


The Application of Titulus Finalis, Subscriptions, Total Stichometry in the Textual Classification of Early Printed Cyrillic Liturgical Tetraevangelia

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ABSTRACT: Subscriptions and final numerical notations are assumed to be the most succinct text entities in Greek and Church Slavonic Tetraevangelia. Their complex history was widely disregarded in these two traditions. T. Wasserman, along with his colleagues, has recently developed a new typology of subscriptions in Greek codices. The present study attempts to apply this new typological classification of subscriptions, based on their content, wording and gradual development, in a classification of Early Printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia. All the Cyrillic Gospel editions issued in the 16th–18th centuries have been successfully divided into two main groups and nine subgroups. This division agrees with the one based on textual classification of several Gospel fragments, some paratexts preceding each Gospel book and the menologion.

KEYWORDS: subscriptions, total stichometry, early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelion, classification, textual study

1. Textual Classification of Early Printed Cyrillic Liturgical Tetraevangelia – An Overview of the Current State of Research

Liturgical Tetraevangelia were the most common type of Gospel text issued with the use of movable type printing technology in the 16th–18th centuries. Other structural types, such as lectionaries, New Testaments, and Bibles in this period, did not appear as often as Tetraevangelia. The oldest Cyrillic Gospel edition went off the press in 1512. Since then, until the end of the 18th century, i.e. in this period spanning nearly three hundred years – this structural type of book appeared a hundred and eleven times.¹ They were printed in

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¹ For a complete list of extant and considered lost early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia, see J. Ostapczuk – B. Dzierżanowska, “Early Printed Editions of Cyrillic Liturgical Tetraevangelia. A Catalogue,” *RTChAT* 65/3 (2023) 465–514.

the lands of medieval Romania (nine times) and Serbia (three times) as well as in Moscow (seventy-one times), Vilnius (four times), Lviv (eight times), Kyiv (ten times), Klinty (only once²) and Pochaiv (five times).

A textual analysis of the several fragments of the Gospels of Matthew (3:17–8:21, 13:44–15:11 and 26:1–27:62)³ and Mark (1:1–2:23)⁴, four prefaces to the Gospels by Blessed Theophylact,⁵ Archbishop of Bulgaria, four lists of chapter titles (the so-called *kephalaia*),⁶ and six short lives of Evangelists⁷ proved that all extant, i.e. a hundred and eleven, early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia can be divided into two main groups and several subgroups.

Twelve South Slavonic Tetraevangelia, issued in Middle Bulgarian and Serbian recension of the Church Slavonic Language, were divided into three subgroups:

- (1) three Middle-Bulgarian Gospels issued in the first half of the 16th century (Târgoviște 1512, Sibiu 1546 and 1551–1553) and three Serbian ones (Rujno 1537, Belgrade 1552 and Mrkšina Crkva 1562),

- 2 It is a reprint of the Moscow Gospel issued in 1648 (A.V. Voznesenskij, *Predvaritel'nyj spisok staroobrádčeskikh kirilliceskikh izdanij XVIII veka* [Materialy k bibliografii istorii i kul'tury russkogo staroobrádčestva 1; Saint Petersburg: Hronograf 1994] 31 [No. 85]); E.A. Emel'anova, *Staroobrádčeskie izdaniâ kirillouskogo šrifita konca XVIII – načala XIX v. Katalog* (Knižnye Pamâtniki Rossijskoj Gosudarstvennoj Biblioteki; Moscow: Paškov Dom 2010) 263–265 (No. 169).
- 3 J. Ostapczuk, "Tekstologičeskaâ karakteristika slavânskogo perevoda Evangelia v staropečatnom slavâno-rumynskom Evangelii tetr 1551–1553 iz Sibiu," *Slavânski tekstove i tradicii. Sbornik v čest Katrin Meri Makrob' rt. Kirilo-Metodievski studii XXXI* (eds. C. Nikolova et al.) (Sofia: Blgarska Akademiâ na Naukite – Kirilo-Metodievski Naučen Centr 2021) 386.
- 4 J. Ostapczuk, "Tekstologia kirilliceskikh staropečatnyh bogoslužebnyh Četveroangelij srednebolgarskogo i serbskogo izvodov i ih otnošenje k rukopisnoj tradicii (Evangelie ot Marka, začala 1–9)," *Slověne. International Journal of Slavic Studies* 7/2 (2018) 62–73; J. Ostapczuk, "Cyrillic Early Printed Tetragospels of Middle Bulgarian and Serbian Redaction. Textology of the First Nine Zachalas of Mark's Gospel," *Slavia* 88/4 (2019) 371–382.
- 5 J. Ostapczuk, "Predislovie blažennogo Feofilakta Bolgarskogo k Evangeliam v kievskih Evangeliah tetr 1697 i 1712 gg.," *Venec hvaleniâ. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Aleksandrowi Naumowowi na jubileusz 70-lecia Lato-pisy Akademii Supraskiej* (ed. M. Kuczyńska) (Białystok: Akademia Supraska 2019) X, 115–126; J. Ostapczuk, "Predislovie Feofilakta Bolgarskogo k Evageliu ot Matfeâ v kirilliceskikh staropečatnyh Četveroangeliah iz Brašova (1561/62 g.) i Buharesta (1582 i posle 1582 g.) i ih otnošenje k rukopisnou tradicii," *Trinadcatye Zagrebinskie Čtenia. Sbornik statei po itogam meždunarodnoi naučnoj konferencii 3–4 oktâbrâ 2018 g.* (ed. Ž. Levšina) (Saint Petersburg: Rossijskaâ Nacionalnaâ Biblioteka 2019) 315–329; J. Ostapczuk, "Warianty tekstologiczne Przedmów do Evangelii bł. Teofilakta Bułgarskiego jako podstawa do identyfikacji wzoru cyrylickiej tetraewangelii wileńskiego bractwa św. Ducha z 1644 roku," *Słowianie w monarchii Habsburgów. Literatura, język, kultura* (eds. J. Stradomski – M. Kuczyńska – M. Čistiakova) (Krakowsko-Wieleńskie Studia Slawistyczne 17; Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka 2020) 87–97; J. Ostapczuk, "Prefaces to the Gospels by Blessed Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria, in Early Printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia from Lviv," *RTChAT* 66/1 (2024) 7–25.
- 6 J. Ostapczuk, "Spisok glav Evangelia ot Matfeâ v staropečatnyh kirilliceskikh bogoslužebnyh Evangeliah tetr i ih otnošenje k rukopisnoj tradicii," *Slavia* 89/2 (2020) 200–216; J. Ostapczuk, "Ogławlenie Evageliâ ot Ioanna v staropečatnyh bogoslužebnyh četveroangeliah," *Konstantinove Listy* 14/2 (2021) 109–125.
- 7 J. Ostapczuk et al., "Kratkie žitiâ Evangelistov v kirilliceskikh staropečatnyh Evangeliah tetr i ix proischozdenie," *Konstantinove Listy* 13/1 (2020) 126–143.

- (2) five Middle-Bulgarian Gospels issued in the second half of the 16th century (Braşov 1562 and 1579, Alba Iulia⁸ 1579, Bucharest 1582 and after 1582),
- (3) and one Middle-Bulgarian Gospel issued in 1583 in Braşov.

Ninety-nine East Slavonic Tetraevangelia, issued in Moscow, Vilnius, Lviv, Kyiv, Klintsy and Pochaiv were divided into five following subgroups:

- (1) Moscow Gospels printed before 1655, together with the first three Vilnius editions issued by the Mamonic Printing House (1575, 1600 and c. 1620) and the one from Klintsy (1786),
- (2) Moscow Gospels printed after 1655 together with Kyiv Tetraevangelia issued after the year 1720 and five Pochaiv editions,
- (3) Lviv Gospels from Printing House of the Lviv Dormition Confraternity (six editions issued in 1616, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743) and one from Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit issued in 1644,
- (4) two editions printed by Mykhailo Slozka in Lviv in 1644 and 1665,
- (5) the first two editions from Kyiv issued in 1697 and 1712.

A textual and liturgical analysis of menologion, i.e. a special appendix providing information on feast days⁹ and the commemorations of saints and sacred events for the entire liturgical year, not only proved the above-presented classification to be true but also allowed for distinguishing several additional subgroups.¹⁰

⁸ Medieval name of this city located in Romania is Bălgrad.

⁹ The information given on the feasts or saints is complemented in many cases with the prescribed Gospel readings (i.e. pericopes).

¹⁰ See: J. Ostapczuk, "Early Printed Cyrillic Liturgical Tetraevangelia Issued in the Lands of the 16th Century Medieval Romania. General Characteristic and Menologia Analysis," *Biblicum Jassyense. Romanian Journal for Biblical Philology and Hermeneutics* 9 (2022) 67–125; J. Ostapczuk, "Klasyfikacja typologiczna Menologionów w cyrylickich starych drukach liturgicznych Ewangelii tetr," *Polza zelo velikaâ: sbornik naučnyh statei k 60-teliu Andreâ Vladimiroviča Voznesenskogo* (ed. N.V. Nikolaev) (Saint Petersburg: Rossijskaâ Nacionalnaâ Biblioteka 2022) 41–48; J. Ostapczuk, "Liturgical Tradition in the Romanian Tetraevangelion Issued in 1561 in Braşov and Its Relation to the Cyrillic Early Printed Gospel Editions from the 16th Century," *Receptarea Sfintei Scripturi: între filologie, hermeneutică şi traductologie. Lucrările Simpozionului Internațional "Explorări în tradiția biblică românească şi europeană, XII, Iaşi, 18–20 mai 2023* (eds. A.-D. Bibiri et al.) (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iaşi 2023) 249–260; J. Ostapczuk, "Kult świętych a tożsamość wyznaniowa – zmiany w aparacie liturgicznym wschodniosłowiańskich cyrylickich starych druków liturgicznych Ewangelii tetr (na przykładzie wydań Ławry Począjowskiej)," *Wielokulturowość Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej: doświadczenia przeszłości i wyzwania teraźniejszości* (eds. J. Getka – J. Grzybowski) (Interkulturowość Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej: Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2023) 42–67; J. Ostapczuk, "Cyrillic Early Printed Tetraevangelia Issued in Kyiv in 1697 and 1712 – Their Liturgical Tradition and Original. Study of Saints and Feasts Present in the Menologia," *RTChAT* 65/1 (2023) 7–32; J. Ostapczuk, "Menologia of Cyrillic Early Printed Liturgical Tetraevangelia Issued in Vilnius," *Knygotyna* 80 (2023) 116–146; J. Ostapczuk, "The Cyrillic Early Printed Liturgical Tetraevangelion Issued in Vilnius/Vievis in 1644 and Its Source. Research into the Saints and Feasts Present in the Menologia," *Slavia* 93/1 (2024) 62–77.

As examples, we can point to:

- (1) two Middle Bulgarian Tetraevangelia issued in 1582 and after 1582 at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist (Plumbuita on the River Colentina, now in Bucharest) by Hieromonk Laurentie,
- (2) five editions from the second half of the 18th century issued in Pochaiv intended for use in the Greek Catholic Church, i.e. the Byzantine rite of the Roman Catholic Church.

This classification was based on the examination of several Gospel fragments and some paratexts¹¹ that precede each Gospel Book, as well as the menologion, placed at the end of the volume. In addition, early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia contain some other paratexts that close each Gospel book. Subscriptions¹² – together with Superscriptions¹³ – and final numerical notations are assumed to be the most succinct text entities in Greek as well as in Church Slavonic handwritten and early printed Tetraevangelia.

2. The Scholarship of Subscriptions in Church Slavonic Tradition

Subscriptions in Glagolitic and Cyrillic Tetraevangelia were widely disregarded in Slavonic scholarship. In the first volume of *Novum Testamentum Palaeoslovenice*, i.e. *Evangelium Secundum Ioannem*,¹⁴ no attention was paid to paratexts. In the second volume – *Evangelium Secundum Mattheum* – only the preface to this Gospel and its list of chapter titles were studied,¹⁵ while the subscriptions were completely disregarded. In an article written by Bulgarian scholar Ekaterina Dogramadžieva, who studied paratexts in Church Slavonic manuscripts of Tetraevangelia, subscriptions occupy merely one paragraph, approximately half a page.¹⁶

11 On the term 'paratext', see G. Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Literature, Culture, Theory 20; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997), while on various paratexts present in Gospels, see P. Andrist, "Toward a Definition of Paratexts and Paratextuality: The Case of Ancient Greek Manuscripts," *Bible as a Notepad. Tracing Annotations and Annotation Practices in Late Antique and Medieval Biblical Manuscripts* (eds. L.I. Lied – M. Maniaki) (Manuscripta Biblica 3; Boston, MA: De Gruyter 2018) 130–149.

12 Subscriptions are also called as: final titles, end-titles or postscripts.

13 Superscriptions are also called as: initial titles, beginning-titles, inscriptions, opening-titles or introductory-titles.

14 *Evangelie ot Ioanna v slavânskoj tradicii* (Novum Testamentum Palaeoslovenice 1; Saint Petersburg: Rossijskoe Biblejskoe Obščestvo 1998).

15 *Evangelie ot Matfeâ v slavânskoj tradicii* (Novum Testamentum Palaeoslovenice 2; Saint Petersburg: Rossijskoe Biblejskoe Obščestvo 2005) 169–180.

16 E. Dogramadžieva, "S' 'stav na slavânskite r' 'kopisni četveroevangeliâ," *Palaeobulgarica* 17/2 (1993) 11–12.

3. The Scholarship of Subscriptions in Greek Tradition

In Greek tradition, subscriptions were sporadically researched and rarely included in critical editions.¹⁷ This dismissive approach has changed over the last two decades. Bachelor¹⁸ and PhD theses¹⁹ have started to survey subscriptions, conference papers²⁰ have presented the outcomes of research on subscriptions. Articles in leading international biblical journals, as well as chapters in monographs, explore the complex history of subscriptions.²¹ These succinct texts have also been included in structural visualisations of Greek manuscripts.²²

A new typology of subscriptions in the Greek tradition has been developed²³ by T. Wasserman, L. Thorp and C.T. Elmelund based on their content, wording and gradual development. They divided subscriptions into three main types:²⁴

- 17 C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Lipsiae: Giesecke & Devrient 1869) 212–213, 410, 737–738, 966–968; H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1911–1913) I, 294–300; W.H.P. Hatch, *Fascimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1951) 33–36. See also L. Thorp – T. Wasserman, “The Tradition and Development of the Subscriptions to 1 Timothy,” *Studies on the Paratextual Features of Early New Testament Manuscripts* (eds. S.E. Porter – C.S. Stevens – D.I. Yoon) (TENTS 16; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2023) 174.
- 18 L. Arvedal, *The Subscriptions to 1 Timothy. An Investigation of Their Traditions and Development* (Diss. Örebro School of Theology; Örebro 2016).
- 19 G.A. Payne, *A Textual Analysis, Critical Reconstruction, and Evaluation of the Superscriptions and Subscriptions to the Corpus Paulinum* (Diss. Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary; Forth Worth 2002); D.G. Champagne, *Scribal Habits within the Superscription and Subscription Traditions of Greek New Testament Manuscripts* (Diss. New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary; New Orleans 2013).
- 20 M. Vercesi, *Gospels’ Subscriptions in Greek Manuscripts: Tracing the Route of Paratexts* (Presentation at the European Association of Biblical Studies Graduate Symposium, Prague 2022), https://www.academia.edu/87639811/Gospels_Subscriptions_in_Greek_Manuscripts_Tracing_the_Route_of_Paratexts [access: 20.10.2024]; E. Van Elverdinghe, *Les souscriptions des Évangiles dans la tradition manuscrite grecque: genèses d’un paratexte* (Conference Presentation at Société Belge d’Études Byzantines, 22e journée byzantine, Namur, 9 juin 2023); E. Van Elverdinghe, *Quand le nombre des témoins dépasse celui des mots ou comment éditer les souscriptions grecques des Évangiles* (Conference Presentation at Séminaire «Éditer et commenter les paratextes bibliques: enjeux et méthodes», Collège de France, Paris, 4 avril 2024).
- 21 T. Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission* (ConBNT 43; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International 2006); C.T. Elmelund – T. Wasserman, “The Subscriptions to Mark’s Gospel and History of Reception,” *NTS* 69/4 (2023) 429–444; C.T. Elmelund – T. Wasserman, “Second Timothy: When and Where? Text and Traditions in the Subscriptions,” *Studies on the Paratextual Features of Early New Testament Manuscripts* (eds. S.E. Porter – C.S. Stevens – D.I. Yoon) (TENTS 16; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2023) 202–226; Thorp – Wasserman, “The Tradition and Development of the Subscriptions to 1 Timothy,” 172–201.
- 22 P. Andrist – M. Wallraff, “ParaTexBib: An ERC Project Dedicated to Paratexts in Greek Manuscripts of the Bible,” *COMS Bulletin* 2/1–2 (2016) 63–68; S. Dirkse – P. Andrist – M. Wallraff, “Structural Visualisation of Manuscripts (StruViMan): Principles, Methods, Prospects,” *Open Theology* 5/1 (2019) 249–258. See also descriptions of manuscripts on <https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org> [access: 20.10.2024].
- 23 This typological classification of subscriptions, as T. Wasserman and C.T. Elmelund stated (“The Subscriptions to Mark’s Gospel and History of Reception,” 430), corresponds to Hatch’s description of subscriptions (*Fascimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament* 1951), and drew some terminology from D.E. Champagne’s PhD thesis (*Scribal Habits within the Superscription and Subscription Traditions of Greek New Testament Manuscripts*).
- 24 Elmelund – Wasserman, “The Subscriptions to Mark’s Gospel and History of Reception,” 432–433.

- (1) Type 1 – simple subscription indicates authorship (κατὰ μᾶρκον), often features the genre (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) and sometimes reverential modifiers (ἅγιον),²⁵
τὸ (ἅγιον) εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ μᾶρκον
- (2) Type 2 – semi-elaborate subscription, aside from the elements mentioned above, has a terminal modifier marking the end of a book²⁶ (ἐτελέσθη, εἰληφεν τέλος or – only from the 9th century onwards – τέλος),²⁷
 - (a) εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ λουκᾶν ἐτελέσθη,
 - (b) τέλος τοῦ κατὰ (ἅγιον) λουκᾶν (ἁγίου) εὐαγγελίου
- (3) Type 3 – elaborate subscription features an additional chronological modifier – pointing to the date of origin (relative to the Ascension of Christ/Lord) and sometimes other modifiers²⁸ (for example, geographical, pointing to the place of composition).
τὸ κατὰ ἰωάννην ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ἐξεδόθη μετὰ χρόνους τριάκοντα καὶ δύο τῆς τοῦ χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως (ἐν πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ)

This typology of subscriptions in the Greek manuscript tradition also records positive evidence of their omission (type 0).²⁹

It is worth noting that some manuscripts in Greek and Church Slavonic languages feature two subscriptions simultaneously, i.e. semi-elaborate (type 2) and elaborate (type 3). They were written one after another or were separated by final numeric notations:

τέλος τοῦ κατὰ μᾶρκον εὐαγγελίου
τὸ κατὰ μᾶρκον εὐαγγέλιον ἐξεδόθη μετὰ χρόνους δέκα τῆς τοῦ χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως
КОНЕЦЪ ЕЖЕ ОΥΤΩ ΜΑΡΚΑ СВАТАГО ЕВЪГГЕЛІА
ЕЖЕ ОΥΤΩ ΜΑΡΚΑ СВАТОЕ ЕВЪГГЕЛІЕ ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ ДЕСАТИХЪ ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИИ.

A combination of these two subscriptions in one manuscript can be called a compound subscription.

The presence of two nearly identical expressions in a compound subscription, i.e. τοῦ κατὰ μᾶρκον εὐαγγελίου (in Church Slavonic ЕЖЕ ОΥΤΩ ΜΑΡΚΑ СЪТАГО ЕВЪГГЕЛІА) and τὸ κατὰ μᾶρκον εὐαγγέλιον (in Church Slavonic ЕЖЕ ОΥΤΩ ΜΑΡΚΑ СВАТОЕ ЕВЪГГЕЛІЕ), was sometimes perceived as

²⁵ This type of subscription is in fact a repetition of superscription also known as an inscription (Elmelund – Wasserman, “The Subscriptions to Mark’s Gospel and History of Reception,” 432).

²⁶ A terminal modifier can also sometimes mark the end of a liturgical reading.

²⁷ See Champagne, *Scribal Habits within the Superscription and Subscription Traditions of Greek New Testament Manuscripts*, 32–100; Thorp – Wasserman, “The Tradition and Development of the Subscriptions to 1 Timothy,” 193.

²⁸ For example, the divine-agency modifier (i.e. συν θεῷ), language of composition (i.e. Hebrew or Latin) or the so-called Jerusalem colophon. Subscriptions to the Apostolic Letters have several other modifiers, i.e. indication of the letter-carrier, quotations from Eusebius, tradition about Timothy’s episcopate, etc. (Elmelund – Wasserman, “Second Timothy: When and Where? Text and Traditions in the Subscriptions,” 205–206; Thorp – Wasserman, “The Tradition and Development of the Subscriptions to 1 Timothy,” 193–199).

²⁹ Elmelund – Wasserman, “The Subscriptions to Mark’s Gospel and History of Reception,” 432; Elmelund – Wasserman, “Second Timothy: When and Where? Text and Traditions in the Subscriptions,” 205–206; Thorp – Wasserman, “The Tradition and Development of the Subscriptions to 1 Timothy,” 191.

superfluous.³⁰ Therefore, to simplify a given compound subscription, one of these two may have been sometimes omitted.

In addition to the subscriptions, Tetraevangelia can also feature some additional verses (i.e. epigrams, succinct prefaces) and several final numeric notations appended to the end of the Gospel books.

4. Objectives

This paper is an attempt to legitimise, based on the presented typology of subscriptions, the final numeric notations and additional verses, textual classification of early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia and prove the significance of various succinct texts closing Gospel books for biblical scholarship.

5. Textual Classification of Early Printed Cyrillic Liturgical Tetraevangelia

5.1. South Slavonic Tetraevangelia

All eleven³¹ South Slavonic Tetraevangelia attest to the presence of subscriptions, stichometric notation and some other texts closing each Gospel book.

In contrast to East Slavonic editions, all Middle Bulgarian and Serbian Tetraevangelia have a geographical modifier included in the Subscription to the Gospel of John: **ВЪ ПАТМЪ ОСТРОВЪ** (*ἐν πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ*). This conveys information that the book was written on Patmos Island. Thus, as several examples presented below, this element proves that South Slavonic Gospel editions form a separate group.

Only some of the South Slavonic Tetraevangelia feature a combination of a semi-elaborate subscription (type 2) with an elaborate one (type 3), i.e. a compound subscription. In the case of the Gospel of Matthew, it is found only in one edition (Braşov 1583). In the case of the Gospel of Mark, a combination of two subscriptions was present in four (Braşov 1562, 1579 and 1583 as well as Alba Iulia 1579), while in the case of the Gospel of Luke, in all six Middle Bulgarian Tetraevangelia issued in the second half of 16th century (i.e. Braşov 1562, 1579 and 1583; Alba Iulia 1579, Bucharest 1582 and after 1582). Thus, these facts – as the one below – point to the possibility of dividing all of the Middle Bulgarian Tetraevangelia into four subgroups.

In early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia, only two of four Gospel books may have additional verses appended to their end.

³⁰ A similar situation is attested to subscriptions to the Apostle Letters (see Thorp – Wasserman, “The Tradition and Development of the Subscriptions to 1 Timothy,” 199).

³¹ The Gospel edition issued in Sibiu in 1551–1553 has only part of the Gospel of Matthew extant, all subscriptions have been lost. Thus, this edition had to be excluded from this study.

The Gospel of Mark can be supplemented with the following text: *речено (же) бысть петромъ въ римѣ. сътворено же наъало отъ пророгескаго слова. еже съ высоты нашедша исанина. крилатъ образъ енѣлиа павѣа* (ὕπηγορεύθη [δὲ] ὑπὸ πέτρου ἐν ρώμῃ, ἐποιήσατο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ προφητικοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐξ ὕψους ἐπιόντος τοῦ ἡσαΐου, τὴν πτερωτικὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου δεικνύει) which can be also preceded by the expression: *вѣдомо да естъ іако еже отъ марка енѣлиа* (ιστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον).

The Gospel of Luke can be supplemented with the following text: *речено бысть павломъ въ римѣ отъ свациеннигѣскаго же оураза сѣи. отъ захаріе свациенника каѣлица наѣатъ* (ὕπηγορεύθη ὑπὸ παύλου ἐν ρώμῃ, ἅτε δὲ ἱερατικοῦ χαρακτῆρος ὑπάρχον, ἀπὸ ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἱερέως θυμιῶντος ἤρξατο) always preceded with the expression: *вѣдомо да естъ іако еже отъ лѣки еѣе енѣлиа* (ιστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιον).

These two additional texts, which are in fact succinct prefaces, are present only in six Tetraevangelia:

- (1) two Middle Bulgarian issued in the first half of the 16th century (Târgoviște 1512 and Sibiu 1546) and three Serbian (Rujno 1537, Belgrade 1552 and Mrkšina Crkva 1562),
- (2) and one Middle-Bulgarian Gospel issued in Braşov in 1583.

Two Middle Bulgarian Tetraevangelia issued in Bucharest in 1582 and after 1582 attest only to the presence of the first of the two above-mentioned additional texts, i.e. the one appended to the Gospel of Mark, while the second related to the Gospel of Luke is missing.

It is also worth noting that the expression *вѣдомо да естъ іако еже отъ марка енѣлиа* (ιστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον) preceding the first additional text is present only in the 1583 Braşov Gospel edition.

Three Middle Bulgarian Tetraevangelia printed in Braşov in 1562 and 1579, as well as the one from Alba Iulia issued in 1579, and all East Slavonic Gospel editions omit these two supplementary succinct prefaces. The presence of these two additional texts appended to the Gospel of Mark and Luke reaffirms the classification of all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia into four subgroups.

All early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia issued up to 1635 feature a final stichometric notation. In all of them, the number of verses (Greek στίχοι) is indicated at the end of each Gospel. All South Slavonic and East Slavonic Tetraevangelia printed before 1635, indicate the same number of verses in Matthew, Mark and John, i.e. 2600, 1600 and 2300, respectively. Most of the editions consulted indicate that the Gospel of Luke has 2800 verses, while only five Middle Bulgarian Tetraevangelia attest to 2070 verses. These five editions were issued in the second half of the 16th century, i.e. in Braşov in 1562 and 1579, in Alba Iulia in 1579 and in Bucharest in 1582 and after 1582. Thus, these five Middle Bulgarian Gospel editions should be classified into separate subgroups.

The evidence presented above based on subscriptions, final stichometric notation, and additional verses (appended only to the Gospel of Mark and Luke) legitimates classifying all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia into one separate group and the four following subgroups:

- (1) two Middle Bulgarian Gospels issued in the first half of the 16th century, i.e. Târgoviște 1512, Sibiu 1546, and three Serbian ones, i.e. Rujno 1537, Belgrade 1552 and Mrkšina Crkva 1562,
- (2) three Middle Bulgarian Gospels printed in Braşov in 1562 and 1579 and in Alba Iulia in 1579,
- (3) two Middle Bulgarian Gospels issued in Bucharest in 1582 and after 1582,
- (4) and one Middle Bulgarian Gospel printed in Braşov in 1583.

5.2. East Slavonic Tetraevangelia

All early printed East Slavonic liturgical Tetraevangelia, as all their South Slavonic counterparts, also attest to the presence of subscriptions.

All Gospel editions issued in Moscow before 1655, including the first three printed at the Mamonich Workshop in Vilnius (1575, 1600 and c. 1620), and the edition from Klinty (1786), which is a reprint of the Moscow edition issued in 1648,³² feature a set of texts closing all four Gospel books, i.e. an elaborate subscription (type 3) and final stichometric notation.

All editions issued in Moscow after the year 1655 (with only one exception), in Kyiv after 1720,³³ and in Pochaiv feature the following – innovative in the second case – elements:

- (1) in the Gospel of Matthew – presence of a semi-elaborate subscription (type 2) and the absence of any final numeric notation,
- (2) in the Gospel of Mark – substitution of total stichometry with final numeric notations based on the modern divisions of this book, i.e. pointing to 16 chapters (ѡ) and 678 verses (ѡѡ) in this Gospel.

Only two early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia – the first of which was printed in Moscow in 1689 and considered exceptional in terms of size and press run,³⁴ and the second issued in Lviv in 1743 – in the case of all four Gospel books, feature exclusively semi-elaborate subscriptions (type 2 – indicating the end of the book), do not have any stichometric or other numeric notations.

Thus, the evidence presented concerning the type of subscription, i.e. type 3 or 2 in the case of the Gospel of Matthew, and final numeric notation, i.e. its presence or absence in the Gospel of Matthew, or substitution with the number of modern chapters and verses in the Gospel of Mark, prove that all Tetraevangelia from Moscow, eight from Kyiv (issued

³² Voznesenskij, *Predvaritel'nyj spisok staroobrádčeskich kirilličeskich izdanij XVIII veka*, 31 (No. 85); Emel'anova, *Staroobrádčeskie izdaniâ kirillovskogo šrifta konca XVIII – načala XIX v. Katalog*, 263–265 (No. 169).

³³ After the year 1720, Gospel editions were printed in Kyiv in the following years: 1733, 1737, 1746, 1752, 1759, 1771, 1773 and 1784. Only two Tetraevangelia were printed in Kyiv before 1720, i.e. in 1697 and 1712.

³⁴ A.S. Zernova, *Knigi kirillovskoj pečati izdannye v Moskve v XVI–XVII vekah. Svodnyj katalog* (Moscow: Tip. B-ki im. V.I. Lenina 1958) 119.

after 1720) as well as five from Pochaiv,³⁵ should be divided – with two exceptions – into two following subgroups:

- (1) Gospel editions from Moscow issued before 1655, the first three Vilnius editions and the one from Klinty issued in 1786,
- (2) Gospel editions from Moscow issued after 1655, Kiev Tetraevangelia printed after 1720 and five Pochaiv editions.

Almost all Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv – except for the last one printed in 1743,³⁶ the fourth one from Vilnius³⁷ issued in 1644 – a reprint of the Lviv Gospel from 1636,³⁸ as well as the first two from Kyiv printed in 1697 and 1712 have final stichometry substituted with another numeric notation. In these ten editions, the numeric notation indicates the number of chapters in each Gospel according to their modern division (i.e. 28, 16, 24 and 21) and to their liturgical sections (i.e. 116, 71, 114 and 67).

Only two Lviv Tetraevangelia issued at Mykhailo Slozka Printing House³⁹ (1644 and 1665), as well as the first two Gospel editions from Kyiv (1697 and 1712), include in the subscription to the Gospel of Matthew expression *НАПИСАНО БЫТЪ* ([συν]εγράφη) instead of *ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ* (ἐξεδοθή) and a noun *ЕВЪЛИСТОМЪ* (εὐαγγελιστοῦ) added to the words *САМЪМЪ ТЪМЪ* (ὑπ' αὐτοῦ).

The addition of the expression *САМЪМЪ ТЪМЪ ЕВЪЛИСТОМЪ* (ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ) in the subscription to the Gospel of Luke appeared in merely two Lviv Gospel editions issued in 1644 and 1665 at the Mykhailo Slozka Printing House.

Thus, the evidence presented concerning the substitution of total stichometry with two other final numeric notations (indicating the number of modern chapters and liturgical sections) and the integration of certain additional expressions into the subscriptions to the Gospels of Matthew and Luke prove that eight Lviv Tetraevangelia, the fourth from Vilnius and the first two from Kyiv, should be divided into three following subgroups:

- (1) five Lviv Gospel editions from the Dormition Brotherhood Printing House (i.e. 1636, 1670, 1790, 1704 and 1722) and the fourth from Vilnius (i.e. 1644),
- (2) two Lviv Gospel editions from the Mykhailo Slozka Printing House (i.e. 1644 and 1665),
- (3) the first two editions from Kyiv (i.e. 1697 and 1712).

All ninety-nine East Slavonic early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia based on the textual readings revealed in subscriptions and innovations in numeric notations in

35 There are only five Gospel editions from the Pochaiv monastic printing house. They appeared in 1759, 1768, 1771 and twice in 1780. Pochaiv printers used the 1746 Kyiv Tetraevangelion as their exemplar (J. Ostapczuk, "Oryginał cyrylickich starych druków Ewangelii Tetr wydanych w Poczajowie. Analiza świat i świętych obecnych w menologionach," *Slavistica Vilnensis* 68/1 [2023] 10–23).

36 Gospel editions were printed in Lviv eight times, i.e. in 1636, 1644, 1665, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743.

37 The fourth Vilnius Gospel edition appeared at the Vilnius Brotherhood Printing House.

38 Ostapczuk, "The Cyrillic Early Printed Liturgical Tetraevangelion," 75 (and cited in footnote no. 104 literature).

39 Six other Lviv Tetraevangelia appeared at the Dormition Brotherhood Printing House.

comparison to their South Slavonic Tetraevangelia constitute a separate group that can be divided into five – above enumerated – subgroups. Two editions, the 1689 Moscow and 1743 Lviv, can be treated as exceptions to these five subgroups.

Conclusion

Subscriptions to the Gospel books and final numeric notations are the most succinct text units in Tetraevangelia. Their length does not always match the number of textual variants they feature, i.e. short text units can transmit a relatively significant number of readings.

The results of several textual studies of four Gospel fragments, all prefaces to the Gospels, lists of chapter titles, short lives of Evangelists, and liturgical tradition reflected in Menologion have proven that all early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia should be divided into two main groups and nine subgroups in total. The textual analysis of subscriptions and final numeric notations produced the same results as in previously undertaken studies and, thus, confirmed their correctness.

This survey of subscriptions to various Gospel books and their final numeric notations has proven that these succinct text units are of great significance and should not be overlooked in biblical scholarship. Despite their succinctness they do testify – as the above presented evidence proves – to the development of the Gospel tradition and have to be employed to confirm or refute some assertions made especially when studying the textual development of the Gospels and relations between Church Slavonic handwritten and early printed traditions, and comparing them with their Greek counterparts.

Table 1. Indication of the place of origin at the subscription to the Gospel of John in South Slavonic Tetraevangelia and its omission in East Slavonic Editions

Subscriptions in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia, issued in Middle Bulgarian and Serbian recensions	Subscriptions in all East Slavonic Tetraevangelia, issued in Moscow, Vilnius, Lviv, Kyiv and Klintsy
еже отъ ивана свѣтѣ еѿ ѿне издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ ѿв. христова възнесенна въ пѣтѣ островѣ	еже отъ ивана свѣтѣ благоуспѣванне (отъ конецъ еже отъ ивана свѣтѣ ѿнѣ) издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ ѿв. христова възнесенна

Table 2. Semi-Elaborate (Type 2) and Elaborate subscriptions (Type 3) in South Slavonic Tetraevangelia

	Târgoviște 1512, Sibiu 1546, Rujno 1537, Belgrade 1552, Mrkšina Crkva 1562	Brasov 1562 and 1579, Alba Iulia 1579	Bucharest 1582 and after 1582	Brasov 1583
Subscription to the Gospel of Matthew	еже отъ матѣя свѣтѣ еѿ ѿне издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ ѿ. христова възнесенна	конецъ еже отъ матѣя свѣтѣ ѿнѣ издастъ са самѣмъ тѣмъ по лѣтѣхъ ѿ. христова възнесенна	конецъ еже отъ матѣя свѣтѣ ѿнѣ издастъ са самѣмъ тѣмъ по лѣтѣхъ ѿ. христова възнесенна	конецъ еже отъ матѣя сѣтѣ еѿ ѿнѣ. еже отъ матѣя свѣтѣ еѿ ѿне издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ ѿ. христова възнесенна
Subscription to the Gospel of Mark	еже отъ марка свѣтѣ еѿ ѿне издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ ѿ. христова възнесенна	конецъ еже отъ марка еѿ ѿнѣ издастъ са еже отъ марка свѣтѣ еѿ ѿне по лѣтѣхъ ѿ. христова възнесенна	еже отъ марка свѣтѣ еѿ ѿне издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ ѿ. христова възнесенна	конецъ еже отъ марка еѿ ѿнѣ еже отъ марка свѣтѣ еѿ ѿне издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ ѿ. христова възнесенна
Subscription to the Gospel of Luke	еже отъ лѣуки свѣтѣ еѿ ѿне издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ ѿ. христова възнесенна	конецъ еже отъ лѣуки сѣтѣ еѿ ѿнѣ. еже отъ лѣуки свѣтѣ еѿ ѿне издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ ѿ. христова възнесенна	конецъ еже отъ лѣуки сѣтѣ еѿ ѿнѣ. еже отъ лѣуки свѣтѣ еѿ ѿне издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ ѿ. христова възнесенна	конецъ еже отъ лѣуки сѣтѣ еѿ ѿнѣ. еже отъ лѣуки свѣтѣ еѿ ѿне издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ ѿ. христова възнесенна

Table 3. Succinct prefaces to the Gospels appended to subscriptions in South Slavonic Tetraevangelia

	Târgoviște 1512, Sibiu 1546, Rujno 1537, Belgrade 1552, Mrkšina Crkva 1562	Brasov 1562 and 1579, Alba Iulia 1579	Bucharest 1582 and after 1582	Brasov 1583
Subscription to the Gospel of Mark	речено же бысть петромъ въ римѣ сзтворено же начало отъ пророческаго слова. еже съ высоты нашедша исанина. крилатъ образъ евѣлиа іавалѣа	omitted	речено же бысть петромъ въ римѣ сзтворено же начало отъ пророческаго слова. еже съ высоты нашедша исанина. крилатъ образъ евѣлиа іавалѣа	въдомо да есть іако еже отъ марка еѣлине речено бысть петромъ въ римѣ сзтворено же начало отъ пророческаго слова. еже съ высоты нашедша исанина. крилатъ образъ евѣлиа іавалѣа
Subscription to the Gospel of Luke	въдомо да есть іако еже отъ лѣки сѣое евѣлине речено бысть павромъ въ римѣ отъ сващенническаго же образа сын. отъ захаріе сващенника кадаца начатъ	omitted	omitted	въдомо да есть іако еже отъ лѣки сѣое евѣлине речено бысть павромъ въ римѣ отъ сващенническаго же образа сын. отъ захаріе сващенника кадаца начатъ

Table 4. Stichometric notation in South Slavonic Tetraevangelia

	Târgoviște 1512, Sibiu 1546, Rujno 1537, Belgrade 1552, Mrkšina Crkva 1562	Brasov 1562 and 1579, Alba Iulia 1579	Bucharest 1582 and after 1582	Brasov 1583
Gospel of Matthew	2600	2600	2600	2600
Gospel of Mark	1600	1600	1600	1600
Gospel of Luke	2800	2070	2070	2800
Gospel of John	2300	2300	2300	2300

Table 5. Subscriptions in East Slavonic Tetraevangelia

	Issued in Moscow before the year 1655, in the first three from Vilnius and the one from Klinttsy (1786)	Issued in Moscow after the year 1655, in Kyiv after 1720 and in Pochaiv	Issued in Lviv by Orthodox Confraternity Printing House and the fourth from Vilnius (printed in 1644)	Issued in Lviv by Mykhailo Slozka Printing House (in 1644 and 1665)	Issued in Kyiv in 1697 and 1712 (i.e. the first two)
Gospel of Matthew	КОНЕЦЪ ЕЖЕ ОУЗЪ МАТѢИ СВАТАГО ЕВѢЛІА ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ .ІІ. ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЯ	КОНЕЦЪ ЕЖЕ ОУЗЪ МАТѢИ СВАТАГО ЕВѢЛІА	КОНЕЦЪ ЕЖЕ ОУЗЪ МАТѢИ СВАТАГО ЕВѢЛІА ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ САМЪМЪ ТЪМЪ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ .ІІ. ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЯ	КОНЕЦЪ ЕЖЕ ОУЗЪ МАТѢИ СВАТАГО ЕВѢЛІА НАПИСАНО БЫСТЪ САМЪМЪ ТЪМЪ ЕВѢЛІСТОМЪ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ .ІІ. ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЯ	КОНЕЦЪ СВАТАГО ЕВѢЛІА ОУЗЪ МАТѢИ ЕЖЕ НАПИСАНО БЫСТЪ САМЪМЪ ТЪМЪ ЕВѢЛІСТОМЪ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ .ІІ. ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЯ
Gospel of Mark	ЕЖЕ ОУЗЪ МАРКА СВАТОЕ ЕВѢЛІЕ ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ .ІІ. ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЯ	КОНЕЦЪ ОУЗЪ МАРКА СВАТОМЪ ЕВѢЛІО ИЖЕ ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ .ІІ. ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЯ	КОНЕЦЪ ОУЗЪ МАРКА СВАТАГО ЕВѢЛІА ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ .ІІ. ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЯ	КОНЕЦЪ ОУЗЪ МАРКА СВАТАГО ЕВѢЛІА ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ .ІІ. ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЯ	КОНЕЦЪ ОУЗЪ МАРКА СВАТОМЪ ЕВѢЛІО ИЖЕ ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ .ІІ. ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЯ
Gospel of Luke	КОНЕЦЪ ЕЖЕ ОУЗЪ ЛОУКЫ СВАТАГО ЕВѢЛІА ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ .ІІ. ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЯ	КОНЕЦЪ ЕЖЕ ОУЗЪ ЛОУКЫ СВАТАГО ЕВѢЛІА ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ .ІІ. ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЯ	КОНЕЦЪ ЕЖЕ ОУЗЪ ЛОУКЫ СВАТАГО ЕВѢЛІА ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ .ІІ. ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЯ	КОНЕЦЪ ЕЖЕ ОУЗЪ ЛОУКЫ СВАТАГО ЕВѢЛІА ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ САМЪМЪ ТЪМЪ ЕВѢЛІСТОМЪ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ .ІІ. ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЯ	КОНЕЦЪ ЕВѢЛІО БѢГОВѢСТВОВАНОМЪ ОУЗЪ ЛОУКЫ СВАТАГО ЕЖЕ ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ ПО ЛѢТѢХЪ .ІІ. ХРИСТОВА ВЪЗНЕСЕНИЯ

Table 6. Final stichometric and numeric notations in East Slavonic Tetraevangelia

	Issued in Moscow before 1655, the first three from Vilnius and the one from Klinttsy (1786)	Issued in Moscow after 1655, in Kyiv after 1720 and in Pochaiv	Issued in Lviv, Vilnius in 1644, and the first two from Kyiv (1697 and 1712)
Gospel of Matthew	2600	information omitted	chapters 28 and liturgical sections 116
Gospel of Mark	1600	16 chapters and 678 verses	chapters 16 and liturgical sections 71
Gospel of Luke	2800	2800	chapters 24 and liturgical sections 114
Gospel of John	2300	2300	chapters 21 and liturgical sections 67

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