

The Origin and History of the Terms »Evangelistarion« and »Evangeliarion«¹

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The English terms Evangelistary / Evangeliary, as well as the French Evangelistaire / Evangeliare and the German Evangelistar / Evangeliar derive from the Greek Εὐαγγελιστάριον / Εὐαγγελιάριον. All these terms usually refer to manuscripts or to printed books which contain the Gospel readings used in the Divine Liturgy or in other church services. The questions we would like to raise and examine briefly here are the following:

Are there witnesses that these two terms were used in manuscripts containing the liturgical passages? When were they used for the first time? Does the meaning of the term *Evangelistarion* that we find in the first printed editions of the Holy Gospel (Ἰερόν Εὐαγγέλιον), i.e. the books containing the Gospel readings, coincide with the meaning which prevailed later on? Finally, what is the correct name for the manuscripts and printed books which contain the Gospel readings?

The clarification of these terms in the light of their history and of the meaning which finally prevailed is an interesting pursuit which holds many surprises for the researcher. Of course, one might well ask whether it is right for us to discard a term which has imposed itself by continuous usage in modern research, merely because it is not found in manuscripts. I believe, however, that a clarification of terminology here is vital if we are to have an accurate knowledge of the manuscript tradition. Even if we do not dispute the accepted modern use of the term, it is useful to know how the thing which is now referred to by that term was referred to in earlier centuries. It is also useful to know how the manuscripts which we today call *Evangelistarion* or *Evangeliarion* identify themselves. What was their original title and how were they referred to in the first printed editions?

The most ancient manuscripts with liturgical Gospel passages date from the fourth to the seventh centuries. They contain only Gospel extracts on a few pages and therefore we are not in a position to draw conclusions as to what they were called or how they were referred to. Of the almost 2,350 manuscripts now known to contain Gospel or Epistle liturgical pericopes (lectionaries), the majority can be dated between the eighth and the sixteenth century. Let us examine what some of these manuscripts are called. In l 181, which bears the date 980, we find the heading: Ἐγράφη τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον. L 1491 (from the year 1008) bears the title Θεία Βίβλος τοῦ ἱεροῦ Εὐαγγελίου. Finally, l 330 (from the year 1185) bears the heading Εὐαγγελιστῶν ἢ θεόπνευστος

¹ This study originally appeared in Greek in a volume in Memory of Metropolitan Maximos of Sardis, Ἀναφορά εἰς μνήμην Μητροπολίτου Σάρδεων Μαξίμου 1914–1986, Geneva 1989, vol. 3, pp. 107–117. The English translation was prepared by Rev. Dr. Gerald Bray, to whom I owe my deepest thanks.

βίβλος ἡγουν τὸ Ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον. (All three are in the Manuscript Section of the British Museum).

From the above manuscript witnesses, to which hundreds more could be added, it may be concluded that the terms most commonly encountered in the manuscripts are: ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον, τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον, ἱερὸν εὐαγγέλιον, and so on. The term ἐκλογάδιον (or ἐκλογάδιν) is also found in many manuscripts, but we never come across the terms *Evangelistarion* or *Evangeliarion* in any of them. Whenever a manuscript contains passages from Acts, the Pauline Epistles and the Catholic Epistles, it is called *Apostolos* (or in some cases *Praxapostolos*). Manuscripts which contain both Gospel and Epistle readings are called Ἀποστολοευαγγέλιον or Ἀποστολοευάγγελον (sometimes with the incorrect spelling Ἀποστολοεβάργγελον).

Let us now move on from the age of the manuscript to the age of the printed text, i.e. to the sixteenth century. The first printed edition of liturgical Gospel readings was called Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον² and was printed in 1539 in Venice. C. R. Gregory refers to this as the first edition in his book *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, 1, 1900, p. 341, and we could not find any evidence to contradict his claim. The second one Gregory refers to is dated 1645, but it contains evidence that there was a previous edition, dating from 1614. Between 1539 and 1614 there must have been other editions as well; Gregory remarks: »Here is a particular chapter in the history of the printed text which offers itself for study«. Adding to Gregory's data, we refer to the following printed editions, which we have taken from the *Bibliographie Hellénique* of E. Legrand³, from the catalogues of European libraries and from the recent *Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιογραφία (1466–1800)*, τόμ. Α', Ἀλφαβητικὴ καὶ χρονολογικὴ ἀνακατάταξις of T. I. Papadopoulos, Athens, 1984 (Acts of the Academy of Athens, vol. 48)⁴:

1543 Εὐαγγέλια quibus diebus dominicis utitur ecclesia graeca, Bratislaviae (Bodleian Library, Oxford: Bodly. 8 E 1 [1] TH BS).

1549 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον, edited and corrected by the Hieromonk Dionysius Katelianos, Venice (St. Catharine's College Library, Cambridge).

1550 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον, edited by Father Vasilios, priest of Valeris, Venice (Trinity College, Cambridge: C. 15. 160, Gennadius Library of Athens: T. 270, the Angelica in Rome: B. 17.8, and in the Athonite monasteries of Xenophon, Pantokrator and Chilandar).

1552 Τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον diligently corrected and compared with the most reliable manuscripts, Venice (National Library of Athens: Θ 4275 B and the Athonite monasteries of Megisti Lavra and St. Panteleimon).

² Single copies of this first edition are in the National Library of Athens (Θ. 4275), in the Genadius Library of Athens (T. 267) and in the Athonite monasteries of Dochiariou, Iviron, Koutloumousiou and Stavronikita (no. 683), according to the information given in *T. Papadopoulos* (op. cit. in main text), p. 84. To these may be added the copy in the Bavarian State Library, Munich (Liturg. 106 fol.).

³ *Bibliographie Hellénique des XVe et XVIe siècles*, 1885–1906.

⁴ In parentheses we note the libraries where a copy of the edition is to be found. This information is based on *T. Papadopoulos* (op. cit. in main text) and on the author's own researches in European libraries.

1560 *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*, revised by the monk Symeon (Library of the Theological School of Halki and the Athonite monasteries of Megisti Lavra: 1.16E, Pantokrator and Stavronikita, no. 719).

1563 *Τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*, Venice (The Athonite monasteries of Philotheou, St. Panteleimon and Chiliandar).

1575 *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*, carefully edited by Archimandrite Theophanes Logaras of Cyprus, Venice, published by Jacopo Leogini (National Library of Athens: Θ 4275 ED, Vatican Library: R.G. Lit. ii,7).

1575 *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*, carefully edited by the Hieromonk Theophanes Logaras, Venice, published by Christoforo Zaneti.

1581 *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*, carefully edited by the Hieromonk Theophanes Logaras of Cyprus, Venice.

1586 *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*, edited and corrected by Gregorius Malaxos, Venice (Gennadius Library of Athens: T. 270. 6q; Vatican Library: R.G. Lit. iii. 236; the Athonite monasteries of Koutloumousiou, Megisti Lavra, Xeropotamou and Philotheou).

1588 *Τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*, collated, compiled and corrected by Emmanuel Glyzonios, Venice. This edition is of great importance for our subject, because at the end it contains a table called the »Evangelistarion compiled by Emmanuel Glyzonios« which we shall discuss below (Genadius Library of Athens: T 270.7; National Library of Athens: Θ. 4276; Chios, Church of the Taxiarchs; the Athonite monasteries of Dionysiou, Koutloumousiou, St. Paul and Megisti Lavra, 1,16.E).

1590 *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*, edited and corrected by the priest George Vlastos of Crete, surnamed Pounialetos (Library of the Holy Sepulchre).

1599 *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*, edited and corrected by the Hieromonk Dionysius Katelianos, Venice (Bodleian Library, Oxford: Bodly.Y.1.5 TH sold; National Library of Athens: 4276; Theological Faculty of the University of Athens: Dept. of Historical Theology, no. 159).

1599 *Εὐαγγέλιον*, carefully corrected by Nathanael the hierodeacon from Athens, Venice (Genadius Library: T. 271.21; the Athonite monasteries of Vatopedi: Γ. 2527, Dionysiou, Megisti Lavra; and in the collections of the Rev. Fr. Marios Dapergolas, Athens).

Summarizing these we may say that all the printed editions of the sixteenth century bear the title *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον* or *Τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*. The same is true of the editions of the seventeenth century (1604, 1614, 1624, 1637, 1686). For example, we can quote the edition of 1624: *Θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Τὸ πάλαι μὲν παρ' Ἑμμανουὴλ τοῦ Γλυζωνίου τυπωθέν, νῦν δὲ παρὰ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Πινέλλου, τοῖς ἴσοις τύποις μετατυπωθέν. Καὶ ἐπιμελῶς διορθωθέν παρὰ Νικηφόρου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Πασχαλέως ...* At one point in his Introduction the editor remarks: »Now once more with the help of God, who has given me prosperity and strength, I

desired to reprint the divine and holy Gospel, with a complete and well-prepared Evangelistarium, with much care and consideration, and with the most beautiful and wonderful typeface«. He concludes the whole book with a 28-page »Evangelistarium, containing the sequence of the Evangelists, where they begin and where they end ...« Eighteenth and nineteenth century editions likewise bear the title *Τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον* or *Ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον*, and they are usually accompanied by the »Evangelistarium« compiled by Emmanuel Glyzonios.

It is now time to explain what this Evangelistarium, which accompanies the printed editions of the Gospels, actually is. We come across this term for the first time in the edition put together by Emmanuel Glyzonios in 1588. He added an Evangelistarium to the end of the text of the Gospels, of which the full title in that edition was: »An Evangelistarium containing the sequence of the Evangelists, where they begin and where they end. And in addition 35 tables in which are found the Gospel for each of the Sundays of the year, together with Mattins, and which canticle is sung on each Sunday and other things necessary for finding the date of Easter in perpetuity. Compiled, corrected and edited by Emmanuel Glyzonios«. This Evangelistarium, which all subsequent editions have copied and reprinted, up to the present day, is the list of the Gospel readings with the days on which they are read, the so-called »Kyriakodromion« in the modern Greek editions, along with other data required for finding the date of Easter. We also come across lists of this kind, with an indication of where the Sunday readings begin and end, in the manuscripts either of the liturgical Gospel readings or of the whole text of the Four Gospels, which bear the name Synaxarion (for the moveable feasts) or Menologion (for the fixed year from 01 September to 31 August). However, they are never called an Evangelistarium!

The question which arises from this is the following: Was Emmanuel Glyzonios the first person to compile an Evangelistarium? Did he invent the term? From the Introduction to his edition it appears that there existed an earlier, though incomplete Evangelistarium. The relevant information is found in the letter to the Patriarch Gabriel, which concludes the Prologue. According to this letter, Emmanuel Glyzonios was completing »in a scientific manner« the Evangelistarium, »which was formerly compiled in a haphazard way«. Elsewhere, in an introductory letter to the same edition, he remarks that he worked on the Evangelistarium in order to make it »more complete« and to edit it »for the common benefit«. From the above it appears that Emmanuel Glyzonios (or Glyzounios) completed an already existing Evangelistarium. However, in the editions earlier than that of Glyzonios we have found on the basis of our own personal research (especially in the editions of 1539, 1543, 1549, 1550 and 1586) that there is no Evangelistarium in them, although in the edition of 1549, which was »edited and corrected by the Hieromonk Dionysios Katelianos«, there is an index at the end in which the Gospel readings are listed.

As far as the emergence of the term *Evangelistarium* is concerned, we probably ought to look for it in the West, where, according to the dictionary of Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, 1884, vol. 3, p. 326, and that of R. E. Latham, *Revised*

Medieval Latin Word List, 1956, the following chronologies are given, without further comment: for *evangelarium*, 1401; for *evangeliarium*, 1245, 1518 and for *evangelistarium* 1295 and 1380.

As supporting evidence for the Western origin of the term we may cite: a. its absence from the Greek manuscripts; b. its appearance in the printed Greek editions which were produced in the West; c. its survival in the Western European languages, though admittedly with a change in meaning (e.g. *evangeliaire*, *evangeliar*, etc.)⁵; d. its appearance in the catalogues of European libraries, and finally, e. the recording of the term in a certain Latin chronicle, the *Chronikon Fossae Novae*. In this chronicle, which was published by the monk L. Muratori in 1725, there is a record of the church of Sancta Maria Fluminis, where during the procession at the time of its consecration there were presented among other things four silver Evangelistaria (*quattuor evangelistaria argentea*). This service of consecration took place in 1196⁶.

C.F. Matthaei, in his two-volume edition of the Greek New Testament (1803–4), appends to the end of the first volume »a Synaxarion of the Gospel, or Evangelistarion, beginning with Easter Sunday and ending with Holy Saturday, together with the Menologion and readings for different services and saints' days«. In a study written in 1791 under the introductory heading *Evangeliarium Graecum*, he also maintained that the term *Evangelistarium* was used for the first time by Millius (i. e. the English editor of the New Testament, John Mill) in 1707, and does not occur in earlier texts⁷. He clearly was unaware that the term was used about the same time (early eighteenth century) by B. de Montfaucon in his *Palaeographia Graeca* (Paris 1708), and had been used as early as 1675 by John Fell, Bishop of Oxford⁸. Indeed, Montafaucon, though he uses the traditional term of the Byzantine manuscript ἐκλογάδιον, when giving the title of those books which contain the Gospel readings (»εὐαγγέλια ἐκλογάδια sunt libri evangeliorum per annum, vocantur autem ἐκλογάδια, quia pro temporis et solemnitate ratione evangelia illa delecta sunt«, p. 386), nevertheless describes the same books as *evangelistaria* (in Latin naturally, since he wrote in that language) when referring to them elsewhere. Most peculiarly of all, when he records the headings of the last few sentences of

⁵ Note also the confusion of meaning, which exists in the main European languages in connection with this term, a confusion which is illustrated by dictionaries and encyclopaedias. E.g. where the German use the term *Evangeliar* to refer to the book which contains the complete text of the four Gospels in distinction to *Lektionar* which contains the pericopes read in the Holy Liturgy (see Brockhaus, *Enzyklopädie*, vol. 6, 1988, pp. 678, 683 and vol. 13, p. 256), the French use *evangélaire* to mean not the complete text of the Gospels but the book with the selected readings, which is more widely known as *lectionnaire*. Finally, in the *Bibliographie Hellénique*, E. Legrand uses *evangélaire* to mean the *Holy Gospel* (selections appointed for reading) and *evangéliste* to mean the *Holy Evangelistarion*, of the printed editions, i. e. the list of the Gospel readings.

⁶ The *Chronikon Fossae Novae* ab anno primo nostrae Salutis usque ad annum MCCXVII was published in the series *Rerum Italicum Scriptores* by L. Muratori, 1725, vol. 7, p. 881.

⁷ »Nam evangelistarium, quo vocabulo inde a Millio plures usi sunt, nullibi, quod sciam, apud veteros occurrit. Finxit autem, ut videtur, Millius ad similitudinem Apostoli et Praxapostoli«, he writes in his study *Vetustum Ecclesiae Graecae, Constantinopolitanae, ut videtur, Evangeliarium bibliothecae serenissimi ducis Saxo-Gothani*, 1791, p. 4.

⁸ See E. Maugenot, »Lectionnaire«, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 1908, vol. 4, pp. 147–157 and C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments I*, 1900, p. 334.

these books, he uses the title »Holy Gospels«, which is the name by which they call themselves!

Even before Montfaucon, Leo Allatius, in the middle of the seventeenth century (1646), when describing the liturgical books of the Greeks, calls the one containing the Gospel readings the *Evangelion* (a term familiar to everybody), and notes that at the end this book contains »an *Evangelistarion*, containing the Gospel lectionary ... compiled by Emmanuel Glyzonios«⁹. But in spite of the fact that he notes the abundance of terms used for this liturgical book, he nowhere mentions the term *Evangelistarion*. The terms he mentions are: *πίναξ*, *κανονάριν*, *συναξάριν*, *ἐκλογάδιν*, *παρασημείωσις*, *ἐκλογάριον*.

It thus seems that the name *Evangelistarium* existed only in the West, as appears from its use in the work of Montfaucon at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It also seems that the term existed long before the eighteenth century, since Latin dictionaries give references to it as far back as the twelfth century. »What the Greeks call *Evangelia* the Westerners call *Evangelistaria*, or books of Gospel readings«, notes S. Beissel, in a reference to the early medieval period¹⁰.

But how and when did the use of this term cross over to the East? In 1904 V. Antoniadis, in his Introduction to the Patriarchal Edition of the New Testament, used the term *εὐαγγελίαριον*, assuming that it was clearly understood and accepted, and naturally all modern Greek theologians do the same.

Our hypothesis is as follows: We said earlier that the first printed editions of the Holy Gospels, or at least those which follow on that of Emmanuel Glyzonios, contain at the end an *Evangelistarion*, i. e. a list of pericopes with an indication of the day on which they are to be read. We can therefore accept that from the seventeenth century — we say seventeenth because it was certainly being used in the eighteenth century and because the editions of Glyzonios to which we refer date from the end of the sixteenth century — the term *Evangelistarion*, referring to the list at the back of the book was extended to cover the book as a whole. Moreover this extension of meaning was retrospective and was used even in the manuscripts of the Gospels, which in the West were called Lectionaries. This change of meaning was easy, since it already occurred in the Western name for the books (and manuscripts) which contain the Gospel readings. The means by which the term *Evangelistarion* passed from the West to the East was the appended *Evangelistarion*, i. e. the index, which appeared in the printed editions.

The natural and justified contact of modern Greek researchers with foreign scientific writings within the framework of international research has led to the use of the words *Evangelistarion* and *Lexionarion* even in Greek, in place of the traditional terms *Holy Gospel* and *Eklogadion*. It is possible that the first of these has been abandoned because of the confusion it creates between the Gospels themselves and the Lectionary, and the second because it now seems archaic.

⁹ *De libris et rebus ecclesiasticis Graecorum*, 1646, p. 33, 38, 46.

¹⁰ *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters*, 1906, p. 27. See also B. Coppieters, »*Evangelitaria*«, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1909, vol. 5, p. 640–641, where the following Latin names are also given: *comes*, *liber comicus*, *liber comitis*, *lectionarium*.

At the beginning of this century C. R. Gregory, the great scholar of Greek manuscripts, protested at the fact that terms foreign to the Greek manuscript tradition, like *Evangelistarion*, *Evangeliarion* and *Lexionarion*, which had been created in the West were still being used in Greece¹¹. E. C. Colwell and D. W. Riddle, outstanding students of Byzantine Eklogadia (= lectionaries) in the University of Chicago in the 1930s, added their own protest to this¹², which however did not prevent them from using the term »lectionary« in their research articles¹³.

Of course, somebody may ask why bother with a survey of the terms *Evangeliarion* and *Evangelistarion* which everyone will agree is short and far from exhaustive, at a time when these terms are in universal use in much the same way as *Lectionary*, and when every researcher understands what these terms mean? Briefly, we think that it is essential to know the history and the meaning of the terms which we now use to refer to the manuscripts and printed editions of the Gospel and Epistle readings. The fact that we have studied this terminology may have the advantage of making it possible for researchers to agree among themselves, irrespective of the country or denomination from which they come, that faithfulness to the manuscript tradition demands that they use the term *Evangelion* for printed books or manuscripts which contain Gospel readings and the term *Apostolos* for books or manuscripts containing Epistle readings. These are the names given to these two books in the Church's liturgical tradition. They are the names used by modern publishers in Greece since 1821, who follow the example of the Venetian publishers, who in turn followed the example of the manuscripts.

¹¹ Loc. cit.

¹² In the collection: Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels, 1933.

¹³ See the important article of E. C. Colwell, »Is there a lectionary text of the Gospels?«, *Harvard Theological Review* 25 (1932) 73–84.