

The Lectionary Cod. 1 in the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos and its *Encaenia*

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In the former article⁽¹⁾, I insisted on the importance of the *encaenia* (ἐγκαίνια, dedication of the church) for research on the Byzantine Gospel Lectionary. There are groups of manuscripts, including the *encaenia* of famous Constantinopolitan churches such as Chalkoprateia, Blachernai, Nea Ekklesia, St. Theodore in Sphorakiou, Theotokos in Pege, and others. Here, I introduce some manuscripts with single *encaenia*. In this case, the manuscript should have been created for the church or monastery where the dedication was taking place. As a typical example, this current study examines the Iviron Lectionary Cod. 1 in detail.

So far, the *encaenia* of Sinai.gr. 204⁽²⁾ and Athens, National Library Cod. 2363⁽³⁾ have been pointed out by art historians. The Sinai Lectionary commemorates the memory (*mneme*) of Hosios Petros on 7 Feb., and the dedication of [the church of] Theotokos of our own monastery (τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς καθ' ἡμῶ(ν) μονῆς) on 10 May. The manuscript was ordered by the monastery of Theotokos, which was founded by Hosios Petros. The Athens Lectionary, National Library Cod. 2363, commemorates the memory of the most holy Patriarch of Constantinople Nikolaos, the founder (τὰ μνημόσυνα Νικολάου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ κτήτορος) on 16 Dec, and the opening of its holy church (τὰ ἀνοίξια τῆς ἁγίας ταύτης ἐκκλησίας) on 14 Aug. The manuscript was ordered by a monastery on Mt. Olympos, which was founded by the Patriarch Nikolaos II Chrysoberges (r. 979-91).

Lectionaries with single *encaenia* are very informative with regard to the topography and history of Byzantium. First, I present several manuscripts with such an *encaenia*, and second, I analyze the iconographic program of the illustrated lectionary with single *encaenia* (Iviron Cod. 1) as well as the patron's intension.

Lectionary Manuscripts with the Single Encaenia

Walters Art Museum, W.520,	29 Jun. Petros-Paulos, kai eis egkainia
Athos, Lavra A53,	29 Jun. Petros-Paulos, Egkainia hagian

In these cases, 29 Jun. cannot be necessarily considered the dedication day for a specific

church, because, on this day, the pericope of Mt. 16:13-19 is read in churches; “Christ declares there that ‘it is upon this rock that I will build my church.’” This is thus a suitable text for all church dedications. In a ready-made lectionary manuscript, the text on 29 Jun. is often used for the dedication feast.

British Library, Add. 22735,	29 Oct. Egkainia tou Hagiou Petrou kai Paulou ⁽⁴⁾
Sinai.gr. 225,	29 Oct. Egkainia tou Hagiou Petrou kai Paulou
Paris.Coislin gr. 31, ⁽⁵⁾	16 May. Egkainia tes Hagias Dynameos ⁽⁶⁾
	31 Jul. Egkainia tes Theotokou en Blachernais
Vat.gr. 2138 (Capua, A.D. 991), ⁽⁷⁾	27 Apr. Egkainia tes Hagias Eirenes tes archaias kai neas ⁽⁸⁾
	29 Jul. Hagia Theotokos en to Pegadio ⁽⁹⁾
	31 Aug. Katathesia tes zones tes hagias Theotokou en Blachernes (sic)
BL Add. 19993,	3 Nov. Egkainia tou hagiou megalomartyros Georgiou ⁽¹⁰⁾
	31 Jul. Egkainia tes Theotokou en Blachernais
Athens, NL 185,	3 Nov. Egkainia tou hagiou megalomartyros Georgiou
Athos, Iviron 1,	23 Oct. Egkainia tou naou tou hagiou apostolou Iakobou tou adelphotheou ⁽¹¹⁾
Athos, Lavra A86, ⁽¹²⁾	19 Sep. Egkainia tou hagiou apostolou Thoma ⁽¹³⁾
	25 Apr. Egkainia tou naou tou hagiou apostolou Petrou ⁽¹⁴⁾
	1 May. Egkainia tou naou ton hagian apostolon Petrou kai Paulou ⁽¹⁵⁾
Sinai.gr. 288, ⁽¹⁶⁾	21 Sep. Mneme tes Panagias Theotokou en te Palaia Petra ⁽¹⁷⁾
	17 Oct. Theotokos en to Paradeiso Peran ⁽¹⁸⁾
	5 Nov. Mneme ton egkainion tou hagiou martyros Theodorou en tois Parakeiois (sic) ⁽¹⁹⁾
	18 Dec. Anoixia ton Chalkoprateion ⁽²⁰⁾
Sinai.gr. 293 (A.D. 1053), ⁽²¹⁾	5 May. Egkainia tou naou tes hyperagias Theotokou en tois Kyrou ⁽²²⁾
Athens, NL 788, ⁽²³⁾	29 Dec. Mneme ton egkainion tes hyperagias Theotokou tes Euergetidos
Athos, Pantokrator 10,	1 May. Egkainia tes Neas Basilikes ekklesias ⁽²⁴⁾
Sinai.gr. 232 (A.D. 1074),	9 Jul. Egkainia tes Theotokou tes Peges ⁽²⁵⁾
Duke University, Clark 92,	9 Jul. Mneme ton egkainion tou naou tes Theotokou (en te Pege)

Paris.gr. 289 (A.D. 1066),⁽²⁶⁾ 31 Jul. Egkainia tes Hagias Sorou en Blachairnais

I temporarily named the following manuscripts as the Blachernai Group⁽²⁷⁾: Paris.gr. 289 (A.D. 1066); BL, Add. 28817⁽²⁸⁾ (A.D. 1185); BL, Arundel 547; Athos, Lavra A92; Sinai.gr. 215; Paris.Suppl.gr. 1081. The manuscripts I discussed in the previous article were characterized by the inclusion of multiple dedications; because the grouping of the manuscripts was difficult, I suggested two theories of classification. However, the lectionaries of the Blachernai Group have no other dedications; there are two exceptions: Paris.Coislin gr. 31, which includes the dedication of the Church of St. Dynamis, and BL, Add. 19993, which commemorates the dedication of a church of St. George. Most probably, the Church of the Virgin in Blachernai was outside the control of the Patriarchate.

The Glasgow Lectionary

The Glasgow Lectionary, Hunter 440 in the University of Glasgow⁽²⁹⁾, dated 1258/ 59, is an enigmatic manuscript, and deserves further analysis. The unrefined style of the scribal initials and band-shaped headpieces may suggest a local origin of the manuscript; however, many proper names of Constantinopolitan churches are listed in the *menologion* part of the manuscript. The contents of its calendar are quite different from the Patriarchal one⁽³⁰⁾: for example, on 9 Oct., the Hunter 440 adopts “Ioakim-Anna, mneme Abraam Patriarchou kai Lot tou dikaiou” instead of “Iakobos Alphaiou”, and on 15 Oct., “mneme Abraam kai Lot tou dikaiou, Anna- Elisabet” instead of “Loukianos, Sarbelos-Babia.” The following descriptions are the *encaenia* and proper names of churches:

13 Sept. Mneme ton egkainion tes Anastaseos (Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem)

19 Oct. Egkainia tou Tryphonos⁽³¹⁾

18 Dec. Egkainia tes hagias Theotokou en tois Chalkopratiois⁽³²⁾

26 Dec. Synaxis tes hagias Theotokou en Blachernais⁽³³⁾

7 Jan. Ioannes ho prophetes kai baptistes en tois Sparakiois⁽³⁴⁾

10 Feb. Theotokos en tois Areobindou⁽³⁵⁾

14 Feb. Auxentios en tois Kallestratois⁽³⁶⁾

5 May Neophytos- Gaios- Gaiakos en to oiko ton hagion Anargyron en Blachernes, ta egkainia tou Kyrou⁽³⁷⁾

7 May Egkainia tou hagiou Akakiou en to Eptaskalo⁽³⁸⁾

13 May Theotokos en tois Diakonesois⁽³⁹⁾

- 23 May Theotokos en Sophianais⁽⁴⁰⁾
- 25 May Sergios- Bakchos peran en Rouphinianais⁽⁴¹⁾
- 30 May Eusebios- Telios- Romanos- Charalampios- Christine, kai tou plethous ton hagian ton en Nikomideia kauthenton ek Dexikratianes, plesion tou hagiou Laurentiou⁽⁴²⁾
- 1 Jun. Hermilos- Stratonikos en Phirmoupolei⁽⁴³⁾
- 1 Jul. Mneme ton hag. Anargyron Kosma kai Damianou en Blachernes⁽⁴⁴⁾
- 2 Jul. Katathesia tou maphoriou tes Theotokou ton Blachernon tes hagian sorou, Synaxis tou hagiou Ioannou tou Theologou, tou Karp(ou) tou neou tes Staphil(as)⁽⁴⁵⁾
- 4 Jul. Hyakinthos en tois Troadisiois Embolois⁽⁴⁶⁾
- 8 Jul. Prokopios plethion tes Cherones kai en to Kondylio homios kai eis to Tauron⁽⁴⁷⁾
- 26 Jul. Synaxis tou archangelou (Michael) peran en Chales⁽⁴⁸⁾
- 1 Aug. Z [7] Paides Makabaion peran en te epi Elaia hagiotate ekklesia⁽⁴⁹⁾
- 13 Aug. Pamphilos- Xistos- Hyppolytos en to martyrio tes hagian Euphemias en tois Olibriou⁽⁵⁰⁾
- 18 Aug. Phloros- Lauros- Iouliane (their sister) en to nao tou hag. Ioannou Baptistou en tois Beltiadou plethion tou hag. Philippou⁽⁵¹⁾
- 22 Aug. Agathonikos en to martyrio tes hag. Theodoras en te Xyrokerko, Anthouse epi Hippoichnois, Eirenaios en Kainoupoleos⁽⁵²⁾
- 28 Aug. Mneme tes hagian Theotokou peran en Pynoulopho⁽⁵³⁾
- 31 Aug. Katathesia tes timias zones tes hag. Theotokou en tois Chalkopratiois⁽⁵⁴⁾

The Glasgow Lectionary adopts five *encaenia*: Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (13 Sept.), St. Tryphon (19 Oct.), Theotokos *en tois Chalkopratois* (18 Dec.), Theotokos *en tois Kyrou* (5 May) and St. Akakios *en to Eptaskalo* (7 May). It is plausible that the Chapel of St. Tryphon and the Church of St. Akakios *en to Eptaskalo* had a close relationship and were under the jurisdiction of the Virgin's Churches of Chalkopratoia and of Kyrou. However, except five churches of the *encaenia*, the manuscript mentions twenty-three Constantinopolitan or near-by churches and monasteries. It is difficult to suppose a patron common to all these churches.

It should be noted that the Glasgow Lectionary celebrates the *synaxis*, or probably the *encaenia*, of several churches for the Virgin: Theotokos *en Blachernes* (26 Dec.), Theotokos *en tois Areobindou* (10 Feb.), Theotokos *en tois Diakonesois* (13 May), Theotokos *en Sophianais* (23 May) and Theotokos *peran en Pynoulopho* (28 Aug.), although we do not know the common element for these churches.

The Iviron Lectionary Cod. 1 and its Iconography

The Iviron Lectionary⁽⁵⁵⁾, a work from the early eleventh century, is one of the illustrated lectionaries with narrative miniatures about the life of Christ.⁽⁵⁶⁾ It is a unique example involving a special *encaenia* among the illustrated lectionaries, and it compels us to examine the relationship of the iconographical program with the patron's intension. The Iviron Lectionary adopts the dedication of the Church of St. James, the holy Apostle and the brother of God, on 23 Oct. (τα ἐγκαίνια τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀποστόλου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Ἀδελφοθέου). It is possible, of course, that the patron was a local church or monastery, but it is also plausible that a luxurious illustrated manuscript was commissioned by a patron in the capital. The only church of St. James in the capital, insofar as it is historically documented, is the Chapel of St. James in the precincts of the Church of the Virgin of Chalkoprateia.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The descriptions of the illustrations and illuminations are as follows:

Part 1: Movable Feasts (*Synaxarion*)

f.1v: The Anastasis (Descent into Hades) (Easter, X fig.1)

f.2r: Half-page square headpiece (Easter, *TMA* fig.1)

f.55r: Half-page square headpiece (Ascension of Christ, *TMA* fig.2)

f.104v: Half-page square headpiece (Beginning of Luke, X fig.4)

Part 2: Immovable Feasts (*Menologion*)

f.209r: Half-page Π-shaped headpiece (1 Sep. St. Symeon= Beginning of the *Menologion*, X fig.5)

f.235v: The Nativity (25 Dec. Christmas, X fig.6)

f.247r: The Baptism of Christ (6 Jan. *Theophania*, *TMA* fig.3)

f.257r: The Presentation of Christ to the Temple (2 Feb. *Hypapante*, *TMA* fig.4)

f.279v: Half-page circular headpiece (24 Jun. Birth of St. John the Baptist, X fig.9)

f.296v: The Transfiguration (6 Aug. Transfiguration, *TMA* fig.5)

f.300r: The Dormition of the Virgin (15 Aug. *Koimesis*, *TMA* fig.6)

The Chapel with the octagonal plan was adjacent to the north side of the atrium of the Chalkoprateia Church.⁽⁵⁸⁾ According to Janin, the relics of St. James and others were placed in the crypt of the Katholikon of the Virgin Chalkoprateia—not in the Chapel; furthermore many pilgrimages were held in Chalkoprateia until the plunder of the city by the Latin Empire, but Mango states that the relics of the holy Innocents slaughtered by the King Herod, Zacharias

the Priest (father of St. John the Baptist), and St. James, the brother of the Lord, were deposited in the sacristy of the Chapel of St. James. A fourteenth-century manuscript mentions the church of St. James near the church of the Virgin in Chalkoprateia; this indicates that the chapel was active even under the Palaiologan dynasty.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Mango published the Palaiologan fresco fragments depicting the Magi riding on horses and the death of Zacharias, which were connected with the relics.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Let us examine the content of the calendar of the *menologion*. Comparing the calendars of manuscripts, both Lowden⁽⁶¹⁾ and Nelson show the percentage of matches for the selection of the saints. However, this strict percentage presentation is misleading, as the scribes often made mistakes, and small churches would have limited the number of saints celebrated in a day. "Loose comparison" would be suitable for the actual situation of manuscripts. Consequently, if the saint's feast day is placed one day before or after from the Patriarchal calendar, it should not be considered a difference. Likewise, if the Patriarchal calendar celebrates, for example, three saints on one day and other calendar celebrates one or two of them, this is not considered a difference. Thus, it can be said that the calendar of the Patriarchate is almost identical to those of many manuscripts when a "loose comparison" is performed.

If the Iviron Lectionary was created on the order of the Chapel of St. James in Chalkoprateia, interestingly, its calendar shows considerable differences compared to the Patriarchal calendar **【Table⁽⁶²⁾】**. It is difficult to extract any definitive tendency only based on these differences, since we do not have systematic knowledge regarding the Byzantine calendar of saints. However, we can see a tendency, at least, to attach importance to the kindred of Jesus, the Apostles, and the angels. Of particular importance are the dates of 24 and 30 Apr. The Patriarchal Lectionaries celebrate the martyrs in Chalcedon and St. Sabas on 24 Apr., while, on that day, the Iviron Lectionary commemorates Joseph, James, Symeon and Jude, and Mary and Martha, thus covering all the apostles with a tradition of "the brother of the Lord."

The Patriarchal Lectionaries and the Codices S of the *Syn.CP*⁽⁶³⁾ celebrate St. James the Greater, the brother of St. John the Evangelist, on 30 Apr. On the other hand, the Typicon of the Great Church celebrates this day as belonging to St. James, the brother of the Lord, whose *synaxis* is held in the Chapel of St. James in the precincts of the Virgin's church in Chalkoprateia.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The Iviron Lectionary, which combines the two traditions, commemorates both St. James the Greater and St. James the brother of the Lord.

The Typicon of the Great Church, which dates back to the tenth century, adopted on 23 Oct., the *athlesis* of St. James and the *synaxis* of Zacharias the Priest and Symeon the Righteous

(*ho dikaios*), and the *encaenia* was held at the Chapel of St. James.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The eleventh-century Iviron Lectionary, however, adopts only the *encaenia* on 23 Oct. The rites for Zacharias and Symeon, whose relics were deposited in Chalkoprateia, may have been included in the dedicational celebration, but the miniature and illumination in the manuscript—the Presentation of Christ to the Temple on 2 Feb. and the Birth of St. John the Baptist on 24 Jun.—suggest the emphasis on Symeon and Zacharias.

On the Sunday after Christmas, according to the Typicon of the Great Church⁽⁶⁶⁾ and the *Synaxarion CP*⁽⁶⁷⁾, the *synaxis* for Joseph, the husband of the Virgin; James, the brother of the Lord; and David the prophet was held both at Hagia Sophia and at St. James' Chapel in Chalkoprateia. However, the Iviron Lectionary does not record St. James' *synaxis* on the Sunday after Christmas in St. James' Chapel. As is often pointed out, until the great donations sanctioned by the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (r.1042-55), Hagia Sophia was unable to carry out liturgy services on days other than Saturdays, Sundays and major feasts. Under such social circumstances, Chalkoprateia may have been unable to hold the rite that had been practicable in the tenth century.

The eleventh century was the formation period for the *Dodekaorton* system⁽⁶⁸⁾, and the Iviron Lectionary depicted seven scenes from the twelve feasts (Nativity, Presentation, Baptism, Transfiguration, Anastasis, Ascension [illumination only], Dormition). In other words, it omitted five of the twelve feasts (Annunciation, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, Pentecost), and added the headpiece for the Birth of St. John the Baptist. The feast of the Birth of John the Baptist is suitable for commemorating Zacharias the Priest, the father of John the Baptist, whose relics were deposited in the Chapel. The Chapel still contained the relics of the holy Innocents and St. James. The framework of a lectionary manuscript makes it difficult to depict the scene of the massacre of the holy Innocents, which is a less important subject; furthermore, there is no suitable narrative subject to commemorate St. James. St. James and the holy Innocents were celebrated only textually—not iconographically.

The Iviron Lectionary of the early eleventh century did not show the tendency to emphasize the cycle of the *Dodekaorton*; the adopted subjects suggest a connection with the relics held in the Chapel. The Nativity is the great feast that is closest with the feast of the holy Innocents (29 Dec.). St. Symeon is the second most important character after the infant Jesus in the Presentation of Christ to the Temple. Zacharias is the father of St. John the Baptist, the character with the second leading role after Christ in the Baptism; the Birth of the Baptist, in which Zacharias and John appear, is commemorated by the headpiece. The Transfiguration

depicts St. James the Greater, the brother of St. John the Evangelist, who is celebrated in the Iviron Lectionary on 30 Apr. together with St. James, the brother of the Lord. Adopting the Anastasis to celebrate Christ's resurrection should be quite natural and reasonable. The Dormition of the Virgin is the most important feast for the Chalkoprateia Church.

It was difficult to emphasize only St. James, the brother of the Lord, through the usual iconography, so the manuscript attempted three adoptions of his feast through the text: the *encaenia* (23 Oct.), the brothers of the Lord (23 Apr.), and two James (30 Apr.). The existence of the headpiece for the Birth of St. John the Baptist reinforces the possibility that the manuscript was made for the Chapel of St. James in Chalkoprateia, where the relics of Zacharias the Priest were held—not for other churches dedicated to St. James outside the capital. Since the Chalkoprateia Church was closely connected with the Patriarchate, all the Patriarchal Lectionaries include the *encaenia* of Chalkoprateia.⁽⁶⁹⁾ I listed thirty-two manuscripts with the *encaenia* of Chalkoprateia, of which seven are Patriarchal. Sixteen manuscripts are of the single *encaenia*, or the *encaenia* of Chalkoprateia and of Pege. We do not know the relationship between the Chalkoprateia and the Pege Churches, but a loose comparison, the method mentioned above, showed that the calendars of these manuscripts are almost identical to those of the Patriarchate. On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that the Chapel of St. James in the precincts of the Chalkoprateia Church had its own calendar with respect to St. James.

Notes

- (1) "Patriarchal Lectionaries of Constantinople: New Criterion for the *Encaenia*," *Waseda RILAS Journal* 8 (2020), 179-94. https://www.waseda.jp/flas/rilas/assets/uploads/2020/10/179-194_Tomoyuki-MASUDA.pdf
- (2) K. Weitzmann, G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, vol.1, Princeton 1990, no. 18, 42-47; E. Schwartz, "Iconographic Variation in a Tenth-century Evangelion," *DChAE* 4-31 (2010), 87-90.
- (3) A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou, X. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, vol.1, Athens 1978, 149-54; R.S. Nelson, "Patriarchal Lectionaries of Constantinople: History, Attributions, and Prospects," in: D. Krueger, R.S. Nelson (eds.), *The New Testament in Byzantium*, Washington, D.C. 2016, 99.
- (4) For the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul *en to Orphanotropheio*, see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. 1er partie: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Tome III, Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed., Paris 1969 (=Janin), 399-400. Though Janin does not mention, probably there was a holy spring in the precincts of the church (5 Jan. *hesperas eis ton hagiasmaton tou hydatos*). H. Delehay, *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum. Acta Sanctorum, Propylaeum Novembris*, Brussels 1902 (=Syn. CP), 176, mentions the dedication of the Church of St. Paul *en to Orphanotropheio*.
- (5) O.S. Popova, "A Greek Illuminated Lectionary from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Coislin 31)" (in Russian), in: *Vizantiyski i Drevnerusskiye minatyury*, Moscow 2003, 11-27.

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- (6) *Syn.CP*, 689; J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la grande église*, 2 vols., Roma 1962-63, vol.1, 294: 16 May. *mneme tes hag. mar. Euphemias plesion tou Neoriou limenos eis ten hagian Dynamin*. For the Church of Hagia Dynamis, Janin, 101. This is the unique evidence for the dedication of the Church of Hagia Dynamis. Hagia Dynamis seems to have been under the control of the Blachernai Church.
- (7) K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1935, 85-88; A. Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IXe- XIe siècles)*, Paris 1972, 37-38 et al.; I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, Leiden 1981, 15, no.26 (with bibliography).
- (8) Mateos, vol.1, 274: 27 Apr. *ta egkainia tes hagias Eirenes tes archaias kai neas*. For the Church of Hagia Eirene, Janin, 103-06. Among the three Constantinopolitan churches dedicated to an attribute of God (Wisdom, Peace and Power), the Churches of St. Eirene and of St. Dynamis are thought to have belonged to a different organizational system compared to St. Sophia.
- (9) *Syn.CP*, 854; Mateos, vol.1, 352: 29 Jul. *ta egkainia tou naou tes hagias Theotokou plesion ton Promounton*. For the Church of Theotokos near Promotou (πλησίον τῶν Προμότου), Janin, 229. No mention to the toponym *Pegadio*.
- (10) A church or a monastery of St. George founded on 3 Nov. is unknown.
- (11) For the Chapel of St. James, the brother of the Lord, in Chalkopratea, Janin, 253-55. In the Typicon of the Great Church and *Syn.CP*, the feast is mentioned as the *athlesis* of St. James, the brother of the Lord, and not the dedication. Mateos, vol.1, 74; *Syn.CP*, 155.
- (12) Weitzmann (1935), 46-48, figs. 310-23. The illustrations include St. Thomas (f.13v, fig.305), but not St. Peter and St. Paul.
- (13) *Syn.CP*, 60; Mateos, vol.1, 40: 19 Sep. *ta egkainia tes ekklesias tou hagiou apostolou Thoma en tois Amantinou*. For the Church of St. George *en tois Amantinou*, Janin, 248-50, and for the toponym *Amantiou*, Janin, *Constantinople byzantine (=CPB)*, Paris 1964, 307-08.
- (14) *Syn.CP*, 630; Mateos, vol.1, 272: 25 Apr. *anamnesis ton egkainion tou septou apostolou tou hag. kai paneuphemou koryphaiou apostolou Petrou tou sygkeimenou tes hagiotes Megales Ekklesias*. For the Church of St. Peter near Hagia Sophia, Janin, 398-99.
- (15) The Typicon of the Great Church describes it as the *synaxis* in the church of St. Peter near Hagia Sophia on 1 May. Mateos, vol.1, 278. *Syn.CP* (648) refers, on 1 May, only to the dedication of Nea Ekklesia. The reason for the manuscript's selection of three dedications for the Apostles is unknown.
- (16) GA, lect.1365. The praxapostolos from the twelfth century adopts a calendar which greatly differs from that of the Patriarchate.
- (17) Usually, the feast is mentioned as "tes hyperagias Theotokou en te Petra," without *mneme* and *palaia*. See Masuda (n.1), Table 1. The feast is not the dedication, but probably a *panegyri* for the icon of the Virgin of Petra. For the Palaia Petra, Janin, 223.
- (18) The Typicon of the Great Church celebrates the feast on 16 Oct. Mateos, vol.1, 68: *synaxis tes eortes tes panagias Theotokou en to eponomazomeno Paradeisio*. The feast seems not to have been the dedication. Janin, 216-17, does not cite the example of *Paradeiso Peran*.
- (19) For the Church of St. Theodore *en tois Sphorakiou*, Janin, 152-53. Many manuscripts adopt this dedication. See Masuda (n.1), Table 1.
- (20) Usually mentioned as the *encaenia*.
- (21) Weitzmann, Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine*, no.26, 69-70.
- (22) Several manuscripts celebrate "hyperagia Theotokos en tois Kyrou" on 4 Nov. The feast seems to be *pan-*

- egyri* of the icon of the Virgin Kyriotissa. The dedication is on 5 May. Mateos, vol.1, 282; Janin, 194.
- (23) This is the liturgical typicon (*Synaxarion*) of the Evergetes Monastery in Constantinople, not a Gospel lectionary. R.H. Jordan, *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, September to February*, Belfast 2000, 362.
- (24) I listed 18 manuscripts with the dedication of Nea Ekklesia (Masuda, Table 1). Except Pantokrator 10, all the manuscripts celebrate the Virgin in Petra, and 14 manuscripts adopt the Virgin in Kyrou. Pantokrator 10 is a unique example that does not contain the feasts of the Virgin in Petra and in Kyrou.
- (25) For the Church of the Virgin in Pege, Janin, 223-28. The characteristics of the Pege Church are hard to determine. Among the other 12 manuscripts including the dedication of the Virgin in Pege, 10 celebrate the dedication of the Virgin in Chalkoprateia, and the remaining two include the Virgin in Petra. Just Sinai.gr. 232 and Duke Univ. Clark 92 exclusively adopt the dedication of the Virgin in Pege.
- (26) Scribe Ioannes Presbyteros. K. and S. Lake (eds.), *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, vol.4, Boston 1935, no.173, pls.296-97.
- (27) Masuda (n.1), Tables 1 and 2.
- (28) Lake, vol.2, no.84, pls.149-50.
- (29) GA lect. 239. http://www.csntm.org/manuscript/View/GA_Lect_239, accessed 13 Aug. 2020.
- (30) For the *menologion* (immovable feasts) of the Patriarchal lectionary, see T. Masuda, "Establishment of the Patriarchal Menologion in the Eleventh- and Twelfth- Century Constantinople" (introduction in Japanese, list of the calendar in English), *Waseda Institute for Advanced Study Research Bulletin*, 5 (2013), 117-33. https://waseda.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=repository_uri&item_id=27267&file_id=162&file_no=1
- (31) *Syn.CP*, 150-51; Mateos, vol.1, 70: egkainia tou hag. Tryphonos tou ontos endon tou apostoleiou tou hagiou Apostolou kai Euaggelistou Ioannou, plesion tes Megales Ekklesias. For the Chapel of St. Tryphon, Janin, 489 (Hagios Tryphon endon tou Ioannou en to Diippio). For the Church of St. John the Evangelist *en to Diippio*, Janin, 264-67, and for the toponym *Diippion*, Janin, *CPB*, 342-43.
- (32) Masuda (n.1) listed 32 manuscripts with the *encaenia* of the Virgin's Church of Chalkoprateia.
- (33) *Syn.CP*, 343; Mateos, vol.1, 158. The entry of the Patriarchal lectionaries is "synaxis eis ta epilocheia tes Theotokou" without Blachernai.
- (34) *Syn.CP*, 376; Mateos, vol.1, 188. For the Church of St. John the Baptist *en tois Sphorakiou*, Janin, 440-41, and for the toponym *Sphorakiou/ Sparakiou/ Phorakiou*, Janin, *CPB*, 428-29.
- (35) *Syn.CP*, 458; Mateos, vol.1, 230: synaxis/ mneme tes Theotokou en tois Areobindou. For the Church of Theotokos *ta Areobindou*, Janin, 157, and for the toponym *Areobindou*, Janin, *CPB*, 313-14.
- (36) *Syn.CP*, 465; Mateos, vol.1, 232: synaxis en te mone Kallistratou. For the Monastery *ton Kallistratou*, Janin, 275-76.
- (37) Mateos, vol.1, 282: athlesis ton hag. martyron Neophytou, Gaiou kai Gaianes. Teleitai de he auton synaxis en to sebasmio nao ton hagion, endoxon kai thaumatourgon Kosma kai Damanou to onti en tois Dareiou...ta egkainia tou naou tes hyperagias Theotokou en tois Kyrou. Not adopted in *Syn.CP*, 659-60. For the Church of St. Anargyroi *en tois Dareiou*, Janin, 285, and for the toponym *Dareiou*, Janin, *CPB*, 334-35. As noted above, the *encaenia* of the Virgin's Church *en tois Kyrou* is adopted in Sinai.gr. 293. There is no record on the chapel of St. Anargyroi in the precincts of the Virgin's Church in Blachernai. However, the scribe of the Glasgow Lectionary adopts again the Church of St. Anargyroi in Blachernai on 1 Jul. See infra, n. 43.
- (38) *Syn.CP*, 661; Mateos, vol.1, 282. For the Church of St. Akakios *en to Eptaskalo*, Janin, 14-15, and for the toponym *Heptaskalon*, Janin, *CPB*, 229-30.

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- (39) *Syn.CP*, 680; Mateos, vol.1, 292: mneme tes Theotokou en tois Diakonissis. For the Church of Theotokos *ton Diakonissis*, Janin, 174-75, and for the toponym *Diakonissis*, Janin, *CPB*, 341-42.
- (40) Mateos, vol.1, 298. Not adopted in *Syn.CP*, 703-04. For the Church of Theotokos *en Sophianais*, Janin, 231, and for the toponym *Sophianai*, Janin *CPB*, 489.
- (41) According to the *Syn.CP* (713) and the Typicon (Mateos, vol.1, 298), “mneme ton hagion Sergiou kai Bakchou peran en Rouphinianais” is celebrated on 27 May. For the Church of St. Anargyroi *peran en Rouphinianais*, Janin, *Grands centres byzantins* (1975), 38, and for the toponym *Rouphinianai*, Janin *CPB*, 504-05.
- (42) Mateos, vol.1, 300: teleitai de he auton synaxis en to martyrio tes hagias martyros Euphemias to onti plesion tou hagiou martyros Laurentiou en to Petrio. The manuscripts H and P of the *Syn.CP* write as “ta egkainia tes hagias Euphemias en Dexiokratianais, plesion tou hagiou Laurentiou.”
- (43) Mateos, vol.1, 302. The Typicon records that the saints’ synaxis is held in three churches, among which the Glasgow Lectionary only adopts Phirmoupolis. For the toponym *Phirmoupolis*, Janin, *CPB*, 453, and for a church or chapel in Phirmoupolis, Janin, 494-95.
- (44) *Syn.CP*, 791; Mateos, vol.1, 328: he auton synaxis en to hagioto auto oiko to onti eis ta Paulinou. For the Monastery *ton Anargyron* (=Kosmidion), Janin, 286-89, and for the toponym *Paulinou*, Janin, *CPB*, 463. The Monastery of St. Anargyroi was also called *eis ta Bracheos*. The scribe may have mistakenly copied *eis ta Bracheos* as *en Blachernes*?
- (45) Not mentioned in the *Syn.CP* and the Typicon.
- (46) The *Syn.CP* (793-95) and the Patriarchal Lectionaries celebrate St. Hyakinthos on 3 Jul., and the Typicon (Mateos, vol.1, 330) on 4 Jul. (*en tois Troadesiou embolois*). For the Church of St. Hyakinthos, Janin, 491, and for the toponym *Troadesioi emboloi*, Janin, *CPB*, 437.
- (47) *Syn.CP*, 805-08; Mateos, vol.1, 332: synaxis en to hagioto auto martyrio to onti plesion tes Chelones, kai en to Kondylio. For the Church of St. Prokopios *plesion tes Chelones*, Janin, 444, and for the toponym *Chelone*, Janin *CPB*, 329-30. For the Church of St. Prokopios *eis to Kondylion*, Janin, 443, and the toponym *Kondylion*, Janin, *CPB*, 371-72. The Church of St. Prokopios *en to Tauron* is unknown.
- (48) *Syn.CP*, 846; Mateos, vol.1, 350: synaxis etoi ta egkainia tou archaggelou Michael peran en Challais. For the Church of Archangel Michael *en tais Challais*, Janin, 350, and for the toponym *Challai*, Janin, *CPB*, 470.
- (49) *Syn.CP*, 859-60; Mateos, vol.1, 356: synaxis en to martyrio auto to onti en tois Domninou embolois, kai peran en te Elaia. For the Church of St. Maccabees, Janin, 313-14, and for the toponym *Elaia*, Janin, *CPB*, 456.
- (50) *Syn.CP*, 890: Athlesis ton hag. mar. Pamphilou kai Kapitonos, synaxis en to martyrio tes hag. Euphemias en tois Olybriou. This part is lacking in the Typicon. Mateos, vol.1, 368. For the Church of St. Euphemia *en tois Olybriou*, Janin, 124-26, and for the toponym *Olybriou*, Janin, *CPB*, 398-99. St. Xystos and St. Hippolytos are celebrated on 10 Aug. in the *Syn.CP* (881-82) and in the Typicon (Mateos, vol.1, 366).
- (51) *Syn.CP*, 907-08; Mateos, vol.1, 376: athlesis ton hag. mar. Laurou kai Phlorou, synaxis en to hagioto auto martyrio to onti plesion tou panseptou naou tou hag. kai paneuphemou apostolou Philippou. For the Church of St. Phillipos *en tois Meltiadou*, Janin, 493-94, and for the toponym *Meltiadou*, Janin, *CPB*, 389-90. For the Church of St. Phrolos and St. Lauros, Janin, 496-97. The Church of Prodrornos *en tois Beltiadou* and the toponym *Beltiadou* are unknown. However, we can assume that under the Latin occupation, the Church of St. Phrolos and St. Lauros became inoperable and the nearby (small?) Church of Prodrornos replaced it.
- (52) *Syn.CP*, 913-16; Mateos, vol.1, 380: athlesis tou Agathonikou kai tes synodias auto Zotikou, Zenonos, Theoprepous, Akindynou kai Seuerianou, he auton synaxis en to hagioto auto martyrio to onti en

- Kainoupolei, kai en to martyrio tes hag. Theodoras en te Xerokerko. Mneme tes Anthouses, synaxis en Hippoichnois. For the Church of St. Theodora *en to Xerokerko*, Janin, 147, and for the toponyms *Xylokerkos/Xerokerko*, *Kainoupolis* and *Hippoichnois/Ippoichna*, Janin, *CPB*, 440, 362, 514 resp.
- (53) *Syn.CP*, 932; Mateos, vol.1, 386. For the Church of Theotokos *en to Pinnoulopho*, Janin, 228, and for the toponym *Pinnoulophos*, Janin, *CPB*, 516.
- (54) Almost all the lectionaries adopt this feast.
- (55) A. Xyngopoulos, *Ιστορημένα εσαγγέλια Μονής Ιβήρων Αγίου Όρους*, Athens 1932 (=X); S.M. Pelekanidis et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, vol.2, Athens 1975 (=TMA), 293-95, figs. 1-6; H.C. Evans, W.D. Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and culture of the Middle Byzantine era A.D. 843-1261*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1997, no.59, 104-05; S. Kadas, *Τα εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα του Αγίου Όρους*, Thessaloniki 2008, 117 (with bibliography).
- (56) On the contents and bibliography of the illustrated lectionaries, see T. Masuda, *Η εικονογράφηση του χειρογράφου αριθ.587μ της Μονής Διονυσίου στο Άγιο Όρος: Συμβολή στη μελέτη των βυζαντινών εσαγγελισταρίων*, PhD diss., Thessaloniki University 1990, 213-44. <https://www.didaktorika.gr/eadd/handle/10442/1453>
The list in the Appendix below includes some additions.
- (57) Janin, 253-55.
- (58) W. Müller-Wiener, R. Schiele, W. Schiele, N. Firatli (eds.), *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantium - Konstantinopolis - Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1977, 76-78, fig.58. C. Mango identified the octagonal architecture as the Chapel of St. James. C. Mango, "Notes on Byzantine Monuments," *DOP* 23/24 (1969/ 70), 369-75 (rep. in: *Studies in Constantinople*, Aldershot 1993, art.XVI).
- (59) Cod.Paris.gr. 854. Janin, 254; Mango, 371, n.18.
- (60) We are not sure if the relics were still *in situ* even after the sack by the Latins.
- (61) J. Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary: The Story of a Byzantine Book*, New York 2009.
- (62) The Iviron Lectionary omits many saints' feast days in the calendar; it adopts 171 out of 380 feasts days (14 to 24 Mar. are lacking).
- (63) *Syn.CP*, 639-42.
- (64) Mateos, vol.1, 276.
- (65) Mateos, vol.1, 74.
- (66) Mateos, vol.1, 160.
- (67) *Syn.CP*, 347-48.
- (68) E. Kitzinger, "Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art," *CahArch* 36 (1988), 51-73.
- (69) Masuda (n.1), Tables 1 and 2.

Appendix

List of the Byzantine Illustrated Lectionaries

*The list includes Byzantine Gospel lectionaries from the 10th to the 13th centuries with narrative illustrations from the life of Christ or picturization of the Menologion (saints, feasts). The manuscripts with headpieces of iconic single figures of Christ, the Virgin and the Child, the Deisis and Four Evangelists are not adopted here.

10th century:

Cod. 70 in the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos

G. Jacopi, "Le miniature dei codici di Patmo," *Clara Rhodos*, 6-7 (1932-33), 581, figs.34-50.

K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1935, 64-70, 77, 83, figs.430-37, 440-47.

A.D. Kominiis (ed.), *Patmos. Treasures of the Monastery*, Athens 1988, 282-84, figs.9-14.

Cod.gr. 21 in the State Public Library in Sankt-Peterburg

E.M. Schwarz, *Das Lektionar von St. Petersburg (Codices selecti phototypice impressi vol. 98)*, Graz/ Moscow 1994.

C.R. Morey, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures," *ArtB*, 11 (1929), 5-103.

K. Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lavra," in: K. Weitzmann, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*, London 1980, art.XI, 94-95.

V.D. Likhachova, *Byzantine Miniature. Masterpieces of Byzantine Miniature of IX-XV Centuries in Soviet Collection*, Moscow 1977, no.5-10.

A. Zakharova, "The Original Cycle of Miniatures in the Trebizond Lectionary and its Place in the Byzantine Tradition of Lectionary Illustration," *Nea Rhome*, 2 (2005), 169-92.

A. Zakharova, "The Trebizond Lectionary (Cod.gr.21 and 21a) in Russian National Library, Saint Peterburg and Byzantine Art after the Macedonian Renaissance," *DChAE*, 4-29 (2008), 59-68.

A. Zakharova, "Interdisciplinary Approach to the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts: the case of the Trebizond Lectionary," in: V. Cantone, S. Fumian (eds.), *Le artia confronto con il Sacro: Metodi di ricerca e nuove prospettive di indagine interdisciplinare*, Padova 2009, 37-44, 242-46.

A. Zakharova, "On Some Peculiarities in the Iconography of Miniatures in the Lectionary of Trebizond," *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura*, 14 (2010), 71-80.

A. Zakharova, "The Relationship between Text and Image in Byzantine Illuminated Gospel Lectionaries," in: K. Krause, B. Schellewald (eds.), *Bild und text im Mittelalter*, Wien 2011, 283-309.

Cod. A 86 in the Monastery of Great Lavra on Mount Athos

K. Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei*, 46, 64, 65, figs.305-23.

G. Galavaris, "Η ζωγραφική των χειρογράφων στον δέκατον αιώνα," *Κωνσταντίνος Ζ' ο Πορφυρογέννητος και η εποχή του*, Athens 1989, 362, figs.24-30.

11th century:

Lectionary of the Emperor Phokas of the Skevophylakion in the Monastery of Great Lavra on Mount Athos

S.M. Pelekanides, P.K. Chrestou, Ch. Mavropoulou-Tsioume, S.N. Kadas, A. Katsarou, *Οι θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους (=Treasures of Mount Athos)* (hereafter *ΘΑΟ*), vol.3, Athens 1979, 217-219, figs.1-8.

Weitzmann, "Skevothylakion".

Cod. 587 in the Monastery Dionysiou on Mount Athos

K. Weitzmann, "An Imperial Lectionary in the Monastery of Dionysiu on Mount Athos," in: *Psalters and Gospels*, art.XII.

ΘΑΟ, vol.1, 434-46, figs.189-277.

J.A. Cotsonis, "New Light on the Dionysiou Lectionary," in: *Tenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference: abstracts of papers; Nov. 1-4, 1984, Cincinnati*, Washington, D.C. 1984, 28.

Ch. Walter, "The Date and Content of the Dionysiou Lectionary," *DChAE*, 4-13 (1985-86), 181-90.

T. Masuda, *Η εικονογράφηση του χειρογράφου αριθ.587μ της Μονής Διονυσίου στο Άγιο Όρος: Συμβολή στη μελέτη των βυζαντινών ευαγγελισταρίων*, PhD diss., Thessaloniki University 1990. (<https://www.didaktorika.gr/eadd/handle/10442/1453>)

T. Masuda, "Picturization of John 1:1-18 in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration" *Aesthetics*, 6 (1994), The Japanese Society for Aesthetics, 59-72.

M.-L. Dolezal, "Illuminating the Liturgical Word: text and image in a decorated lectionary (Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587)," *Word & Image*, 12 (1996), pp.23-60.

T. Masuda, "Liturgical Illustrations in the Byzantine Lectionary Cod.587 in the Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos," *Orient*, 41 (2006), 91-108.

Cod. 1 in the Monastery Iviron on Mount Athos

See n. 54 in this article.

Cod. 1 in Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

J.C. Anderson, in: G. Vikan (ed.), *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections. An Exhibition in Honor of K. Weitzmann*, Princeton 1973, no.25, 112-13, figs.43-44.

Cod. M 639 in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

<https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/121467>

K. Weitzmann, "The Constantinopolitan Lectionary, Morgan 639," in: *Psalters and Gospels*, art.XIV.

J.C. Anderson, in: *American Collections*, no.28, 118-20, figs.48-50.

H.C. Evans, W.D. Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and culture of the Middle Byzantine era A.D. 843-1261*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1997, no.60, 105-07.

Cod.Vat.gr. 1156

https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1156

M.-L. Dolezal, *The Middle Byzantine Lectionary: Textual and pictorial expression of liturgical ritual*, PhD diss., University of Chicago 1991.

Cod. 190 in the National Library of Greece, Athens

http://www.csntm.org/manuscript/View/GA_Lect_412

A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou, X. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, vol.1, Athens 1978, no.36, 154-61, figs.349-81.

Cod.gr. 2 in the Istituto Ellenico, Venice

http://eib.xanthi.ilsp.gr/gr/showpic.asp?gotonumber=&vmagnification=300&picpath=0400_man_evangel13c_006_3v&curTable=manuscripts&curRecord=400&vorder=7&vmode=first

A. Xyngopoulos, "Το ιστορημένον ευαγγέλιον του Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βενετίας," *Θησαυρίσματα* 1 (1962), 63-88.

Spatharakis, *Corpus*, no.313, 76.

Dolezal, *The Middle Byzantine Lectionary*.

T. Masuda, "Patriarchal Lectionaries of Constantinople: New Criterion for the Encaenia," *Waseda RILAS*

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- Journal* 8 (2020), 179-94 (n.1 in this article).
- Cod. 3 of the Skevophylakion in the Monastery Vatopedi on Mount Athos
S. Kadas, "The Illustrated Manuscripts," in: *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopedi: Traditon- History- Art*, vol.2, Mount Athos 1998, 593-94, figs. 540-41.
Lowden, *infra*, 87, fig.99.
S. Kadas, *Ta eikonographeμένα χειρόγραφα του Αγίου Όρους*, Thessaloniki 2008, 112.
- Cod. 157 in the Dujčev Center, Sofia (only St. Symeon the Stylite)
A. Dzshurova, "L'Evangélaire cod. Dujčev 157= olim Kos. 9 du XIe siècle," *Byzantina Chronika*, 55 (1998), 199-205.
A. Dzshurova, *Byzantinische Miniaturen*, Regensburg 2002, pls.57, 59.
Lowden, *infra*, 89.
- The Jaharis Lectionary in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (only St. John the Baptist talking to Herod and Herodias)
J. Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary: The Story of a Byzantine Book*, New York 2009 (with further bibliography).
- Cod. TA 317 (protheke 30,4) in the Benaki Museum, Athens
http://www.csntm.org/manuscript/View/GA_Lect_2022
- Cod. Medi Palatino 244 in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence (only Christ and the Crowd, and the Evangelists)
http://www.csntm.org/manuscript/View/GA_Lect_117
R.S. Nelson, "Empathetic Vision: Looking at and with a performative Byzantine miniature," *Art History*, 30 (2007), 489-582.
- Cod.gr. 621 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (11th-century manuscript with 16th-century miniatures)
<http://daten.digital-e-sammlungen.de/0007/bsb00078284/images/index.html?id=00078284&groesser=&fip=ea yaewqewqyztssdaseayayzts&no=4&seite=231>
F. Berger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, vol. 9, Wiesbaden 2014, 172-77.
- Cod. Megale Panagia 1 in the Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (A.D.1061, only the Virgin Mary with donor, and Four Hierarchs)
<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279395025-jo/?sp=199&r=0.318,0.207,0.667,0.253,0>
I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden 1976, 57-59.
G. Galavaris, *The Illuminations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels*, Wien 1979, 131, 140.
I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, Leiden 1981, 24-25, no.72.
P.L. Vocotopoulos, *Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem*, Athens/ Jerusalem 2002, 24-27.
- Cod. McClean 2 of Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge
M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge 1912, 2-4.
I. Spatharakis, *The Left-handed Evangelist: A Contribution to Palaeologan Iconography*, London 1988, 48-49, 92, n.168.
A. Saminsky, "The Illuminated Manuscripts from the Georgian Monastery of the Virgin Kalipos in the Vicinities of Antioch and their Constantinopolitan Models" (in Russian), *Drevnerusskoye Iskusstvo*, Moscow 2017, 241-70.

11th/ 12th century:

Cod. 68 in the National Library of Greece, Athens

http://www.csntm.org/manuscript/View/GA_Lect_434

Marava-Chatzinicolaou, Toufexi-Paschou, *op.cit.*, no.45, 179-89, figs.468-80.

Cod.Paris.Suppl.gr. 27 (with 16th-century additional miniatures)

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8593586z/fl.item.r=Suppl%C3%A9ment%20grec%2027>

H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1929, p.48, pls. XCVII-C.

Cod. 947 in University of Chicago Library

<http://goodspeed.lib.uchicago.edu/ms/index.php?start=0&doc=0947&view=thumbs&obj=001>

12th century:

Cod. 2 in the Monastery Panteleimonos on Mount Athos

ΘΑΟ, vol.2, 347-51, figs.272-95.

S. Kadas, *Χειρόγραφο αριθ. 2 της Μονής Παντελεήμονος του Αγίου Όρους. Συμβολή στην εικονογράφηση των Βυζαντινών Ευαγγελισταρίων*, Thessaloniki 2001.

Cod. 8 in the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Istanbul

G. Soteriou, *Κειμήλια του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου*, Athens 1938, 86-92, figs.60-62, 64a.

Damaskenos Metropolitēs Helbetias (ed.), *Το Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο. Η Μεγάλη του Χριστού Εκκλησία*, Athens 1989, 141, figs.135-50.

Cod. A 692 in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

<https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/115338>

J.C. Anderson, *New York Cruciform Lectionary*, Pennsylvania 1992 (with further bibliography).

Evans- Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no.61, 107.

Cod. 48 in the Benaki Museum, Athens (12th-century manuscript with 16th-century miniatures)

http://www.csntm.org/manuscript/View/GA_Lect_2017

Cod.Sinai.gr. 216 (only the Crucifixion and the Evangelists)

http://www.csntm.org/manuscript/View/GA_Lect_850

K. Weitzmann, G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, vol.1, Princeton 1990, no.61, 170-74, figs.652-58.

13th century:

Cod. 111m in the Monastery Iviron on Mount Athos

S. Kadas, "Η εικονογράφηση των Ευαγγελισταρίων του Αγίου Όρους," *Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη Στυλιανού Πελεκνίδη*, Thessaloniki 1983, 54-67, figs.2a, 7a, 7b.

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Table

	Patriarchate	Ivron 1	Typicon of the Great Church	Synaxarion CP	Glasgow, Hunter 440
20 Oct.	Artemios, Andreas	Kornelios	Kornelios, Artemios, Andreas- Stephanos- Paulos- Petros	Artemios, Tertios- Markos- Iesous (called Ioustos), Artemios	Aberkios
23 Oct.	Iakobos brother of Lord, Ignatios, 7 children in Ephesos, Theodote-children	Dedication of the church of Iakobos brother of Lord	Iakobos brother of Lord, Zacharias- Symeon, Dedication (of Iakobos) in Chalkoprateia	Iakobos brother of Lord, Theodote- Sokrates, Ignatios	7 children in Ephesos
Sunday before Christmas of Holy Fathers	Sunday before Christmas of Holy Fathers	Sunday before Christmas of Holy Fathers, Abraham, Isaak, Iakob and three children Anania- Azaria- Misael and prophet Daniel	Sunday before Christmas of Holy Fathers, Abraham, Isaak, Iakob and three children Anania- Azaria- Misael and prophet Daniel	Sunday before Christmas of Holy Fathers or Forefathers, Abraham, Isaak, Iakob, Mouses, three children Ananias- Azarias- Misael and prophet Daniel	Sunday before Christmas of Holy Fathers, Abraham, Isaak, Iakob and three children Ananias- Azarias- Misael -Daniel
26 Dec.	Synaxis of Theotokos	Synaxis of Panagia and Ioseph	Synaxis of Theotokos in Blachernal	Synaxis of Theotokos in Blachernal, Ioseph, Euthymios, Konstantinos, Euarestos	Synaxis of Theotokos in Blachernal, Euthemios
20 Apr.	Paphnoutios	Anastasios	Athanasios, Paphnouthios, Anastasios	Theodoros, Iannouarios- Desiderios- Proklos- Sossos- Phestos- Eutyches- Akoution, Tryphon, Georgios, Biktor- Zotikos- Zenon- Akindynos- Kaisareios- Seuerianos- Christophoros- Theonas- Antonios	—
24 Apr.	Martyrs in Chalcedon, Sabas	Holy and righteous brothers of Lord, Iakobos, Ioseph, Symeon and Jude, and Martha and Mary	Pasikrates- Balention, Eusebios- Neon- Leon- Longinos- Christophoros- Demetrios- Danabos- Donatos- Therinos- Nestabos- Nike- company, Elisabet, Dedication of Georgios en to Kyparissio	Elisabet, Sabas, Pasikrates- Balention, Eusebios- Neon- Leontios- Longinos- Christophoros- Demetrios- Danabos- Donatos- Therinos- Nestabos- Nike- company, Dedication of Georgios en to Kyparissio	—
30 Apr.	Iakobos brother of Theologian	Iakobos brother of Lord, Iakobos brother of Theologian	Iakobos brother of Lord	Iakobos brother of Theologian	Iakobos brother of Theologian
4 May	Eirene, Aphrodisios-others	Andreas	Sylbanos, Olbianos, Nikephoros, Aphrodisios- Mildas- Makrobios- Qualerianos- Leontios- Antonios- company, Translation of relics of Lazaros and Maria Magdalene, Dedication of Lazaros	Eirene, Silbanos, Olbianos- disciples, Hilarion, Aphrodisios- Mildas- Makrobios- Qualerianos- Leontios- Antonios- others, Translation of relics of Lazaros and Maria Magdalene, Dedication of Lazaros	Aphrodiriakos- Gordianos- Leontios- company
9 Jun.	Kyrrilos, Phourtoutanos, Hypatios	Synaxis of Michael in Sostheneion	Synaxis of Michael in Sosthenion, Alexandros- Antonina, Pelagia	Orestes- Diomedes- Rodon, Michael in Sostheneion, Alexandros- Antonina, Alexandros, Ananias- Kodratos, Pelagia	Alexandros
22 Jun.	Eusebios, Basileios	Archangels Michael and Gabriel and all the powers without body	Eusebios, Zenon- Zenas, Pompianos- Galaktion, Satorninos- Iouliane	Eusebios, Zenon- Zenas, Pompianos- Galaktion- Satorninos- Iouliane, Terentios, Markos, Iesous (called Ioustos), Artemas	—
23 Jun.	Agrippina	Aristokles-company	Aristokles- Demetrianos- Athanasios, Eustochios- company	Agrippina, Aristokles- Demetrianos- Athanasios, Eustochios- company	—
27 Jun.	Sampson	Kyrrilos	Kyrrilos, Sampson	Sampson	Sampson
20 Jul.	Elias-Elissaios	Elias-Mouses-Aaron	Elias, Iezekiel, Georgios- Theodoros	Elias, Mouses, Aaron, Elissaios	Elias- Elissaios- Ieremias- Mouses- Aaron, Ioustinos, Symeon (Salos)- Ioannes
21 Jul.	Iezekiel, Symeon-Ioannes	Ioustos-Matthias	Symeon- Ioannes, Ioustos- Matthaios, Trophimos- Theophilos- company, Synaxis of Theotokos en tois Armasiou	Iezekiel, Symeon- Ioannes, Georgios- Theodoros, Eleutherios, Akakios, Ioustos- Matthaios, Trophimos- Theophilos- company, Synaxis of Theotokos en tois Armatiou	—
29 Jul.	Kallinikos-Theodotos	Kallinikos, Alexandros	Kallinikos, Theodote- children, Pelagia, Dedication of Theotokos near Promounton	Kallinikos, Theodote- children, Dedication of Theotokos near Promountou	—
3 Aug.	Isakios-Dalmatos-Phaustos	150 fathers of 2nd synod, Dalmatos	Dalmatos	Dalmatos- Phaustos- Isakios	—
4 Aug.	Eudokia	Maria Magdalene	Dedication of Prokopios near Chelone, Thousael- Ia, Maria Magdalene	Ioannes, 7 children of Ephesos, Eleutherios, Dedication of Prokopios near Chelone, Thouthael, Maria Magdalene, Ia- company	Eugenios- Thouthael, Ia
11 Aug.	Euplos	70 Apostles	Neophytos- Caios- Gaianos- Zenon- Markios- Makarios, Euplos	Euplos, Neophytos- Caios- Gaianos, Zenon- Markios- Makarios	—
23 Aug.	Eirenaios-Or-Oropsis, Louppos	Eustathios	Eustathios, Meletios, Kallinikos	Louppos, Eirenaios (Sirmium), Eirenaios (Lyon), Kallinikos	Kallinikos, Euphrosyne