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The 11 Matins Gospels
of the Rite of Constantinople

Liturgy and Numerology

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Abstract

In Sunday Matins in Antioch and Constantinople, no Gospel passage was read until the 6th century, when Patriarch Severus of Antioch introduced this custom. The Hagiopolite liturgy preserved in Armenian knows a series of four pericopes, which the Jerusalem cathedral later doubled to eight. The 11 resurrection gospels appear in Constantinople in the 9th century as a series independent of the Jerusalem one in both structure and content. The choice of the number 11 in the series, based on numerology, depends on a solid patristic tradition that links the two numbers of the resurrection, three and eight, in the sum of 11.

Keywords

Matins Gospels | Constantinopolitan Liturgy | Hagiopolite Liturgy | Numerology

The 11 Matins Gospels of the Rite of Constantinople

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The Byzantine Office for Sunday morning includes the reading of a pericope taken from the final chapters of one of the four Gospels, narrating the events after the Resurrection of Jesus. There are 11 of these readings, which are repeated in order cyclically, beginning with the first Sunday after Pentecost, while they follow a proper order in the period from Easter to Pentecost.¹ An older series of only four pericopes is known and in use to this day in the Armenian Apostolic Church, while a series of eight pericopes, no longer in use, is attested by the manuscript sources of the Jerusalem rite. The relationship between these three series was studied almost forty years ago by Sebastia Janeras,² who traced the origin of the first two to the rite of the Holy City, and looked outside Jerusalem for the Byzantine series of 11 pericopes, although this last would have been

¹ Cf. Caspar R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1900, 364; the description of the proper order of the Gospels between Easter and Pentecost is here edited according to the ms *Athens EBE 180* (a. 1089).

² Cf. Sebastia JANERAS, *I vangeli domenicali della resurrezione nelle tradizioni liturgiche agiopolita e bizantina*, in: *Paschale Mysterium. Studi in memoria dell'Abate Prof. Salvatore MARSILI (1910–1983)*, ed. by Giustino FARNEDI (SA 91/AL 10), Rome 1986, 55–69.

made from pericopes of the Easter week of the Hagiopolite rite.³ Stig Frøyshov has recently dissociated himself from Janeras' conclusions, proposing Hagiopolite origins also for the Byzantine series.⁴ In the following pages, I will review the dossier on the subject in the light of hitherto unconsidered documents, and after a re-reading of parts of the already-known documentation. In particular, I will focus on the possible reasons behind the decision to choose the number 11. Let us begin with the *status quaestionis*.

1 *The Armenian and Hagiopolite Series of Four Gospels*

According to Janeras' reconstruction, originally there would have been a series of four pericopes taken from the four evangelists in the order Mt, Mk, Lk, Jn, the series which we find today in the Armenian rite.

1. Mt 28,1–20
2. Mk 15,45–16,8
3. Lk 23,50–24,18
4. Jn 19,38–20,18

These are the so-called “Gospels of the Myrrh-bearers”⁵, although only the first one recounts the appearance of the angel to the women carrying ointments.⁶ The remaining pericopes do not focus wholly on the appearances of the Risen One but expand the narrative to include the burial. Athanase Renoux noted that the four morning pericopes correspond to those as-

³ Cf. JANERAS, *I vangeli domenicali*, 69.

⁴ Cf. Stig Simeon FRØYSHOV, *The Resurrection Office of First Millennium Jerusalem Liturgy and Its Adoption in Close Peripheries. Part II: The Gospel Reading and the Post-Gospel Section*, in: *Sion, mère des Eglises. Mêlanges liturgiques offerts au Père Charles Athanase RENOUX*, ed. by Michael D. FINDIKYAN et al. (*Semaines d'études liturgiques Saint-Serge. Supplément 1*), Münster 2016, 109–147.

⁵ *Žamagirk' [Book of the Hours of the Holy Church of Armenia]*, Antelias 1969, 245–248. 248–250. 251–253. 253–256.

⁶ Cf. Athanase RENOUX, *Les lectures quadragésimales du rite arménien*, in: *REA 5 (1968) 231–247*, here: 241.

signed by the Armenian Jerusalem lectionary to the four Paschal Liturgies celebrated between Saturday evening and Monday morning:⁷

- a) Easter Vigil at the Martyrium: Mt 28,1–20 [= 1],⁸
- b) Easter liturgy at the Anastasis immediately after the Vigil: Jn 19,38 [20,1]–20,18 [= 4],⁹
- c) Liturgy on Easter day at the *Martyrium*: Mk 15,42 [16,2]–16,8 [= 2],¹⁰
- d) Liturgy on Easter Monday Lk 23,50–24,12 [= 3].¹¹

Unfortunately, the ancient Armenian Lectionary does not contain the series of four pericopes expressly intended for the morning office. In the celebrations between Saturday and Monday, the pericopes are distributed according to the chronology of the events narrated, while in their use in the morning service, where the reading is cyclical, the order of the evangelists proper to the common canon of the Gospels is followed. To fill the large chronological gap between Egeria and the Armenian *textus receptus* (*Žamagirk*), we have the short version of the Commentary on the Armenian Liturgy of the Hours by Step'anos Siwnec'i († 735) which alludes to three of the pericopes (Mt, Mk and Lk).¹² As Michael Findikyan notes, the absence of the pericope from John in this text can be considered accidental.¹³

2 *The Hagiopolite Series of Eight Gospels*

Sinai manuscripts in Greek, Arabic and Georgian contain a second series of eight pericopes obtained by doubling the previous series:

⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 242; JANERAS, *I vangeli domenicali*, 56–59.

⁸ Charles A. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, vol. 2 : Édition comparée du texte et de deux autres manuscrits. Introduction, textes, traduction et notes (PO 36/2), Paris 1970, 309.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 311.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 313.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 315.

¹² Cf. Michael D. FINDIKYAN, *The Commentary on the Armenian Daily Office by Bishop Step'anos Siwnec'i († 735). Critical Edition and Translation with Textual and Liturgical Analysis* (OCA 270), Rome 2004, 389–391.

¹³ Cf. *ibid.*, 391.

1. Mt 28,1–20
2. Mk 15,45–16,8
3. Lk 23,50–24,18
4. Jn 19,38–20,18

5. Mt 28,1–20
6. Mk 16,9–20
7. Lk 24,13–35
8. Jn 21,1–14.¹⁴

Each pericope is paired with one of the eight modes of ecclesiastical music, beginning with the four authentic modes and continuing with the four plagal modes. According to Janeras, these readings also come from the rite of the Holy City and are taken from the days immediately following Easter. After the first four there are another four, of which the fifth is simply the repetition of the first, while the remaining two from Mark and Luke [6 and 7] are the immediate continuation of pericopes 2 and 3,¹⁵ according to the Hagiopolite practice of *lectio continua*.

Apart from some discrepancies in this new series according to the various sources used,¹⁶ it must be said that not all the groups of eight pericopes attested in “Sinaitic” sources form a series linked to the eight musical modes. In *Sinai gr. 210*, a 9th-century Greek evangeliary of the Hagiopolite rite, the eight passages are part of the Holy Week Gospels, arranged in a *lectio continua* that begins before the first passage and continues after the eighth for each evangelist.¹⁷ The series as such, therefore, had a limited history of use in the Jerusalem rite, and around the 9th century, the date of *Sinai gr. 210*, was not perceived as a series.

¹⁴ Summary table of sources in JANERAS, I vangeli domenicali, 62.

¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 61–64.

¹⁶ E. g., in *Sinai gr. 212* the pericopes of Matthew (the first and fifth) are respectively: Mt 28,1–8 and Mt 28,9–20 and not Mt 28,1–20 repeated twice. See Daniel GALADZA, Two Greek Ninth-Century Sources of the Jerusalem Lectionary: *Sinai Gr. 212* and *Sinai Gr. N.E. M.F. 11*, in: BBGG 11 (2014) 79–111, here: 83 f.

¹⁷ *Sinai gr. 210*, fols. 144^v–158^v.

3 *The Byzantine Series of 11 Gospels*

We now come to the series in use in the Byzantine rite:

1. Mt 28,16–20
2. Mk 16,1–8
3. Mk 16,9–20
4. Lk 24,1–12
5. Lk 24,12–35
6. Lk 24,36–53
7. Jn 20,1–10
8. Jn 20,11–18
9. Jn 20,19–31
10. Jn 21,1–14
11. Jn 21,15–25.¹⁸

Careful analysis shows even greater discrepancies between the Hagiopolite pericopes attested in the Armenian and “Sinaitic” traditions and the 11 readings in the Byzantine tradition. The differences concern both the order of the pericopes and their extent, i. e. the beginning and end of the readings. The latter criterion is obviously conditioned by the natural division of events in the Gospels, but even taking this into account, the incipit and desinit often do not coincide. This is a strong criterion for establishing whether the length of a passage was determined independently. When pericopes were taken already “cut” from another tradition, their incipit and desinit are preserved; when, on the other hand, new ones were chosen, the criteria for selecting them were determined independently.

The series of the 11 Byzantine Gospels is called the “Resurrection Gospels” (*εὐαγγέλια ἀναστάσιμα*). In fact, the passages take up episodes from the Gospel narrative later than those of the Armenian series known as that “of the Myrrh-bearers”. It was not necessary for the Byzantine rite to draw on the Hagiopolite tradition to compile a series of passages narrating the Lord’s Resurrection: it would have been sufficient to take them independently from the Gospel narratives. The Byzantine rite, like that of the Holy City, chose the pericopes narrating the events after the Resurrec-

¹⁸ Cf. note 1.

tion according to its own, independent criterion. The Byzantine series presents them according to their order in the four Gospels and is arranged organically and symmetrically: one passage from Matthew, two from Mark, three from Luke and five from John. The pericopes always include the final parts of the four Gospels. Within each evangelist, the pericopes follow the *lectio continua*. The cycle is formed organically, follows the narratives of the four Gospels in an orderly manner and seems to be the result of a deliberate choice, not an adaptation from another rite.

There is no trace, therefore, of a composite origin, whereas, according to Janeras' reconstruction, from an initial series of four Sunday Gospels, one would have passed to a doubled series of eight, and finally to the Byzantine series of 11.

This observation leads us to ask when and how the Byzantine series was formed; whether it really depends on the Jerusalem tradition; and further, from what point did the rite of Constantinople institute a reading of the Resurrection in the Sunday morning office. Let us then begin by investigating the liturgical sources, remembering that the liturgical manuscripts of the New Testament do not predate the 9th century, by which point the series of the 11 Gospels was already formed.

4 *The Series of 11 Gospels in the Liturgical Manuscripts of the New Testament*

In his landmark article of 1961 on the problems of Byzantine Orthros, Juan Mateos believed, based on the Moscow lectionary *GIM Sinod. 42/Vladimir 11*,¹⁹ that the morning Gospels were already in use in the 8th century. Mateos drew his information from the manual of Michail Skaballanovič, which was based on Archimandrite Vladimir's catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in the Synodal Library in Moscow.²⁰ In the light of recent paleographic discoveries, the dating of this manuscript should be

¹⁹ Cf. Juan MATEOS, Quelques problèmes de l'orthros byzantin, in: *POC 11* (1961) 17–35. 201–220, here: 218, note 76.

²⁰ Cf. Michail SKABALLANOVIČ, Толковый типикон, vol. 2, Kiev 1913, 247–248; Archimandrit VLADIMIR [FILANTROPOV], Систематическое описание рукописей Московской Синодальной (Патриаршей) библиотеки. Ч. 1: Рукописи греческие, Moscow 1894.

moved to the 10th century.²¹ This discrepancy should not be surprising, since previously, many codices were assigned to the 8th or even 7th century simply because they were written in majuscule.²²

One of the oldest New Testament codices to report the series of 11 pericopes is the St. Petersburg tetraevangelium *RNB gr. 219*, completed by Nicholas, the second hegumen of the Stoudion monastery, in 835.²³ The indication of the pericopes is noted in the margins by the main hand with “ἀναστάσιμον” followed by its number within the order.²⁴ The second redaction of the Hypotyposis of the Stoudion, preserved as an appendix to the Sabaite typikon *Athos Vatopedi 1202 (olim 322 and 956)* from the beginning of the 14th century, also refers to the Resurrection Gospels when it prescribes that a morning Gospel (ἑωθινόν) is not to be read on Pentecost Sunday.²⁵ It should be noted that the earliest redaction ignores this admonition.²⁶ The lectionary *Sofia Dujčev 272 (I 1069)*, written in a minuscule similar to that of the Anastasius style,²⁷ also dates back to the 9th century. The 11 Gospels occupy fols. 233^v–245^v and are written after the fixed cycle of the liturgical year (September–August) and the pericopes for various needs and for the deceased. The series is introduced by the title Εὐαγγέλια ἀναστάσιμα ἑωθινὰ κυριακῶν τε καὶ ἑορτῶν. The evangeliary

²¹ Cf. Boris L. FONKÍČ – Fedor B. РОЛЖАКОВ, Греческие рукописи Московской Синодальной библиотеки. Палеографические, кодикологические и библиографические дополнения к каталогу архимандрита Владимира (Филантропова), Moscow 1993.

²² Cf., e. g., the dating of the palimpsests in the catalogue of the Messina manuscripts: Augustus MANCINI, *Codices graeci Monasterii Messanensis S. Salvatoris (Atti della Reale Accademia Peloritana 22)*, Messina 1907.

²³ Cf. Irina N. ЛЕВЕДЕВА, Каталог греческих рукописей Российской национальной библиотеки, St. Petersburg 2014, 108.

²⁴ *RNB gr. 219*, fols. 157^r (2), 157^v (3), 259^v (4), 260^r (5), 333^v (7), 334^r (8), 335^r (9), 336^v (10), 338^r (11). The indication of pericopes 1, 5, 6 was placed on sheets which are now lost.

²⁵ Cf. Alexej ДМИТРИЕВСКИЈ, Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках православного Востока, vol. 1: *Τυπικά*, Kiev 1895 [reprint: Hildesheim 1965], 230: *Ἰστέον, ὅτι τῇ ἀγίᾳ Πεντηκοστῇ εὐαγγέλιον ἑωθινὸν οὐκ ἀναγινώσχεται.*

²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, note 1.

²⁷ Cf. Edoardo CRISCI – Paola DEGNI, *La scrittura greca dall'antichità all'epoca della stampa. Una introduzione* (Beni culturali 35), Rome 2011, 134 f.


Basel Univ. Bibl. AN/III 12, which according to Annaclara Cataldi Palau may have been written in Ravenna,²⁸ also seems to date from the 9th century. The title assigned to each pericope is ἀναστάσιμον followed by its number in the sequence.²⁹

In the lectionary *Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale 10* (I 292), the series of the 11 Gospels is written at the end of the movable cycle³⁰ and bears the title Εὐαγγέλια ἀναστάσιμα ἑωθινά ια'. The codex, which is written in an upright ogival majuscule similar to the liturgical majuscule and should be assigned to the 10th century rather than the 9th, comes from Cyprus, or at least was in Cyprus soon after being written.³¹ Among the lectionaries of the same period, I would mention, as an example, the lectionary in liturgical majuscule *Munich gr. 383* (I 24), which also places the 11 Gospels after the movable cycle with the title Εὐαγγέλια ἑωθινά ἀναστάσιμα³². After the fixed cycle of the liturgical year, however, we find the series in *Athos Dionysiou 1*³³ and *Paris gr. 278*³⁴ and in the aforementioned *Moscow GIM Sinod. 42/Vladimir 11*³⁵. Due to the limitations imposed by the Albanian authorities on the online dissemination of images, and the impossibility of visiting the library, I was unable to consult the 9th century *Tirana gr. 3*.

²⁸ Cf. Annaclara CATALDI PALAU, A little known manuscript of the Gospels in "maiuscola biblica": Basil. Gr. A. N. III. 12, in: *Byzantion* 74 (2004) 463–516 = EAD., *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*, vol. 1, Spoleto 2008, 21–67.

²⁹ E. g., *Basel Univ. Bibl. AN/III 12*, fol. 94^r.

³⁰ Described in detail by GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* I, 343–364; cf. also Charles G. A. LAMBERT, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Carpentras*, I, Carpentras 1862, 9–12.

³¹ Consulted from the INTF site in Münster: <https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace>.  The morning Gospels are found on fols. 220^v–225^r.

³² *Munich gr. 383*, fols. 198^r–202^v.

³³ *Athos Dionysiou 1*, fol. 213^v: Εὐαγγέλια ἀναστάσιμα ἑωθινά τῶν κυριακῶν.

³⁴ *Paris gr. 278*, fol. 239^r: Εὐαγγέλια ἑωθινά τῶν κυριακῶν.

³⁵ Cf. Archimandrit VLADIMIR, *Систематическое описание*, 12: ἀναγνώσματα ἑωθινά ἀναστάσιμα.

Regarding the title that introduces the series, the adjective *ἑωθινόν* is added very early on to *ἀναστάσιμον* as some of the most important feasts had also acquired a Gospel pericope to be read during Orthros.³⁶

5 *The στιχηρὰ ἑωθινά, the ἑξαποστειλάρια and their Authors*

The appendices of the current editions of the *Παρακλητική/Ὁκτώηχος* contain 11 exaposteilaria, each with its own theotokion, and 11 morning idiomela for Sunday Orthros.³⁷ The exaposteilarion is a hymn which originated in Jerusalem, already known to the Georgian *ladgari*, and performed between the hymnographic canon and the Psalms of Lauds (Pss 148–150).³⁸ In that same position, it was incorporated into the various local recensions of the Byzantine rite. The morning idiomelon is sung at the end of the Lauds Psalms.³⁹ As may be imagined, the 11 exaposteilaria and the 11 idiomela comment on the 11 Resurrection pericopes. According to the editions cited, the idiomela are said to be the work of Emperor Leo VI the Wise (886–912) and the exaposteilaria of his son Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945–959). In the past, the attribution of the idiomela to Leo had provided a *terminus ante quem* for dating the entry of the 11 Gospels into the Byzantine rite, an attribution which is now invalidated by the witness of the tetraevangelium *S. Peterburg RNB gr. 219*. Indeed, it must be admit-

³⁶ Cf. the 10th century tetraevangelium *Cambridge, Univ. Libr. Add. 6594*, fols. 78^r (*ἑωθινόν α'*) 133^r (*ἀνάγνωσμα β' τοῦ ὄρθρου ἀναστάσιμον*), 134^r (*εὐαγγέλιον γ' τοῦ ὄρθρου ἑωθινόν*). The codex is copied in a straight late majuscule like that of the Carpentras lectionary and the indication of pericopes is in the margins in the copyist's hand. The single adjective *ἑωθινόν* indicates the Resurrection pericopes also in *Vatican gr. 354* (a. 949), fol. 77^r.

³⁷ E. γ., *Παρακλητική ἤτοι Ὁκτώηχος ἡ μεγάλη*, Rome 1885, 706–712; *Παρακλητική*, Athens 1979, 465–468.

³⁸ Cf. Stefano PARENTI, Върху историята на ексапостилария, in: Пение мало Георгию. Сборник в чест на 65-годишнината на проф. Георги Попов, ed. by M. ЈОВЧЕВА et al., Sofia 2010, 285–296.

³⁹ By idiomelon is meant a hymn to be performed with its own melody, cf. Egon WELLESZ, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, Oxford 1962, 243 f.

ted that this attribution, like many others, rests on very scant evidence. I simply note that in the sticherarion *Athos Lavra Γ 67* of the 10th/11th century, the relevant stichera and exaposteilaria are given anonymously,⁴⁰ as in other later manuscripts. The attribution to Leo emerges in the mid-11th century with the sticherarion *Sinai gr. 1242*.⁴¹ As has been noted recently, a sticheron for Pentecost Sunday that the current hymnographic books ascribe to the pen of Leo the Wise⁴² comes instead from the 7th century Georgian *ladgari*.⁴³

Similar problems arise with the attribution of the 11 exaposteilaria to Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Studies by Theodora Antonopoulou have shown that not all the hymns attributed to Constantine should be considered his work.⁴⁴ This being the case, when cataloguing manuscripts, it

⁴⁰ Cf. *Lavra Γ 67*, fol. 150^v (X sec.): Σὺν θεῷ στιχηρὰ ἰδιόμελα ἀναστάσιμα κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἀναστασίμων ἑωθινῶν ἀγίων εὐαγγελίων. Cf. also Panagiotis I. SKALTZIS, *Τὰ ἑωθινὰ Εὐαγγέλια*, in: *ιδ.*, *Λειτουργικὲς Μελέτες*, Thessaloniki 2006, 273–293, here: 291, note 82.

⁴¹ Cf. Dimitrios K. BALAGEORGOS – Flora N. KRITIKOU, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς Σινά Α΄. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀποκειμένων στὴν Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Ὁρους Σινᾶ*, Athens 2008, 110 f.

⁴² Inc. Δεῦτε λαοί, τὴν τρισυπόστατον θεότητα προσκυνήσωμεν, in: Πεντηκοστᾶριον χαρμόσυνον, Rome 1883, 391. 418 f.

⁴³ Cf. Stefano PARENTI, The Beginning of the Hagiopolite Liturgy in Constantinople: New Narrative or Historical Novel? About an Article by Stig R. Frøyskov, in: *Medioevo Greco* 22 (2022) 399–427, here: 409.

⁴⁴ Cf. Theodora ANTONOPOULOU, Imperial Hymnography. The Canons Attributed to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. With the Critical Edition of the First Canon on St John Chrysostom, in: *Middle and Late Byzantine Poetry. Texts and Contexts*, ed. by Andreas RHOBY – Nikos ZAGKLAS (*Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization* 14), Turnhout 2018, 211–244; *EAD.*, Imperial Hymnography. The Second Canon on St John Chrysostom by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, in: *Mélanges Bernard FLUSIN*, ed. by André BINGGELI et al. (TM 23/1), Paris 2019, 11–40; *EAD.*, Imperial Hymnography. The Canon of St Demetrios Attributed to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, in: *Kalligraphos – Essays on Byzantine Language, Literature and Palaeography. From Byzantine Historiography to Post-Byzantine Poetry. Festschrift in Honour of Ioannes MAVROMATIS*, ed. by Alexander ALEXAKIS – Dimitrios S. GEORGAKOPOULOS (*ByA* 42), Berlin – Boston 2023, 27–55.

would perhaps be more prudent not to add into the text, even in brackets, the uncertain attributions of authorship given by liturgical editions.⁴⁵ From the manuscript tradition it also appears that the 11 theotokia are later additions.

6 *The Resurrection Gospels in the Rite of the Great Church*

At the end of Easter Vespers, manuscript P (*Patmos 266*) of the synaxarion of the Great Church describes a rite held in the patriarchal palace:

Χρὴ γινώσκειν ὅτι μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ λυχνικοῦ, ἀνέρχεται ὁ πατριάρχης ἐν τοῖς εὐκτηρίοις τοῦ Πατριαρχείου, καὶ γίνεται ὑπὸ τοῦ διακόνου τὸ μέγα Κύριε ἐλέησον, καὶ ἀναγινώσκει ὁ πατριάρχης τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ ἀναστάσιμον τῆς πλευρᾶς ἕως· ἂν τινων κρατῆτε κεκράτηνται (Jn 20,23).⁴⁶

Manuscript H (*Jerusalem Stauroi 40*) reworks this text and introduces a rubric explaining that this rule is now obsolete, and the reading of the pericope is done during Vespers by the protopresbyter.

Χρὴ γινώσκειν ὅτι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ λυχνικοῦ, ἀνέρχεται ὁ πατριάρχης ἐν τοῖς εὐκτηρίοις τοῦ πατριαρχείου, καὶ ἐλέγετο ὑπὸ

⁴⁵ Cf. Donatella BUCCA, *Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali greci del SS. Salvatore di Messina* (Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria di Messina), Rome 2011, LXVII: "In grassetto sono riportati i nomi degli autori, tra parentesi angolate se integrati a partire da altre fonti. Si fa presente, tuttavia, che la paternità degli inni è stata accertata e qui segnalata solo per l'innografia maggiore (contaci e canoni); per le altre composizioni tale paternità non è facilmente accertabile e, pertanto, viene indicata solo saltuariamente, in particolare ove riportata nelle edizioni romane dei libri liturgici greci di Propaganda Fide".

⁴⁶ *Patmos 266*, fol. 222^r: ДМИТРИЕВСКИЈ, Описание I, 137.

τοῦ διακόνου ἢ μεγάλη ἐκτενή, καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκεν ὁ πατριάρχης τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ ἀναστάσιμον τῆς πλευρᾶς ἕως· ἂν τινων κρατῆτε κεκράτηνται (Jn 20,23).
 Νῦν δὲ παρόντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας, ἀναγινώσκειται τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πρωτοπρεσβυτέρου ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄμβωνος.⁴⁷

The reading in question is that of Jesus' appearance to the disciples in the absence of Thomas, and is part of a larger pericope, called "of the side", which is read at the Divine Liturgy on the following Sunday.⁴⁸ This pericope also corresponds to the ninth in the series of 11 Resurrection Gospels. The use of the term ἀναστάσιμον might lead us to suppose that in the environment of the Great Church they used the series of the 11 Gospels. This supposition is reinforced by the fact that towards the end of *Codex H* the 11 Resurrection pericopes are listed.⁴⁹ However, it should be noted that the order of this Gospel as the ninth within the series is not indicated. In Greek liturgical terminology, the adjective ἀναστάσιμον signifies not only the Resurrection but also Sunday.⁵⁰ We see this, for example, in a rubric of the synaxarium *Vatican gr. 2046* (12th–13th c.), where it is noted that if the

⁴⁷ Juan MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*. Ms. Sainte-Croix n° 40, X^e siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes, vol. 2: Le cycle des fêtes mobiles (OCA 166), Rome 1963, 96 f., note 2. A different version is given in ДМИТРИЕВСКИИ, Описание I, 137, note 1, taken from the 12th century apostolos *Athos Panteleimon 252* (now lost?): Χρῆ δὲ γινώσκειν, ὅτι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ λυχνικοῦ, ἀνέρχεται ὁ πατριάρχης ἐν τοῖς εὐκτηρίοις τοῦ πατριάρχου (probably: πατριαρχίου), καὶ λέγεται ὑπὸ τοῦ διακόνου ἢ μέλλουσα (sic) ἐκτενή, καὶ ἀναγινώσκει ὁ πατριάρχης τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς πλευρᾶς τό· Οὔσης ὀψίας, ἕως· κεκράτηνται (Joh 20,19–23), νῦν δὲ παρόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας, ἀναγινώσκειται τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πρωτοπρεσβυτέρου ἢ τοῦ δευτερεύοντος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄμβωνος. Other witnesses in Georgios ANDREOU, *Il Praxapostolos bizantino*. Edizione del codice Mosca GIM Vlad. 21 (Savva 4) (JThF 46), Münster 2023, 162.

⁴⁸ MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église* II, 108.

⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.* The oldest *codex P* ends mutilated with the month of August and thus it is not possible to ascertain the presence of the series of morning Gospels.

⁵⁰ Cf. Geoffrey W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, 120 s. v.; Charles DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae & Infimae Graecitatis*, vol. 1, Paris 1688 [reprint: Graz 1958], col. 72.

Exaltation of the Cross (14 September) falls on a Sunday (ἐν κυριακῇ), nothing is to be sung of the Sunday *proprium* (ἀναστάσιμον).⁵¹ Thus, going back to the rubric of *codex P* of the Synaxarion, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ ἀναστάσιμον could mean no more than “Sunday Gospel”.

As I have had occasion to write elsewhere,⁵² in the Orthros of the euchologium *Barberini gr. 336* (post 787) there are no references to a Gospel reading, whether on Sundays or on feast days.⁵³ The manuscript continues an ancient tradition, possibly of Antiochene origin, prior to the 6th century. In fact, we know that in Antioch a reading of a Gospel of the Resurrection on Sunday night was instituted by Patriarch Severus between 512 and 518, as recorded in his Homily 77, which is titled as follows:

“Ὅτι κατὰ μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐναντιωθέντες οἱ εὐαγγελισταὶ διαφόρως τὰ συμβεβηκότα περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἰστόρησαν, ἅτινα ἐν πάσῃ κυριακῇ νυκτὶ ἀναγινώσκομεν.

In his opening words, Severus claims responsibility for the institution of the reading, or rather – apparently – of a cycle of readings:

Πάντες μὲν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀποδέχονται τὴν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ νυκτὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν εἰσηγηθεῖσαν ἀρμοδίως τῶν ἱερῶν εὐαγγελίων ἀνάγνωσιν περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Vatican gr. 2046*, fol. 15^v: [...] Παλαιὰ τάξις· [...] Δεῖ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐὰν φθάσει ἢ Ὑψωσις ἐν κυριακῇ, οὐδὲν τὸν ἀναστάσιμον ψάλλομεν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῦ σταυροῦ.

⁵² Elena VELKOVSKA, I “dodici prokeimena” del mattutino cattedrale bizantino, in: *Crossroad of Cultures. Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele WINKLER*, ed. by Hans-Jürgen FEULNER et al. (OCA 260), Rome 2000, 705–716.

⁵³ Cf. *Barb. gr. 336*, 70–84 (BEL.S 80, 97–105; PARENTI – VELKOVSKA).

⁵⁴ SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH, Hom. 77 (PO 16, 794; KUGENER – TRIFFAUX); cf. Jean TABET, *L’Office commun maronite. Étude du Lilyo et du Safro*, Kaslik 1972, 218–223; Gregor M. HANKE, *Vesper und Orthros des Kathedralritus der Hagia Sophia zu Konstantinopel. Eine strukturanalytische und entwicklungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Psalmodie und der Formulare in den Euchologien*, vol. 2 (JThF 21), Münster 2018, 376.

We do not know how many readings this cycle consisted of, and whether Severus had borrowed it from Jerusalem.

According to manuscripts *P* and *H*, in the rite of the Great Church, the reading of a Gospel pericope at Orthros was only foreseen on Holy Saturday (Mt 27,62–66) at the conclusion of the Passion narrative that began with the composite Gospel of the evening Liturgy on Holy Thursday.⁵⁵ With *Codex H*, the vigil (παννυχίς) celebrated late on the evening of Holy Thursday acquires the series of 12 Passion Gospels, inserted into a Matins of the Studite type.⁵⁶

It is true, however, that the series of the 11 Resurrection Gospels, together with the morning Gospels for the main feasts of the year, are found on the final leaves of manuscript *H*. This does not mean that the pericopes in question had entered the cathedral rite. Even as late as 1027, a rubric of the euchologion *Coislin 213*, copied in Constantinople, informs us that the prayer of the Gospel did not belong to the Great Church, but to the “other [churches]” (ταῖς λοιπαῖς) of the city, in which on the most solemn feasts (κατὰ τὰς ἐπισήμους τῶν ἑορτῶν), a Gospel pericope was read.⁵⁷ The rubric says nothing about the Sunday Gospels of the Resurrection, so in the end, their use in the rite of the Great Church remains doubtful. On the other hand, as we saw in § 4, several manuscripts from the 9th and 10th centuries attest to an undeniable diffusion of the 11-Gospel series within the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The earliest dated witness can be traced back to the tradition of the Stoudion monastery, others more generically to the capital city, and none can be assigned with certainty to the Great Church.

We are confronted here with the common difficulty of the ambivalent silence of liturgical sources, which may not mention a particular rite because it was not practiced at the time, or, on the contrary, because it was well known to all. The present case is an instructive one, as it demon-

⁵⁵ Cf. ΜΑΤΕΟΣ, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église II*, 82.

⁵⁶ This is the form provided by the *Dresden A 104*: Konstantin K. АКЕНТ'ЕВ, *Типикон Великой Церкви*. Cod. Dresde A 104. Реконструкция текста по материалам архива А. А. Дмитриевского, St. Petersburg 2008, 83 f.

⁵⁷ Miguel ARRANZ, *L'eucologio costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI. Hagiasmatarion & Archieratikon (Rituale & Pontificale) con l'aggiunta del Leiturgikon (Messale)*, Rome 1996, 94.

strates that liturgical books alone are not sufficient to resolve the problems they raise, without taking into account other kinds of sources. Here, our doubts are dispelled by Chapter 105 (supplementary) of Book I of the *De Cerimoniis* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, datable to the seventh decade of the 10th century. The imperial election of Nicephorus had forced his relatives, threatened by Joseph Parakimomenos, to resort to the right of asylum enjoyed by the cathedral of Hagia Sophia, a right which was often violated. Joseph entered the church early on the morning of Sunday, 9 August 963, at the time when the “divine Gospel of the holy Resurrection” was being read:

Κυριακῆς δὲ οὔσης, θ' τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνός, τῇ ἑωθινῇ ὥρᾳ, λεγομένου τοῦ θείου Εὐαγγελίου τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστάσεως, εἰσέδου ὁ παρακοιμώμενος Ἰωσήφ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐν τῷ Πατριαρχείῳ [...].⁵⁸

The rest of the narrative offers no further pertinent information on the subject, but it is sufficient to prove that in the early 960s, one of the 11 Resurrection pericopes was read in the Orthros of the Great Church. *De Cerimoniis* also allows us to confirm that the series of the 11 pericopes in Codex H of the Synaxarion, dated between 945 and 959, was not part of a “monastic appendix”, but reflects the practice of the Great Church in the mid-10th century.

7 *The 11th Century Heothinon on Palm Sunday in the Typikon of the Anastasis*

At Matins of Palm Sunday, the so-called “typikon of the Anastasis” (ms Jerusalem, *Hagios Stauros* 43) of the year 1122 prescribes the reading of the last of the series of the 11 morning Gospels. The reading is transcribed in full and is introduced by an interesting rubric:

And then the Resurrection Gospel is read because the Holy Anastasis does not leave Sunday without saying it, but always says it. Gospel XI according to John (Jn 21,15–25).⁵⁹

⁵⁸ CONSTANTIN VII PROPHYROGÉNÈTE, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, sous la direction de Gilbert DAGRON et Bernard FLUSIN, vol. 2 (CFHB. SP 52), Paris 2020, 449.

⁵⁹ Cf. Athanasios PAPAPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ανάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς*

At the end of the pericope, a rubric notes not to sing the hymn “Having beheld the Resurrection of Christ” on that Sunday, but the *contrafactum* “Having contemplated Holy Palm Sunday”⁶⁰.

The first rubric led Stig Frøyskov to suppose that the typikon of the Anastasis, by strongly emphasizing the tradition of the cathedral of Jerusalem, offers decisive proof in favour of the Hagiopolite provenance of the series of the 11 Resurrection Gospels. According to the same author, the norms of the typikon of the Anastasis would find confirmation in the lectionaries *Sinai gr. 210* and *Sinai gr. 211*, which do not have a morning pericope for Palm Sunday.⁶¹

This hypothesis, however, faces some obstacles. The meticulous precision of the rubric is rather an indication of a relatively recent intervention, a circumstance confirmed by the demotic language in which it is formulated. Still more problematic is what the rubric states with respect to, for example, the earlier Hagiopolite tradition. From the lectionaries *Sinai gr. 210* and *Sinai georg. 0.38*, we learn that in the ninth and tenth centuries, from Meatfare Sunday to the 5th Sunday of Lent, Sunday Matins had its own pericope taken from the Synoptic Gospels, which replaced the eight pericopes of the Jerusalem series of the Resurrection.⁶² This confirms that the rubric of the typikon of the Anastasis deliberately ignores the earlier Hagiopolite tradition in order to introduce a new system imposed by

σταχυολογίας, vol. 2, St. Petersburg 1894, 11: Εἶθ' οὕτως ἀναγινώσκειται εὐαγγέλιον ἀναστάσιμον, ὅτι ἡ Ἁγία Ἀνάστασις οὐ λείπει κυριακῆ νὰ μὴ τὸ λέγη, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε* λέγεται. Εὐαγγέλιον ια' ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην (*ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ πάντα, corrected from the above cited ms Jerusalem, Hagios Stauros 43, fol. 5'). See Daniel GALADZA, “Blessed is he who has come and comes again”. Eschatology in Palm Sunday Hymns and Processions of Twelfth-Century Jerusalem, in: Hymns, Homilies and Hermeneutics. Experiencing Liturgical Texts in Byzantium, ed. by Sarah GADOR-WHYTE – Andrew MELLAS (Byzantina Australiensia 25), Leiden – Boston 2021, 168–189, here: 179. This author, citing the passage, omits the article ἡ before Ἁγία Ἀνάστασις and writes νὰ μὴ τὸ λέγεται (instead of νὰ μὴ τὸ λέγη), a syntactical construction impossible in Greek.

⁶⁰ PΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, 11 f.; GALADZA, Blessed, 175–179.

⁶¹ Cf. FRØYSKOV, The Resurrection Office, 116 f.

⁶² Cf. Gabriel BERTONIERE, The Sundays of Lent in the Triodion. The Sundays Without a Commemoration (OCA 253), Rome 1997, 46 f.

progressive liturgical Byzantinization. Thus, we must assume that at an earlier stage, Palm Sunday had its own Gospel reading for Matins.

A positive testimony comes from *Sinai georg. O.38* which offers alternatively Mk 11,1–10 or Mk 11,1–11.⁶³ For the presumed absence of a morning Palm Sunday pericope in *Sinai gr. 210* and *211* we find in both codices a reference to a morning pericope taken from the Gospel of Luke:

Sinai gr. 210, fol. 71^r: Εἰς τὸ Εὐλόγημένον πρῶτῃ εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν· Καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤγγισεν εἰς Βηθφαγῆ καὶ Βηθανίαν [...] (Lk 19, 29–40).

Sinai gr. 211, fol. 182^v: Εἰς τὸ Εὐλόγημένον ἕωθεν εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν· Καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπορεύετο ἔμπροσθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤγγισεν εἰς Βηθφαγῆ καὶ Βηθανίαν (Lk 19, 28–40).

It is possible that the subsequent pericope, introduced by the rubric “after the procession”, suggested that the first pericope also belonged to the procession. However, the temporal indications *πρῶτῃ* / *ἕωθεν* point rather towards the morning office.

The substitution of “Having contemplated the Resurrection of Christ” with the *contrafactum* “Having contemplated the holy Palm Sunday” is also explained by the fact that no Resurrection Gospel was originally read on that Sunday.

8 *Eight, Three, Eleven: The Resurrection of Christ and Patristic Numerology*

Assuming that the series of 11 morning Gospels of the Resurrection emerged in Jerusalem, Frøyshov searched the same tradition for other liturgical units composed of 11 elements that could inspire the extension of the Hagiopolite series from 8 to 11. He cites as examples the Christmas and Theophany vigils in the Georgian lectionary, which each have a liturgical unit repeated 11 times, and, again in the same lectionary, the 11 pericopes of the Passion. Since, considering the rubric of the typikon of the Anastasis analyzed above, the hypothesis of an origin in Jerusalem seems unfounded, we will not discuss Frøyshov’s corollary, but investigate other possibilities.

⁶³ Cf. Gérard GARITTE, Un index géorgien des lectures évangéliques selon l’ancien rite de Jérusalem, in: *Mus.* 85 (1972) 337–398, here: 352, no. 77.

In the above-mentioned manual by Mikhail Skaballanovič, the author asks why there are precisely 11 Gospel pericopes, an apparently unusual number in liturgical symbolism.⁶⁴ The question closely resembles the one that a few decades later Juan Mateos would ask himself when faced with the 9, 13 and 15 readings of the Christmas, Theophany and Easter vigils.⁶⁵ Unlike Frøyshov, Skaballanovič pragmatically looked for the answer in the Gospel texts. The first pericope specifically mentions the 11 disciples, and they all predate the election of Matthias (Acts 1,12–26). Skaballanovič's intuition opens the way for further investigation, resorting to the numerology that had so much influence in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, even in Byzantium. There are two numbers that are closely linked to the Resurrection, eight and three, on which I will here summarize some data, even though they are certainly well known.

Let us start with the number eight, whose connection to Sunday and Resurrection does not need to be demonstrated. After an historic article by Jean Danielou,⁶⁶ Reinhart Staats and Antonio Quacquarelli devoted an article and a book to it.⁶⁷ According to Quacquarelli, eight has not only a Paschal significance but also a Christological one:

[...] the number seven [...] recalls Genesis and closes the Old Testament. Easter, on the other hand, marking a decisive change in the history of humanity, has opened a new week in which the work of Christ continues until the coming of the Kingdom [...]. The first day after the 7th, Saturday, becomes the 8th, and the number 8 signifies the coming of Christ. In the number 8 is seen every symbol that is referred to Christ.⁶⁸

In the liturgy there is an implicit relationship between the 8th day and Easter, because Christ rose on the first day after the Sabbath, that is the 8th day; the octave day of Easter, since it presides over every Sunday, is considered the

⁶⁴ Cf. SKABALLANOVIČ, Толковый типикон, 247.

⁶⁵ Cf. Juan MATEOS, *La célébration de la Parole dans la Liturgie byzantine. Étude historique* (OCA 191), Rome 1971, 131.

⁶⁶ Cf. Jean DANIÉLOU, *Le dimanche comme huitième jour*, in: *Le dimanche* (Lex Orandi 39), Paris 1965, 61–89, here: 88 f.

⁶⁷ Cf. Reinhart STAATS, *Ogdoas als ein Symbol für die Auferstehung*, in: *VigChr* 26 (1972) 29–52, previous bibliography 48 f., note 1; Antonio QUACQUARELLI, *L'ogdoade patristica e i suoi riflessi nella liturgia e nei monumenti* (QVetChr 9), Bari 1973.

⁶⁸ QUACQUARELLI, *L'ogdoade patristica*, 32.

octave of the Resurrection, [...] and the same number for this reason recurs in the octaves of feasts.⁶⁹

The word “octave” also appears in the titles of Psalms 6 and 11 (ὕπὲρ τῆς ὀγδοῆς). There is no clear translation of this expression in the modern languages, nor is there a common understanding of its meaning. In contemporary scholarship, various interpretations correspond to the positions taken in the relevant debate by Gilles Dorival and Olivier Munnich. According to Munnich, who relies on philological data, the context of this “octave” cannot be temporal but musical, and can be rendered as “on the eighth string”⁷⁰. According to Dorival, however, ὕπὲρ τῆς ὀγδοῆς might not be a musical expression, but would instead be linked to the circumcision on the eighth day or to certain purification rites after childbirth, while in ancient Christianity, it is the Resurrection of Jesus.⁷¹

The patristic commentaries on the “octave” mentioned in the heading Ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδοῆς of these two Psalms explain it in a temporal sense, linked to the Resurrection. The main interpretations can be found in Origen’s commentaries: “Τοὺς ἐπιγεγραμμένους ‘ὕπὲρ τῆς ὀγδοῆς’ δύο ψαλμοὺς ἡγοῦμαι τὴν σωτήριον τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἡμέραν τοῦ Κυρίου αἰνίττεσθαι”⁷², and especially in Gregory of Nyssa’s explanation of Psalm 6, where the Judaizing meaning of the octave, as an allusion to the circumcision on the eighth day or to certain purification rites after childbirth, is explicitly criticized,⁷³ and it is specified that

⁶⁹ Ibid., 59. 64 f.

⁷⁰ Olivier MUNNICH, *L’étude des titres des Psaumes. Questions de méthode*, in: VT 61/3 (2011) 361–373, here: 366.

⁷¹ Cf. Gilles DORIVAL, *Neuf propositions pour l’étude des titres des psaumes*, in: *La Septante en Allemagne et en France. Septuaginta Deutsch und Bible d’Alexandrie*, ed. by Wolfgang KRAUS – Olivier MUNNICH (OBO 238), Fribourg – Göttingen 2009, 149–165, here: 160.

⁷² ORIGEN, *Selecta in psalmos* (PG 12, 1061; CPG 1426.1.1); cf. also: Δι’ ἣν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου τῇ μετὰ τὸ Σάββατον ἡμέρᾳ, ἣτις ἦν ὀγδοῆ, γενομένην, εἰς τύπον καινῆς ζωῆς, τοιαύτης οἶμαι προγραφῆς τὸν ψαλμὸν ἠξιώσθαι (ibid.).

⁷³ Cf. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *In Ps. 6: πάντως δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε τὸ τῆς ὀγδοῆς μυστήριον. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὸς Ἰουδαϊκὰς ὑπολήψεις εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ὑποφέρεσθαι τινῶν τὴν διάνοιαν· οἱ περὶ τὰ ἀσχήμονα τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν τὸ μεγαλοφυεῖς*

συμβουλευεί τοίνυν ἡ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης ἐπιγραφή μὴ πρὸς τὸν παρόντα βλέπειν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ὀγδὴν ὄραν [...] διαδέχεται ἡ Ὀγδοὴ ἐκείνη, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ ἐφεξῆς αἰὼν ὅλος μία ἡμέρα γενόμενος, καθὼς φησί τις τῶν προφητῶν μεγάλην ἡμέραν τὴν ἐλπίζομένην ὀνομάσας ζωήν. ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ὁ αἰσθητὸς ἥλιος φωτίζει τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς, ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος, ὃς ἀνατολὴ ὑπὸ τῆς προφητείας κατονομάζεται διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε δυσμαῖς συγκαλύπτεσθαι.⁷⁴

We now come to the number 3, which the New Testament closely associates with the Resurrection of Jesus, which takes place, according to his own words (Lk 24,7.46; 1 Cor 15,4), three days after his death. There are also three announcements of the passion, death and Resurrection in the Synoptics (Mt 16,21. 17,22–23. 20,17–19; Mk 8,31. 9,31. 10,32–34; Lk 9.22. 9.43–44. 18,31–33). Both aspects are already highlighted by Origen,⁷⁵ who also connects Jonah’s three-day stay in the belly of the whale with Jesus’ descent into the underworld:

οἶον τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ, ἐξιόντος μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς κοιλίας “τοῦ κήτους”, τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἦν ἀναστάσεως μετὰ “τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας” ἀνισταμένου ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν [...].⁷⁶

τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς ὀγδόης κατάγοντες τὸν τῆς περιτομῆς νόμον καὶ τὸ μετὰ τὴν λοχείαν καθάρσιον καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγουσι τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῆς ὀγδόης καταμνηύεσθαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ διδαχθέντες παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου ὅτι ὁ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστὶ, κἂν ἐν τοῖς μνημονευθεῖσι νόμοις ὁ ἀριθμὸς οὗτος ἐμφέρηται νομοθετῶν καὶ τῷ ἄρρени τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τὴν ἐπὶ καθαρισμοῦ θυσίαν, οὔτε ἀποβάλλομεν τὸν νόμον οὔτε ταπεινῶς ἐκδεχόμεθα εἰδότες ὅτι ἀληθῶς τῇ ὀγδῷ γίνεται ἡ ἀληθινὴ περιτομὴ διὰ τῆς πετρίνης μαχαίρας ἐνεργουμένη (GNO 5, 187 f.; McDONOUGH – ALEXANDER) (CPG 3156).

⁷⁴ Ibid., 83 (CPG 3155).

⁷⁵ To give an example, cf. ORIGEN, In Jo., 10, 248–250: Ὁ μέντοι γε Ἡρακλέων τὸ “ἐν τρισίν” φησὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ “ἐν τρίτῃ”, μὴ ἐρευνήσας, καίτοι γε ἐπιστήσας τῷ “ἐν τρισίν”, πῶς ἐν τρισίν ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐνεργεῖται ἡμέραις. [...] Ἐπι δὲ καὶ τὴν τρίτην φησὶ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ οἶονται δηλοῦσθαι τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνάστασιν. [...] Τούτῳ δὲ ἀκόλουθόν ἐστὶν πρώτην λέγειν εἶναι τὴν χοϊκὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν δευτέραν τὴν ψυχικὴν, οὐ γεγεννημένης τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐν αὐταῖς (SChr 157, 530; BLANC) (CPG 1453).

⁷⁶ ORIGEN, Comm. in Mt., 12,3 (GCS 40, 73 ; KLOSTERMANN) (CPG 1450.1).

A similar juxtaposition is found in the commentaries on the Psalms attributed to Didymus the Blind:

τῆς γὰρ σαρκὸς ἀποτεθειμένης ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ ἢ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας, μεθ' ὃ ἀναστὰς ἔλαβε τὴν σάρκα ἣν τέως διαζεύξας ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος.⁷⁷

Gregory of Nyssa, speaking of the triple baptismal immersion, also links the number three to the Resurrection:

ἀντὶ γῆς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπιχεάμενος καὶ ὑποδὺς τὸ στοιχεῖον ἐν τρισὶ περιόδοις τὴν τριήμερον τῆς ἀναστάσεως χάριν ἀπεμιμήσατο.⁷⁸

Many other examples might be adduced, but now we come to the number 11, that of the Sunday Gospels of the Resurrection.

11 is the sum of three plus eight. 11 is also closely related to Jesus' appearances to the 11 disciples after the Resurrection (Lk 24,9,33; Mt 28,16; Mk 16,14). It is no coincidence that the first Gospel of the series opens with the mention of this number: *Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ ἕνδεκα μαθηταὶ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν* (Mt 28,16). Unlike the Hagiopolite pericopes, the 11 Byzantine Gospels revolve around the appearances of Christ. A good example of the juxtaposition between the number 11 and these appearances is already found in Eusebius of Caesarea:

Κεφᾶς δὲ αὐτὸς ἦν Σίμων ὁ καὶ Πέτρος, ᾧ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἕνδεκα μόνος μόνῳ ὤφθη ὁ Σωτὴρ, τῆς παρὰ πάντας ὑπερβαλλούσης αὐτοῦ χάριν σπουδῆς.⁷⁹

Eusebius, trying to harmonize the events after the Resurrection according to all evangelists – just as in the 11 Sunday Gospels – emphasizes that the risen Lord was seen by only 11 disciples.

⁷⁷ DIDYMUUS THE BLIND, Ps., fragm. 97 (PTS 15, 180; MÜHLENBERG) (CPG 2551).

⁷⁸ GREGORY OF NYSSA, Or. catech. 35,49 (SChr 453, 306; MÜHLENBERG) (CPG 3150).

⁷⁹ EUSEBIUS, Supplementa ad quaestiones ad Marinum (PG 22, 989), cf. also *Ἐπι εἰ μὲν τοὺς ἕνδεκα μόνους μαθητὰς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἢ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων ἠπίστατο γραφῆ* (ibid.; PG 22, 1004) (CPG 3470).

The first author to put together these three numbers, 3, 8 and 11, in the perspective of the Resurrection is the Arian Asterius Sophista († around 341) in his homily on Psalm 11.⁸⁰

Διὰ τί οὖν ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ τρίτη καὶ ὀγδόη ὠνόμασται; Τρίτη μὲν εἴρηται ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὀγδόη δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς δημιουργίας καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τῇ κυριακῇ ἀνέστη ὁ κύριος, ἐν δὲ τῇ κυριακῇ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ φαινομένου κόσμου ἐγένετο, ἥτις ὑπάρχει τὸ φῶς, ἐν ᾗ τὸ αἰσθητὸν φῶς ἀπὸ σκοτόους ἔλαμψεν, ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ νοητὸν φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὁ Χριστός, ἐκ τάφου ἀνέτειλε, δι' ὃν καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τάφου καὶ θανάτου ὁ κόσμος ἐγήγερται. Ἀπὸ κυριακῆς οὖν εἰς κυριακὴν ἡ ὀγδόη ἀπαντᾷ, καὶ ἔστι τρίτη καὶ ὀγδόη ἡ αὐτῇ· τρίτη ἀφ' οὗ ἔπαθεν, ὀγδόη ἀφ' ἧς ὁ κόσμος ἐγένετο. [...]

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ τρίτη καὶ ἡ ὀγδόη εἰκόνες ἀναστάσεως, ἡ δὲ τρίτη καὶ ἡ ὀγδόη ποιῶσι τὸν ἐνδέκατον ἀριθμόν, διὰ τοῦτο ἐνδέκατος κεῖται ὁ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ψαλμός· Εἰς τὸ τέλος, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης· ψαλμός τῷ Δαυίδ ἐνδέκατος [...].⁸¹

This juxtaposition of three, eight and 11 is an example of Antiochian exegesis. The symbolism of the number 11 is developed from the number of the Psalm, which is interpreted in light of the Resurrection, considering precisely the numbers three and eight as components, taken individually, of the number of the Resurrection.

According to Marcel Richard, the homilies on the Psalms attributed to Asterius present a complex textual history that does not allow certain attribution to a single author. They seem to be assembled thematically and may have been subjected to editorial work already in ancient times.⁸² To give just one example, the edited homilies are only on the first 38 Psalms, and each concerns only the opening verses of each Psalm. Since the author was branded as an Arian, his homilies have come down in part under the name of John Chrysostom.

⁸⁰ ASTERIUS SOPHISTA, Hom. 20 (SO.S 16, 153–160; RICHARD) (CPG 2815).

⁸¹ Ibid., §§ 4–7.

⁸² Cf. Marcel RICHARD, Introduction, in: Asterii sophistae commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt (Symbolae Osloenses, fasc. suppl. 16), Oslo 1956, III–IX.

9 *The Chronicle of George Hamartolos*

In the first half of the 9th century, a period closer to the creation of the series of the 11 Gospels, George the monk, also known as Hamartolos,⁸³ was active in Constantinople, probably in the Studion monastery. His Chronicle is studied especially for the last part, in which the author describes events contemporary to himself. What interests us here, however, is the section in which he writes about the Roman emperors. Speaking of the times of Tiberius in relation to the passion of Christ,⁸⁴ George quotes an extended passage of a homily attributed to John Chrysostom commenting on the numbers of the Resurrection three and eight. This is in fact the homily on Psalm 20 by Asterius the Sophist mentioned above.

Asterius the Sofist	George the Monk
<p>εἰ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνέστη ὁ κύριος, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε· Δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι (Mk 8,31) –</p> <p>εἰ οὖν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνέστη ὁ κύριος, διὰ τί ἡ ὀγδόη ἀνάστασις λέγεται τοῦ κυρίου; [...]</p> <p>Διὰ τί οὖν ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ τρίτη καὶ ὀγδόη ὠνόμασται;</p> <p>Τρίτη μὲν εἶρηται ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὀγδόη δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς δημιουργίας καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τῇ κυριακῇ ἀνέστη ὁ κύριος, ἐν δὲ τῇ κυριακῇ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ φαινομένου κόσμου ἐγένετο, ἥτις ὑπάρχει τὸ φῶς, ἐν ᾗ τὸ αἰσθητὸν φῶς ἀπὸ σκοτῶν ἐλαμψεν, ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ νοητὸν φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὁ Χριστός, ἐκ τάφου ἀνέτειλε, δι' ὃν καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τάφου καὶ θανάτου</p>	<p>Περὶ ἧς γέ τοι καὶ ὁ μέγας ἔφη Χρυσόστομος·</p> <p>εἰ οὖν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνέστη Χριστός, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν· δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι (Mk 8,31),</p> <p>διὰ τί ἡ ὀγδόη ἀνάστασις λέγεται τοῦ κυρίου;</p> <p>καὶ τρίτη μὲν εἶρηται ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὀγδόη δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς δημιουργίας καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως. ἐπεὶ οὖν τῇ κυριακῇ ἀνέστη Χριστός, ἐν ᾗ ἀρχὴ τοῦ φαινομένου κόσμου γέγονεν, ἥτις ὑπάρχει τὸ φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου λάμψαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὸ νοητὸν φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὁ Χριστός, ἐκ τάφου ἀνέτειλεν, δι' ὃν καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τάφου καὶ θανάτου ὁ κόσμος ἐγήγερται. ἀπὸ κυριακῆς</p>

⁸³ Cf. The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, vol. 1, ed. by Alexander P. KAZHDAN et al., New York – Oxford 1991, 836 s. v.

⁸⁴ Cf. Herbert HUNGER, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner, vol. 1, Munich, 1978, 348.

ὁ κόσμος ἐγήγερται. Ἀπὸ κυριακῆς οὖν εἰς κυριακὴν ἢ ὀγδόῃ ἀπαντᾷ, καὶ ἔστι τρίτη καὶ ὀγδόῃ ἢ αὐτῇ· τρίτη ἀφ' οὗ ἔπαθεν, ὀγδόῃ ἀφ' ἧς ὁ κόσμος ἐγένετο.

Ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη αἰτία τῆς ὀγδοῆς καὶ τῆς τρίτης διὰ τι ἀνάστασις ἐκάστη ὠνόμασται. Ἐν τῇ **ἐβδόμῃ** ἡμέρᾳ κατέπαυσεν ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔστιν ἡ κατάπαυσις τέλος καὶ συντέλεια ἔργων ἀπηρητισμένων. Τέλος δὲ καὶ κατάπαυσις λέγεται καὶ ἡ τοῦ κόσμου συντέλεια, ὅτε μέλλει παράγειν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ὁ θεός. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἁμαρτιῶν ὁ βίος ἔγεμε καὶ ἠπειλείτο κόσμου συντέλεια, ὁ Χριστὸς δὲ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος εἰς ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἦλθε καὶ ἔπαθε καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἀνέστη ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ. Ἐν ἧ τὸν κόσμον ποιεῖν ἤρξατο, ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ κοσμοποιὸς ἀνέστη καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀνέστησε, καὶ ἡ πρώτη ἐν δημιουργίᾳ ὀγδόῃ ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ γέγονε.

Τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ ξύλου ἐσταύρωται, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος διὰ ξύλου παρέπεσε·

διὰ ξύλου ὁ θάνατος, διὰ ξύλου ἡ ζωὴ. Τῇ ἐβδόμῃ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων· τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τὸ σῶμα ἀνέπαυσε. Τελείαν γὰρ ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τὴν ἐβδόμην ἔμεινε. Τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἀνέστη καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἤγειρε, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ κυριακὴ καὶ τρίτη καὶ ὀγδόῃ· τρίτη μὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάστασιν, ὀγδόῃ δὲ οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ἔγερσιν.^a

οὖν εἰς κυριακὴν ἢ ὀγδόῃ ἀπαντᾷ, καὶ ἔστι τρίτη καὶ ὀγδόῃ ἢ αὐτῇ, τρίτη ἀφ' οὗ ἔπαθεν, ὀγδόῃ ἀφ' ἧς ὁ κόσμος ἐγένετο.

ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη αἰτία τῆς ὀγδοῆς καὶ τῆς τρίτης, διὰ τί ἀνάστασις ἐκάστη ὠνόμασται. ἐν γὰρ τῇ **ὀγδόῃ** ἡμέρᾳ κατέπαυσεν ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ κατάπαυσις τέλος καὶ συντέλεια ἔργων ἀπηρητισμένων. τέλος δὲ καὶ κατάπαυσις λέγεται καὶ ἡ τοῦ κόσμου συντέλεια, ὅτε μέλλει παράγειν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ὁ θεός. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἁμαρτιῶν ὁ βίος ἔγεμε καὶ ἠπειλείτο κόσμου συντέλεια, ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος εἰς ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἦλθε καὶ ἔπαθε καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἀνέστη, ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ, ἐν ἧ τὸν κόσμον ποιεῖν ἤρξατο, ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ κοσμοποιὸς ἀνέστη καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀνέστησεν, καὶ ἡ πρώτη ἐν δημιουργίᾳ ὀγδόῃ ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ γέγονε.

τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ ξύλου σταυροῦται διὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον.

Διὰ ξύλου τοῖνον θάνατος καὶ διὰ ξύλου ἡ ζωὴ. τῇ ἐβδόμῃ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τὸ σῶμα ἀνέπαυσε (τελείαν γὰρ ἡμέραν τὴν ἐβδόμην ἔμεινε), τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἀνέστη καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἤγειρεν. καὶ ἔστιν ἡ κυριακὴ καὶ τρίτη καὶ ὀγδόῃ, τρίτη μὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάστασιν, ὀγδόῃ δὲ οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ἔγερσιν.^b

^a ASTERIUS SOPHISTA, Hom. 20, 4–7 (SO.S 16, 154 f.; RICHARD).

^b GEORGE THE MONK, Chronicon 8,3 (DE BOOR 1, 312 f. 315).

The passages in the Chronicle of George taken from Homily 20 on the Psalms continue, but for our purposes, those cited here are sufficient. As we can see, the texts are very similar, and this seems to be a case of direct borrowing. Note George's attribution of the passage, as previously mentioned, to John Chrysostom; the only significant variant is the ordinal numeral "seventh" in Asterius *versus* "eighth" in the Chronicle.⁸⁵ It seems that George is very keen to emphasize the importance of the symbolic value of the octave.

George's text, borrowed from Homily 20 on the Psalms, shows that in the 9th century there was great interest in numerology,⁸⁶ in which the numbers three and eight are interpreted as symbols par excellence of the Resurrection. The strong link of the Resurrection not only with the number 11, but also with Psalm 11 itself, the link commented on by Asterius, is also present in the choice of the prokeimena of the morning Gospels of the eight modes. Indeed, the prokeimenon that opens the series, that of mode I, is taken from Psalm 11, and takes up the theme of Resurrection: Νῦν ἀναστήσομαι, λέγει Κύριος· θήσομαι ἐν σωτηρίῳ, παρρησιάσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ. Στίχος· Τὰ λόγια Κυρίου λόγια ἀγνά, ἀργύριον πεπυρωμένον, δοκίμιον τῆ γῆ κεκαθαρισμένον ἑπταπλασίως (Ps 11, 6.7).⁸⁷ In the series of prokeimena for the Sunday liturgy, Psalm 11 is also present as a prokeimenon of tone 1.

10 Conclusion

The oldest witness to the Constantinopolitan "ecclesiastical" cathedral matins, *Barberini gr. 336* (post 787), does not foresee a Gospel reading. The codex thus perpetuates an ancient tradition that linked Constantinople and Antioch at least until the first decade of the 6th century. To demonstrate that the evangelical accounts of the Resurrection do not contradict

⁸⁵ On the numbers 7 and 8 in the New Testament see also Luc de GOUSTINE, *Il servitore con un solo talento. I numeri nel Nuovo Testamento*, Brescia 2022, 123–141.

⁸⁶ For an earlier period, cf. Joel KALVESMAKI, *The Theology of Arithmetic. Number Symbolism in Platonism and Early Christianity* (Hellenic Studies 59), Washington, DC 2013.

⁸⁷ MATEOS, *Le typicon de la Grande Église II*, 170.

each other, between 512 and 518 Patriarch Severus of Antioch introduced the narrative of the Resurrection – presumably a cycle – at the Sunday vigil in his cathedral.

It is not possible to establish whether or to what extent Severus imitated the tradition of Jerusalem, where the reading of a pericope of the Passion and Resurrection during the Sunday vigil is witnessed by Egeria in the 380s. The Hagiopolite sources in Armenian, and the Armenian tradition up to the present day, know a series of four pericopes ordered according to the usual sequence of the evangelists (Mt, Mk, Lk, Jn). Later, the Cathedral of Jerusalem doubled the series by harmonizing it with the eight musical modes.

A series of 11 pericopes concerning the appearance of Christ to the disciples after the Resurrection appeared in Constantinople with the 9th century Gospel manuscripts. It is, therefore, a series independent from the preceding ones, both in creation and thematically. The earliest dated witness is the St. Petersburg tetravangelium *RNB gr. 219*, completed by Nicholas, the second hegumen of the Stoudion monastery, in 835. There are no Hagiopolite witnesses to the series of 11 pericopes prior to the liturgical Byzantinization of the 10th century, and the late rubric of the typikon of the Anastasis demonstrates exactly the opposite of what it claims.

Thus falls the rather surreal hypothesis that it was the Church of Jerusalem that extended the pericopes of the Resurrection from 8 to 11, destroying the harmonious correspondence it had established with the eight musical modes. The Chronicle of George Hamartolos demonstrates how vivid the interest in sacred numerology was in Constantinople in the 9th century. The number 11 as a reference to the Resurrection boasted a solid tradition, one which George synthesizes from a writing of [Pseudo-]Chrysostom, which in turn is to be ascribed to the Arian Asterius the Sophist. The chronology of these developments suggests a link between the creation of the series of 11 pericopes and the liturgical reform of the 9th century, influenced by numerological considerations. If this is indeed the case, Janeras' hypothesis of the Constantinopolitan or "Byzantine" origin of the series of the 11 Resurrection Gospels receives an unexpected confirmation.

Abbreviations

AL	Analecta liturgica
BBGG	Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata
BEL.S	Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae. Subsidia
ByA	Byzantinisches Archiv
CFHB. SP	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Parisiensis
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
GNO	Gregorii Nysseni Opera
JThF	Jerusalem Theologisches Forum
Mus.	Le Muséon
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
ODB	Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
POC	Proche-Orient Chrétien
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
QVetChr	Quaderni di Vetera Christianorum
REA	Revue des études arméniennes
SA	Studia Anselmiana
SBHC	Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization
SChr	Sources chrétiennes
SO.S	Symbolae Osloenses. Fasciculi suppletorii
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
VigChr	Vigiliae Christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum

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