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The Places of Composition of the Gospels according to the Subscriptions in Church Slavonic Tetraevangelia

The transition from roll to codex stimulated the development of paratexts. This more functional and capacious book form also provided more space for indexation and annotation systems, prefaces, and other additions. Subscriptions to the Gospels that were succinct in their very early stages developed into more elaborate ones over the centuries. The oldest end-titles pointed to a given text's authorship and often featured its genre (Elmelund & Wasserman, 2023, pp. 432–435; Gathercole, 2013, pp. 38, 40–47, 63–69). Those with the preposition (κατά) and the name of the respective Evangelist were called short subscriptions, while others featuring a genre indicator (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) were called longer subscriptions (Gathercole, 2012, pp. 223–224, 234; 2013, pp. 59–60, 63–69, 72–76). The further development of subscriptions is linked

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to the addition of two new modifiers: the first one, i.e., the noun τέλος, the verb ἐτελέσθη or the verbal expression εἴληφεν τέλος, indicated the end of a respective Gospel book; the second one provided the date of origin in relation to the Ascension of Christ. Various other modifiers, less frequently attested than these two, were also found in the Greek tradition of the subscriptions to the Gospels. Among them, the following can be pointed out: the divine-agency modifier (i.e., σύν θεῷ), the note concerning the authoritative manuscripts used by scribes (the so-called Jerusalem colophon; Elmelund & Wasserman, 2023, p. 431; Wasserman, 2010, pp. 86–103), the language of composition (i.e., linguistic modifier) or the place of origin (i.e., geographical modifier). Subscriptions to the Gospels were sometimes followed by succinct texts (Greek: τὸ προοίμιον or ὑπόθεσις, Latin: Argumentum) that were originally supposed to be placed at the beginning of the respective books. Thus, the gradual development of Greek subscriptions, especially in their later period, i.e., from the 9th century onwards, seems to be influenced by information present in prefaces. As an example, an indication of the place of origin of respective Gospel books can be pointed out.

The oldest Church Slavonic tradition of the Gospels originated from Greek originals in the second half of the 9th century. Thus, Glagolitic and Cyrillic Tetraevangelia also feature subscriptions to the Gospel books and attest to their gradual development or their positive omission. Only a few of the oldest and most important Gospel manuscripts for Slavonic Biblical Scholarship, i.e., those usually dated to the 11th–12th centuries, have the so-called simple subscriptions, which correspond to the Greek expression εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ μαθθαῖον / μαρκον / λουκᾶν / ἰωάννην. Other Church Slavonic codices dated up to the end of the 13th century, and sometimes later, attest to the positive omission of subscriptions. Numerous Cyrillic Tetraevangelia from the first half of the 14th century and the vast majority of dates starting from the middle of the 14th century onwards have semi-elaborate or elaborate subscriptions (Ostapczuk, 2024). The former features a merely terminal modifier, while the latter features chronological and other modifiers. Among these other additions to the end-titles is the indication of the place of origin of the Gospels.

This publication is focused on the presence of modifiers in subscriptions which provide information on where the Gospels were written. These modifiers, together with subscriptions to the Gospels in Church Slavonic handwritten and early printed Tetraevangelia, were disregarded in scholarly

literature for a long time (*Евангелие от Иоанна*, 1998; *Евангелие от Матфея*, 2005).¹

Early printed tradition

The collation of subscriptions present in all extant early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia, i.e., the 110² editions (Ostapczuk & Dzierżanowska, 2023, pp. 465–514) issued in the 16th–18th centuries, proves that only one Gospel book attests the presence of a modifier indicating the place of its origin. Out of all the consulted Gospel editions, merely eleven feature this addition. All these Tetraevangelia were issued in the 16th century in Middle Bulgarian and Serbian recensions of the Church Slavonic Language (Ostapczuk, 2025, p. 599). Eight of them were issued in the territories of medieval Romania (i.e., in Târgoviște in 1512; Sibiu in 1546; Brașov in 1562, 1579 and 1583, Alba Iulia in 1579, and Bucharest {at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist, known as Plumbuita monastery on the River Colentina} in 1582 and after 1582) and three in Serbian territories (i.e., in Rujno in 1537, Belgrade in 1552 and Mrkšina Crkva in 1662). The subscription to the Gospel of John, i.e., *єже отъ ивана сватое євѣлиє издасѣ са по лѣтѣхъ лѣе христова възнесения*, is supplemented with *въ патмѣ островѣ*. None of the East Slavonic Tetraevangelia issued in the 16th–18th centuries in Moscow, Vilnius, Lviv, Kyiv, and Pochaiv attest to this modifier (Ostapczuk, 2025, p. 604).

The presence of information indicating Patmos as the place of origin of the fourth Gospel in all eleven South Slavonic Tetraevangelia and its absence in all East Slavonic editions divides all early printed Cyrillic liturgical Gospel editions into two groups. The first group consists of all South Slavonic editions, i.e., Middle Bulgarian and Serbian, while the second consists of all East Slavonic editions.

It is worth noting that, at times, where Gospels were written could also have been indicated in succinct texts (called also as argumenta) appended to the subscriptions. The presence of these types of texts in early printed Cyrillic

¹ Only their presence was recorded in literature, see: Дограмаджиева (1993, pp. 11–12).

² Only one fragment from the Tetraevangelion issued in 1551–1553 in Sibiu is extant (i.e., Mt 4, 17–27, 55). It does not have any ending of Gospel books.

liturgical Tetraevangelia is attested only in the case of the Gospels of Mark and Luke.

The subscription to the Gospel of Mark is supplemented with the following text: *речено бысть петромъ въ римѣ. сътворено же науало отъ пророческаго слова. еже съ высоты нашедша исаина. крилатъ образъ еѿ лиа павла.* This text is attested in eight out of eleven South Slavonic Tetraevangelia, i.e., five Middle Bulgarian (Târgoviște 1512; Sibiu 1546; Bucharest in 1582 and after 1582, and Brașov 1583) and in all three Serbian (Rujno 1537, Belgrade 1552 and Mrkšina Crkva 1662). Only the 1583 Brașov edition has this text preceded with *въдомо да есть яко еже отъ марка еѿ лиа.*

The subscription to the Gospel of Luke is supplemented with the following text: *въдомо да есть. яко еже отъ лѣки сѣое еѿ лиа. речено бысть павломъ въ римѣ. отъ свациенническаго же образа сын. отъ захарие свациенника кадаца науатъ.* This text is attested only in six out of eleven South Slavonic Tetraevangelia, i.e., three Middle Bulgarian (Târgoviște 1512, Sibiu 1546, and Brașov 1583) and in all three Serbian (Rujno in 1537, Belgrade in 1552 and Mrkšina Crkva in 1662).

Thus, only three Middle Bulgarian editions issued in Târgoviște in 1512, Sibiu in 1546, and Brașov in 1583, and all three Serbian ones (i.e., Rujno 1537, Belgrade 1552, and Mrkšina Crkva 1662) have two subscriptions to the Gospels of Mark and Luke followed by succinct argumenta. Two Middle Bulgarian editions issued in Bucharest in and after 1582 have only the subscription to the Gospel of Mark supplemented with the same respective text. Three other Middle Bulgarian editions, issued twice in Brașov in 1562 and 1579, and in Alba Iulia in 1579, have these two subscriptions, i.e., to the Gospels of Mark and Luke, without any additions (Ostapczuk, 2025, p. 605). This evidence proves the complex textual history of all South Slavonic early printed liturgical Tetraevangelia.

As these two succinct prefaces also feature other facts in addition to the place the respective Gospel was composed, they – along with the prefaces to the Gospels by Blessed Theophylact of Bulgaria³ – will not be examined in detail in this publication. The information conveyed in them concerning the topic at hand will be provided merely as supplementary evidence.

³ Prefaces to the Gospels by Blessed Theophylact of Bulgaria are present in all early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia. These texts are also attested in almost all handwritten Tetraevangelia dated from the 15th century onwards. No reference to them, as texts never placed as addition to the subscriptions, will be provided in this publication.

The handwritten tradition

Early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia are the successors of a centuries-long handwritten tradition, especially the one widely spread in the second half of the 14th to the first half of the 16th century. Thus, the origins of the subscriptions' modifiers that indicate the place the Gospels were written should be sought in the Cyrillic manuscripts dated to this timespan or even earlier.

The collation of Subscriptions present in the two Glagolitic and the more than one thousand Cyrillic handwritten Tetraevangelia examined prove the presence of this distinctive modifier in subscriptions to more than only one Gospel book.

In the subscription to the Gospel of Matthew,⁴ two cities are attested to be the places of origin⁵ of this book. Two manuscripts, i.e., Blsk-274 and Qvrt-29, indicate Jerusalem (ВЪ ИЕРОУСАЛИМѢ), and one, i.e., Foli-747, points to Rome (ВЪ РИМѢ). All these manuscripts are dated to the 16th century; the first two are written in the East Slavonic recension of the Church Slavonic language, while the latter is written in Serbian.

It is worth noting that one succinct argumentum of the Gospel of Matthew found only as an addition to the subscription also indicates Jerusalem (ВЪ ИЕРУСАЛѢ) as the place of its origin.⁶ This preface, along with some textual readings, is attested in three Bulgarian manuscripts dated to the 14th century, i.e., Zgrf-40, Hldr-18, and Namt-233.⁷ These three codices also share some other textual variants in their subscriptions.⁸

⁴ On Greek tradition see: von Soden (1911, pp. 297–299); Champagne (2012, pp. 65–67).

⁵ The place of origin is preceded with verb ИЗДАСТЪ СЯ.

⁶ The place of origin is preceded with verb ПИСАНО БЫСТЬ ОГ ПИСА СЯ.

⁷ One Bulgarian Tetraevangelion (RARO-338), dated to the first half of the 13th century in its succinct argumentum (placed at the beginning of the Gospel) also confirms Jerusalem as place of origin. Its text reads as follow: ОУЪ ИСТОКА НАПИСА ВЪ ЕРЪЛИМѢ. In one Bulgarian manuscript (CIUB-4097), dated to the 16th century, the chapter title list is preceded with the following beginning-title: ОУЪ МАТѢЯ СѢГО ЕВѢЛИЕ НАПИСАНО САМѢМЪ МАТѢЕОМЪ НА ВЪСТОЦѢ. Greek Gospel manuscripts point to Jerusalem or Palestine (von Soden, 1911, p. 297).

⁸ All these three codices in the Subscription to the Gospel of Matthew (i.e., КОНЕЦЪ ЕЖЕ ОУЪ МАТѢЯ СѢГО ЕВѢЛИЯ) have the expression СЪ ВѢМЪ after the noun КОНЕЦЪ. Two manuscripts,

The information provided in the handwritten Cyrillic Tetraevangelia on the place where the Gospel of Matthew was written corresponds to a widely acknowledged fact. Rome is indicated instead of Jerusalem in only one manuscript (i.e., Foli-747). This phrasing is an intrusion from Mark, where it is attested in many subscriptions⁹. This case is similar to the one when the number of verses of the second Gospel is indicated in the final stichometry of the first one, and vice versa.

In the subscription to the Gospel of Mark,¹⁰ only one city is attested to be the place where this book originated. Four manuscripts, i.e., AthN, SANU-276, NBKM-478, and BcrA-11, dated from the second half of the 13th up to the end of the 16th century, unanimously¹¹ point to Rome (въ римѣ).¹² The expression *речено же бысть петромъ въ римѣ*, which is present in the last three of the four manuscripts listed above, comes from the following succinct argumentum, which is often appended¹³ to the subscription to the Gospel of Mark: *вѣдомо да есть тако еже отъ марка еѣлине. речено бысть петромъ въ римѣ. сътворено же на҃уало отъ пророческаго слова. еже съ высоты нашедша исанина крилатъ образъ еѣлина явлѣа*. In cases where the first sentence (i.e., *вѣдомо да есть тако еже отъ марка еѣлине*) is omitted, then the particle *же* is inserted after *речено*. This succinct argumentum appended to the subscription is attested in more than a quarter of the consulted manuscripts;¹⁴ in sixty-two of them, the introductory sentence is omitted. Some of these sixty-two codices could have served as the source of the text *речено же бысть петромъ въ римѣ*, which is present in SANU-276, NBKM-478, and BcrA-11.

i.e., Hldr-18 and Namt-233, have the following subscription to the Gospel of John: *конецъ катѣ иѣанна. еже отъ катѣ иѣанна еѣлине издастъ сѣ по лѣтѣхъ лѣ хѣа възнесеніа*.

⁹ One Greek commentary codex mistakenly points that the Gospel of Mark was written in Alexandria, which is an intrusion from the Gospel of Luke (Elmelund & Wasserman, 2023, p. 439).

¹⁰ On Greek tradition see: von Soden (1911, pp. 297–299); Champagne (2012, pp. 76–77); Elmelund and Wasserman (2023, pp. 433, 439–442).

¹¹ Greek Gospel manuscripts also point to Rome (von Soden, 1911, p. 297).

¹² In these four codices, the place of origin is preceded by the verbs *речено бысть* or *исповѣда сѣ*. It is in some succinct argumenta, found at the beginning of the second Gospel, the verbs *написано бысть* or *списа* precede the expression *въ римѣ*.

¹³ In some manuscripts, this succinct preface was also attested at the beginning of the Gospel text, or in several cases twice – at the beginning of the Gospel text and at the end of its subscription as well.

¹⁴ The oldest manuscript with this text is a Serbian codex SANU-54, dated to 1300–1310.

Another¹⁵ text *сѢ марко апѣль бѣ єдинь отъ седми десятихъ апостолаъ и отъ петра наоучивъ сѧ іакоже рѣхомъ списа бл҃говѣстие въ римѣ* is attested in only twelve manuscripts (BMSb-IV.1, WBNr-829, LIMu-6, Lubl-543, Txnr-368, BARm-533, LIMu-31, Pisk-4, Sptc-179, Sptc-274, Sptc-86 and WBNr-872), dated from the 15th to the 17th centuries. It also points to Rome (*въ римѣ*) as the place where the second Gospel originated. This argumentum is attested only as an addition to the subscription and is never found, in the consulted manuscripts, as an introductory text placed at the beginning of the Gospel of Mark.

Some unique features are attested in the oldest Cyrillic manuscript, with the place of origin of the Gospel of Mark indicated, i.e., AthN. It is the only Church Slavonic Tetraevangelion that conveys information on the composition of the Gospel of Mark in the twelfth year, instead of the tenth, after the Ascension of Christ. The Gospel of Mark ends with the so-called semi-elaborate subscription (type 2), which indicates only its end (i.e., *коѣ ѿ марка*). The elaborate subscription (type 3),¹⁶ which provides information on the date and place of origin, is placed at the beginning of the second Gospel and thus can be treated as a succinct preface. Some Greek codices¹⁷ attest to the same year of composition and additionally point to the same place of origin and language of composition, i.e., Latin (*ρωμαϊστὶ*) (see Champagne, 2012, pp. 74–78; Elmelund & Wasserman, 2023, pp. 433, 439–442; von Soden, 1911, p. 297). The provenance of all these Greek codices is closely related to Calabria, Italia Mezzogiorno, and Apulia (i.e., Terra di Otranto). The Cyrillic codex discussed in this paragraph,

¹⁵ One more succinct argumentum (i.e., *главизны еѣліе еже отъ марка. написано бысть въ римѣ самѣмъ апостоломъ и еѣлистомъ христовѣмъ маркомъ. въ образъ лѣвовъ. по възнесеніи г҃а бѧ нашего іѹ х҃ѧ въ лѣто г҃і. се" естъ бл҃жєнымъ римлянинъ идѣже г҃ъ сзѣвѣтъ вечерѣжъ сѧ оученикы своими. имѧтъ ѹюдєсъ ѿн. а главы с҃ѧ*) of the Gospel of Mark was attested only in one sixteenth-century manuscript (CIAL-13). It also indicated Rome as its place of origin. This text was found at the beginning of the Gospel of Mark.

Several other succinct argumenta, found only at the beginning of the book in the consulted manuscripts, point to Alexandria and Egypt as places where the Gospel was preached by the Evangelist Mark (*проповѣда еѣліе*).

¹⁶ It reads as follow: *иже ѿ марка еѣліе. вѣдѣтъ сѧ ѿ него по бѣхъ лѣтѣхъ х҃ѧ възнѣеніа. исповѣда сѧ петромъ в римѣ*.

¹⁷ A testimony to the fact that the Gospel of Mark was written twelve years after the Ascension of Jesus Christ is present in the following Greek codices: GA 161, GA 163, GA 174, GA 345, GA 543, GA 788, GA 826, GA 828, GA 873 and GA 983. The oldest Greek codex with this testimony is dated to the twelfth century. See also Champagne (2012, pp. 74–78); Elmelund and Wasserman (2023, pp. 433, 435–436).

i.e., AthN, also shares with one Greek Tetraevangelion, i.e., GA 788, the placement of the subscription to the Gospel of Mark, i.e., it is not at its end but before its superscription, i.e., the beginning-title (page 97 of AthN and f. 58v in GA 788).¹⁸ This Cyrillic codex, with its unique textual reading in the subscription to the Gospel of Mark, suggests the presence of the Greco-Italian influence on Church Slavonic tradition; thus, it deserves more attention. The affinity of AthN and Greek Tetraevangelia with confirmed southern Italian provenance should be studied in detail.

In the subscription to the Gospel of Luke,¹⁹ only one city is attested as the place of its origin. Four manuscripts (SANU-276, NBKM-478, NBKM-479, and NBeo-102), dated from the second half of the 15th up to the middle of the 16th century, unanimously point²⁰ to Rome (въ римѣ).²¹

The expression *речено же бысть павломъ въ римѣ* present in these four Gospel manuscripts could be borrowed – as in the case of the previous book (as two manuscripts, i.e., SANU-276 and NBKM-478, are the same) – from the following succinct argumentum often placed at the end²² of the subscription to the Gospel of Luke: *вѣдомо да есть. яко еже отъ лѣки сѣое еѣлине речено бысть павломъ въ римѣ. отъ свѣщенниѣскаго же образа сын. отъ захаріе свѣщенника каѣаца наѣатъ*. This text was found in almost a quarter of the consulted manuscripts.²³ Although the omission of the first sentence (i.e., *вѣдомо да есть. яко еже отъ лѣки сѣое еѣлине*) from this argumentum was not attested in the consulted codices, there is clear evidence that proves that the expression *речено же бысть павломъ въ римѣ* comes from this succinct text.²⁴ The sentence *отъ свѣщенниѣскаго образа сын наѣатъ* (with the noun *образа* sometimes

¹⁸ See: <https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org/manuscript/?diktyon=2370> (*Tetraeuangelium. Mss. 74, n.d.-b*; <https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/web/paratexbib/manuscript-workspace?docID=30788&pageID=1200> (*Tetraeuangelium. Mss. 74, n.d.-a*)).

¹⁹ On the Greek tradition see: von Soden (1911, pp. 297–299); Champagne (2012, pp. 65–67).

²⁰ The place of origin is preceded with verb *речено бысть*.

²¹ Greek Gospel manuscripts also point to Alexandria (Champagne, 2012, pp. 83–85; Elmelund & Wasserman, 2023, p. 439; von Soden, 1911, p. 297).

²² In some manuscripts, this succinct argumentum was also attested at the beginning of the Gospel text, or twice – additionally at the end of its subscription.

²³ The oldest manuscript with this text is the Serbian codex SANU-54, dated to 1300–1310.

²⁴ Some other succinct prefaces, always found at the beginning of the book in consulted manuscripts, point to the place (i.e., Greece, Italy and Antioch) where the Gospel was preached by the Evangelist Luke.

omitted, or the words $\epsilon\tau\omicron\epsilon\ \epsilon\nu^{\rho}\lambda\eta\iota\epsilon$ added) was attested as an addition to subscription to the Gospel of Luke.

The subscription to the Gospel of John,²⁵ supplemented with the indication of its place of origin, is the best attested in handwritten tradition from all the four Gospels. In the case of the first book, only three manuscripts provide relevant information; in the case of the second Gospel, the relevant information is attested in four codices, and likewise for the third Gospel. The place of origin present in the subscription to the fourth Gospel is attested in 258 codices consulted.²⁶ Furthermore, in four manuscripts (i.e., BMSb-IV.1, Pogd-128, BARm-9, NBKM-38), from the 17th–18th centuries, specific missing

²⁵ On Greek tradition see: von Soden (1911, pp. 297–299); Champagne (2012, pp. 93–96).

²⁶ I.e., in the following manuscripts dated to the 14th century: SANU-54, NBKM-850, Cetn-4, NBeo-648, Dcni-9, ÖNaB-52, Savn-2, Hldr-21, Hldr-55, BeWk-7, TrRc-6, Hldr-19, NBKM-1139, Dcni-6, Dcni-8, NBKM-24, NBKM-32, NBKM-853, Qvrt-896; to the 15th century: BeWk-2, SoCM-283, Tism, SoCM-214, Foli-579, Hldr-62, Bodl-Uric, Gruj-88, Dcni-11, PecP-5, PecP-7, Octv-1, Hldr-58, Hldr-61, Hldr-64, NBeo-7, ParN-27, PecP-3, ZgMH-41, Zgrf-210, Hldr-24, Svst-48.2, JeOP-A2, Hldr-42, UBSM-Cor2, Hldr-28, MunB-1, Dcni-14, SoCM-374, SANU-279, Rila-8, Foli-746, NBKM-855, WBNr-BOZ4, Aban-13, NBKM-857, BARm-88, BeBP-254, Blsk-165, CphK, MSPC-357, NBKM-35, NBKM-39, NBKM-40, NBKM-41, NBKM-477, NBKM-480, NBKM-854, NBIV-15, Qvrt-14, Dcni-13, Foli-56, Pogd-148, Pogd-151, SANU-69, Txnr-706, to the 16th century: Kopi-7, NUBS-167, PecP-14, Rila-5, MSPC-177, NBKM-66, BcrA-6, BARm-8, Dcni-18, Nklc-10, NBeo-463, Szeh-3, Gruj-189, Gruj-224, Nklc-4, JeOP-2, BcrP-I-182, BcrP-III-16, Gruj-210, Rars, SoCM-1524, Pogd-22, BARm-744, NBKM-54, Egor-78, PecP-15, NBKM-483, Zgrf-271, NBeo-102, BeBP-69, BeBP-76, NBeo-95, NBeo-638, NBeo-663, Nklc-2, Nklc-3, Nklc-71, Stdr-RA1, ZgMH-44, Gruj-208, NBKM-65, Rumc-130, BMSb-IV.6, Gilf-9, HAZU-IIIb8, NBeo-642, NBeo-734, NBKM-1142, ÖNaB-1, Ptrs-18, Dcni-19, MSPC-17, Cetn-2, Stdr-GR1, ZgMH-43, BARm-510, Cetn-6, BcrA-9, Cetn-9, BeBP-262, SoCM-916, Gruj-190, SoCM-340, Dcni-15, NBKM-1364, PecP-17, JeOP-A1, Gruj-163, Cetn-7, Gruj-204, Nklc-7, Zgrf-26, NBeo-664, NBIV-17, Zgrf-33, NBKM-872, NBKM-873, Dcni-16, NBKM-58, Foli-951, Gruj-207, HAZU-IIIc7, NBeo-29, NBeo-500, Nklc-9, Rila-10, UBSM-Cor3, MSPC-353, MSPC-332, BcrA-11, NBKM-67, Dcni-17, Nklc-8, NBKM-73, LIMu-6, Sptc-261, ZgMH-47, BcrA-13, Foli-762, Gruj-202, SPbA-AI98, BARm-92, BARm-184, BeBP-53, Lubl-543, NBKM-866, NBeo-401, Txnr-368, ZgMH-46, Aban-15, BARm-89, BARm-91, BARm-178, BARm-179, BARm-193, BARm-484, BARm-700, BeBP-357, BeBP-432, BMSb-I.55, BMSb-IV.2, BMSb-IV.7, BrlL-30030, ClAL-4, CIUB-4097, Drgv-5a, Egor-47, Krka-3, Lubl-551, MPDA-209749, MSPC-77, MSPC-135, MSPC-148, MSPC-154, MSPC-261, MSPC-352, NBKM-44, NBKM-64, NBIV-18, NBIV-20, NBKM-43, NBKM-63, NBKM-864, NBKM-864, ParN-67, Sptc-179, Sptc-274, Drgv-5, Gruj-192, NBKM-75, NUBS-157, BARm-198, BARm-812; to the 17th century: Hldr-33, NUBS-42, ÖNaB-17, SoCM-243, Titv-3227, ZgMH-48, Zgrf-186, Stef-ND46, PecP-18, Drag-602, IasA-1790, Cetn-5, Gruj-Z-I-18, MSPC-173, BcrA-20, BARm-625, BARm-13, BcrA-21, BARm-190, Ptna-49, Hldr-44, NBKM-76, LIMu-157, NBIV-142, BARm-196, BARm-433, BARm-483, BeBP-263, ÖNaB-21**, PecP-10 and WBNr-872.

texts and subscriptions with the studied modifier are supplemented. In one manuscript, i.e., in BrtL-41256^c, the subscriptions, originally missing, were written on the margins in the 15th century. In another one, i.e., BeWk-9^c, the place where the fourth book originated was added to the subscription by a later, sixteenth-century, hand. This brings the total number of manuscripts with the expression *въ патмѣ островѣ* to 264. This represents about a quarter of all the sources consulted.

It is worth noting that succinct argumenta appended to subscriptions to the Gospels of Mark and Luke are attested in a similar number of codices. Thus, the affinity of manuscripts with the expression *въ патмѣ островѣ* present in the subscription to the fourth Gospel is closely related to the supplementation of the subscriptions to the second and the third Gospels with specific argumenta.

The oldest manuscript indicating the place of John's Gospel origin, i.e., SANU-54, is dated to the first decade of the 14th century. It also features two succinct argumenta added to subscriptions of the two proceeding Gospel books.

Several argumenta²⁷ to the Gospel of John, always attested at its beginning, point unanimously to Patmos.²⁸

The oldest Christian tradition, recorded by Saint Irenaeus, the Bishop of Lugdunum (i.e., Lyon), in his book *Against Heresies* (Latin: *Adversus Haereses*, 3.1.1), conveys information – borrowed from Papias and transmitted also by Origen and Eusebius – that the Gospel of John was composed in the city of Ephesus (Elmelund & Wasserman, 2023, pp. 440–441). The Greek tradition recorded in handwritten Tetraevangelia indicates not only Ephesus²⁹ but also Patmos (Champagne, 2012, p. 93; von Soden, 1911, p. 297). Thus, the Church Slavonic tradition, attested in manuscripts and early printed books, agrees with information provided by the Greek sources.

²⁷ The two following prefaces were present in more than three codices:

– *вѣсто же іако еже отъ іуанна еѿлине. въ лѣта трананова. изглаголахо выстѣ іуаномѣ. въ патмѣ островѣ. повѣдастѣ же о о҃чи владѣхъствии и дѣланьи. и славнѣмъ хвѣѣ роженъи*, i.e., in four manuscripts (TrRc-6, Pogd-21, Octv-1, Txnr-538);

– *іуаннъ богословъ еѿлистѣ отъ видѣсанды оубо бѣ. сынъ зеведеовъ. выстѣ же оученикъ и апостолъ христовъ. написа же еже отъ іуанна еѿлине въ патмѣ островѣ и въдастѣ е҃ ганимъ странноприемцемъ. самъ же въ ефесеживъ погребенъ выстѣ. и не обрѣте са тѣло его*, i.e., in eight codices (SoCM-215, Hldr-26, Qvrt-3, SoCM-569, Zgrf-27, Zgrf-17, NBKM-45 and BARm-618).

²⁸ The place of origin can be preceded by: *изглаголахо выстѣ отъ написа*.

²⁹ The oldest Peshitta Gospel manuscript also point to Ephesus (Elmelund & Wasserman, 2023, p. 440).

Summary

The evidence presented demonstrates that information regarding where the Gospels were written, as attested in the Church Slavonic manuscript and early printed Tetraevangelia, corresponds – with only one exception due to an error – to widely accepted historical facts supported by the Greek tradition. The most widely transmitted information concerning the Gospel's place of origin in Cyrillic handwritten and early printed traditions relates to the book authored by John. This is first attested in the codex dated to the first decade of the 14th century, i.e., SANU-54, and is confirmed in about a quarter of the consulted manuscripts (i.e., 264). Its origin is related to the Greek manuscript that was used as an exemplar by Slavic revisers.

For the three other Gospels, the indications in the subscriptions of the place of origin are mostly late³⁰ and rare additions. They are borrowed from the succinct argumenta which often accompany the subscriptions (in a quarter of the sources consulted). In the case of the first Gospel, Jerusalem is mentioned as its place of origin in only two manuscripts from the 16th century. For the second and third Gospels, Rome is mentioned in three and four codices respectively, dating from the mid-15th–16th centuries.

Only in one Tetraevangelion, dated to the second half of the 13th century, does the indication of where the second Gospel was written have another origin. The affinity of the 13th-century Cyrillic Bulgarian manuscript (i.e., AthN) and some Greek Tetraevangelia with plausible southern Italian provenance is confirmed by several textual variants present in the subscriptions to the Gospel of Mark.

Several manuscripts, even from the 14th century, confirm the supplementation of subscriptions with some rare and succinct texts, indicating the place of the Gospels' origin as well.

In early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia, the indication in subscriptions of the place from where the Gospels originated concerns merely the Gospel of John. All eleven South Slavonic, i.e., Middle Bulgarian and Serbian, early

³⁰ The oldest Greek manuscripts with similar additions at the subscriptions to the second, the third and the fourth Gospels are dated to the twelfth century (Champagne, 2012, pp. 74, 83, 93). Only in case of the first Gospel book the oldest codex with geographical modifier is dated to the ninth century (Champagne, 2012, pp. 63–67).

printed liturgical Tetraevangelia indicate Patmos. None of the East Slavonic Gospel editions attest a similar modifier in the subscriptions.

The analysis of the information regarding the places where the Gospels were written, conveyed by the subscriptions to the Gospels, demonstrates that even the most succinct paratexts can provide significant evidence proving that they deserve scholarly attention.

ABBREVIATIONS OF REPOSITORIES AND HANDWRITTEN TETRAEVANGELIA

- Aban – Archive of Bulgarian Academy of Science, Sofia
AthN – National Library of Greece, Athens
BARm – Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest
BcrA – Museum of Romanian Art, Bucharest
BcrP – Library of Romanian Patriarchate, Bucharest
BeBP – Library of Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate, Belgrade
BeWk – Berlin State Library
Blsk – Russian State Library, Moscow, T. F. Bolshakov collection (no 37)
BMSb – Matica Serbska Library, Novi Sad
Bodl – Bodleian Library, Oxford
BrtL – British Library, London
Cetn – Cetinje Monastery (Montenegro)
CLAL – Library of The “Sextil Puscariu” Institute of Linguistics and Literary History, Cluj Napoca
CIUB – Central University Library, Cluj Napoca
CphK – Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen
Dcni – Visoki Dečani Monastery
Drag – Dragomirna Monastery (Romania)
Drgv – Dragović Monastery (Croatia)
Egor – Russian State Library, Moscow, E. E. Egorov Collection (no 98)
Foli – National Library of Russia, Sankt-Petersburg, Main Collection of Manuscripts (no 550)
Glf – National Library of Russia, Sankt-Petersburg, A. F. Gilferding collection (no 182)
Gruj – Serbian Orthodox Church Museum, Belgrade, R. M. Grujić collection
HAZU – Croatian Academy of Science and Art, Zagreb
Hldr – Hilandar Monastery (Greece, Mt. Athos)
IasA – National Archives in Iași
JeOP – The Patriarchal Library of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Jerusalem
Kopi – National and University Library, Ljubljana, J. Kopitar’s Collection of Slavic codices

- Krka – Krka Monastery (Croatia)
- LIMu – Lviv Historical Museum
- Lubl – repositories in Lublin (Libraries of John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin and Metropolitan Theological Seminary in Lublin)
- MPDA – Library of Moscow Theological Academy and Seminary, Sergiev Posad
- MSPC – Serbian Orthodox Church Museum, Belgrade
- MunB – Bavarian State Library, Munich
- Namt – Neamt Monastery (Romania)
- NBeo – National Library of Serbia, Belgrade
- NBIV – Ivan Vazov National Library, Plovdiv
- NBKM – “Sts. Cyril and Methodius” National Library, Sofia
- Nklc – Monastery of Saint Nikola, Bijelo Polje (Montenegro)
- NUBS – St. Kliment Ohridski National and University Library, Skopje
- Octv – National Library of Russia, Sankt-Petersburg, manuscripts in octavo format
- ÖNaB – Austrian National Library, Vienna
- ParN – National Library of France, Paris
- PecP – Patriarchal Monastery of Peć
- Pisk – Russian State Library, Moscow, D. V. Piskarev Collection (no 228)
- Pogd – National Library of Russia, Sankt-Petersburg, M. P. Pogodin collection (no 583)
- Ptna – Putna Monastery (Romania)
- Ptrs – Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine, Lviv, A. S. Petrushevich (no 77)
- Qvrt – National Library of Russia, Sankt-Petersburg, manuscripts in quarto format
- RARo – National Library of Russia, Sankt-Petersburg, Archeological Society’s Collection (no 256)
- Rars – Petru Rareș’s Tetraevangelion (Austrian National Library, Vienna, Cod. Slav. 2)
- Rila – Rila Monastery (Bulgaria)
- Rumc – Russian State Library, Moscow, N. P. Rumyantsev Collection (no 256)
- SANU – Archives of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade
- Savn – Monastery Savina, Herceg Novi (Montenegro)
- SoCM – The National Church Museum of History and Archaeology, Sofia
- SPbA – National Library of Russia, Sankt-Petersburg, Sankt-Peterburg Theological Academy’s collection (no 573)
- Sptc – Andrei Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv
- Stdr – The Szentendre Library of the Serbian Orthodox Eparchy of Buda, Szentendre
- Stef – Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv
- Svst – Russian State Library, Moscow, P. I. Sevastianov Collection (no 270)
- Szeh – National Library of Hungary in Budapest
- Tism – Tismana Monastery (Romania)
- Titv – National Library of Russia, Sankt-Petersburg, A. A. Titov collection (no 775)
- TrRc – Russian State Library, Moscow, Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius’ Sacristy Collection (no 304.III)

Txnr – Russian State Library in Moscow, Collection of N. S. Tikhonravova (no 299)

UBSM – University Library Svetozar Markovic, Belgrade

WBNr – National Library of Poland, Warsaw

ZgMH – Croatia Historical Museum, Zagreb

Zgrf – Zograf Monastery (Greece, Mt. Athos)

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS CITED ARRANGED ACCORDING TO REPOSITORIES

Aban: Aban-13, Aban-15

AthN: AthN

BARm: BARm-8, BARm-9, BARm-13, BARm-88, BARm-89, BARm-91, BARm-92, BARm-178, BARm-179, BARm-184, BARm-190, BARm-193, BARm-196, BARm-198, BARm-433, BARm-483, BARm-484, BARm-510, BARm-533, BARm-618, BARm-625, BARm-700, BARm-744, BARm-812

BcrA: BcrA-6, BcrA-9, BcrA-11, BcrA-13, BcrA-20, BcrA-21

BcrP: BcrP-I-182, BcrP-III-16

BeBP: BeBP-53, BeBP-69, BeBP-76, BeBP-254, BeBP-262, BeBP-263, BeBP-357, BeBP-432

BeWk: BeWk-2, BeWk-7, BeWk-9

Blsk: Blsk-165, Blsk-274

BMSb: BMSb-I.55, BMSb-IV.1, BMSb-IV.2, BMSb-IV.6, BMSb-IV.7

Bodl: Bodl-Uric

BrtL: BrtL-30030, BrtL-41256

Cetn: Cetn-2, Cetn-4, Cetn-5, Cetn-6, Cetn-7, Cetn-9

ClAL: ClAL-4, ClAL-13

CIUB: CIUB-4097

CphK: CphK

Dcni: Dcni-6, Dcni-8, Dcni-9, Dcni-11, Dcni-13, Dcni-14, Dcni-15, Dcni-16, Dcni-17, Dcni-18, Dcni-19

Drag: Drag-602

Drgv: Drgv-5, Drgv-5a

Egor: Egor-47, Egor-78

Foli: Foli-56, Foli-579, Foli-746, Foli-747, Foli-762, Foli-951

Gilf: Gilf-9

Gruj: Gruj-88, Gruj-163, Gruj-189, Gruj-190, Gruj-192, Gruj-202, Gruj-204, Gruj-207, Gruj-208, Gruj-210, Gruj-224, Gruj-Z-I-18

HAZU: HAZU-IIIb8, HAZU-IIIc7

Hldr: Hldr-18, Hldr-19, Hldr-21, Hldr-24, Hldr-26, Hldr-28, Hldr-33, Hldr-42, Hldr-44, Hldr-55, Hldr-58, Hldr-61, Hldr-62, Hldr-64

IasA: IasA-1790
 JeOP: JeOP-A1, JeOP-A2, JeOP-2
 Kopi: Kopi-7
 Krka: Krka-3
 LIMu: LIMu-6, LIMu-31, LIMu-157
 Lubl: Lubl-543, Lubl-551
 MPDA: MPDA-209749
 MSPC: MSPC-17, MSPC-77, MSPC-135, MSPC-148, MSPC-154, MSPC-173, MSPC-177, MSPC-261, MSPC-332, MSPC-352, MSPC-353, MSPC-357
 MunB: MunB-1
 Namt: Namt-233
 NBeo: NBeo-7, NBeo-29, NBeo-95, NBeo-102, NBeo-401, NBeo-463, NBeo-500, NBeo-638, NBeo-642, NBeo-648, NBeo-663, NBeo-664, NBeo-734
 NBIV: NBIV-15, NBIV-17, NBIV-18, NBIV-20, NBIV-142
 NBKM: NBKM-24, NBKM-32, NBKM-35, NBKM-38, NBKM-39, NBKM-40, NBKM-41, NBKM-43, NBKM-44, NBKM-45, NBKM-54, NBKM-58, NBKM-63, NBKM-64, NBKM-65, NBKM-66, NBKM-67, NBKM-73, NBKM-75, NBKM-76, NBKM-477, NBKM-478, NBKM-479, NBKM-480, NBKM-483, NBKM-850, NBKM-853, NBKM-854, NBKM-855, NBKM-857, NBKM-864, NBKM-866, NBKM-872, NBKM-873, NBKM-1139, NBKM-1142, NBKM-1364
 Nklc: Nklc-2, Nklc-3, Nklc-4, Nklc-7, Nklc-8, Nklc-9, Nklc-10, Nklc-71
 NUBS: NUBS-42, NUBS-157, NUBS-167
 Octv: Octv-1
 ÖNaB: ÖNaB-1, ÖNaB-17, ÖNaB-21**, ÖNaB-52
 ParN: ParN-27, ParN-67
 PecP: PecP-3, PecP-5, PecP-7, PecP-10, PecP-14, PecP-15, PecP-17, PecP-18
 Pisk: Pisk-4
 Pogd: Pogd-21, Pogd-22, Pogd-128, Pogd-148, Pogd-151
 Ptna: Ptna-49
 Ptrs: Ptrs-18
 Qvrt: Qvrt-3, Qvrt-14, Qvrt-29, Qvrt-896
 RArO: RArO-338
 Rars: Rars
 Rila: Rila-5, Rila-8, Rila-10
 Rumc: Rumc-130
 SANU: SANU-54, SANU-69, SANU-276, SANU-279
 Savn: Savn-2
 SoCM: SoCM-214, SoCM-215, SoCM-243, SoCM-283, SoCM-340, SoCM-374, SoCM-569, SoCM-916, SoCM-1524
 SPbA: SPbA-AI98
 Sptc: Sptc-86, Sptc-179, Sptc-261, Sptc-274

Stdr: Stdr-GR1, Stdr-RA1
 Stef: Stef-ND46
 Svst: Svst-48.2
 Szeh: Szeh-3
 Tism: Tism
 Titv: Titv-3227
 TrRc: TrRc-6
 Txnr: Txnr-368, Txnr-538, Txnr-706
 UBSM: UBSM-Cor2, UBSM-Cor3
 WBNr: WBNr-BOZ4, WBNr-829, WBNr-872
 ZgMH: ZgMH-41, ZgMH-43, ZgMH-44, ZgMH-46, ZgMH-47, ZgMH-48
 Zgrf: Zgrf-17, Zgrf-26, Zgrf-27, Zgrf-33, Zgrf-40, Zgrf-186, Zgrf-210, Zgrf-271

MANUSCRIPTS ARRANGED BY THEIR DATING

13th century: RArO-338, AthN

14th century: Zgrf-40, SANU-54, NBKM-850, Hldr-18, Cetn-4, NBeo-648, Dcni-9, ÖNaB-52, Savn-2, Hldr-21, Hldr-55, BeWk-7, TrRc-6, Hldr-19, NBKM-1139, Pogd-21, Namt-233, Dcni-6, Dcni-8, NBKM-24, NBKM-32, NBKM-853, Qvrt-896

15th century: BeWk-2, SoCM-283, Tism, SoCM-214, Foli-579, Hldr-62, Bodl-Uric, SoCM-215, Gruj-88, Dcni-11, PecP-5, PecP-7, Octv-1, Hldr-58, Hldr-61, Hldr-64, NBeo-7, ParN-27, PecP-3, SANU-276, ZgMH-41, Zgrf-210, Hldr-24, Svst-48.2, JeOP-A2, Hldr-42, UBSM-Cor2, Hldr-28, MunB-1, Dcni-14, SoCM-374, SANU-279, Rila-8, Foli-746, NBKM-855, Txnr-538, WBNr-BOZ4, Aban-13, Hldr-26, NBKM-857, BARm-88, BeBP-254, Blsk-165, BMSb-IV.1, BrtL-41256^e, CphK, MSPC-357, NBKM-35, NBKM-39, NBKM-40, NBKM-41, NBKM-477, NBKM-480, NBKM-478, NBKM-479, NBKM-854, NBIV-15, Qvrt-3, Qvrt-14, Dcni-13, Foli-56, Pogd-148, Pogd-151, SANU-69, Txnr-706

16th century: Kopi-7, NUBS-167, PecP-14, Rila-5, MSPC-177, NBKM-66, BcrA-6, BARm-8, Dcni-18, Nklc-10, NBeo-463, Szeh-3, Gruj-189, Gruj-224, Nklc-4, JeOP-2, BcrP-I-182, BcrP-III-16, Gruj-210, Rars, SoCM-1524, Pogd-22, BARm-744, NBKM-54, Egor-78, PecP-15, NBKM-483, Zgrf-271, NBeo-102, BeBP-69, BeBP-76, NBeo-95, NBeo-638, NBeo-663, Nklc-2, Nklc-3, HAZE-71, Stdr-RA1, ZgMH-44, Gruj-208, NBKM-65, Rumc-130, Blsk-274, BMSb-IV.6, Gilf-9, HAZU-IIIb8, NBeo-642, NBeo-734, NBKM-1142, ÖNaB-1, Ptrs-18, SoCM-569, Dcni-19, MSPC-17, Cetn-2, Stdr-GR1, ZgMH-43, BARm-510, Cetn-6, BcrA-9, WBNr-829, Cetn-9, BeBP-262, SoCM-916, Zgrf-27, Gruj-190, SoCM-340, Dcni-15, NBKM-1364, PecP-17, JeOP-A1, Gruj-163, Cetn-7, Gruj-204, Zgrf-17, Nklc-7, Zgrf-26, NBeo-664, NBIV-17, Zgrf-33, NBKM-872, NBKM-873, Dcni-16, NBKM-58, Foli-747, Foli-951, Gruj-207, HAZE-IIIc7, NBeo-29, NBeo-500, Nklc-9, Rila-10, UBSM-Cor3, MSPC-353, MSPC-332, BcrA-11, NBKM-67, Dcni-17, Nklc-8, NBKM-73, LIMu-6, Sptc-261, ZgMH-47, BcrA-13, Foli-762, Gruj-202, SPbA-AI98, BARm-92, BARm-184, BeBP-53, Lubl-543, NBKM-866, NBeo-401, Txnr-368, ZgMH-46, Aban-15,

BARm-89, BARm-91, BARm-178, BARm-179, BARm-193, BARm-484, BARm-533, BARm-700, BeBP-357, BeBP-432, BeWk-9^c, BMSb-I.55, BMSb-IV.2, BMSb-IV.7, BrtL-30030, ClAL-4, ClAL-13, ClUB-4097, Drgv-5a, Egor-47, Krka-3, LIMu-31, Lubl-551, MPDA-209749, MSPC-77, MSPC-135, MSPC-148, MSPC-154, MSPC-261, MSPC-352, NBKM-44, NBKM-64, NBIV-18, NBIV-20, NBKM-43, NBKM-45, NBKM-63, NBKM-864, ParN-67, Pisk-4, Qvrt-29, Sptc-179, Sptc-274, Drgv-5, Gruj-192, NBKM-75, NUBS-157, BARm-198, BARm-812

17th century: Hldr-33, NUBS-42, ÖNaB-17, SoCM-243, Titv-3227, ZgMH-48, Zgrf-186, Stef-ND46, Sptc-86, PecP-18, Drag-602, IasA-1790, Cetn-5, BARm-618, Gruj-Z-I-18, MSPC-173, BcrA-20, BARm-625, BARm-13, BcrA-21, BARm-190, Ptna-49, Hldr-44, NBKM-76, LIMu-157, NBIV-142, BARm-196, BARm-433, BARm-483, BeBP-263, BMSb-IV.1^{supp}, ÖNaB-21^{**}, PecP-10, Pogd-128^{supp}, WBNr-872, BARm-9^{supp}

18th century: NBKM-38^{supp}

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Miejsca spisania Ewangelii według subskrypcji w cerkiewnosłowiańskich Ewangeliach tetr

Artykuł poświęcony jest analizie informacji o miejscu spisania Ewangelii, zawartych w subskrypcjach występujących w rękopiśmiennych i starych drukach Ewangelii tetr. Umieszczane na końcu poszczególnych ksiąg ewangelicznych subskrypcje zawierały niekiedy dodatkowe informacje dotyczące miejsca ich powstania, wskazując na Jerozolimę, Rzym lub Patmos. W niniejszym studium przeanalizowano występowanie oraz pochodzenie tych dodatków. Badania wykazały, że w starych drukach Ewangelii tetr określenie geograficzne występuje wyłącznie w jednej subskrypcji – do czwartej Ewangelii – i jest obecne we wszystkich wydaniach południowosłowiańskich. Element ten został przejęty z tradycji rękopiśmiennej, w której jest poświadczony już w pierwszym dziesięcioleciu XIV wieku. Dodatek ten występuje w jednej czwartej rękopisów objętych badaniem. Analiza rękopiśmiennych Ewangelii tetr wykazała ponadto, że określenia geograficzne obecne w subskrypcjach do trzech pierwszych Ewangelii stanowią późniejsze i rzadko spotykane dodatki. Są one poświadczone przede wszystkim w kodeksach datowanych na XVI wiek, a sporadycznie także na drugą połowę XV wieku. Dodatki te mają charakter interpolacji zaczerpniętych z krótkich przedmów, występujących niekiedy po subskrypcjach do Ewangelii. Wyjątek stanowi jeden rękopis bułgarski z drugiej połowy XIII wieku. Jego pokrewieństwo z niektórymi greckimi Ewangelią tetr pochodzenia południowosłowiańskiego potwierdza obecność kilku wspólnych wariantów tekstowych.

Słowa kluczowe: Ewangelia tetr; miejsce; identyfikator geograficzny; posłowie; Ewangelia

The places of composition of the Gospels according to the subscriptions in Church Slavonic Tetraevangelia

This paper is dedicated to the examination of the so-called geographical modifier present in the subscriptions to the Gospels in handwritten and early printed Tetraevangelia. The four Gospels sometimes have additional information at the end regarding where they were written, i.e., Jerusalem, Rome or Patmos. This paper analyses the presence and origin of these additions. The study points out that in early printed Tetraevangelia, a geographical modifier is present in one subscription (to the fourth Gospel) in all South Slavonic editions. It was inherited from a handwritten tradition, where it dates back to the first decade of the fourteenth century. A quarter of the studied manuscripts feature this addition. The examined manuscripts of Tetraevangelia prove that geographical modifiers in the subscriptions to the first three Gospel books are mostly late and rare additions. They are attested in codices dated usually to the sixteenth or sometimes to the second half of the fifteenth century. These additions are intrusions from succinct prefaces, which can follow the subscriptions to the Gospels. One Bulgarian manuscript from the second half of the thirteenth century is an exception in this case. Its affinity with some Greek Tetraevangelia of southern Italian provenance was confirmed by several textual variants.

Keywords: Tetraevangelion; origin; place; geographical modifier; subscription; Gospel

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