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K^r in the Gospels

Most minuscule copies of the Greek New Testament contain a type of biblical text conventionally called “Byzantine” or “*koine*”, *K*.¹ Without fully agreeing among themselves, all *K* manuscripts feature a certain number of distinctive variant readings. Some present an identical or nearly identical text termed “revised *koine*”, *K*^r. Hermann von Soden, who discovered this exceptionally homogeneous subgroup, and Klaus Wachtel, who restudied it, both see *K*^r as the product of purposeful editorial work – in marked contrast to the gradual, self-propelled process through which *K* itself emerged.² The present chapter is an attempt to clarify when and how *K*^r was produced.

Rather than covering all New Testament books,³ my study is confined to manuscripts with the continuous text of the Gospels: a body of material still large enough to permit meaningful conclusions. According to the selective collations

1 Klaus Wachtel, *Der byzantinische Text der katholischen Briefe: eine Untersuchung zur Entstehung der Koine des Neuen Testaments*, ANTF 24 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995), 12–37, 73–89.

2 Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, Vol. I.2 (Berlin: Arthur Glaue, 1907), 713, 757–65, 799–805; Wachtel, *Der byzantinische Text*, 136–41. Von Soden’s work remains fundamental; cf., most recently, William C. Mann, “An Analysis of the Textual Relationships of Selected Manuscripts from Group *K*^r in the Gospel of John” (PhD dissertation, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 1997); Norris C. Grubbs, “Does a Distinctive *K*^r Group Exist in John?” (PhD dissertation, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2002); *Byzantine Greek New Testament: *K*^r/Family 35 Textform* (Rockville MD: Center for the Study and Preservation of the Majority Text, 2014), iii–v; Didier Lafleur with Luc Brogly, *Greek New Testament Manuscripts from Albania*, NTSD 57 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 261.

3 Cf. note 44 below. N.B. There is no *K*^r text of Revelation: Markus Lembke, Darius Müller, Ulrich B. Schmid, *Die Apokalypse: Teststellenkollation und Auswertungen*, Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, 6 / ANTF 49 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 140*–1*, 236–7, 520; cf. *Byzantine Greek New Testament*, ix.

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The following bibliographic abbreviations are used in the text:

CPG: Maurice Geerard, ed. *Clavis patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols & Supplementum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–2018)

PLP: Erich Trapp, ed. *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Paläologenzeit*, CD-Rom (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001)

TLG: *Thesaurus linguae Graecae*, online at <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu>

made at the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster, two hundred and thirty-one codices show an agreement of over 98% in the three synoptic Gospels, in the Gospel of John, or in all four. A list of these is given in Appendix 1. The precise limits of a group so defined depend of course on the particular manuscript selected as a basis of comparison: I have chosen GA 2765 (seventeen more codices agree with it in all their test passages). GA 2765 has no substantial paratexts, but most other members of the group feature a distinctly narrow range of prose prefaces and verse epigrams, limited (with very few exceptions)⁴ to von Soden's nos. 82, 108, 117, 120, and 5–8.⁵ (Four uncollated manuscripts are quite likely to belong to the *K*^r group because they, too, contain the prefatory matter typical of it.)⁶ A number of *K*^r volumes have the abbreviations Μτ, Μκ, Λκ, Ιω written in the upper left-hand corner of each verso page in the respective Gospel.⁷ In many,⁸ the chapter lists before each Gospel cross-reference parallel accounts

4 Von Soden's prefaces [77]–[80] are found in GA 1165 and 1476; his preface [103] (for Jn) in GA 147, 170, 1251, 1401, 1409, 1813, and 2367; [123] in GA 959, 1020, and 1181. Von Soden's poem [1] is found in GA 1390; his poem [10] in GA 758; [11] in GA 758, 1111, 1181, 1435, 2261, and 2621; [12] in GA 758, 1111, 1181, 1435, 1633, and 2261; [16] in GA 1181; [19] in GA 1181; [21] in GA 1435 and 2367; [26] in GA 1181 and 2367; [27] in GA 1435, 1813, and 2367. Cf. note 5 below.

5 Von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* Vol. I.1, 303, 311, 313–16, 378. Taken separately, none of these paratexts is unique to the *K*^r group, but as a series they are peculiar to it. The characteristic set [117] (Mt), [108] (Mk, Lk, Jn), poems [5]–[8] occurs in GA 128, 241, 290, 781, 845, 1018, 1158, 1492, 1600, 2122, 2322, 2520, 2767. Most other *K*^r manuscripts contain various slightly different combinations of the prefaces [82], [108], [117], [120] and/or the poems [5], [6], [7], [8]. It is easier to list those members of the *K*^r group which originally had no prefatory matter whatsoever: GA 66, 155, 167, 386, 402, 480, 520, 645, 694, 746, 763, 864, 932, 961, 962, 1059, 1088, 1119, 1131, 1132, 1176, 1180, 1224, 1323, 1462, 1471, 1483, 1493, 1497, 1543, 1560, 1621, 1622, 1649, 1652, 1657, 1698, 2249, 2444, 2460, 2466, 2483, 2503, 2559, 2636, 2765, 2782. N.B. Scribes cannot be expected to have been entirely consistent in the copying of prefaces and verse epigrams, because these were all just optional additions to the biblical text.

6 GA 241, 252, 2911, and Mt Athos, Iviron Monastery, 2110 (N.S. 505). The last manuscript, a Gospel book copied in 1323 by the scribe Chariton (PLP 30644), has not yet been assigned a GA number. I have not seen it, and I owe some information about it to the kindness of the monastery's librarian Monk Theologos.

7 It is easier to list those *K*^r manuscripts which do not have this feature: GA 55, 66, 128, 141, 155, 167, 170, 246, 252, 285, 290, 361, 520, 553, 645, 689, 694, 746, 758, 763, 769, 781, 797, 806, 845, 864, 890, 897, 953, 955, 958, 959, 988, 1017, 1018, 1030, 1040, 1072, 1088, 1092, 1095, 1111, 1117, 1119, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1145, 1176, 1180, 1189, 1199, 1224, 1247, 1323, 1328, 1389, 1390, 1427, 1445, 1462, 1471, 1477, 1483, 1487, 1488, 1492, 1493, 1497, 1499, 1543, 1550, 1552, 1572, 1576, 1591, 1600, 1609, 1618, 1657, 1658, 1667, 1686, 1688, 1698, 1700, 1703, 1789, 2204, 2273, 2284, 2296, 2355, 2367, 2407, 2418, 2444, 2454, 2466, 2483, 2510, 2636, 2673, 2692, 2765, 2782. In GA 2253, the initials in have been added in the page corners by a later hand.

8 E.g. GA 35, 83, 128, 285, 363, 547, 685, 757, 763, 781, 789, 867, 928, 1030, 1185, 1224, 1247, 1328, 1329, 1339, 1503, 1548, 1628, 1637, 2122, 2322.

by one or more of the remaining three evangelists.⁹ Two short paragraphs, evidently unique to the group, explain respectively how lections (pericopes) from the Gospels are distributed through the course of the liturgical year and how one can locate such lections in a continuous Gospel text.¹⁰ Recurrent features like these confirm that K^r was a deliberately formed text type, rather than the outcome of accidental convergence among a large number of witnesses (which, anyway, is most unlikely in terms of sheer statistical probability).

The exceptionally high level of textual coherence shows that K^r codices were copied with great care. In terms of overall quality, they clearly represent the upper range of Byzantine book production: itacist spelling errors hardly ever occur in them, at least forty-eight are decorated with evangelist portraits,¹¹ and a full one hundred and forty-three are on parchment.¹² This last circumstance is significant because all known K^r manuscripts were copied at a time when paper was in common use.¹³ Chronologically the group is very compact: of the forty-five manuscripts which are datable with precision, thirty-five come from the fourteenth century (against three from the fifteenth, five from the sixteenth, and two from the seventeenth century).¹⁴ The complete absence of dated K^r texts prior to 1304

9 By contrast, just five K^r manuscripts contain Eusebian canon tables: GA 746, 1483, 1490, 2367, 2483, 2510. GA 66 and 1401 have Eusebius's letter to Carpianus, but no tables. The canon table in GA 691 is not original to the manuscript.

10 Von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Vol. I.2, 759–60. The first explanatory text has been edited by von Soden (759), the second is printed in Appendix 2 below.

11 GA 55, 66, 141, 204, 285, 415, 510, 575, 645, 691, 763, 824, 845, 932, 940, 1017, 1111, 1117, 1165, 1189, 1224, 1247, 1384, 1435, 1476, 1482, 1493, 1572, 1633, 1649, 1686, 1688, 1698, 2175, 2253, 2255, 2260, 2261, 2382, 2520, 2554, 2621, 2635, 2765, 2767. The evangelist portraits in GA 1147, 1427, 2782 have been removed. Those in GA 167, 696, 757, 758, 966, 1181, 1390, 1445, 2265, 2636 are not original to the respective manuscripts.

12 It is easier to list those K^r manuscripts which are copied on paper: GA 66, 246, 290, 664, 694, 757, 769, 781, 797, 864, 890, 953, 955, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 978, 986, 988, 1017, 1018, 1020, 1023, 1030, 1040, 1059, 1062, 1075, 1088, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1145, 1158, 1180, 1181, 1185, 1234, 1247, 1250, 1251, 1389, 1508, 1543, 1544, 1548, 1591, 1596, 1599, 1614, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1628, 1633, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1652, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1680, 1700, 1702, 1703, 1713, 2131, 2175, 2204, 2221, 2249, 2255, 2265, 2273, 2352, 2355, 2418, 2444, 2454, 2621, 2635, 2636, 2673, 2689, 2692, 2714, 2806, 2911.

13 On paper and parchment in late-Byzantine manuscripts: Edoardo Crisci, Paola Degni et al., *La scrittura greca dall'antichità all'epoca della stampa: una introduzione* (Rome: Carocci, 2011), 248.

14 GA 1482 (a. 1304), 928 (a. 1304), 1572 (a. 1304), 645 (a. 1305), 1667 (a. 1309), 1503 (a. 1317), 938 (a. 1318), 521 (a. 1322), 1445 (a. 1323), Iviron 2110 (a. 1323), 1614 (a. 1323/4), 1637 (a. 1327/8), 2249 (a. 1330), 394 (a. 1330), 845 (a. 1330), 959 (a. 1331), 2407 (a. 1332), 1476 (a. 1332/3), 1059 (a. 1334/5), 1165 (a. 1334/5), 1023 (a. 1337/8), 2466 (a. 1338/9), 1492 (a. 1342), 1189 (a. 1346), 1543 (a. 1354/5), 415 (a. 1356), 201 (a. 1357), 1548 (a. 1358/9), 978 (a. 1360/1), 18 (a. 1364), 480 (a. 1366), 1181 (a. 1368), 1147 (a. 1369), 2621 (a. 1380), 1628 (a. 1400), 1686 (a. 1418), 2221 (a. 1432), 1017 (a. 1433), 1030

cannot be accidental and strongly suggests that, contrary to von Soden's assumption,¹⁵ the group's beginnings cannot go as far back as the twelfth century. (On the date of GA 35, see Appendix 3 below.) A survey of all *K^t* manuscripts (rather than just the securely dated ones) shows late-Byzantine calligraphic hands of either the "archaising" or the "Hodegon" type to be absolutely prevalent.¹⁶ A handful of codices can be assigned to the middle-Byzantine period – three are written in genuine *Perlschrift*¹⁷ and one in a twelfth-century script that I have labelled "typographic minuscule",¹⁸ – but in terms of textual agreement (98–98.5%) these are not core members of the group and none contains the paratexts peculiar to it.¹⁹ Potentially, then, a middle Byzantine manuscript which was similar to GA 1483 but has now been lost, could have served as *source* for the *K^t* Gospel text but not as *model* for the *K^t* Gospel edition.

This edition emerges complete, paratexts and all, in three codices finished respectively on 26 February, 6 April, and 10 October of the year 1304.²⁰ Significantly, these are the very first known examples of the above-mentioned "Hodegon"

(a. 1518), 2806 (a. 1518), 1680 (a. 1535), 1702 (a. 1560), 2635 (a. 1567/8), 1700 (a. 1622/3), 988 (a. 1673/4). Folia 83–190 in GA 962 (but not the rest of the manuscript) date from 1498. Folia 186–226 in GA 1409 (but not the rest of the manuscript) date from 1525/6.

15 Von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Vol. I.2, 763.

16 On these two styles of handwriting: Crisci, Degni et al., *La scrittura greca*, 183–87, 202–5, 404, 406. "Archaising" handwriting is found in GA 35, 55, 83, 128, 147, 155, 167, 241, 246, 252, 394, 479, 510, 520, 521, 547, 553, 645, 689, 769, 781, 806, 824, 845, 897, 932, 959, 960, 961, 966, 1020, 1040, 1072, 1092, 1095, 1117, 1119, 1133, 1165, 1180, 1199, 1224, 1234, 1251, 1323, 1329, 1334, 1339, 1384, 1390, 1401, 1409, 1435, 1461, 1462, 1471, 1476, 1477, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1496, 1497, 1501, 1503, 1508, 1550, 1552, 1559, 1560, 1576, 1584, 1596, 1609, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1633, 1637, 1638, 1649, 1650, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1667, 1694, 1698, 1703, 1789, 1813, 2122, 2131, 2175, 2249, 2260, 2296, 2322, 2352, 2355, 2367, 2399, 2407, 2444, 2460, 2483, 2689, 2692, 2765, 2767 and on ff. 1–103 of GA 1648. "Hodegon" handwriting is found in GA 18, 141, 170, 201, 285, 361, 386, 402, 415, 480, 575, 586, 594, 673, 691, 694, 696, 757, 763, 789, 802, 867, 890, 928, 938, 952, 953, 955, 958, 978, 1003, 1017, 1018, 1023, 1025, 1046, 1062, 1075, 1111, 1131, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1158, 1250, 1328, 1389, 1400, 1445, 1482, 1492, 1493, 1548, 1551, 1572, 1599, 1600, 1636, 1652, 1686, 2221, 2253, 2265, 2273, 2382, 2503, 2520, 2554, 2559, 2621, 2635, 2636, 2806, 2911, in Iviron 2110, and on ff. 104–241 of GA 1648. A relatively small group of *K^t* manuscripts was copied in the fourteenth-century "Metochites style" of handwriting (Crisci, Degni et al., *La scrittura greca*, 198–201, 406): GA 204, 758, 797, 940, 1189, 1427, 1656, 1688, 2466, 2510.

17 GA 746, 1483, 2782. On the *Perlschrift*: Crisci, Degni et al., *La scrittura greca*, 140–41, 161, 394–95, 398.

18 GA 1176. On the "typographic minuscule": Georgi Parpulov, "Six Scribes of the Early Comnenian Period," *Estudios bizantinos* 5 (2017): 91–107, at 101.

19 In GA 746, von Soden's verse [5] and preface [117] for Mt have been added in a fourteenth-century, "Hodegon"-style hand.

20 GA 1482, 928, 1572.

style of calligraphy.²¹ As far as I can see (exhaustive survey of the material is not feasible), *all* fourteenth-century Gospel books copied in this style²² have K^r text.²³ If “Hodegon” hands were the trademark of a single copying centre (a medieval publishing house of sorts), such an overlap might suggest that a single institution produced the K^r edition and subsequently propagated it. The Constantinopolitan monastery τῶν Ὁδηγῶν, after which the style is named, comes to mind as a possible place of origin.²⁴ A monocentric model of this kind, however, does not stand up to scrutiny: on the one hand, not all scribes associated with the eponymous monastery wrote in the “Hodegon” style²⁵; on the other, several scribes who did write in the “Hodegon” style are known to have worked elsewhere.²⁶ Moreover, the place of origin of K^r manuscripts – when ascertainable – is not confined to just one locality: GA 1147 was indeed produced at τῶν Ὁδηγῶν by Joasaph (PLP 8910) and the same is likely for two more manuscripts by his hand, GA 480 and GA 2559; however, GA 18 comes from the nearby convent of Mangana; GA 1189 is the work of George Galesiotes (PLP 3528), attested as clerk of the Constantinopolitan patriarchal chancery; GA 2621 was copied by Philotheus (PLP 29896) when he was metropolitan of Selymbria; GA 2131 was penned on Antigone (now Burgazada, one of the Princes’ Islands); Matthew from Berrhoia (PLP 17349) copied GA 1633 at the Athonite monastery of Zographou; GA 953 was commissioned by Kyr Sophronius (PLP 27377) of Koutouloumousiou; the patron of GA 978 was a certain John (not in PLP), abbot of a hermitage named τοῦ Κωφοῦ (also on Mount Athos); GA 1614 contains verses by Gregory Kardames (PLP 11185), who at one point was Abbot of Vatopedi. K^r, therefore, was not disseminated from a single centre but circulated through a network.

21 Crisci, Degni et al., *La scrittura greca*, 203. The three manuscripts are usually attributed to a single scribe. I am not sure that this attribution holds true for GA 928.

22 The only exception known to me is GA 903, copied in Damietta in 1381 or 1382. Cf. also the mid-fifteenth century GA 1202, copied probably on Crete by the scribe John Rhosus (PLP 24574): it contains typical K^r paratexts, but its biblical text is not of the K^r type.

23 This is not true of Gospels copied in an “archaizing” type of script: the text in many of these (e.g. GA 2437) is noticeably different from K^r.

24 Cf. Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, “Producing New Testament Manuscripts in Byzantium: Scribes, Scriptoria, and Patrons,” in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2016): 117–45, at 141–5.

25 A manuscript commissioned by Callistus (PLP 10468) is written in a cursive hand, while Joachim (PLP 8360) and Germanus (PLP 3850) wrote in the “archaizing” style. On Germanus: Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, “The Scribe Gennadios of the Hodegon Monastery: A Case Study of Digraphism and Brotherly Spirit,” *Segno e testo* 12 (2012): 363–88.

26 Philotheus (PLP 29896) worked in Selymbria; Theoleptus (PLP 7508), in Damietta (Ταμιάθιον); Sophronius (PLP 27367), in Ferrara; the nameless “Schreiber der Kaiserin Elisabeth”, on Mount Athos. On the last of these, see Linos Politis, “Paläographische Miscellen vom Heiligen Berg,” *ByzZ* 50 (1957): 310–20, at 312–16.

Because very little is known about the personal circumstances of late Byzantine scribes, the make-up of that network can be discerned but vaguely. Some metrical paratexts may at least serve as marker for tracing personal contact. Kardames' poem on the evangelists is first attested by GA 1614 in 1323/4, during the writer's lifetime.²⁷ It did not enter the mainstream *K^r* tradition but re-occurs (this time with one line missing and without the author's name) in GA 959, a *K^r* manuscript copied by another anonymous scribe just slightly later, in 1331. This suggests that the newly-composed verses moved from hand to hand within a circle of acquaintances. Inmaculada Pérez Martín has identified a notebook-like miscellany which Chariton (PLP 30644), who produced at least two and possibly three *K^r* codices,²⁸ compiled for his own use.²⁹ The notebook contains (f. 44r), alongside many other diverse entries, the four metrical epigrams which von Soden numbered 5, 6, 7, and 8.³⁰ These are absent from GA 938, which Chariton copied in 1318, but occur in his two later Gospel books from 1323 and 1342: it appears that about 1320 someone gave the scribe a copy of the four poems (notably, the first precisely dated occurrence of the full set in a *K^r* manuscript is from 1322).³¹ The above-mentioned miscellany also contains (f. 44r) an epigram composed by Chariton's older contemporary Manuel Philes (PLP 29817).³² Chariton himself did not use it in any of his known Gospel books, but it crops up in two later fourteenth-century codices, both of them *K^r*, copied respectively by Theophanes (PLP 7599) and Theodoretus (PLP 7330).³³ The restricted circulation of this poem, which without forming part of the standard *K^r* paratext repertory occurs only in *K^r* manuscripts, seems to indicate, too, that texts were transmitted by private contact among scribes – and by implication, among patrons – rather than propagated through some sort of official, institutional channels. A few colophons hint at the nature of such private contact: Thomas (PLP 7774) copied GA 2407 for his pupil (μαθητής) Gregory, while the names *Kyr* Menas and Matthew occur jointly in the annotations of two separate Gospel books, GA 386 and GA 2253. It is noteworthy, too,

27 Inc. Ἦδεῖς ποταμοὺς τέτταρας ὧδε βλέπων. The full text of this poem is found in the on-line *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams* (University of Gent).

28 GA 938 and 1492, Iviron 2110.

29 Inmaculada Pérez Martín, "Les Kephalaia de Chariton des Hodèges (Paris, BnF, gr. 1630)," in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?* ed. Peter van Deun and Caroline Macé, OLA 212 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011): 361–86.

30 Von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Vol. I.1, 378.

31 See the list of precisely dated *K^r* manuscripts in note 14 above.

32 Inc. Πρὸς τὰς ἐπιφθὰς τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων. Full text in the online *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams*.

33 GA 1548 and 1628.

that in those cases when the early, fourteenth-century history of a K^r manuscript is recorded, it invariably starts in private hands: GA 1189 was commissioned by Prince Isaac Palaeologus Asan (PLP 1494); GA 1025, by a monk and priest named Germanus (not in PLP); GA 2765 was bequeathed to a monastery of the Virgin Ὁδηγήτρια by the monk Gerasimus (PLP 3757); GA 1471 belonged to the monk Macarius (PLP 27178); GA 1499 and GA 1497 were given to the Lavra on Mount Athos, evidently after a period of personal use, by Damian Aletroubiaries (PLP 632) and by the monk Ignatius (PLP 8068).

Von Soden's guess that K^r was promulgated by the ecclesiastical authorities lacks documentary proof.³⁴ Since this edition most probably originated at the very end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, it may be seen as consonant with the reformist policy of Athanasius I of Constantinople (PLP 415) – but that patriarch's published writings give no hint that he either commissioned or inspired it.³⁵ The best (if minimal) evidence for the motivation of K^r scribes is found in two fourteenth-century entries at the end of GA 386. They reveal strong concern about the accuracy of copying:

Those detractors of praiseworthy things, those bereft of light, those uneducated in wisdom, those for whom Christ died in vain, those unthankful creatures, those...

This was added here because, it seems, of some people criticising the characters (writing) in the present book as being incorrectly arranged, even though they are fully in order.³⁶

The two passages are separated by a monocondylic line, perhaps an autograph signature, which records the name of a certain deacon Matthew (possibly identical with PLP 17308). The preceding opening, where the biblical text ends, is marked – in Matthew's handwriting again – with the words Πόνος τοῦ κυροῦ Μηνᾶ. Fourteenth-century entries naming the same Kyr Menas appear in two more K^r codices: Τὸ παρὸν καὶ ἱερὸν καὶ θεῖον εὐαγγέλιον ἐγράφη παρὰ τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου μοναχοῦ κυροῦ Μηνᾶ τοῦ καλλιγράφου (GA 2765), Τοῦ κυροῦ Μηνᾶ

³⁴ Von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Vol. I.2, 805.

³⁵ Cf. Alice-Mary Talbot, ed. *The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family, and Officials*, *Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae*, 7 (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1975); Emmanuel Patedakis, "Athanasios I Patriarch of Constantinople (1289–1293, 1303–1309): A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary of Selected Unpublished Works" (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 2004).

³⁶ Οἱ κατήγοροι τῶν ἐπαινουμένων, οἱ σκοτεινοὶ περὶ τὸ φῶς, οἱ περὶ τὴν σοφίαν ἀπαίδευτοι, ὑπὲρ ὧν Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανε, τὰ ἀχάριστα κτίσματα, τὰ τοῦ. Τοῦτο προσετέθη ἐνταῦθα διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ ἐνίων ὡς ἔοικε διαβάλλεσθαι τὰ γράμματα τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου ὡς μὴ συνθέτως εὖ ἔχοντα, καίτοι πάνυ γε ὄντα καλά. The first sentence is a quote from St Gregory of Nazianzus, Orations XXXVIII.14 and XLV.26 (TLG 2022.046 and 2022.052, CPG 3010.38 and 3010.45).

τὰ γράμματα εἰσὶ ταῦτα. Αἰωνία του ἡ μνήμη. Ματθαίου (GA 2253). Neither of these entries comes from the hand that copied the biblical text in the respective manuscript, and both postdate Menas's death. A little scrutiny shows the three codices attributed to *Kyr Menas* to be the work of three different scribes. Despite all this, the notes should, in view of their early date, be given some credence: most probably the volumes were ascribed to Menas not because they had really been penned by him but simply because they originated within his private circle. Menas, then, is likely to have been if not the actual editor of the *K^r* text, then at least one of its principal propagators. Apart from his putative scribal activities, little else is known about him: he may well be identical with the monk *Kyr Menas* (PLP 18029/94164)³⁷ attested in Constantinople ca. 1332–38 as a friend of Princess Irene Choumnaena Palaeologina (PLP 30936) and with the *Kyr Menas* (PLP 18020) whom Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus (r. 1282–1328) bade compile a list of episcopal sees. Proximity to the court would have placed Menas in a strong position for disseminating the new, *K^r* version of the Gospel text.

The potential sources of this text remain for the moment unclear. There is no evidence that the edition was initially based on a single – probably ancient and thus authoritative – codex: if this were the case, such a remarkable circumstance would have been recorded in at least one scribal colophon.³⁸ The influence of the lectionary text read in church is a much likelier possibility³⁹: first, most *K^r* manuscripts contain detailed liturgical calendars⁴⁰; second, Chariton (PLP 30644), Joasaph (PLP 8910), and Sophronius (PLP 27365–7)⁴¹ copied Gospel lectionaries as well as *K^r* Gospel books.⁴² However, the text of

37 Two duplicate entries in PLP refer to a single person.

38 Cf. the so-called “Jerusalem colophon” found in a number of middle-Byzantine Gospel manuscripts: Tommy Wasserman, “The Greek New Testament Manuscripts in Sweden, with an Excursus on the Jerusalem Colophon,” *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 75 (2010): 77–108, at 85–92.

39 Von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Vol. I.2, 764.

40 It is easier to list those which do not: GA 155, 128, 167, 285, 402, 553, 645, 664, 897, 988, 1018, 1088, 1111, 1133, 1180, 1483, 1492, 1493, 1499, 1591, 1600, 1622, 1667, 1686, 1688, 1700, 1702, 2253, 2367, 2510, 2636, 2765, 2782. The calendars in GA 18, 594, 673, 691, 757, 763, 802, 867, 932, 962, 1131, 1234, 1250, 1328, 1552, 1560, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1636, 1638, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1698, 2175, 2399, 2418, 2911, 1147, 1650, 1176, 2460, 1596, 2466 were probably lost through damage. Those in GA 66, 758, 769, 789, 1023, 1117, 1551, 1648, 2692 have been added in a hand different from that of the principal scribe.

41 The three entries in PLP certainly refer to a single scribe, since all the relevant manuscripts are written in the same hand.

42 Chariton copied and signed GA 938, Iviron 2110, GA I 86, 1492, and I 2429; Joasaph copied and signed GA 2559, 480, 1147, I 1369, I 1757, I 2388, I 779, and I 1215; Sophronius copied and signed GA 2221, 1017, and I 277.

Byzantine Gospel lectionaries has not yet been systematically examined, so it is impossible to say to what extent and in what ways it influenced the continuous text in its K^r form.⁴³ Another problem that awaits study is the correlation between the K^r text of the Gospels and the K^r versions of the apostolic Acts and Epistles.⁴⁴

Appendix 1: Manuscripts Containing the Gospels with a K^r Text

GA 18, 35, 55, 66, 83, 128, 141, 147, 155, 167, 201, 204, 246, 285, 290, 361, 363, 386, 394, 402, 415, 479, 480, 510, 520, 521, 547, 553, 575, 586, 594, 645, 673, 685, 689, 691, 694, 696, 746, 757, 758, 763, 769, 781, 789, 797, 806, 824, 845, 864, 867, 890, 897, 928, 932, 938, 940, 952, 953, 955, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 966, 978, 986, 988, 1003, 1017, 1018, 1020, 1023, 1025, 1030, 1040, 1046, 1059, 1062, 1072, 1075, 1088, 1092, 1095, 1111, 1117, 1119, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1158, 1165, 1176, 1180, 1181, 1185, 1189, 1199, 1224, 1234, 1247, 1250, 1251, 1323, 1328, 1329, 1334, 1339, 1384, 1389, 1390, 1400, 1401, 1409, 1427, 1435, 1445, 1461, 1462, 1471, 1476, 1477, 1482, 1483, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1492, 1493, 1496, 1497, 1499, 1501, 1503, 1508, 1543, 1544, 1548, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1559, 1560, 1572, 1576, 1584, 1591, 1596, 1599, 1600, 1609, 1614, 1617, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1628, 1633, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1652, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1667, 1680, 1686, 1688, 1694, 1698, 1700, 1702, 1703, 1713, 1789, 1813, 2122, 2131, 2175, 2204, 2221, 2249, 2253, 2255, 2260, 2261, 2265, 2273, 2284, 2296, 2322, 2323, 2352, 2355, 2367, 2382, 2399, 2407, 2418, 2444, 2454, 2460, 2466, 2483, 2503, 2510, 2520, 2554, 2559, 2621, 2635, 2636, 2673, 2689, 2692, 2714, 2765, 2767, 2782, 2806

43 For some important preliminary findings, see G. Earl Kellett, “Synaxarion Lectionary Influences in the Gospels: A Study of the Interrelationship between Lectionary and Continuous Text Manuscripts” (PhD dissertation, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2007). Three of the continuous-text manuscripts selected by Kellett (88–9), viz. GA 480, 1023, and 1247, are typical representatives of the K^r group. He concludes (368) that “[b]y the fourteenth century, the lectionary had been integrated completely into the Kappa group of Byzantine manuscripts”, noting that GA 1247 in particular “is an example of the complete integration of the Byzantine lectionary in continuous text manuscripts”.

44 The K^r text of Acts and of the Pauline Epistles has not been studied. N.B. Many *eap*-manuscripts with K^r text in the Gospels (viz. GA 241, 252, 363, 480, 547, 959, 986, 1003, 1040, 1247, 1250, 1251, 1384, 1390, 1400, 1409, 1490, 1501, 1599, 1609, 1622, 1649, 1652, 1702, 2131, 2175, 2407, 2483) are not, according to Wachtel’s list, K^r witnesses to the Catholic Epistles: Wachtel, *Der byzantinische Text*, 137, 139.

Appendix 2: Δήλωσις πῶς δεῖ εὐρίσκειν τὰ καθημέραν εὐαγγέλια

Ἐπειδὴ σοι διήρηται εἰς ἕκαστος τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν εἰς τὰ καθημέραν εὐαγγέλια, ἐν οἷς ἀρχαὶ καὶ τέλη γεγράφαι καὶ ἀριθμοὶ ἕξωθεν ἀρχόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ α' καὶ β' καὶ καθεξῆς, ὄρα. Καὶ ὅτε ζητεῖται σοι εὐαγγέλιον ἡμέρας ἡστινοσοῦν ἐβδομάδος ἢ ἑορτῆς, ψηλάφησον τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τῆς ἐβδομάδος ἢ τῆς ἑορτῆς ὅπισθεν, ἐν οἷς τόποις αἱ ἐβδομάδες τοῦ χρόνου καὶ αἱ ἑορταὶ τῶν μηνῶν φέρονται. Καὶ ἀριθμὸν εὐρίσκεις κείμενον ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τοῦ προκειμένου εὐαγγελιστοῦ· τοῦτον ζήτησον καὶ ἕσωθεν τοῦ παντὸς ὕφους τοῦ τοιούτου εὐαγγελιστοῦ, ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς προκειμένον ἕξωθεν. Ὅν καὶ εὐρών, ἀδιστάκτως ἀνάγνωθι. Καὶ τῷ κάτωθεν τέλει γεγραμμένῳ τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης, τέλος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίθες τῆς ἀναγώσεως. Εἰ δέ που καὶ ὑπερβαίνειν ἐστίν, ὑπέρβηθι καὶ αὐτός, καὶ ἄρξαι πάλιν ὅθεν γέγραπται ἄρξασθαι.⁴⁵

Appendix 3: The Date of GA 35

GA 35 is a very characteristic representative of the K^r group. If the eleventh-century date currently assigned to the manuscript is correct,⁴⁶ this would strongly imply middle-Byzantine origin for the group as a whole. The writing does resemble the *Perlschrift* current between ca. 950 and ca. 1100.⁴⁷ However, the volume's church calendar, copied by the same hand as the biblical text, lists (on f. 18r) 17 July as the anniversary of the translation (ἀνακομιδῆ) of the relics of St Lazarus of Galesium († 7 November 1053) to Constantinople. This translation took place ca. 1300.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ This text is found in GA 35, 201, 521, 928, 966, 1020, 1030, 1185, 1199, 1334, 1427, 1462, 1482, 1496, 1501, 1503, 1548, 1572, 1576, 1680, 1703, 1813, 2221, 2323, 2714, 2806, 1551, 1648 (in the last two of these, it has been added at a later date). I print it here from its oldest dated witnesses, GA 928 and 1572 (which fully agree between themselves). GA 1482 contains a slightly different version, explaining how to locate pericopes in both the Gospels and the Praxapostolos. Cf. notes 10 and 20–21 above.

⁴⁶ William Henry Paine Hatch, *Facsimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1951), 140–1; Wachtel, *Der byzantinische Text*, 137; Roderic L. Mullen with Simon Crisp and David C. Parker, eds. *The Gospel of John in the Byzantine Tradition* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), iv.

⁴⁷ See note 17 above.

⁴⁸ Richard P.H. Greenfield, *The Life of Lazarus of Mt. Galesion: An Eleventh-century Pillar Saint, Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation 3* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 66.

GA 35 must have been copied shortly thereafter: its scribe writes a fluent archaizing hand like the one in Moscow, State Historical Museum, Syn. gr. 361 (a. 1306),⁴⁹ and its ornament, drawn in red ink, resembles that of GA 1482 (a. 1304).

⁴⁹ Gregorius Cereteli and Sergius Sobolevski, *Exempla codicum Graecorum litteris minusculis scriptorum annorumque notis instructorum: Codices Mosquenses* (Moscow: Institutum Archaeologicum Mosquense, 1911), pl. xxxi.

