

SVENSK EXEGETISK ÅRSBOK
86



På uppdrag av Svenska Exegetiska Sällskapet
utgiven av Blaženka Scheuer

Lund 2021

Redaktionskommitté:

Utgivare och redaktör: Blaženka Scheuer (blazenka.scheuer@ctr.lu.se)

Redaktionssekreterare: David Davage (david.davage@altutbildning.se)

Recensionsansvarig: Gunnar Samuelsson (gunnar.samuelsson@lir.gu.se)

Tobias Hägerland (tobias.hagerland@lir.gu.se)

Mikael Larsson (mikael.larsson@teol.uu.se)

Rikard Roitto (rikard.roitto@ehs.se)

Miriam Sellén (miriam.sellen@teol.uu.se)

Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer (l.s.tiemeyer@abdn.ac.uk)

Prenumerationspriser:

Sverige: SEK 200 (studenter SEK 100)

Övriga världen: SEK 300

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Omslagsbild: Adobe Stock 279358022, standardlicens

Design: David Davage

Tryckt med bidrag från Samfundet Pro Fide et Christianismo
(kyrkoherde Nils Henrikssons stiftelse)

Svenska Exegetiska Sällskapet
c/o CTR Lux Lunds Universitet
Box 192 Att: Blaženka Scheuer
22100 Lund

www.exegetiskasallskapet.se



ISSN 1100-2298

Lund 2021

Tryck: Bulls Graphics, Halmstad

Innehåll

EXEGETISKA DAGAR 2020

Exegetiska föredrag

<i>Nässelqvist, Dan</i> , Aural Clues as Guides to the Interpretation of New Testament Texts	1
<i>Vayntrub, Jacqueline</i> , Hearing the Voice of Biblical Poetry	20
<i>Wikander, Ola</i> , L's and S's in the Land of Israel: 'Ereš Yiśrā'el, Jeremiah 10:11, Isaiah 1:5, and Lateral and Breathy Snake Killing	39

Pedagogiska föredrag

<i>Davage, David, Tobias Hägerland, Blaženka Scheuer och Åke Viberg</i> Att undervisa i exegetik under pandemin: några praktiska reflektioner	73
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ARTIKLAR

<i>Cook, John Granger</i> , Paul, σκύβαλα, and the Boscoreale Cups	83
<i>Eidevall, Göran</i> , Bertil Albrektson in memoriam (1929-2021)	109
<i>Landgren, Martin</i> , Vad spelar det för roll att Paulus är förundrad? Galaterbrevet 1:6 i ett klassiskt epistolärt perspektiv	113
<i>Sanfridson, Martin</i> , Are Circumcision and Foreskin Really Nothing? Re-Reading 1 Corinthians 7:19 and Galatians 5:6; 6:15	130
<i>Wasserman, Tommy</i> , A New Leaf of Constantine Theologites the Reader's Lectionary in Uppsala University Library (Fragm. ms. graec. 1 = Greg.-Aland L1663)	148

RECENSIONER

<i>Bautch, Richard J., Joachim Eck och Burkard M. Zapff. Isaiah and the Twelve: Parallels, Similarities, and Differences</i> (Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer)	167
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Bezzel, Hannes, <i>Saul: Israels König in Tradition, Redaktion und früherer Rezeption</i> (Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer)	170
Bezzel, Hannes och Reinhard G. Kratz. <i>David in the Desert: Tradition and Redaction in the "History of David's Rise"</i> (Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer)	174
Brosius, Maria, <i>A History of Ancient Persia: The Archaemenid Empire</i> (Dag Oredsson)	178
Charlesworth, James H. (red.), <i>The Unperceived Continuity of Isaiah</i> (Stefan Green)	180
Frevel, Christian, <i>Medien im antiken Palästina</i> (Stig Norin)	184
Koenig, Sara M., <i>Bathseba Survives</i> (Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer)	189
McKnight, Scot och B. J. Oropeza (red.), <i>Perspectives on Paul: Five Views</i> (Mikael Tellbe)	192
Moore, Stephen, <i>Gospel Jesuses and Other Nonhumans: Biblical Criticism Post-Poststructuralism</i> (Joel Kuhlin)	196
Sander, Paul J. <i>Alternate Delimitations in the Hebrew and Greek Psalters: A Theological Analysis</i> (David Davage)	200
Satran, David, <i>In the Image of Origen: Eros, Virtue, and Constraint in the Early Christian Academy</i> (Carl Johan Berglund)	204
Thiede, Barbara, <i>Male Friendship, Homosociality, and Women in the Hebrew Bible: Malignant Fraternities</i> (Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer)	208
Weber, Beat, <i>Werkbuch Psalmen. I: Die Psalmen 1 bis 72; II: Die Psalmen 73 bis 150; III: Theologie und Spiritualität des Psalters und seiner Psalmen</i> (David Davage)	212

A New Leaf of Constantine Theologites the Reader's Lectionary in Uppsala University Library (Fragm. Ms. Graec. 1 = Greg.-Aland L1663)

TOMMY WASSERMAN
Ansgar University College
wasserman@ansgarskolen.no

INTRODUCTION

Until recently, sixteen Greek New Testament manuscripts in Sweden were included in the official register of Greek NT manuscripts maintained by the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF) in Münster, the *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments (Liste)*.¹ In 2011, Eva Nyström and Patrik Granholm initiated a project to digitise and catalogue all the Greek manuscripts in Sweden.² A new website, www.manuscripta.se, was launched and the scope of the project was subsequently widened to include all medieval and early modern manuscripts kept in Swedish libraries. Currently, the database contains 379 manuscripts in seven languages, 221 of which have been digitised in full, including fifteen Greek New Testament manu-

¹ For a description, see Tommy Wasserman, “The Greek New Testament Manuscripts in Sweden with an Excursus on the Jerusalem Colophon,” *SEÅ* 75 (2010): 77–108; Kurt Aland et al., eds., *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, ANTF 1, 2nd ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994).

² The most recent published catalogue is seriously outdated: Charles Graux and Albert Martin, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits grecs de Suède*, Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires IIIe série, XV (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1889), 293–370.

scripts in Uppsala, Gothenburg and Linköping, but not the Gospel manuscript in the National Museum in Stockholm. Last year, as I perused this database, I found to my surprise a parchment leaf from a Gospel lectionary (Uppsala University Library, Fragm. ms. graec. 1). The manuscript has now been identified and registered as a new leaf of Lectionary 1663 (L1663) in the *Liste*—this is the seventeenth Greek New Testament manuscript in Sweden.³

THE PROVENANCE OF FRAGM. MS. GRAEC. 1 AND LECTIONARY 1663

In my research on the provenance of the manuscript, I learnt that it had once been deposited in Uppsala University Library (Carolina Rediviva) by the Department of Classical Philology according to an internal document of deposit signed by Vappu Pyykkö, amanuensis of Greek language on 19 March 1982.⁴ The document listed nine Greek papyri and one parchment leaf that contained the Gospel of John 14:[1]7–31—ten manuscripts that were now being transferred from her department to the university library. Pyykkö indicated that the manuscripts had been acquired for the department by the former professor of Greek language, Gudmund Björck (1905-1955) and that the papyri had been numbered from 1–9 apparently following their dating in chronological order from Ptolemaic to Byzantine times. Thus, she suggested that they be catalogued as P. Ups. Björck 1–9 and mounted in glass. She further pointed out that there was an earlier inventory number (of unknown origin) appended to each papyrus: P. Ups. Björck 1 = G 181; 2 = G 419; 3 = G

³ I want to thank Greg Paulson at the INTF in Münster for assisting me in the identification of this leaf.

⁴ “Deposition av P. Ups. Björck 1–9 samt ett pergamentblad” (Accession no. 1982/5). I want to thank Anna Fredriksson of Uppsala University Library for sending me this document.

85; 4 = G 401; 5 = G 134; 6 = G 427; 7 = G 424; 8 = G 414; 9 = G 412.

In recent correspondence with Pyykkö, she has told me that she found the ten manuscripts when clearing out a storage room at the department in 1982. Her professor and supervisor Jonas Palm had no idea where they came from, but a senior colleague at the department, Ingrid Waern, could report that the former professor Gudmund Björck (who had been her doctoral supervisor until 1951) had acquired them from somewhere for use in teaching.⁵ After being deposited in the manuscript department of the university library, the nine papyri were properly catalogued and eventually mounted in glass (they had been attached to celluloid film), but they remain unedited. However, the single parchment leaf was stored away in a file separate from the Greek manuscript volumes (“Pergamentbrevskåp 5”) and remained uncatalogued until the autumn in 2018, when it was noticed, catalogued, and digitised for the manuscripta website.⁶

It has now turned out that this was a new leaf of L1663 which is divided between at least four collections in four countries; the other three are: McGill University (Montreal), Ms. Greek 11 (one leaf); University of Chicago, Joseph Regenstein Library, Ms. 879 (110 leaves, formerly

⁵ Private correspondence with Vappu Pyykkö on 13 February 2021. Jan Fredrik Kindstrand, who has written a biography on Gudmund Björck, his predecessor as Professor of Greek language and literature in Uppsala, has told me in private correspondence (17 April 2020) that as a doctoral student, Björck was himself assigned by his professor Otto Lagercrantz to write an essay on P. Ups. 8 in the collection, which later resulted in the publication *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus: Papyrus Upsaliensis 8* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1938). Kindstrand further gave me information (17 February 2021) about Ingrid Waern née Söderström. I want to thank Pyykö and Kindstrand for their kind assistance.

⁶ Eva Nyström reports in private correspondence (19 February 2021) that the parchment leaf resurfaced in the autumn of 2018 and she made sure to catalogue it properly and digitise it: <https://www.manuscripta.se/ms/100131>. It is now also accessible from a larger repository: “Alvin – Platform for digital collections and digitized cultural heritage,” <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?dswid=778>.

Goodspeed Ms. Grk. 34); Edgar M. Krentz (s. n.) in Chicago (one leaf).⁷ On 18 March, 2014, Brice C. Jones announced in a blogpost his discovery of the missing leaf in the Rare Books and Special Collections of McGill University in Montreal and managed to connect it to the two other parts in Chicago and (then) St Louis.⁸ Jones had found out in the library files that it had come to McGill library in the 1930s and that it was purchased from Erik von Scherling (1907-1956).

Von Scherling was the son of the Swedish Consul at Rotterdam. After school in Sweden, he moved back to the Netherlands in 1927 where he worked for a bookseller in Leiden, Jacob Ginsberg, and the next year he started his own business in the same town. Over a period of almost 30 years, until his death in 1956, he bought and sold manuscripts and other ancient artifacts. In 1931 he began to publish a sales catalogue which contained short articles and comments on the manuscripts for sale, *Rotulus: A Quarterly Bulletin for Manuscript-Collectors*.⁹ Jones indicated that the McGill leaf was item no. 2035, which is listed in vol. 4 (1937). Interestingly, Edgar Krentz, the private owner of another leaf, noted Jones' blogpost and commented, "I got my leaf in 1961 from the Internationale Antiquaria[a]t in Amsterdam, Menno Herzberger the owner."¹⁰

⁷ In 1983 Edgar Krentz moved from St. Luis, MO to Chicago where he was Professor of New Testament at the Lutheran School of Theology from 1983-1998 (and is now Emeritus).

⁸ Brice C. Jones, "A Missing Codex Leaf from a New Testament Lectionary." Online: <https://www.bricecjones.com/blog/a-missing-codex-leaf-from-a-new-testament-lectionary>. I want to thank Jones for sharing with me his unpublished transcription of this leaf. Jones has also edited three other Greek texts in the McGill University Library that came from von Scherling. See Brice C. Jones, "Three Unpublished von Scherling Texts in the McGill University Library," *BASP* 53 (2016): 53–60.

⁹ Apart from *Rotulus*, Scherling had issued separate sales catalogues at least from 1929 and continued to the year of his death in 1956.

¹⁰ After von Scherling's death in 1956, his artifacts came into the hands of various other dealers. See Marja Bakker, Alette Bakkers, and Klaas Worp, "Back to Oegstgeest, The von Scherling Papyrus Collection: Some von Scherling Texts in Minnesota," *BASP*

The major part of the lectionary, the last 110 leaves, is held by the Goodspeed Manuscript Collection in the Joseph Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago. According to the online catalogue it was acquired by the philanthropist Naomi Donnelley who had purchased it from von Scherling in Leiden in November 1934 and donated it to the library in January 1935.¹¹ Documents in the library archive reveal that it was Harold R. Willoughby, Professor of New Testament at the University, who first noticed that the lectionary, item 96 in one of Scherling's catalogues, was for sale.¹² Von Scherling sent him the manuscript for inspection in November and asked that he "kindly return the volume at once, if purchase of same cannot be considered."¹³ He added that the manuscript was bound in blue and not red morocco, "as stated by error in the [catalogue] list." In early December, Merrill Parvis recounts,

Miss Naomi Donnelley asked Mrs. [Elfreda Bond] Goodspeed to make a suggestion for a Christmas gift for Professor [Edgar J.] Goodspeed. Mrs. Goodspeed immediately suggested that Miss Donnelley purchase a Lectionary that was being offered for sale by von Scherling of Leyden.¹⁴

44 (2007) 41–73 (42). Krentz's leaf has been digitised by the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts (CSNTM) and is available here: http://www.csntm.org/Manuscript/View/GA_Lect_1663.

¹¹ See description at <https://goodspeed.lib.uchicago.edu/ms/index.php?doc=0879#descriptiontab>.

¹² I want to thank my colleague Margaret M. Mitchell at the University of Chicago, and the university archivist Eileen A. Ielmini for their kind assistance in giving me access to various documents in the archive relating to MS 879. The sales catalogue in question was titled "Interesting Manuscripts and Documents, List 2" (i.e., not a volume of *Rotulus*). It is undated but must have been issued between May and November 1934 since it mentions that some of the items had been exhibited in the Public Library in Dallas in May 1934. I want to thank Jennifer Knust who tracked down a copy of this catalogue for me at Duke University Library.

¹³ Erik von Scherling to Harold R. Willoughby, 12 November, 1934 (Harold R. Willoughby Corpus of New Testament Iconography: MS 879, University of Chicago Library).

¹⁴ Merrill M. Parvis, "The Story of the Goodspeed Collection" (unpublished; University of Chicago, 1952).

Thus, the manuscript was purchased in December 1934 and presented by Donnelley as a Christmas gift to Edgar J. Goodspeed, Professor of Biblical and Patristic Greek at the university. Goodspeed did not intend to keep the treasure for himself but wanted to add it to the magnificent collection of New Testament manuscripts that he was instrumental in building up from 1927.¹⁵ He almost immediately transferred it to M. Llewellyn Raney, Director of the University of Chicago Libraries, who in turn wrote a letter to Donnelley suggesting a formal donation through the Friends of the Library in January.¹⁶ Von Scherling's short description of item 96 from the catalogue is still glued inside the front cover, beside a bookplate acknowledging the gift of Donnelley (as promised by Raney in the letter), but the last line specifying the price in pound sterling (£17) has been cut off.

On the last folio of the lectionary (110r of the Chicago portion), there is an undated colophon giving the name of the scribe, ἐτελειώθη(η) τὸ παρ(όν) εὐα(γγέλιον) διὰ χειρὸς κωνσταντ(ί)ν(ου) ἀναγ(νώστου) τοῦ θεολογῆτη, which I interpret as, "This gospel was completed by the hand of the Reader Konstantinos (= Constantine) Theologites." Thus, the codex was soon named "Lectionary of Constantine the Reader."¹⁷ I assume it was Willoughby who first interpreted the last word of the

¹⁵ In 1948 the collection was named "The Goodspeed Manuscript Collection" in his honor. For a brief description of the history of the collection, see <https://goodspeed.lib.uchicago.edu/collection.php>. Willoughby, on the other hand, acquired manuscripts for his private collection (Greg.-Aland 1498 and L1675 according to Clark's catalogue, 372–373).

¹⁶ M. Llewellyn Raney to Naomi Donnelley, 7 January, 1935 (file of MS 879, Chicago University Library).

¹⁷ The earliest attestation of this designation is found in Kenneth W. Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), 267. Clark transcribes the subscription without translating it. Two years later David Pellett completed his bachelor thesis on the codex, "A Critical Study of the Lectionary of Constantine the Reader" (University of Chicago, 1939), which contains a very brief description (pp. 1–4) followed by a text-critical analysis of the lectionary text.

colophon (θεολογήτη), not as the family name of the scribe, but as a monastery named after the Evangelist John, known as “the Theologian” in the Eastern church.¹⁸ Subsequently, Robert W. Allison, a curator of the manuscripts and archives at the university, suggested yet an alternative translation of the last sentence of the colophon, “The present book was completed by the hand of Constantine the Reader, the theologian.”¹⁹ However, I think it is unlikely that a reader would use a second epithet of such magnitude. The word I here interpret as a family name, θεολογίτης, is attested elsewhere.²⁰

An important clue suggesting that the leaf in Uppsala was acquired by Björck from von Scherling is the earlier inventory numbers attached to the nine papyri that were deposited with the parchment leaf (G 85; G 134; G 181; G 401; G 412; G 414; G 419; G 424; G 427).²¹ These are unmistakable inventory numbers from von Scherling’s collection of papyri. Incidentally, Uppsala University Library holds another batch of ten papyri bought from von Scherling by Per Edward Gustafsson, a pri-

¹⁸ There is in Willoughby’s *Corpus of New Testament Iconography* MS 879 a handwritten note with an independent description dating the codex to the 14–15 centuries (von Scherling’s catalogue indicated 12th century), suggesting that the “scribe was the reader (αναγνώστης) in a monastery of St. John the divine.” This may in turn have led Willoughby’s student David Pellett, “The Lectionary of Constantine,” *The Scroll* 36/5 (1939): 308–311 (308), to translate the subscription as, “This evangelary was finished by the hand of Constantine the Reader of the Theologete” assuming that “the Theologete” was an Eastern monastery.

¹⁹ Robert W. Allison, then assistant curator of manuscripts and archives and lecturer in Greek paleography at the University of Chicago, wrote the seven-page description of “Manuscript 879,” including a bibliography (unpublished) in March 1971.

²⁰ For example, there is a subscription in British Library, Add. 22736 (Greg.-Aland 688) by Ἰωάννης ἀναγνώστου τοῦ θεολογίτης. Notably, the editors of the *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams* (Ghent University) agree with my interpretation of the scribe’s name. See <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/persons/1508>.

²¹ These were written on little stickers attached on pieces of papers or even a piece of an envelope. Klaas A. Worp who has researched many of von Scherling’s papyri confirms that these are typical of von Scherling. I want to thank Michael Persenius of Uppsala University Library for sending me images of these items.

vate collector in Vänersborg who bequeathed them to the library in 1966.²² They had similar inventory numbers attached and have recently been edited by Klaas Worp and Renate Dekker who traced them back to von Scherling.²³ Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to find the particular inventory numbers in any of von Scherling's catalogues. Nevertheless, it is now certain that Björck bought the nine papyri and the parchment leaf from von Scherling, and, possibly, he did so on one of his two trips to Leiden for manuscript studies in 1934 or 1936.²⁴ Since Donnelley purchased the larger part in 1934, and the leaf at McGill University was acquired after November 1937 (when it appeared in *Rotulus*), it is very likely that von Scherling or an owner before him divided the lectionary before the large part (quires 4–17) was rebound and sold separately, retaining three initial quires with eight leaves each. At various points von Scherling evidently sold loose leaves from this codex and after his death one leaf came into the hands of another Dutch dealer who sold it to Krentz.

This phenomenon of dealers taking apart bound manuscripts in order to sell loose leaves or quires is by no means unique. The infamous 20th-century bibliophile Otto F. Ege even wrote an essay—"I Am a Biblioclast"—to defend the practice.²⁵ Indeed, Ege tore apart many bible manuscripts in order to create and sell portfolios.²⁶ One of his portfo-

²² The papyri were part of a testamentary donation by Gustafsson (accession no. 1966/49).

²³ Klaas A. Worp, "New von Scherling Papyri in Uppsala," *BASP* 53 (2016): 61–78 (including an edition of a Coptic letter, edited by Renate Dekker). For other papyri from von Scherling, see Bakker, Bakkers, and Worp, "Back to Oegstgeest," 41–73; Klaas A. Worp and Renate Dekker, "Missing Papyri: The Greek and Coptic Papyri in the von Scherling Papyrus Collection," *BASP* 49 (2012): 175–208; Klaas A. Worp, "Greek von Scherling Papyri in Leiden," *BASP* 50 (2013) 15–38.

²⁴ Jan Fredrik Kindstrand, *Gudmund Björck 1905-1955: Professor i grekiska språket och litteraturen. En biografi*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis C, Organisation och historia, 113 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2019), 147–148, briefly mentions Björck's two trips to Leiden for manuscript studies.

²⁵ Otto F. Ege, "I Am a Biblioclast," *Avocations* 1 (1938): 516–518.

lios, "Fifteen Original Oriental Manuscript Leaves of Six Centuries," completed posthumously, included another Gospel lectionary (L2434), and was produced in forty sets, with the result that this manuscript is divided between at least twenty-two known locations, and likely many more.²⁷ Ege's first guideline was "[n]ever to take apart a 'museum piece' book or a unique copy if it is complete."²⁸ However, from his private correspondence with Kenneth W. Clark, it is apparent that he offered to extract leaves from another complete Gospel lectionary—something Clark strongly objected to.²⁹

²⁶ In his 1995 Sol. M. Malkin Lecture in Bibliography, "Cutting Up Manuscripts for Pleasure and Profit," Christopher de Hamel strongly condemns the practice of biblioclasy, suggesting that Ege "probably destroyed more medieval manuscripts than any single person since the Reformation." See Christopher de Hamel, "Cutting Up Manuscripts for Pleasure and Profit," in Terry Berlinger, ed., *The Rare Book School 1995 Yearbook* (Charlottesville, VA: Book Arts P, 1996), 12.

²⁷ See Scott J. Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts: A Study of Ege's Manuscript Collections, Portfolios, and Retail Trade with a Comprehensive Handlist of Manuscripts Collected or Sold* (Cayce, SC: de Brailes, 2013). Gwara has attempted to track down this and other portfolios. More recently, Andrew J. Patton's extensive research on this particular manuscript has led to the identification of further leaves in various collections. As a result of his work, five parts of this lectionary registered under different Greg.-Aland numbers have been merged and 14 new holdings with leaves have been added (so far). I want to thank Andrew Patton for sharing his forthcoming study, "The Fragmentation and Digital Reconstruction of a Greek Lectionary: GA Lect 2434," which was presented at the Twelfth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament on 25 March 2021.

²⁸ Ege, "Biblioclast," 517. Another "guideline" (or means of justification) was educational—"to search for and make available to schools, libraries, collections, and individuals single leaves or units of mediaeval manuscripts, incunabula works, and fine presses ... Surely to allow a thousand people 'to have and to hold' an original manuscript leaf, and to get the thrill and understanding that comes only from actual and frequent contact with these art heritages, is justification enough for the scattering of fragments. Few, indeed, can hope to own a complete manuscript book; hundreds, however, may own a leaf" (Ege, "Biblioclast," 517).

²⁹ Kenneth W. Clark to Otto F. Ege, 23 April 1940, Kenneth W. Clark Papers Box 3, Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, NC. I want to thank Jennifer Knust for helping me to access this letter.

The McGill leaf, listed for sale in *Rotulus* 4 (1937), #2035, was listed among “MISCELLANOUS MSS.” in the final part of von Scherling’s bulletin that contained, as he explained in the introduction to the issue, “many cheap and attractive samples showing the development of writing in antiquity and mediaeval times ...,” the target group of which were “university and college libraries, whose budget does not allow them to purchase expensive mss.”³⁰ The asking price for the single leaf was £1,25 (= \$6.25 at the time), which is equivalent to about \$114 in 2021. Von Scherling’s asking price for the 110 leaves that Donnelley purchased as a Christmas gift in 1934 was £17 (= \$85), which is equivalent to about \$1632 today (ca. \$15/leaf).³¹ No wonder that dealers like von Scherling were tempted, and they still are, to mutilate their manuscripts.

CODICOLOGICAL AND PALAEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF LECTIONARY 1663

The Uppsala leaf (Fragm. ms. graec. 1) belongs to what was once a complete Byzantine Gospels lectionary containing 134 folios, measuring 24 x 18.5 cm, written in two columns per page. The ruling to mark out columns is of Lake & Lake Type II, 1b. The lack of horizontal rulings has resulted in an irregular number of lines (28–31 lines per column). The folios were trimmed at some point in the past, before the folio edges were reddened (all four extant parts) and before the Chicago portion was bound in blue morocco.³² The initials in the lesson incipits,

³⁰ Erik von Scherling, unpaginated introduction to *Rotulus* 4 (1937). In this connection, he also explains that he has received many letters that convinced him “of the necessity in arranging a special section for cheap items, which although often in minor condition, are of high instructive value.”

³¹ The market for ancient manuscripts in general, and biblical manuscripts in particular has of course undergone radical changes since the 1930s. To give a general idea, a complete Byzantine *Apostolos* (Acts and the Epistles) manuscript (Greg.-Aland 2805) was sold by Christies for £98,500 (ca. \$162,000) on 20 November 2013, i.e., over \$1,000/leaf.

primarily τ and ε (τῶ καιρῶ ἐκείνω and εἶπεν ὁ κύριος, κτλ.), in black and vermilion red ink, are enlarged and decorated (both occur on each side of the Uppsala leaf as seen in Plates I–II). The lesson headings and the enlarged initials have been highlighted by the application of a yellow wash. This technique is attested as early as the ninth century but disappears before the late Byzantine period—the trait is therefore more consistent with a date in the early thirteenth century.³³ Other examples of decoration include various types of s-chains and more elaborate bars with vine scrolls for headpieces that set off the lessons in the Holy Week, the twelve Gospels of the Passion, and the Menologion.³⁴

The colophon gives the name of the scribe, Constantine Theologites, but lacks a date. Von Scherling claimed that the lectionary dated to the twelfth century.³⁵ However, Clark dated it to the fourteenth century in his catalogue, a date that was accepted by Kurt Aland in the *Liste*.³⁶ In 1971, Allison, curator of the Goodspeed Manuscript Collection in Chicago, dated the manuscript to the thirteenth century – a date that is still given in the description of the manuscript online.³⁷ Allison's most important argument was a reference to two other manuscripts dated to 1191 and 1205, respectively, and signed by a "Constantine the Reader," as listed by Vogel and Gardthausen.³⁸ An inspection of the former man-

³² See for example the partially preserved marginal initial on fol. 3v: <https://goodspeed.lib.uchicago.edu/view/index.php?doc=0879&obj=101#?c=&m=&s=&cv=9&xywh=-3910%2C-481%2C12897%2C6608>.

³³ So also Allison, "Manuscript 879," 3–4.

³⁴ Allison, "Manuscript 879," 3.

³⁵ "[P]robably early 12th century" (von Scherling, "Manuscripts," 1).

³⁶ Clark, *Catalogue*, 267; Kurt Aland, "Zur Liste der griechischen neutestamentlichen Handschriften," *TL* 8/9 (1953), col. 494; Aland et al., *Liste*, 319.

³⁷ Allison, "Manuscript 879," 1; <https://goodspeed.lib.uchicago.edu/ms/index.php?doc=0879>.

³⁸ Marie Vogel and Victor Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Beiheft zum Zentralbank für Bibliothekswesen 33 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1909), 253. Here Vogel and Gardthausen list another Gospel lectionary

uscript (Vindob. Iur. Gr. 11) shows that it was definitely not copied by the same scribe.³⁹ The latter, Athos, Iviron 23 = L677, on the other hand, was executed in the same style, à μέν distendu, but probably not by the same scribe.⁴⁰ The subscription in Iviron 23 has been partly erased after διὰ χειρὸς κωνσταντίνου ἀναγνώστου τοῦ [...] so that the family name is illegible, but the subscription looks different and lacks abbreviations in contrast to L1663.⁴¹ In sum, our lectionary can be dated to the early thirteenth century, but not based on the identity of the scribe.

The lectionary is divided into two sections, the Synaxarion and the Menologion, with lessons from the Gospels. The former follows the moveable cycle of feast days (according to the liturgical calendar) from Easter Sunday to Holy Saturday, whereas the latter follows a fixed cycle of the Byzantine civic year from 1st September to 31st August. This is a so called esk type of lectionary (ἐβδομάδες [ε]/σαββατοκυριακαί [σκ])

(Brescia, Bibl. Queriniana A. III. 10 = L1224) copied by a Κωνσταντῖνος ἀμαρτώλος ἀναγνώστης, but an inspection shows that this is not the same scribe.

³⁹ A plate of Vindob. Iur. Gr. 11 copied by Κωνσταντῖνος ἀναγνώστης in 1191 is available in Josef Bick, *Die schreiber der Wiener griechischen handschriften*, Museion: Veröffentlichungen aus der Nationalbibliothek in Wien. Abhandlungen 1 (Vienna: E. Strache, 1920), Plate X.

⁴⁰ For a description and a few other examples of this style, see Paul Canart and Lidia Perria, “Les écritures livresques des XI et XII siècles,” in *Paleografia e codicologia greca (Atti del II Colloquio internazionale Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17-20 ottobre 1983)*, ed. Dieter Harlfinger and Giancarlo Prato, Biblioteca di scrittura e civiltà, 3 (Alexandria: Edizioni dell’orso, 1991), 67–116 (99 and fig. 3, no. 80). For an example of the distinct μέν distendu in the Uppsala leaf, see fol. 1r, col. 1, line 2 (Plate I).

⁴¹ A small plate of Athos, Iviron 23 is available in Antonios Sigalas, *Ιστορία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γραφῆς*, 2nd ed. (Thessaloniki: Kentron Vyzantinōn Ereunōn, 1974), 245 (Plate 175). The librarian of Iviron, Fr. Theologos, has kindly sent me images of the manuscript including the colophon with the subscription that was partly erased. The family name (about nine letters) as well as the name of the commissioner was blotted out; apparently, they fell into disfavor. I want to thank Georgi Parpulov for his good advice on palaeographical matters.

that contains daily lessons for the whole week between Easter Sunday and Pentecost Sunday, followed by lessons for Saturday and Sunday to Palm Sunday, and then daily lessons in Holy Week until Holy Saturday. Below is an overview of the contents of the lectionary in my codicological reconstruction. I have used the standard incipits and the folio numbers of the original (reconstructed) codex. The three extant loose leaves, including Uppsala Fragm. graec. 1, belong to the third quire with lessons primarily drawn from John.

Quires $\bar{\alpha}$ – $\bar{\beta}$ with fols. 1–16:

Sixteen missing leaves (Synaxarion)

Quire $\bar{\gamma}$: with fols. 17–24:

Missing leaf

17r–17v Day: $\tau\tilde{\omega}$ $\sigma\alpha\beta\beta$. $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\bar{\epsilon}$ Joh 10:27–38?
 $\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho$. $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\bar{\zeta}$ Joh 9:1–38 (to $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ in 9:21; ca. 370 words)

Edgar Krentz s.n. (Chicago), ca. 380 words

18r–18v Day: $\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho$. $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\bar{\zeta}$ Joh 9:1–38 (from $\lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta\iota$ in 9:21)
 $\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\bar{\beta}$ $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\bar{\zeta}$ Joh 11:47–54 (to $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ in 11:51)

Two missing leaves, ca 620 words

19r–20v Day: $\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\bar{\beta}$ $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\bar{\zeta}$ Joh 11:47–54 (from $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\xi\theta\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ in 11:51)
 $\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\bar{\gamma}$ $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\bar{\zeta}$ Joh 16:2–13
 $\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\bar{\delta}$ $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\bar{\zeta}$ Joh 16:15–23
 $\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\bar{\epsilon}$ $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\bar{\zeta}$ Luke 24:36–53 (to $\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\tilde{\omega}\nu$ in 24:46)

McGill University (Montreal),

Ms. Greek 11, ca. 420 words

21r–21v Day: $\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\bar{\epsilon}$ $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\bar{\zeta}$ Luke 24:36–53 (from $\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\eta$ in 24:46)
 $\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\bar{\pi}\alpha\rho$. $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\bar{\zeta}$ Joh 14:1–11
 $\tau\tilde{\omega}$ $\sigma\alpha\beta\beta$. $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\bar{\zeta}$ Joh 14:10–21 (to $\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\lrcorner\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ in 14:17)

Uppsala University Library, Fragm.

Ms. Graec. 1, ca. 440 words

22r–22v Day: $\tau\tilde{\omega}$ $\sigma\alpha\beta\beta$. $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\bar{\zeta}$ Joh 14:10–21 (from $\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\lrcorner\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ in 14:17)
 $\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho$. $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\bar{\zeta}$ (= $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$ $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\text{N}\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha$)

		Joh 17:1–13
	τῆ̃ β̃ τῆ̃ς ζ̃	Joh 14:27–15:7 (to οὕτως in 14:31)
		Two missing leaves, ca. 840 words
23r–24v	Day: τῆ̃ β̃ τῆ̃ς ζ̃	Joh 14:27–15:7 (from ποιῶ in 14:31)
	τῆ̃ γ̃ τῆ̃ς ζ̃	Joh 16:2–13
	τῆ̃ δ̃ τῆ̃ς ζ̃	Joh 16:15–23
	τῆ̃ ε̃ τῆ̃ς ζ̃	Joh 16:23–33
	τῆ̃ παρ. τῆ̃ς ζ̃	Joh 17:18–26 (to δέδωκα αὐτοῖς in 17:22)
Quires δ̃–ιζ̃ with fols. 25–134:		

**University of Chicago, Joseph Regenstein
Library Ms. 879**

25r	Day: τῆ̃ παρ. τῆ̃ς ζ̃	John 17:18–26 (from ἴνα in 17:22)
25r–105r		The rest of the Synaxarion
105r–134r		The complete Menologion
134r		Colophon with four epigrams and a subscription by the Reader Constantine Theologites ⁴²
134v		Blank page (with scribblings by later users) ⁴³

⁴² The epigrams are written in *dodecasyllable* (one or two verses): 1) + Φύλαττε χ(ριστ)ὲ τὸν ταῦτα γεγραφώτ(α)· καὶ κατὰταξον εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ζώσαν :, “Protect, O Christ, the one who wrote these (things), and place him into living pleasure;” 2) + ἀναρχε π(ατ)ρ(ός), υἱὲ τοῦ παντετίου· ἡ παρθένος πάρεστιν· μή(τη)ρ τῷ κλαίει :, “Eternal Father, Son of the Creator [πανταιτίου], the Virgin Mother stands before you in (your) glory [in her mourning];” 3) + ὥσπερ ξένη χαίρουσιν π(ατ)ρίδα βλέπειν· οὕτως καὶ ἡ γράφοντες βιβλίου τέλ(ος) :, “As wanderers rejoice to see their homeland, thus scribes (rejoice to see) the end of the book;” 4) + δέχου τὰ μικρὰ· χ(ριστ)έ μου ὡς μεγάλα:, “Receive these small (things), my Christ, as if (they were) great.” I want to thank Georgi Parpulov for several suggestions to improve my translations. The last part of the second epigram is particularly difficult. One alternative is to read τῷ κλέει (dative of κλέος, glory), i.e., the Virgin Mother stands before Christ in his glory (I want to thank Marc Lauxtermann for this proposal). Another alternative is to read τῷ κλαίειν “... in (her) mourning.”

⁴³ For the contents of this part, see Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 268 (Clark’s folio numbers 1r–110v = 25r–134v).

Thus, the Uppsala leaf contains the latter part of a lesson from John for Saturday, the complete lesson for Sunday in the sixth week, and the first part of a lesson for Monday in the seventh week after Easter.

THE TEXT OF UPPSALA, FRAGM. MS. GRAEC. 1 AND LECTIONARY 1663

The text of L1663 reflects the typical Byzantine lectionary text as expected. To take the *Fragm. ms. graec. 1* as a sample, there are a number of itacisms and vowel confusions (ϵ/α , η/ϵ , or o/ω) and other minor errors (e.g., $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ for $\sigma\omicron$ in John 17:6). A collation of this leaf against the standard Byzantine text (Robinson and Pierpont) shows the following few deviations:⁴⁴

14:20 $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}$] $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}$

The Byzantine text is split here, whereas the best witnesses ($\Psi^{66} \Psi^{75} \aleph B al$) have $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}$.

17:1 $\delta \text{ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐπῆρεν ... καὶ εἶπεν }$ ($\tau\acute{\omega}$ $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\omega}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\acute{\nu}\omega$) $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\varsigma \delta \text{ Ἰησοῦς ... εἶπεν}$

Manuscripts, apart from the lectionaries, generally read either $(\delta) \text{ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐπῆρεν ... καὶ εἶπεν}$ (A C3 K N Γ Δ Ψ 0250 209 700 *pm*) or $(\delta) \text{ Ἰησοῦς ἐπάρας ... εἶπεν}$ ($\Psi^{66\text{vid}} \aleph B C^* D L f1 f13 33$ *pm*). The Byzantine tradition is split. L1663 in this case follows the typical lectionary text (including the incipit).

17:3 $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu$] $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu$ [...]

A word of ca. 5 letters, now illegible, has been deleted by way of a correction. There is no known variant here. Possibly $\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu$ was accidentally repeated.

17:11 $\phi\acute{\iota} \delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \mu\omicron\iota$] $\delta \delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \mu\omicron\iota$

This reading with the accusative δ is attested by a few continuous-text manuscripts (D* U X 7 157 210 743* 754 1424 1519 2148) and many lectionaries.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont, eds., *The New Testament in the Original Greek. Byzantine Textform 2005* (Southborough, MA: 2005). My collation excludes itacisms, variations in the movable *nu*, and minor errors.

⁴⁵ Christopher R. D. Jordan, "The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John in Greek

Some other manuscripts read οὗς δέδωκάς μοι (D^c 69 209 892^{vid} 1009 *al*) whereas the best manuscripts and the Byzantine text attest to ϛ̅ δέδωκάς μοι (or ϛ̅ ἐδωκάς μοι). Apart from the strongest external support, Bruce M. Metzger points out that the reading ϛ̅ is the more difficult reading that best explains the rise of the other readings.⁴⁶

SUMMARY

This article has treated a newly catalogued leaf from a lectionary in Uppsala University Library (Fragm. ms. graec. 1), which was purchased together with nine papyri in the 1930s by Gudmund Björck from his countryman Erik von Scherling who owned an antiquarian book shop in Leiden. Von Scherling is known to have sold numerous ancient manuscripts and artifacts over a period of almost 30 years, most of which appeared in his various sales catalogues. Björck acquired the manuscripts for use in teaching, but eventually they were forgotten, hidden away in a storage at the Department of Classical Philology at Uppsala University until 1982, when they were found and deposited in the special collection of the university library. The papyri were mounted and catalogued, but the parchment leaf was stored away again for decades.

In 2018, in connection with a digitisation project, the manuscript was noticed, assigned a shelf-mark and digitised. In 2020, I took the initiative to register the manuscript in the official registry of Greek New Testament manuscripts. It was identified as part of Greg.-Aland L1663, which is now divided between four collections in Uppsala, Montreal and Chicago. Apparently, von Scherling or someone else had divided what was once a complete Byzantine Gospels lectionary containing 134

Gospel Lectionaries from the Middle Byzantine Period (8–11th century),” Ph.diss. (University of Birmingham, 2009), 485–486. Jordan collated 127 lectionaries in this variation-unit, 25 of which attested to δ δέδωκάς μοι and 75 to ϛ̅ δέδωκάς μοι. Another eight read οὗς δέδωκάς μοι and five omitted the phrase altogether.

⁴⁶ Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 213.

folios, before the major portion with the last 110 folios was rebound and offered for sale. This part was eventually donated to the Goodspeed Collection in Chicago (MS. 879). The colophon on the last page with a subscription by the scribe gave name to the manuscript, "Constantine the Reader's lectionary." I have suggested that the full title and name was Reader Constantine Theologites.

The lectionary is of the *esk* type and I have offered a reconstruction of the four extant parts and the *lacunae* in the hope that further leaves may come to surface in the future. The manuscript can be dated to the early thirteenth century, not on the basis of the identity of the scribe, but on the style of the hand (a *μέν* distendu). It has some decoration, notably the enlarged initials of the lesson incipits as seen on the Uppsala leaf (Plates I–II). The text is typically Byzantine with some minor variation as reflected in my collation of the same leaf.

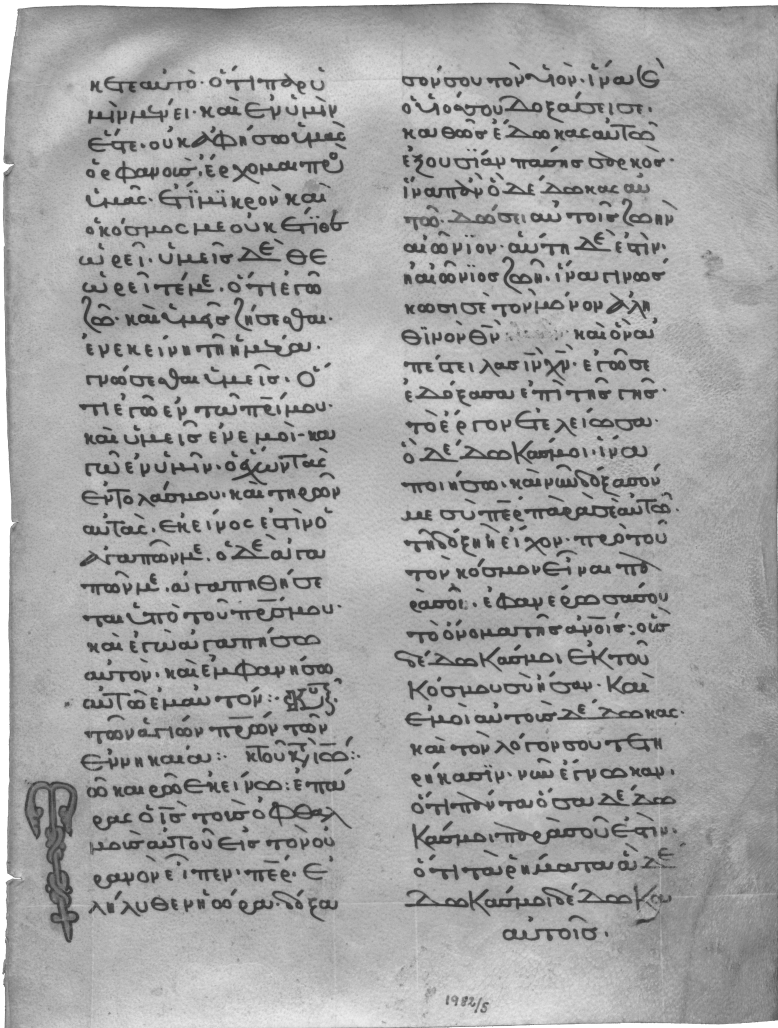


Plate I: Uppsala University Library,
 Fragm. Ms. Graec. 1 (Greg.-Aland L1663), fol. 1r (22r)
 τῷ σαββ. τῆς ς: Joh 14:1–21 (from γινώσχετε in 14:17);
 τῇ κυρ. τῆς ς (= τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαία): Joh 17:1–8a

Καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔλαμον·
 καὶ ἐγώ σὺν ἀληθεῶς·
 ὅτι πῶς ῥά σὺ ἐξήλ-
 θον καὶ ἐπὶ σέυ σὺν·
 ὅτι σύ με αἶπε ἀειλας·
 ἐγὼ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐρῶ·
 οὐ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἐ-
 ρῶ τῶ· ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν δε-
 ῶ καὶ σὺ· ὅτι σοὶ εἰσὶν·
 καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν πῶν τῶν
 ἐστὶν· καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν·
 καὶ δεύρασι τῶν αὐτῶν·
 καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ ἐμὴ τῶν
 κόσμου· καὶ οἱ τοὶ ἐμ-
 τῶν κόσμου εἰσὶν· καὶ
 εἰ τῶν περὶ σέυ ἐρχομαι·
 πῶς ἄρα· τῶν ῥησόνων
 τῶν ἐν τῶν ὁμολογίῶν σου·
 ὅ δὲ δεύρασι καὶ σὺ· ἰνὰ
 ὧν ἐμὴ καὶ σὺ καὶ σὺ·
 ὅ τε ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν
 τῶν κόσμου· ἐγὼ τῶν ἐμῶν
 αὐτῶν ἐν τῶν ὁμολογί-
 σου· οὐ δὲ δεύρασι καὶ
 ἐφύλαξαι· καὶ οὐδὲ
 ὁ ζῶντων ἀποχέτο· εἰ
 μὴ ὁ λόγος τῶν ἀποχέ-
 ας· ἰνὰ ἡ γὰρ φῶν τῶν
 ἐρῶ· ἡμῶν δὲ πρὸς

σε ἐρχομαι· καὶ τῶν
 λαλῶν ἐν τῶν κόσμου·
 ἰνὰ ἄνωσιν τῶν λαλῶν
 τῶν ἐμῶν τῶν πληρο-
 μῶν ἡμῶν τῶν τοῖς·
 τῶν β· τῶν μ· ἐκ τοῦ κῆ-
 ἰ τῶν φῶν τῶν τοῖς ἐμῶν
 μου θῶν τῶν· μῶν τῶν
 ἐρῶ σέυ τῶν ἐμῶν ἡ καὶ
 δεύρασι δὲ δεύρασι·
 ἡ καὶ σὺ αἶπε ὅτι ἐγὼ
 εἰ τῶν ὧν ἐμῶν· ὑπερῶν·
 καὶ ἐρχομαι πρὸς ἐμῶν·
 εἰ ἡ γὰρ τῶν ἐμῶν· ἐχῶ
 ῥησόνων· ὅτι ἐγὼ τῶν
 πρὸς ἐμῶν πρὸς τῶν
 πῶν· ὅτι ὅτι ἐμῶν καὶ
 ἐμῶν ἐστὶν· καὶ ἡμῶν
 εἰ ἡ καὶ ἐμῶν· πῶν γε-
 μέσθαι· ἰνὰ ὅτι πῶν γε-
 μῶν τῶν τῶν ἐμῶν τῶν
 καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν λαλῶν
 καὶ ἐμῶν· ἐχῶ
 τῶν ἐμῶν τῶν κόσμου δὲ
 καὶ ἐμῶν οὐκ ἐστὶν
 δεύρασι· ἀλλὰ ἡμῶν τῶν
 ὁμῶν· ὅτι αὐτῶν τῶν
 πῶν· καὶ καὶ σὺ ἐμῶν
 λαλῶν ὁμῶν τῶν ἐμῶν

Plate II: Uppsala University Library,
 Fragm. Ms. Graec. I (Greg.-Aland L1663), fol. 1v (22v)
 τῆ κυρ. τῆς ζ̄ (= τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαία): Joh 17:8b–13
 τῆ β̄ τῆς ζ̄: Joh 14:27–15:7 (to οὕτως ἐν 14:31)