 41298 41442 41506 41894 41985 42010 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

#### VU02 [Acts 3:13 TP01]

1) προσωπον πιλατου : 40023 40060 40112 40156 40162 40165 40168 40169 40170  
40173 40241 40257 40587 40604 40610 40809 41021 41126 41141 41159 41178  
41188 41281 41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41442 41506 41590 41685  
41825 41894 41985 42010 42024 42058 ANT NA28 PR SAL TR

2) προσωπον ποντιου πιλατου : 40164

3) [πηλατω και ηρνησασθαι αυτον] κατα προσωπον αυτου : 41440

Z: AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

#### VU03 [Acts 4:24 TP03]

1) και ειπαν : 41590 NA28

2) και ειπον : 40023 40060 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40173 40587  
40610 40809 41021 41126 41141 41159 41178 41188 41282 41297 41300 41364  
41439 41440 41506 41685 41825 41894 42024 42058 ANT PR SAL TR

Z: 40112 40170 40241 40257 40604 41281 41298 41442 41985 42010 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

#### **VU04 [Acts 4:24 TP03]**

1) δεσποτα συ ο ποιησας : ANT NA28

2) δεσποτα συ ο θεος ο ποιησας : 40023 40060 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168  
40169 40587 40610 40809 41021 41141 41159 41178 41282 41364 41439 41440  
41590 41825 42024 42058 PR SAL TR

3) δεσποτα συ ει ο θεος ο ποιησας : 40173 41300 41506 41685 41894

4) δεσποτα κυριε ο θεος ο ποιησας : 41188

5) δεσποτα κυριε ο ποιησας : 41297

6) OM : 41126

Z: 40112 40170 40241 40257 40604 41281 41298 41442 41985 42010 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

#### **VU05 [Acts 4:24 TP04]**

1) ο του πατρος ημων δια πνευματος αγιου στοματος δαβιδ παιδος σου : ANT NA28

2) ο δια στοματος δαβιδ παιδος σου : 40023 40060 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168  
40169 40587 40610 40809 41021 41141 41159 41178 41282 41364 41439 41440  
41590 41825 42024 42058 41297 PR SAL TR

3) ο δια στοματος δαβιδ του παιδος σου : 40173 41300 41506 41685 41894

4) OM : 41126

Z: 40112 40170 40241 40257 40604 41281 41298 41442 41985 42010 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

#### **VU06 [Acts 5:32 TP05]**

1) και ημεις εσμεν μαρτυρες : 40060 40164 40169 40173 40587 40610 41300 41440  
42058 NA28

2) και ημεις εσμεν αυτου μαρτυρες : 40023 40156 40162 40165 40168 40604 40809  
41021 41141 41159 41178 41188 41281 41282 41364 41439 41506 41590 41685  
41825 42024 ANT PR SAL TR

Z: 40112 40170 40241 40257 41126 41297 41298 41442 41894 41985 42010 AD



ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

**VU07 [Acts 6:5 TP06]**

1) παντος του πληθους : 40023 40060 40112 40156 40162 40164 40168 40173 40257  
40604 40610 40809 41126 41159 41178 41188 41281 41282 41300 41364 41439  
41440 41506 41590 41685 41825 41894 41985 42024 42058 AD ANT NA28 PR  
SAL TR

2) παντος του λαου : 41021 41141

Z: 40165 40169 40170 40241 40587 41297 41298 41442 42010

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

**VU08 [Acts 6:5 TP06]**

1) πληρης πιστεως και πνευματος αγιου : 40023 40060 40112 40156 40162 40164  
40168 40173 40257 40604 40610 40809 41126 41178 41281 41282 41300 41439  
41440 41506 41590 41685 42058 NA28 PR

2) πληρη πιστεως και πνευματος αγιου : 41141 41159 41188 41364 41825 41894  
42024 AD ANT SAL TR

3) πληρης πιστεως και πνευματος αγιου και σοφιας : 41021 41985

Z: 40165 40169 40170 40241 40587 41297 41298 41442 42010

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

**VU09 [Acts 9:28 TP07]**

1) εισπορευομενος και εκπορευομενος εις ιερουσαλημ : 41825 NA28

2) εισπορευομενος και εκπορευομενος εν ιερουσαλημ : 41159 41178 ANT SAL TR

3) εισπορευομενος εν ιερουσαλημ : 40060 41440

4) εισπορευομενος εις ιερουσαλημ : 40023 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168 40170  
40173 40587 40604 40610 40809 41021 41141 41188 41281 41282 41297 41300  
41364 41439 41506 41590 41894 42024 42058 PR

5) πορευομενος εις ιερουσαλημ : 41298 41685

Z: 40112 40169 40241 40257 41126 41442 41985 42010 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

**VU10 [Acts 9:28 TP07]**

1) εν τω ονοματι του κυριου : NA28

2) : 40023 40162 40164 40165 40168 40170 40173 40587 40604 40610 40809  
41021 41141 41159 41178 41188 41281 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41506  
41590 41685 41825 41894 42024 42058 ANT PR SAL TR

3) εν τω ονοματι του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου : 41440

4) εν τω ονοματι του κυριου ημων ιησου : 41282

5) OM : 40060 40156

Z: 40112 40169 40241 40257 41126 41442 41985 42010 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

**VU11 [Acts 9:31 TP08]**

1) η μεν ουν εκκλησια καθ ολης : 40156 41178 41188 NA28

2) αι μεν ουν εκκλησιαι καθ ολης : 40023 40060 40162 40164 40165 40168 40170  
40173 40587 40604 40610 40809 41021 41141 41159 41281 41297 41298 41300 41364  
41439 41440 41506 41590 41685 41825 41894 42024 42058 ANT PR SAL TR

3) αι μεν ουν αι εκκλησιαι καθ ολης : 41282

Z: 40112 40169 40241 40257 41126 41442 41985 42010 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

**VU12 [Acts 10:5 TP11]**

1) μεταπεμψαι : 40023 40060 40156 40162 40168 40173 40587 40610 40809 41021  
41159 41178 41188 41281 41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41506 41590 41685  
41825 42010 ANT NA28 PR SAL TR

2) μεταπεμψον : 40170 41141 41894 42058

3) μεταπεμψε : 40164 40257 40604 41440

4) μετακαλεσαι : 40112

Z: 40165 40169 40241 41126 41442 41985 42024 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU13 [Acts 10:5 TP11]**

1) σιμωνα τινα ος επικαλειται πετρος : 42010 NA28

2) σιμωνα ος επικαλειται πετρος : 41159 TR

3) σιμωνα τον επικαλουμενον πετρον : 40023 40060 40112 40156 40162 40164 40168 40170 40257 40587 40604 40610 40809 41021 41141 41178 41188 41281 41282 41297 41298 41364 41439 41440 41506 41590 41825 41894 42058 ANT PR SAL

4) σιμωνα τον καλουμενον πετρον : 40173 41300 41685

Z: 40165 40169 40241 41126 41442 41985 42024 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU14 [Acts 10:24 TP14]**

1) εισηλθεν εις την καισαρειαν : 40112 40162 40257 40809 41141 41364 41439 NA28

2) εισηλθον εις την καισαρειαν : 40023 40060 40156 40164 40168 40173 40587 40604 40610 41021 41159 41178 41188 41281 41282 41297 41298 41300 41440 41506 41590 41685 41825 41894 42058 ANT PR SAL TR

3) ηλθον εις την καισαρειαν : 42010

Z: 40165 40169 40170 40241 41126 41442 41985 42024 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU15 [Acts 10:33 TP15]**

1) ακουσαι παντα τα προστεταγμενα σοι υπο του κυριου : 40060 40587 41178 41188 41825 NA28

2) ακουσαι παντα τα προστεταγμενα σοι υπο του θεου : 40023 40112 40156 40162 40164 40168 40173 40604 40809 41021 41141 41159 41281 41282 41298 41300 41364 41439 41440 41590 41685 41894 42010 42058 ANT PR SAL TR

3) του ακουσαι παντα τα προστεταγμενα σοι υπο του θεου : 40610

4) ακουσαι παντα τα διατεταγμενα σοι υπο του θεου : 40257

5) ακουσαι παντα τα προστεταγμενα σοι υπο θεου : 41297 41506

Z: 40165 40169 40170 40241 41126 41442 41985 42024 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU16 [Acts 10:48 TP16]**

1) προσεταξεν δε : 40060 40610 41021 NA28

2) προσεταξεν τε : 40112 40156 40164 40170 41178 41297 41300 41439 41442 41506  
PR TR

3) προσεταξε δε : 40162 41188 41281 41685

4) προσεταξε τε : 40023 40165 40168 40173 40587 40809 41141 41159 41282 41298  
41364 41590 41825 41894 42010 42058 ANT SAL

5) προσεταξε : 40604

Z: 40169 40241 40257 41126 41440 41985 42024 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU17 [Acts 10:48 TP16]**

1) εν τω ονοματι του ιησου χριστου βαπτισθηναι : 41188 NA28

2) βαπτισθηναι εν τω ονοματι του κυριου : 40112 40156 40164 40165 40168 40173  
40809 41021 41300 41825 41894 42058 ANT PR SAL TR

3) βαπτισθηναι εν τω ονοματι του κυριου ιησου : 40023 40162 40604 41141 41159  
41282 41297 41298 41364 41439 41442 41506 41590

4) βαπτισθηναι εν τω ονοματι ιησου χριστου : 40060 40587 41178 41281 41685 42010

5) βαπτισθηναι εν τω ονοματι του κυριου ιησου χριστου : 40610

6) βαπτισθηναι εν τω ονοματι του θεου : 40170

Z: 40169 40241 40257 41126 41440 41985 42024 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU18 [Acts 12:25 TP17]**

1) βαρναβας [δε] και σαυλος υπεστρεψαν εις ιερουσαλημ : 40023 40060 40162 40164 40169 40170 40173 40610 41159 41188 41297 41298 41300 41442 41506 41590 41825 41894 42058 NA28 PR SAL

2) βαρναβας [δε] και σαυλος υπεστρεψαν εξ ιερουσαλημ : 40156 40165 40168 42010 ANT TR

3) βαρναβας [δε] και σαυλος υπεστρεψαν απο ιερουσαλημ : 40587 40604 40809 41021 41141 41282 41364 41439 41685

4) βαρναβας και σαυλος υπεστρεψαν απο ιερουσαλημ εις αντιοχειαν : 41178

5) βαρναβας και σαυλος υπεστρεψαν εξ ιερουσαλημ εις αντιοχειαν : 41281

6) βαρναβας δε και παυλος υπεστρεψαν εις ιερουσαλημ : 40112

Z : 40241 40257 41126 41440 41985 42024 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU19 [Acts 12:25 TP17]**

1) τον επικληθεντα μαρκον : 40023 40112 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40170 40173 40587 40604 40610 40809 41021 41141 41159 41178 41188 41281 41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41442 41506 41590 41685 41825 41894 42010 42058 ANT NA28 PR SAL TR

2) τον επικαλουμενον μαρκον : 40060

Z : 40241 40257 41126 41440 41985 42024 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU20 [Acts 20:28 TP19]**

1) εκκλησιαν του θεου . . . δια του αιματος του ιδιου : 40060 NA28

2) εκκλησιαν του θεου . . . δια του ιδιου αιματος : 40112 40169 41021 41126 41297 41439 41825 41894 42010 42058 SAL TR

3) εκκλησιαν του κυριου και θεου . . . δια του ιδιου αιματος : 40023 40156 40162 40165 40168 40170 40173 40587 40604 40610 40809 41141 41159 41178 41281 41282 41298 41300 41364 41440 41442 41506 41590 41685 42024 AD ANT PR

4) εκκλησιαν του κυριου και θεου . . . δια του αιματος του ιδιου : 41188

5) εκκλησιαν του κυριου . . . δια του ιδιου αιματος : 40164

Z : 40241 40257 41985

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU21 [Rom 3:26 TP21]**

1) τον εκ πιστεως ιησου : 40156 41159 41439 41825 42010 ANT NA28 PR TR

2) τον εκ πιστεως ιησουν : 40023 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40170 40173 40257 40587 40604 40610 41021 41141 41178 41188 41281 41282 41297 41300 41364 41442 41506 41590 41685 41894 41985 42024 42058 SAL

3) τον εκ πιστεως χριστον ιησουν : 40809

4) τον εκ πιστεως της εν χριστω ιησου τω κυριω ημων : 40112

Z : 40060 40241 41126 41298 41440 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU22 [Rom 5:1 TP23]**

1) δικαιωθεντες ουν εκ πιστεως : 40156 40169 41141 41282 41300 41894 ANT NA28 PR TR

2) δικαιωθεντες εκ πιστεως : 40023 40060 40112 40162 40164 40165 40168 40170 40173 40257 40587 40604 40610 40809 41021 41159 41178 41188 41281 41297 41298 41364 41439 41442 41506 41590 41685 41825 41985 42010 42024 42058 AD SAL

Z : 40241 41126 41440

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU23 [Rom 5:1 TP23]**

1) εχομεν : 40156 40162 40165 40168 40169 40257 40587 40604 40610 40809 41141 41281 41282 41297 41298 41364 41442 41590 41825 41894 41985 42010 42024 42058 AD ANT NA28 PR SAL TR

2) εχωμεν : 40023 40060 40112 40164 40170 40173 41021 41159 41178 41188  
41300 41439 41506 41685

Z : 40241 41126 41440

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU24 [Rom 16:3 TP25]**

1) ασπασασθε πρισκαν και ακυλαν τους συνεργους μου εν χριστω ιησου : 40164  
41159 41825 41894 NA28 PR

2) ασπασασθε πρισκιλλαν και ακυλαν : 40162 40168 40169 40241 40257 40587 40604  
40610 40809 41141 41178 41188 41281 41282 41297 41364 41440 41590 41685  
42010 42024 42058 ANT SAL TR

Z : 40023 40060 40112 40156 40165 40170 40173 41021 41126 41298 41300  
41439 41442 41506 41985 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU25 [1 Cor 7:34 TP26]**

1) και μεμερισται και η γυνη η αγαμος και η παρθενος : NA28

2) μεμερισται η γυνη και η παρθενος η αγαμος : 40156 40162 40168 40169 40587  
40604 40809 41141 41188 41364 41590 41685 41825 42024 42058 SAL TR

3) μεμερισται και η γυνη και η παρθενος η αγαμος : 40164 40241 40610 41159 41178  
41281 41282 41894 42010 ANT PR

4) μεμερισται η παρθενος η αγαμος : 41297

Z : 40023 40060 40112 40165 40170 40173 40257 41021 41126 41298 41300  
41439 41440 41442 41506 41985 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU26 [Rom 13:9 TP27]**

1) το γαρ ου μοιχευσεις ου φονευσεις ου κλεψεις ουκ επιθυμησεις : 40023 40060 40112  
40156 40162 40165 40168 40169 40170 40173 40587 40604 40809 41021 41141  
41188 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41442 41506 41590 42024 ANT NA28 PR

2) το γαρ ου μοιχευσεις ου φονευσεις ου κλεψεις ου ψευδομαρτυρησεις ουκ επιθυμησεις : 40164 40257 40610 41159 41281 41282 41685 41894 41985 42010 42058 SAL TR

3) το γαρ ου μοιχευσεις ου κλεψης ου ψευδομαρτυρησης ουκ επιθυμησης : 41825

Z : 40241 41126 41178 41440 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU27 [Rom 13:9 TP27]**

1) εν τω αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ως σεαυτον : 40023 40112 40604 41159 41188 41506 41590 42024 ANT NA28 PR

2) εν τω αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ως εαυτον : 40060 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168 40170 40173 40257 40587 40610 40809 41021 41141 41178 41281 41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41442 41685 41825 41894 41985 42010 42058 SAL TR

3) εν τω αγαπησεις τον πλησιον σου ως εαυτον πληρωμα ουν νομου η αγαπη : 40169

Z : 40241 41126 41440 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU28 [Gal 5:21 TP30]**

1) φθονοι μεθαι : 40164 40809 41178 41590 41685 NA28

2) φθονοι φονοι μεθαι : 40156 40162 40168 40169 40257 40587 40604 40610 41141 41159 41188 41281 41282 41297 41364 41440 41825 41894 42010 42024 42058 ANT PR SAL TR

Z : 40023 40060 40112 40165 40170 40173 40241 41021 41126 41298 41300 41439 41442 41506 41985 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU29 [Eph 3:5 TP32]**

1) ο ετεραις γενεαις ουκ εγνωρισθη : 40156 40162 40164 40169 40257 40587 40604 40610 40809 41141 41159 41188 41282 41297 41590 41685 41825 41894 42010 42024 NA28 PR



2) ο εν ετεραις γενεαίς ουκ εγνωρισθη : 40168 41281 41364 41440 42058 ANT SAL TR

Z : 40023 40060 40112 40165 40170 40173 40241 41021 41126 41178 41298 41300 41439 41442 41506 41985 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU30 [Eph 3:5 TP32]**

1) και προφηταις εν πνευματι : 40162 40164 40168 40169 40257 40587 40604 40809 41141 41159 41188 41297 41364 41440 41590 41685 41825 42010 42024 ANT NA28 PR SAL TR

2) και προφηταις εν πνευματι αγιω : 40156 40610 41281 41282 41894 42058

Z : 40023 40060 40112 40165 40170 40173 40241 41021 41126 41178 41298 41300 41439 41442 41506 41985 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU31 [Eph 4:28 TP33]**

1) ταις ιδιαις χερσιν το αγαθον : NA28

2) το αγαθον ταις χερσιν : 40162 40164 40169 40241 40257 40587 40604 40610 40809 41141 41159 41178 41188 41281 41282 41364 41440 41590 41685 41825 41894 42010 42024 42058 ANT PR TR

3) το αγαθον ταις ιδιαις χερσιν : 40060 41297 SAL

4) ταις χερσιν : 40168

Z : 40023 40112 40156 40165 40170 40173 41021 41126 41298 41300 41439 41442 41506 41985 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU32 [Eph 5:21 TP34]**

1) υποτασσομενοι αλληλοις εν φοβω χριστου : 40156 40162 40164 40241 40587 40604 40809 41178 41188 41364 41590 41685 42024 ANT NA28 PR

2) υποτασσομενοι αλληλοις εν φοβω θεου : 40610 41141 41159 41281 41282 41440 41825 41894 42010 42058 SAL TR

3) υποτασσομενοι αλληλοις εν φοβω κυριου : 40168 40169 41297

Z : 40023 40060 40112 40165 40170 40173 40257 41021 41126 41298 41300 41439  
41442 41506 41985 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU33 [Phil 4:21 TP36]**

1) οι συν εμοι αδελφοι : 40162 40168 40169 40241 40257 40587 40604 40610  
40809 41141 41159 41178 41188 41281 41297 41364 41590 41685 41825 41894  
42010 42024 42058 ANT NA28 PR SAL TR

2) παντες οι αγιοι : 41440

Z : 40023 40060 40112 40156 40164 40165 40170 40173 41021 41126 41282  
41298 41300 41439 41442 41506 41985 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU34 [Gal 6:13 TP37]**

1) ουδε γαρ οι περιτεμνομενοι αυτοι νομον : 40112 40156 40173 41298 41442 42058  
ANT NA28 SAL TR

2) ουδε γαρ οι περιτετμημενοι αυτοι νομον: 40023 40162 40164 40168 40257 40587  
40604 40610 40809 41021 41141 41159 41178 41188 41281 41282 41297 41300  
41364 41506 41590 41825 41894 41985 42010 42024 AD PR

3) ουδε γαρ οι περιτεμνωμενοι αυτοι νομον : 40169

Z : 40060 40165 40170 40241 41126 41439 41440 41685

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU35 [2 Thess 2:8 TP39]**

1) ον ο κυριους [ιησους] ανελει τω πνευματι του στοματος αυτου : NA28

2) ον ο κυριος αναλωσει τω πνευματι του στοματος αυτου : 40112 40162 40168 40169  
40241 40257 40610 40809 41126 41159 41178 41188 41281 41282 41297 41364  
41506 41590 41685 41825 41894 42010 42024 42058 ANT PR SAL TR

3) ον ο κυριος ιησους αναλωσει τω πνευματι του στοματος αυτου : 40604 41440

Z: 40023 40060 40156 40164 40165 40170 40173 40587 41021 41141 41298 41300  
41439 41442 41985 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU36 [Gal 1:3 TP40]**

1) απο θεου πατρος ημων και κυριου ιησου χριστου : NA28

2) απο θεου πατρος και κυριου ιησου χριστου : 40162 40164 40610 41021 41297

3) απο θεου πατρος και κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου : 40023 40112 40156 40168 40169  
40170 40257 40587 40604 40809 41141 41159 41178 41188 41281 41298 41300  
41364 41439 41442 41506 41590 41685 41825 41894 41985 42010 42024 42058  
ANT PR TR

Z: 40060 40165 40173 40241 41126 41282 41440 AD SAL

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU37 [Gal 1:6 TP41]**

1) εν χαριτι χριστου εις ετερον ευαγγελιον : 40023 40060 40112 40156 40162 40164  
40169 40170 40241 40587 40604 40610 40809 41021 41141 41159 41188 41281  
41297 41300 41364 41439 41442 41506 41590 41685 41894 41985 42010 42024  
42058 ANT NA28 PR SAL TR

2) εν χαριτι εις ετερον ευαγγελιον : 41178

3) εν χαριτι του χριστου εις ετερον ευαγγελιον : 40257

4) εν χαριτι ιησου χριστου εις ετερον ευαγγελιον : 40168

5) εν χαριτι χριστου εις αλλο ευαγγελιον : 41825

Z: 40165 40173 41126 41282 41298 41440 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

### **VU38 [1 Tim 3:3 TP42]**

1) μη παροινον μη πληκτην αλλ επιεικη αμαχον αφιλαργυρον : 40164 41440 NA28

2) μη παροινον μη πληκτην μη αισχροκερδη αλλ επιεικη αμαχον αφιλαργυρον : 40162  
40168 40169 40241 40257 40587 40604 40610 40809 41141 41159 41178 41188

41281 41282 41297 41364 41590 41685 41825 41894 42010 42024 42058 ANT  
PR SAL TR

Z : 40023 40060 40112 40156 40165 40170 40173 41021 41126 41298 41300  
41439 41442 41506 41985 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

**VU39 [1 Tim 6:7]**

1) εις τον κοσμον οτι : NA28

2) εις τον κοσμον δηλον οτι : 40162 40168 40169 40241 40257 40587 40604 40610  
40809 41141 41159 41178 41188 41281 41282 41297 41364 41440 41590 41685  
41825 41894 42010 42024 42058 ANT PR SAL TR

3) εις τον κοσμον τουτον δηλον οτι : 40164

Z : 40023 40060 40112 40156 40165 40170 40173 41021 41126 41298 41300 41439  
41442 41506 41985 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

**VU40 [Heb 10:1 TP45]**

1) εις το διηνεκες ουδεποτε δυναται τους προσερχομενους τελειωσαι : 40164 41159  
41282 41825 42058 ANT NA28 PR SAL TR

2) εις το διηνεκες ουδεποτε δυναται τους προσερχομενους τελειωσαι : 40162 40168  
40169 40241 40587 40604 40610 40809 41141 41178 41188 41281 41297 41364  
41590 41685 41894 42010 42024

Z : 40023 40060 40112 40156 40165 40170 40173 40257 41021 41126 41298  
41300 41439 41440 41442 41506 41985 AD

ZZ: 41587 41774 42048

**II. Menologion Variation Units**

**MVU01 [Gal 4:25 MTP1]**

1) δε αγαρ σινα : NA28

2) γαρ αγαρ σινα : 40156 40173 40587 40604 41021 41141 41178 41298 42024  
ANT PR SAL TR

Z : AD

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40170 40241 40257 40610  
40809 41126 41159 41188 41281 41282 41297 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442  
41506 41587 41590 41685 41774 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

**MVU02 [Gal 4:26 MTP2]**

- 1) ητις εστιν μητηρ ημων : 41021 NA28
- 2) ητις εστιν μητηρ παντων ημων : 40156 40173 40587 40604 41141 41178 41298  
42024 ANT PR SAL TR

Z : AD

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40170 40241 40257  
40610 40809 41126 41159 41188 41281 41282 41297 41300 41364 41439 41440  
41442 41506 41587 41590 41685 41774 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

**MVU03 [Phil 2:9 MTP3]**

- 1) και εχαρισατο αυτω το ονομα το υπερ παν ονομα : NA28
- 2) και εχαρισατο αυτω ονομα το υπερ παν ονομα : 40060 40169 40587 40604 41021  
41126 41141 41178 41188 42024 AD ANT PR TR

Z : SAL

ZZ: 40023 40112 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168 40170 40173 40241 40257  
40610 40809 41159 41281 41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442  
41506 41587 41590 41685 41774 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

**MVU04 [Phil 2:11 MTP4]**

- 1) κυριος ιησους χριστος : 40060 40169 40587 40604 41021 41126 41141 41178  
41188 42024 AD ANT NA28 PR TR

Z : SAL

ZZ: 40023 40112 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168 40170 40173 40241 40257  
40610 40809 41159 41281 41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442  
41506 41587 41590 41685 41774 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

**MVU05 [Phil 2:11 MTP4]**

- 1) εξομολογησεται : 40060 40587 41021 41141 41178 42024 ANT NA28 PR TR

2) εξομολογησεται : 40169 40604 41126 41188

Z : AD SAL

ZZ: 40023 40112 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168 40170 40173 40241 40257 40610  
40809 41159 41281 41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442 41506  
41587 41590 41685 41774 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

**MVU06 [Acts 17:27 MTP5]**

1) ζητειν τον θεον : NA28

2) ζητειν τον κυριον : ANT PR TR

Z : 40156 40169 40170 40173 40587 40604 41178 42024 AD SAL

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40162 40164 40165 40168 40241 40257 40610 40809  
41021 41126 41141 41159 41188 41281 41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439  
41440 41442 41506 41587 41590 41685 41774 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048  
42058

**MVU07 [Acts 17:31 MTP6]**

1) καθοτι εστησεν ημεραν : 41178 NA28

2) διοτι εστησεν ημεραν : 40156 40169 40170 40173 40587 41141 42024 ANT PR TR

Z : AD SAL

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40162 40164 40165 40168 40241 40257 40604 40610 40809  
41021 41126 41159 41188 41281 41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41440  
41442 41506 41587 41590 41685 41774 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

**MVU08 [Acts 17:31 MTP7]**

1) εν ανδρι : 40156 40169 40170 40173 40587 41141 41178 42024 ANT NA28 PR TR

Z : AD SAL

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40162 40164 40165 40168 40241 40257 40604 40610 40809  
41021 41126 41159 41188 41281 41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442  
41506 41587 41590 41685 41774 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

**MVU09 [Heb 2:7 MTP7]**

1) εστεφανωσας αυτον : 41126 41188 41298 41587 41774 42024 AD ANT NA28 PR

2) εστεφανωσας αυτον και κατεστησας αυτον επι τα εργα των χειρων σου : 40156  
40170 40173 41021 SAL TR

3) εστεφανωσας : 41141

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40241 40257 40587 40604  
40610 40809 41159 41178 41281 41282 41297 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442  
41506 41590 41685 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

**MVU10 [Heb 2:8 MTP8]**

1) υποταξαι : NA28

2) υποταξαι αυτω: 40156 40170 40173 40587 41021 41126 41141 41188 41298 41774  
42024 AD ANT PR SAL TR

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40241 40257 40604 40610  
40809 41159 41178 41281 41282 41297 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442 41506  
41587 41590 41685 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

**MVU11 [Heb 2:9 MTP9]**

1) χαριτι θεου : 40156 40170 40173 40587 41021 41126 41141 41188 41298 41774  
42024 AD ANT NA28 PR SAL TR

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40241 40257 40604  
40610 40809 41159 41178 41281 41282 41297 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442  
41506 41587 41590 41685 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

**MVU12 [Heb 9:1 MTP10]**

1) ειχε μεν ουν και η πρωτη : ANT NA28

2) ειχεν μεν ουν και η πρωτη : PR TR

3) ειχεν η πρωτη : 40156 40169 40170 40173 40587 41021 41126 41141 41178 41188  
41774 42024 SAL

Z : AD

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40162 40164 40165 40168 40241 40257 40604 40610 40809  
41159 41281 41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442 41506 41587  
41590 41685 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

**MVU13 [Phil 4:3 MTP11]**

1) ναι ερωτω : 40060 40156 40170 40173 40587 41021 41141 41298 41774 42024  
ANT NA28 PR TR

2) και ερωτω : 40169

Z : AD SAL

ZZ: 40023 40112 40162 40164 40165 40168 40241 40257 40604 40610 40809  
41126 41159 41178 41188 41281 41282 41297 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442  
41506 41587 41590 41685 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

#### **MVU14 [Gal 4:7 MTP12]**

1) κληρονομος δια θεου : NA28

2) κληρονομος θεου δια χριστου : 40060 40169 40173 40587 41126 41141 41178  
41188 41298 ANT PR TR

3) κληρονομος θεου δια ιησου χριστου : 42024 SAL

Z : AD

ZZ: 40023 40112 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168 40170 40241 40257 40604  
40610 40809 41021 41159 41281 41282 41297 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442  
41506 41587 41590 41685 41774 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

#### **MVU15 [Titus 3:4 MTP13]**

1) του σωτηρος ημων θεου : 40156 40170 40173 40587 40604 41021 41126 41188  
41298 41774 42024 ANT NA28 PR SAL TR

2) του σωτηρος ημων ιησου χριστου : 40060

Z : AD

ZZ: 40023 40112 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40241 40257 40610 40809  
41141 41159 41178 41281 41282 41297 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442 41506  
41587 41590 41685 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

#### **MVU16 [Rom 8:11 MTP14]**

1) οτε δε η χρηστοτης και η φιλανθρωπια : 40156 40170 40173 40587 40604 41021  
41126 41188 41298 41774 42024 ANT NA28 PR SAL TR

2) οτε δε η χαρης και η φιλανθρωπια : 40060



Z : AD

ZZ: 40023 40112 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40241 40257 40610 40809 41141  
41159 41178 41281 41282 41297 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442 41506 41587  
41590 41685 41825 41894 41985 42010 42048 42058

**MVU17 [Gal 5:24 MTP15]**

1) και τα θνητα σωματα υμων δια του ενοικουντος αυτου πνευματος εν υμιν: 41298  
42010 NA28 TR

2) και τα θνητα σωματα υμων δια το ενοικουν αυτου πνευμα εν υμιν : 40156 40164  
40170 40257 40610 41825 42048 ANT PR

3) και τα θνητα υμων σωματα δια το ενοικουν αυτου πνευμα εν υμιν : 40162 40168  
40169 40241 40587 40604 40809 41141 41178 41188 41297 41685 42024 SAL

Z : AD

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40165 40173 41021 41126 41159 41281 41282 41300 41364  
41439 41440 41442 41506 41587 41590 41774 41894 41985 42058

**MVU18 [Gal 6:12 MTP16]**

1) οι δε του χριστου ιησου : NA28

2) οι δε του χριστου : 41126 41774 AD ANT PR TR

Z : SAL

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40170 40173  
40241 40257 40587 40604 40610 40809 41021 41141 41159 41178 41188 41281  
41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442 41506 41587 41590 41685  
41825 41894 41985 42010 42024 42048 42058

**MVU19 [Acts 6:8 MTP17]**

1) ουτως αναπληρωσετε τον νομον του χριστου: NA28

2) ουτως αναπληρωσατε τον νομον του χριστου : 41126 41774 AD ANT PR TR

Z : SAL

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40170 40173  
40241 40257 40587 40604 40610 40809 41021 41141 41159 41178 41188 41281

41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442 41506 41587 41590 41685  
41825 41894 41985 42010 42024 42048 42058

**MVU20 [Acts 7:48 MTP18]**

1) στεφανος πληρης χαριτος και δυναμεως : 41126 NA28

2) στεφανος δε πληρης πιστεως και δυναμεως : 41774 AD ANT PR TR  
Z : SAL

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40170 40173  
40241 40257 40587 40604 40610 40809 41021 41141 41159 41178 41188 41281  
41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442 41506 41587 41590 41685  
41825 41894 41985 42010 42024 42048 42058

**MVU21 [Acts 7:48 MTP18]**

1) αλλ ουχ ο υψιστος εν χειροποιητοις κατοικει : NA28

2) αλλ ουχ ο υψιστος εν χειροποιητοις ναοις κατοικει: 41126 41774 AD ANT PR TR

Z : SAL

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40170 40173  
40241 40257 40587 40604 40610 40809 41021 41141 41159 41178 41188 41281  
41282 41297 41298 41300 41364 41439 41440 41442 41506 41587 41590 41685  
41825 41894 41985 42010 42024 42048 42058

**MVU22 [Heb 12:7 MTP19]**

1) εις παιδειαν υπομενετε : 40170 40173 40604 41141 41298 NA28 PR

2) ει παιδειαν υπομενετε : ANT TR

Z : AD SAL

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40241 40257  
40587 40610 40809 41021 41126 41159 41178 41188 41281 41282 41297 41300  
41364 41439 41440 41442 41506 41587 41590 41685 41774 41825 41894 41985  
42010 42024 42048 42058

**MVU23 [Heb 12:8 MTP20]**

1) και ουχ υιοι εστε : 40604 NA28

2) εστε και ουχ υιοι : 40170 40173 41141 41298 ANT PR TR

Z : AD SAL

ZZ: 40023 40060 40112 40156 40162 40164 40165 40168 40169 40241 40257  
40587 40610 40809 41021 41126 41159 41178 41188 41281 41282 41297 41300  
41364 41439 41440 41442 41506 41587 41590 41685 41774 41825 41894 41985  
42010 42024 42048 42058

**APPENDIX 3: Apostolos Affinity Tables**

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40023	40241	1	100	2/2
40023	41590	2	92.9	26/28
40023	42024	3	90	18/20
40023	41506	4	85.2	23/27
40023	41159	5	82.1	23/28
40023	PR	6	82.1	23/28
40023	40604	7	80	20/25
40023	40165	8	78.9	15/19
40023	41298	9	78.9	15/19
40023	40162	10	78.6	22/28
40023	40168	11	78.6	22/28
40023	41364	12	78.6	22/28
40023	40170	13	77.8	14/18
40023	40809	14	75	21/28
40023	41281	15	75	18/24
40023	41439	16	74.1	20/27
40023	40173	17	73.1	19/26
40023	40587	18	73.1	19/26
40023	41282	19	73.1	19/26
40023	41141	20	71.4	20/28
40023	41442	21	71.4	10/14
40023	41178	22	70.4	19/27

40023	41440	23	68.8	11/16
40023	40610	24	67.9	19/28
40023	41021	25	67.9	19/28
40023	41188	26	67.9	19/28
40023	41300	27	67.9	19/28
40023	42058	28	67.9	19/28
40023	41297	29	66.7	16/24
40023	AD	30	66.7	4/6
40023	SAL	31	66.7	18/27
40023	40169	32	64.7	11/17
40023	40164	33	64.3	18/28
40023	41825	34	64.3	18/28
40023	41985	35	63.6	7/11
40023	41685	36	63	17/27
40023	41126	37	62.5	5/8
40023	41894	38	61.5	16/26
40023	40156	39	60.7	17/28
40023	ANT	40	60.7	17/28
40023	40060	41	60	15/25
40023	40112	42	60	12/20
40023	40257	43	50	8/16
40023	42010	44	50	9/18
40023	TR	45	50	14/28
40023	NA28	46	35.7	10/28
40023	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40060	40610	1	69.2	18/26
40060	40587	2	67.7	21/31
40060	40241	3	66.7	2/3
40060	41985	4	62.5	5/8
40060	41178	5	62.1	18/29
40060	41021	6	61.3	19/31
40060	40023	7	60	15/25
40060	41439	8	60	15/25
40060	41440	9	58.8	10/17
40060	40162	10	57.7	15/26
40060	40164	11	57.7	15/26
40060	42058	12	57.7	15/26
40060	AD	13	57.1	4/7
40060	41300	14	56	14/25
40060	40169	15	55	11/20
40060	41297	16	54.5	12/12
40060	41442	17	54.5	6/11
40060	PR	18	54.5	18/33
40060	41506	19	54.2	13/24
40060	40168	20	53.8	14/26
40060	40809	21	53.8	14/26
40060	40156	22	53.6	15/28
40060	40173	23	53.6	15/28

40060	40170	24	52.6	10/19
40060	41298	25	52.4	11/21
40060	42024	26	52	13/25
40060	SAL	27	51.7	15/29
40060	40257	28	50	7/14
40060	41126	29	50	7/14
40060	41188	30	50	16/32
40060	41281	31	50	11/22
40060	41364	32	50	13/26
40060	41590	33	50	13/26
40060	41685	34	50	13/26
40060	41825	35	50	13/26
40060	TR	36	48.5	16/33
40060	40112	37	47.1	8/17
40060	41159	38	46.2	12/26
40060	ANT	39	45.5	15/33
40060	41141	40	45.2	14/31
40060	40165	41	44.4	8/18
40060	40604	42	42.9	12/28
40060	NA28	43	42.4	14/33
40060	41282	44	40	10/25
40060	41894	45	37.5	9/24
40060	42010	46	37.5	6/19
40060	41774	47	33.3	1/3

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40112	40241	1	100	3/3
40112	41126	2	100	5/5
40112	41439	3	73.7	14/19
40112	40809	4	61.9	13/21
40112	41506	5	61.9	13/21
40112	42058	6	61.9	13/21
40112	PR	7	61.9	13/21
40112	42024	8	61.5	8/13
40112	40023	9	60	12/20
40112	40156	10	60	12/20
40112	40170	11	60	9/15
40112	41442	12	57.1	8/14
40112	41590	13	57.1	12/21
40112	ANT	14	57.1	12/21
40112	40173	15	55.6	10/18
40112	41300	16	55	11/20
40112	SAL	17	55	11/20
40112	40169	18	53.8	7/13
40112	40162	19	52.4	11/21
40112	40168	20	52.4	11/21
40112	40604	21	52.4	11/21
40112	41188	22	52.4	11/21
40112	41364	23	52.4	11/21
40112	TR	24	52.4	11/21



40112	40164	25	50	10/20
40112	40257	26	50	8/16
40112	41021	27	50	10/20
40112	41178	28	50	10/20
40112	41298	29	50	8/16
40112	41685	30	50	10/20
40112	41159	31	47.6	10/21
40112	41281	32	47.6	10/21
40112	41894	33	47.6	10/21
40112	41297	34	47.4	9/19
40112	40060	35	47.1	8/17
40112	40165	36	45.5	5/11
40112	41985	37	45.5	5/11
40112	41440	38	44.4	4/9
40112	41825	39	42.9	9/21
40112	NA28	40	42.9	9/21
40112	42010	41	42.1	8/19
40112	41141	42	40	8/20
40112	40587	43	38.9	7/18
40112	40610	44	38.1	8/21
40112	41282	45	36.8	7/19
40112	AD	46	33.3	2/6
40112	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40156	41774	1	85.7	6/7
40156	PR	2	77.8	35/45
40156	TR	3	73.3	33/45
40156	40170	4	71.4	20/28
40156	40587	5	71.4	30/42
40156	41442	6	71.4	10/14
40156	ANT	7	71.1	32/45
40156	41439	8	70.4	19/27
40156	42024	9	70.3	26/37
40156	40165	10	68.4	13/19
40156	41298	11	67.9	19/28
40156	40168	12	67.6	23/34
40156	40173	13	67.6	25/37
40156	40809	14	67.6	23/34
40156	SAL	15	65.9	27/41
40156	40604	16	65.7	23/35
40156	41021	17	64.9	24/37
40156	40162	18	64.7	22/34
40156	41282	19	64.5	20/31
40156	41126	20	64.3	9/14
40156	41300	21	64.3	18/28
40156	41364	22	63.6	21/33
40156	42058	23	63.6	21/33
40156	41141	24	62.8	27/43

40156	40023	25	60.7	17/28
40156	41590	26	60.6	20/33
40156	40112	27	60	12/20
40156	40241	28	60	3/5
40156	40169	29	59.3	16/27
40156	40610	30	58.8	20/34
40156	41281	31	58.6	17/29
40156	41178	32	58.3	21/36
40156	41188	33	57.5	23/40
40156	41825	34	55.9	19/34
40156	41506	35	55.6	15/27
40156	AD	36	55.6	5/9
40156	40257	37	55	11/20
40156	41894	38	54.8	17/31
40156	41985	39	54.5	6/11
40156	40060	40	53.6	15/28
40156	40164	41	52.9	18/34
40156	41685	42	51.5	17/33
40156	41440	43	50	10/20
40156	42010	44	50	12/24
40156	41159	45	48.5	16/33
40156	41297	46	46.7	14/30
40156	NA28	47	42.2	19/45

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40162	40241	1	91.7	11/12
40162	42024	2	87.9	29/33
40162	41364	3	87.5	35/40
40162	40809	4	85.4	35/41
40162	AD	5	83.3	5/6
40162	41590	6	82.5	33/40
40162	40587	7	81.6	31/38
40162	40604	8	81.6	31/38
40162	40165	9	78.9	15/19
40162	40023	10	78.6	22/28
40162	41442	11	78.6	11/41
40162	40168	12	78	32/41
40162	41439	13	77.8	21/27
40162	41141	14	77.5	31/40
40162	40257	15	76.9	20/26
40162	41297	16	75.7	28/37
40162	40610	17	75.6	31/41
40162	41281	18	75	27/36
40162	40169	19	73.3	22/30
40162	41188	20	73.2	30/41
40162	41985	21	72.7	8/11
40162	41685	22	72.5	29/40
40162	41021	23	71.4	20/28
40162	41506	24	71.4	20/28

40162	PR	25	70.7	29/41
40162	41298	26	70	14/20
40162	SAL	27	70	28/40
40162	40170	28	68.4	13/19
40162	41282	29	67.6	25/37
40162	42058	30	67.5	27/40
40162	41178	31	65.8	25/38
40162	40156	32	64.7	22/34
40162	41300	33	64.3	18/28
40162	41159	34	62.5	25/40
40162	40173	35	61.5	16/26
40162	42010	36	61.3	19/31
40162	41825	37	61	25/41
40162	41894	38	60.5	23/38
40162	40164	39	59	23/39
40162	ANT	40	58.5	23/39
40162	TR	41	58.5	23/39
40162	40060	42	57.7	15/26
40162	41126	43	55.6	5/9
40162	41440	44	53.8	24/26
40162	40112	45	52.4	11/21
40162	NA28	46	34.1	14/41
40162	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40164	40170	1	68.4	13/19
40164	41021	2	67.9	19/28
40164	41300	3	67.9	19/28
40164	40023	4	64.3	18/28
40164	40610	5	64.1	25/39
40164	PR	6	64.1	23/39
40164	41985	7	63.6	7/11
40164	41439	8	63	17/27
40164	40173	9	61.5	16/26
40164	42058	10	60.5	23/38
40164	41506	11	59.3	16/27
40164	40162	12	59	23/39
40164	40257	13	58.3	14/24
40164	41440	14	58.3	14/24
40164	40165	15	57.9	11/19
40164	40060	16	57.7	15/26
40164	40809	17	56.4	22/39
40164	41894	18	55.6	20/36
40164	41159	19	55.3	21/38
40164	41590	20	55.3	21/38
40164	40587	21	54.1	20/37
40164	40156	22	52.9	18/34
40164	40604	23	52.8	19/36

40164	41178	24	52.8	19/36
40164	41685	25	52.6	20/38
40164	SAL	26	52.6	20/38
40164	41825	27	51.3	20/39
40164	40112	28	50	10/20
40164	41281	29	50	17/34
40164	41282	30	50	18/36
40164	41364	31	50	19/38
40164	41442	32	50	7/14
40164	AD	33	50	3/6
40164	40168	34	48.7	19/39
40164	41297	35	48.6	17/35
40164	42024	36	48.4	15/31
40164	41188	37	46.2	18/39
40164	TR	38	46.2	18/39
40164	41298	39	45	9/20
40164	ANT	40	43.6	17/39
40164	41141	41	41	16/39
40164	40241	42	40	4/10
40164	40169	43	39.3	11/28
40164	42010	44	37.9	11/29
40164	41126	45	37.5	3/8
40164	NA28	46	33.3	13/39
40164	41774	47	0	0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40165	40241	1	100	1/1
40165	AD	2	100	1/3
40165	40168	3	94.7	18/19
40165	42024	4	93.3	14/15
40165	40809	5	84.2	16/19
40165	41141	6	84.2	16/19
40165	41364	7	84.2	16/19
40165	41985	8	83.3	5/6
40165	40023	9	78.9	15/19
40165	40162	10	78.9	15/19
40165	40587	11	78.9	15/19
40165	41590	12	78.9	15/19
40165	41298	13	76.9	10/13
40165	40173	14	73.7	14/19
40165	41021	15	73.7	14/19
40165	41825	16	73.7	14/19
40165	42058	17	73.7	14/19
40165	PR	18	73.7	14/19
40165	SAL	19	73.7	11/15
40165	41281	20	73.3	11/15
40165	41442	21	72.7	8/11
40165	40170	22	71.4	10/14
40165	40257	23	71.4	5/7



40165	40604	24	68.8	11/16
40165	40156	25	68.4	13/19
40165	40610	26	68.4	13/19
40165	41282	27	68.4	13/19
40165	41178	28	66.7	12/18
40165	41297	29	64.7	11/17
40165	41894	30	64.7	11/17
40165	40169	31	64.3	9/14
40165	42010	32	63.6	7/11
40165	41159	33	63.2	12/19
40165	41439	34	63.2	12/19
40165	ANT	35	63.2	12/19
40165	TR	36	63.2	12/19
40165	41506	37	61.1	11/18
40165	41440	38	60	6/10
40165	40164	39	57.9	11/19
40165	41300	40	57.9	11/19
40165	41685	41	52.6	10/19
40165	41126	42	50	3/6
40165	41188	43	47.4	9/19
40165	40112	44	45.5	5/11
40165	40060	45	44.4	8/18
40165	NA28	46	26.3	5/19
40165	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40168	40165	1	94.7	18/19
40168	AD	2	83.3	5/6
40168	41364	3	82.5	33/40
40168	40809	4	80.5	33/41
40168	40587	5	78.9	30/38
40168	42024	6	78.8	26/33
40168	40023	7	78.6	22/28
40168	40162	8	78	32/41
40168	41281	9	75	27/36
40168	41298	10	75	15/20
40168	41590	11	75	30/40
40168	SAL	12	75	30/40
40168	40604	13	73.7	28/38
40168	41985	14	72.7	8/11
40168	42058	15	72.5	29/40
40168	41021	16	71.4	20/28
40168	41439	17	70.4	19/27
40168	41141	18	70	28/40
40168	40173	19	69.2	18/26
40168	40257	20	69.2	18/26
40168	41300	21	67.9	19/28
40168	41506	22	67.9	19/28
40168	40156	23	67.6	23/34

40168	41297	24	67.6	25/37
40168	40169	25	66.7	20/30
40168	40241	26	66.7	8/12
40168	40610	27	65.9	27/41
40168	ANT	28	65.9	27/41
40168	PR	29	65.9	27/41
40168	TR	30	65.9	27/41
40168	41178	31	65.8	25/38
40168	41685	32	65	26/40
40168	41282	33	64.9	24/37
40168	41442	34	64.3	9/14
40168	41188	35	63.4	26/41
40168	41825	36	63.4	26/41
40168	40170	37	63.2	12/19
40168	42010	38	61.3	19/31
40168	41894	39	60.5	23/38
40168	41440	40	57.7	15/26
40168	41159	41	57.5	23/40
40168	41126	42	55.6	5/9
40168	40060	43	53.8	14/26
40168	40112	44	52.4	11/21
40168	40164	45	48.7	19/39
40168	NA28	46	22	9/41
40168	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40169	40241	1	83.3	10/12
40169	41126	2	83.3	10/12
40169	41141	3	78.4	29/37
40169	40587	4	75.7	28/37
40169	42024	5	75	27/36
40169	40162	6	73.3	22/30
40169	41590	7	72.4	21/29
40169	41188	8	71.4	25/35
40169	41297	9	71.4	20/28
40169	40604	10	70	21/30
40169	41364	11	69	20/29
40169	42058	12	69	20/29
40169	40168	13	66.7	20/30
40169	40809	14	66.7	20/30
40169	41442	15	66.7	8/12
40169	41894	16	66.7	18/27
40169	PR	17	65.8	25/38
40169	40257	18	65	13/20
40169	40023	19	64.7	11/17
40169	SAL	20	64.5	20/31
40169	40165	21	64.3	9/14
40169	42010	22	64	16/25
40169	40610	23	63.3	19/30

40169	41825	24	63.3	19/30
40169	TR	25	63.2	24/38
40169	40170	26	62.5	10/16
40169	41178	27	61.8	21/34
40169	41282	28	61.5	16/26
40169	40173	29	60	12/20
40169	40156	30	59.3	16/27
40169	41300	31	58.8	10/17
40169	41440	32	58.8	10/17
40169	41159	33	58.6	17/29
40169	41685	34	58.6	17/29
40169	41439	35	56.3	9/16
40169	41281	36	56	14/25
40169	41985	37	55.6	5/9
40169	ANT	38	55.3	21/38
40169	40060	39	55	11/20
40169	41021	40	54.5	12/22
40169	40112	41	53.8	7/13
40169	41298	42	53.8	7/13
40169	41506	43	52.9	9/17
40169	41774	44	50	1/2
40169	AD	45	50	3/6
40169	40164	46	39.3	11/28
40169	NA28	47	36.8	14/38

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40170	41774	1	85.7	6/7
40170	40173	2	85.2	23/27
40170	41442	3	84.6	11/13
40170	41506	4	83.3	15/18
40170	42024	5	81.8	18/22
40170	40023	6	77.8	14/18
40170	40587	7	77.8	21/27
40170	41300	8	77.8	14/18
40170	41021	9	76	19/25
40170	41126	10	75	6/8
40170	41141	11	75	21/28
40170	41985	12	75	6/8
40170	PR	13	73.3	22/30
40170	41364	14	72.2	13/18
40170	41439	15	72.2	13/18
40170	41590	16	72.2	13/18
40170	42058	17	72.2	13/18
40170	41298	18	72	18/25
40170	40156	19	71.4	20/28
40170	40165	20	71.4	10/14
40170	40162	21	68.4	13/19
40170	40164	22	68.4	13/19
40170	40610	23	68.4	13/19

40170	41297	24	68.4	13/19
40170	41188	25	68	17/25
40170	40241	26	66.7	2/3
40170	41281	27	66.7	12/18
40170	41894	28	66.7	12/18
40170	AD	29	66.7	4/6
40170	SAL	30	66.7	16/24
40170	40604	31	65.2	15/23
40170	40257	32	63.6	7/11
40170	40168	33	63.2	12/19
40170	40809	34	63.2	12/19
40170	40169	35	62.5	10/16
40170	41178	36	61.9	13/21
40170	40112	37	60	9/15
40170	ANT	38	60	18/30
40170	41685	39	57.9	11/19
40170	TR	40	56.7	17/30
40170	41159	41	55.6	10/18
40170	40060	42	52.6	10/19
40170	41825	43	52.6	10/19
40170	41282	44	43.8	7/16
40170	41440	45	42.9	3/7
40170	42010	46	37.5	6/16
40170	NA28	47	36.7	11/30

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40173	40241	1	100	1/1
40173	41774	2	85.7	6/7
40173	40170	3	85.2	23/27
40173	41300	4	84.6	22/26
40173	41298	5	82.8	24/29
40173	41442	6	75	9/12
40173	40587	7	74.3	26/35
40173	40165	8	73.7	14/19
40173	41126	9	73.3	11/15
40173	40023	10	73.1	19/26
40173	41506	11	72	18/25
40173	41685	12	72	18/25
40173	42024	13	70	21/30
40173	PR	14	70	28/40
40173	40168	15	69.2	18/26
40173	42058	16	69.2	18/26
40173	SAL	17	68.6	24/35
40173	40156	18	67.6	25/37
40173	41894	19	66.7	16/24
40173	41021	20	65.7	23/35
40173	41590	21	65.4	17/26
40173	41281	22	63.6	14/22
40173	41141	23	63.2	24/38



40173	ANT	24	62.5	25/40
40173	40604	25	62.1	18/29
40173	40162	26	61.5	16/26
40173	40164	27	61.5	16/26
40173	40610	28	61.5	16/26
40173	40809	29	61.5	16/26
40173	41178	30	61.3	19/31
40173	40169	31	60	12/20
40173	TR	32	60	24/40
40173	41297	33	59.1	13/22
40173	41159	34	57.7	15/26
40173	41364	35	57.7	15/26
40173	41188	36	57.6	19/33
40173	41440	37	56.3	9/16
40173	41439	38	56	14/25
40173	40112	39	55.6	10/18
40173	41985	40	55.6	5/9
40173	AD	41	55.6	5/9
40173	41282	42	53.8	14/26
40173	41825	43	53.8	14/26
40173	40060	44	53.6	15/28
40173	42010	45	43.8	7/16
40173	40257	46	42.9	6/14
40173	NA28	47	40	16/40

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40241	40112	1	100	3/3
40241	40165	2	100	1/1
40241	40173	3	100	1/1
40241	40241	4	100	12/12
40241	41021	5	100	2/2
40241	41126	6	100	2/2
40241	41300	7	100	2/2
40241	41439	8	100	2/2
40241	41442	9	100	2/2
40241	41506	10	100	2/2
40241	41985	11	100	2/2
40241	40162	12	91.7	11/12
40241	40809	13	91.7	11/12
40241	41178	14	91.7	11/12
40241	41188	15	91.7	11/12
40241	41685	16	91.7	11/12
40241	42024	17	91.7	11/12
40241	40587	18	90.9	10/12
40241	41281	19	90.9	10/12
40241	41364	20	90.9	10/12
40241	41590	21	90.9	10/12
40241	40169	22	83.3	10/12
40241	40604	23	83.3	10/12

40241	40610	24	83.3	10/12
40241	42010	25	83.3	10/12
40241	ANT	26	83.3	10/12
40241	41141	27	81.8	9/11
40241	41894	28	81.8	9/11
40241	40257	29	77.8	7/9
40241	41282	30	77.8	7/9
40241	41297	31	75	9/12
40241	PR	32	75	9/12
40241	41159	33	72.7	8/11
40241	42058	34	72.7	8/11
40241	40060	35	66.7	2/3
40241	40168	36	66.7	8/12
40241	40170	37	66.7	2/3
40241	SAL	38	66.7	8/12
40241	TR	39	66.7	8/12
40241	40156	40	60	3/5
40241	41298	41	50	1/1
40241	41825	42	50	6/12
40241	40164	43	40	4/10
40241	41440	44	37.5	3/8
40241	NA28	45	33.3	4/12
40241	41774	46	0	0/0
40241	AD	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40257	41985	1	81.8	9/11
40257	41126	2	80	4/5
40257	AD	3	80	4/5
40257	40241	4	77.8	7/9
40257	40162	5	76.9	20/26
40257	40610	6	76.9	20/26
40257	41364	7	76	19/25
40257	41281	8	75	18/24
40257	40587	9	73.9	17/23
40257	40604	10	73.1	19/26
40257	40809	11	73.1	19/26
40257	41282	12	72.7	16/22
40257	42024	13	72.7	16/22
40257	42058	14	72	18/25
40257	40165	15	71.4	5/7
40257	42010	16	69.6	16/23
40257	40168	17	69.2	18/26
40257	41590	18	68	17/25
40257	41685	19	68	17/25
40257	41442	20	66.7	6/9
40257	41894	21	66.7	16/24
40257	41188	22	65.4	17/26
40257	41825	23	65.4	17/26

40257	41178	24	65.2	15/23
40257	41297	25	65.2	15/23
40257	40169	26	65	13/20
40257	41141	27	64	16/25
40257	SAL	28	64	16/25
40257	40170	29	63.6	7/11
40257	PR	30	61.5	16/26
40257	41439	31	60	9/15
40257	40164	32	58.3	14/24
40257	ANT	33	57.7	15/26
40257	TR	34	57.7	15/26
40257	41506	35	56.3	9/16
40257	41159	36	56	14/25
40257	40156	37	55	11/20
40257	41440	38	52.9	9/17
40257	40023	39	50	8/16
40257	40060	40	50	7/14
40257	40112	41	50	8/16
40257	41298	42	50	6/12
40257	41300	43	50	8/16
40257	41021	44	43.8	7/16
40257	40173	45	42.9	6/14
40257	NA28	46	30.8	8/26
40257	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40587	41774	1	100	6/6
40587	AD	2	100	8/8
40587	40241	3	90.9	10/11
40587	42024	4	90.9	40/44
40587	41985	5	88.9	8/9
40587	41364	6	86.5	32/37
40587	40809	7	84.2	32/38
40587	41141	8	84	42/50
40587	40604	9	83.3	35/42
40587	40162	10	81.6	31/38
40587	40165	11	78.9	15/19
40587	40168	12	78.9	30/38
40587	41298	13	78.6	22/28
40587	41021	14	78.4	29/37
40587	41590	15	78.4	29/37
40587	40170	16	77.8	21/27
40587	41188	17	76.6	36/47
40587	40610	18	76.3	29/38
40587	40169	19	75.7	28/37
40587	41178	20	75	33/44
40587	40173	21	74.3	26/35
40587	40257	22	73.9	17/23
40587	40023	23	73.1	19/26

40587	PR	24	73.1	38/52
40587	41685	25	73	27/37
40587	41281	26	72.7	24/33
40587	40156	27	71.4	30/42
40587	41442	28	71.4	10/14
40587	SAL	29	71.1	32/45
40587	42058	30	70.3	26/37
40587	41297	31	69.4	25/36
40587	ANT	32	69.2	36/52
40587	41439	33	68	17/25
40587	40060	34	67.7	21/31
40587	TR	35	67.3	35/52
40587	41126	36	66.7	10/15
40587	42010	37	66.7	20/30
40587	41825	38	65.8	25/38
40587	41300	39	65.4	17/26
40587	41282	40	64.7	22/34
40587	41506	41	64	16/25
40587	41894	42	62.9	22/35
40587	41159	43	59.5	22/37
40587	41440	44	56.5	13/23
40587	40164	45	54.1	20/37
40587	40112	46	38.9	7/18
40587	NA28	47	36.5	19/52

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40604	41774	1	100	2/2
40604	42024	2	89.2	33/37
40604	AD	3	87.5	7/8
40604	41590	4	83.8	31/37
40604	40241	5	83.3	10/12
40604	40587	6	83.3	35/42
40604	40162	7	81.6	31/38
40604	41364	8	81.1	30/37
40604	40023	9	80	20/25
40604	40809	10	78.9	30/38
40604	41188	11	76.7	33/43
40604	41506	12	76	19/25
40604	41141	13	75	33/44
40604	40168	14	73.7	28/38
40604	40257	15	73.1	19/26
40604	41685	16	73	27/37
40604	41126	17	72.7	8/11
40604	41985	18	72.7	8/11
40604	41442	19	71.4	10/14
40604	41439	20	70.8	17/24
40604	PR	21	70.2	33/47
40604	40169	22	70	21/30
40604	41281	23	69.4	25/36



40604	41298	24	69.2	18/26
40604	40165	25	68.8	11/16
40604	41297	26	67.6	23/34
40604	40156	27	65.7	23/35
40604	41021	28	65.6	21/32
40604	40170	29	65.2	15/23
40604	41300	30	64	16/25
40604	ANT	31	63.8	30/47
40604	SAL	32	63.4	26/41
40604	40610	33	63.2	24/38
40604	41178	34	62.5	25/40
40604	42058	35	62.2	23/37
40604	40173	36	62.1	18/29
40604	41282	37	61.8	21/34
40604	41440	38	60.9	14/23
40604	41894	39	60	21/35
40604	41159	40	59.5	22/37
40604	TR	41	55.3	26/47
40604	42010	42	54.8	17/31
40604	40164	43	52.8	19/36
40604	41825	44	52.6	20/38
40604	40112	45	52.4	11/21
40604	40060	46	42.9	12/28
40604	NA28	47	36.2	17/47

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40610	40241	1	83.3	10/12
40610	41281	2	83.3	30/36
40610	AD	3	83.3	5/6
40610	41985	4	81.8	9/11
40610	40257	5	76.9	20/26
40610	40587	6	76.3	29/38
40610	40162	7	75.6	31/41
40610	42058	8	75	30/40
40610	41282	9	73	27/37
40610	41894	10	71.1	27/38
40610	42024	11	69.7	23/33
40610	40060	12	69.2	18/26
40610	40165	13	68.4	13/19
40610	40170	14	68.4	13/19
40610	40023	15	67.9	19/28
40610	41021	16	67.9	19/28
40610	42010	17	67.7	21/31
40610	41297	18	67.6	25/37
40610	41364	19	67.5	27/40
40610	41590	20	67.5	27/40
40610	40168	21	65.9	27/41
40610	40809	22	65.9	27/41
40610	PR	23	65.9	27/41

40610	41178	24	65.8	25/38
40610	SAL	25	65	26/40
40610	41300	26	64.3	18/28
40610	41442	27	64.3	9/14
40610	41506	28	64.3	18/28
40610	40164	29	64.1	25/39
40610	40169	30	63.3	19/30
40610	40604	31	63.2	24/38
40610	41159	32	62.5	25/40
40610	41685	33	62.5	25/40
40610	40173	34	61.5	16/26
40610	41825	35	61	25/41
40610	41141	36	60	24/40
40610	41298	37	60	12/20
40610	41439	38	59.3	16/27
40610	40156	39	58.8	20/34
40610	41188	40	58.5	24/41
40610	41440	41	57.7	15/26
40610	TR	42	56.1	23/41
40610	41126	43	55.6	5/9
40610	ANT	44	53.7	22/41
40610	40112	45	38.1	8/21
40610	NA28	46	29.3	12/41
40610	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
40809	40241	1	91.7	11/12
40809	41364	2	87.5	35/40
40809	40162	3	85.4	35/41
40809	42024	4	84.8	28/33
40809	40165	5	84.2	16/19
40809	40587	6	84.2	32/38
40809	AD	7	83.3	5/6
40809	41590	8	82.5	33/40
40809	41439	9	81.5	22/27
40809	40168	10	80.5	33/41
40809	40604	11	78.9	30/38
40809	41141	12	77.5	31/40
40809	40023	13	75	21/28
40809	41685	14	75	30/40
40809	40257	15	73.1	19/26
40809	41985	16	72.7	8/11
40809	41021	17	71.4	20/28
40809	PR	18	70.7	29/41
40809	41298	19	70	14/20
40809	41281	20	69.4	25/36
40809	41178	21	68.4	26/38
40809	40156	22	67.6	23/34
40809	42058	23	67.5	27/40

40809	SAL	24	67.5	27/40
40809	40169	25	66.7	20/30
40809	40610	26	65.9	27/41
40809	41188	27	65.9	27/41
40809	41282	28	64.9	24/37
40809	42010	29	64.5	20/31
40809	41300	30	64.3	18/28
40809	41442	31	64.3	9/14
40809	41506	32	64.3	18/28
40809	41825	33	63.4	26/41
40809	ANT	34	63.4	26/41
40809	40170	35	63.2	12/19
40809	41297	36	62.2	23/37
40809	40112	37	61.9	13/21
40809	40173	38	61.5	16/26
40809	TR	39	61	25/41
40809	41894	40	60.5	23/38
40809	41159	41	60	24/40
40809	40164	42	56.4	22/39
40809	41126	43	55.6	5/9
40809	40060	44	53.8	14/26
40809	41440	45	50	13/26
40809	NA28	46	34.1	14/41
40809	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41021	40241	1	100	2/2
41021	41774	2	85.7	6/7
41021	40587	3	78.4	29/37
41021	40170	4	76	19/25
41021	SAL	5	74.3	26/35
41021	41439	6	74.1	20/27
41021	40165	7	73.7	14/19
41021	42024	8	71.9	23/32
41021	40162	9	71.4	20/28
41021	40168	10	71.4	20/28
41021	40809	11	71.4	20/28
41021	41364	12	71.4	20/28
41021	41297	13	70.8	17/24
41021	41141	14	68.4	26/38
41021	40023	15	67.9	19/28
41021	40164	16	67.9	19/28
41021	40610	17	67.9	19/28
41021	40173	18	65.7	23/35
41021	40604	19	65.6	21/32
41021	PR	20	65	26/40
41021	TR	21	65	26/40
41021	40156	22	64.9	24/37
41021	42058	23	64.3	18/28

41021	41985	24	63.6	7/11
41021	41298	25	63	17/27
41021	41281	26	62.5	15/24
41021	41188	27	62.2	23/37
41021	40060	28	61.3	19/31
41021	41300	29	60.7	17/28
41021	41590	30	60.7	17/28
41021	41178	31	60.6	20/33
41021	41506	32	59.3	16/27
41021	41685	33	59.3	16/27
41021	41126	34	58.8	10/17
41021	41282	35	57.7	15/26
41021	41894	36	57.7	15/26
41021	ANT	37	57.5	23/40
41021	41825	38	57.1	16/28
41021	40169	39	54.5	12/22
41021	AD	40	54.5	6/11
41021	41159	41	53.6	15/28
41021	40112	42	50	10/20
41021	41442	43	50	7/14
41021	42010	44	50	9/18
41021	40257	45	43.8	7/16
41021	41440	46	43.8	7/16
41021	NA28	47	32.5	13/40

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41126	40241	1	100	2/2
41126	42010	2	100	3/3
41126	41774	3	90	9/10
41126	41298	4	87.5	7/8
41126	40169	5	83.3	10/12
41126	40257	6	80	4/5
41126	41281	7	80	4/5
41126	40170	8	75	6/8
41126	AD	9	75	9/12
41126	PR	10	73.9	17/23
41126	41188	11	73.7	14/19
41126	40173	12	73.3	11/15
41126	40604	13	72.7	8/11
41126	41178	14	71.4	10/14
41126	42024	15	68.4	13/19
41126	40587	16	66.7	10/15
41126	41282	17	66.7	6/9
41126	41297	18	66.7	4/6
41126	41825	19	66.7	6/9
41126	41985	20	66.7	2/3
41126	42058	21	66.7	6/9
41126	ANT	22	65.2	15/23
41126	TR	23	65.2	15/23



41126	40156	24	64.3	9/14
41126	40023	25	62.5	5/8
41126	41439	26	62.5	5/8
41126	41506	27	62.5	5/8
41126	41894	28	62.5	5/8
41126	SAL	29	62.5	10/16
41126	41021	30	58.8	10/17
41126	41141	31	56.3	9/16
41126	40162	32	55.6	5/9
41126	40168	33	55.6	5/9
41126	40610	34	55.6	5/9
41126	40809	35	55.6	5/9
41126	41159	36	55.6	5/9
41126	41590	37	55.6	5/9
41126	41685	38	55.6	5/9
41126	40060	39	50	7/14
41126	40165	40	50	3/6
41126	41300	41	50	4/8
41126	41442	42	50	1/2
41126	41364	43	44.4	4/9
41126	41440	44	44.4	4/9
41126	NA28	45	43.5	10/23
41126	40164	46	37.5	3/8

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41141	42024	1	86.7	39/45
41141	41364	2	84.6	33/39
41141	40165	3	84.2	16/19
41141	40587	4	84	42/50
41141	40241	5	81.8	9/11
41141	41774	6	80	4/5
41141	40169	7	78.4	29/37
41141	40162	8	77.5	31/40
41141	40809	9	77.5	31/40
41141	40170	10	75	21/28
41141	40604	11	75	33/44
41141	41590	12	74.4	29/39
41141	AD	13	72.7	8/11
41141	41298	14	72.4	21/29
41141	41282	15	72.2	26/36
41141	40023	16	71.4	20/28
41141	41442	17	71.4	10/14
41141	PR	18	70.9	39/55
41141	41894	19	70.3	26/37
41141	40168	20	70	28/40
41141	41021	21	68.4	26/38
41141	41439	22	66.7	18/27
41141	41281	23	65.7	23/35

41141	TR	24	65.5	36/55
41141	SAL	25	65.2	30/46
41141	41159	26	64.1	25/39
41141	42058	27	64.1	25/39
41141	40257	28	64	16/25
41141	41297	29	63.9	23/36
41141	41985	30	63.6	7/11
41141	ANT	31	63.6	35/55
41141	42010	32	63.3	19/30
41141	40173	33	63.2	24/38
41141	41178	34	63	29/46
41141	40156	35	62.8	27/43
41141	41188	36	62.5	30/48
41141	41825	37	62.5	25/40
41141	40610	38	60	24/40
41141	41685	39	59	23/39
41141	41126	40	56.3	9/16
41141	41440	41	56	14/25
41141	41506	42	55.6	25/27
41141	41300	43	53.6	15/28
41141	40060	44	45.2	14/31
41141	40164	45	41	16/39
41141	40112	46	40	8/20
41141	NA28	47	30.9	17/55

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41159	AD	1	83.3	5/6
41159	40023	2	82.1	23/28
41159	PR	3	77.5	31/40
41159	41825	4	75	30/40
41159	42024	5	75	24/32
41159	40241	6	72.7	8/11
41159	41590	7	70	28/40
41159	42010	8	70	21/30
41159	TR	9	70	28/40
41159	SAL	10	69.2	28/39
41159	41298	11	68.4	13/19
41159	41506	12	67.9	19/28
41159	41282	13	67.6	25/37
41159	ANT	14	67.5	27/40
41159	41894	15	65.8	25/38
41159	41364	16	65	26/40
41159	41141	17	64.1	25/39
41159	41281	18	63.9	23/36
41159	41985	19	63.6	7/11
41159	40165	20	63.2	12/19
41159	41439	21	63	17/27
41159	40162	22	62.5	25/40
41159	40610	23	62.5	25/40

41159	41178	24	62.2	23/37
41159	40809	25	60	24/40
41159	41188	26	60	24/40
41159	42058	27	60	24/40
41159	40587	28	59.5	22/37
41159	40604	29	59.5	22/37
41159	41685	30	59	23/39
41159	40169	31	58.6	17/29
41159	40173	32	57.7	15/26
41159	40168	33	57.5	23/40
41159	41442	34	57.1	8/14
41159	40257	35	56	14/25
41159	40170	36	55.6	10/18
41159	41126	37	55.6	5/9
41159	40164	38	55.3	21/38
41159	41440	39	53.8	14/26
41159	41021	40	53.6	15/28
41159	41300	41	53.6	15/28
41159	41297	42	52.8	19/36
41159	40156	43	48.5	16/33
41159	40112	44	47.6	10/21
41159	40060	45	46.2	12/26
41159	NA28	46	35	14/40
41159	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41178	41774	1	100	1/1
41178	40241	2	91.7	11/12
41178	40587	3	75	33/44
41178	AD	4	75	6/8
41178	42024	5	74.4	29/39
41178	41281	6	72.7	24/33
41178	41126	7	71.4	10/14
41178	40023	8	70.4	19/27
41178	41590	9	70.3	26/37
41178	41685	10	70.3	26/37
41178	41985	11	70	7/10
41178	40809	12	68.4	26/38
41178	41188	13	67.4	29/43
41178	40165	14	66.7	12/18
41178	41506	15	66.7	18/27
41178	PR	16	66	31/47
41178	40162	17	65.8	25/38
41178	40168	18	65.8	25/38
41178	40610	19	65.8	25/38
41178	40257	20	65.2	15/23
41178	41364	21	64.9	24/37
41178	41282	22	64.7	22/34
41178	41141	23	63	29/46

41178	40604	24	62.5	25/40
41178	41159	25	62.2	23/37
41178	40060	26	62.1	18/29
41178	40170	27	61.9	13/21
41178	40169	28	61.8	21/34
41178	41439	29	61.5	16/26
41178	41442	30	61.5	8/13
41178	40173	31	61.3	19/31
41178	41021	32	60.6	20/33
41178	41298	33	59.1	13/22
41178	SAL	34	58.5	24/41
41178	40156	35	58.3	21/36
41178	41825	36	57.9	22/38
41178	ANT	37	57.4	27/47
41178	TR	38	57.4	27/47
41178	42010	39	57.1	16/28
41178	41297	40	55.9	19/34
41178	41300	41	55.6	15/27
41178	42058	42	54.1	20/37
41178	40164	43	52.8	19/36
41178	41894	44	51.4	18/35
41178	40112	45	50	10/20
41178	41440	46	50	12/24
41178	NA28	47	31.9	15/47

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41188	41774	1	100	1/6
41188	40241	2	91.7	11/12
41188	AD	3	81.8	9/11
41188	42024	4	81.4	35/43
41188	40604	5	76.7	33/43
41188	40587	6	76.6	36/47
41188	41126	7	73.7	14/19
41188	40162	8	73.2	30/41
41188	40169	9	71.4	25/35
41188	41506	10	71.4	20/28
41188	41364	11	70	28/40
41188	41590	12	70	28/40
41188	40170	13	68	17/25
41188	40023	14	67.9	19/28
41188	41685	15	67.5	27/40
41188	41178	16	67.4	29/43
41188	40809	17	65.9	27/41
41188	40257	18	65.4	17/26
41188	41297	19	64.9	24/37
41188	PR	20	64.7	33/51
41188	41281	21	63.9	23/36
41188	41985	22	63.6	7/11
41188	40168	23	63.4	26/41



41188	ANT	24	62.7	32/51
41188	41141	25	62.5	30/48
41188	41021	26	62.2	23/37
41188	SAL	27	61.7	29/47
41188	41298	28	61.5	16/26
41188	41159	29	60	24/40
41188	40610	30	58.5	24/41
41188	41825	31	58.5	24/41
41188	41894	32	57.9	22/38
41188	40173	33	57.6	19/33
41188	40156	34	57.5	23/40
41188	41300	35	57.1	16/28
41188	41442	36	57.1	8/14
41188	41439	37	55.6	15/27
41188	42058	38	55	22/40
41188	TR	39	54.9	28/51
41188	42010	40	54.8	17/31
41188	40112	41	52.4	11/21
41188	40060	42	50	16/32
41188	41282	43	48.6	18/37
41188	40165	44	47.4	9/19
41188	40164	45	46.2	18/39
41188	NA28	46	39.2	20/51
41188	41440	47	34.6	9/26

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41281	40241	1	90.9	10/11
41281	41985	2	90.9	10/11
41281	40610	3	83.3	30/36
41281	AD	4	83.3	5/6
41281	41126	5	80	4/5
41281	41282	6	75.8	25/33
41281	40023	7	75	18/24
41281	40162	8	75	27/36
41281	40168	9	75	27/36
41281	40257	10	75	18/24
41281	41364	11	75	27/36
41281	42024	12	75	21/28
41281	42058	13	75	27/36
41281	41685	14	74.3	26/35
41281	41894	15	74.3	26/35
41281	40165	16	73.3	11/15
41281	42010	17	73.3	22/30
41281	40587	18	72.7	24/33
41281	41178	19	72.7	24/33
41281	41590	20	72.2	26/36
41281	41506	21	72	18/25
41281	40604	22	69.4	25/36
41281	40809	23	69.4	25/36

41281	SAL	24	68.6	24/35
41281	41298	25	68.4	13/19
41281	40170	26	66.7	12/18
41281	41300	27	66.7	16/24
41281	PR	28	66.7	24/36
41281	41141	29	65.7	23/35
41281	41439	30	65.2	15/23
41281	41442	31	64.3	9/14
41281	41159	32	63.9	23/36
41281	41188	33	63.9	23/36
41281	ANT	34	63.9	23/36
41281	TR	35	63.9	23/36
41281	40173	36	63.6	14/22
41281	41297	37	63.6	21/33
41281	41021	38	62.5	15/24
41281	41440	39	59.1	13/22
41281	40156	40	58.6	17/29
41281	41825	41	58.3	21/36
41281	40169	42	56	14/25
41281	40060	43	50	11/22
41281	40164	44	50	17/34
41281	40112	45	47.6	10/21
41281	NA28	46	22.2	8/36
41281	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41282	40241	1	77.8	7/9
41282	41985	2	77.8	7/9
41282	41281	3	75.8	25/33
41282	40023	4	73.1	19/26
41282	40610	5	73	27/37
41282	40257	6	72.7	16/22
41282	41141	7	72.2	26/36
41282	PR	8	70.3	26/37
41282	41894	9	68.6	24/35
41282	40165	10	68.4	13/19
41282	40162	11	67.6	25/37
41282	41159	12	67.6	25/37
41282	41364	13	67.6	25/37
41282	41590	14	67.6	25/37
41282	42058	15	67.6	25/37
41282	41126	16	66.7	6/9
41282	42010	17	66.7	18/27
41282	AD	18	66.7	4/6
41282	42024	19	65.5	19/29
41282	40168	20	64.9	24/37
41282	40809	21	64.9	24/37
41282	40587	22	64.7	22/34
41282	41178	23	64.7	22/34

41282	40156	24	64.5	20/31
41282	41825	25	62.2	23/37
41282	SAL	26	62.2	23/37
41282	40604	27	61.8	21/34
41282	40169	28	61.5	16/26
41282	41298	29	61.1	11/18
41282	41439	30	60	15/25
41282	41440	31	60	15/25
41282	TR	32	59.5	22/37
41282	41442	33	58.3	7/12
41282	41021	34	57.7	15/26
41282	41506	35	57.7	15/26
41282	ANT	36	56.8	21/37
41282	41685	37	55.6	20/36
41282	41297	38	54.5	18/33
41282	40173	39	53.8	14/26
41282	41300	40	53.8	14/26
41282	40164	41	50	18/36
41282	41188	42	48.6	18/37
41282	40170	43	43.8	7/16
41282	40060	44	40	10/25
41282	40112	45	36.8	7/19
41282	NA28	46	27	10/37
41282	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41297	41442	1	78.6	11/14
41297	41985	2	77.8	7/9
41297	41506	3	76	19/25
41297	40162	4	75.7	28.37
41297	40241	5	75	9/12
41297	AD	6	75	3/4
41297	42024	7	72.4	21/29
41297	40169	8	71.4	20/28
41297	41021	9	70.8	17/24
41297	40587	10	69.4	25/36
41297	40170	11	68.4	13/19
41297	40168	12	67.6	25/37
41297	40604	13	67.6	23/34
41297	40610	14	67.6	25/37
41297	40023	15	66.7	16/24
41297	41126	16	66.7	4/6
41297	41364	17	66.7	24/36
41297	41590	18	66.7	24/36
41297	SAL	19	66.7	24/36
41297	40257	20	65.2	15/23
41297	41439	21	65.2	15/23
41297	41298	22	65	13/20
41297	41188	23	64.9	24/37

41297	40165	24	64.7	11/17
41297	41141	25	63.9	23/36
41297	41281	26	63.6	21/33
41297	41300	27	62.5	15/24
41297	40809	28	62.2	23/37
41297	41894	29	61.1	22/36
41297	PR	30	59.5	22/37
41297	40173	31	59.1	13/22
41297	42058	32	58.3	21/36
41297	42010	33	58.1	18/31
41297	41825	34	56.8	21/37
41297	41178	35	55.9	19/34
41297	41685	36	55.6	20/36
41297	40060	37	54.5	12/22
41297	41282	38	54.5	18/33
41297	41159	39	52.8	19/36
41297	TR	40	51.4	19/37
41297	40164	41	48.6	17/35
41297	ANT	42	48.6	18/37
41297	40112	43	47.4	9/19
41297	40156	44	46.7	14/30
41297	41440	45	36.4	8/22
41297	NA28	46	27	10/37
41297	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41298	41774	1	100	1/6
41298	41442	2	91.7	11/12
41298	41126	3	87.5	7/8
41298	AD	4	85.7	6/7
41298	41590	5	84.2	16/19
41298	40173	6	82.8	24/29
41298	40023	7	78.9	15/19
41298	41364	8	78.9	15/19
41298	40587	9	78.6	22/28
41298	ANT	10	77.4	24/31
41298	PR	11	77.4	24/31
41298	40165	12	76.9	10/13
41298	42024	13	76.2	16/21
41298	40168	14	75	15/20
41298	SAL	15	74.1	20/27
41298	42058	16	73.7	14/19
41298	41141	17	72.4	21/29
41298	40170	18	72	18/25
41298	41985	19	71.4	5/7
41298	40162	20	70	14/20
41298	40809	21	70	14/20
41298	40604	22	69.2	18/26
41298	41159	23	68.4	13/19



41298	41281	24	68.4	13/19
41298	41506	25	68.4	13/19
41298	40156	26	67.9	19/28
41298	TR	27	67.7	21/31
41298	41439	28	66.7	12/18
41298	41297	29	65	13/20
41298	41825	30	65	13/20
41298	41300	31	63.2	12/19
41298	41685	32	63.2	12/19
41298	41894	33	63.2	12/19
41298	41021	34	63	17/27
41298	41188	35	61.5	16/26
41298	41282	36	61.1	11/18
41298	40610	37	60	12/20
41298	41178	38	59.1	13/22
41298	42010	39	58.8	10/17
41298	41440	40	55.6	5/9
41298	40169	41	53.8	7/13
41298	40060	42	52.4	11/21
41298	40112	43	50	8/16
41298	40241	44	50	1/1
41298	40257	45	50	6/12
41298	NA28	46	45.2	14/31
41298	40164	47	45	9/20

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41300	40173	1	84.6	22/26
41300	40170	2	77.8	14/18
41300	41506	3	77.8	21/17
41300	41685	4	74.1	20/27
41300	41894	5	73.1	19/26
41300	41442	6	71.4	10/14
41300	PR	7	71.4	20/28
41300	40023	8	67.9	19/28
41300	40164	9	67.9	19/28
41300	40168	10	67.9	19/28
41300	41281	11	66.7	16/24
41300	40587	12	65.4	17/26
41300	40156	13	64.3	18/28
41300	40162	14	64.3	18/28
41300	40610	15	64.3	18/28
41300	40809	16	64.3	18/28
41300	42058	17	64.3	18/28
41300	40604	18	64	16/25
41300	41985	19	63.6	7/11
41300	41298	20	63.2	12/19
41300	41439	21	63	17/27
41300	41297	22	62.5	15/24
41300	41021	23	60.7	17/28

41300	41364	24	60.7	17/28
41300	41590	25	60.7	17/28
41300	42024	26	60	12/20
41300	40169	27	58.8	10/17
41300	40165	28	57.9	11/19
41300	41188	29	57.1	16/28
41300	ANT	30	57.1	16/28
41300	TR	31	57.1	16/28
41300	40060	32	56	14/25
41300	41178	33	55.6	15/27
41300	SAL	34	55.6	15/27
41300	40112	35	55	11/20
41300	41282	36	53.8	14/26
41300	41141	37	53.6	15/28
41300	41159	38	53.6	15/28
41300	40257	39	50	8/16
41300	41126	40	50	2/8
41300	41440	41	50	8/16
41300	AD	42	50	3/6
41300	41825	43	46.4	13/28
41300	42010	44	44.4	8/18
41300	NA28	45	35.7	10/28
41300	41774	46	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41364	AD	1	100	6/6
41364	40241	2	90.9	10/11
41364	42024	3	90.6	29/32
41364	40162	4	87.5	35/40
41364	40809	5	87.5	35/40
41364	40587	6	86.5	32/37
41364	41141	7	84.6	33/39
41364	40165	8	84.2	16/19
41364	40168	9	82.5	33/40
41364	41985	10	81.8	9/11
41364	41439	11	81.5	22/27
41364	40604	12	81.1	30/37
41364	41590	13	80	32/40
41364	41298	14	78.9	15/19
41364	40023	15	78.6	22/28
41364	41442	16	78.6	11/14
41364	40257	17	76	19/25
41364	41281	18	75	27/36
41364	SAL	19	74.4	29/39
41364	40170	20	72.2	13/18
41364	41021	21	71.4	20/28
41364	41188	22	70	28/40
41364	42058	23	70	28/40

41364	ANT	24	70	28/40
41364	41685	25	69.2	23/39
41364	40169	26	69	20/29
41364	41506	27	67.9	19/28
41364	41282	28	67.6	25/37
41364	40610	29	67.5	27/40
41364	PR	30	67.5	27/40
41364	TR	31	67.5	27/40
41364	41297	32	66.7	24/36
41364	42010	33	66.7	20/30
41364	41159	34	65	26/40
41364	41825	35	65	26/40
41364	41178	36	64.9	24/37
41364	40156	37	63.6	21/33
41364	41894	38	63.2	24/38
41364	41300	39	60.7	17/28
41364	40173	40	57.7	15/26
41364	41440	41	53.8	14/26
41364	40112	42	52.4	11/21
41364	40060	43	50	13/26
41364	40164	44	50	19/38
41364	41126	45	44.4	4/9
41364	NA28	46	27.5	11/40
41364	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41439	42041	1	100	2/2
41439	40809	2	81.5	22/27
41439	41364	3	81.5	22/27
41439	40162	4	77.8	21/27
41439	40023	5	74.1	20/27
41439	41021	6	74.1	20/27
41439	40112	7	73.7	14/19
41439	40170	8	72.2	13/19
41439	40604	9	70.8	17/24
41439	40156	10	70.4	19/27
41439	40168	11	70.4	19/27
41439	PR	12	70.4	19/27
41439	41442	13	69.2	9/13
41439	41506	14	69.2	18/26
41439	42024	15	68.4	13/19
41439	40587	16	68	17/25
41439	41141	17	66.7	18/27
41439	41298	18	66.7	12/18
41439	41590	19	66.7	18/27
41439	42058	20	66.7	18/27
41439	TR	21	66.7	18/27
41439	SAL	22	65.4	17/26
41439	41281	23	65.2	15/23

41439	41297	24	65.2	15/23
41439	40165	25	63.2	12/19
41439	40164	26	63	17/27
41439	41159	27	63	17/27
41439	41300	28	63	17/27
41439	41685	29	63	17/27
41439	41126	30	62.5	5/8
41439	41178	31	61.5	16/26
41439	40060	32	60	15/25
41439	40257	33	60	9/15
41439	41282	34	60	15/25
41439	41985	35	60	6/10
41439	40610	36	59.3	16/27
41439	41825	37	59.3	16/27
41439	42010	38	58.8	10/17
41439	40169	39	56.3	9/16
41439	40173	40	56	14/25
41439	41188	41	55.6	15/27
41439	ANT	42	55.6	15/27
41439	41894	43	52	13/25
41439	41440	44	50	8/16
41439	AD	45	40	2/5
41439	NA28	46	33.3	9/27
41439	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41440	40023	1	68.8	11/16
41440	AD	2	66.7	2/3
41440	42058	3	61.5	16/26
41440	40604	4	60.9	14/23
41440	40165	5	60	6/10
41440	41282	6	60	15/25
41440	41281	7	59.1	13/22
41440	40060	8	58.8	10/17
41440	40169	9	58.8	10/17
41440	40164	10	58.3	14/24
41440	40168	11	57.7	15/26
41440	40610	12	57.7	15/26
41440	PR	13	57.7	15/26
41440	40587	14	56.5	13/23
41440	40173	15	56.3	9/16
41440	41141	16	56	14/25
41440	41298	17	55.6	5/9
41440	42024	18	54.5	12/22
41440	40162	19	53.8	14/26
41440	41159	20	53.8	14/26
41440	41364	21	53.8	14/26
41440	41590	22	53.8	14/26
41440	SAL	23	53.8	14/26



41440	TR	24	53.8	14/26
41440	40257	25	52.9	9/17
41440	40156	26	50	10/20
41440	40809	27	50	13/26
41440	41178	28	50	12/24
41440	41300	29	50	8/16
41440	41439	30	50	8/16
41440	41442	31	50	1/2
41440	41825	32	50	13/26
41440	ANT	33	50	13/26
41440	40112	34	44.4	4/9
41440	41126	35	44.4	4/9
41440	41021	36	43.8	7/16
41440	41506	37	43.8	7/16
41440	42010	38	43.8	7/16
41440	40170	39	42.9	3/7
41440	41685	40	42.3	11/26
41440	41894	41	41.7	10/24
41440	40241	42	37.5	3/8
41440	41297	43	36.4	8/22
41440	41188	44	34.6	9/26
41440	41985	45	33.3	1/3
41440	NA28	46	23.1	6/26
41440	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41442	40241	1	100	2/2
41442	41298	2	91.7	11/12
41442	40170	3	84.6	11/13
41442	42024	4	80	8/10
41442	40162	5	78.6	11/14
41442	41297	6	78.6	11/14
41442	41364	7	78.6	11/14
41442	41506	8	78.6	11/14
41442	41590	9	78.6	11/14
41442	41985	10	77.8	7/9
41442	40173	11	75	9/12
41442	AD	12	75	3/4
41442	40165	13	72.7	8/11
41442	40023	14	71.4	10/14
41442	40156	15	71.4	10/14
41442	40587	16	71.4	10/14
41442	40604	17	71.4	10/14
41442	41141	18	71.4	10/14
41442	41300	19	71.4	10/14
41442	42058	20	71.4	10/14
41442	41439	21	69.2	9/13
41442	SAL	22	69.2	9/13
41442	40169	23	66.7	8/12

41442	40257	24	66.7	6/9
41442	40168	25	64.3	9/14
41442	40610	26	64.3	9/14
41442	40809	27	64.3	9/14
41442	41281	28	64.3	9/14
41442	PR	29	64.3	9/14
41442	41178	30	61.5	8/13
41442	41685	31	61.5	8/13
41442	41282	32	58.3	7/12
41442	40112	33	57.1	8/14
41442	41159	34	57.1	8/14
41442	41188	35	57.1	8/14
41442	41894	36	57.1	8/14
41442	ANT	37	57.1	8/14
41442	TR	38	57.1	8/14
41442	40060	39	54.5	6/11
41442	40164	40	50	7/14
41442	41021	41	50	7/14
41442	41126	42	50	1/2
41442	41440	43	50	1/2
41442	41825	44	50	7/14
41442	42010	45	50	7/14
41442	NA28	46	50	7/14
41442	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41506	40023	1	85.2	23/27
41506	40170	2	83.3	15/18
41506	42024	3	80	16/20
41506	41442	4	78.6	11/14
41506	41590	5	78.6	22/28
41506	41300	6	77.8	21/27
41506	40604	7	76	19/25
41506	41297	8	76	19/25
41506	PR	9	75	21/28
41506	40173	10	72	18/25
41506	41281	11	72	18/25
41506	40162	12	71.4	20/28
41506	41188	13	71.4	20/28
41506	41685	14	70.4	19/27
41506	41439	15	69.2	18/26
41506	41298	16	68.4	13/19
41506	40168	17	67.9	19/28
41506	41159	18	67.9	19/28
41506	41364	19	67.9	19/28
41506	41178	20	66.7	18/27
41506	AD	21	66.7	4/6
41506	40610	22	64.3	18/28
41506	40809	23	64.3	18/28

41506	40587	24	64	16/25
41506	41985	25	63.6	7/11
41506	41894	26	63	17/27
41506	41126	27	62.5	5/8
41506	40112	28	61.9	13/21
41506	40165	29	61.1	11/18
41506	40164	30	59.3	16/27
41506	41021	31	59.3	16/27
41506	41282	32	57.7	15/26
41506	42058	33	57.1	16/28
41506	ANT	34	57.1	16/28
41506	40257	35	56.3	9/16
41506	40156	36	55.6	15/27
41506	41141	37	55.6	15/27
41506	SAL	38	55.6	15/27
41506	40060	39	54.2	13/24
41506	41825	40	53.6	15/28
41506	40169	41	52.9	9/17
41506	TR	42	46.4	13/28
41506	41440	43	43.8	7/16
41506	42010	44	42.1	8/18
41506	NA28	45	32.1	9/29
41506	41774	46	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41590	40023	1	92.9	26/28
41590	40241	2	90.9	10/11
41590	42024	3	90.6	29/32
41590	41298	4	84.2	16/19
41590	40604	5	83.8	31/37
41590	AD	6	83.3	5/6
41590	40162	7	82.5	33/40
41590	40809	8	82.5	33/40
41590	41364	9	80	32/40
41590	40165	10	78.9	15/19
41590	41442	11	78.6	11/14
41590	41506	12	78.6	22/28
41590	40587	13	78.4	29/37
41590	PR	14	77.5	31/40
41590	40168	15	75	30/40
41590	41141	16	74.4	29/38
41590	41985	17	72.7	8/11
41590	40169	18	72.4	21/29
41590	40170	19	72.2	13/18
41590	41281	20	72.2	26/36
41590	41178	21	70.3	26/37

41590	41159	22	70	28/40
41590	41188	23	70	28/40
41590	41685	24	69.2	27/39
41590	40257	25	68	17/25
41590	41282	26	67.6	25/37
41590	40610	27	67.5	27/40
41590	41297	28	66.7	24/36
41590	41439	29	66.7	18/27
41590	40173	30	65.4	17/26
41590	41825	31	65	26/40
41590	42058	32	65	26/40
41590	SAL	33	64.1	25/39
41590	42010	34	63.3	19/30
41590	ANT	35	62.5	25/40
41590	41021	36	60.7	17/28
41590	41300	37	60.7	17/28
41590	40156	38	60.6	20/33
41590	41894	39	60.5	23/38
41590	40112	40	57.1	12/21
41590	41126	41	55.6	5/9
41590	40164	42	55.3	21/39
41590	TR	43	55	22/40
41590	41440	44	53.8	14/26
41590	40060	45	50	13/26
41590	NA28	46	42.5	17/40

41590	41774	47	0	0/0
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<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41685	40241	1	91.7	11/12
41685	41985	2	80	8/10
41685	40809	3	75	30/40
41685	41281	4	74.3	26/35
41685	41300	5	74.1	20/27
41685	40587	6	73	27/37
41685	40604	7	73	27/37
41685	40162	8	72.5	29/40
41685	40173	9	72	18/25
41685	42024	10	71.9	23/32
41685	41506	11	70.4	19/27
41685	41178	12	70.3	26/37
41685	41364	13	69.2	27/39
41685	41590	14	69.2	27/39
41685	40257	15	68	17/25
41685	41188	16	67.5	27/40
41685	40168	17	65	26/40
41685	42010	18	63.3	19/30
41685	41298	19	63.2	12/19
41685	40023	20	63	17/27



41685	41439	21	63	17/27
41685	40610	22	62.5	25/40
41685	41442	23	61.5	8/13
41685	SAL	24	61.5	24/39
41685	AD	25	60	3/5
41685	41894	26	59.5	22/37
41685	41021	27	59.3	16/27
41685	41141	28	59	23/39
41685	41159	29	59	23/39
41685	42058	30	59	23/39
41685	40169	31	58.6	17/29
41685	40170	32	57.9	11/19
41685	TR	33	57.5	23/40
41685	41126	34	55.6	5/9
41685	41282	35	55.6	20/36
41685	41297	36	55.6	20/36
41685	ANT	37	55	22/40
41685	PR	38	55	22/40
41685	40164	39	52.6	20/38
41685	40165	40	52.6	10/19
41685	40156	41	51.5	17/33
41685	40060	42	50	13/26
41685	40112	43	50	10/20
41685	41825	44	50	20/40
41685	41440	45	42.3	11/26

41685	NA28	46	27.5	11/40
41685	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41774	40587	1	100	6/6
41774	40604	2	100	2/2
41774	41178	3	100	1/1
41774	41188	4	100	6/6
41774	41298	5	100	6/6
41774	41587	6	100	1/1
41774	41774	7	100	11/11
41774	42024	8	100	7/7
41774	AD	9	100	7/7
41774	ANT	10	90.9	10/11
41774	PR	11	90.9	10/11
41774	41126	12	90	9/10
41774	40156	13	85.7	6/7
41774	40170	14	85.7	6/7
41774	40173	15	85.7	6/7
41774	41021	16	85.7	6/7
41774	SAL	17	83.3	5/6
41774	TR	18	81.8	9/11
41774	41141	19	80	4/5

41774	40169	20	50	1/2
41774	NA28	21	45.5	5/11
41774	40060	22	33.3	1/3
41774	40023	23	0	0/0
41774	40112	24	0	0/0
41774	40162	25	0	0/0
41774	40164	26	0	0/0
41774	40165	27	0	0/0
41774	40168	28	0	0/0
41774	40241	29	0	0/0
41774	40257	30	0	0/0
41774	40610	31	0	0/0
41774	40809	32	0	0/0
41774	41159	33	0	0/0
41774	41281	34	0	0/0
41774	41282	35	0	0/0
41774	41297	36	0	0/0
41774	41300	37	0	0/0
41774	41364	38	0	0/0
41774	41439	39	0	0/0
41774	41440	40	0	0/0
41774	41442	41	0	0/0
41774	41506	42	0	0/0
41774	41590	43	0	0/0
41774	41685	44	0	0/0

41774	41825	45	0	0/0
41774	41894	46	0	0/0
41774	41985	47	0	0/0
41774	42010	48	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41825	AD	1	83.3	5/6
41825	41159	2	75	30/40
41825	40165	3	73.7	14/19
41825	PR	4	73.2	30/41
41825	SAL	5	72.5	29/40
41825	42024	6	69.7	23/33
41825	41894	7	68.4	26/38
41825	TR	8	68.3	28/41
41825	42058	9	67.5	27/40
41825	41126	10	66.7	6/9
41825	40587	11	65.8	25/38
41825	40257	12	65.4	17/26
41825	41298	13	65	13/20
41825	41364	14	65	26/40
41825	41590	15	65	26/40
41825	42010	16	64.5	20/31
41825	40023	17	64.3	18/27
41825	41985	18	63.6	7/11

41825	40168	19	63.4	26/41
41825	40809	20	63.4	26/41
41825	40169	21	63.3	19/30
41825	41141	22	62.5	25/40
41825	41282	23	62.2	23/37
41825	40162	24	61	25/41
41825	40610	25	61	25/41
41825	ANT	26	61	25/41
41825	41439	27	59.3	16/27
41825	41188	28	58.5	24/41
41825	41281	29	58.3	21/36
41825	41178	30	57.9	22/38
41825	41021	31	57.1	16/28
41825	41297	32	56.8	21/37
41825	40156	33	55.9	19/34
41825	40173	34	53.8	14/26
41825	41506	35	53.6	15/28
41825	40170	36	52.6	10/19
41825	40604	37	52.6	20/38
41825	40164	38	51.3	20/39
41825	40060	39	50	13/26
41825	40241	40	50	6/12
41825	41440	41	50	13/26
41825	41442	42	50	7/14
41825	41685	43	50	20/40

41825	41300	44	46.4	13/28
41825	40112	45	42.9	9/21
41825	NA28	46	36.6	15/41
41825	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41894	40241	1	81.8	9/11
41894	41985	2	81.8	9/11
41894	42058	3	76.3	29/38
41894	41281	4	74.3	26/35
41894	41300	5	73.1	19/26
41894	40610	6	71.1	27/38
41894	41141	7	70.3	26/37
41894	42010	8	70	21/30
41894	41282	9	68.6	24/35
41894	41825	10	68.4	26/38
41894	PR	11	68.4	26/38
41894	SAL	12	67.6	25/37
41894	40169	13	66.7	18/27
41894	40170	14	66.7	12/18
41894	40173	15	66.7	16/24
41894	40257	16	66.7	16/24
41894	42024	17	66.7	20/30

41894	AD	18	66.7	4/6
41894	41159	19	65.8	25/38
41894	40165	20	64.7	11/17
41894	41298	21	63.2	12/19
41894	41364	22	63.2	24/38
41894	TR	23	63.2	24/38
41894	41506	24	63	17/27
41894	40587	25	62.9	22/35
41894	41126	26	62.5	5/8
41894	40023	27	61.5	16/26
41894	41297	28	61.1	22/36
41894	40162	29	60.5	23/38
41894	40168	30	60.5	23/38
41894	40809	31	60.5	23/38
41894	41590	32	60.5	23/38
41894	ANT	33	60.5	23/38
41894	40604	34	60	21/35
41894	41685	35	59.5	22/37
41894	41188	36	57.9	22/38
41894	41021	37	57.7	15/26
41894	41442	38	57.1	8/14
41894	40164	39	55.6	20/36
41894	40156	40	54.8	17/31
41894	41439	41	52	13/25
41894	41178	42	51.4	18/35

41894	40112	43	47.6	10/21
41894	41440	44	41.7	10/24
41894	40060	45	37.5	9/24
41894	NA28	46	26.3	10/38
41894	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
41985	40241	1	100	2/2
41985	41281	2	90.9	10/11
41985	40587	3	88.9	8/9
41985	42010	4	88.9	8/9
41985	40165	5	83.3	5/6
41985	40257	6	81.8	9/11
41985	40610	7	81.8	9/11
41985	41364	8	81.8	9/11
41985	41894	9	81.8	9/11
41985	42058	10	81.8	9/11
41985	41685	11	80	8/10
41985	AD	12	80	4/5
41985	SAL	13	80	8/10
41985	41282	14	77.8	7/9
41985	41297	15	77.8	7/9
41985	41442	16	77.8	7/9



41985	40170	17	75	6/8
41985	40162	18	72.7	8/11
41985	40168	19	72.7	8/11
41985	40604	20	72.7	8/11
41985	40809	21	72.7	8/11
41985	41590	22	72.7	8/11
41985	42024	23	72.7	8/11
41985	41298	24	71.4	5/7
41985	41178	25	70	7/10
41985	41126	26	66.7	2/3
41985	40023	27	63.6	7/11
41985	40164	28	63.6	7/11
41985	41021	29	63.6	7/11
41985	41141	30	63.6	7/11
41985	41159	31	63.6	7/11
41985	41188	32	63.6	7/11
41985	41300	33	63.6	7/11
41985	41506	34	63.6	7/11
41985	41825	35	63.6	7/11
41985	TR	36	63.6	7/11
41985	40060	37	62.5	5/8
41985	41439	38	60	6/10
41985	40169	39	55.6	5/9
41985	40173	40	55.6	5/9
41985	40156	41	54.5	6/11

41985	PR	42	54.5	6/11
41985	40112	43	45.5	5/11
41985	ANT	44	45.5	5/11
41985	NA28	45	36.4	4/11
41985	41440	46	33.3	1/3
41985	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
42010	41126	1	100	3/3
42010	41985	2	88.9	8/9
42010	40241	3	83.3	10/12
42010	AD	4	75	3/4
42010	41281	5	73.3	22/30
42010	TR	6	71	22/31
42010	41159	7	70	21/30
42010	41894	8	70	21/30
42010	40257	9	69.6	16/23
42010	42024	10	69.6	16/23
42010	40610	11	67.7	21/31
42010	40587	12	66.7	20/30
42010	41282	13	66.7	18/27
42010	41364	14	66.7	20/30
42010	40809	15	64.5	20/31

42010	41825	16	64.5	20/31
42010	40169	17	64	16/25
42010	40165	18	63.6	7/11
42010	41141	19	63.3	19/30
42010	41590	20	63.3	19/30
42010	41685	21	63.3	19/30
42010	42058	22	63.3	19/30
42010	SAL	23	63.3	19/30
42010	40162	24	61.3	19/31
42010	40168	25	61.3	19/31
42010	ANT	26	61.3	19/31
42010	41298	27	58.8	10/17
42010	41439	28	58.8	10/17
42010	41297	29	58.1	18/31
42010	PR	30	58.1	18/31
42010	41178	31	57.1	16/28
42010	40604	32	54.8	17/31
42010	41188	33	54.8	17/31
42010	40023	34	50	9/18
42010	40156	35	50	12/24
42010	41021	36	50	9/19
42010	41442	37	50	7/14
42010	41300	38	44.4	8/18
42010	40173	39	43.8	7/16
42010	41440	40	43.8	7/16

42010	40112	41	42.1	8/19
42010	41506	42	42.1	8/19
42010	40164	43	37.9	11/29
42010	40060	44	37.5	6/16
42010	40170	45	37.5	6/16
42010	NA28	46	35.5	11/31
42010	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
42024	41774	1	100	7/7
42024	AD	2	100	11/11
42024	40165	3	93.3	14/15
42024	40241	4	91.7	11/12
42024	40587	5	90.9	40/44
42024	41364	6	90.6	29/32
42024	41590	7	90.6	29/32
42024	40023	8	90	18/20
42024	40604	9	89.2	33/37
42024	40162	10	87.9	29/33
42024	41141	11	86.7	39/45
42024	40809	12	84.8	28/33
42024	40170	13	81.8	18/22
42024	41188	14	81.4	35/43

42024	PR	15	81.3	39/48
42024	41442	16	80	8/10
42024	41506	17	80	16/20
42024	40168	18	78.8	26/33
42024	41298	19	76.2	16/21
42024	40169	20	75	27/36
42024	41159	21	75	24/32
42024	41281	22	75	21/28
42024	41178	23	74.4	29/39
42024	SAL	24	73.2	30/41
42024	ANT	25	72.9	35/48
42024	40257	26	72.7	16/22
42024	41985	27	72.7	8/11
42024	41297	28	72.4	21/29
42024	41021	29	71.9	23/32
42024	41685	30	71.9	23/32
42024	40156	31	70.3	26/37
42024	40173	32	70	21/30
42024	40610	33	69.7	23/33
42024	41825	34	69.7	23/33
42024	42010	35	69.6	16/23
42024	TR	36	68.8	33/48
42024	41126	37	68.4	13/19
42024	41439	38	68.4	13/19
42024	41894	39	66.7	20/30

42024	42058	40	65.6	21/32
42024	41282	41	65.5	19/29
42024	40112	42	61.5	8/13
42024	41300	43	60	12/20
42024	41440	44	54.5	12/22
42024	40060	45	52	13/25
42024	40164	46	48.4	25/31
42024	NA28	47	39.6	19/48

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
42058	SAL	1	84.6	33/39
42058	41985	2	81.8	9/11
42058	41894	3	76.3	29/38
42058	40610	4	75	30/40
42058	41281	5	75	27/36
42058	TR	6	75	30/40
42058	40165	7	73.7	14/19
42058	41298	8	73.7	14/19
42058	40241	9	72.7	8/11
42058	40168	10	72.5	29/40
42058	40170	11	72.2	13/18
42058	40257	12	72	18/25
42058	41442	13	71.4	10/14

42058	40587	14	70.3	26/37
42058	41364	15	70	28/40
42058	40173	16	69.2	18/26
42058	40169	17	69	20/29
42058	40023	18	67.9	19/28
42058	41282	19	67.6	25/37
42058	40162	20	67.5	27/40
42058	40809	21	67.5	27/40
42058	41825	22	67.5	27/40
42058	41126	23	66.7	6/9
42058	41439	24	66.7	18/27
42058	42024	25	65.6	21/32
42058	41590	26	65	26/40
42058	41021	27	64.3	18/28
42058	41300	28	64.3	18/28
42058	41141	29	64.1	25/39
42058	40156	30	63.6	21/33
42058	42010	31	63.3	19/30
42058	ANT	32	62.5	25/40
42058	PR	33	62.5	25/40
42058	40604	34	62.2	23/37
42058	40112	35	61.9	13/21
42058	41440	36	61.5	16/26
42058	40164	37	60.5	23/38
42058	41159	38	60	24/40

42058	41685	39	59	23/39
42058	41297	40	58.3	21/36
42058	40060	41	57.7	15/26
42058	41506	42	57.1	16/28
42058	41188	43	55	22/40
42058	41178	44	54.1	20/37
42058	AD	45	50	3/6
42058	NA28	46	27.5	11/40
42058	41774	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
AD	40165	1	100	3/3
AD	40587	2	100	8/8
AD	41364	3	100	6/6
AD	41774	4	100	7/7
AD	42024	5	100	11/11
AD	40604	6	87.5	7/8
AD	ANT	7	86.7	13/15
AD	PR	8	86.7	13/15
AD	41298	9	85.7	6/7
AD	40162	10	83.3	5/6
AD	40168	11	83.3	5/6
AD	40610	12	83.3	5/6



AD	40809	13	83.3	5/6
AD	41159	14	83.3	5/6
AD	41281	15	83.3	5/6
AD	41590	16	83.3	5/6
AD	41825	17	83.3	5/6
AD	41188	18	81.8	9/11
AD	40257	19	80	4/5
AD	41985	20	80	4/5
AD	41126	21	75	9/12
AD	41178	22	75	6/8
AD	41297	23	75	3/4
AD	41442	24	75	3/4
AD	42010	25	75	3/4
AD	TR	26	73.3	11/15
AD	41141	27	72.7	8/11
AD	40023	28	66.7	4/6
AD	40170	29	66.7	4/6
AD	41282	30	66.7	4/6
AD	41440	31	66.7	2/3
AD	41506	32	66.7	4/6
AD	41894	33	66.7	4/6
AD	SAL	34	66.7	6/9
AD	41685	35	60	3/5
AD	40060	36	57.1	4/7
AD	40156	37	55.6	5/9

AD	40173	38	55.6	5/9
AD	41021	39	54.5	6/11
AD	40164	40	50	3/6
AD	40169	41	50	3/6
AD	41300	42	50	3/6
AD	42058	43	50	3/6
AD	41439	44	40	2/5
AD	40112	45	33.3	2/6
AD	NA28	46	33.3	5/15
AD	40241	47	0	0/0

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
ANT	41774	1	90.9	10/11
ANT	AD	2	86.7	13/15
ANT	40241	3	83.3	10/12
ANT	PR	4	81	51/63
ANT	TR	5	81	51/63
ANT	41298	6	77.4	24/31
ANT	42024	7	72.9	35/48
ANT	40156	8	71.1	32/45
ANT	41364	9	70	28/40
ANT	SAL	10	69.4	34/49
ANT	40587	11	69.2	36/52

ANT	41159	12	67.5	27/40
ANT	40168	13	65.9	27/41
ANT	41126	14	65.2	15/23
ANT	41281	15	63.9	23/36
ANT	40604	16	63.8	30/47
ANT	41141	17	63.6	35/55
ANT	40809	18	63.4	26/41
ANT	40165	19	63.2	12/19
ANT	41188	20	62.7	32/51
ANT	40173	21	62.5	25/40
ANT	41590	22	62.5	25/40
ANT	42058	23	62.5	25/40
ANT	42010	24	61.3	19/31
ANT	41825	25	61	25/41
ANT	40023	26	60.7	17/28
ANT	41894	27	60.5	23/38
ANT	40170	28	60	18/30
ANT	40162	29	58.5	24/41
ANT	40257	30	57.7	15/26
ANT	41021	31	57.5	23/40
ANT	41178	32	57.4	27/47
ANT	40112	33	57.1	12/21
ANT	41300	34	57.1	16/28
ANT	41442	35	57.1	8/14
ANT	41506	36	57.1	16/28

ANT	41282	37	56.8	21/37
ANT	41439	38	55.6	15/27
ANT	40169	39	55.3	21/38
ANT	41685	40	55	22/40
ANT	40610	41	53.7	22/41
ANT	41440	42	50	13/26
ANT	41297	43	48.6	18/37
ANT	40060	44	45.5	15/33
ANT	41985	45	45.5	5/11
ANT	40164	46	43.6	17/39
ANT	NA28	47	41.3	26/63

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
NA28	41442	1	50	7/14
NA28	41774	2	45.5	5/11
NA28	41298	3	45.2	14/31
NA28	PR	4	44.4	28/63
NA28	41126	5	43.5	10/23
NA28	40112	6	42.9	9/21
NA28	41590	7	42.5	17/40
NA28	40060	8	42.4	14/33
NA28	40156	9	42.2	19/45
NA28	ANT	10	41.3	26/63

NA28	40173	11	40	16/40
NA28	42024	12	39.6	19/48
NA28	41188	13	39.2	20/51
NA28	40169	14	36.8	14/38
NA28	40170	15	36.7	11/30
NA28	41825	16	36.6	15/41
NA28	40587	17	36.5	19/52
NA28	41985	18	36.4	4/11
NA28	40604	19	36.2	17/47
NA28	40023	20	35.7	10/28
NA28	41300	21	35.7	10/28
NA28	42010	22	35.5	11/31
NA28	41159	23	35	14/40
NA28	40162	24	34.1	14/41
NA28	40809	25	34.1	14/41
NA28	40164	26	33.3	13/19
NA28	40241	27	33.3	4/12
NA28	41439	28	33.3	9/27
NA28	AD	29	33.3	5/15
NA28	41021	30	32.5	13/40
NA28	41506	31	32.1	9/28
NA28	41178	32	31.9	15/47
NA28	TR	33	31.7	20/63
NA28	41141	34	30.9	17/55
NA28	40257	35	30.8	8/26

NA28	40610	36	29.3	12/41
NA28	SAL	37	28.6	14/49
NA28	41364	38	27.5	11/40
NA28	41685	39	27.5	11/40
NA28	42058	40	27.5	11/40
NA28	41282	41	27	10/37
NA28	41297	42	27	10/37
NA28	40165	43	26.3	5/19
NA28	41894	44	26.3	10/38
NA28	41440	45	23.1	6/26
NA28	41281	46	22.2	8/36
NA28	40168	47	22	9/41

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
PR	41774	1	90.9	10/11
PR	AD	2	86.7	13/15
PR	40023	3	82.1	23/28
PR	42024	4	81.3	39/48
PR	ANT	5	81	51/63
PR	40156	6	77.8	35/45
PR	41159	7	77.5	31/40
PR	41590	8	77.5	31/40
PR	41298	9	77.4	24/31

PR	40241	10	75	9/12
PR	41506	11	75	21/28
PR	TR	12	74.6	47/63
PR	41126	13	73.9	17/23
PR	40165	14	73.7	14/19
PR	40170	15	73.3	22/30
PR	41825	16	73.2	30/41
PR	40587	17	73.1	38/52
PR	41300	18	71.4	20/28
PR	41141	19	70.9	39/55
PR	40162	20	70.7	29/41
PR	40809	21	70.7	29/41
PR	41439	22	70.4	19/27
PR	41282	23	70.3	26/37
PR	40604	24	70.2	33/47
PR	40173	25	70	28/40
PR	41894	26	68.4	26/38
PR	41364	27	67.5	27/40
PR	41281	28	66.7	24/36
PR	41178	29	66	32/47
PR	40168	30	65.9	27/41
PR	40610	31	65.9	27/41
PR	40169	32	65.8	25/38
PR	41021	33	65	26/40
PR	41188	34	64.7	33/51

PR	41442	35	64.3	9/14
PR	40164	36	64.1	25/39
PR	42058	37	62.5	25/40
PR	40112	38	61.9	13/21
PR	40257	39	61.5	16/26
PR	SAL	40	61.2	30/49
PR	41297	41	59.5	22/37
PR	42010	42	58.1	18/31
PR	41440	43	57.7	15/26
PR	41685	44	55	22/40
PR	40060	45	54.5	18/33
PR	41985	46	54.5	6/11
PR	NA28	47	44.4	28/63

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
SAL	42058	1	84.6	33/39
SAL	41774	2	83.3	5/6
SAL	TR	3	81.6	40/49
SAL	41985	4	80	8/10
SAL	40168	5	75	30/40
SAL	41364	6	74.4	29/39
SAL	41021	7	74.3	26/35
SAL	41298	8	74.1	20/27



SAL	40165	9	73.7	14/19
SAL	42024	10	73.2	30/41
SAL	41825	11	72.5	29/40
SAL	40587	12	71.1	32/45
SAL	40162	13	70	28/40
SAL	ANT	14	69.4	34/49
SAL	41159	15	69.2	27/39
SAL	41442	16	69.2	9/13
SAL	40173	17	68.6	24/35
SAL	41281	18	68.6	24/35
SAL	41894	19	67.6	25/37
SAL	40809	20	67.5	27/40
SAL	40023	21	66.7	18/27
SAL	40170	22	66.7	16/24
SAL	40241	23	66.7	8/12
SAL	41297	24	66.7	24/36
SAL	AD	25	66.7	6/9
SAL	40156	26	65.9	27/41
SAL	41439	27	65.4	17/26
SAL	41141	28	65.2	30/46
SAL	40610	29	65	26/40
SAL	40169	30	64.5	20/31
SAL	41590	31	64.1	25/39
SAL	40257	32	64	16/25
SAL	40604	33	63.4	26/41

SAL	42010	34	63.3	19/30
SAL	41126	35	62.5	10/16
SAL	41282	36	62.2	23/37
SAL	41188	37	61.7	29/47
SAL	41685	38	61.5	24/39
SAL	PR	39	61.2	30/49
SAL	41178	40	58.5	24/41
SAL	41300	41	55.6	15/27
SAL	41506	42	55.6	15/27
SAL	40112	43	55	11/20
SAL	41440	44	53.8	14/26
SAL	40164	45	52.6	20/38
SAL	40060	46	51.7	15/29
SAL	NA28	47	28.6	14/49

<b>Witness</b>	<b>Witness</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Agreement (%)</b>	<b>Agreement (TPs)</b>
TR	41774	1	81.8	9/11
TR	SAL	2	81.6	40/49
TR	ANT	3	81	51/63
TR	42058	4	75	30/40
TR	PR	5	74.6	47/63
TR	40156	6	73.3	33/45
TR	AD	7	73.3	11/15

TR	42010	8	71	22/31
TR	41159	9	70	28/40
TR	42024	10	68.8	33/48
TR	41825	11	68.3	28/41
TR	41298	12	67.7	21/31
TR	41364	13	67.5	27/40
TR	40587	14	67.3	35/52
TR	40241	15	66.7	8/12
TR	41439	16	66.7	18/27
TR	40168	17	65.9	27/41
TR	41141	18	65.5	36/55
TR	41126	19	65.2	15/23
TR	41021	20	65	26/40
TR	41281	21	63.9	23/36
TR	41985	22	63.6	7/11
TR	40165	23	63.2	12/19
TR	40169	24	63.2	24/38
TR	41894	25	63.2	24/38
TR	40809	26	61	25/41
TR	40173	27	60	24/40
TR	41282	28	59.5	22/37
TR	40162	29	58.5	24/41
TR	40257	30	57.7	15/26
TR	41685	31	57.5	23/40
TR	41178	32	57.4	27/47

TR	41300	33	57.1	16/28
TR	41442	34	57.1	8/14
TR	40170	35	56.7	17/30
TR	40610	36	56.1	23/41
TR	40604	37	55.3	46/47
TR	41590	38	55	22/40
TR	41188	39	54.9	28/51
TR	41440	40	53.8	14/26
TR	40112	41	52.4	11/21
TR	41297	42	51.4	19/37
TR	40023	43	50	14/28
TR	40060	44	48.5	16/33
TR	41506	45	46.4	13/28
TR	40164	46	46.2	18/39
TR	NA28	47	31.7	20/63

**APPENDIX 4: Apparatus of Synaxarion Lection Identifiers**

<b>TP01 Acts 3:13</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
	σαββατον της διακαινισμου πραξεων των αποστολων	L156 L2024 L587	3
	πραξεων [των αποστολων]	L257 L1188	2
	τω σαββατω της διακηνησιμου πραξεων	L1021 L809 L23 L173 L162 L604 L164 L1126 L165 L1159 L1439	11
	ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L60	1
	τω σαββατω της διακηνησιμου	L1178 L168	2
	τω σαββατω της διακηνησιμου πραξεων των αποστολων	L1141 L169 L610 L1685 L258 L1282	6
	τω σαββατω της διακηνησιμου ο απο πραξεων	L1440	1
	τω σαββατω σαββατω [num]α[/num] της διακηνησιμου πραξεων	L1364	1
	τω σαββατω της διακηνησιμου πραξεων των αποστολων το α(ναγνωσμα)	L1011	1

<b>TP02</b> <b>Acts 3:22</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L156 L2024 L1894 L1141 L169 L610 L1825 L2058	8
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L1021 L809 L23 L173 L164 L165 L168 L587 L1159 L1439	10
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων αναγνωσμα	L60 L1590	2
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος	L1178	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]β[/num] πραξεων	L604	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο πραξεων	L1126 L1440	2
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L1282	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων το (αναγνωσμα)	L1685	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]β[/num] αναγνωσμα [num]θ[/num] πραξεων	L1300	1
	αρχη της [num]β[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος	L1188	1
	τη δευτερα της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L162	1

TP03/04 Acts 4:24-25	Lection identifier reading	Witnesses	Number of Apostolos Witnesses
	αναγνωσμα [num]β[/num] απο πραξεων	L156	1
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L1021 L809 L173 L162 L164 L1506 L1141 L587 L1364 L1439	10
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο πραξεων	L1126 L1440	2
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος	L1178	1
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]β[/num] πραξεων	L604 L168	2
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L60	1
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο πραξεων	L1590	1
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L2024 L1894 L169 L610 L1685 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1159 L1282	10
	αναγνωσμα [num]ιβ[/num][img] τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L23	1
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]β[/num] αναγνωσμα [num]ιβ[/num] πραξεων	L1300	1
	αρχη της [num]ε[/num] κε(φαλαιον?) [num]ιβ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος	L1188	1

<b>TP05 Acts 5:32</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
	αναγνωσμα [num]ιδ[/num] πραξεων	L156	1
	σαββατον [num]β[/num]	L169	1
	σαββατω [num]β[/num] πραξεων	L1021 L164	2
	σαββατον [num]β[/num] πραξεων	L165 L1300 L587 L1159	4
	τω σαββατω της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L809 L1506 L610 L685 L2058 L1282	6
	τω σαββατω της [num]β[/num] πραξεων	L1178	1
	τω σαββατω [num]β[/num] ο απο πραξεων	L1440	1
	τω σαββατω της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος	L604 L162	2
	τω σαββατω της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L168 L1439	2
	τω σαββατω της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων το αναγνωσμα	L60	1
	τω σα(ββατω) της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος του πασχα	L1141	1
	αναγνωσμα [num]ιδ[/num] τω σαββατω της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L23	1
	[bmg]σαββατω [num]γ[/num]/[bmg] πραξεων των αποστολων	L2024	1
	σαββατω [num]γ[/num] πραξεων	L173	1
	αρχη του σαββατου της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος κε(φαλαιον?) [num]ιε[/num]	L1188	1



	σαββατον δευτερον πραξεων των αποστολων	L1285	1
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<b>TP06</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>Acts 6:5</b>			
	αναγνωσμα [num]ιε[/num] πραξεων	L156	1
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] πραξεων	L1021 L173 L1439	3
	κυριακη [num]β[/num] πραξεων	L604	1
	κυριακη των μυροφορων πραξεων	L1825	1
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] των μυροφορων πραξεων	L1159	1
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] των μυροφορων πραξεων των αποστολων	L809 L610 L1685	3
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] των μυροφορων ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L1141 L1590	2
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] των μυροφορων ο απο πραξεων	L1440	1
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] μετα των πασχα: μηνην τω[sic] αγιων ιωσηφ του απο αριμαθειας και νικομιδου και μαρια της μαγδαληνης και των λοιπων μαθητων τριων του κυ̅ ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L60	1
	κυριακη [num]β[/num] μετα το αγιον πασχα μνημη ιωσηφ του απο αριμαθεια και των αγιων μυροφορον γυναικες πραξεων αναγνω(σμα) [num]ιε[/num]	L23	1
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L2024	1

	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] των μυροφορων ιωσηφ απο του ξυλου αλλο ταις μυροφοροις γυναικες πραξεων των αποστολων	L1178	1
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] μνημη ιωσηφ τον απο αριμαθιας και των μυροφορων γυναικων και των λοιπων μαθητων πραξεων	L162	1
	κυριακη [num]β[/num] απο το πασχα	L112	1
	τη κυριακη των μυροφορων πραξεων	L168	1
	κυριακη της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος των μυροφορων πραξεων	L164	1
	τη κυριακη της [num]γ[/num] εβδομαδος μνημη τω αγιων ιωσηφ απο αριμαθιας και της μυροφορ(ης)	L1506	1
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] συναξις ιωσηφ και των μυροφορων γυναικων πραξεων	L1300	1
	αρχη του κυριακη της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος	L1188	1
	κυριακη τριτη των μυροφορων πραξεων των αποστολων	L2058	1
	κυριακη [num]β[/num] κυριακη των μυροφορων πραξεων	L1364	1
	κυριακη των μυροφορων πραξεων των αποστολων το αναγνωσμα	L1282	1

<b>TP07/08</b> <b>Acts</b> <b>9:28/31</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
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	αναγνωσμ(α) [num]κα[/num] πραξεων	L156	1
	σαββατω [num]γ[/num] πραξεων	L1021 L1364	2
	σαββατον [num]γ[/num] πραξεων	L165 L587 L1159	3
	τη σαββατω της [num]γ[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο πραξεων	L1440	1
	σαββατω [num]γ[/num] ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L1590 L1282	2
	τη σαββατω της [num]γ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L809 L60 L1141 L170 L1685 L2058 L1297 L1298	8
	αναγνωσμα [num]κα[/num]/[tmg] τη σαββατω της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L23	1
	σαββατω [num]δ[/num] πραξεων των αποστολων	L2024 L173	2
	τη σαββατω της [num]γ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L1178 L162 L1506 L168	4
	τω σαββατω της [num]β[/num]/[tmg] πραξεων	L604	1
	σαββατον της [num]γ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L164 L1825	2
	σαββατον [num]δ[/num] πραξεων	L1300	1
	αρχη του σα(ββατου) της [num]γ[/num]	L1188	1
	σαββατον [num]γ[/num] πραξεων των αποστολων	L610 L1281	2
	τω σαββατω της [num]γ[/num] εβδομαδος ο αποστλος πραξεων των αποστολων	L1011	1

TP09/10 Acts 9:33/35	Lection identifier reading	Witnesses	Number of Apostolos Witnesses
	αναγνωσμα [num]κβ[/num] πραξεων	L156	1
	κυριακη [num]δ[/num] πραξεων	L1021 L173 L162 L604 L1300	5
	κυριακη [num]δ[/num] του παραλιτικου πραξεων	L809 L1159 L1440	3
	κυριακη [num]δ[/num] του παραλιτικου πραξεων των αποστολων	L610	1
	κυριακη [num]δ[/num] του παραλιτικου ο αποστολος πραξεων των αποστολων	L1011	1
	κυριακη του παραλιτικου πραξεων των αποστολων	L1825	1
	κυριακη [num]δ[/num] πραξεων των αποστολων το αναγνωσμ(α)	L60	1
	αναγνω(σμα) [num]κβ[/num] κυριακη της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L23	1
	κυριακη [num]δ[/num][[/tmg] πραξεων των απο(στολων)	L2024	1
	κυριακη [num]δ[/num] ητοι του παραλυτικου πραξεων	L1178	1
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] απο το πασχα κυριακη του παραλυτου ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L112	1
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] της παραλυτικου πραξεων	L164	1
	κυριακη [num]δ[/num] του πασχα πραξεων	L1506	1
	κυριακη [num]δ[/num] απο του πασχα πραξεων των αποστολων	L1297	1

	[τη] κυριακη τηταρτη του παραλητου πραξεων των αποστολων	L1894 L2058	2
	κυριακη [num]δ[/num] ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L1141	1
	κυριακη του παραλυτικου τη κυριακη πραξεων των αποστολων	L257	1
	τη κυριακη των παραλυτικου[sic] πραξεων	L168	1
	αρχη της κυ(ριακη) κε(φαλαιον?) [num]κγ[/num]	L1188	1
	κυριακη [num]δ[/num] του παραλητου πραξεων των αποστολων	L1685 L1281	2
	πραξεων των αποστολων	L2010 L1985	2
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] πραξεων	L1364	1
	κυριακη [num]δ[/num] εις παραλυτικου τη μια των σαββατων ορθρου εις την λειτουργιαν πραξεων των αποστολων	L1298	1
	κυριακη [num]δ[/num] του παραλυτου εις την λειτουργιαν ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L1590	1
	το[sic] κυριακη του παραλυτου ο αποστολος πραξεων των αποστολων	L1282	1
	τη κυριακη [num]δ[/num] του παραλυτου πραξεων	L1439	1

TP11/12/13 Acts 10:5/12/16	Lection identifier reading	Witnesses	Number of Apostolos Witnesses
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]μ[ill]1[/num] εβδομαδος αναγνωσμα [num]κγ[/num] πραξεων	L156	1

	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L1021 L809 L1178 L173 L162 L164 L1506 L1300 L587 L1159 L1439	11
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L60 L1894 L1141 L257 L610 L1685 L1298	7
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]δ[/num] πραξεων των αποστολων	L1281	1
	αναγνωσμα [num]κβ[/num] κυριακη της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L23	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο πραξεων	L112 L1440	2
	[tmg]τη [num]β[/num] της [num]γ[/num][[/tmg] πραξεων	L604	1
	[tmg]τη [num]β[/num] της μεσοπεντηκοστης εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L168	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος στιχος [num]β[/num] πραξεων	L1364	1
	αρχη της [num]β[/num] της [num]δ[/num] κε(φαλαιον?) [num]κδ[/num]	L1188	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L170	1
	πραξεων των αποστολων το αναγνωσμα	L2010	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της μυροφορων εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L1825	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος ο αποστολος πραξεων των αποστολων	L2058	1

	κυριακη [num]δ[/num] του παραλυτου εις την λειτουργιαν ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L1590	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος ο αποστολος πραξεων των αποστολων το αναγνωσμα	L1282	1

<b>TP14/15 Acts 10:24/33</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
	αναγνωσμα [num]κδ[/num] πραξεων	L156	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L1021 L162 L173 L1178 L1506 L1300 L587 L1364 L1439	9
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] πραξεων	L809 L164	2
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L60 L1894 L1141 L257 L610 L1159 L1298	7
	αναγνωσμα [num]κδ[/num] τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L23	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] πραξεων των αποστολων	L112 L1281	2
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]γ[/num] πραξεων	L604	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της μεσοπεντηκοστης πραξεων	L168	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της μεσοπεντηκοστης εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L1297	1
	αρχη της [num]γ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος κε(φαλαιον?) [num]κε[/num]	L1188	1

	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων το αναγνωσμα	L1685	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο πραξεων	L1440	1
	πραξεων των αποστολων	L2010 L1895	2
	τη [num]γ[/num] της μυροφορων εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L1825	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος ο αποστολος πραξεων των αποστολων	L2058	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L1590	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος ο αποστολος πραξεων των αποστολων το αναγνωσμα	L1282	1

<b>TP16 Acts 10:48</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
	αναγνωσμα [num]κζ[/num] πραξεων	L156	1
	τη παρασκευη της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L1021 L809 L173 L162 L164 L1506 L1300 L587 L1159 L1439	10
	τη [num]ς[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L60 L112 L1894 L1141 L2058 L1281	6
	τη [num]ς[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L1364	1
	αναγνωσμα [num]κζ[/num] τη παρασκευη της	L23	1



	[num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων		
	τη παρασκευη της μεσοπεντηκοστης πραξεων των αποστολων	L1178 L1297	2
	τη παρασκευη της μεσοπεντηκοστης πραξεων	L168	1
	αρχη της παρασκευη της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος κε(φαλαιον?) [num]κε[/num]	L170	1
	τη [num]στ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L610	1
	τη παρασκευη της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος των πραξεων αποστολων το αναγνωσμα	L1685	1
	τη παρασκευη της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος των πραξεων αποστολων	L1298 L1282	2
	πραξεων των αποστολων	L2010	1
	ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L1590	1
	τη παρασκευη της μυροφορων εβδομαδος πραξεων	L1825	1

<b>TP17 Acts 12:25</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
	αναγνωσμα [num]λα[/num] πραξεων	L156	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L1021 L809 L1178 L173 L1442 L162 L112 L164 L1506 L169 L168 L1300 L587 L1159 L1439	15
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L60 L1894 L610 L1825 L1297 L1298 L1281	7

	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων το αναγνωσμα	L1685 L1282	2
	αναγνωσμα [num]λα[/num] τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L23	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L604	1
	[tmg]τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος του πασχα ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L1141 L1590	2
	πραξεων τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος	L165	
	αρχη της [num]γ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος κε(φαλαιον?) [num]λα[/num]	L1188	1
	πραξεων των αποστολων	L2010 L1364	2
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο πραξεων	L170	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος ο αποστολος πραξεων των αποστολων	L2058	1

<b>TP18 Acts 13:18</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
	αναγνωσμα [num]λβ[/num] πραξεων	L156	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L1021 L809 L1178 L173 L162 L164 L1506 L169 L168 L587 L1825 L1159 L1364 L1439	14

	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L60 L112 L1894 L165 L610 L1685 L1297 L1281	8
	αναγνωσμα [num]λ[ill]β[/ill]/[/num] τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L23	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L604	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] αναγνωσμα [num]λβ[/num] πραξεων	L1300	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L170 L1590	2
	πραξεων των αποστολων	L2010	1
	τη τετρατη της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων των αποστολων	L2058	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος ο αποστολος πραξεων των αποστολων το αναγνωσμα	L1282	1

<b>TP19 Acts 20:28</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
	αναγνωσμα [num]μγ[/num] πραξεων	L156	1
	κυριακη [num]ζ[/num] τη αγια πατερων πραξεων	L1021	1
	κυριακη [num]ζ[/num] των αγιων πατερων των εν νικαια πραξεων	L809	1
	ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων τω αναγνωσμα	L60	1
	αναγνωσμα [num]μγ[/num] κυριακη της [num]ζ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L23	1

	κυριακη [num]ζ[/num] πραξεων των αποστολων	L2024	1
	κυριακη [num]ς[/num] πραξεων	L604	1
	κυριακη [num]ζ[/num] ητοι των αγιων πατερων πραξεων	L1178	1
	κυριακη [num]ζ[/num] των αγιων πατερων ο απο πραξεων	L173 L1440	2
	κυριακη [num]ζ[/num] ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L170	1
	κυριακη [num]ζ[/num] των αγιων πατερων	L169	1
	τη κυριακη της [num]ζ[/num] εβδομαδος πραξεων	L1442	1
	κυριακη των αγιων πατερων πραξεων	L162 L164 L1364 L1282	4
	κυριακη των αγιων πατερων πραξεων των αποστολων	L1894 L610 L2058 L1297 L1159 L1011	6
	κυριακη ευαγγελιον εωθ(ιων) [num]ι[/num] εις την λειτουργιαν ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων	L112	1
	κυριακη [num]ζ[/num] μνημη επι τελονου των τη(?) αγιων πατερων των εν νικαια πραξεων των αποστολων	L1506	1
	του κ(υριου)[sic] [num]ζ[/num] των αγιων πατερων των εν νικαια ο απο πραξεων	L1141	1
	κυριακη [num]ζ[/num] του πασχα ο απο πραξεων	L1126	1
	κυριακη [num]ζ[/num] μνημην τελουμεν των αγιων πατερων των εν νικαια πραξεων	L165	1

	κυριακη των αγιων πατερων ο απο πραξεων των αποστολων το αναγωσμα	L1685	1
	τη κυριακη των αγιων πατερων πραξεων	L168	1
	κυριακη των αγιων πρων εσπερος αναγνωσμα [num]γ[/num] πραξεων	L1300	1
	κυ(ριακη) [num]ς[/num] των αγιων τη(?) θεοφορων πατερων των εν νικαια πραξεων	L587	1
	κυ(ριακη) [num]ς[/num] των αγιων τη(?) θεοφορων πατερων των εν νικαια πραξεων των αποστολων	L1281	1
	πραξεων των αποστολων το αναγωνσμα	L2010	1
	κυριακη [num]στ[/num] πραξεων των αποστολων	L1825	1
	κυριακη [num]ζ[/num] των αγιων πατερων εις την λειτουργιαν πραξεων των αποστολων	L1298	1
	κυριακη της [num]στ[/num] εβδομαδος των αγιων πρων εσπερας εις την λυχ(?)	L1439	1

TP20/21 Rom 3:22/26	Lection identifier reading	Witnesses	Number of Apostolos Witnesses
	σαββατω [num]β[/num] προς ρωμαιους	L1021 L809 L23 L2024 L1178 L164 L169 L165 L168 L1300 L587 L1825 L1159 L1364 L1439	15
	σαββατω [num]γ[/num] απο προς ρωμαιους επιστολη	L60	1
	σαββατω [num]β[/num] ο απο προς ρωμαιους	L1141 L1590	2
	σαββατον [num]β[/num]	L173	1

	σαββατω [num]β[/num]	L1442	1
	τω σαββατω της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους	L162 L604 L257 L170 L610 L1685	6
	σαββατω [num]β[/num] ο απο προς ρωμαιους επιστολη	L112	1
	σαββατω [num]β[/num] απο τη ν(ηστεια?) προς ρωμαιους	L1506	1
	τω σαββατω της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος ο αποστολος προς ρωμαιους επιστολης παυλου το αναγνωσμα	L1894	1
	προς ρωμαιους	L2010	1
	σαββατον [num]β[/num] προς ρωμαιους	L1895	1
	τω σαββατω της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους επιστολη	L2058	1
	σαββατον [num]β[/num] προς ρωμαιους επιστολης	L1281	1
	τω σαββατω της [num]β[/num] εβδομαδος ο αποστολος	L1282	1

<b>TP22 Rom 8:11</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
	προς ρωμαιους	L156 L2010	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]γ[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους	L809 L2024 L1178 L162 L241 L604 L164 L257 L169 L168 L587 L610 L1685 L1825 L1159 L1364	16
	τη [num]δ[/num] ο απο προς ρωμαιους	L1141	1

	[tmg]τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους	L170	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]γ[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους επιστολης	L2058 L1297 L1281 L1282	4
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]γ[/num] ο απο προς ρωμαιους	L1440 L1590	2

<b>TP23 Rom 5:1</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
	προς ρωμαιους	L156 L2010	2
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] προς ρωμαιους	L1021 L809 L23 L2024 L1178 L173 L1442 L164 L1506 L257 L169 L165 L168 L1300 L587 L170 L610 L1985 L1825 L1159 L1364 L1298 L1439	23
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] ο αποστολος προς ρωμαιους	L1685	1
	τη κυριακη της [num]γ[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους	L162	1
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] ο αποστολος προς ρωμαιους επιστολης	L2058 L1282	2
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] προς ρωμαιους επιστολης	L1297	1
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] ο απο προς ρωμαιους	L112	1
	κυριακη τριτη προς ρωμαιους	L604	1
	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] προς ρωμαιους επιστολης παυλου	L1894 L1281	2

	κυριακη [num]γ[/num] του ματθαιου ο αποστολος προς ρωμαιους	L1141	1
	προς ρωμαιους επιστολη	L1188	1

<b>TP24</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>Rom 11:31</b>			
	προς ρωμαιους	L156 L2010	2
	τη παρασκευη της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους	L809 L2024 L162 L241 L604 L164 L1894 L257 L169 L168 L587 L610 L1685 L2058	14
	τη παρασκευη της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους ο απο προς ρωμαιους	L1590	1
	ο αποστολος τη παρασκευη της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους	L1141	1
	τη παρασκευη της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους επιστολη	L1188 L1281 L1282	3
	τη [num]στ[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους	L1825	1
	τη [num]ς[/num] της [num]δ[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους	L1297 L1159 L1364	3

<b>TP25</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>Rom 16:3</b>			
	τη παρασκευη της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους	L809 L2024 L1178 L162 L241 L604 L164 L1894 L1141 L257 L169 L168 L587 L1181 L610 L1685 L1159 L1282	18



	τη παρασκευη της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο προς ρωμαιοις	L1440 L1590	2
	προς ρωμαιοις	L2010	1
	τη [num]ς[/num] της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιοις	L1825 L1297 L1364	3
	τη παρασκευη της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιοις επιστολης	L2058 L1281	2

<b>TP26</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>1 Cor 7:34</b>			
	προς κορινθ(ιους) [num]α[/num]	L156	1
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]ζ[/num] εβδομαδος προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num]	L809 L2024 L1178 L162 L168 L587 L2010 L1825 L1159 L1590	10
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]ζ[/num] εβδομαδος προς κορινθιους	L241 L604 L164 L1894 L169 L1364	6
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]ζ[/num] εβδομαδος	L257	1
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]ζ[/num] εβδομαδος προς κορινθιους επιστολη	L1188 L610 L2058	3
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]ζ[/num] εβδομαδος προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num] επιστολης	L1685 L1281	2
	[tmg]τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]ζ[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιοις επιστολης[sic]	L1297	1
	τη παρασκευη της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιοις επιστολης παυλου	L1282	1

<b>TP27</b> <b>Rom</b> <b>13:9</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
	προς ρωμαιους	L156	1
	σαββατω [num]η[/num] προς ρωμαιους	L1021 L809 L23 L2024 L1178 L173 L1442 L164 L1506 L257 L169 L165 L168 L1300 L587 L1188 L2010 L1825 L1159 L1364 L1439	21
	σαββατω [num]ζ[/num] ο απο προς ρωμαιους επιστολη	L60	1
	σαββατω [num]η[/num] ο αποστολος προς ρωμαιους επιστολη	L1985	1
	τω σαββατω [num]η[/num] προς ρωμαιους	L162	1
	σαββατω [num]η[/num] ο απο προς ρωμαιους	L112 L1590	2
	σαββατω [num]η[/num] προς ρωμαιους επιστολη	L610 L1297 L1281	3
	τω σαββατω της [num]η[/num] [εβδομαδος] προς ρωμαιους	L604 L170 L1685	3
	τω σαββατω της [num]η[/num] [εβδομαδος] προς ρωμαιους επιστολης	L2058 L1282	2
	της [num]ε[/num] εβδομαδος τω σαββατω προς ρωμαιους επιστολης	L1894	1
	τω σαββατω ο απο προς ρωμαιους	L1141	1

<b>TP28</b> <b>1 Cor</b> <b>1:13</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
	προς ρωμαιους	L156	1

	κυριακη [num]η[/num] προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num]	L1021 L809 L23 L1178 L173 L1442 L604 L1506 L1300 L587 L2010 L1825 L1297 L1159 L1439	15
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] ο απο προς κορινθιους	L60 L112	2
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] [*]ρωμαιους [\\*][C]κορινθιους[\\C]	L2024 L168	2
	τη κυριακη της [num]η[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους[sic]	L162 L170	2
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] προς κορινθιους	L164 L169 L1685 L1364	4
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] προς κορινθιους επιστολη	L1188 L2058	2
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] προς κορινθιους επιστολη παυλου	L1894	1
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] ο αποστολος προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num]	L1141 L1985	2
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] προς κορινθιους πρωτη επιστολη	L610 L1282	2
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] ο απο προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num]	L1590	1
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num] επιστολη	L1281	1

<b>TP29</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>1 Cor 3:17</b>			
	προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num]	L156	1
	κυριακη [num]θ[/num] προς κορινθιους πρωτη	L1282	1

	κυριακη [num]θ[/num] προς κορινθιους	L1021 L164 L169 L165 L1985 L1825 L1364	7
	κυριακη [num]θ[/num] προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num]	L809 L23 L1178 L173 L1442 L604 L1506 L257 L587 L1159 L1439	11
	κυριακη [num]θ[/num] προς κορινθιους επιστολη	L1188	1
	κυριακη [num]θ[/num] ο αποστολος προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num]	L1141 L2058	2
	κυριακη [num]θ[/num] [ο] απο προς κορινθιους	L60 L112	2
	κυριακη [num]θ[/num] απο προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num]	L1590	1
	τη κυριακη της [num]θ[/num] εβδομαδος προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num]	L162	1
	κυριακη [num]θ[/num] προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num] επιστολης παυλου	L1894	1
	κυριακη [num]θ[/num] προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num] επιστολης	L1281	1
	κυριακη [num]θ[/num] προς ρωμαιους[sic]	L168	1
	κυριακη της [num]θ[/num] προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num]	L2010	1

<b>TP30</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>Gal 5:21</b>			
	τη [num]σ[/num] της [num]κγ[/num] εβδομαδος προς γαλατας	L156	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος προς γαλατας	L809 L2024 L1178 L162 L604 L164 L169 L168 L587 L1685 L1159	11

	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ιστ[/num] εβδομαδος προς γαλατας	L1894 L257 L2010 L1825	4
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος ευαγγελιον εκ κατα μαρκον	L1141	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ιστ[/num] εβδομαδος προς γαλατας επιστολη	L1188 L2058 L1281	3
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ιστ[/num] εβδομαδος προς γαλατας επιστολη παυλου	L1282	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος προς γαλατας επιστολη	L610 L1364	2
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος προς κορινθιους επιστολης[sic]	L1297	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο προς γαλατας	L1590	1

<b>TP31</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>Eph 1:10</b>			
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]κγ[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους	L156	1
	τη παρασκευη της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος εφεσιους	L809 L604	2
	τη παρασκευη της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους	L2024 L162 L169 L168 L587 L1685	6
	τη παρασκευη της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους επιστολης	L1364 L1281	2
	τη παρασκευη της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος	L1282	1

	προς εφεσιους επιστολης παυλου		
	τη παρασκευη της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο προς εφεσιους	L1440	1
	τη [num]ς[/num] της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους	L1159	1
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους	L1178 L241	2
	τη παρασκευη της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος ο αποστολο(ς) προς εφεσιους	L1141	1
	τη παρασκευη της [num]ιστ[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους	L257 L1188 L2010 L1825	4
	τη παρασκευη της [num]ιστ[/num] εβδομαδος προς ρωμαιους επιστολης[sic]	L2058	1
	τη [num]ιστ[/num] της [num]ιστ[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους	L610	1
	τη [num]ς[/num] της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος προς κορινθιους επιστολης{ sic }	L1297	1
	ο αποστολος προς εφεσιους	L1590	1

<b>TP32</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>Eph 3:5</b>			
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κδ[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους	L156	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ις[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους	L809 L2024 L162 L604 L164 L1894 L257 L169 L168 L587 L1188	16

		L1685 L2010 L1825 L1159 L1364	
	τη [num]γ[/num][[/smg] προς εφεσιους	L1141	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ιζ[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους επιστολη	L610 L2058 L1297 L1281	4
	[tmg]τη [num]β[/num][[/sic] της [num]ιζ[/num][[/tmg] ο απο προς γαλατας	L1440	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ιζ[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο προς εφεσιους	L1590	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ιζ[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους επιστολης παυλου	L1282	1

<b>TP33</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>Eph 4:28</b>			
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]ιη[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους	L809 L2024 L1178 L162 L164 L1894 L169 L168 L587 L1188 L2010 L1825 L1159 L1364	14
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]ιη[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους επιστολης	L610 L1685 L2058 L1297 L1281	5
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]ιη[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους επιστολης παυλου	L1282	1
	κυριακη [num]κα[/num] ο απο προς εφεσιους επιστολη	L60	1
	εβδομαδος [num]ιβ[/num] τη [num]β[/num] της [num]ιη[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους	L241	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]ιη[/num] ο απο προς εφεσιους	L1440	1

	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]ιη[/num] εβδομαδος προς γαλατας[sic]	L604	1
	εβδομας [num]ιη[/num] του αποστολου και πρωτη εβδομαδος του λουκα τη [num]β[/num] της [num]ιη[/num] εβδομαδος ο αποστολος προς εφεσιους	L1141	1
	προς εφεσιους	L257	1

<b>TP34</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>Eph 5:21</b>			
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους	L156	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ιη[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους	L809 L2024 L1178 L162 L241 L604 L164 L257 L169 L168 L587 L1825 L1159 L1364	14
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ιη[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους επιστολη	L1894 L1188 L610 L1297 L1281	5
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ιη[/num] προς εφεσιους επιστολης	L2058	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ιη[/num] εβδομαδος ο αποστολος προς εφεσιους	L1141	1
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ιη[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους επιστολη παυλου	L1685 L1282	2
	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]ιη[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους επιστολης το παυλου αναγνωσμα	L2010	1



	τη [num]γ[/num] της [num]η[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο προς εφεσιους	L1440 L1590	2
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<b>TP35</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>2 Cor 9:11</b>			
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] προς κορινθιους [num]β[/num]	L809 L1178 L173 L1442 L162 L604 L1506 L156 L257 L1300 L587 L610 L2010 L1159 L1364 L1298	16
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] προς κορινθιους [num]β[/num] επιστολης	L2058 L1281	2
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] προς κορινθιους [num]α[/num][sic]	L168 L1825	2
	προς κορινθιους κυριακη [num]η[/num]	L23	1
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] ο απο προς κορινθιους	L112	1
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] ο απο προς κορινθιους επιστολης παυλου	L1282	1
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] προς κορινθιους	L164 L169 L170	3
	περιωδος [num]γ[/num] κυριακη [num]η[/num] προς κορινθιους [num]β[/num]	L1894	1
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] ο αποστολος προς κορινθιους [num]β[/num] κυριακη [num]α[/num] του λουκα	L1141	1
	κυριακη [num]η[/num] προς κορινθιους επιστολης	L1685 L1297	2
	κυριακη [num]ιζ[/num] προς κορινθιους επιστολης παυλου	L1188	1
	ο αποστολος προς κορινθιους [num]β[/num]	L1590	1

<b>TP36</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>Phil 4:21</b>			
	εβδομας [num]κα[/num] τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κα[/num] εβδομαδος προς φιλιππιους	L809 L241 L169	3
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κα[/num] εβδομαδος προς φιλιπησιους	L2024 L1178 L162 L604 L1894 L168 L587 L610 L1825 L1364 L1282	11
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κα[/num] εβδομαδος	L2010	1
	εβδομαδος [num]κα[/num] τη [num]β[/num] ο απο προς φιλιππιους	L1141	1
	εβδομαδος [num]κα[/num] τη [num]β[/num] προς φιλιπησιους	L257	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κα[/num] εβδομαδος προς φιλιπησιους επιστολη	L1188 L1685 L2058 L1297 L1281	5
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κα[/num] εβδομαδος προς εφεσιους[sic]	L1159	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κα[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο προς φιλιπησιους	L1440 L1590	2

<b>TP37</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>Gal 6:13</b>			
	κυριακη [num]κβ[/num] προς γαλατας	L156 L1021 L809 L23 L2024 L1178 L173 L162 L604 L164 L257 L169 L168 L1300 L587 L1188 L1685 L1985 L1825 L1159 L1364 L1298 L1282	23
	κυριακη [num]κ[/num] προς γαλατας	L60	1

	κυριακη [num]κβ[/num] τω αυτω λεγει κυριακη της υψωσεως προς γαλατας	L1442	1
	κυριακη [num]κβ[/num] [ο] απο προς γαλατας	L112 L1590	2
	κυριακη [num]κβ[/num] προς γαλατας [app][*]&om;[\*][C]το αυτης κυ(ριακη) προ της υψω(ση)[\C][\app]	L1506	1
	κυριακη [num]κβ[/num] προς γαλατας επιστολης παυλου	L1894	1
	κυριακη [num]κβ[/num] προς γαλατας επιστολη	L170 L610 L2058 L1297 L1281	5
	κυριακη [num]κβ[/num] ο αποστολος προς γαλατας	L1141	1
	κυριακη [num]κβ[/num]	L2010	1

<b>TP38</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>2 Thess 1:3</b>			
	εβδομας [num]κε[/num]	L809	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος προς θεσσαλονικεις [num]β[/num]	L2024 L604 L257 L169 L168 L587 L610 L1825 L1159	9
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος προς θεσσαλονικεις	L1178 L162 L1894 L1685	4
	εβδομαδος [num]κβ[/num] τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος προς θεσσαλωνικεις	L241	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος προς θεσσαλονικεις [num]β[/num] επιστολης	L164 L2058 L1364 L1281	4
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος	L1188 L1297 L1282	3

	προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολη		
	εβδομαδος [num]κε[/num] τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο προς θεσσαλονικεις [num]β[/num]	L1141 L1590	2
	προς θεσσαλονικεις [num]β[/num] τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κε[/num]	L2010	1
	τη [num]β[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο προς θεσσαλονικεις	L1440	1

<b>TP39</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>2 Thess 2:8</b>			
	προς θεσσαλονικεις [num]β[/num]	L809	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος προς θεσσαλονικεις [num]β[/num]	L2024 L1178 L604 L257 L169 L168 L610 L1825 L1159 L1440	10
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος προς θεσσαλονικεις	L162 L241 L164 L1297	4
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος	L2010	1
	της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος προς θεσσαλονικεις	L1894	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος ο αποστολος προς θεσσαλονικεις [num]β[/num]	L1141	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολης	L1188 L2058 L1685	3

	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος προς θεσσαλονικης [num]β[/num] επιστολη	L1281 L1282	2
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος [ο] απο προς θεσσαλονικεις	L1440 L1590	2
	προς θεσσαλονικεις [num]β[/num]	L1364	1

<b>TP40/41</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>Gal 1:3/6</b>			
	σαββατω [num]κε[/num] προς γαλατας	L156 L2024 L1178 L1442 L164 L1506 L257 L1300 L587 L2010 L1985 L1825 L1159 L1364 L1298	15
	σαββατω [num]κε[/num] προς γαλατας επιστολη	L169 L1188 L1281	3
	κυριακη [num]κβ[/num] προς γαλατας	L1021 L809 L23	3
	κυριακη [num]κ[/num] προς γαλατας	L60	1
	τω σαββατω της [num]κε[/num] εβδομαδος προς γαλατας	L162 L604 L1894 L170 L1685	5
	τω σαββατω της [num]κε[/num] προς γαλατας επιστολης	L2058	1
	σαββατω [num]κε[/num] ο απο προς γαλατας	L112 L1590	2
	σαββατω [num]κε[/num] ο αποστολος προς γαλατας	L1141	1

	σαββατ(ω) [num]κε[/num] προς κορινθιους [num]β[/num][sic]	L168	1
	σαββατον [num]κε[/num] προς γαλατας επιστολη	L610	1
	σαββατω [num]κε[/num][tmg] προς ρωμαιους επιστολης	L1297	1

<b>TP42</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>1 Tim 3:3</b>			
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]κς[/num] εβδομαδος προς τιμοθεον	L809 L604 L164 L1685 L1297	5
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]κς[/num] εβδομαδος προς τιμοθεον [num]α[/num]	L2024 L1178 L241 L1141 L257 L169 L168 L587 L2010 L1159 L1364	11
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]κς[/num] εβδομαδος απο προς τιμοθεον [num]α[/num]	L1590	1
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]κς[/num] εβδομαδος προς τιμοθεον [num]α[/num] επιστολη	L162 L1894 L1281	3
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]κς[/num] εβδομαδος προς τιμοθεον επιστολη	L1188 L2058 L1282	3
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]κς[/num] εβδομαδος προς τιμοθεον πρωτης	L610	1
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]κστ[/num] εβδομαδος προς τιμοθεον [num]β[/num][sic]	L1825	1
	τη [num]ε[/num] της [num]κς[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο προς τιμοθεον	L1440	1

TP43  1 Tim 6:7	Lection identifier reading	Witnesses	Number of Apostolos Witnesses
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κζ[/num] εβδομαδος προς τιμοθεον [num]α[/num]	L809 L2024 L1178 L1894 L1141 L169 L168 L587 L2010 L1825 L1159 L1364	12
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κζ[/num] εβδομαδος προς τιμοθεον [num]α[/num] επιστολη	L162 L1282	2
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κζ[/num] εβδομαδος προς τιμοθεον	L241 L604 L164 L1685	4
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κζ[/num] εβδομαδος προς τιμοθεον [num]β[/num][sic]	L257	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κζ[/num] εβδομαδος προς τιμοθεον επιστολης	L1188 L2058 L1297	3
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κζ[/num] εβδομαδος προς τιμοθεον πρωτης	L610	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κζ[/num] εβδομαδος ο απο προς τιμοθεον	L1440	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κζ[/num] εβδομαδος απο προς τιμοθεον [num]α[/num]	L1590	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κζ[/num] εβδομαδος προς τιμοθεον επισολης παυλου	L1282	1

<b>TP44</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>Heb 5:12</b>			
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κθ[/num] εβδομαδος προς εβραιους	L809 L2024 L1178 L162 L241 L604 L164 L1894 L257 L169 L168 L587 L2010 L1159	14
	τη [num]δ[/num] ο απο προς εβραιους	L1141	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κθ[/num] εβδομαδος προς εβραιους επιστολης	L1188 L610 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1281 L1282	7
	προς εβραιους	L1685	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]κθ[/num] εβδομαδος απο προς εβραιους	L1590	1

<b>TP45</b>	<b>Lection identifier reading</b>	<b>Witnesses</b>	<b>Number of Apostolos Witnesses</b>
<b>Heb 10:1</b>			
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]λ[/num] εβδομαδος προς εβραιους	L809 L2024 L1178 L162 L241 L604 L164 L1894 L257 L169 L168 L587 L2010 L1159	14
	τη [num]δ[/num] ο απο προς εβραιους	L1141	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]λ[/num] εβδομαδος προς εβραιους επιστολης	L1188 L610 L1685 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1364 L1282	8
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]λ[/num] εβδομαδος απο προς εβραιους	L1590	1
	τη [num]δ[/num] της [num]λ[/num] εβδομαδος προς εβραιους επιστολη παυλου	L1281	1



**APPENDIX 5: Menologion Festal Commemorations and Lections**

<b>Feast Title</b>	<b>ID</b>	<b>THS</b>	<b>De Vries</b>	<b>LTE</b>	<b>MG</b>	<b>Gregory</b>
Indict (New Year)	NY	Col 3:12-16; Liturgy Gal 5:22-6:2; Alt 1 Tim 3:13-4:5	1 Tim 2:1-8	Present; Col 3:12 onwards	Col 3:12 onwards Liturgy	Col 3:12-16; Heb 2:11-18
Aethalas, Philip and Theodotian and the martyrs of Mamantos	APT	Liturgy 1 Cor 9,2-12; Synaxis: Liturgy Heb 13:7-16	NP	Mamas; St John the Faster	Apostolos - no lection given	Mamantos et al Rom 8:28-39; Heb 7:26-8:2
Memorial of Anthimos, bishop of Nikomedia and martyr	ANT	Heb 13:7-16	NP	Present but adds Theokistos pupil of Euthymios the Great	Apostolos - no lection given	Gal 5:22-6:2; Gal 4:1-7; 1 Tim 1:8-14; Heb 13:7-16
Eudoxe et al	EU	Liturgy Heb 3:1-14	NP	Babylos of Antioch; Liturgy Heb 2:11	No lection recorded	Babylos, Bishop of Antioch Heb 7:26-8:2; Rom 8:14-21; 1 Tim 3:16-4:5
<b>Nativity of the Theotokos</b>	NT	Liturgy Gal 4:22-27 Alt Phil 2:5-11	Liturgy Phil 2:5-12	Present; Phil 2:5 onwards with GT Alt	Phil 2:5 onwards Liturgy	Phil 2:5-11
Joachim and Anna	JA	Orthros Gal 5:22-6:2; Liturgy Heb 9:1-7	NP	Present; Liturgy Heb 9:1 onwards, no Orthros reading	Apostolos - no lection given	Gal 4:22-27; 2 Tim 2:1-10; Heb 9:1-7
Sat before Holy Cross	SAHC	1 Cor 2:6-9	1 Cor 2:6-10	Theodora of Alexandria; also 1 Cor 2:6 onwards	No lection recorded	1 Cor 2:6-10
Sun before Holy Cross	SUHC	Gal 6:11-18	Gal 6:11-end	Autonomos; also Gal 6:11 onwards	No lection recorded	Gal 6:11-18/13
Eve of Holy Cross Day	EHC	None listed	Heb 3:1-5	Forefeast of the Holy Cross; Holy Cornelius the Centurion = Liturgy Acts 10:1 onwards	Heb 3:15 onwards Liturgy	Eve/Dedication both listed; Rom 9:17-18(?); Gal 6:11-18; Col 1:24:2-1; Heb 3:1-4

<b>Exaltation of the Holy Cross</b>	HC	Liturgy 1 Cor 1:18-24; 1:25-2:2	Liturgy 1 Cor 1:18-25	Present; 1 Cor 1:18-24	1 Cor 1:18-24 Liturgy	1 Cor 1:18-24; Evl 32: 1 Cor 1:26-2:5
Matryr Niketas	NI	Liturgy Heb 13:7-16	NP	Niketas Heb 13:7 onwards	Apostolos - no lection given	Niketas/Holy Fathers of the Synod; Rom 8:28-39; Col 1:24-2:1
Sat after Holy Cross Day	SAPHC	1 Cor 1:26-29	1 Cor 1:26-2:6	Afterfeast of the Holy Cross no lection	No lection recorded	Evl 32: 1 Cor 1:26-2:5
Sun after Holy Cross Day	SUPHC	Gal 2:16-20	Gal 2:16-21	Afterfeast of the Holy Cross no lection	Gal 2:16 onwards	No lection listed
Euphemias	EU	Liturgy 2 Cor 6:1-10	NP	Megalomartyr Euphemia Liturgy Rom 8:14 onwards	2 Cor 6:1 onwards Liturgy	2 Cor 6:1-10
Eustathios et al	EUT	Eph 6:10-17	NP	Present; Eph 6:10 onwards	Eph 6:10 onwards Liturgy	Eph 6:10-15
Conception of the Forerunner	CJB	Lacunose	Gal 4:22-28	Present; Liturgy 2 Cor 4:6 onwards	Rom 13:11 onwards Liturgy	Gal 4:22-27
The martyr and Apostle Theklēs	THE	2 Tim 3:10-15	NP	Present; Liturgy 2 Tim 3:10 onwards	No lection recorded	2 Tim 3:10-15; Scr 2 Tim 1:3-9
Paphnoutios et al	PA	Akol [Orthros?] Heb 12:6-10; Liturgy Eph 4:25-32	NP	Holy Martyrs Paul and Tatta; saintly Euphrosyne in Alexandria	Apostolos - no lection given	Eph 2:4-10; Eph 4:25-32; Heb 12:6-13
St John the Theologian	JE	Liturgy 1 John 4:12-5:20{sic?}	1 John 4:12-20	Present; Liturgy 1 John 4:12 onwards	1 John 4:12 onwards Liturgy	1 John 4:12-19
Gregory, honoured Bishop of Armenia and Hieromartyr	GA	Liturgy Col 3:12-16	NP	Present; Col 3:12 onwards	1 Cor 16:13 onwards Liturgy	1 Cor 16:13-24
Ananios et al	AN	Orthros 1 Cor 4:9-16	NP	Present adds Ananias; Liturgy Acts 9:10 onwards	Acts 9:10 onwards Liturgy	Acts 9:10-19

Hieromartyr Cyprian and Justine	CY	Heb 10:32-28	NP	Present; Liturgy 1 Tim 1:12 onwards	1 Tim 1:12 onwards Liturgy	1 Tim 1:12-17
Dionysios the Areopagite	DA	Orthros Acts 17:16-34	NP	Present; Liturgy Acts 17:16 onwards	Acts 17:16 onwards Liturgy	Acts 17:16-23;30-34
Thomas the Apostle	THO	Orthros 1 Cor 4:9-16	1 Cor 4:9-16	Present; 1 Cor 4:9 onwards but listed incorrectly as προς ρωμαιους	1 Cor 4:9-16 onwards Liturgy	1 Cor 4:9-16
Sergios and Bacchus	SB	Liturgy Heb 11:33-12:2	NP	Present; Heb 11:33 onwards, but incorrectly listed as Romans also	Uncertain	Heb 11:33-12:2
James, son of Alphaeus	JSA	NP	Liturgy 1 Cor 4:9-16c	Present; Liturgy 1 Cor 4:9 onwards, but incorrectly listed as Romans	1 Cor 4:9-16 onwards Liturgy; editor (MS?) cites as Romans	Rom 10:11-18; Ven.1844 1 Cor 4:9-16
Holy Fathers of Nicaea	ECN	Liturgy Heb 13:7-16	Gk Titus 3:8-end	Apostle Philip and Theophanes the poet; Acts 8:26 onwards	No lection recorded	Acts 8:26-39; Heb 9:1-7; Heb 13:7-16
Luke the Evangelist	LU	Liturgy Col 4:5-9,14,18	Liturgy Gk Col 4:5-end	Present; Colossians - extent not given	Col 4:5 onwards Liturgy	Col 4:5-18
Cornelius the Centurion	COR	Liturgy Acts 10:1-43	NP	Megalomartyr Artemios; Liturgy Romans 8:28 onwards	Rom 8:14 onwards Liturgy	2 Tim 2:1-10
Dasios, Gaios and Zotikos et al	DGZ	Orthros 2 Cor 9:6-11 Alt Gal 5:22-6:2	NP	Hilarion only Gal 5:22 onwards	2 Cor 9:6 onwards Liturgy	1 Cor 9:6-11; Ven.1844 2 Cor 9:6-11
James, Brother of Our Lord	JAP	File damaged	File damaged	Some MSS Heb 3:1-14	Gal 1:11 onwards Liturgy	Gal 1:11-19
Markianos and Martyrios	MM	File damaged	Eph 4:7-14	Liturgy Heb 11:33-40 Alt 1 Cor 3:9-17	No lection recorded	1 Cor 3:9-17; Col 3:4-11

Great Martyr Demetrios	DEM	File damaged	2 Tim 1:3-9a	Liturgy 2 Tim 2:1-10	2 Tim 2:1 onwards Liturgy	Adds Memorial of the Great Earthquake 2 Tim 2:1-10; Heb 12:6-13
Holy Martyrs Basil, Artemidoros and Glaucon	BAG	File damaged	Rom 8:28-39	Liturgy Heb 12:6-10	Not recorded	See above
Miracle-workers Kosmo and Damien, sons of Theodotios	KD	Orthros 1 Cor 12:27-13,8a	NP	Present; 1 Cor 12:27 onwards	1 Cor 12:27 onwards Liturgy	1 Cor 12:27-13:8
Deposition of the relics of St George	RSG	NP	Eph 2:4-11	Akepsimas, Aeithalas and Joseph; Liturgy - Apostolos	Apostolos - no lection given	Akepsimas, Aeithalas and Joseph; Ven 1844 Eph 2:4-10
Paul, Archbishop of Constantinople	PC	Liturgy Heb 10:19-31	NP	Present; Liturgy Heb 8:1 onwards	Heb 7:26 onwards Liturgy	Heb 8:1-6/8:3-13
Martyrs Antoniou, Melassipou and Kassines	AMC	Liturgy Heb 12:1-10	NP	Holy Martyrs in Melitene and saintly Lazaros the Galesiote; no lection	No lection recorded	Martyrs in Melitene: no lection
Archangel Michael	ARM	Liturgy Heb 2:2-10	Heb 2:2-11	Synaxis of the Incorporeal Ones; Liturgy Heb 2:2 onwards	Heb 2:2 onwards Liturgy	Heb 2:2-11
Martyr Menas	ME	Liturgy 2 Tim 2:1-10	NP	Present adds Theodore of Stoudios; Eph 6:10 onwards	Eph 6:10 onwards Liturgy	Eph 6:10-17
John Chrysostom	JCH	Liturgy Heb 7:26-8:2	Liturgy Heb 7:26-8:3	Present; Heb 7:26 onwards	Heb 7:26 onwards Liturgy	Heb 7:26-8:2
St Philip the Apostle	PA	Acts 8:26-39	Acts 8:26-40	Present; 1 Cor 4:9 onwards	Acts 8:26 onwards Liturgy	Acts 8:26-39; Gal 1:11-19
Gourias, Samonas and Abibos	GSA	Liturgy Eph 6:10-17	NP	Present	1 Cor 4:9 onwards Liturgy	Eph 6:10-17
St Matthew the Evangelist	M	Liturgy Eph 4:7-13 Alt 1 Cor 4:9-16	Liturgy 1 Cor 4:9-16c	Present; 1 Cor 4:9 onwards	1 Cor 4:9 onwards Liturgy	1 Cor 4:9-16

St Gregory, bishop of Nikosarias	GN	Liturgy 1 Cor 16:13-24	NP	Present; Liturgy 1 Cor 12:7 onwards	1 Cor 12:7 onwards Liturgy	1 Cor 12:7-11
Martyr Dasios	DA	Liturgy Heb 13:7-16	NP	Forefeast of Presentation plus Gregory of Decapolis, holy Proklos archbishop of Constantinople and disciple of Chrysostom; Liturgy no lection recorded	Apostolos - no lection given	Gregory of the Decapolis Ven 1844: Heb 7:26-8:2
<b>Feast of the Presentation of the Theotokos</b>	PMG	Liturgy Heb 9:1-7	Liturgy Heb 9:1-8	Present; Liturgy Heb 9:1	Heb 9:1 onwards Liturgy	Heb 9:1-7
Philemon	PHL	NP	Philemon 1:1-end	Afterfeast and Martyr Kikilia; no lection: Philemon 23rd no lection	No lection recorded	Evl 303: Philemon 1:1-3;10-18;25
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	CR	Liturgy Phil 3:20-4:3	NP	Present; Phil 3:20 onwards	Phil 3:20 onwards Liturgy	Phil 3:20-4:3
Andrew the Apostle	AP	Liturgy 1 Cor 4:9-16	Liturgy 1 Cor 4:9-16c	Present; 1 Cor 4:9, incorrectly recorded as Romans	1 Cor 4:9 onwards Liturgy	1 Cor 4:9-16; Eph 1:22-2:3
Barbarian Martyrs	BAR	Liturgy Gal 3:22-29	NP	LTE records as 'Holy Martyr Barbara' [?]; Gal 3:23 onwards	Gal 3:23 onwards Liturgy	Gal 3:23-29
Saint Sabas	SAB	Liturgy Gal 5:22-6:2	Liturgy Gal 5:22-6:3	Present; Gal 5:22 onwards	Gal 5:22 onwards Liturgy	Gal 5:22-6:2; Heb 13:17-21
Nicholas the Miracle-worker	NMW	Liturgy Heb 13:17-21	Liturgy Heb 13:17-33	Present; Heb 13:17 onwards	Heb 13:17 onwards Liturgy	Heb 13:17-21
Conception of St Anne, when	CSA	Lacunose	Liturgy Gk Gal 4:22-28	Present; Liturgy Heb 9:1 onwards	Apostolos - no lection given	Gal 3:23-29(?)

she conceived the Theotokos						
Ancestors of Our Lord since Adam	ANC	NP	Col 3:4-12	Daniel the Stylite; Liturgy Apostolos	No lection recorded	Amilianou and Bikentiou; Gal 5:22-6:2
St Spyridon the Miracle-worker	SPR	Lacunose	Liturgy Eph 5:9-20	Present; no lection listed	No lection recorded	Eph 5:8-19
Martyrs Eustratiou, Auxentiou, Eugeniou, Mardariou and Orestou	MM	Orthros Eph 6:10-17	Liturgy Eph 4:10-18	Present; Liturgy Apostolos	Eph 6:10 onwards Liturgy	Eph 6:10-17
Hieromartyr Eleutherius	HE	Lacunose	Liturgy 2 Tim 1:8-11	Present; no lection listed	No lection recorded	2 Tim 1:1-10(?)
Sat before Christmas	SBC	Gal 3:8-12	Gal 3:8-13	Present; Liturgy Gal 3:8 onwards	Gal 3:8 onwards Liturgy	Gal 3:8-14
Sun before Christmas	SUBC	Heb 11:9-40	Heb 11:9-11; 32-end	Present; Pannychis Heb and Acts readings; Liturgy Heb 11:9 onwards	Col 3:12 onwards Liturgy	Col 3:4-11; Heb 11:9,10,32-40; Heb 11:33-40
Saint Floros	FLOR	Liturgy Heb 3:1-4	NP	Sebastian and his Companions; no lection recorded	Sebastian and [lac] - no lection recorded	No lection listed
Ignatios, Archbishop of Antioch	IGN	Liturgy Heb 4:14-5:6	NP	Present; Liturgy Heb 4:14 onwards	Heb 4:14 onwards Liturgy	Heb 4:14-5:6
Holy Martyr Anastasias and her companions	ANA	Liturgy Rom 8:14-21	NP	Present; Liturgy Apostolos	No lection recorded	Gal 3:23-4:5
Preparation for Christmas	PNAT	NP	Prime <sup>506</sup> Heb 1:1-13	Uncertain	Heb 3:6 onwards uncertain loc	Rom 15:7-16; Heb 1:1-12; Gal 3:15-22
		NP	Terce Gal 3:23-4:6	Heb 10:19 onwards	N/A	N/A
		NP	Sext Heb 1:10-2:4	Uncertain	N/A	N/A
		NP	None Heb 2:11-end	Heb 2:11 onwards	Heb 2:11 onwards	N/A
		Liturgy Heb 1:1-12	Vespers Liturgy Heb 1:1-13	Heb 1:1 onwards	Heb 1:1 onwards	N/A

<sup>506</sup> Western terminology for Offices as used by DeVries, *Epistles, Gospels and Tones*.

<b>Nativity of Our Lord</b>	XR	Gal 4:4-7	Gal 4:4-8	Present; Vespers Heb 1:1 onwards; Liturgy of St Basil Gal 4:4 onwards	Gal 4:4 onwards Liturgy	Gal 4:4-7
Divine maternity of the Theotokos	THE	Heb 2:11-18	Heb 2:11-end	Present adds Joseph the Betrothed and Euthymios; Heb 2:11 onwards	Heb 2:11 onwards Liturgy	Heb 2:11-18
Sat after Christmas	SAC	Heb 9:1-7	1 Tim 6:11b-17	Present; Liturgy 1 Tim 6:11 onwards	No lection recorded	1 Tim 6:11-16
Sun after Christmas	SUC	Gal 1:11-19	Gal 1:11-20	Present; Liturgy Gal 1:11 onwards	1 Cor 15:1 onwards Liturgy	Gal 2:6-19
Stephen, the first martyr	SM	Acts 6:8-7:5; 47-60	Acts 6:8-7:5b; 47-end	Present; Liturgy Acts 6:8 onwards	Acts 6:8 onwards Liturgy	Acts 6:8-7:5,47-60
Theodorou, Archbishop of Constantionople	THC	Orthros Heb 5:4-10	NP	Present adds Feast of the Twenty Thousand; Liturgy Apostolos	No lection recorded	Rom 8:2-9/17
Holy Innocents	HI	Liturgy Heb 2:11-18	NP	Present; adds Markellos and Dedication of the church of LTE; Liturgy Heb 3:1 onwards	Heb 2:11 onwards Liturgy	Rom 5:18-21; Rom 8:2(3)-9/17
The Circumcision of Our Lord	CC	Liturgy Col 2:8-12	Col 2:8-13	Present; Liturgy Col 2:8 onwards	Col 2:8 onwards Liturgy	Col 2:8-12
Basil the Great, Archibshop of Caesarea	BCAP	Lacunose?	Heb 7:26-8:3	Liturgy Apostolos	No lection recorded	Forefeast of Epiphany/Sylvester Pope of Rome; Heb 13:17-21
Basil the Great, Archibshop of Caesarea	BCAP	Lacunose?	2 Tim 4:5-8	Present; 2 Tim 4:5 onwards	No lection recorded	Sunday before Epipany 2 Tim 4:5-8
Sat before Epiphany	SABE	Acts 19:1-8 Alt 1 Tim 3:13-4:5	NP	Present; Acts 19:1 onwards; 1	No lection recorded	Forefeast 1 Cor 4:9-16

				Tim 3:13 onwards		
Paramony of the Epiphany	PE[x]	Liturgy 1 Cor 9:19-[10:4]	Vespers Liturgy 1 Cor 9:19-end	1 Cor 9:19 onwards	No lection recorded	Rom 8:8-17; 1 Cor 9:19-27
	PE1		Prime Acts 13:25-33b	Acts 12:25 onwards	Acts 13:25 onwards Liturgy	Uncertain: Gal 3:28-4:5; Phil 3:3-9; Col 1:18-22
	PE2		Terce Acts 19:1-9	Acts 19:1 onwards	Acts 19:1 onwards Liturgy	N/A
	PE3		Sext Rom 6:3b-12	Uncertain	Rom 6:3 onwards Liturgy	N/A
	PE4		None Tit 2:11-15; 3:4-8	Tit 2:11 onwards	No lection recorded	N/A
	PE5		Blessing of the Water 1 Cor 10:1-5	Uncertain	No lection recorded	N/A
<b>Feast of the Epiphany</b>	EPH	Tit 2:11-3:7	Liturgy Tit 2:11-15; 3:4-8	Present; Liturgy Tit 2:11 onwards	Tit 2:11 onwards Liturgy	Tit 2:11-14 and 3:4-7
Sat after Epiphany	SAE	Eph 6:10-17	Eph 6:10-18	Present; Eph 6:10 onwards	No lection recorded	Eph 6:10-17
Sun after Epiphany	SUAE	2 Tim 1:6-10	Eph 6:7-14	Present; 2 Tim 1:3 onwards	No lection recorded	Eph 4:7-13; 2 Tim 1:6-9/10/14
St John the Baptist	SJB	Acts 19:1-8	Acts 19:1-9	Present; Liturgy Acts 19:1 onwards	No lection recorded	Acts 18:22-28/ Acts 19:1-8
Gregory of Nyssa	GN	Orthros Eph 4:7-13	NP	Present; Liturgy Heb 7:26 onwards	Eph 4:7 onwards Liturgy	Afterfeast and Domitian of Melites; Martian and John Sabba Eph 4:7-13; 2 Tim 1:6-14
Holy Fathers of Mount Sinai	MS	2 Tim 3:10-15	NP	Holy Abbades' [?] Liturgy Apostolos	No lection recorded	Holy Fathers αββαδων Heb 10:32-38
Venerations of the Chains of St Peter, the Apostle	VCP	Liturgy Acts 12:1-11	Liturgy Acts 12:1-12	Present; Acts 12:1 onwards	Acts 12:1 onwards Liturgy	Acts 12:1-12
St Anthony the Great	AG	Liturgy Heb 13:17-21	Liturgy Heb 13:17-22	Present; Heb 13:17 onwards	No lection recorded	Heb 13:17-21



Athanasios and Cyril of Alexandria	ACA	Liturgy Heb 13:7-16	Liturgy Heb 13:7-17	Present; Liturgy Heb 13:7 onwards	No lection recorded	Heb 13:7-16; Tit 3:8-15
Euthymios the Great	EUV	Liturgy 2 Cor 4:6-10	Liturgy 2 Cor 4:6-16	Present; 2 Cor 4:6 onwards	No lection recorded	2 Cor 4:6-10/12/15
Timothy the Apostle	TIM	Liturgy 2 Tim 1:3-9	NP	Present adds Martyr Anastasios; Liturgy 2 Tim 1:3 onwards	2 Tim 1:3 onwards Liturgy	2 Tim 1:1-7/14
Clement of Ankyra	CAK	Heb 10:32-37	NP	Present; Liturgy Apostolos	Apostolos - no lection given	Phil 3:20-4:3
Gregory of Nazianzus	GN	Liturgy 1 Cor 12:7-11 Alt 1 Cor 16:13-24	Liturgy Heb 7:26-8:3	Liturgy 1 Cor 12:7 onwards	1 Cor 12:7 onwards Liturgy	1 Cor 12:7-11
Commemoration of the Earthquake during the rule of Theodosios	EDT	Liturgy Heb 12:6-10	NP	Xenophon; no lection	No lection recorded	Eph 1:3-12
Translation of the relics of St John Chrysostom	RJCH	Present, but no lection recorded (lacunose?)	Liturgy Heb 7:26-8:3	Present; Liturgy Heb 7:26 onwards	No lection recorded	Heb 7:26-8:2
Translation of the relics of Ignatios of Antioch	RIA	Liturgy Heb 4:14-5:6	NP	Present; Liturgy Apostolos	Heb 4:14 onwards Liturgy	Heb 5:4-10
Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom	TGH	NP	Liturgy Heb 13:7-17	Hippolytos; no lection	No lection recorded	Evl 32: Eph 6:10-17
Miracle workers Kyrou and John	KJ	Liturgy 1 Cor 12:7-11	NP	Present; Liturgy Apostolos	1 Cor 1:30 onwards Liturgy	No lection listed
Matryr Tryphon	TRY	Liturgy Rom 8:28-39	NP	Present adds meeting of Our Lord with Symeon; no lection	Rom 8:28 onwards - incorrectly cited as Hebrews	Rom 8:28-39
Feast of the Presentation of Our Lord	PRES	TB Liturgy Heb 7:7-17 PRES Liturgy Heb 9:11-14	Heb 7:7-18	Present; Liturgy Heb 7:7 onwards	Heb 7:7 onwards Liturgy	Heb 7:7-17
Hieromartyr Blasiou	BLAS	Liturgy Heb 7:26-8:2	NP	Present; no lection listed	Apostolos - no lection given	Heb 4:14-5:6

Martyrs Pamphilou et al	MM	Liturgy Heb 12:1-10	NP	Present; no lection listed	Apostolos - no lection given	No lection listed
Hieromartyr Polycarp	HPO	Liturgy Heb 4:7-13	NP	Present; no lection listed	No lection recorded	No lection listed
Discovery of the Head of John the Baptist	DHJ	Liturgy Eph 4:1-7	2 Cor 4:6-16	Present; 2 Cor 4:6 onwards	2 Cor 4:6 onwards Liturgy	2 Cor 4:6-10/12/15

## L156

Feast Title	Folio	MS Lection	ID	Date
Aethalas, Philip and Theodotian and the martyrs of Mamantos	197r	Col 3:12-onwards	APT	2nd Sept
Indict	197r	1 Tim 2:1 onwards	NY	1st Sept
Holy Fathers	197v	Heb 7:26-8:2	N/A	N/A
Nativity of the Theotokos	198v	Gal 4:22-5:1a	NT	8th Sept
Joachim and Anna	199r	Hebrews 9:1-7	JA	9th Sept
Martyr Niketas	201r	Hebrews 13:7-16	NI	15th Sept
Paphnoutios et al	202v	Heb 12:6-10	PA	25th Sept
St John the Theologian	203r	1 John 4:12-19	JE	26th Sept
Cyprian and Justine	204r	Acts 19:11-20	CY	2nd Oct
Dionysios the Areopagite	205r	Acts 17:16-34	DA	3rd Oct
Luke the Evangelist	207r	Col 4:5-10,18	LU	18th Oct
Mark and Barnabas, and Aristobolou [?]	207v	Col 4:5 onwards; extract from literary text?	N/A	N/A
Paneuphemos	208r	James 1:1-12	N/A	N/A
Kyriakos, Archbishop of Constantinople	209v	James 5:12-20	N/A	N/A
Kosmo and Damien	210r	1 Cor 12:27-13:8a	KD	N/A
Ioannikou [?]	211r	Hebrews 10:19-31	N/A	N/A
Paul, Archbishop of Constantinople	212r	Hebrews 8:1b-6	PC	6th Nov

Archangel Michael	212v	Heb 2:2-10	ARM	8th Nov
St Gregory, bishop of Nikosarias	214v	1 Cor 12:7-11	GN	17th Nov
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	215v	Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov
Holy Apostle Silas, Bishop of Corinth	216r	Acts 17:10-17a;18:4b-5	N/A	N/A
Barbarian Martyrs	217r	Gal 3:22-29	BAR	4th Dec
Nicholas the Miracle-worker	217v	Heb 13:17-21	NMW	6th Dec
Ignatios of Antioch	219v	Rom 8:28-39	IGN	20th Dec
Daniel the Prophet	220r	Heb 11:9-40	N/A	N/A
Preparation for Christmas	221r	1 Pet 2:1-10	PNAT	24th Dec
Preparation for Christmas	223v	Heb 2:11-end	PNAT	24th Dec
Sun before Epiphany	225v	2 Tim 4:5-8	SBE	MOV
Paramony of the Epiphany	225v	1 Cor 9:19-10:4	MOV	MOV
Feast of the Epiphany	227r	Tit 2:11-3:4a	EPH	6th Jan
Polneutekos [?]	228r	1 John 5:1-7	N/A	N/A
Gregory of Nyssa	228v	Eph 4:7-13	GN	10th Jan
Sunday after Epiphany	230r	2 Tim 1:6-13	SUAE	MOV
Athanasios and Cyril of Alexandria	231r	Tit 3:8-15	ACA	18th Jan
Preparation for the Presentation	233r	Heb 6:19a-7:7	N/A	N/A
Presentation of Our Lord Jesus Christ	233v	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb
Onesimos, Archbishop of Illyrika	235r	Philemon 1:1-25	N/A	N/A

## L60

Feast Title	Folio	MS Lection	ID	Date
For the Departed	151r	1 Thess 4:13-17	FD	MOV
For the Departed	151v	1 Cor 15:47-57a	FD	MOV
Uncertain, entitled 'εκ του παυλου αποστολου προς κορινθους' + Latin headings	153v	1 Cor 5:6b-8	N/A	N/A
Nativity of the Theotokos	163r	Phil 2:5-11	NT	8th Sept

Conception of the Forerunner	165v	Acts 13:25-32	CJB	CJB
Sergios and Bacchus	168r	Heb 11:33-12:11	SB	7th Oct
Miracle-workers Kosmo and Damien, sons of Theodotios	168v	1 Cor 12:27-13,7	KD	1st Nov
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	170r	Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov
Sun before Christmas	170v	Heb 11:9-33a	SUBC	MOV
Preparation for Christmas	171r	Heb 1:1-13	PNAT	24th Dec
Nativity of Our Lord	173v	Gal 4:4-7	XR	25th Dec
The Circumcision of Our Lord	174v	Liturgy Col 2:8-12	CC	1st Jan
Paramony of the Epiphany	178v	1 Cor 9:19-10:4	PE	MOV
Feast of the Epiphany	180v	Tit 2:11-3:7	EPH	6th Jan
Gregory of Nyssa [?]	181r	Eph 4:7-13	GN	10th Jan
Sun after Epiphany	182r	2 Tim 1:2-10a	SUAE	MOV
Feast of the Presentation of Our Lord	182v	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb
Discovery of the Head of John the Baptist	183v	Eph 4:1-7	DHJ	24th Feb

### L1298

Feast Title	Folio	MS Lection	ID	Date
Mamantios, Julian, Philip and Theodotiou	100v	Heb 7:26-8:2	N/A	N/A
Eudoxe	101v	2 Tim 1:6-13	EU	4th Sept
Nativity of the Theotokos	102v	Gal 4:22-5:1	NT	8th Sept
Joachim and Anna	103r	Heb 9:1-7	JA	9th Sept
Martyr Niketas	105r	Heb 13:7-16	NI	15th Sept
Memorial of the Earthquake "εν τω καμπω"	107r	Heb 12:6-10	N/A	25th Sept
St John the Theologian	107v	1 John 4:12-19	JE	26th Sept

Cyprian and Justine	109r	1 Tim 1:12-17	CY	2nd Oct
Dionysios the Areopagite	110r	Acts 17:16-32[lac]	DA	3rd Oct
Luke the Evangelist	111r	Col 4:5-10a, 14b, 18	LU	18th Oct
Great Martyr Demetrios	112r	Liturgy 2 Tim 2:1-10	DEM	26th Oct
Miracle-workers Kosmo and Damien, sons of Theodotios	114r	1 Cor 12:27-13:8a	KD	1st Nov
Paul, Archbishop of Constantinople	115r	Heb 10:19-31	PC	6th Nov
Archangel Michael	116v	Heb 2:2-10	ARM	8th Nov
St Gregory, bishop of Nikosarias	118v	1 Cor 12:7-11	GN	17th Nov
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	120r	Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov
Barbarian Martyrs	121v	Gal 3:22-29	BAR	4th Dec
Nicholas the Miracle-worker	122r	Heb 13:17-21	NMW	6th Dec
Sunday of Our Holy Fathers [?]	125v	Heb 11:9-40	N/A	N/A
Sat before Christmas	127v	Gal 3:15-22	SBC	MOV
Nativity of Our Lord	130r	Gal 4:4-7	XR	25th Dec
Divine maternity of the Theotokos	130v	Heb 2:11-18	THE	26th Dec
Stephen, the first martyr	131r	1 Tim 6:11a-[lac?]	SM	27th Dec
"Lectons for the Twelfth Month"	132r	Rom 5:18-21	LTM	N/A
"Lectons for the Twelfth Month"	132v	Rom 8:3-9a	LTM	N/A
"Lectons for the Twelfth Month"	133r	Rom 9:29b-33	LTM	N/A
"Lectons for the Twelfth Month"	133v	2 Cor 5:15-21	LTM	N/A
"Lectons for the Twelfth Month"	134r	Gal 3:28-4:5	LTM	N/A
"Lectons for the Twelfth Month"	134r	Col 3:1b-22	LTM	N/A
"Lectons for the Twelfth Month"	134v	Phil 3:3-9a	LTM	N/A
"Lectons for the Twelfth Month"	135r	Rom 8:8-14	LTM	N/A

Sat before Epiphany	136r	1 Tim 3:13-4:5	SABE	MOV
Sun before Epiphany	137r	2 Tim 4:5-8	SBE	MOV
Paramony of the Epiphany	137v	1 Cor 9:19-end	PE	MOV
Feast of the Epiphany	141r	Tit 2:11-3:7	EPH	6th Jan
Sun after Epiphany	142r	Eph 4:7-13	SUAE	MOV
Timothy the Apostle	144v	2 Tim 1:3-9a	TIM	22nd Jan
Matryr Tryphon	146v	Rom 8:28-39	TRY	1st Feb
Feast of the Presentation of Our Lord	147v	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb

### L1300

<b>Feast Title</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>MS Lection</b>	<b>ID</b>	<b>Date</b>
Nativity of the Theotokos	105r	Phil 2:5-11	NT	8th Sept
Joachim and Anna	105v	Heb 9:1-7	JA	9th Sept
Matryr Niketas	106v	Heb 13:7-16	NI	15th Sept
Paphnoutios et al	108r	Heb 12:6-10	PA	25th Sept
St John the Theologian	108v	1 John 4:12-19	JE	26th Sept
Hieromartyr Cyprian and Justine	109r	Heb 7:26-8:2	CY	2nd Oct
Dionysios the Areopagite	110r	Acts 17:16-34	DA	3rd Oct
Luke the Evangelist	111v	Col 4:5-9, 14, 18	LU	18th Oct
Miracle-workers Kosmo and Damien, sons of Theodotios	112v	1 Cor 12:27-13,8a	KD	1st Nov
Uncertain	113v	Heb 10:19-31	N/A	N/A
Paul, Archbishop of Constantinople	114v	Heb 8:1-6	PC	6th Nov

Archangel Michael	115r	Liturgy Heb 2:2-[ill]	ARM	8th Nov
Illegible	116v	1 Cor 12:7-11	N/A	N/A
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	117r	Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov
Barbarian Martyrs	117v	Gal 3:23-29	BAR	4th Dec
Nicholas the Miracle-worker	118r	Heb 13:17-21	NMW	6th Dec
Conception of St Anne, when she concieved the Theotokos	118v	Gal 4:22-27	CSA	9th Dec
Sun before Christmas	119v	Heb [ill]11:9[ill]-40	SUB C	MOV
Nativity of Our Lord	121r	Gal 4:4-7	XR	25th Dec
Divine maternity of the Theotokos	121v	Heb 2:11-18	THE	26th Dec
Basil the Great, Archibshop of Caesarea	122v	2 Tim 4:5-8	BCA P	1st/2nd Jan
Paramony of the Epiphany	123v	Liturgy 1 Cor 9:19-10:4	PE	MOV
Feast of the Epiphany	124v	Tit 2:11-3:7	EPH	6th Jan
Matryr Tryphon	126r	Rom 8:28-39	TRY	1st Feb
Feast of the Presentation of Our Lord	127r	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb

### L173

<b>Feast Title</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>MS Lection</b>	<b>ID</b>	<b>Date</b>
Symeon the Stylite and the Holy Women [?]	125v	Col 3:12-16	NY	1st Sept
Mamantios et al	126r	Heb 7:26-8:2	MAM	2nd Sept
Nativity of the Theotokos	127r	Gal 4:22-5:1a	NT	8th Sept
Joachim and Anna	128r	Heb 9:1-7	JA	9th Sept
Matryr Niketas	129r	Heb 13:7-16	NI	15th Sept

"η λιτη του καμπου" [?]	130v	Heb 12:6-10	LK	25th Sept
St John the Theologian	130v	1 John 4:12-19	JE	26th Sept
Dionysios the Areopagite	131v	Acts 17:16-31	DA	3rd Oct
Luke the Evangelist	133v	Col 4:5-9,12,18	LU	18th Oct
Miracle-workers Kosmo and Damien, sons of Theodotios	134v	1 Cor 12:27-13:8a	KD	1st Nov
Lazaros the Galesiote	135r	Heb 10:19-31	AMC	5th Nov
Paul, Archbishop of Constantinople	136v	Heb 8:1-6	PC	6th Nov
Archangel Michael	137v	Heb 2:2-10	ARM	8th Nov
Gregory Thaumaturgos	138v	1 Cor 12:7-11	GN	17th Nov
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	139v	Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov
Barbarian Martyrs	140v	Gal 3:23-29	BAR	4th Dec
Nicholas the Miracle-worker	141r	Heb 13:17-21	NMW	6th Dec
Sun before Christmas	142r	Heb 11:9-40	SUBC	MOV
Dedication of the Great Church	143v	Heb 3:1-4	N/A	N/A
Nativity of Our Lord	144v	Gal 4:4-[lac?]	XR	25th Dec
Divine maternity of the Theotokos	145r	Heb 2:11-18	THE	26th Dec
2nd Sunday before Epiphany [?]	146r	2 Tim 4:5-8	N/A	MOV [?]
Paramony of the Epiphany	147r	1 Cor 9:19-10:4	PE	MOV
Feast of the Epiphany	148v	Tit 2:11-3:7	EPH	6th Jan
Sun after Epiphany	149v	2 Tim 1:6-10a	SUAE	MOV
Gregory of Nyssa	150r	Eph 4:7-13	GN	10th Jan
Matryr Tryphon	152r	Rom 8:28-39	TRY	1st Feb



Feast of the Presentation of Our Lord	153r	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb
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### L846

Feast Title	Image	MS Lection	ID	Date
For Dedication [of the Church]	95	Hebrews 13:10-16	DED	MOV
For Archangels	100	Hebrews 1:13-2:4	ARC	MOV
For Apostles	102	1 Cor 4:9-16	APO	MOV
For Prophets	104	1 Cor 12:27-13-10	PRO	MOV
For Martyrs	105	Rom 5:1-5	MAR	MOV
Holy Women	108	2 Cor 4:7-12	HW	MOV
For Bishops	110	Heb 4:14-5:10	EPI	MOV
For the Departed	112	1 Thess 4:13-18	FD	MOV

### L1021

Feast Title	Folio	MS Lection	ID	Date
Mamantios et al	164r	Heb 7:26-8:2	APT	2nd Sept
Nativity of the Theotokos	165r	Phil 2:5-11	NT	8th Sept
Joachim and Anna	165v	Heb 9:1-7	JA	9th Sept
Conception of the Forerunner	166r	Gal 4:22-27	CJB	23rd Sept
St John the Theologian	166v	1 John 4:12-19	JE	26th Sept
Luke the Evangelist	167r	Col 4:5-9,14,18	LU	18th Oct
Great Martyr Demetrios	167v	2 Tim 2:1-10	DEM	26th Oct
Miracle-workers Kosmo and Damien, sons of Theodotios	168r	1 Cor 12:27-13,8a	KD	1st Nov
Archangel Michael	168v	Heb 2:2-10	ARM	8th Nov
St Gregory, bishop of Nikosarias	169r	1 Cor 12:7-11	GN	17th Nov

Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	169v	Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov
Barbarian Martyrs	169v	Gal 3:23-29	BAR	4th Dec
Nicholas the Miracle-worker	170r	Heb 13:17-21	NMW	6th Dec
Sun before Christmas	170v	Heb 11:9-40	SUBC	MOV
Nativity of Our Lord	171r	Gal 4:4-7	XR	25th Dec
Divine maternity of the Theotokos	171v	Heb 2:11-18	THE	26th Dec
Sat after Christmas	172r	1 Tim 3:13-4:5	SAC	MOV
The Circumcision of Our Lord	172v	Col 2:8-12	CC/BC AP	1st Jan
Sat before Epiphany	172v	1 Tim 6:11-16	SABE	MOV
Sun before Epiphany	173r	2 Tim 4:5-8	SBE	MOV
Paramony of the Epiphany	173r	1 Cor 9:19-10:4	PE	MOV
Feast of the Epiphany	173v	Tit 2:11-3:7	EPH	6th Jan
Sun after Epiphany	174r	Eph 4:7-13	SUAE	MOV
Timothy the Apostle	174v	2 Tim 1:3-9a	TIM	22nd Jan
Feast of the Presentation of Our Lord	175r	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb

### L1141

Feast Title	Folio	MS Lection	ID	Date
Indict	143r	Heb 7:26-8:1	N/A	N/A
Nativity of the Theotokos	144r	Phil 2:5-11	NT	8th Sept
Joachim and Anna	144r	Gal 4:22-27	JA	9th Sept
"η λιτη του καμπου" Commemoration of the Earthquake	146v	Heb 12:6-10	LK	25th Sept
Preparation for St John the Theologian	146v	1 John 3:21-4:16; 1 John 4:20-5:5	N/A	26th Sept
St John the Theologian	147r	1 John 4:12-19	JE	26th Sept

Hieromartyr Cyprian and Justine	147v	1 Tim 1:12-17	CY	2nd Oct
Dionysios the Areopagite	148r	Acts 17:16-34	DA	3rd Oct
Luke the Evangelist	149v	Col 4:5-9,14,18	LU	18th Oct
Great Martyr Demetrios	150r	2 Tim 2:1-10	DEM	26th Oct
Miracle-workers Kosmo and Damien, sons of Theodotios	150r	1 Cor 12:27-13,8a	KD	1st Nov
Illegible, usually Paul the Confessor	151r	Heb 10:19-31	N/A	6th Nov
Paul the Confessor (Usually Martyrs Antoniou, Melassipou and Kassines in other MSS)	151r	Heb 12:1-10	PC	7th Nov
Archangel Michael	151v	Heb 2:2-10	ARM	8th Nov
St Gregory, bishop of Nikosarias	153r	1 Cor 12:7-11	GN	17th Nov
Feast of the Presentation of the Theotokos	153v	Heb 9:1-7	PMG	21st Nov
Philemon	153v	Philemon 1:1-end	PHL	22nd Nov
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	154r	Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov
Barbarian Martyrs	154v	Gal 3:23-29	BAR	4th Dec
Nicholas the Miracle-worker	154v	Heb 13:17-21	NMW	6th Dec
Dedication of the Great Church	155v	Heb 3:1-4	DED	MOV [?]
Sun before Christmas	156r	Heb 11:9-40	SUBC	MOV
Nativity of Our Lord	159r	Gal 4:4-7	XR	25th Dec
Divine maternity of the Theotokos	159v	Heb 2:11-18	THE	26th Dec
Uncertain [	161r	Col 2:8-12	N/A	N/A
Forefeast of the Epiphany	161r	Gal 3:28b-4:5	N/A	N/A
Forefeast of the Epiphany	161v	Phil 3:3-14	N/A	N/A
Sat before Epiphany	162r	1 Tim 3:13-4:5	SUBE	MOV

Sun before Epiphany	162r	2 Tim 4:5-8	SABE	MOV
Paramony of the Epiphany	165v	1 Cor 9:19-10:4	PE	MOV
Feast of the Epiphany	166v	Tit 2:11-3:7	EPH	6th Jan
Sun after Epiphany	167r	Eph 4:7-14	SUAE	MOV
Timothy the Apostle	168r	2 Tim 1:3-9a	TIM	22nd Jan
Matryr Tryphon	168v	Rom 8:28-39	TRY	1st Feb
Feast of the Presentation of Our Lord	169v	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb

### L1178

<b>Feast Title</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>MS Lection</b>	<b>ID</b>	<b>Date</b>
Indict (New Year)	257v	1 Tim 2:1-7	NY	1st Sept
Uncertain	258v	Heb 9:1-7	N/A	9th Sept
Aethalas [Junias], Philip and Theodotian and the martyrs of Mamantos	259v	2 Tim 2:1-10	APT	2nd Sept
John Nesteutes, Patriarch of Constantinople in MS	260r	Heb 13:7-16	JNEU	N/A
Memorial of Anthimos, bishop of Nikomedia and martyr	261r	Eph 4:7-13	ANT	3rd Sept
Prophet Zacharias and Holy Cyril, bishop of Gortyne	261v	Heb 7:26-8:2	ZC	5th Sept
Archangel Michael	262r	Heb 2:2-10	ARM	8th Nov
Nativity of the Theotokos	265r	Phil 2:5-11	NT	8th Sept
Joachim and Anna	265v	Gal 4:22-27	JA	9th Sept
Exaltation of the Holy Cross	265r [?]	1 Cor 1:18-24	HC	14th Sept
Paphnoutios et al	268r	Heb 12:6-13	PA	25th Sept
St John the Theologian	268v	1 John 4:12-19	JE	26th Sept

Ananios et al	270r	Heb 7:26-8:2	AN	1st Oct
Other Apostles	270v	2 Tim 1:3-18	N/A	N/A
Dionysios the Areopagite	271r	Acts 17:16-34	DA	3rd Oct

## L2024

<b>Feast Title</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>MS Lection</b>	<b>ID</b>	<b>Date</b>
Indict (New Year) [ill]	173r	1 Tim 2:1-8	NY	1st Sept
John Nesteutes, Patriarch of Constantinople in MS	173v	Heb 7:26-8:2	JNEU	N/A
Nativity of the Theotokos	173v	Phil 2:5-11	NT	8th Sept
Joachim and Anna	174r	Gal 4:22-6:2	JA	9th Sept
Hieromartyr Cyprian and Justine	175r	1 Tim 1:12-17	CY	2nd Oct
Dionysios the Areopagite	175v	Acts 17:16-34	DA	3rd Oct
Luke the Evangelist	176r	Col 4:5-9,14,18	LU	18th Oct
Great Martyr Demetrius	178r	2 Tim 2:1-10	DEM	26th Oct
Miracle-workers Kosmo and Damien, sons of Theodotios	179r	1 Cor 12:27-13,8a	KD	1st Nov
Plousios and Lazaros in MS	180r	Heb 10:19-31	N/A	N/A
Paul, Archbishop of Constantinople	181r	Heb 8:1b-6	PC	6th Nov
Archangel Michael	181v	Heb 2:2-11	ARM	8th Nov
St Gregory, bishop of Nikosarias	183r	1 Cor 12:7-11	GN	17th Nov
Feast of the Presentation of the Theotokos	183r	Heb 9:1-7	PMG	21st Nov
Philemon	184r	Philemon 1:1-end	PHL	22nd Nov
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	185r	Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov

Nicholas the Miracle-worker	186r	Heb 13:17-21	NMW	6th Dec
Dedication of the Great Church	187v	Heb 3:1-4	DED	MOV [?]
Sun before Christmas	188r	Heb 11:9-40	SUBC	MOV
Nativity of Our Lord	189r	Gal 4:4-7	XR	25th Dec
Divine maternity of the Theotokos	189r	Heb 2:11-18	THE	26th Dec
Sat after Christmas	189v	1 Tim 6:11b-16	SAC	MOV
The Metheorta of Christmas	190v	Rom 5:18-21	N/A	27th Dec
The Metheorta of Christmas	191r	Rom 8:3-11	N/A	28th Dec
The Metheorta of Christmas	191v	Rom 9:29b-33	N/A	30th Dec
The Circumcision of Our Lord	192r	Col 2:8-12	CC	1st Jan
Forefeast of Epiphany	192r	Gal 3:28b-4:5	N/A	N/A
Forefeast of Epiphany	192v	Col 3:18-22	N/A	N/A
Forefeast of Epiphany	193r	Phil 3:3-9	N/A	N/A
Sat before Epiphany	193v	1 Tim 3:13-4:5	SABE	MOV
Sun before Epiphany	194r	2 Tim 4:5-8	SBE	MOV
Paramony of the Epiphany	194v	1 Cor 9:19-10:4	PE	MOV
Feast of the Epiphany	195v	Tit 2:11-3:7	EPH	6th Jan
Sat after Epiphany	196r	Eph 4:7-14	SAE	MOV
The Metheorta of Epiphany	196v	Rom 8:8-14	N/A	N/A
Timothy the Apostle	198r	2 Tim 1:3-9a	TIM	22nd Jan
Matryr Tryphon	199v	Rom 8:28-39	TRY	1st Feb
Feast of the Presentation of Our Lord	200r	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb

**L164**

<b>Feast Title</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>MS Lection</b>	<b>ID</b>	<b>Date</b>
Mamantios and John, Patriarch	222v	Hebrews, illegible	MAM	2nd Sept
Nativity of the Theotokos	223r	Phil 2:5-12	NT	8th Sept
Joachim and Anna	223v	Heb 9:1-7	JA	9th Sept
Matryr Niketas	225r	Heb 13:7-16	NI	15th Sept
Conception of the Forerunner	226v	Gal 4:22-28	CJB	23rd Sept
St John the Theologian	227r	1 John 4:12-19	JE	26th Sept
Dionysios the Areopagite	228r	Acts 17:16-34	DA	3rd Oct
Luke the Evangelist	229v	Col 4:5-9,14,18	LU	18th Oct
Great Martyr Demetrius	230r	Heb 12:6-27a	DEM	26th Oct
Miracle-workers Kosmo and Damien, sons of Theodotios	232r	1 Cor 12:27-13,8a	KD	1st Nov
Dasiou and Theodotos	233r	Heb [?] Begins εχοντες παρησια	N/A	4th Nov
Archangel Michael	234r	Heb 2:2-10	ARM	8th Nov
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	235v	Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov
Holy Martyr Theodore and his companions	236v	Heb 13:17 onwards	N/A	1st Dec
Sun before Christmas	237v	Heb 11:9 onwards	SUBC	MOV
Ignatios, Archbishop of Antioch	238r	Romans 8:28 onwards	IGN	20th Dec
Nativity of Our Lord	239v	Gal 4:4-7	XR	25th Dec
Divine maternity of the Theotokos	240r	Heb 2:11-18	THE	26th Dec
Theodorou, Archbishop of Constantionople	241r	Heb 8:1	THC	28th Dec

The Circumcision of Our Lord	242r	Col 2:8-12	CC	1st Jan
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## L169

<b>Feast Title</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>MS Lection</b>	<b>ID</b>	<b>Date</b>
Indict (New Year)	143v	1 Tim 2:1-7	NY	1st Sept
Mamantios	144v	Heb 7:26-8:2	MAM	2nd Sept
Miracle of Archangel Gabriel at Chonai	145v	Heb 2:2-10	GCH	6th Sept
Holy Martyrs Zozontos, Eupsuxiou and Severus Kaine	146r	1 Tim 3:1 onwards	N/A	7th Sept
Nativity of the Theotokos	146v	Phil 2:5-12	NT	8th Sept
Joachim and Anna	147r	Heb 9:1-7	JA	9th Sept
Martyr Niketas	148v	2 Tim 2:1	NI	15th Sept
Holy Fathers of the Synod	149r	Heb 13:7 onwards	N/A	UNC
Phocas	150r	Gal 4:22 onwards	KPH	22nd Sept
Holy Apostle and Martyr Theclas	151r	2 Tim 3:10-15	THE	24th Sept
Paphnoutios et al	157v	Heb 12:6-10	PA	25th Sept
St John the Theologian	158r	1 John 4:12-20	JE	26th Sept
Hieromartyr Cyprian and Justine	153r	1 Tim 1:12-17	CY	2nd Oct
Dionysios the Areopagite	153v	Acts 17:16-34	DA	3rd Oct
Luke the Evangelist	155r	Col 4:5-9,14,18	LU	18th Oct
Miracle-workers Kosmo and Damien, sons of Theodotios	156v	1 Cor 12:27-13,8a	KD	1st Nov
Sunday before November 6th, a reading for Plousios and Lazaros	150v	Heb 10:19-31	N/A	MOV



Paul the Confessor	158r	Heb 8:1-6	PC	6th Nov
Gourias, Samonas and Abibos	159r	1 Tim 3:1 onwards	GSA	15th Nov
Gregory the Wonder-worker	160r	1 Cor 12:7-11	GN	17th Nov
Kikilias and Agapiou, and Mark and the Apostle Philemon, and Arkippos and Apfia and Passarionos	160v	Philemon	N/A	22nd Nov
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	161v	Liturgy Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov
Silas, Bishop of Corinth	162r	Acts 17:10 onwards	SIL	26th Nov
Barbarian Martrys	163r	Gal 3:22-29	BAR	
Nicholas the Miracle-worker	163v	Heb 13:17-21	NMW	6th Dec
Sun before Christmas	165r	Heb 11:9-40	SBC	MOV
Nativity of Our Lord	167r	Gal 4:4-7	XR	25th Dec
Divine Maternity of the Theotokos	167v	Heb 2:11-18	THE	26th Dec
Theodorou, Archbishop of Constantinople	168v	Heb 5:4 onwards	N/A	28th Dec
Sunday before Epiphany	169v	2 Tim 4:5-8	SUBE	MOV
Paramony of the Epiphany	169v	1 Cor 9:19-10:4	PE	MOV
Epiphany	171v	Tit 2:11-3:7	EPH	6th Jan
Sunday after the Epiphany	172r	2 Tim 1:6-10; Eph 4:7-13	SUAE	MOV
Martyr Tryphon	172v	Rom 8:28-39	TRY	1st Feb
Presentation of Our Lord	164r	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb

## L257

Feast Title	Folio	MS Lection	ID	Date
Indict	140r	1 Tim 2:1-7	NY	1st Sept
Mamantios	140v	Rom 8:28-39	MAM	2nd Sept
John Nesteutes, Patriarch	141r	Heb 7:26-8:2	N/A	2nd Sept
Anthimos, and our holy father Theokistou	141v	Heb 13:7-16	ANT	3rd Sept
Miracle of Archangel Gabriel at Chonai	142v	Heb 2:2-10	GCH	6th Sept
Nativity of the Theotokos	143v	Phil 2:5-12; Gal 4:22-27	NT	8th Sept
Eve of Holy Cross Day	144v	Heb 3:1-4	EHC	13th Sept
Exaltation of the Holy Cross	145v	1 Cor 1:18-24; 1:25-2:2	HC	14th Sept
St John the Theologian	146v	1 John 4:12-19	JE	26th Sept
Luke the Evangelist	148r	Liturgy Col 4:5-9,14,18	LU	18th Oct
Great Martyr Demetrios	148v	2 Tim 2:1-10; Ἐτερον εις την αγιος δεμετριος 3 John 11-end	DEM	26th Oct
Kosmo and Damien	149v	1 Cor 12:27-13,8a	KD	1st Nov
Sunday before November 6th, a reading for Plousios and Lazaros	150v	Heb 10:19-31 dividing at 26 into two lections	N/A	MOV
Paul the Confessor	151r	Heb 8:1-6	PC	6th Nov
Gregory the Wonder-worker	152r	1 Cor 12:7-11	GN	17th Nov
Presentation of the Theotokos	152r	Heb 9:1-7	PMG	21st Nov
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	152v	Liturgy Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov

Nicholas the Miracle-worker	153v	Liturgy Heb 13:17-21	NMW	6th Dec
Sun before Christmas	154r	Heb 11:9-40	SBC	MOV
Nativity of Our Lord	155v	Gal 4:4-7	XR	25th Dec
Divine Maternity of the Theotokos	156v	Heb 2:11-18	THE	26th Dec
Saturday after Christmas	157r	1 Tim 6:11b-16	SAC	MOV
Circumcision of Our Lord	157v	Col 2:8-12	CC	1st Jan
Saturday before Epiphany	158r	1 Tim 3:13-4:5	SABE	MOV
Sunday before Epiphany	158v	2 Tim 4:5-8	SUBE	MOV
Paramony of the Epiphany	159r	1 Cor 9:19-10:4	PE	MOV
Epiphany	160v	Tit 2:11-3:7	EPH	6th Jan
Sunday after the Epiphany	161r	2 Tim 1:6-10; Eph 4:7-13	SUAE	MOV
Holy Fathers of Mount Sinai	162r	Heb 10:32-ends εκ πιστεως ζησεται	MS	14th Jan
Timothy the Apostle	162v	2 Tim 1:3-9a	TIM	22nd Jan
Clement of Ankyra	163r	Phil 3:20-4:3	CAK	23rd Jan
Presentation of Our Lord	164r	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb
Onesimos	165r	Philemon 1-end	APON	15th [16th?] Feb

### L604

Feast Title	Folio	MS Lection	ID	Date
Indict (New Year)	185v	1 Tim 2:1-7	NY	1st Sept
Nativity of the Theotokos	186r	Phil 2:5-12	NT	8th Sept
Joachim and Anna	186r	Gal 4:22-27	JA	9th Sept

"η λιτη του καμπου" Commemoration of the Earthquake	187r	Heb 12:6-10	LK	25th Sept
St John the Theologian	187v	1 John 4:12-19	JE	26th Sept
Dionysios the Areopagite	188r	Acts 17:16-34	DA	3rd Oct
Circumcision of Our Lord	189r	Col 2:8-12	CC	1st Jan
Forefeast of the Epiphany	189v	Rom 8:8-17	N/A	4th Jan
Saturday before Epiphany	190r	1 Tim 3:13-4:5	SABE	MOV
Sunday before Epiphany	190r	2 Tim 4:5-8	SUBE	MOV
Paramony of the Epiphany	190v	1 Cor 9:19-10:4	PE	MOV
Epiphany	191r	Tit 2:11-3:7	EPH	6th Jan
Sunday after the Epiphany	191v	Eph 4:7-13	SUAE	MOV
Martyr Tryphon	193r	Rom 8:28-39	TRY	1st Feb
Presentation of Our Lord	193v	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb

### L587

<b>Feast Title</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>MS Lection</b>	<b>ID</b>	<b>Date</b>
Indict (New Year)	316v	1 Tim 2:1-7	NY	1st Sept
Mamantios	318v	Heb 7:26-8:2	MAM	2nd Sept
Nativity of the Theotokos	320v	Phil 2:5-12	NT	8th Sept
Joachim and Anna	321r	Gal 4:22-27	JA	9th Sept
"η λιτη του καμπου" [?]	325r	Heb 12:6-10	LK	25th Sept
St John the Theologian	329r	1 John 4:12-19	JE	26th Sept

Hieromartyr Cyprian and Justine	331r	1 Tim 1:12-17	CY	2nd Oct
Dionysios the Areopagite	332v	Acts 17:16-34	DA	3rd Oct
Luke the Evangelist	336v	Col 4:5-9,14,18	LU	18th Oct
Great Martyr Demetrios	339r	2 Tim 2:1-10	DEM	26th Oct
Miracle-workers Kosmo and Damien	340v	1 Cor 12:27-13,8a	KD	1st Nov
Galaktion and Episteme	342v	Heb 10:32-38	GEK	5th Nov
Paul the Confessor	344v	Heb 8:1-6	PC	6th Nov
Archangel Michael	345r	Heb 2:2-10	ARM	8th Nov
Gregory the Wonder-worker	348v	1 Cor 12:7-11	GN	17th Nov
Presentation of the Theotokos	349r	Heb 9:1-7	PMG	21st Nov
Philemon	350r	Philemon 1:1-end	PHL	22nd Nov
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	352v	Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov
Nicholas the Miracle-worker	355r	Heb 13:17-21	NMW	6th Dec
Preparation of the Great Church	361r	Heb 3:1-3	THE	23rd Dec
Sun before Christmas	362v	Heb 11:9-40	SBC	MOV
Nativity of Our Lord	365r	Gal 4:4-7	XR	25th Dec
Divine Maternity of the Theotokos	366v	Heb 2:11-18	THE	26th Dec
Sat after Christmas	367r	1 Tim 6:11-16	SAC	MOV
Afterfeast(s) of Christmas	369r	Rom 5:18-21; Rom [inc rubricated Hebrews] 8:3-9a; Rom 9:29-33; 2 Cor 5:14b-21	N/A	28th/ 29th/ 30th/ 31st Dec

Circumcision of Our Lord	372v	Col 2:8-12	CC	1st Jan
Forefeast(s) of the Epiphany	374v	Gal 3:28b-4:5; Col 3:1b-22; Phil 3:3-	N/A	2nd/3rd/4th Jan
Saturday before Epiphany	375r	1 Tim 3:13-4:5	SABE	MOV
Sunday before Epiphany	376r	2 Tim 4:5-8	SUBE	MOV
Paramony of the Epiphany	377r	1 Cor 9:19-10:4	PE	MOV
Epiphany	380r	Tit 2:11-3:7	EPH	6th Jan
Sunday after the Epiphany	382r	Eph 4:7-13	SUAE	MOV
Afterfeast(s) of Epiphany	382r	Rom 8:8-14	N/A	8th Jan
Timothy the Apostle	387r	2 Tim 1:3-9a	TIM	22nd Jan
Martyr Tryphon	389r	Rom 8:28-39	TRY	1st Feb
Presentation of Our Lord	391r	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb

#### L1774

Feast Title	Folio	MS Lection	ID	Date
Indict (New Year)	140	Col 3:12-16	NY	1st Sept
Mamantios et al	160	2 Tim 1:8-18	MAM	2nd Sept
Holy Prophet Moses	190	Heb 11:24-40	N/A	Not listed
Prophet Zacharias and Holy Cyril, bishop of Gortyne	230	Heb 9:11-14	ZC	Not listed
Eudoxe et al	240	Phil 2:5-11	EU	4th Sept
Joachim and Anna	260	Gal 4:22-27	JA	9th Sept
Holy Martyr Cyrianos	290	Col 1:24-2:1a	N/A	Not listed
Eve of Holy Cross Day	310	Heb 3:1-4	EHC	13th Sept
Exaltation of the Holy Cross	330	1 Cor 1:18-24	HC	14th Sept

Sat after Holy Cross Day	350	1 Cor 1:26-29	SAPHC	15th Sept
Sun after Holy Cross Day	360	Gal 2:16-20	SUPHC	16th Sept
Euphemias	380	2 Cor 6:1-10	EU	12th Sept
The Holy Miracle-worker and Our Father Eumenios	410	Heb 4:14-5:10	N/A	16th Sept
Great Martyr Trophemos[?] and the rest	440	Phil 1:20b-27a	N/A	19th Sept
Eustathios et al	450	Eph 6:10-17	EUT	20th Sept
Prophet Jonah; Saintly Jonah the Presbyter	480	1 Thess 1:6-2:20	JJ	21st Sept
The martyr and Apostle Theklēs	510	2 Tim 3:10-15	THE	24th Sept
St John the Theologian	520	1 John 4:12-5:10a	JE	26th Sept
Kyriakos the Anchorite	550	Gal 5:22-6:2	KYA	29th Sept
Gregory, honoured Bishop of Armenia and Hieromartyr	560	Col 3:12-16	GA	30th Sept
Sergios and Bacchos	580	Heb 11:33-12:2	SB	7th Oct
Pelagia	620	Eph 5:8-19	PEL	8th Oct
Probos, Tarachos and Andronikos	650	Phil 3:8-19	PTA	12th Oct
Luke the Evangelist	700	Col 4:5-9,14,18	LU	18th Oct
Prophet Joel	720	Rom 11:2-12	PJHV	19th Oct
Hilarion	740	2 Cor 9:6-11	DGZ	21st Oct
Great Martyr Demetrios	760	2 Tim 2:1-10	DEM	26th Oct
Miracle-workers Kosmo and Damien	790	1 Cor 12:27-13,8a	KD	1st Nov
Galaktion and Episteme	820	Rom 8:14-21	GEK	5th Nov
Paul the Confessor	850	Heb 8:1-6	PC	6th Nov
Archangel Michael	870	Heb 2:2-10	ARM	8th Nov
John Chrysostom	910	Heb 7:26-8:6	JCH	13th Nov

Philip the Apostle	930	Acts 8:26-39	PA	14th Nov
Gregory the Wonder-worker	970	1 Cor 12:7-11	GN	17th Nov
Presentation of the Theotokos	990	Heb 9:1-7	PMG	21st Nov
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	1010	Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov
Prophet Nahum	1040	1 Cor 14:20-25	PNHM	1st Dec
Barbarian Martrys	1060	Gal 3:23-29	BAR	4th Dec
Nicholas the Miracle-worker	1080	Heb 13:17-21	NMW	6th Dec
Nativity of Our Lord	1110	Gal 4:4-7	XR	25th Dec
Divine Maternity of the Theotokos	1130	Heb 2:11-18	THE	26th Dec
Stephen, the first Martyr	1150	Acts 6:8-7:5; 47-60	SM	27th Dec
Circumcision of Our Lord	1240	Col 2:8-12	CC	1st Jan
Paramony of the Epiphany	1260	1 Cor 9:19-10:4	PE	MOV
Epiphany	1290	Tit 2:11-3:7	EPH	6th Jan
St John the Baptist	1310	Acts 19:1-8	SJB	7th Jan
Holy Fathers of Mount Sinai	1340	Heb 10:32-38	MS	14th Jan
Euthymios the Great	1370	2 Cor 4:6-10	EUV	20th Jan
Timothy the Apostle	1400	2 Tim 1:3-9a	TIM	22nd Jan
Martyr Tryphon	1430	Rom 8:28-39	TRY	1st Feb
Presentation of Our Lord	1460	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb
Parthenios, bishop of Lampsakos	1490	2 Tim 3:16-4:4	PLU	7th Feb
Hieromartyr Polycarp	1530	Eph 4:7-13	HPO	23rd Feb

### L170

Feast Title	Folio	MS Lection	ID	Date
Mamantios	114v	Heb 7:26-8:2	MAM	2nd Sept
Joachim and Anna	115r	Heb 9:1-7	JA	9th Sept
Martyr Niketas	116v	Heb 13:7-16	NI	15th Sept



Multiple including Theophilos, Archbishop of Ephesus	118r	Heb 12:6-10	N/A	25th Sept
St John the Theologian	118v	1 John 4:12-19	JE	26th Sept
Dionysios the Areopagite	119r	Acts 17:16-34	DA	3rd Oct
Luke the Evangelist	121r	Col 4:5-9,14,18	LU	18th Oct
Various and Prophet Joel	121v	Col 4:5-9,14,18	PJHV	19th Oct
James, Brother of Our Lord	122r	James 1:1-12	JAP	23rd Oct
Kyriakos, Patriarch et al	123v	James 5:12-20	SAZ	31st Oct
Miracle-workers Kosmo and Damien	123v	1 Cor 12:27-13,8a	KD	1st Nov
Sunday of Plousios and Lazaros	125r	Heb 10:19-31	N/A	MOV[?]
Paul the Confessor	125v	Heb 8:1-6	PC	6th Nov
Archangel Michael	126r	Heb 2:2-10	ARM	8th Nov
Gregory the Wonder-worker	128r	1 Cor 12:7-11	GN	17th Nov
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	128v	Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov
James the Persian	129r	Acts 17:10-18:5	JPER	27th Nov
Barbarian Martrys	130v	Gal 3:23-29	BAR	4th Dec
Nicholas the Miracle-worker	131r	Heb 13:17-21	NMW	6th Dec
Ignatios of Antioch	132v	Rom 8:28-39	IGN	20th Dec
Sun before Christmas	133v	Heb 11:9-40	SBC	MOV
Forefeast of Christmas	134v	1 Peter 2:1-10	N/A	22nd Dec
Nativity of Our Lord	LAC	MS lacunose; appears to end Heb 2:18	XR	25th Dec
Sunday before Epiphany	137v	2 Tim 4:5-8	SUBE	MOV
Paramony of the Epiphany	137v	1 Cor 9:19-10:4	PE	MOV
Epiphany	139r	Tit 2:11-3:7	EPH	6th Jan

Afterfeast(s) of Epiphany	139v	1 John 5:1-8; Eph 4:7-13	N/A	8th Jan
Forefeast of the Presentation	142r	Heb 6:19-7:10	N/A	1st Feb
Presentation of Our Lord	143r	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb
Onesimos	144r	Philemon 1- end	APON	15th Feb

### L1188

<b>Feast Title</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>MS Lection</b>	<b>ID</b>	<b>Date</b>
Mamantios	219r	Heb 7:26-8:2; 1 Tim 2:1-7	MAM	2nd Sept
Anthimos	220r	Heb 13:7-16	ANT	3rd Sept
Nativity of the Theotokos	221r	Phil 2:5-12	NT	8th Sept
Joachim and Anna	221v	Heb 9:1-7	JA	9th Sept
St John the Theologian	224v	1 John 4:12-19	JE	26th Sept
Dionysios the Areopagite	225v	Acts 17:16-34	DA	3rd Oct
Luke the Evangelist	226r	Col 4:5-9,14,18	LU	18th Oct
Great Martyr Demetrios	227r	2 Tim 2:1-10	DEM	26th Oct
Miracle-workers Kosmo and Damien	227v	1 Cor 12:27-13,8a	KD	1st Nov
Archangel Michael	229r	Heb 2:2-10	ARM	8th Nov
Gregory the Wonder-worker	230r	1 Cor 12:7-11	GN	17th Nov
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria	230v	Phil 3:20-4:3	CR	25th Nov
Barbarian Martrys	231v	Gal 3:23-29	BAR	4th Dec
Nicholas the Miracle-worker	232r	Heb 13:17-21	NMW	6th Dec

Sun before Christmas	233r	Heb 11:9-40	SBC	MOV
Nativity of Our Lord	234v	Gal 4:4-7	XR	25th Dec
Divine Maternity of the Theotokos	235r	Heb 2:11-18	THE	26th Dec
Sat after Christmas	235v	1 Tim 3:13-4:5	SAC	MOV
Circumcision of Our Lord	239v	Col 2:8-12	CC	1st Jan
Saturday before Epiphany	240r	1 Tim 6:11-16	SABE	MOV
Sunday before Epiphany	UNC	2 Tim 4:5-8	SUBE	MOV
Paramony of the Epiphany	UNC	1 Cor 9:19-10:4	PE	MOV
Epiphany	239r[?]	Tit 2:11-3:7	EPH	6th Jan
Timothy the Apostle	240r[?]	2 Tim 1:3-9a	TIM	22nd Jan
Martyr Tryphon	240v	Rom 8:28-39	TRY	1st Feb
Presentation of Our Lord	241v	Heb 7:7-17	PRES	2nd Feb

**APPENDIX 6: Select Synaxarion Lections in L156**

<b>Lecture</b>	<b>Extent</b>	<b>Start Image Loc.</b>	<b>End Image Loc.</b>	<b>De Vries Correspondence?</b>	<b>De Vries ID</b>	<b>Notes</b>
R17	Romans 8:8-14	1730	1730	Romans 8:2-14	AP3D	Close similarity
R18	Romans 8:22-27	1730	1740	Romans 8:28-39	HM	Close similarity
R19	Romans 9:6b-13	1740	1750	Romans 9:6-20	AP3F	Close similarity
R20	Romans 8:15-21	1750	1760	Romans 8:14-21	AP5G	Close similarity
R21	Romans 10:1-10	1760	1800	Romans 10:1-11	AP5A	Close similarity
R22	Romans 9:13b-19	1800	1810	No Match		Totally different Combines several lections
R23	Romans 9:17-28	1810	1820	No Match		Totally different
R24	Romans 9:29-33	1820	1830	No Match		Totally different
R25	Romans 9:33-10:17	1830	1840	No Match		Totally different Unusual reading at v.33 added to TPs
R26	Romans 10:15b-11:2a	1840	1850	Romans 10:11-11:2b	AP4C	Similarity open to interpretation
R27	Romans 9:1-5	1850	1860	Romans 9:1-6	AP6G	Exact correspondence
R28	Romans 12:6-14	1860	1870	Romans 12:6-14	AP6A	Exact correspondence
R29	Romans 11:2b-6	1870	1880	Romans 11:2b-13	AP4D	Only half of lection in l156
R30	Romans 11:7-12	1880	1890	Romans 11:2b-13	AP4D	Other half of above lection
R31	Romans 11:13-20	1890	1900	Romans 11:13-35	AP4E	Similarity open to interpretation
R32	Romans 11:17-24	1900	1910	Romans 11:13-35	AP4E	Continues from above lections

R33	Romans 11:25-28	1910	1920	Romans 11:25-12x	AP4F	Close similarity
R34	Romans 12:1-3	1920	1910	Romans 12:1-4	AP7G	Close similarity
R35	Romans 15:1-7	1920	1930	Romans 15:1-8	AP7A	Close similarity
R36	Romans 11:29-36	1930	1940	Romans 11:25-11x	AP4F	Some similarity. P1930 large image, male face? Left margin column 1
R37	Romans 12:14-21	1940	1950	Romans 12:4-6, 15-13x	AP5B	Similarity open to interpretation
R38	Romans 14:10b-18	1950	1960	Romans 14:9-19	AP5C	Close similarity
R39	Romans 15:8-12	1960	1970	Romans 15:7-17	AP5D	Some similarity
R40	Romans 15:13-16	1970	1980	Romans 15:7-17	AP5D	Continues from above lection
R41	Romans 13:1-10	1980	1990	Romans 13:1-11	AP8G	Close similarity
AC1	1 Cor 1:10-18	1990	2000	1 Cor 1:10-18	AP8A	Exact correspondence; incorrectly titled in MS as προς ρωμαίους
R42	Romans 15:17-25	2010	2020	Romans 15:7-17	AP5D	Close similarity
R43	Romans 15:26-29	2020	2020	Romans 15:17-30	AP5E	Close similarity
R44	Romans 16:17-24	2020	2030	Romans 16:17-end	AP6B	Close similarity
AC2	1 Cor 2:10-14	2030	2040	1 Cor 2:9-3:9	AP6D	Some similarity
AC3	1 Cor 2:16-3:8	2040	2050	No Match		Totally different
R45	Romans 14:6-9	2050	2060	Romans 14:6-9	AP9G	Exact correspondence
AC4	1 Cor 3:9-17	2060	2070	1 Cor 3:9-18	AP9A	Exact correspondence
AC5	1 Cor 3:18-23	2070	2080	1 Cor 3:18-4x	AP6E	Exact correspondence, though

						unfamiliar location
AC6	1 Cor 4:5-8	2080	2080	1 Cor 4:5-9	AP6F	Exact correspondence
AC7	1 Cor 5:9-13	2080	2090	1 Cor 5:9-6:12	AP7B	Some similarity
AC8	1 Cor 6:1-6	2090	2100	1 Cor 5:9-6:12	AP7B	Some similarity, extracts above lection
AC9	1 Cor 6:7b-11	2100	2110	1 Cor 5:9-6:12	AP7B	Some similarity, extracts above lection
R46	Romans 15:30-33	2110	2110	Romans 15:30-33	AP10G	Exact correspondence, though unfamiliar location
AC10	1 Cor 4:9-16	2110	2120	1 Cor 4:9-16c	AP10A	Exact correspondence
AC11	1 Cor 6:20b-7:7	2120	2130	1 Cor 6:20b-7:13	AP7C	Close similarity, unfamiliar location
AC12	1 Cor 7:7-15	2130	2140	1 Cor 7:12b-25	AP7D	Some similarity
AC13	1 Cor 7:11-28	2150	2170	1 Cor 7:12b-25	AP7D	Some similarity
AC14	1 Cor 7:29b-35	2170	2180	1 Cor 7:24-36	AP7E	Some similarity
AC15	1 Cor 1:3-9	2180	2190	1 Cor 1:3-9	AP11G	Exact correspondence
AC16	1 Cor 9:2b-12	2190	2200	1 Cor 2-13	AP11A	Exact correspondence
AC17	1 Cor 7:37-8:3	2200	2210	1 Cor 7:35-8:8	AP7F	Some similarity
AC18	1 Cor 8:4-7	2210	2210	No Match		Totally different
AC19	1 Cor 9:13-18	2220	2220	1 Cor 9:13-19	AP8B	Exact correspondence
AC20	1 Cor 10:2-9	2220	2230	1 Cor 10:5-12	AP8C	Some similarity
AC21	1 Cor 10:10-15a	2230	2240	1 Cor 10:5-12	AP8C	Some similarity
AC22	1 Cor 1:26-29	2240	2250	1 Cor 1:25-2:1	AP12G	De Vries error lists as 2 Cor 1:26-2:6

AC23	1 Cor 15:1-11	2250	2260	1 Cor 15:1-12	AP12A	Exact correspondence
AC24	1 Cor 10:14-23a	2260	2270	1 Cor 10:12-22b	AP8D	Close similarity
AC25	1 Cor 10:31-11:3	2270	2280	1 Cor 10:28-11:9	AP8E	Some similarity
AC26	1 Cor 11:4-12	2280	2290	1 Cor 11:8-23b	AP8F	Some similarity
AC27	1 Cor 11:13-23a	2290	2300	1 Cor 11:8-23b	AP8F	Some similarity
AC28	1 Cor 11:31-12:6	2300	2310	1 Cor 10:31-12:7	AP9B	Exact correspondence
AC29	1 Cor 2:6-9	2310	2320	1 Cor 2:6-10	AP13G	Exact correspondence
AC30	1 Cor 16:13-24a	2320	2330	1 Cor 16:13-end	AP13A	Exact correspondence
AC31	1 Cor 12:12-18	2330	2340	1 Cor 12:12-27	AP9C	Some similarity
AC32	1 Cor 12:18-25	2340	2350	1 Cor 12:12-27	AP9C	Extracts above lection
AC33	1 Cor 13:8-14:1a	2350	2360	1 Cor 13:4-15:6	AP9D	Some similarity
AC34	1 Cor 14:1b-12a	2360	2380	1 Cor 13:4-15:6	AP9D	Extracts above lection
AC35	1 Cor 14:12b-20a	2380	2390	1 Cor 13:4-15:6	AP9D	Extracts above lection
AC36	1 Cor 4:1-5	2390	2390	1 Cor 4:1-6	AP14G	Exact correspondence
BC1	2 Cor 1:21-2:4	2390	2400	2 Cor 1:21-2:5	AP14A	Exact correspondence
AC37	1 Cor 14:26-33	2410	2410	1 Cor 14:26-15x	AP9F	Close similarity
AC38	1 Cor 14:33-40	2410	2420	1 Cor 14:26-15x	AP9F	Extracts above lection
AC39	1 Cor 15:12-20	2420	2430	1 Cor 15:12-20	AP10B	Exact correspondence
AC40	1 Cor 15:29-34a	2430	2440	1 Cor 15:29-39	AP10C	Close similarity
AC41	1 Cor 14:34a-40	2440	2450	1 Cor 15:29-39	AP10C	Extracts above lection
AC42	1 Cor 4:17-5:5	2450	2460	1 Cor 15:17-5:6	AP15G	Exact correspondence

BC2	2 Cor 4:6-15	2460	2470	2 Cor 4:6-16	AP15A	Exact correspondence
AC43	1 Cor 16:3-13	2480	2490	1 Cor 16:4-13	AP10D	Close similarity
BC3	2 Cor 1:1-7	2490	2500	2 Cor 1:1-8	AP10E	Exact correspondence
BC4	2 Cor 1:12-20a	2500	2510	2 Cor 1:12-21	AP10F	Close similarity
BC5	2 Cor 2:4-15	2510	2530	2 Cor 2:3c-16	AP11B	Close similarity
BC6	2 Cor 2:15-3:3a	2530	2540	2 Cor 2:14-3:4	AP11C	Close similarity
AC44	1 Cor 10:23-26	2540	2540	1 Cor 10:23-29	AP16G	Close similarity
BC7	2 Cor 6:1-10	2540	2570	1 Cor 6:1-11	AP16A	Exact correspondence
BC8	2 Cor 3:4-8	2570	2580	2 Cor 3:4-12	AP11D	Close similarity
BC9	2 Cor 4:1-6	2580	2590	2 Cor 4:1-13	AP11E	Close similarity
BC10	2 Cor 4:11-18	2590	2600	2 Cor 4:1-5:1x	AP11F	Overlap with above lection
BC11	2 Cor 5:10-15	2600	2610	2 Cor 5:10-16	AP12B	Exact correspondence
BC12	2 Cor 5:15-21	2610	2620	2 Cor 5:15-6:1x	AP12C	Exact correspondence
AC45	1 Cor 14:20-25	2620	2630	1 Cor 14:20-26	AP17G	Exact correspondence
BC13	2 Cor 6:16-7:1	2630	1630	2 Cor 6:16-7:2	AP17A	Exact correspondence
BC14	2 Cor 6:11-16	2630	2640	2 Cor 6:11-16b	AP12D	Exact correspondence
BC15	2 Cor 7:1b-11	2640	2660	2 Cor 7:1-10c	AP12E	Close similarity
BC16	2 Cor 7:10-16	2660	2670	2 Cor 7:10-8x	AP12F	Exact correspondence
BC17	2 Cor 8:7-11	2670	2680	2 Cor 8:7-16	AP13B	Some similarity
BC18	2 Cor 8:10-21	2680	2700	2 Cor 8:16-9:6	AP13C	Some similarity
AC46	1 Cor 15:39-45	2700	2700	1 Cor 15:39-46	AP18G	Exact correspondence
BC19	2 Cor 9:6-11	2710	2710	2 Cor 9:6-12	AP18A	Exact correspondence



BC20	2 Cor 9:1-5	2720	2730	2 Cor 9:6-12	AP18A	Extracts above lection
BC21	2 Cor 9:12-10:6	2730	2750	2 Cor 9:12-10:8	AP13D	Close similarity
BC22	2 Cor 10:4-12	2750	2760	2 Cor 10:7-11x	AP13E	Some similarity
BC23	2 Cor 10:13-18	2760	2770	2 Cor 10:7-11x	AP13E	Extracts above lection
AC47	1 Cor 15:58-16:3	2770	2770	1 Cor 15:58-16:4	AP19G	Exact correspondence
BC24	2 Cor 11:31-12:9	2770	2790	2 Cor 11:31-12:10	AP19A	Exact correspondence
BC25	2 Cor 11:5-9	2790	2820	2 Cor 11:5-21b	AP13F	Some similarity
BC26	2 Cor 11:10-16	2820	2830	2 Cor 11:5-21b	AP13F	Extracts above lection
BC27	2 Cor 12:10-14a	2830	2840	2 Cor 12:10-20	AP14B	Some similarity
BC28	2 Cor 12:14b-19a	2840	2840	2 Cor 12:10-20	AP14B	Extracts above lection
BC29	2 Cor 12:19b-13:1	2840	2850	2 Cor 12:20-13:3	AP14C	Close similarity
BC30	2 Cor 1:8-11	2860	2860	2 Cor 1:8-12	AP20G	Exact correspondence
GA1	Gal 1:11-19	2860	2870	Gal 1:11-20	AP20A	Exact correspondence
BC31	2 Cor 13:2-7a	2870	2880	2 Cor 13:3-end	AP14D	Some similarity
BC32	2 Cor 13:7-11	2880	2890	2 Cor 13:3-end	AP14D	Extracts above lection
GA2	Gal 1:17-2:5	2880	2900	Gal 1:1-4, 20-2:6	AP14E	Some similarity, erroneously headed προς κορινθ(ειους) [num]β[/num]
GA3	Gal 2:6b-16a	2900	2930	Gal 2:6-10	AP14F	Some similarity
GA4	Gal 2:20b-3:7	2930	2940	No Match		Totally different
BC33	2 Cor 3:12-18	2940	2950	2 Cor 3:12-4x	AP21G	Exact correspondence

GA5	Gal 2:16-20	2950	2960	Gal 2:16-21	AP21A	Exact correspondence
GA6	Gal 3:15-22	2960	2970	Gal 3:15-23	AP15D	Exact correspondence
GA7	Gal 3:29b-4:5	2970	2970	Gal 3:23-4:6	AP15E	Close similarity
GA8	Gal 4:9-14	2980	2980	Gal 4:8-22	AP15F	Some similarity
GA9	Gal 4:13-26	2980	3000	Gal 4:8-22	AP15F	Extracts above lection
GA10	Gal 4:28-5:5	3000	3010	Gal 4:28-5:11	AP16B	Close similarity
BC34	2 Cor 5:1-10a	3010	3020	2 Cor 5:1-10b	AP22G	Close similarity
GA11	Gal 6:11-18	3020	3030	Gal 6:11-end	AP22A	Exact correspondence
GA12	Gal 5:4-14	3030	3040	No Match		Totally different
GA13	Gal 5:14-21	3040	3050	Gal 5:11-22	AP16C	Some similarity
GA14	Gal 6:2-10a	3050	3060	Gal 6:2-11	AP16D	Close similarity
E1	Eph 1:10-17	3060	3070	Eph 1:7-18	AP16F	Some similarity
E2	Eph 1:16-23	3070	3090	Eph 1:7-18	AP16F	Some similarity
BC35	2 Cor 8:1-5	3090	3090	2 Cor 8:1-6	AP23G	Exact correspondence
E3	Eph 2:4-10	3090	3100	Eph 2:4-11	AP23A	Exact correspondence
E4	Eph 2:18-3:5	3100	3110	Eph 2:19-3:8	AP17C	Close similarity
E5	Eph 3:5b-12	3110	3120	Eph 3:8-4x	AP17D	Some similarity
E6	Eph 3:13-21	3120	3130	Eph 3:13-21	AP17D	Continues above lection
E7	Eph 4:12-16	3140	3140	Eph 4:14-18	AP17E	Some similarity
E8	Eph 4:17-25	3140	3150	Eph 4:17-25b	AP17F	Exact correspondence
BC36	2 Cor 11:1-6	3160	3160	2 Cor 11:1-17	AP24G	Exact correspondence
E9	Eph 2:14-22	3160	3170	Eph 2:14-3x	AP24A	Exact correspondence
E10	Eph 5:19-26	3170	3180	Eph 5:20-26	AP18C	Close similarity

E11	Eph 5:25b-31	3180	3190	Eph 5:25-5x	AP18D	Close similarity
E12	Eph 5:28b-6:6a	3190	3200	Eph 5:33-6:9	AP18E	Close similarity, incorrectly labelled as προς φιλιππιους
E13	Eph 6:6b-11a	3200	3210	Eph 5:33-6:9	AP18E	Continues above lection
E14	Eph 6:13-21	3210	3220	Eph 6:18-7x	AP18F	Some similarity
GA15	Gal 1:3-10	3220	3230	Gal 1:3-11	AP25G	Close similarity
E16	Eph 4:1-7	3230	3230	Eph 4:1-8	AP25A	Close similarity
PH1	Philippians 1:1-6	3240	3240	Philippians 1:1-8	AP19B	Close similarity
PH2	Philippians 1:8-13	3240	3250	Philippians 1:8-15	AP19C	Close similarity
PH3	Philippians 1:14-20a	3250	3260	Philippians 1:12-20b	AP19D	Close similarity
PH4	Philippians 1:20b-27a	3260	3270	Philippians 1:20-27b	AP19E	Close similarity
PH5	Philippians 1:27a-2:4	3270	3280	Philippians 1:27-2:5	AP19F	Close similarity
GA16	Gal 3:8-12	3280	3290	Gal 3:8-13	AP26G	Close similarity
E17	Eph 5:8b-18	3290	3300	Eph 5:9-20	AP26A	Close similarity
PH6	Philippians 2:10-16a	3300	3310	Philippians 2:12-16	AP20B	Close similarity
PH7	Philippians 2:15b-22	3310	3310	Philippians 2:17-23	AP20C	Close similarity
PH8	Philippians 2:23-29a	3310	3320	Philippians 2:24-30	AP20D	Close similarity
PH9	Philippians 2:28-3:3	3320	3330	Philippians 3:1-8	AP20E	Some similarity
PH10	Philippians 3:3-9a	3330	3340	Philippians 3:1-8	AP20E	Continues above lection, some similarity
GA17	Gal 5:22-6:2	3340	3350	Galatians 5:22-6:2	AP27G	Exact correspondence
E18	Eph 6:10-17	3350	3360	Ephesians 6:10-17	AP27A	Close similarity
PH11	Philippians 3:8b-16	3360	3370	Philippians 3:8-19	AP20F	Some similarity

PH12	Philippians 3:17-20	3370	3380	Philippians 3:8-19	AP20F	Continues above lection
PH13	Philippians 4:9b-13	3380	3380	Philippians 4:10-23	AP21B	Some similarity
PH14	Philippians 4:13-20	3390	3400	Philippians 4:10-23	AP21B	Continues above lection, some similarity
CO1	Col 1:1-6	3400	3400	Colossians 1:1,2,7-11	AP21C	Some similarity
E19	Eph 1:16-23	3400	3420	Ephesians 1:16-23	AP28G	Exact correspondence
CO2	Col 1:12-18	3420	3430	Colossians 1:12-18	AP28A	Exact correspondence
CO3	Col 1:6b-11a	3430	3430	Colossians 1:1,2,7-11	AP21C	Continues lection, close similarity
CO4	Col 1:18-22	3430	3440	Colossians 1:18-23	AP21D	Close similarity
CO5	Col 1:21b-26a	3440	3450	Colossians 1:24-29	AP21E	Some similarity
CO6	Col 1:26-2:3	3450	3460	Colossians 1:24-29	AP21E	Some similarity
CO7	Col 2:4-7	3460	3470	Colossians 2:1-7	AP21F	Close similarity
E20	Eph 2:11-13	3470	3470	Ephesians 2:11-13	AP29G	Exact correspondence
CO8	Col 3:4-11	3480	3490	Colossians 3:12-16	AP29A	Most similar to Second Sunday before Christmas: Sunday of the Forefathers of Christ
CO9	Col 3:20-3	3490	3500	Colossians 2:20-3:4	AP22C	Exact correspondence
CO11	Col 3:17-24	3500	3510	Colossians 3:17-4:2	AP22D	Close similarity
CO12	Col 3:24-4:5	3510	3520	Colossians 3:17-4:2	AP22D	Continues lection, close similarity
1T1	1 Thess 1:1-6a	3520	3530	1 Thess 1:1-6	AP23B	Close similarity
E21	Eph 5:1-8a	3530	3540	Eph 5:1-8c	AP30G	Close similarity
CO13	Col 3:12-16	3540	3550	Colossians 3:12-17	AP30A	Close similarity

1T2	1 Thess 1:6-10	3550	3550	1 Thess 1:6-2x	AP23C	Exact correspondence
1T3	1 Thess 1:9b-2:4	3550	3560	1 Thess 2:1-9	AP23D	Some similarity
1T4	1 Thess 2:4a-8	3560	3570	1 Thess 2:1-9	AP23D	Continues lection, close similarity
1T5	1 Thess 2:9-14a	3570	3580	1 Thess 2:9-14c	AP23E	Close similarity
1T6	1 Thess 2:14a-20	3580	3590	1 Thess 2:14-3x	AP23F	Exact correspondence
CO14	Col 1:2b-6	3590	3600	Col 1:1-7	AP31G	Some similarity
1T11	1 Tim 1:15- 16	3600	3600	1 Tim 1:15-18	AP31A	Some similarity
1T7	1 Thess 3:2-8	3610	3620	1 Thess 3:9-4x	AP24C	Some similarity
1T8	1 Thess 3:6-11	3620	3620	1 Thess 3:9-4x	AP24C	Continues lection, close similarity
1T9	1 Thess 3:11-4:6a	3620	3630	1 Thess 3:9-4x	AP24C	Continues lection, close similarity
1T10	1 Thess 4:7-12	3630	3640	1 Thess 4:1-12	AP24D	Some similarity
1T11	1 Thess 4:17b-5:5a	3640	3650	1 Thess 4:18-5:11	AP24E	Some similarity
CO15	Col 2:8-12	3650	3660	1 Thess 5:14-24	AP32G	Totally different, has Colossians lection
1T12	1 Tim 6:11b-16	3660	3670	1 Tim 4:9-16	AP32A	Totally different
1T13	1 Thess 5:4-11	3670	3680	1 Thess 5:9-6x	AP24F	Some similarity
1T14	1 Thess 5:11-15a	3680	3680	1 Thess 5:9-6x	AP24F	Continues lection, close similarity
1T15	1 Thess 5:15-23	3690	3690	1 Thess 5:9-6x	AP24F	Continues lection, close similarity
2T1	2 Thess 1:1-5a	3690	3700	2 Thess 1:1-11	AP25B	Some similarity
2T2	2 Thess 1:11-2:12	3700	3720	2 Thess 1:10-2:3; 2:1-12	AP25C/D	Some similarity

1TI2	1 Tim 2:1-7	3720	3750	2 Tim 2:11-20	AP33G	Totally different
2TI1	2 Tim 1:3-9	3750	3760	Interpolated week	AP33A	Reading before Triodion pre- fast

### APPENDIX 7: The Sample of Apostolos Manuscripts

MS ID	Alt ID	Date	GNT4 ?	G-A Content	CBM Class	Material	Dimensions	Hand(s)	Columns; Lines	Content	Ornate Headers Initials?	Lection IDs
40156	Paris Bib. Nat. Gr. 382	X	Yes	Lae	A	Parchment	242 x 181	Less formal, semi-documentary ? Unpolished; medium sized -	1; 25	271 leaves; Praxapostolos	Yes	Extensive
41021	Jerus. Pat. Saba 612	XII	Yes	l+ask	EA	Parchment	190 x 158	Two hands at least; large on early folios, cursive, less formal - then literary hand 6r onwards	1; 12-18	182 leaves; Evangelio - Apostolos	Yes	Medium
40809	St Catherine's Sinai Gr. 286	XII	Yes	Lae	A	Parchment	295 x 228	Literary; perlschrift?	2; 22	286 leaves; Evangelio - Apostolos	Yes	Medium

MS ID	Alt ID	Date	GNT4 ?	G-A Content	CBM Class	Material	Dimensions	Hand(s)	Columns; Lines	Content	Ornate Headers Initials?	Lection IDs
40060	Paris Bib. Nat. Gr. 375	XI	Yes	l+aesk	EA	Parchment	235 x 170	Informal, irregular line formations	1; 28	195 leaves; Praxapostolos	Yes	Medium
40023	BL Cotton Vesp. B.18	XI	No	Laesk	A	Parchment	281 x 215	Formal, literary	2; 16	230 Leaves; Praxapostolos	Yes	Extensive
42024	Benaki Mus. Athens MS. TA 247	XI	No	Lae	A [+ex]	Parchment	280 x 200	Formal, literary	2; 25	225 leaves; Apostolos + Acts of Paul and Thecla [?]	Yes	Medium
41178	Monastery Ioannu Patmos 11	XI	No	Lae	A	Parchment	275 x 212	Formal, literary	2; 21	298 leaves, Evangelio - Apostolos	Yes	Extensive
40173	Russische Nationalbibliothek, St Petersburg Gr. 57	X	No	Laesk	A	Parchment	252 x 193	Formal, literary	2; 18	178 leaves; Evangelio - Apostolos	Yes	Medium



MS ID	Alt ID	Date	GNT4 ?	G-A Content	CBM Class	Material	Dimensions	Hand(s)	Columns; Lines	Content	Ornate Headers Initials?	Lection IDs
41442	St Catherine's Sinai Gr. 292	XI	No	Laesk	A	Parchment	228 x 168	Less formal	1; 20	159 leaves; Apostolos	No	Extensive
40162	Glasgow Hunter 406	XII	No	Lae	A	Parchment	280 x 200	Small, formal, literary - red and black ink	1; 20	239 leaves; Praxapostolos	Yes	Medium
40112	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florenz Conv. Soppr. 24	XI	No	l+aesk	EA	Parchment	186 x 138	Gold/red ink, literary	1; 20	148 leaves; Evangelio - Apostolos	No	Medium
40241	Glasgow Hunter 419	XII	No	l+ae †	A	Parchment	273 x 210	Literary; perlschrift? Gold/red ink	2; 26	175 leaves	Yes	Medium
40604	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana S. Marco 704	XII	No	lae†	A	Parchment	280 x 215	Literary; Gold/red ink	2; 23	217 leaves	Yes	Medium

MS ID	Alt ID	Date	GNT4 ?	G-A Content	CBM Class	Material	Dimensions	Hand(s)	Columns; Lines	Content	Ornate Headers Initials?	Lection IDs
40164	Oxford Christ Church Wake 33	XII	No	Lae	A	Parchment	287 x 212	Literary	2; 23	265 leaves; Praxapostolos	Yes	Medium
41506	Lincoln College Gr.4	XII	No	laesk†	A	Parchment	202 x 152	Literary; black/red ink	1; 19	107 leaves	Yes	Medium
41894	Benaki Mus. Athens MS. TA 271	XIV	No	lae †	A	Paper	210 x 160	Dinstinctive late hand; black/red ink	1; 18	322 leaves	No	Extensive
41141	Athos Vatopedi 925	XII	No	l+ae	EA[+OT]	Parchment	250 x 190	Less formal; irregular and distinctive	1; 36	216 leaves; Evangelio - Apostolos	Yes	Medium
41126	Athos Vatopedi 866	XII	No	l+asel	EA	Parchment	154 x 115	Large, literary	1; 19	284 leaves; Select lections	Yes	Limited

MS ID	Alt ID	Date	GNT4 ?	G-A Content	CBM Class	Material	Dimensions	Hand(s)	Columns; Lines	Content	Ornate Headers Initials?	Lection IDs
40257	BL Add. 29714	XIV	No	lae †	A	Parchment	283 x 220	Literary	1; 28	178 leaves	Yes	Medium
40169	BL Add. 32051	XIII	No	lae	A	Parchment	280 x 205	Literary	2; 29	192 leaves	Yes	Medium
40165	Lambeth Palace 1190	XI	Yes	lae †	A	Parchment	257 x 185	Literary	2; 25	130 leaves; Praxapostolos	No	Medium
40168	Lambeth Palace 1196	XII	No	lae	A	Parchment	273 x 211	Literary	2; 25	219 leaves	No	Medium
41300	Jerus. Pat. Stavru 67	XI	No	laesk †	A	Parchment	222 x 176	Literary	2; 22	156 leaves; Apostolos	Yes	Medium
40587	Nat Lib Athens 205	XI	No	lae	A	Parchment	265 x 210	Distinctive, italicised, semi-formal	2; 24	218 leaves	No	Medium
41188	Panteleimonos 67	XIV	No	lae	A	Parchment	173 x 140	Literary, rounded	1; 22	255 leaves	No	Medium
40170	Ann Arbor 35	XIV	Yes	lae †	A	Parchment	264 x 197	Literary, black ink with red rubrics	2; 28	160 leaves	No	Medium

MS ID	Alt ID	Date	GNT4 ?	G-A Content	CBM Class	Material	Dimensions	Hand(s)	Columns; Lines	Content	Ornate Headers Initials?	Lection IDs
40610	Sinai Gr. 295	XV	No	lae	A	Paper	275 x 195	Literary	2; 22	271 leaves	Yes	Medium
41685	Munster BM Ms. 16	XV	No	lae †	A	Paper	275 x 190	Literary, red and dark ink	2; 31	263 leaves	Yes	Medium
42010	Nat Lib Athens 2010	XV	No	lae	A	Paper	290 x 220	Distinctive, italicised, semi-formal	1; 22	228 leaves	Yes	Medium
41985	Christ's College GG. 2.3 (Ms. 253)	XV	No	l+aesk †	EA	Paper	210 x 155	Distinctive, formal yet reminiscent of documentary hands; red and black ink	1; 19	245 leaves	Yes	Medium
41825	Nat Lib Athens 3041, fol. 72-188	XVI	No	lae †	A	Paper	275 x 205	Formal, italicised, literary	2; 45	117 leaves	Yes	Medium
42058	Barlaam Meteora 7	XVII	No	lae	A	Paper	280 x 210	Literary, polished perlschrift	1; 23	255 leaves	Yes	Medium

MS ID	Alt ID	Date	GNT4 ?	G-A Content	CBM Class	Material	Dimensions	Hand(s)	Columns; Lines	Content	Ornate Headers Initials?	Lection IDs
41297	Jerus. Saba 222	XV	No	lae	A	Paper	277 x 190	Two hands, one supplementary and informal, the other literary	1; 24	245 leaves	No	Medium
41159	Lavra G 123	XIV	No	s	A	Parchment	315 x 245	Literary	2; 20	277 leaves	Yes	Medium
41440	Sinai Gr. 290	XIII	No	lae	A	Parchment	220 x 168	Less formal, irregular	2; 27-33	230 leaves	No	Medium
41364	St Catherine's Sinai Gr. 285	XII	Yes	lae †	A	Parchment	280 x 220	Literary	2; 26	227 leaves	No	Medium
41298	Jerus. Pat. Saba 266	XI	Yes	Laesk	A	Parchment	238 x 135	Literary, elongated	1; 22	183 leaves; Apostolos	Yes	Extensive
41590	Sinai Gr. 287	XIII	No	lae	A	Parchment	327 x 235	Literary	2; 25	241 leaves	Yes	Medium
41281	Sinai Gr. 296	XV	No	lae	A	Paper	210 x 140	Literary, italicised	1; 19	399 leaves	Yes	Medium
41282	Sinai Gr. 297	XVI	No	lae	A	Paper	205 x 125	Literary, italicised, polished and detailed	1; 21	326 leaves	Yes	Medium

MS ID	Alt ID	Date	GNT4 ?	G-A Content	CBM Class	Material	Dimensions	Hand(s)	Columns; Lines	Content	Ornate Headers Initials?	Lection IDs
41439	Sinai Gr. 289	XII	Yes	lae	A	Parchment	220 x 160	Less formal, irregular lines	1; 20	155 leaves	Yes	Medium
40846	Sinai Gr. 212	IX	No	l+asel	EA	Parchment	145 x 117	Formal, italicised	1; 9	114 leaves	No	Limited
41774	Sinai Arab. 172,2, fol. 273-168	XIII	No	la/laP {†}	A	Paper	200 x 137	Less formal, irregular	1; 15	106 leaves	Yes	Medium
40030	Bodleian Cromw. 11, p. 149-340	XIII	No	l+a/l+aLit	EA [?]	Parchment	217 x 160	At least two hands; latter stylised	1; 15	205 leaves	Yes	Medium
40177	BL Add 11841	XI	No	laLit †/la	A [?]	Parchment	198 x 145	Formal	2; 22	86 leaves	No	Limited
SAR170	Sinai. Ar. 170	1285	No	la-Arb	A	Parchment	UNC	Arabic, marginal Greek material	2; 32	209 leaves	Yes	Medium