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A Recently Discovered Folia from the 12th-century *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*¹

Abstract. One of the important Cyrillic medieval manuscripts from Kievan Rus is the *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* – a 12th-century codex which is now separated into two parts that are preserved (though some fragments have been lost) in Kyiv (Institute of Manuscript of V.I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, since 1927) and Lviv (History Museum of Lviv, since 1948). This article discusses four parchment folia from Kraków (The Princes Czartoryski Library, Poland) discovered in July 2020. Paleographical, orthographical, linguistic and textological features indicate that this section is the previously lost part of the *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* (excerpts from *Act* 13,5–20, 15,29–16,4, *1Tim* 4,8–5,4 and *2Tim* 1,10–2,4). The Kraków folia are the continuation of the Kyiv part and the beginning and final part of the Lviv part of the codex. The Kraków part was detached before 1888, when the manuscript was shown to the public at the Lviv Stauropegion Institute Exhibition and described and foliated

¹ This research was conducted with support from the „Gaude Polonia 2020” Scholarship of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage of Poland. I am very grateful to Princes Czartoryski Library (then PCL) director Dr. Paweł Wierzbicki and History Museum of Lviv (then HML) chief of staff, Dr. Roman Chmelyk, who supported this research (Kraków and Lviv parts, respectively). I would also like to express my gratitude to the National Museum in Kraków (then NMK) administration and personally to Agata Ralska (Reproductions and sale of exhibits) for producing and sharing with me a digital copy of the Kraków fragments (property of Photographic Archive NMK) and for permission to publish it in this article. My special thanks go to Dr. Danylo Kravets, Dmytro Lukin and Mariia Shcherbak for their advice and the information they provided. I would like to express my special and never-fading gratitude to my great friend and a colleague, Dr. Oleksandr Okhrimenko, for his relentless support of my ideas, and for his reasonable criticism, not to mention his enormous labour editing this text.



for the catalogue by Antonij Petruševič. This article contains photocopies of all of the newly-discovered fragments.

Keywords: *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*, Acts of the Apostles, Apostolic Letters, codicology, Kievan Rus, National Museum in Kraków.

Introduction

Apostolus Christinopolitanus is a parchment manuscript written in Church Slavonic in the 12th cent. in the southern part of Kyiv Rus. The main text of the book is supported by parallel exegetical and patristic commentaries, which belong to the authors of the 3rd–early 11th cent. This codex is the oldest among the discovered translations from Ancient Greek to Church Slavonic of *Acts and Epistles of the Apostles*. The text of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* is the best preserved manuscript (in comparison with other extant codices) of its kind. A unique feature of it is the critical apparatus used by Euthalius, which consists of forewords, chapter indices, lists of quotes from the *Old and New Testaments*, readings marks, and other supporting materials.

The name of the book derives from the name of the last place where it was held by clerical authorities, the Khrystynopil Basilian Fathers monastery (now in the town of Chervonohrad, Lvivska Oblast, Ukraine). It is widely known, however, that this manuscript was held in the Horodysheche monastery in the vicinity of Khrystynopil in the 13th–14th cent². The codex migrated several times during the 18th cent. It was brought in 1748 to the Volsvyn monastery, which was close to Horodysheche, because of a merger of these two monasteries³. The book was relocated again in 1764, when the Volsvyn monastery was incorporated into another one in Khrystynopil⁴. From 1764 to 1888 the manuscript remained in the Khrystynopil monastery⁵.

² О. Колесса, *Південно-волинське Городище і городиські рукописні пам'ятники XII–XVI в.*, Prague 1923, p. 16. [O. Kolessa, *Pivdenno-volins'ke Gorodiše i gorodis'ki rukopisni pamätniki XII–XVI v.*, Prague 1923, p. 16].

³ Ю. Стецик, *Візитачійний опис Волсвинського василіянського монастиря Воздвиження Чесного Хреста (1764 р.)*, „Актуальні питання гуманітарних наук” 2013, no. 5, p. 67, [online] http://www.aphn-journal.in.ua/archive/5_2013/7.pdf [cit. 3.06.2021]. [Ū. Stecik, *Vizitacijnij opis Volsvins'kogo vasiljâns'kogo monastirâ Vozdvizennâ Česnogo Hresta (1764 r.)*, Aktual'nî pitannâ gumanitarnih nauk 2013, no. 5, p. 67].

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 68, 72.

⁵ М. Коссаць, *Шематизмъ Провинціи св. Спасителя Чина св. Василя Великого въ Галиціи и короткій поглядъ на монастыри и на монашество руске*, Lviv 1867,

Antonij Petruševič, an honorary doctor of St. Volodymyr Imperial University of Kyiv, informed the academic community about *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*⁶ for the first time. The book from the Khrystynopil monastery was shown at the Lviv Stauropigion Institute Exposition in 1888⁷. A. Petruševič compared the book with his own eight parchment folia, which he had bought from August Bielowski in 1874⁸. He eventually proved that these two manuscripts were parts of a single book, *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* from the 12th century⁹.

Apostolus Christinopolitanus is preserved nowadays as two separate parts: one in Lviv, the other in Kyiv. The main part, a codex of 291 ff., is kept in the History Museum of Lviv (then HML), marked as MS 39¹⁰. Collection VIII „St. Volodymyr University of Kyiv. Collection of manuscripts” of the Institute of Manuscript of V.I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine (then IM VNLU) contains the eight folia which once

pp. 28–29. [M. Kossak", *Šematizm" Provincii sv. Spasitelâ Čina sv. Vasiliâ Velikogo v" Galicii i korotkij poglâd" na monastyri i na monašestvo ruske, Lviv 1867, pp. 28–29].*

⁶ А.С. Петрушевичъ, *Каталогъ церковно-словенскихъ рукописей и старопечатанныхъ книгъ кирилловскаго письма, находящихся на Археологическо-библиографической выставкѣ въ Ставропигійскомъ заведеніи, Lviv 1888, pp. 4–5. [A.S. Petruševič", *Katalog" cerkovno-slovenskih" rukopisei i staropečatannyh" knig" kirillovskogo pis'ma, nahodâših'sâ na Arheologičesko-bibliografičeskoj vystavčë v" Stavropigij'skom" zavedenii, Lviv 1888, pp. 4–5].**

⁷ I. Szaraniewicz, *Katalog archeologiczno-bibliograficznej wystawy Instytutu Stauropigiańskiego we Lwowie, Lwów 1888, p. 1.*

⁸ И.С. Свѣнцицкій, *Опись Музея Ставропигійскаго Института во Львовѣ, Lviv 1908, p. 13. [I.S. Svěncickij, *Opis' Muzeâ Stavropigij'skago Instituta vo L'vovë, Lviv 1908, p. 13].**

⁹ А.С. Петрушевич", *op. cit.*, p. 5; М.В. Геппенер, М.П. Визир, Й.В. Шубинський, *Слов'янські рукописи XI–XIV ст. у фондах відділу рукописів Центральної наукової бібліотеки Академії наук Української РСР (Огляд, опис, публікації), Kyiv 1969, p. 23 [M.V. Geppener, M.P. Vizir, J.V. Šubins'kij, *Slov'âns'kî rukopisi XI–XIV st. u fondah viddilu rukopisiv Central'noï naukovoï biblioteki Akademii nauk Ukraïns'koï RSR (Oglâd, opis, publikacii), Kyiv 1969, p. 23]; С.И. Масловъ, *Отрывокъ Христинопольскаго Апостола, принадлежащій библиотекѣ Университета св. Владимира, „Извѣстія Отдѣленія русскаго языка и словесности Императорской Академіи наукъ” 1910, vol. 15(4), p. 232 [S. I. Maslov", *Otryvok" Hristinopol'skago Apostola, prinadležašii bibliotekë Universiteta sv. Vladimira, Izvēstia Otděleniâ russkago âzyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk" 1910, vol. 15(4), p. 232].****

¹⁰ Ukraine, Lviv, HML, collection (abbreviated to c.) Manuscripts, number of the unit (abbreviated to n. u.) 39, Христинопільський Апостол [Hristinopil's'kij Apostol] (then ChA).

belonged to A. Petruševič, marked as MS 3M¹¹. The manuscript consists of 299 ff. divided into two parts. Although the manuscript has been preserved in rather good condition, bearing in mind that it is more than eight centuries old, a considerable part has been lost without a trace. As of 2001, the text of the manuscript lacked the following fragments: *Act* 1,1–9,28, *Act* 13,5–20, *Act* 15,29–16,4, *Act* 18,14–28, *Act* 28,13–26; *1Pt* 2,12–25; *1Cor* 7,28–37, *1Cor* 14,21–32; *2Th* 2,3–15; *1Tim* 4,8–5,4, *1Tim* 6,3–21; *2Tim* 1,10–4,22; *Tit* and *Phlm*¹².

On July 2, 2020 I discovered four parchment folia in Poland at the Princes Czartoryski Library (then PCL), National Museum in Kraków (then NMK) (Fig. 1–8). They were stored in a folder with the number MS 11601, and were among ten documents with various contents concerning the history of Poland and neighboring countries. These folia were written in Cyrillic script (Ustav [Uncial]). They had been identified as a *Bible* fragment (*Act* 13–15) with commentaries in their margins. Library employees had dated these folia to the 16th century¹³. The 2004 and 2016 catalogues of Cyrillic manuscripts in Poland do not contain any information about these fragments¹⁴.

This paper argues that these fragments are lost parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. To prove this point, the paper makes use of three steps of attribution: codicological features of the codex, its paleographic, orthographic and linguistic features, and its textology. The first step of

¹¹ Ukraine, Kyiv, Institute of Manuscript of V.I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, c. VIII (Київський університет св. Володимира. Колекція рукописів [Kiïvs'kij unïversitet sv. Volodimira. Kolekciâ rukopisïv]), n. u. 3M, Апостол тлумачний („Христинопільський” або „Городиський”) [Apostol tlumačnij („Hristinopil's'kij” abo „Gorodis'kij”)] (then AT).

¹² О. Ясіновська, *Кристинопольський (Городиський) Апостол зі збірки Львівської Ставропігії*, in „Апологет”. Матеріали III наукової конференції м. Львів, 26 травня 2011 р. „Львівське Ставропігійське Успенське братство в духовній культурі України” (до 425-ліття надання Львівському Ставропігійському Успенському братству Патріаршої Ставропігії) 2011, pp. 117–118. [О. Асіновс'ка, [Kristinopol's'kij (Gorodis'kij) Apostol zï zbïrki L'vïvs'koï Stavropigïï], in Apologet. Materiali III naukovoi konferencïi m. Lviv, 26 travnâ 2011 r. „L'vïvs'ke Stavropigïjs'ke Uspens'ke bratstvo v duhovnij kul'turi Ukraïni” 2011, pp. 117–118].

¹³ J. Nowak, J. Pezda, *Inwentarz rękopisów Biblioteki XX Czartoryskich w Krakowie, sygn. 11600–12141. Różne. Archiwum Orzeszków. Młochów*, Kraków 2012 (on manuscript rights), p. 6.

¹⁴ A. Naumow, A. Kaszlej, E. Naumow, J. Stradomski, *Rękopisy cerkiewnowostowiańskie w Polsce. Katalog*, Kraków 2004; K. Płonka Bałus, *Inwentarz średniowiecznych i nowożytnych europejskich rękopisów iluminowanych Biblioteki Książat Czartoryskich*, Kraków 2016.

attribution was to evaluate the initial number of sheets, size, material, condition, structure, and page layout in comparison with the identified parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. The second step aimed to analyze the script graphic features of the main text and commentaries, and the type of script used; to define the main features, peculiarities and parameters of the folia script, and to discover orthographic and linguistic features of the script of two scribes. The textological part of the attribution included the identification of the recently discovered fragments, a comparison of Kraków incipits and explicits with the Kyiv and Lviv parts of the codex, evaluation of the layout of the main text and commentaries, and reconstruction of the exact position of the folia among already-known parts of the codex. As a result, the paper suggests a possible date when and the circumstances in which the Kraków fragments were separated from the main codex.

Attribution of the fragments according to external criticism of the manuscript

The Kraków Cyrillic fragments consist of four parchment leaves, both sides of each being covered with text. At the moment of their discovery in PCL, they had not been placed in proper order. In the middle of a bifolio of quire 6 another bifolio had been placed, from quire 43. The fragments also lacked foliation. These four folia were numbered for the first time on July 2, 2020 with pencil, with modern Arabic numerals being placed in the upper outer corners. Because they were held in a folder with different documents, they were numbered according to their position in this folder. The fragments received the numbers ff. 4–7¹⁵. The Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* were numbered by A. Petruševič's hand with modern Arabic numerals in dark brown ink in the upper outer corners of the sheets beginning the last quarter of the 19th and of the 20th cent.¹⁶ This means that the Kraków folia were

¹⁵ J. Nowak, J. Pezda, op. cit., p. 6.

¹⁶ Л.А. Гнатенко, *Слов'янська кирилична рукописна книга XII–XIII ст. з фондів Інституту рукопису Національної бібліотеки України імені В.І. Вернадського. Каталог. Кодиколого-палеографічне та графіко-орфографічне дослідження. Палеографічний альбом*, Kyiv 2012, p. 49. [L.A. Gnatenko, *Slov'âns'ka kirilična rukopisna kniha XII–XIII st. z fondiv Institutu rukopisu Nacional'noï biblioteki Ukraïni imeni V.Î. Vernads'kogo. Katalog. Kodikologo-paleografične ta grafiko-orfografične doslidžennâ. Paleografičniï al'bom*, Kyiv 2012, p. 49].

separated from *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* in the 19th cent. and were not known to A. Petruševič.

The format of the Kraków folia corresponds fully to the two parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. The Kraków folia are 295 mm long and 240 mm wide. The size of the eight Kyiv sheets, which were separated from the main part in the 18th cent., is 292–294 × 237–240 mm¹⁷. The sheet size of the Lviv part is 285–292 × 235–237 mm. The slight difference in size between the Lviv part, on one hand, and the Kyiv part and Kraków folia, on the other, can be explained by a bookblock cutting in the late 19th or early 20th cent., and a restoration process carried out in 2007–2008.

The Kraków fragments are written on thin, well-manufactured, high-quality parchment. The parchment surface is light yellow. These features are shared by the Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* as well¹⁸. The manuscript discovered in PCL has text on the hair side – ff. 4r, 5v, 6r, 7v and flesh side of the parchment – ff. 4v, 5r, 6v, 7r. The Rule of Gregory looks as follows: h|f f|h h|f f|h, where *h* is for hair-side and *f* for flesh side. The same sequence of hair and flesh sides is maintained in the Kyiv part¹⁹ and the main part of the *Apostolus* in Lviv.

The main text and commentaries in both parts of the codex and the Kraków folia are written with identical light brown ink. The titles of chapters, the marks in the margins and initial capital letters of certain verses are written with cinnabar in a vivid red colour. The same principles are maintained for the text of the Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*.

An examination of the Kraków folia's condition showed that it had been kept together with the two other parts of the codex. They share identical insect and mechanical damage, and losses of material substance. It is worth noting that parchment losses in the upper and lower right corners of the Kraków f. 4 (Fig. 1–2) correspond fully with the same losses on the last leaf of the Kyiv part²⁰ (Fig. 9). This „Kyiv” f. 8, in my opinion, preceded the first Kraków folio. Kraków f. 5 also lacks the lower right corner, and ff. 6–7 have parchment losses in the lower outer margins (Fig. 3–8). Identical losses exist in the lower outer sides of Lviv ff. 7–10, for they were placed, I assume, between Kraków ff. 6v and 7r. The up-

¹⁷ L.A. Gnatenko, op. cit., p. 49; S.I. Maslov", op. cit., p. 232.

¹⁸ M.V. Geppener, M.P. Vîzir, J.V. Šubins'kij, op. cit., p. 22; S.I. Maslov", op. cit., p. 232; O. Âsinovs'ka, op. cit., p. 119.

¹⁹ S.I. Maslov", op. cit., p. 232.

²⁰ L.A. Gnatenko, op. cit., pp. 119–120; S.I. Maslov", op. cit., p. 232.

per corner of Kraków f. 7 is deflected (Fig. 8). In the 18th–19th cent., his sheet, in my opinion, was the last one in *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* its deflection might be the result of the book lacking a binding for a long period of time. The parchment is especially curved on ff. 4 and 5, closer to the outer side of the pages. The surface is generally contaminated, especially on f. 7v, which seems to indicate that the codex had no binding for a long period of time. F. 4r contains wax spots. The folia were impacted by humidity, which is evidenced by spots with clear borders that appeared due to the expansion of contamination over the upper surfaces of the sheets. These spots are in the same positions in both the Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* as well (Fig. 9). The lower corners of the Kraków pages are contaminated with grease from human fingers. The f. 7v has some stains in spots, which could have been transferred to the sheet surface from metal elements of the binding. All folia have losses caused by insects, with the largest amount being on f. 7. The main text of the Kraków folia is well preserved in general, although the writing is obliterated, with its ink partly faded away, in commentaries no. 11–12 on f. 6r, and no. 3–9 on f. 7v. Several letters are damaged on f. 7v. The cinnabar numbers on commentaries 28 and 29 on f. 6v are also obliterated.

The Cyrillic fragments from PCL contain reclamantes of quires which are written with brown ink, with Cyrillic numerals with titlos and without ornamentation. The lower inner corners of f. 4r and f. 5v contain reclamant 6 (Fig. 1, 4). Reclamant 43 on f. 6r and f. 7v (Fig. 5, 8) are placed in a similar manner. This means that the Kraków manuscript is composed of the first and last sheets of quire 6, and the first and last sheets of quire 43. In the Kyiv part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* (like the Kraków folia) reclamant 5, in the lower inner corners of f. 1r and f. 8v, is written with brown ink²¹ (Fig. 9). The same kind of reclamantes inscriptions exists in the Lviv part of the codex. An examination of the quires of the Lviv part showed that it lacks the first and the last sheets of quire 6, and that quire 43 lacks sheets 1, 4, 5, and 8²². I have compared the graphic features of the quire numbers on the Kraków folia with the reclamantes from the Lviv part, which contain numbers 3, 6 and 40²³. The attribution of the script graphic features of these reclamantes emonstrates that they were written by the same person, or, to put it another way, the hands of the

²¹ S.I. Maslov", op. cit., p. 232.

²² ChA, ff. 7–10.

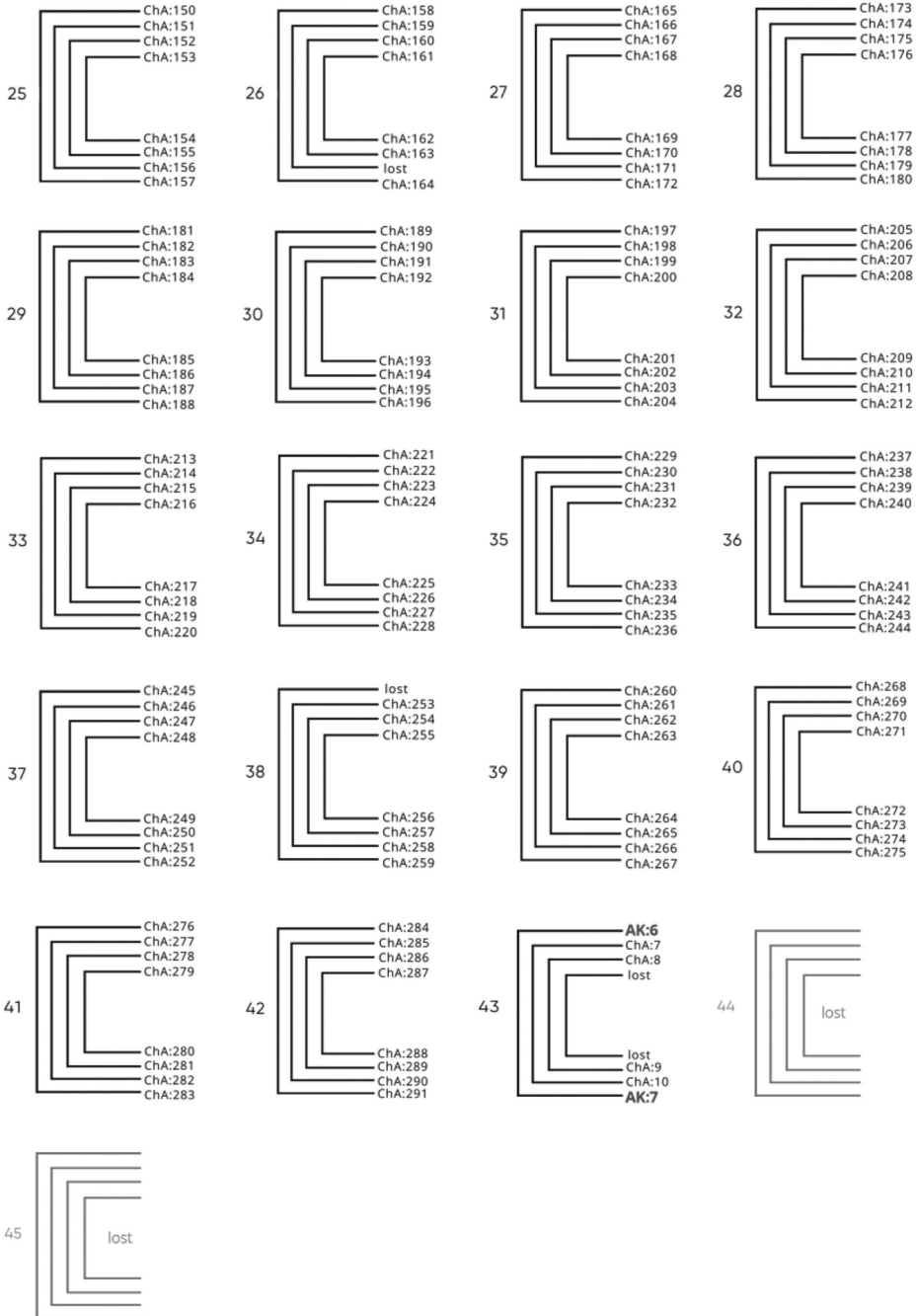
²³ ChA, ff. 63v, 80r, 86v, 135r, 142v, 158r, 164v, 213r, 220v, 237r, 244v, 268r, 275v, 276r, 283v, 284r, 291v.

Scheme 1.1
Reconstruction of quires in *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*



Scheme 1.2

Reconstruction of quires in *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*



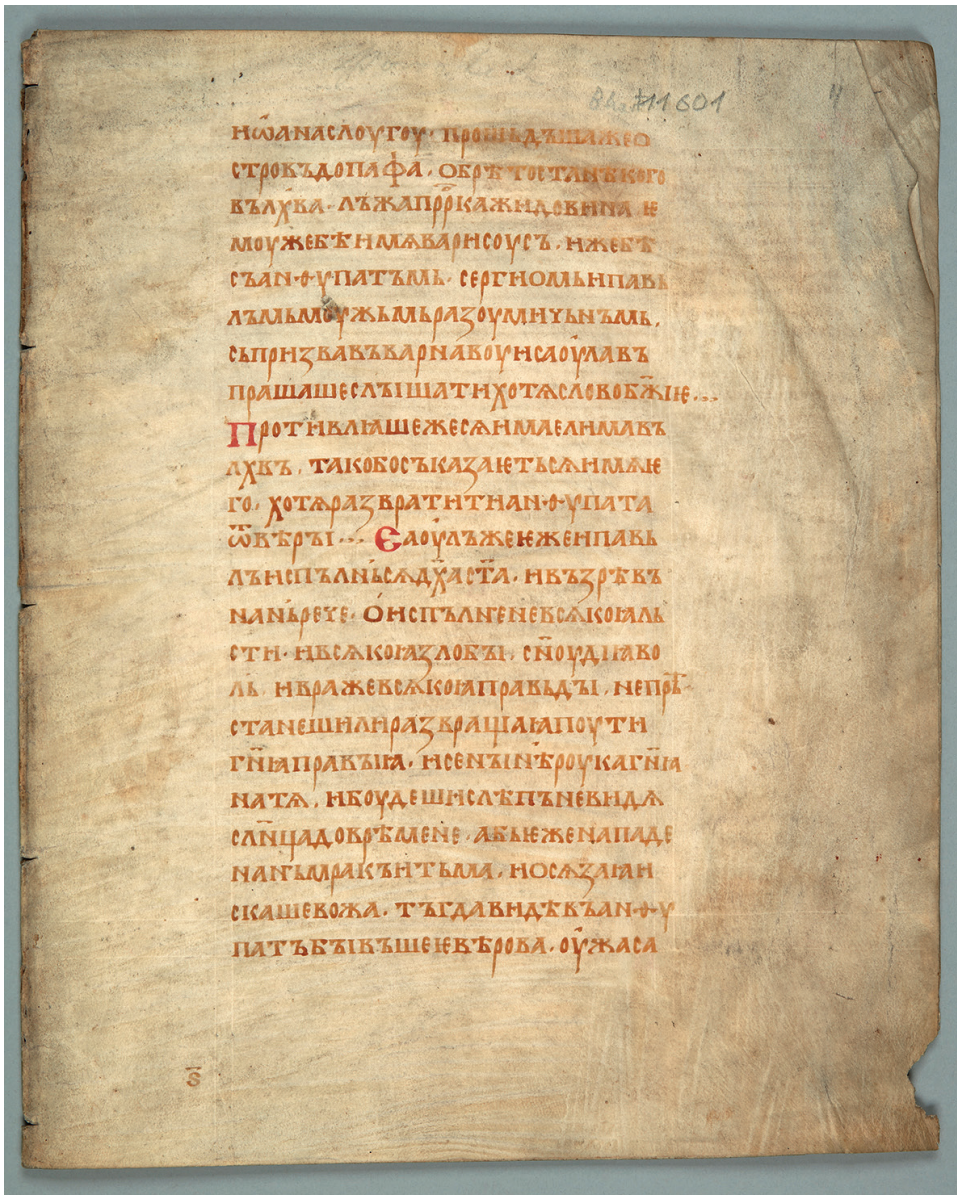


Fig. 1. Kraków part, Act 13,5–12 (AK, f. 4r)

Source: PCL, n. u. 11601, f. 4r. Photo: Photographic Archive NMK.

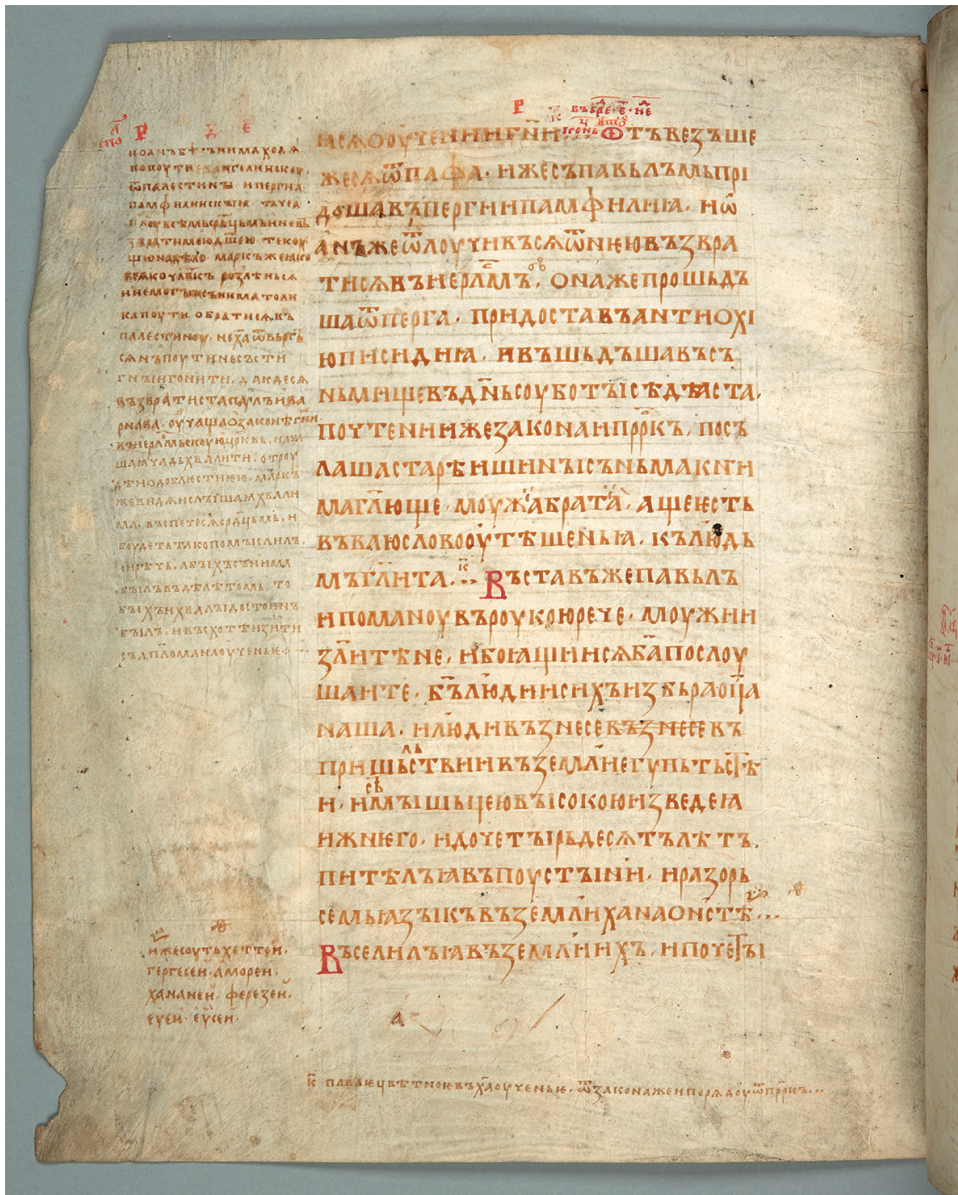


Fig. 2. Kraków part, Act 13,12-20 (AK, f. 4v) Source: PCL, n. u. 11601, f. 4v. Photo: Photographic Archive NMK.

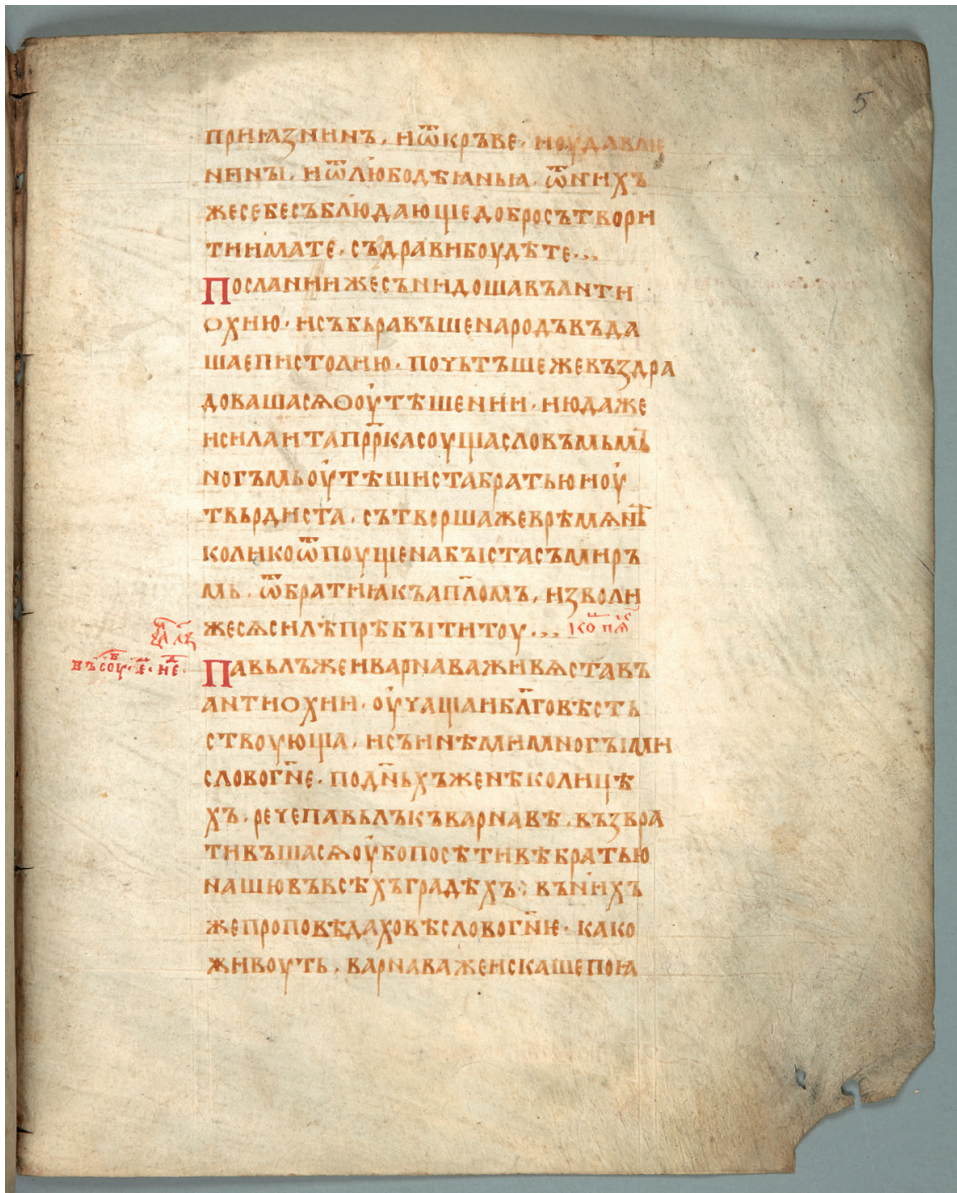


Fig. 3. Kraków part, Act 15,29–37 (AK, f. 5r)

Source: PCL, n. u. 11601, f. 5r. Photo: Photographic Archive NMK.

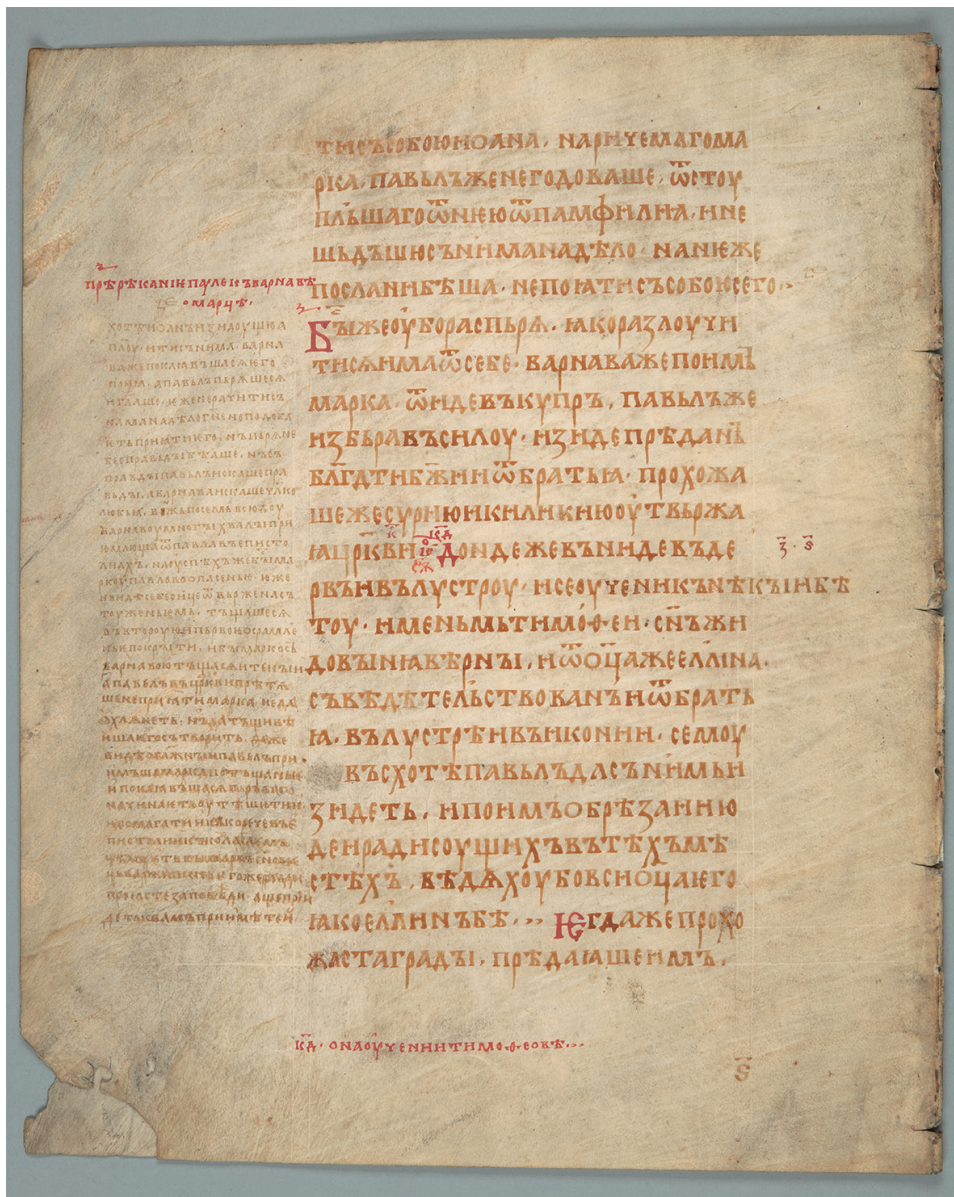


Fig. 4. Kraków part, Act 15,37–16,4 (AK, f. 5v)
 Source: PCL, n. u. 11601, f. 5v. Photo: Photographic Archive NMK.

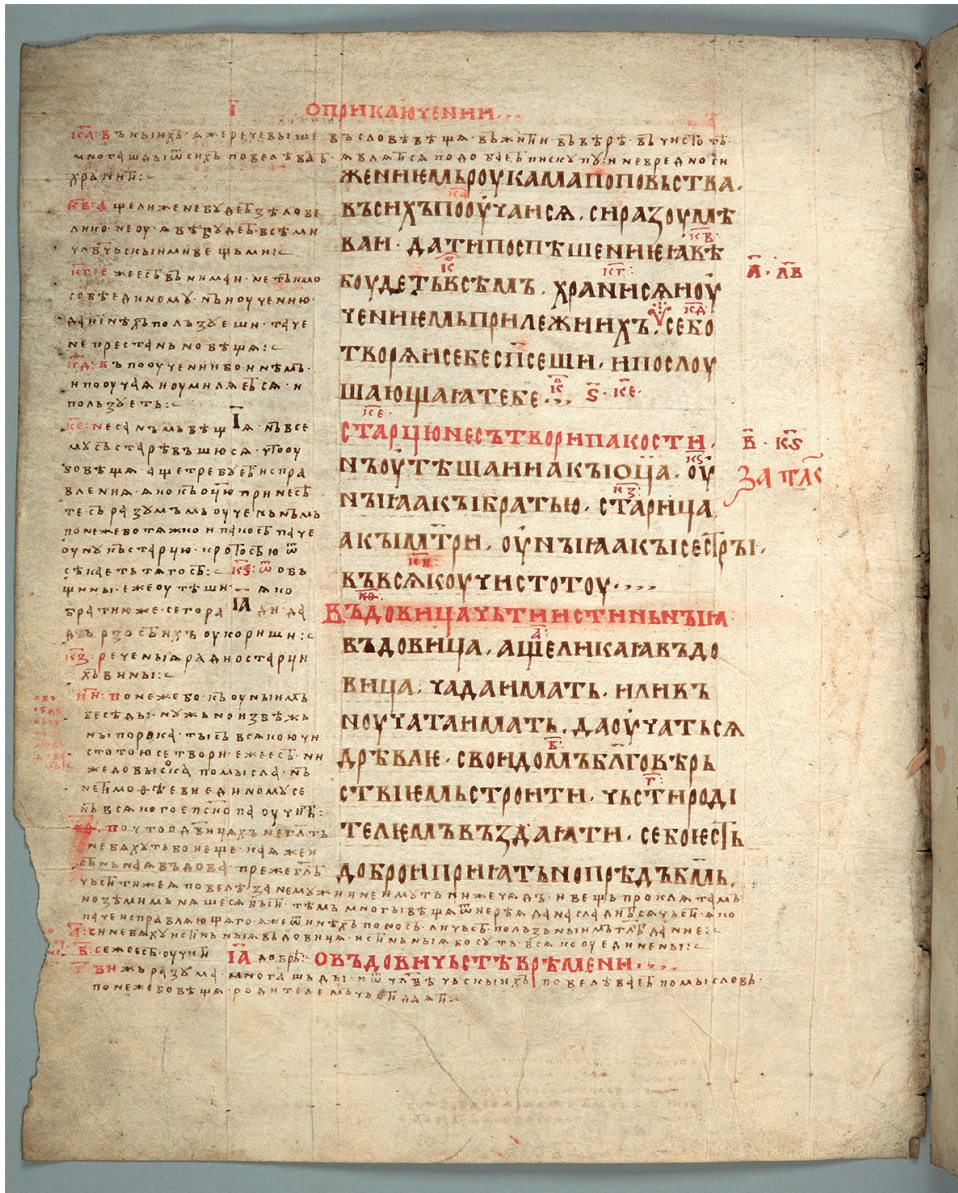


Fig. 6. Kraków part, 1Tim 4,14–5,4 (AK, f. 6v)
 Source: PCL, n. u. 11601, f. 6v. Photo: Photographic Archive NMK.

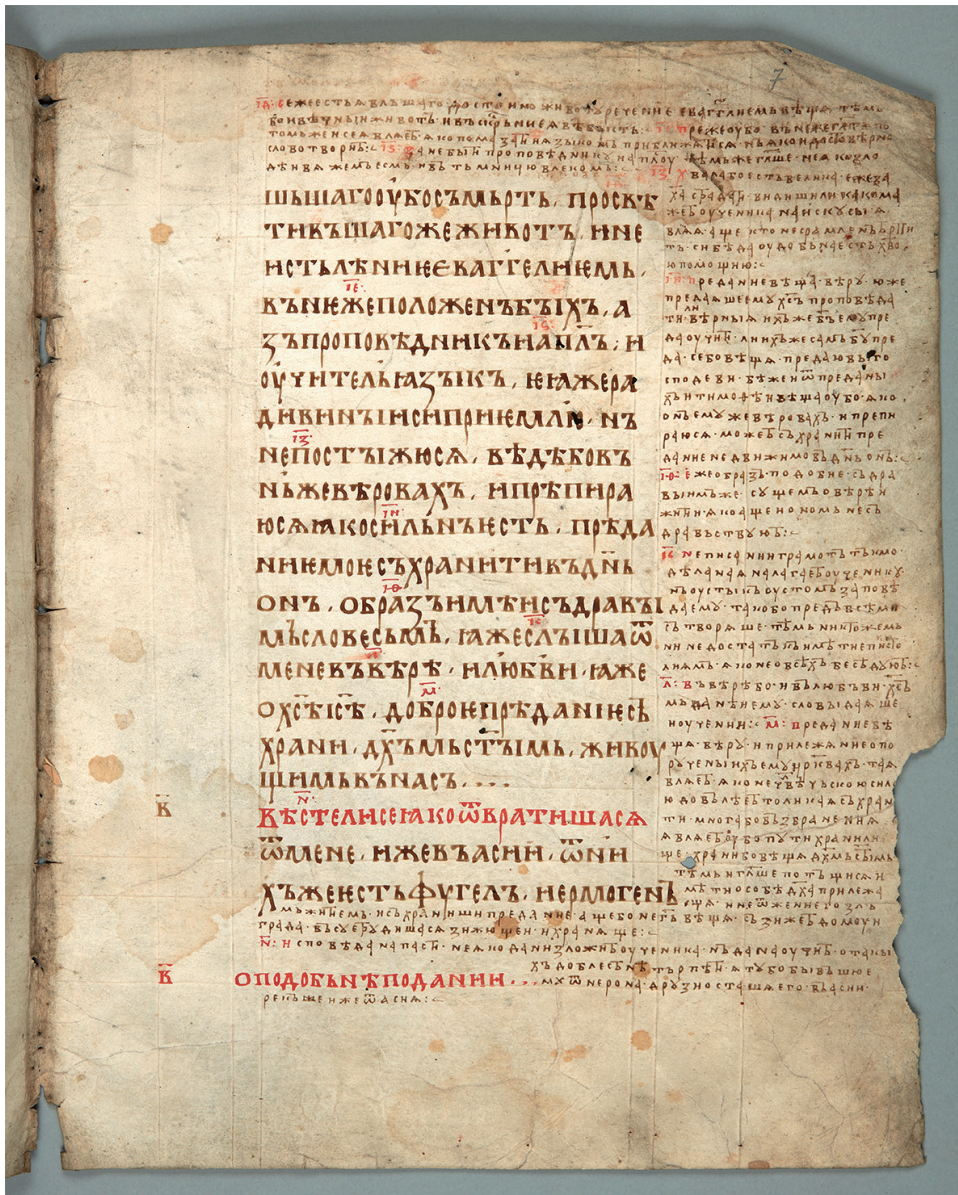


Fig. 7. Kraków part, 2Tim 1,10–15 (AK, f. 7r)
 Source: PCL, n. u. 11601, f. 7r. Photo: Photographic Archive NMK.

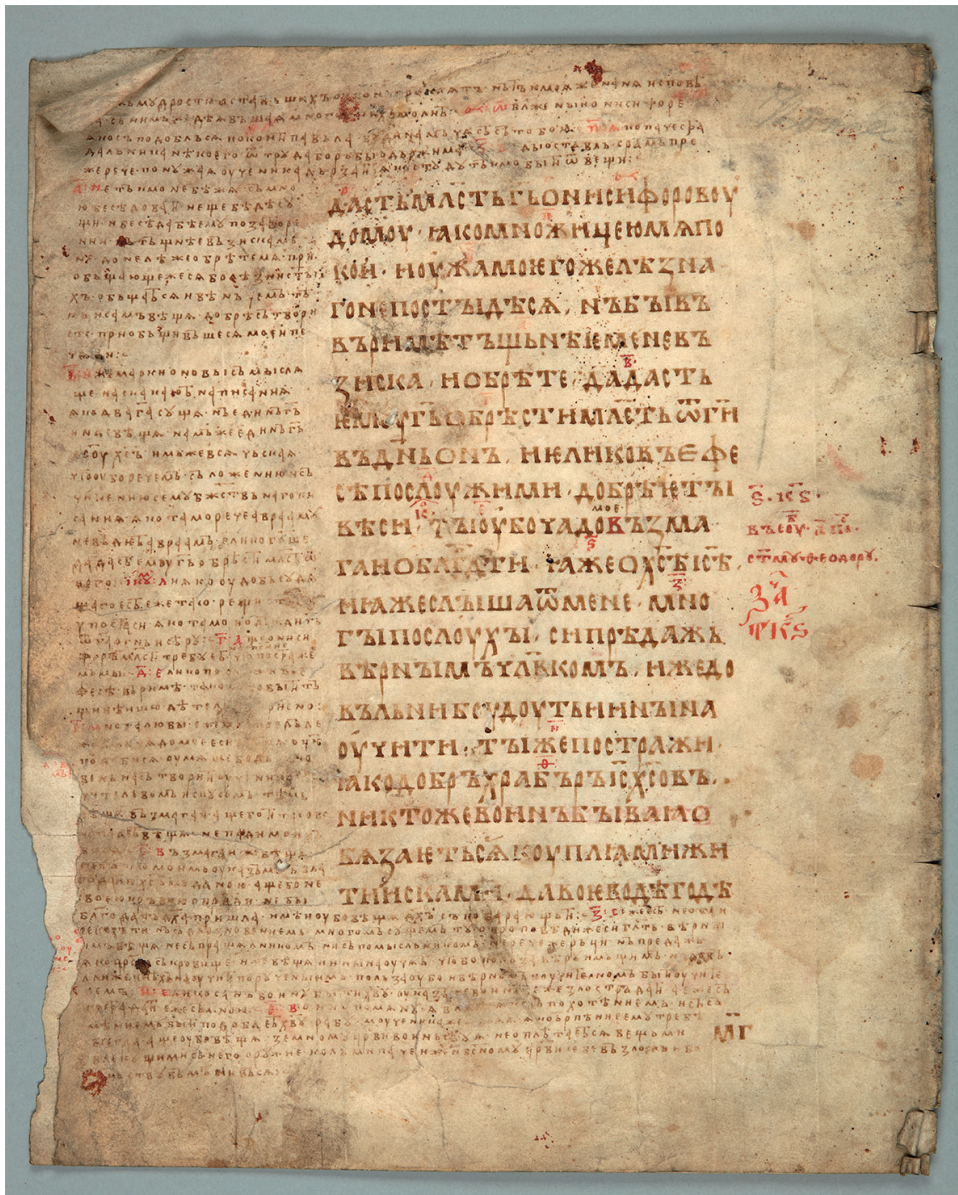


Fig. 8. Kraków part, 2Tim 1,16–2,4 (AK, f. 7v)
 Source: PCL, n. u. 11601, f. 7v. Photo: Photographic Archive NMK.

quire numbers in the Lviv part and the Kraków folia are identical. I have depicted a precise reconstruction of the *Christinopolitanus* quires, with data from Kraków folia included in Scheme 1.

An examination of the quires from different parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* showed that, including the Kraków folia, the manuscript is composed of 39 incomplete quires consisting of 8 sheets each (Scheme 1). It is clearly visible from the scheme that the initial four quires of the codex, which were intended to be placed before the Kyiv part, have been lost. The final part of the codex, that is, after quire 43, lacks another two quires. Apart from that, quires 7, 10, 13, 16, 24, 26 and 38 lack one sheet each, and quire 43 lacks two sheets. Quire 43 is mistakenly bound in after quire 6.

An examination of the ruling system of the Kraków folia revealed that it is identical to the Kyiv and Lviv parts of the manuscript. The hollows²⁴ and etching reliefs²⁵ of the vertical and horizontal guidelines of the page ruling are well preserved. It is worth mentioning that the Kraków folia's outer margins have well-preserved pricked holes that were likewise not cut off in the Kyiv and Lviv parts. From these holes, at a distance of 40 mm away from the outer vertical guideline, the horizontal guidelines for the main text were ruled²⁶. The pages of the Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* have the same ruling principles. An examination of the ruling in the Kraków folia showed that guidelining in the main text frame wasn't the same for every page. I have divided it into two groups.

The first group corresponds with type 24D1 according to Julien Leroy's handbook²⁷. It is characterized by big frames for the main text, which are 213×110 mm in size. This part of the page consists of 22 text lines in a single column (Fig. 10). The first line is written under the upper line of a text frame²⁸ (Fig. 1–4). The upper margin is 28 mm wide, the lower – 54 mm, the inner – 50 mm and the outer is 70,5 mm wide. For ff. 4r–5v, the mise en page formula developed by Léon Gilissen²⁹ looks as follows: 1 col. 23 L/50.5.110.5.70,5 (120) × 28.10.193.10.54. UR 8,772. The same

²⁴ Poland, Kraków, PCL, n. u. 11601, *Apostoł Krystynopolski* (then AK), ff. 4r, 5v, 6r, 7v.

²⁵ AK, ff. 4v, 5r, 6v, 7r.

²⁶ AK, ff. 4r–4v, 6r–7v.

²⁷ J. Leroy, *Les types de reglure des manuscrits grecs*, Paris 1976, p. 10.

²⁸ AK, ff. 4r–5v.

²⁹ L. Gilissen, *Un élément codicologique trop peu exploité: la réglure, „Scriptorium”* 1969, t. 23(1), pp. 152–153, [online] https://www.persee.fr/doc/scrip_00369772_1969_num_23_1_3361 [cit. 2.06.2021].

scheme corresponds to the whole Kyiv part of the codex³⁰ (Fig. 9) and, partially, to the Lviv one³¹.

The second type is characteristic for the last two Kraków sheets 6r–7v, and for the Lviv part of the codex, from the ff. 7r–10v to ff. 80r–291v (foreword to *3Jo* till *2Tim.*). This type of ruling is very similar to 46D1f according to J. Leroy's classification³². It is characterized by somewhat lesser frames for the text of Epistles than is common for the first group. They are 180×97 mm in size. The text frame has 19 lines that also comprise a single column. The first line, much like the first group of ruling, is written under the upper guideline³³ (Fig. 5–8). Narrowing the text allowed more space to be provided for margins free of the main text. The upper margin for the second group reaches 22 mm wide, the lower – 50 mm, the inner is – 30 mm and the outer – 56 mm wide. The mise en page formula for the Kraków fragments and the Lviv part³⁴ (Fig. 11) is as follows: 1 col. 20 L/30.20.8.96.7.22.56 (153) × 22.18.9.160.10.23.50. UR 8,526.

The distance between lines from the upper line to the lower line in both groups is from 8 to 10 mm. Considering that the main text of the Kraków folia, and two parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* were written outside the upper side of the frame, the actual text frame for the first group is 215–240 × 110–126 mm with 23 lines³⁵ (Fig. 1–4) and the text frame for the second group is 183 × 97–107 mm with 20 lines³⁶ (Fig. 5–8).

Paleographic, orthographic and linguistic attribution of the fragments

The main text of the Kraków folia is written with early 12th-century Uncial, which is identical to the handwriting of the Kyiv and Lviv parts

³⁰ Л.А. Гнатенко, *Уривки з кириличних кодексів XII–XIII ст. з книгосховищ України, Росії, Болгарії у фондах Інституту рукопису НБУВ. Історія виявлення та атрибуція, „Рукописна та книжкова спадщина України” 2012, no. 15, p. 128, [online] <http://irbis-nbuv.gov.ua/everlib/item/er-0000000675> [cit. 11.03.2021]. [L.A. Gnatenko, *Urivki z kirilicnih kodeksiv XII–XIII st. z knjigoshovis Ukraïni, Rosii, Bolgariï u fondah Institutu rukopisu NBUV. İstoriâ viâvlenâ ta atribuciâ, Rukopisna ta knižkova spadšina Ukraïni 2012, no. 15, p. 128].**

³¹ ChA, ff. 1r–6v, 11r–79v.

³² J. Leroy, op. cit., p. 19.

³³ AK, ff. 6r–7v.

³⁴ AK, ff. 6r–7v; ChA, ff. 7r–10v, 80r–291v.

³⁵ AK, ff. 4r–5v.

³⁶ AK, ff. 6r–7v.

of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. The text of the discovered folia is written with straight calligraphic script. The letters are crisp, middle-sized, and written in a line. The text is actually written without word spacing, except for spaces when dots between word groups are used.

The text was written by two persons: the main text and three commentaries belong to one person's hand, and the more extensive commentaries, which fill almost the whole space of the margins on ff. 6r–7v – to another. Bearing in mind these circumstances, I have separately examined the paleographic and orthographic parameters for each of them, with linguistic features being examined in a special subparagraph.

The main text scribe

The line spacing, from the upper edge of the letter of one line to the lower edge of the letters of another line is 13,5–14 mm for the Kraków folia. The width of narrow letters (e, c, o, i) fluctuates between 1,5 and 2 mm, and the width of wide letters (ж, а, ш, ѿ, ф, е) – from 4 to 7 mm. The x-height of lowercase letters is 4 mm. The height of ascenders is 0,5–3 mm, and that of descenders fluctuates between 1 and 7 mm. These parameters of the main text script correspond to the Kyiv and Lviv parts of the manuscript.

The writing is two-yer (ѣ, ѥ) yus (а). The shape of letters is crisp, firmly proportional, it mostly has no inclination between line and quill with soft pressure. The letter я has its crossbar closer to the upper edge and in the centre, while in letters а and ю the crossbar is in the centre. The letter в has a much lesser upper part than the lower one. The letter ѳ has a narrow right side, with a crossbar strictly centered, so it touches the central arm. The letter ж is symmetrical, with a reduced upper part, and the centre of its crotch is higher than the centre of its vertical axis. The letter з has an enlarged head with the descender being bent to the left and downwards. The letters н and и are clearly distinct from each other, the crossbar in н is lowered to the centre (or slightly lower) of the right stem (similar to latin N), and in и it is horizontal, slightly higher than stem centre. The crossbars of и and я have dots in their centres. The letter і is mostly used at the end of the line: *прі/доша* (f. 4v), *антиохі/ю* (f. 4v), *роді/телюмъ* (f. 6v), in the form *хѣъ іѣъ* (f. 7v), and also in the middle of the line – *елліна* (f. 5v) and *прѣданію* (f. 7r). The і̇ letter is used three times in commentaries: *пріясте* (f. 5v), *прійдетъ* (f. 5v), *даііньхъ* (f. 6v). The right side of к is written with

a small gap from the left vertical line. The letter *м* has a curved middle vertex, which goes downwards, lower than stem feet, and the baseline with its vertical stem bars is slightly inclined towards each other, and the curved line is connected with them in the upper part with short strokes at heads, which is inclined to the right and left toward the letter centre. The letter *т* has symmetrical upper arms that sometimes ascend out of the *x*-height, mostly at the end of the line (ff. 4r, 6r, 6v). The vertical bar of *ф* has a dot in the middle. The legs of the letter *х* descended below the baseline, and the narrow diagonal line which goes from the right to the left is longer than the thick one. The letter *w* has an ascended middle part, which is slightly lower than its sides. The descenders of *ш* and *ц* go downwards below the baseline. The letters *р*, *ц*, *з* have thin descenders. The letter *ч* is symmetrical, with a deep round bowl. The symbol *ы* is written consequently, consisting of two parts – *ъ* and *и*, without connection. The letter *ъ* is fit to the *x*-height. The letter *ѣ* has its main vertical bar only slightly ascended above the *x*-height line, with its crossbar placed on the upper edge of the lowercase height. The letter *ю* has its crossbar in the middle or slightly above the centre of the letter. The letter *Ѹ* is written within the *x*-height, and its vertical line is closer to the upper edge.

The letter *а* is used at the beginning of words, after hard consonants and sibilant fricatives: *асии* (f. 7r), *неподобаетъ* (f. 5v), *моужа* (f. 4v), after soft consonants *а* is usually written: *сказаютьса* (f. 4r), *ипорядоу* (f. 4v), *въдахуобо* (f. 5v). The iotated *а* is represented at the beginning of words and after vowels as *я*: *языкъ* (f. 4v), *осазая* (f. 4r). The iotation of the *e* sound at the beginning of words and syllables, and after vowels, is transcribed by *ю*: *иѣлико* (f. 7v), *иодоблѣстию* (f. 4v), *блговѣръствию* (f. 6v). The letter *ю* is used after the liquid consonants *л* and *н*: *павлю* (f. 4v), *приемлюмъ* (f. 6r), *родителюмъ* (f. 6v); *ѡню* (ff. 4v, 5v), *нюго* (f. 4v), *нанюже* (ff. 5v, 7r). The round wide *е* is not so frequently used: *евангелиюмъ* (f. 7r), *ефесъ* (f. 7v). The narrow *e* is used mostly after consonants: *сергиюмъ* (f. 4r), *въземли* (f. 4v), *имате* (f. 5r), more rarely at the beginning of words – *елима* (f. 4r), *еллинъ* (f. 5v). The letter *и* is placed at the beginning of words, before vowels and after consonants: *вѣиконии* (f. 5v), *достойно* (f. 6r), *воинъ* (f. 7v), *развратити* (f. 4r), *иоутвѣрдиста* (f. 5r), *житиискими* (f. 7v). There were recorded two cases of using *v* for the sound typical for *в*: *еуей* and *еусей* (f. 4v). The letters *w* and wide *o* are written at the beginning of words, syllables and after vowels: *ишана* (f. 4r), *ишанъ* (f. 4v), *онаже* (f. 4v), *ханаонстъ* (f. 4v), *иоана* (f. 5v). The narrow *o* is used after consonants: *слово* (f. 5r), *ипоношению* (f. 6r), *онисифоровоу* (f. 7v). The digraph *oy* is written in every word

position – at the beginning, after vowels, after consonants, and at the end of words: оутѣшиста (f. 5r), саоула (f. 4r), роукама (f. 6v), кѣвсакомоу (f. 6r). Big yuses are absent from the text. The letter y goes after consonants: аноупатѣмь (f. 4r), егупѣтъстѣи (f. 4v), вѣлустрѣ (f. 5v). According to the Old Slavonic combination жд only the letter ж is used: прохожашеже (f. 5v), оутвѣржая (f. 5v), троужаемъса (f. 6r). The iotated y is transcribed by ю: июдаже (f. 5r), кѣстарую (f. 6v). The sound ф is transcribed with the letters ф and ѿ in foreign words: допафа, ѿпафа (f. 4r, 4v), ѿпамфилия (f. 4v, 5v), фerezей (f. 4v), фугель (f. 7r), онисифоровоу (f. 7v), ефесѣ (f. 7v), аноупатѣ (f. 4r), тимоеи (f. 5v). The manuscript mostly has the words written with the letter ѿ: ѿлоучивъса (f. 4v), ѿпоущена (f. 5r), ѿстоупльшаго (f. 5v), ѿвратишаса (f. 7r) with the only exception of отъ: отъвезъшежеса (f. 4v). There is the only example of ия in the word ѿпамфилия (f. 5v).

The use of reduced ѣ, ѣ is especially significant for dating the discovered Kraków fragments and identifying them with the writing of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. These letters were written according to Old Slavonic orthography, more often in more ancient manuscripts. The letters ѣ, ѣ are present to mark weak reduced sounds in word root syllables, which is considerably dominating: любѣвью (f. 6r), бовѣньже (f. 7r), довѣльни (f. 7v), павѣль (f. 4r), оподобѣнь (f. 7r), поповѣства (f. 6v). They are adherently used at the end of lines – ивѣзрѣвъ (f. 4r), павѣль (f. 4v), прѣданъ (f. 5v), житѣемь (f. 6r), бѣмь (f. 6v), прѣдажъ (f. 7v). The combination ѣл is also used in a strong position before a syllable with a fully voiced vowel: вѣлхва (f. 4r), испѣльнѣса (f. 4r). The presence of words with an archaic word spelling with ѣр between consonants is also worth mentioning: иютвѣрдиста (f. 5r), сѣмъртъ (f. 7r). The words have endings -омь, -емь: сергиомь (f. 4r), житѣемь (f. 6r), освоемь (f. 6r), евангелиемь (f. 7r). The letters ѣ, ѣ are traditionally used at the end of words as a mark for their ending in scriptio continua: вѣставѣ (f. 4v), вѣкупрѣ (f. 5v), воинѣ (f. 7v), дѣволѣ (f. 4r), сѣмирѣмь (f. 5r), дѣмь (f. 7r). These mentioned orthographic features are inherent to the two parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* that are kept nowadays in Kyiv and Lviv³⁷.

I have also discovered a prominent graphic feature in the handwriting of the Kraków fragments that is connected with the marking of the consonant н. This is a small hook in the upper part of the right vertical bar of н,

³⁷ L.A. Gnatenko, op. cit., p. 22; A. Kałużniacki, *Actus Epistolaeque Apostolorum palaeoslovenice. Ad fidem codicis Christinopolitani saeculo XII scripti*, Vindobonae 1896, pp. xiv–xv; O. Kolessa, op. cit., pp. 12, 14, 20; S.I. Maslov", op. cit., pp. 235–237.

which is directed to the right. This actual softening, which resembles the ligature н, is used in the Kraków folia five times: оиспългене (f. 4r), нанъ (f. 4r), книма (f. 4v), ѿнихъже (f. 5r) and нѣшьгии (f. 6r). The same type of softening of the letter н is found in the Kyiv part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*, namely in the following words: немоу³⁸, вѣгеиже³⁹, съгимь⁴⁰, съгими⁴¹, ѿнихъ⁴², занеже⁴³, занъ⁴⁴. It is also present in the Lviv part of the codex, in the words: вѣнихъ⁴⁵, вѣгъже⁴⁶, гѣе⁴⁷, оудавлѣнины⁴⁸, възбранена⁴⁹, вышнаго⁵⁰, ижнея⁵¹ etc. This practice was common in the 11th cent., and throughout the first half of the 12th cent. According to V. Šepkin these features were a reminiscence of ancient Bulgarian originals used to express the peculiarities of Old Bulgarian phonetics⁵².

The text of the Kraków fragments, as well as that of both the Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*, has primary punctuation. For this purpose, a dot at the baseline is used, slightly higher or even in the middle of the x-height. It is used to mark a pause in reading: прошьдѣшаже островъ допафа. обрѣтоста нѣкого вѣлхва. лѣжа пр(о)рка жидовина юмоуже бѣ има варисоусъ. ижебѣ съанѹпатѣмъ. сергиомъ ипавѣльмъ моужьмъ разоумичьнѣмъ (f. 4r). All of the Kraków folia have examples of finishing some verses within a chapter with a dot and several commas: старица акы мѣри. оуныя акы сестры. вѣвсакоу чистотоу (1Tim 6,2; Fig. 6)⁵³. These features are also present in the Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*⁵⁴.

³⁸ AT, ff. 1v, 2v, 8r.

³⁹ AT, ff. 2v, 5v.

⁴⁰ AT, f. 3r.

⁴¹ AT, f. 5v.

⁴² AT, f. 6v.

⁴³ AT, f. 8r.

⁴⁴ AT, f. 7r.

⁴⁵ ChA, f. 4r.

⁴⁶ ChA, f. 4v.

⁴⁷ ChA, f. 4v.

⁴⁸ ChA, f. 6r.

⁴⁹ ChA, f. 11r.

⁵⁰ ChA, f. 11v.

⁵¹ ChA, f. 12r.

⁵² В. Щепкин, *Русская палеография*, Moscow 1967, pp. 113–114. [V. Šepkin, *Russkaâ peleografiâ*, Moscow 1967, pp. 113–114].

⁵³ AK, f. 6v.

⁵⁴ S.I. Maslov", op. cit., p. 237.

In the main text of the Kraków folia, simple and letter titlos are used. The first type of contraction is characterized by drawing the titlo as a small straight stroke with corners looking downwards above the consonant letters in words: дѣа сѣа (f. 4r), бѣъ (f. 4v), прѣрка (f. 5r), црѣкви (f. 5v), мѣсть (f. 7v). The second type of contraction is provided by the letter-type titlos, „on-titlo” and „slovo-titlo” in the same positions as for the simple titlo, but in the shape of an arc that covers a letter: лѣжа прр(о)ка (f. 4r), блг(о)дти (f. 7v), иер(с)лмь (f. 4v), бы(с)же, бы(с) (ff. 5v, 6r), ч(с)тотою (f. 6r).

Two types of upper diacritics are used in the text of the fragment: circumflex and oxeia. The latter is used only twice: оисплѣне (f. 4r), тимоеи (f. 5v), while circumflex is written multiple times:

- 1) above vowel letters: иванъ (f. 4v), иоудавлѣнины (f. 5r), сънима (f. 5v);
- 2) above two or three consonants placed consequently: вѣлхва (f. 4r), земли (f. 4v), евагелиѣмь (f. 7r);
- 3) for softening: ѿстоупльшаго (f. 5v), елліна (f. 5v), илюбви (f. 7r).

With the hand of the scribe of the main text three commentaries are written apart from the main text itself (Fig. 2, 4). They are contained in the outer margins in ff. 4v and 5v without guidelines. A much smaller size of letters is used for them in comparison with the main text. The x-height of lowercase letters is 1–1,5 mm. The width of narrow letters (e, c, o, i) is up to 1 mm, and for wide ones (ж, а, ш, ѿ, ф) it fluctuates from 2 to 4 mm. The height of ascenders is up to 2 mm, and that of descenders is 3 mm. The line spacing, from the upper edge of the letter of one line to the lower edge of letters of another line, is 7 mm. The commentaries of this scribe are written in the same manner as in the Kyiv⁵⁵ (Fig. 9) and Lviv parts⁵⁶ of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*.

The scribe of the commentaries

The margins of Kraków ff. 6r–7v contain extensive commentaries covering almost the entire free space of the upper, lower and outer parts of the sheets (Fig. 5–8). Their amount, the manner of positioning, and the hand of a scribe differ from the practices of the main scribe. The commentaries of the second scribe exploit the whole space of margins, which embrace the main text from three sides. The text of the commentaries

⁵⁵ AT, ff. 2v, 4r, 7v, 8v; L.A. Gnatenko, op. cit., pp. 108, 111, 116, 120.

⁵⁶ ChA, ff. 3v, 4r, 11r, 12r, 13r, 15r, 15v, 16v, 17r, 17v, 19r, 20v, 21v, 22r, 25r, 26r, 35v, 39v, 77r, 81r, 82r, 82v, 83r.

in these margins is written in a similar manner to that of the main scribe, but without guidelines. It is worth noting that the commentaries of the second scribe are absent from the Kyiv part of *Apostolus Christianopolitanus*, while the Lviv part contains them. They are identical to the Kraków folia in their handwriting and positioning (Fig. 5, 11).

The second scribe's text of commentaries is written with small calligraphic early 12th-century Uncial with long loops in ascenders and descenders. The commentaries are written with light brown ink, like the main text. The writing is also two-yer (ѣ, ѥ) and yus (Ѧ), like the main text. The shape of letters is crisp and firmly proportional; it mostly has no inclination between line and quill, with soft pressure.

The x-height of lowercase letters in the commentaries of the second hand of the Kraków folia is 1–2 mm, the width of narrow letters (e, c, o, i) is up to 1 mm, that of wide ones (ж, Ѧ, ш, ѡ, ф) is 2–3 mm, ascenders rise up to 1–2 mm, and descenders go down to 1–3 mm. The line spacing, from the upper edge of the letter of one line to the lower edge of letters of another line, is 7 mm⁵⁷.

The shape of letters has the same features as in the main text, but some letters are distinct. For example, the letter a has a very prominent long diagonal stroke, which exceeds the limits of the line height. The letter м has a rounded middle vertex which does not go downwards under the baseline and the vertical bar feet. These vertical bars are slightly inclined towards each other and the curved line is directly connected at the heads of the bars. The letter y is used in the text, with its ascenders drawn above the upper edge of the line. The letter ѣ has a very long horizontal stroke, which almost completely overlaps the upper part of the preceding letter. The vertical bar of ѣ is placed much above the edge of the line, with its crossbar positioned above that upper edge.

The letter a is used at the beginning of words, and after hard consonants and sibilant fricatives: аще (f. 6r), въдовамъ (f. 6v), прилежаща (f. 7r). After softened consonants the letter Ѧ is written: обрѣстиса (f. 6r), тагость (f. 6v), ихранаще (f. 7r). The letter и – at the beginning of words, before vowels and after consonants: истиньнаа (f. 6v), воиньствуа (f. 7v), дързати (f. 7v). The letter o has a narrow shape after consonants: попове (f. 6r), единому (f. 6v), съкровище (f. 7v). The digraph ou and the letter y are written in every position in a word – in the beginning, after vowels, after consonants, and at the end of words: оучить (f. 6r), ипооучаа (f. 6v), моученикаже (f. 7v), ап(с)лоу (f. 7r). Just like the main text of the *Apostolus*, the commentaries lack big yuses. According to Old Slavonic

⁵⁷ АК, ff. 6r–7v.

combination of жд the letter ж is exclusively used: тружаемъ (f. 6r), понужаа (f. 7v). The iotated y is transcribed by ю: съвластию (f. 6r), осиротѣвьшю (f. 6r). The sound ф of foreign origin is written with the letters ф and ѿ: иосифоре (f. 7v), онисифоръ (f. 7v), тимоеѣеви (f. 6r, 6v), нетимоеѣи (f. 7r). Only the variant with ѡ exists in these commentaries: ѡлучитеми (f. 6r), ѡжени (f. 7r).

The commentaries in the margins of the Kraków ff. 6r–7r contain the same features as the main text of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. They are connected with the reduced sounds ъ, ь. The letters ъ, ь are used to mark weak reduced sounds in root syllables: въсекое (f. 6r), исъхраниши (f. 7r), възмага (f. 7v), естъствьмъ (f. 6r), члѣвчьскими (f. 6v), търпить (f. 7r). They are consistently used at the end of lines – епископъ (f. 6r), проклатамъ (f. 6v), кѡунымъ (f. 6v), оученьнъмъ (f. 6v), сѣтымъ (f. 7r), възискамъ (f. 7v). The combination of -ѣл- is used in a strong position before a syllable with a full voiced vowel: дѣлжнь (f. 6r), довѣлѣеть (f. 7r). The variant with the archaic combinations of -ѣр-, -ѣр- between consonants is also presented: дадѣрзость (f. 6v), одѣржима (f. 7v) нѣсѣдѣрзновениемъ (f. 7v), търпить (f. 7r), дѣрзати (f. 7v), търпѣние (f. 7v). I have noticed the use of endings -омъ, -емъ: потомъ (f. 7r), ономъ (f. 7r), еваѣглиемъ (f. 7r), нѣсѣдѣрзновениемъ (f. 7v). The letters ъ, ь are used to finalize words as the ending feature in the authentic Uncial scriptio continua: будущимъ (f. 6r), одѣицахъ (f. 6v), онисифоръ (f. 7v), вижъ (f. 6r), дѣмъ (f. 6r), срамъ (f. 7v). A prominent feature of this hand is the exploitation of the ligatures ти: бесѣдовати (f. 6r), приближатиса (f. 7r), творити (f. 7v); тѣ: повелѣваетъ (f. 6r), съдравѣствують (f. 7r), наскакають (f. 7v) and тр: оустроение (f. 6r), трудишаса (f. 7r), пострадаати (f. 7v). These features prove that the commentary text corresponds to the 12th cent.

The text of the commentaries contains contractions made with simple and letter titlos. The first type of contraction is characterized by drawing the titlo as a long straight stroke with almost indistinct corners that are directed downwards, above the consonant letters in words: дѣвнѣи (f. 6r), ба сѣсающаа (f. 6r), епископу (f. 6r), прѣчьство (f. 6r), ѣи иѣоу хѣ (f. 7v), бжѣтѣвнаго (f. 7v), глѣше (f. 7v), опрѣди (f. 7v). The second type of contraction is present with the letter titlo, the „slovo-titlos” in two examples: ап(с)лоу (f. 7r) і г(с)ь (f. 7r). In order to contract the name of the author of the commentaries the scribe contracted the word with a long-ascended letter, with two short unconnected inclined strokes from both sides of the ascended letter м: іку(м) (ff. 6r, 7v).

In a fashion similar to the scribe of the main text, the second scribe used dots to mark a pause in reading as well as its end: ако паче образъ дѣшевнѣ. инепредѣлъ блѣгоживотнѣ. словѣмъ вѣща. вѣныгда глѣти.

аже требѣ оучителю. вижѣже. ако требѣ оучителю оустроение имѣти слову: (f. 6r). He also defined the end of every commentary with colons. These features are preserved in the Lviv part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. The second scribe used a fewer number of diacritics in comparison with the first. As I have observed, there are only two examples of circumflex use, in the words: еже (f. 7r) and иже (f. 7v).

Linguistic peculiarities of the fragments

The main text and commentaries placed on the Kraków folia were written in Church Slavonic language in its Old Ukrainian version, identical to the Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*⁵⁸. I discovered 12 important linguistic features during an examination of the fragments. They are inherent to 12th-century manuscripts of the Old Ukrainian Church Slavonic variant. To define these features, I have used the corresponding criteria from O. Kolessa's work, where the latter has asserted that the Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* contain 22 linguistic features which proves that the codex belongs to the Old Ukrainian tradition of Church Slavonic language⁵⁹.

One of these features of the Old Ukrainian tradition is the combinations of ѡѣ, ѡя, which were used instead of common Church Slavonic иѣ, ия: абѡѣ, оутѣшенѡя, иѡлюбодѣѡя, ѡбратѡя, чѣколюбѡя, опасенѡѣ, осрамленѡѣ and житѡѣмь⁶⁰ (Table 1). These signs of the Old Ukrainian tradition are contained in the texts in the Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*: оутѣшенѡѣмь, видѣѡѣнѡѣ, наутрѡя, бесоумнѣнѡя, абѡѣ, обрѣзанѡя, видѣѡѣнѡѣ, покаянѡѣ, оушѡѣ, вѣсѡя, псанѡя, сѣказанѡя, стрѡѣнѡѣ⁶¹. Another linguistic feature is the existence of и or ѡ before the enclitic pronoun и instead of ѡ or ѣ: иоудавлѣнины и, покрѡѣти и, оутѣшити и, живы и, сѣсеши и, помазати и⁶² (Table 1). These linguistic features are also preserved in the two parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*: наставити и, познахомы и, оклѣветаваѡѣти и, послѣѣти и⁶³. I have gathered other examples of linguistic features from the text of the Kraków folia also found in the Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* in Table 1.

⁵⁸ M.V. Geppener, M.P. Vizir, J.V. Šubins'kij, op. cit., p. 22.

⁵⁹ O. Kolessa, op. cit., pp. 24–26.

⁶⁰ АК, 4r, 4v, 5r, 5v, 6r.

⁶¹ O. Kolessa, op. cit., p. 24.

⁶² АК, 5r, 5v, 6r, 6v, 7r.

⁶³ O. Kolessa, op. cit., p. 24.

The textological attribution of the fragments

The text of the Kraków parchment folia belongs to the *New Testament* part of the *Bible*. An examination of the text revealed that these are incomplete fragments of *Act* 13,5–20 (Fig. 1, 2), *Act* 15,29–16,4 (Fig. 3, 4), *1Tim* 4,8–5,4 (Fig. 5, 6), and also *2Tim* 1,10–2,4 (Fig. 7, 8). This means that the discovered folia appear to be the part of the *Apostolus* (*Acts and Epistles of the Apostles*).

It is widely known that the Kyiv part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* begins with a fragment of *Act* 9,28⁶⁴ and concludes with *Act* 13,5: ибывъша въсалиминѣ. проповѣда слово бжъе. въсьнмїщихъ иудейскихъ. иимаста⁶⁵ (Fig. 9; Table 2). The Kyiv manuscript ends with the same fragment of the text, which has its continuation in the Kraków f. 4r. The first Kraków f. 4r begins with that final part of *Act* 13,5 which the Kyiv part lacks: ивана слоугоу. прошьдъшаже островъ допафа. обрѣтоста нѣкого вълхва. лъжа пр(о)рка жидовина⁶⁶ (Fig. 1; Table 2).

The text of the first Kraków sheet has an abrupt break on the verso side, in *Act* 13,20: иразоръ семь языкъ въземли ханаонстѣ. Въселилгя въземли ихъ. ипочеты⁶⁷ (Fig. 2; Table 2) and it continues in the Lviv main part, which begins with the second half of *Act* 13,20: рхъ сътъ лѣтъ ипатидесаты дасть имъ соудия досамоила пррка⁶⁸ (Table 2).

Another Kraków sheet begins with the incomplete verse of *Act* 15,29: приязнинѣ. иѡкръве. иоудавлѣнины. иѡлюбодѣнья. ѡнгихъже себе съблюдающе добро сътворити имате. съдрави боудѣте⁶⁹ (Fig. 3; Table 2). The beginning of *Act* 15,29 is written in the Lviv part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*: възложити вамъ таготы. развѣ сихъ ноужныхъ. оудалятиса ѡтрѣбъ не⁷⁰ (Table 2).

The text of the second Kraków folium is finalized on its verso side with an incomplete verse of *Act* 16,4: вѣдахуобо вси оца юго яко еллинъ бѣ. Югдаже прохожаста грады. прѣдаяше имъ⁷¹ (Fig. 5; Table 2). The

⁶⁴ А. Кочубинскій, Рецензія на книгу Г. Житецкаго „Очеркъ литературной исторіи малорусскаго нарѣчія“, St. Petersburg 1892, p. 13. [A. Kočubinskij, Recenzîâ na knîgu G. Žiteckago „Očerk" literaturnoj istorii malorusskago narěčîâ“, St. Petersburg 1892, p. 13].

⁶⁵ AT, f. 8v.

⁶⁶ AK, f. 4r.

⁶⁷ AK, f. 4v.

⁶⁸ ChA, f. 1r.

⁶⁹ AK, f. 5r.

⁷⁰ ChA, f. 6v.

⁷¹ AK, f. 5v.

Lviv part: аистая въдовица иоуејдиге наоупъваеѣтѣ наба. ипрѣбываеѣтѣ въмѣтвахъ ноцѣ иднѣ. ивъмоленіихъ⁷⁶ (Table 2).

The fourth Kraków sheet begins with the second half of 2 *Tim* 1,10: шьшаго оубо съмъртъ. просвѣтивъшагоже животь. инеистълънїе евангелиеѣмъ⁷⁷ (Fig. 7; Table 2). The first half of verse 2 *Tim* 1,10 is contained in the Lviv part of the codex: явлъшеса нынѣ. просвѣщенїеѣмъ сїсїтеля нашего їс хѣа. раздрю⁷⁸ (Table 2).

The verso of the fourth sheet concludes with an incomplete verse of 2*Tim* 2,4: никтоже воинѣ бывая обазаеѣтѣса коуплями житїиисками. давоѣводѣ годѣ⁷⁹ (Fig. 8; Table 2). This fragment concludes the content of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*.

Thereby the text of the Kraków folia appears to be fragments of *Act* 13,5–20; *Act* 15,29–16,4; 1*Tim* 4,8–5,4 and 2*Tim* 1,10–2,4 from the 12th-century *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*, which are absent from the two known parts of this manuscript. The Kraków folia, for now, are viewed as a continuation of the Kyiv part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*, while at the same time, they are the beginning and end of the Lviv main part of the codex. The discovery of the Kraków manuscript, its identification and comparison with the Kyiv and Lviv parts have allowed for its position among those parts to be restored (Table 3). The folium 4r from PCL is placed after Kyiv f. 8v (AT) and before f. 1r (ChA) from Lviv; f. 5r (AK) – after f. 6v (ChA); f. 6r (AK) before 7r (ChA) and f. 7r (AK) after f. 10v (ChA) (Table 3).

The Kraków folia's text layout is completely identical to that of the Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* (Fig. 1, 5, 9, 11). The text of the fragments corresponds to the style of content seen in *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*, where text is arranged according to books, and according to chapters within books. The 12th-century text structure differs from the modern division into chapters and verses. For example, the fragment of current *Act* 13,5–12 corresponds to *Act* 19 according to the ancient division; correspondingly, *Act* 13,12–20 are *Act* 19–20; *Act* 15,29–37 are *Act* 23; *Act* 15,37–45; *Act* 16:1–4 are *Act* 23–24; 1*Tim* 4,8–14 are 1*Tim* 8–9; 1*Tim* 4,14–16, 1*Tim* 5,1–4 are 1*Tim* 9–11; 2*Tim* 1,10–15 are 2*Tim* 1–2; 2*Tim* 1,16–18; 2*Tim* 2,1–4 are 2*Tim* 2. This ancient division of the Kraków folia influenced the marking of its text parts, which I have divided into two variants. The first way of marking was to place

⁷⁶ ChA, f. 7r.

⁷⁷ AK, f. 7r.

⁷⁸ ChA, f. 10v.

⁷⁹ AK, f. 7v.

Table 3.Restoration of the content structure of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*

Text chapters	Holdings of manuscript parts	Sheet numbers
<i>Act</i> 9,28–13,5	IM VNLU	AT, 1r–8v
<i>Act</i> 13,5–20	PCL	AK, 4r–4v
<i>Act</i> 13,20–15,29	HML	ChA, 1r–6v
<i>Act</i> 15,29–16,4	PCL	AK, 5r–5v
<i>Act</i> 16,4–18,14 <i>Act</i> 19,1–28,13 <i>Act</i> 28,26–31 – <i>IPt</i> 2,12 <i>IPt</i> 3,1– <i>ICor</i> 7,28 <i>ICor</i> 7,37– <i>ICor</i> 14,21 <i>ICor</i> 14,32– <i>2Th</i> 2,3 <i>2Th</i> 2,15– <i>1Tim</i> 4,8	HML	ChA, 11r–291v
<i>1Tim</i> 4,8–5,4	PCL	AK, 6r–6v
<i>1Tim</i> 5,5–6,2 <i>2Tim</i> 1,1–10	HML	ChA, 7r–10v
<i>2Tim</i> 1,10–2,4	PCL	AK, 7r–7v

an index mark of the chapter into text, with cinnabar or brown ink, at the beginning of the corresponding chapter, above its initial word. Under that index mark, in the lower margin, the name of a chapter is written, with cinnabar or brown ink. The second way of marking was to place a chapter number in the outer margin with brown ink, and to write a chapter title, like in the previous example, under the text (index mark and chapter number, with cinnabar), and if two chapter beginnings occur on a single page, the title chapter of the first to appear is written above the text, the second under it.

The chapter numbers and their titles in ff. 4v i 5v (Fig. 2, 4) are written in a first way. At the beginning of the modern excerpt from *Act* 13,16, before the words *въставъже павль ипомануувъ роукою рече. моужи излїтїне. ибоящииса ба послушайте*, the scribe inserted the number *ќ* [20] with a Cyrillic character. Under this very number in the lower margin he wrote *ќ павлю цвѣтноу въха оученью. ѿзаконаже ипорядоу ѿпрѣкъ*, which corresponds to the title of the corresponding chapter (Fig. 2). The same practice was recorded for f. 5v, where a cinnabar mark *ќд* [24] occurred before *Act* 16,1, before the words *дондеже въниде въдєрвѣ ивълаустроу. исеоученикъ нѣкыи бѣ тоу. именьмъ тимоееи. сѣѣ жидовыиа вѣрны. иѿѿцаже еллина* and under the text, the title of the chapter appears as: *ќд. онаоучении тимоееовѣ* (Fig. 4). This

variant of text marking is inherent to the Kyiv⁸⁰ and, to some extent, the Lviv⁸¹ part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*.

A second way of marking appears on ff. 6r–7r (Fig. 5–7). The scribe placed the number 6 [9] with brown ink ca. 20 mm to the left from the text, close to the words запрѣцаи сия иоучи (1Tim 4,11). The cinnabar chapter title under the text corresponds with it: 6 оприлежании єго иоцркви (Fig. 5). An identical number is found in the chapter list of 1Tim in the Lviv part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*⁸². The incipit of the second chapter, 6 оподобьнѣ подании, which corresponds to the initial words of 2Tim 1,15 – вѣстелисе яко ѿвратишаса ѿмене. иже вѣасии. ѿнихъже єсть фугель. иермогень is written according to the same principle (Fig. 7). The same title also exists in the chapter list, but is somewhat extended: 6 оподобьнѣ дании. бжъємь оучениємь⁸³. The described principles used in organizing and structuring the text of the Kraków fragments corresponds fully to one of the *Acts of the Apostles* in the Lviv part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*⁸⁴.

When two incipits on a single page are present, the scribe placed the title of the first chapter above the text ї оприключении, which concerns старцю несътвори пакости. нѡутѣшаии акы оца. оуныя акы братью (1Tim 5,1). The second title is located under the text – їа овѣдови чьстѣ врѣмени, which is written up to the fragment of 1Tim 5,3 with an incipit вѣдовица чѣти истиньныя. вѣдовица (Fig. 6). When two incipits exist on a single page, the chapter titles are written in the upper and lower margins in the Lviv part as well as in the Kraków folia⁸⁵.

The Kraków folia's inherence to *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* is testified by the distinctive initial letters found in some verse incipits of *Acts and Epistles of the Apostles*. They are written with cinnabar without any peculiar ornamentation. These letters have a modest size, just slightly bigger than lowercase letters. They are regularly written with their baseline slightly lowered in comparison with typical lowercase letters. Initials identical to those of the Kraków part of the codex are found in both the Kyiv⁸⁶ and Lviv parts⁸⁷. The Kraków folia has 12 of these initial letters:

⁸⁰ L.A. Gnatenko, op. cit., pp. 107, 112, 120.

⁸¹ ChA, ff. 3r, 4v.

⁸² ChA, f. 286v.

⁸³ ChA, f. 9v.

⁸⁴ ChA, ff. 49r, 105v–106r, 112r, 113v, 117r etc.

⁸⁵ ChA, ff. 8r–8v, 126v, 201v, 234r, 235r, 236v etc.

⁸⁶ AT, ff. 1r–2r, 3r–3v, 5r–5v, 6v, 7r, 8r.

⁸⁷ ChA, ff. 1r–1v, 2v–5v, 49r, 66r, 89v.

Б in the word: бы(с)же (f. 5v);

В in the words: въставъ (f. 4v), въселилѣя (f. 4v), вѣрно (f. 6r), възмагаи (f. 7v);

Д in the word: дондеже (f. 5v);

Ю in the word: югдаже (f. 5v);

О in the word: отъвезъшежеса (f. 4v);

П in the words: противляшежеса (f. 4r), посланииже (f. 5r), Павльже (f. 5r);

С in the word: саоуль (f. 4r).

Like the text of the Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*, the text of the Kraków folia has markings of more recent times. S. Maslov has distinguished three different hands in the Kyiv part⁸⁸. The Kraków text has identical marks written by three different persons. The markings of chapter explicits by contractions like конь(и)⁸⁹, к(о)⁹⁰ and д(о)⁹¹ are written with Uncial similar to the script of the main text scribe. The words въсре(д). ѿ. не(д), placed at the beginning of *Act* 13,13 above the line, which means that these should be read during a liturgy on Wednesday of the fifth week after Easter, are written in the same hand⁹². Another inscription appears before the beginning of *Act* 15,35: въ соу(б). ѿ. не(д)., which means that this excerpt is to be read on Saturday of the fifth week after Easter⁹³. This person added a title to *Act* 16,1, and a title to the commentary прѣрѣканиѣ пауле къварнавѣ омарцѣ⁹⁴ as well.

The Uncial script of the second hand differs slight in the script graphic features and in the colour of the cinnabar. By this scribe's hand, the numerical marks in margins are placed with dark red ink: ѿ. ѿ. ѿ. ѿ. ѿ. лѣ. б. кѣ. ѿ. кѣ.⁹⁵ Index marks въсоу(б). ѿ по(с). сѣму ѿеодору are written by the same hand. These inscriptions indicate the Saturday of the first week of Great Lent, the commemoration day of St. Theodor Thyron⁹⁶. The inscription on f. 6r, opposite to *1Tim* 4,9: вѣрно слово ивсакомоу приятию достоино, is made by the same hand. The incipit of the latter verse has a remark: иступи насе Ѡ (there is a cross, made of cinnabar dots,

⁸⁸ S.I. Maslov", op. cit., pp. 239–240.

⁸⁹ АК, ff. 4v, 5v–6v, 7v.

⁹⁰ АК, ff. 4v, 5v–6v, 7v.

⁹¹ АК, f. 6r.

⁹² АК, f. 4v.

⁹³ АК, f. 6r.

⁹⁴ АК, f. 5v.

⁹⁵ АК, ff. 4v, 5v–6v, 7v.

⁹⁶ АК, f. 7v.

exists in the centre of an izhitsa letter; Fig. 5), and the verso of the same sheet has the letter \check{V} written with a cross among the words of *1Tim* 4,16 *храниса иоучениємъ прилежи ихъ. \check{V} себо творам себѣ сїсѣши. ипослоушающа тебе*⁹⁷ (Fig. 6).

The incipits (zachalos) of readings, end marks of text parts, and commentary marks of the main text scribe are written in a third hand, with early Semi-Uncial script, dating back from the 16th century. All markings are written with light red cinnabar. A numbers of zachalos (incipits) is written in the margins near verses *Act* 15,35 – *за(ч) ѿз*⁹⁸, *1Tim* 4,9 – *за(ч) тѣи*⁹⁹, *1Tim* 5,1 – *за(ч) ѿлк*¹⁰⁰, *2Tim* 2,1 – *за(ч) ткс*¹⁰¹. The ends of excerpts chosen for everyday reading are marked with this hand. Thus, the end of *Act* 13,12 (Tuesday of the fifth week after Easter) is marked with the abbreviation *вто(к)*¹⁰², an explicit of *Act* 15,34 (Friday of the fifth week after Easter) – *ко(ц) пд(к)*¹⁰³ and the last words of *Act* 15,41 (Saturday of the fifth week after Easter) are marked with a contraction of the word „Saturday” – *сж(б)*¹⁰⁴. The commentary on f. 4v is subscribed as *то(л)*, i.e. an explanation under the number of the Latin character „P”.

It is worth noting that apart from the markings in the *Apostolus* main text, it has corrections from the time of the manuscript’s creation and from a later time (16th century). Three letters were corrected by the main text scribe, with their ink strokes being erased. In the beginning of line 18 on f. 5v, two letters are erased before the word *въсхотѣ*. Traces of such a correction are present on lines 22 and 23 of f. 5v, in positions of the letters *х*, *ж* and *а* in *прохожаста*. I also counted as a 12th-century correction the superscription of *мое* between the words *чадо* and *възмагаи*, which, in my opinion, was added by the second scribe of the commentaries (f. 7v). I have not identified any other 12th-century corrections in the Kraków folia.

The last stage of the textological attribution of the revealed fragments was a description of the commentary layout. The commentaries of the main text scribe are written in the Kraków folia’s outer margins in the same way

⁹⁷ АК, f. 6v.

⁹⁸ АК, f. 5r.

⁹⁹ АК, f. 6r.

¹⁰⁰ АК, f. 6v.

¹⁰¹ АК, f. 7v.

¹⁰² АК, f. 4v.

¹⁰³ АК, f. 5r.

¹⁰⁴ АК, f. 5v.

they are in the Kyiv part and, in some cases, in the Lviv part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. The commentaries are numbered with round Glagolitic numerals, a fairly archaic script type. The commentaries in the Kyiv and Lviv parts of the codex are also numbered in Glagoitsa¹⁰⁵. These letters were intended to connect the proper fragment of text with a commentary. The explanation of *Act* 13,13–15 is marked by the Glagolitic character „Л” („L”, Ljudie) where verse *Act* 13,15 ends, just above the last letter of the word иер(с)лѣмь¹⁰⁶. Under the same letter, the commentary proper is written in the margin. According to the same principle, the commentaries to *Act* 13,19 are marked with a number ѿ¹⁰⁷, and those to *Act* 15,37–40 – with a big iotated yus¹⁰⁸. M. Heppener has suggested that the fact that round iotated Glagolitic yuses are used in the Lviv part of the codex, while the main Cyrillic text lacks them, might show the scribe’s fluent use of this archaic type of Glagolitic script¹⁰⁹. It is worth mentioning that none of the commentaries in the Kraków fragments contains information about the author. The Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*, among 32 commentaries made by the main scribe, only two have their author mentioned. These two commentaries are contained in the Lviv part of the codex. The first one is subscribed as „оригеново” (ChA, 26r), which references Origen of Alexandria (c. 184–c. 253). Another one is subscribed as „максимово”¹¹⁰ that is, that of Maximus the Confessor (c. 580–662). Despite a somewhat complicated understanding of these texts and their attribution, I have identified the author of the commentaries in excerpts of the Apostles Acts in the Kraków part. The first and the third commentaries belong to Theophylact of Ohrid (around 1055–after 1107) (Table 4). This commentary is an explanation of *Act* 13,13–15¹¹¹ (Fig. 2) and *Act* 15,37–40¹¹² (Fig. 4). I think that the author of the third commentary was the scribe himself. This commentary concerns *Act* 13,1, and comprises a list of seven peoples who were exterminated in Canaan: the Hittites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, „иже соуть хеттеи. герресей. амореи. хананей. фerezей. еуей. еусей”¹¹³ (Table 4).

¹⁰⁵ M.V. Geppener, M.P. Vizir, J.V. Šubins'kij, op. cit., pp. 23.

¹⁰⁶ AK, f. 4v.

¹⁰⁷ AK, f. 4v.

¹⁰⁸ AK, f. 5v.

¹⁰⁹ M.V. Geppener, M.P. Vizir, J.V. Šubins'kij, op. cit., pp. 23.

¹¹⁰ ChA, f. 82v.

¹¹¹ AK, f. 4v.

¹¹² AK, f. 5v.

¹¹³ AK, f. 4v.

Table 4.1
Commentaries to the text of Kraków folia

No.	Leaf number	Number of illustration	Number of commentary	Author of commentary	Fragment commented
1.	4v	2	„Ljudie” (Glagolitic script)	Theophylact of Ohrid	<i>Act</i> 13,13–15
2.	4v	2	✠	The scribe	<i>Act</i> 13,19
3.	5v	4	Big iotated yus (Glagolitic script)	Theophylact of Ohrid	<i>Act</i> 15,37–40
4.	6r	5	✠	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,8
5.	6r	5	ī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,10
6.	6r	5	īī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,10
7.	6r	5	īī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,11
8.	6r	5	īī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,12
9.	6r	5	īī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,12
10.	6r	5	īē	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,12
11.	6r	5	īš	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,13
12.	6r	5	īř	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,13
13.	6r	5	īī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,13
14.	6r	5	-	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,14
15.	6r	5	ī✠	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,14
16.	6r	5	īī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,14
17.	6v	6	īī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,15
18.	6v	6	īī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,15
19.	6v	6	īī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,16
20.	6v	6	īī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 4,16
21.	6v	6	īē	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 5,1
22.	6v	6	īš	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 5,1
23.	6v	6	īř	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 5,2
24.	6v	6	īī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 5,2
25.	6v	6	ī✠	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 5,3
26.	6v	6	ī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 5,4
27.	6v	6	ī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 5,4
28.	6v	6	ī	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	<i>1Tim</i> 5,4
29.	7r	7	īī	Ephrem the Syrian (?)	<i>2Tim</i> 1,10
30.	7r	7	īē	Theophylact of Ohrid	<i>2Tim</i> 1,11
31.	7r	7	īš	Theophylact of Ohrid	<i>2Tim</i> 1,11
32.	7r	7	īř	Theophylact of Ohrid	<i>2Tim</i> 1,12
33.	7r	7	īī	Theophylact of Ohrid	<i>2Tim</i> 1,12
34.	7r	7	ī✠	Theophylact of Ohrid	<i>2Tim</i> 1,13
35.	7r	7	īī	Theophylact of Ohrid	<i>2Tim</i> 1,13
36.	7r	7	ī	Theophylact of Ohrid	<i>2Tim</i> 1,13
37.	7r	7	īī	Theophylact of Ohrid	<i>2Tim</i> 1,14
38.	7r	7	īī	Theophylact of Ohrid	<i>2Tim</i> 1,15
39.	7v	8	ō	Theophylact of Ohrid	<i>2Tim</i> 1,15
40.	7v	8	σ	Theophylact of Ohrid	<i>2Tim</i> 1,16

Table 4.2

Commentaries to the text of Kraków folia

41.	7v	8	ii	Theophylact of Ohrid	2Tim 1,16
42.	7v	8	ç	Theophylact of Ohrid	2Tim 1,16
43.	7v	8	ii	Theophylact of Ohrid	2Tim 1,17
44.	7v	8	ii	Theophylact of Ohrid	2Tim 1,18
45.	7v	8	-	Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka	2Tim 1,18
46.	7v	8	ř	Theophylact of Ohrid	2Tim 1,18
47.	7v	8	ii	Theophylact of Ohrid	2Tim 1,18
48.	7v	8	ē	Theophylact of Ohrid	2Tim 2,1
49.	7v	8	š	Theophylact of Ohrid	2Tim 2,1
50.	7v	8	ç	John Chrysostom	2Tim 2,2
51.	7v	8	ii	John Chrysostom	2Tim 2,3
52.	7v	8	ř	John Chrysostom	2Tim 2,3

The 49 commentaries on the other two Kraków sheets are written by the hand of another person¹¹⁴ (Fig. 5–8; Table 4). Their placement, style and the number of commentaries are completely distinct from the practices of the main scribe. These commentaries were not isolated like those of the main text scribe; they completely fill the free space in margins from three sides. The commentaries are numbered with Cyrillic and Greek (σ , π , ζ) numerals according to the same principle used in the commentaries on ff. 4v and 5v. It is worth noting the peculiarity of Cyrillic numerals from 11 to 19 inclusively¹¹⁵. In these numbers, digits, take their position after digits for tens, from $\dot{\text{r}}\text{a}$ [11] to $\dot{\text{r}}\text{e}$ [19]. The scribe mentions an author only in two cases of 49¹¹⁶ (Fig. 5, 8). This author was Oecumenius, a Bishop of Trikka (10th cent.). He is subscribed as $\dot{\text{r}}\text{ky}(\text{M})$ for excerpts of *1Tim* 4,14 and *2Tim* 1,18 (Table 4). I have identified another 47 commentaries. Most of them belong to Oecumenius, a Bishop of Trikka, who wrote 26 explanations in total for excerpts of *1Tim* 4,8–5,4, which are contained in the Kraków folia (Table 4). Theophylact of Ohrid wrote another 19 commentaries, which are to support *2Tim* 1,11–2,1 (Table 4). There are three commentaries by John Chrysostom (c. 347–407). They give an interpretation of *2Tim* 2,2–3 (Table 4). The fourth author I managed to identify is Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306–373). His interpretations concern the verse of *2Tim* 1,10 (Table 4). These authors' explanations of the Acts of the Apostles

¹¹⁴ AK, ff. 6r–7v.

¹¹⁵ AK, ff. 6r, 7r.

¹¹⁶ AK, ff. 6r, 7v.

are present in the Lviv part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* – Oecumenius, a Bishop of Triikka¹¹⁷, Theophylact of Ohrid¹¹⁸, John Chrysostom¹¹⁹, Ephrem the Syrian¹²⁰.

History of the separation of the Kraków fragments

The results of the Kraków folia attribution have shown that they belong to the 12th-century *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. There is no information in the scientific bibliography about the time, place, circumstances, reason and purpose for the separation of these four sheets from the main codex. It could be clearly stated, however, that three parts of the *Apostolus* composed a single codex in the 16th cent. I have come to this conclusion following an evaluation of corrections to the main text discovered in three parts of the manuscript. Paleographic parameters of this hand refer to the 16th cent. The corrections are identical in style, and clearly belong to the same person. The editing was meant to fix some letters, add some missing characters, syllables and words, and to strike out repeated words and expressions, and excessive components.

To this end, in the Kraków part of the manuscript the letter ь replaced ѣ in the words: непръстанеши (f. 4r) and ньколико (f. 5r). This type of correction also exists in the Kyiv part for the words: нькоюго, иопль, прьдъ¹²¹. The ь was changed to ѣ in the Lviv part of the *Apostolus* as well: проповьдати, избьгъша, въскръшение¹²². The letter ь was also corrected to ѣ in the words: исьмышьцею (f. 4v), мьногьмь (f. 5r), съхрани (f. 7r), and also ь replaced ѣ at the end of words: съдравымь (f. 7r), словесьмь (f. 7r), ермогень (f. 7r). The same corrections exist in two other parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*: петрь, кьнемоу, людьмь¹²³, немощнь, мьртвь, съшьдъшамь¹²⁴.

Other corrections of the text include the striking out of excessive words with single or double horizontal strokes. The repeated use of възнесе is

¹¹⁷ ChA, ff. 7v, 192v, 278v, 279v, 280v, 291r.

¹¹⁸ ChA, ff. 20v, 35v, 48v, 67v, 164v, 165r.

¹¹⁹ ChA, ff. 52r, 75v, 104r, 107v, 111r, 116v.

¹²⁰ ChA, f. 65r.

¹²¹ AT, ff. 1r, 4r.

¹²² ChA, ff. 11r, 12v, 14v.

¹²³ AT, ff. 1v, 2r.

¹²⁴ ChA, ff. 3r, 4r, 11v.

struck out in the Kraków f. 4v. According to the same principle, the expression якоже гла was struck out in the Kyiv part¹²⁵, and in the Lviv part, as well: вѣтъ часъ¹²⁶. I have noticed that the Kraków folia have some letters added to words in several cases. For example, the letter *ï* is written above the line just before *ж* in the word *моужа* and after *т* in the word *брата* (f. 4v). The word *съдрави* is augmented with the letter *з* before the letter *д* (f. 7r). I have also discovered corrections in the form of adding single syllables or words which were omitted or not provided by the text scribe in two remaining parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. For example, the word *сылиша* was augmented with the additional syllable *ша*, and *нъ* placed above the letters *с* and *н* to complement the word *плесници*¹²⁷, while *мъ* was placed at the end of the word *июдѣе*¹²⁸. The Lviv part contains an example where the whole word *стоужающеми* was added to precede *вѣиер(с)амѣ*¹²⁹.

I have dated back to the 16th cent. the outlines of the contours for several initial letters in some words in lines 3 and 4 of the Kraków f. 4v. The letters were outlined with a slightly darker shade of brown ink than that found in the main text. The letters of commentaries on f. 4v and f. 5v are also outlined. Identically outlined letters in commentaries are present in the Kyiv part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*¹³⁰, and also in the Lviv main part¹³¹. The examined corrections to the main text and commentaries in three parts of the codex show that in the 16th cent. they were kept as an undivided single unit.

It was the Kyiv part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* that appears to have been separated first. A. Kolessa suggests that eight sheets of quire 5 were alienated along with the codex while being relocated from Horodyshche to Khrystynopil Monastery in the 18th cent¹³². In the 19th century, these folia belonged to A. Bielowski, director of the Ossolinski National Institute of Lviv. The manuscript was purchased from him by the historian A. Petrušević in the last third of the 19th cent., no later than 1874¹³³.

¹²⁵ AT, f. 5v.

¹²⁶ ChA, f. 12r.

¹²⁷ AT, ff. 5r, 7r.

¹²⁸ ChA, f. 23r.

¹²⁹ ChA, f. 33v.

¹³⁰ M.V. Geppener, M.P. Vizir, J.V. Šubins'kij, op. cit., p. 22; L.A. Gnatenko, op. cit., pp. 50, 109, 114, 120.

¹³¹ ChA, ff. 15r, 17v, 19r, 20v, 26r.

¹³² O. Kolessa, op. cit., p. 16.

¹³³ I.S. Svěncickij, op. cit., p. 13.

In the summer of 1874 the parchment folia were first described by the Imperial Novorussian University docent A. Kočubinskij, who, like A. Petruševič, did not know at that moment that they belonged to *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*, or that such a codex even existed. A description of the fragments was published in 1876 as a part of A. Kočubinskij's report about his studies in Slavonic languages and examination of manuscripts in the provinces of Austria–Hungary, particularly in Lviv, in 1874–1875¹³⁴. This first edition said that the fragments were discovered in the binding of a book. M. Heppener, a researcher, doubted this version for, as he noted, these sheets composed a single undivided quire. Their surfaces lack traces of glue or any other kind of damage connected with their use as recycled material for binding¹³⁵. In the summer of 1901, A. Petruševič donated these eight sheets of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*, with the mediation of N. Daškevič, a professor from the St. Volodymyr Imperial University of Kyiv, to the University Library¹³⁶. N. Daškevič announced this valuable donation by A. Petruševič at a meeting of the Kyiv University Council on September 19, 1901. It is described in the fourth paragraph of the meeting record that Prof. N. Daškevič gave a speech in front of the University Council members about the donation of manuscripts which resulted in the Council deciding to officially express its deep gratitude to A. Petruševič¹³⁷. It is also known that A. Petruševič donated seven more manuscripts to the Library, dated from the 16–19 cent., namely *Octoechus*,

¹³⁴ А. Кочубинскій, *Отчетъ о занятіяхъ славянскими нарѣчіями, командированнаго за границу доцента Импер. Новорос. университета А. Кочубинскаго за время отъ 1-го августа 1874 г. по 1-е февр. 1875 г.*, „Записки Императорскаго Новороссійскаго университета“ 1876, vol. 18, pp. 194–195. [A. Kočubinskij, *Otčet" o zanâtiâh" slavânskimi narěčiâmi, komandirovannago zagranicu docenta Imper. Novoros. universiteta A. Kočubinskago za vremâ ot" 1-go avgusta 1874 g. po 1-e fevr. 1875 g.*, *Zapiski Imperatorskago Novorossiïskago universiteta* 1876, vol. 18, pp. 194–195].

¹³⁵ M.V. Geppener, M.P. Vizir, J.V. Šubins'kij, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹³⁶ Н. Дашкевичъ, *Одинъ изъ памятникоевъ религиозной полемики XVI вѣка (Посланіе прота Аѳонской горы 1534 года)*, „Чтенія въ историческомъ обществѣ Нестора Лѣтописца“ 1901, no. 15(4), p. 179 [N. Daškevič, *Odin" iz" pamâtnikov" religioznoj polemiki XVI vѣka (Poslanie prota Aѳonskoj gory 1534 goda)*, *Čtenîâ v" istoričeskom" obšestvѣ Nestora Lѣtopisca* 1901, no. 15(4), p. 179]; С.И. Масловъ, *Обзоръ рукописей библіотеки Императорскаго Университета Св. Владиміра*, Kyiv 1910, pp. 2, 9 [S.I. Maslov, *Obzor" rukopisei biblioteki Imperatorskago Universiteta Sv. Vladimira*, Kyiv 1910, pp. 2, 9].

¹³⁷ *Протоколы засѣданій Совѣта Императорскаго Университета св. Владиміра за 1901 годъ*, „Университетскія извѣстія“ 1902, no. 8, p. 39 [Protokoly zasėdanij Sovėta Imperatorskago Universiteta sv. Vladimira za 1901 god", *Universitetskiâ izvėstiâ* 1902, no. 8, p. 39].

Tables, two Homilies Collections, Theophan Prokopovič's *Speech on 2Th 4,13–14*, *The Book of Homilies*, and the *Gospels of Passion*¹³⁸. On October 24, 1927, the fragments of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* in the University manuscript collection were handed over to the holding of the All-People Library of Ukraine in Kyiv (now IM VLNU), where they continue to be held.

The Lviv main part, that is the codex itself, became widely known in 1888, when it was brought from Lviv to the Archeological and Bibliographical Exposition of the Stauropegion Institute¹³⁹. After this exposition was closed, the codex remained in the Museum of the Stauropegion Institute collection, being referred to as No. 37¹⁴⁰. The manuscript was taken to Rostov-na-Donu, Russia, during the First World War in 1915¹⁴¹. It returned to Lviv only in 1929, as its location was unknown up until 1923¹⁴². During the Second World War, this Lviv part was kept by a Slavic studies scholar, Ilarion Svěncyckij. He handed over the codex to the Lviv Republican Museum of History (now HML) where it is still kept today¹⁴³.

The Kraków part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*, was separated, according to my observations, in the last third of the 19th cent. in Khrystynopil or Lviv. I think that the separation of these four sheets was more of a planned heist than an accidental loss. The conclusion of the textological attribution of the fragments affirms that the text of the Kraków part begins with *Act 13,5*, and ends with *2Tim 2,4*, ergo, they were the beginning and the end of the Lviv main part in the last third of the 19th century. That is why the first and the last Kraków sheets contain gray pencil inscriptions. Both of these inscriptions are written in Polish. The first one is placed in the upper margin above the text, „Początek”, which means „the beginning” or the first, at the moment, the leaf of the codex¹⁴⁴. Another inscription was made by the same hand and pencil in the upper inner corner, „Koniec”, i.e. the final leaf of the book¹⁴⁵. This marking

¹³⁸ S.I. Maslov", op. cit., pp. 2, 11–12.

¹³⁹ A.S. Petruševič", op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁴⁰ I.S. Svěncickij, op. cit., p. 13.

¹⁴¹ Я.П. Запаско, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. Українська рукописна книга*, Lviv 1995, p. 200. [Â.P. Zapasko, *Pam'atki knižkovogo mistectva. Ukraïns'ka rukopisna kniga*, Lviv 1995, p. 200].

¹⁴² O. Kolessa, op. cit., p. 17; Â.P. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 200.

¹⁴³ Â.P. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 200.

¹⁴⁴ АК, f. 4r.

¹⁴⁵ АК, f. 7v.

indicates, in my opinion, the initial and final sheets of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* in the last third of the 19th century. These marks on the manuscript's incipit and explicit have the practical purpose of keeping the initial and final sheets in the right order, for the codex had no binding at that time¹⁴⁶. Most likely, the first and the last quires were separated from a bookblock.

Similar inscriptions are found on the Lviv part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. They are identical in content, being written in Polish with a gray pencil, though with thinner strokes. The marking is placed on the sheets almost identically. The word „beginning”, which is spelled with a mistake, „Poczatek” instead of „Początek”, in the Kraków fragment, is found on the first sheet of the Lviv part as well. It is written closer to the inner side in the upper margin¹⁴⁷. The word „Koniec” is also present, placed almost in the middle of the inner margin of f. 10v¹⁴⁸.

I believe that the inscriptions on the Lviv part of the codex were copied from the sheets which are currently named the Kraków part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. This is explained by distinctions in the hands and the thickness of letter strokes, by their position, and the spelling mistake in the word „Początek”. I presume that a thief separated the initial and final sheets from quires 6 and 43, which contained the incipit and explicit markings of the book, and with the intention to hide their absence, he made inscriptions with a similar script, that is, at the beginning and end on the second sheet of quire 6, and on the seventh sheet of quire 43.

The Kraków folia most likely disappeared before the date of the Archaeological and Bibliographical Exposition of the Stauropegion Institute held in Lviv between October 10, 1888 and January, 1889¹⁴⁹. A. Petruševič wrote in the exhibition catalogue that *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*, which was taken from the Khrystynopil monastery, consisted of 291 parchment folia¹⁵⁰. To make the codex complete, A. Petruševič didn't count the 8 ff. that he donated to the Kyiv University Library in summer of 1901, or the four folia now kept in the PCL collection. The separation of the Kraków

¹⁴⁶ Г. Воскресенский, *Христинопольская рукопись славянского Апостола XII в., изданная проф. Е. Калужняцкимъ на средства Вѣнской Императорской Академіи Наукъ* (Вѣна, 1896), „Богословскій вѣстникъ” 1897, vol. 1(1), p. 200. [G. Voskresenskij, *Hristinopol'skaâ rukopis' slavânskago Apostola XII v., izdannaâ prof. E. Kalužnâckim" na sredstva Věnskoj Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk" (Věna, 1896), Bogoslovskij věstnik" 1897, vol. 1(1), p. 200].*

¹⁴⁷ ChA, f. 1r.

¹⁴⁸ ChA, f. 10v.

¹⁴⁹ I. Szaraniewicz, op. cit., p. 1.

¹⁵⁰ A.S. Petruševič", op. cit., p. 4.

part before 1888 is confirmed by the absence of A. Petruševič's foliation, which exists in the Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*¹⁵¹.

It is hard to estimate the exact date when the discovered fragments of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* arrived to the PCL collection, for this information is absent in the catalogue from 2012¹⁵². There are no data for the source of its relocation to the library either, or whether it was a donation or a purchase. It is known with certainty that in the summer of 1912 these fragments had not yet come into the hands of V. Peretc, a Kyiv University professor who intended to describe little known and yet unknown Slavic manuscripts in Kraków¹⁵³. The scholar examined Cyrillic manuscripts in the libraries of the Jagellonian University and the Academy of Sciences, and in the Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich collection. According to his report, published in 1913, he did not find any fragments of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* in the latter library¹⁵⁴. However, we may safely assert that the Kraków part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* was held in PCL when its employee Barbara Źulińska (1931–2012) worked there. She transcribed the text and added it to the original in a handwritten form. It is possible that B. Źulińska made the first attribution of the fragments, titling them as *Bible fragments* (*Act 13–15*) and dating them to the 16th century.

Conclusions

The Kraków parchment folia from PCL (MS 11601) are previously unknown parts of the 12th-century *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* from.

The fragments are composed of four sheets. The main text is written with light-brown ink, while chapter titles, index marks, and initial letters of some verses are made with red cinnabar, which corresponds to *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. The attribution of the Kraków fragments by codicological parameters shows the similarities with other known parts (size is identical to that of the Kyiv part and differs by 3–9 mm from the Lviv main part; written on parchment of the same fine quality; Gregory's formula is identical to the Kyiv and Lviv parts; there are quires with

¹⁵¹ AT, f. 8r; ChA, f. 291v.

¹⁵² J. Nowak, J. Pezda, op. cit., p. 6.

¹⁵³ В.Н. Перетцъ, *Отчетъ профессора В.Н. Перетца о занятіяхъ во время заграничной командировки лѣтомъ 1912 года*, „Университетскія извѣстія“ 1913, no. 7, p. 1. [V.N. Peretc", "Otčet" professora V.N. Peretca o zanâtiâh" vo vremâ zagranichnoj komandirovki lëtom" 1912 goda, Universitetskîâ izvëstiâ 1913, no. 7, p. 1].

¹⁵⁴ V.N. Peretc", op. cit., pp. 12–15.

eight bifolios each, as with the Kyiv and Lviv parts). An examination of the manuscript condition showed that the Kraków folia share the same contamination and damage found in the Kyiv and Lviv sheets of the codex, which proves that the three parts of the codex were kept together for a long period of time.

The hand, ink and position of the reclamantes are the same in the Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. The first two of the Kraków folia are the beginning and end of the sixth quire of the full codex, and the two others begin and finish quire 43 of the Lviv part.

An evaluation of the page ruling has shown that the three parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* have pricking holes of a similar shape positioned in the outer margins for guidelines that mark a space for the text. The first two Kraków sheets belong to the Leroy 24D1 type, like the eight Kyiv sheets and the six chapters of the Lviv part – *Act, Iac, 1Pt, 2Pt, 1Io, 2Io*. The two last Kraków folia, like the majority of the Lviv part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*, from the Foreword to *3Io* to *2Tim*, have a ruling type similar to that of Leroy 46D1f.

The Kraków fragments' main text was written with early Uncial writing, which is identical to the Kyiv and Lviv parts. They were clearly written by the same person. The letters are average in size, they are written clearly and according to calligraphic standards, and within the line size. The size of letters and interlinear space are identical in all three parts. The writing is two-*yer yus*. The fragments' script graphics contain the same prominent features that the two parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* have. The orthography is also identical. The Kraków fragments' text is written in the same Old Ukrainian variant of Church Slavonic language as the Kyiv and Lviv parts are written in.

In 1923 A. Kolessa defined 22 linguistic signs in Kyiv and Lviv parts of in Old Ukrainian variant.

There are 12 of them in the Kraków part. An important feature for identifying the fragments as part of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* was the presence of two variants of commentaries, which were written by the main text hand and by another hand from the 12th century. The text has authentic punctuation with the use of dots, which is identical to that found in both parts of the manuscript, and has the same contraction system (simple and letter titlos) and diacritics (circumflex and oxeia).

A textological attribution revealed that the Kraków folia main text belongs to the *New Testament* part of the Sacred Scriptures. The text is composed of incomplete excerpts from *Act* 13,5–20, *Act* 15,29–16,4; *1Tim* 4,8–5,4; *2Tim* 1,10–2,4. The Kyiv and Lviv parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* lacked these very parts of the text. The Kyiv part concludes with

an incomplete excerpt from *Act* 13,5, while the final lines of the latter are present in Kraków f. 4r. The final part of *Act* 13,20 in Kraków f. 4v is placed on Lviv f. 1r. The Lviv part of *Act* 15,29 has its final words on Kraków f. 5r, and the Kraków part of *Act* 16,4 comes to an end in Lviv f. 11r. The Kraków part of *1Tim* 4,8 has its explicit in the Kraków f. 6r in the same way as the Lviv part of *2Tim* 1,10 does so in regard to Kraków f. 7r. The two initial sheets contain commentaries that were written by the main text scribe, as well as commentaries in the Kyiv part and a considerable number of the Lviv sheets. There is another hand present in the Kraków ff. 6–7, which also appears in the Lviv part. These commentaries are contemporary to the 12th century. They are placed in the upper, lower and outer margins of four pages, like those found in the rest of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus*. The authors of these 49 commentaries are Oecumenius a Bishop of Trikka, Theophylact of Ohrid, John Chrysostom and Ephrem the Syrian. These authors' commentaries are partly present in the Kyiv part, and also in the Lviv main part of the codex.

All the three parts of *Apostolus Christinopolitanus* were kept together from the time of its creation in the 12th century up until the end of the 16th century at least. The Kyiv part was separated when the codex was relocated in the 18th century. The Kraków part was separated before A. Petruševič made a foliation and the catalogue of the Lviv Stauropegion Institute Exhibition of 1888 was published. The investigated folia was held in Prince Czartoryski's Collection from the mid- to late 20th century. Before this research, they were only identified as a fragment of the *Bible* from the 16th century.

Abbreviations

- PCL – Princes Czartoryski Library (Kraków, Poland)
HML – History Museum of Lviv (Lviv, Ukraine)
IM VNLU – Institute of Manuscript of V.I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine (Kyiv, Ukraine)
NMK – National Museum in Kraków (Kraków, Poland)

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STANISŁAW WOŁOSZCZENKO

Niedawno odkryte fragmenty *Apostoła Krystynopolskiego z XII wieku*

Streszczenie. Jednym z ważnych średniowiecznych rękopisów cyrylickich pochodzących z Rusi Kijowskiej jest *Apostoł Krystynopolski* – kodeks z XII wieku, obecnie przechowywany w dwóch częściach, w niepełnej postaci, w Kijowie (Instytut Rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej Ukrainy im. W.I. Wernadskiego od 1927 roku) i we Lwowie (Muzeum Historyczne we Lwowie od 1948 roku). W artykule zbadano cztery pergaminowe karty z Krakowa (Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, Polska), odkryte w lipcu 2020 roku. Badanie cech paleograficznych, ortograficznych, językowych i tekstologicznych wykazało, że są one zaginionym wcześniej fragmentem *Apostoła Krystynopolskiego* (fragmenty Act 13,5–20, 15,29–16,4, 1Tim 4,8–5,4 i 2Tim 1,10–2,4). Krakowskie karty stanowią kontynuację części kijowskiej oraz początek i koniec części lwowskiej kodeksu. Część krakowska została oderwana przed 1888 rokiem, w którym kodeks był zaprezentowany publiczności na wystawie Instytutu Stauro-pigiańskiego we Lwowie, a także odnotowany i opisany w katalogu przez Antonija Petruszewicza. Artykuł zawiera kompletną fotokopię odkrytych fragmentów.

Słowa kluczowe: *Apostoł Krystynopolski*, Dzieje Apostolskie, Listy Apostolskie, kodykologia, Ruś Kijowska, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie.

Tekst wpłynął do Redakcji 19 marca 2022 roku.

