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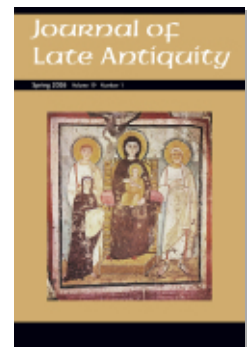
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Hugo Méndez

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## The Armenian Lectionary Reexamined: Questioning a Source for the Liturgy of Late Antique Jerusalem

*Today, scholars regard two medieval Armenian Lectionary manuscripts as intact witnesses to the worship patterns of the late antique church of Jerusalem: Jerusalem St. James Monastery Arm. 121 (J) and Paris BNF Arm. 44 (P). This article challenges this assumption. Through a case study of the Holy Thursday rubrics in these manuscripts, I demonstrate that the lineages of both were likely shaped by the same scribal interventions visible in other medieval versions of the Armenian Lectionary and that the two may be eclectic texts. The article concludes that a thorough text-critical study of the Armenian Lectionary tradition is necessary to accurately reconstruct the shifting practices of the fifth-century Jerusalem church, a study that should incorporate a wider field of available witnesses.*

Jerusalem features prominently in many studies of late antique Christian worship. This is due in part to the remarkable influence of the city on the practices of other Christian communities; as a celebrated pilgrimage center and center of liturgical innovation, Jerusalem saw its rites, hymns, and prayers imitated by churches across the Mediterranean and Near East. But it is also due to the fact that we have comparatively more descriptions of Jerusalem's late antique liturgy than of those of other cities.<sup>1</sup> By far the most important and comprehensive is a source dubbed the "Early Jerusalem Lectionary," a ritual book in local use that recorded the city's major observances, the liturgical venues (stations) in which these celebrations were performed, and the readings appointed for them.<sup>2</sup>

My sincere thanks to Harald Buchinger and other participants at the Eighth International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy (Thessaloniki, Greece, 13–18 June 2022) for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this article.

<sup>1</sup> A basic overview of ancient and medieval witnesses, assuming Charles (Athanas) Renoux's then-standard dating of the Armenian Lectionary (see n. 3), appears in Galadza 2018, 29–72.

<sup>2</sup> I use the term "Early Jerusalem Lectionary" for the various editions of a Greek liturgical manual used in Jerusalem through the fifth century CE, the period in which the urtext(s) of the Armenian Lectionary were translated. On the Armenian Lectionary as the translation of one or more Greek exemplars, see PO 35.1: 21, n. 23 and PO 36.2: 162. The standard Georgian text and Latin translation of

Today, no copy of the Early Jerusalem Lectionary survives in Greek, but certain Armenian and Georgian manuscripts preserve material translated from this book in various stages of its evolution. The earliest of these translations, the Armenian, was evidently prepared between 456 and 479 CE.<sup>3</sup> Over the next several centuries, copies of that text were enriched by the addition of new rites and feasts particular to the Armenian rite, eventually consolidating into what scholars call the Armenian Lectionary (or, in Armenian, the *Čašoc*).<sup>4</sup>

The gradual evolution of one source into another—of the Early Jerusalem Lectionary into the Armenian Lectionary/*Čašoc*—is visible across hundreds of manuscripts dating to between the tenth and fifteenth centuries. Some witnesses show extensive contamination from later Armenian practice and seem to reflect later stages in this transformation; others show more limited changes.<sup>5</sup> Within this mass of manuscripts, however, Charles (Athanasé) Renoux singled out three texts that still preserved, in his view, the oldest forms of the lectionary.<sup>6</sup> These manuscripts are, specifically, Jerusalem St.

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the later Georgian Lectionary, prepared by Michel Tarchnischvili, can be found in CSCO 188, CSCO 189, CSCO 204, and CSCO 205. A fragment of a later form of the Greek Jerusalem Lectionary, similar to the Georgian Lectionary, survives in Sinai Gr. N.E. MΓ 8 (tenth century). On this source, see Galadza 2014. All of the above texts are probably best understood as a “lectionary-synaxaria” since, “while all manuscripts contain the biblical lections *in extenso*, they are not identified as lectionaries by their titles, which instead refer to elements of a synaxarium” (Buchinger 2025, 37, n. 13). For example, Paris BNF Arm. 44 (P) introduces itself as “a record of the synaxes held at Jerusalem in the holy places of Christ, where the day of the month and the reading of the day are indicated, and where the psalm proper to feasts and memorials is indicated” (PO 36.2: 210–11).

<sup>3</sup> A comprehensive case for this dating appears in Méndez 2021, which challenges the pre-439 dating proposed by Charles (Athanasé) Renoux in PO 35.1 and PO 36.2. Renoux (2023, 282–83) has recently reaffirmed his earlier dating in a two-page summary, insisting that commonalities between the liturgical forms in the Armenian Lectionary system and those known to Egeria and Hesychius demonstrate that the Armenian Lectionary depends on a “Greek archetype” that must have “pre-dated 439 CE.” Of course, the forms known to Egeria and Hesychius might have simply persisted into, if not beyond, the mid-fifth century, as I propose in Méndez 2021, 91. Renoux also argues for a pre-439 date on the grounds that the Armenian Lectionary shows no knowledge of certain practices found in the Georgian Lectionary. This should not be an obstacle, however, since most scholars recognize that the Georgian Lectionary system “basically reflects the [Jerusalem] liturgical situation of the 6th century,” albeit with a mix of “more ancient and more recent elements” of various possible origins (Frøyshov 2012, 246 and 266, n. 107). For example, the Georgian Lectionary repeatedly mentions structures standing in the sixth century, such as the Nea Church (Verhelst 2004a, 13–70; Verhelst 2004b, 247–89; Buchinger 2005, 110–13). In this case, there is no reason why the Greek archetype of the Armenian Lectionary could not date to the late fifth century.

<sup>4</sup> This is the lectionary system still used by Armenian Apostolic and Armenian Catholic Christians. The Armenianizations mentioned above include feasts for Armenian saints. Analogously, Georgian monks added elements to the Georgian Lectionary after 700 CE (Frøyshov 2012, 247).

<sup>5</sup> An introduction and synopsis of the major Armenianized manuscripts, prepared by Renoux, was published as PO 44.4, PO 48.2, and PO 49.5.

<sup>6</sup> PO 48.2: 152. These oldest manuscripts are typically referred to as the “(Old) Armenian Lectionary” system following Conybeare 1905, 507. The primary edition of these texts remains PO 35.1 and PO 36.2, with a synopsis of three AL manuscripts in PO 36.2: 210–373.

James Monastery Arm. 121, dated to the late twelfth century (“J”); Paris BNF Arm. 44, dated to the tenth century (“P”); and Yerevan Matenadaran Arm. 985, also dated to the tenth century (“E”).<sup>7</sup> More precisely, Renoux identified the first two, J and P, as direct, intact witnesses to the ancient liturgy of Jerusalem in two different periods, with J representing an earlier stage than P.<sup>8</sup> In turn, Renoux surmised that E, as a work sharing features with both J and P, must represent an eclectic text, merging practices from multiple periods.<sup>9</sup>

Renoux’s analysis, published in the 1960s, has defined scholarship on these manuscripts ever since. Today, it is common to see writers cite the text of J as an intact witness to an earlier stage of the Jerusalem liturgy and P as an intact witness to a different, later stage. But is this appropriate? Do these manuscripts really provide direct, transparent views into the ritual life of late antique Jerusalem?

In this article, I will answer in the negative. None of our extant Armenian manuscripts—not even J or P—are perfect representations of the fifth-century Jerusalem liturgy. These manuscripts, produced in the medieval period, all show signs of secondary contamination and harmonization. They are only indirect witnesses to the fifth-century liturgical life of Jerusalem. In this case, scholars must find a new use for these documents, reimagining them as sources for the future reconstruction of the Armenian Lectionary’s lost Jerusalem urtext(s)—a text-critical exercise that scholars of early Christianity have put off for far too long. Renoux’s quick appraisal of two manuscripts among hundreds as exemplars of a fifth-century state of affairs circumvented the sort of rigorous, painstaking text-critical work that ordinarily would greet a corpus as diverse and tangled as the Armenian Lectionary system. That study, culminating in a proper critical edition and apparatus, is sorely needed.

To demonstrate this point, I will highlight a particular set of rubrics in J and P suggestive of the same secondary, harmonizing scribal interventions affecting other *Čašoc’* manuscripts. These rubrics describe a procession from the Mount of Olives through the city on the night of Holy Thursday, which culminated in a celebration at Golgotha on Good/Holy Friday. As I will argue, certain peculiarities in this section of J and P cast those manuscripts as eclectic witnesses in their own right—sources best understood alongside, and not apart from, the broader mass of medieval Armenian witnesses.

<sup>7</sup> The date of the first manuscript is indicated in its colophon as 1192 CE, whereas the dates of the latter two texts are determined by the inexact science of paleographic analysis (see discussions in *PO* 36.2: 157, 159–60).

<sup>8</sup> Argued in *PO* 35.1: 169–88.

<sup>9</sup> *PO* 36.2: 161.

## *A Case Study: Holy Thursday*

According to our earliest sources, the Jerusalem church retraced Jesus's steps in the hours before Good Friday morning in a dramatic, torch-lit procession into the city.<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, these rubrics are also some of the most tortured readings in the broader Armenian Lectionary/*Čašoc'* system. Across the hundreds of surviving Armenian Lectionary manuscripts, one finds competing, inconsistent, and blended rubrics for this procession, many of which are simply implausible for ancient Jerusalem.

But how did these implausible rubrics emerge? In his magisterial study of the *Čašoc'*, Renoux offers the now widely accepted—and very plausible—answer. He cogently reasons that this “upheaval” reveals “that the editors or the copyists no longer understood the order of the archetype.”<sup>11</sup> Armenian scribes, presented with confusing rubrics in still-earlier copies of the lectionary, attempted to correct their problems, producing confusing results.

My contention here is that J and P do not stand above this upheaval. Rather, they participate in it. When one examines the Holy Thursday rubrics of both manuscripts more closely, one finds peculiarities continuous with, and intelligible against, the disruptions found in the broader mass of Armenian Lectionary manuscripts. In this case, J and P do not represent an earlier, untouched form of these rubrics. Instead, the textual lineages of both were shaped by the same secondary scribal activities found in other such witnesses, attaining their present form as later editors tried and failed to reconcile multiple earlier exemplars. To develop this argument, I will first outline the shape of the Holy Thursday procession as it is represented in the earliest source to mention it, the diary of Egeria (*Itinerarium Egeriae*), before exploring its shape in J and P.<sup>12</sup>

### *Egeria*

Our earliest description of the Holy Thursday night procession appears in the fourth-century diary of Egeria, a Latin-speaking pilgrim to Jerusalem.<sup>13</sup> According to Egeria, the church of Jerusalem celebrated a multistage vigil for Holy Thursday night, focused on the Mount of Olives, outside the city

<sup>10</sup> On the broader practice of “stational liturgy,” a practice that structured the Jerusalem liturgy, see Baldovin 1987; Buchinger 2021.

<sup>11</sup> “Ce bouleversement manifeste que els rédacteurs ou les copistes ne comprennent plus l'ordonnance de l'archétype” (*PO* 48.2: 193).

<sup>12</sup> Discussions of this procession, its stations, and its gospels appear in Janeras 1988, 51–109; Janeras 1997, 34–38; Küchler 2007, 656–61.

<sup>13</sup> On this source and its date, see Paul Devos 1967, 165–94; Maraval, 1982, 15–117; McGowan and Bradshaw 2018, 2–27.

walls. After a station at Gethsemane occurring “when the cocks begin to crow,” that is, at pre-dawn, the assembled worshippers began a procession into Jerusalem<sup>14</sup>:

And from that hour they go to the city on foot with hymns; they arrive at the gate at that time when one person begins to recognize another; from there right through the middle of the city all as one, older and younger, rich, poor, all [are] ready there; especially on that day no one withdraws from the vigils until morning. Thus the bishop is led from Gethsemane as far as the gate and from there through the whole city as far as the Cross [Golgotha].<sup>15</sup>

Egeria does not specify which gate the worshippers used to enter the city during this procession, though it might well have been the East Gate, leading out to the Valley of Jehosaphat and the Mount of Olives.<sup>16</sup> Egeria is also silent on the internal route of worshippers through the city, except to note that the procession ended at the Sepulcher complex. It is unlikely that they stopped anywhere along the path, however, since the next segment of the *Itinerarium* indicates that “when they have arrived before the Cross, the daylight is already beginning to be bright.”<sup>17</sup> This would seem to be a reference to (roughly) dawn.<sup>18</sup>

Upon arriving at Golgotha, Egeria continues, “that passage is read from the gospel where the Lord is brought before Pontius Pilate, and everything that is written that Pilate said to the Lord and to the Jews is read in full.”<sup>19</sup> It is unclear which specific gospel selection is mentioned here; multiple gospels portray Jesus speaking with Pilate (Matt 27.11–14; Mark 15.2–5; Luke 23.2–5; John 18.33–19.11). Nevertheless, Armenian Lectionary and Georgian Lectionary manuscripts specify a lection from John (18.28–19.16).<sup>20</sup> That lection, or one partly overlapping it, was likely the one appointed in

<sup>14</sup> *Itinerarium Egeriae* 36.1 (CCSL 175: 79; McGowan and Bradshaw 2018, 173).

<sup>15</sup> *Itinerarium Egeriae* 36.3 (CCSL 175: 80; McGowan and Bradshaw 2018, 174–75).

<sup>16</sup> On this gate, positioned at the site of today’s Lion’s Gate or St. Stephen’s Gate, see John Wilkinson 2002, 315. Another eastern gate—the so-called Beautiful Gate or Golden Gate—does not enter the historical record until the early sixth century (Wilkinson 2002, 314–15). As Harald Buchinger (2012, 308, n. 106) observes, the most direct route leads through today’s Lion Gate, though the next several stations do not rule out a path south around the Temple Mount and over the slope of the southwest hill.

<sup>17</sup> *Itinerarium Egeriae* 36.4 (CCSL 175: 80; McGowan and Bradshaw 2018, 175).

<sup>18</sup> It cannot be much later, since Egeria describes the conclusion of this service as a time when the participants would go to their homes in preparation for another event at Golgotha “just before the second hour of the day” (*Itinerarium Egeriae* 36.5 [CCSL 175: 80; McGowan and Bradshaw 2018, 175]).

<sup>19</sup> *Itinerarium Egeriae* 36.4 (McGowan and Bradshaw 2018, 175; translation modified).

<sup>20</sup> AL 42*bis* (PO 36.2: 280–81); GL li. 659 (Georgian in CSCO 188.119; Latin translation in CSCO 189: 95).

Egeria's time.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps tellingly, that lection is set in the morning (John 18.28), which suits the time of the celebration envisioned by Egeria.

### *Armenian Lectionary P*

Initially, P presents a procession that resembles the one Egeria knew.<sup>22</sup> Worshippers descend from the Mount of Olives and walk through the city to Golgotha. There is no explicit mention of a gate, but the route in question would naturally involve a procession through the city's gates. In other respects, however, P represents a clear departure from—or better, an evolution of—the *ordo* used in Egeria's time. When the worshippers arrive at Golgotha, they do not read the gospel Egeria describes. Instead, they read a gospel describing the events occurring at the house of Caiaphas—events with no direct connection to the Golgotha site.<sup>23</sup> More strikingly still, although the night procession stops at Golgotha, it does not remain there. It continues to the “palace of the judge [Pilate],”<sup>24</sup> which by this time had a church built atop it, the Holy Wisdom/Sophia church.<sup>25</sup> There, quite appropriately, the community read the gospel Egeria heard at Golgotha: the lection concerning Pontius Pilate. When that service concludes, the crowds return to Golgotha for a final gospel reading, this time from Luke (23.24–31).

### *Armenian Lectionary J*

When we turn to J, we find a strikingly different processional route from that found in either Egeria or P.<sup>26</sup> In J, the worshippers descend from the Mount of Olives and first walk to the furthest southern extreme of the city: “the courtyard of the house of the High Priest Caiaphas, at the Place of the Repentance of Peter”<sup>27</sup>—by then the site of the Church of St. Peter.<sup>28</sup> There,

<sup>21</sup> See arguments in McGowan and Bradshaw 2018, 175, no. 4.

<sup>22</sup> This summary condenses AL (P) 40*ter*–42*bis* (PO 36.2: 274–81).

<sup>23</sup> Renoux admits that this selection breaks the pattern of connecting station and reading (PO 36.2: 276–77).

<sup>24</sup> AL (P) 42 (PO 36.2: 276–79).

<sup>25</sup> Although the precise date of the church's construction is unknown, the first attestation of the church places it in the fifth century (Horn and Phenix 2008, 196–97). P's reference to the site presupposes its use as a church, even if the text does not use the word “church” (on this quirk of the Armenian Lectionary's naming conventions, see Méndez 2021, 70–71, with reference to the Pilate site at 70, n. 45).

<sup>26</sup> This summary condenses AL (J) 40*ter*–42*bis* (PO 36.2: 274–81).

<sup>27</sup> AL (J) 41 (PO 36.2: 276–77).

<sup>28</sup> The earliest attestation of the Church of St. Peter is Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae* 7 (CCSL 175: 118): “*de sancta Sion ad domum Caiphae, quae est modo ecclesia sancti Petri.*” The Latin *modo* might envision either a church “presently” occupying the site (so Wilkinson 2002, 107) or “recently” erected (so Buchinger 2021, 123, no. 36). Bargil Pixner (2010, 263, 279) suggests a date between 442 and 460, that is, during Eudocia's second residency in the city and the height of

appropriately, they read the selection from Matthew also found in P: a passage describing events in and around the house of Caiaphas (Matt 26.58), including Jesus’s interrogation by Caiaphas and Peter’s denials and bitter weeping (Matt 26.57–75). From there, the worshippers sing Psalm 117 LXX, evidently until they reach a gate; then, “beginning at the gate,” they recite a *gobala*, a division of the psalter, until they reach “Holy Golgotha.”<sup>29</sup> A dawn celebration follows, probably set at Golgotha. (The rubric does not indicate the station, but Golgotha is mentioned in the entries before and after.) Table 1 compares J to P and also highlights their similarities to E, which we will discuss later.

Table 1. Rubrics for the Holy Thursday Night in J, E, and P<sup>30</sup>

<i>J</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>P</i>
40ter. At the same hour of the night, immediately they descend from the Holy Mount of Olives to Gethsemane and they read the Gospel according to Matthew [26.31–56].	40ter. At the same hour of the night, they descend to Gethsemane, and they read the Gospel according to Matthew [26.31–56].	40ter. At the same hour of the night, from the Holy Mount of Olives to Gethsemane, and they read the Gospel according to Matthew [26.36–56].
41. And then, they go to the courtyard of the high priest, at the place of the repentance of Peter.	41. At the same hour of the night, they go singing to the house of Caiaphas.	
And they read the Gospel according to Matthew [26.57–75].	And they read the Gospel of Matthew [26.57–75].	

her construction activity. On the Armenian Lectionary as a witness to an existence of a Church of St. Peter on the site, see Méndez 2021, 70–71. The ruins of the fifth-century Church of St. Peter lie under the present-day Church of St. Peter in Gallicantu.

<sup>29</sup> AL (J) 42 (PO 36.2: 276–79).

<sup>30</sup> Representing AL 40ter–42 (PO 36.2: 274–81).

Table 1. Rubrics for the Holy Thursday Night in J, E, and P (*continued*)

<i>J</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>P</i>
42. At the same hour of the night, they go, singing Psalm 117, antiphon [117.1 LXX; 118.1 MT].	42. At the same hour of the night they go before Holy Golgotha, singing Psalm 117, antiphon [117.1 LXX; 118.1 MT],	41. <sup>31</sup> At the same hour of the night, they go, singing Psalm 117, antiphon [117.1 LXX; 118.1 MT].
And beginning at the gate, they say in <i>gobala</i> Psalm 78 [78 LXX; 79 MT] <sup>32</sup>		
until they come before Holy Golgotha,	And they sing this until the arrival before Golgotha.	
and there they read this Gospel of John [18.2–27].	Gospel according to John [18.2–27]	and they read the Gospel according to [Matthew <sup>33</sup> ] [Matt 26.57–27.2 <sup>34</sup> ]
	42 <i>bis</i> . At the same hour of the night, they go singing to the palace of Pilate	42. At the same hour of the night, they go, to the palace of the judge
42 <i>bis</i> . At dawn, this canon is performed: Psalm 108, antiphon [108.4 LXX; 109.4 MT]		
and after that, they read the Gospel according to John [18.28–19.16a]	and they read the Gospel of John [18.28–19.16a]	and they read from the Gospel of John [18.28–19.16a].

<sup>31</sup> Note the inconsistency in Renoux’s numbering of AL sections.

<sup>32</sup> This *gobala* (psalter division) is the fourth prescribed for the ascent to the Mount of Olives with the antiphon of Ps 87.6b and 78.13 LXX (Ps 88:5 and 79.13a MT) (AL 39*ter*). Psalm 78 might have been an especially apt choice, since the psalm mentions the ruined First Temple (Ps 78.1 LXX; Ps 79.1 MT). At this point along their journey, worshippers would be walking in the vicinity of the ruins of the Second Temple. See Georgia Frank’s discussion of the “gruesome catena of feelings” unleashed by the psalm’s recitation (Frank 2022, 66).

<sup>33</sup> P’s scribe erroneously attributed the reading to “Mark” (PO 36.2: 279, n. 3).

<sup>34</sup> This gospel is nearly identical to the one prescribed for the Caiaphas/St. Peter rubric in J and E.

Table 1. Rubrics for the Holy Thursday Night in J, E, and P (*continued*)

<i>J</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>P</i>
		42 <i>bis</i> . At the same hour of the night, they go singing before Holy Golgotha, and they read the Gospel of Luke [23.24–31]
On Friday morning, the precious wood of the cross is placed before Holy Golgotha . . .	On Friday morning, the precious wood of the cross is placed before Holy Golgotha . . .	On Friday morning, the precious wood of the cross is placed before Holy Golgotha . . .

### *The Problem with J*

The discrepancies between J and P are striking. They are also a linchpin of Renoux’s claim that J and P are direct witnesses to two different periods in the evolution of the Jerusalem liturgy.<sup>35</sup> When we look more closely at the rubrics in J, however, certain peculiarities appear that complicate this hypothesis—peculiarities suggestive of secondary changes and interpolations.

#### *An Unusual “Gate” Rubric*

As noted above, J mentions a procession “beginning at the gate” along the way to Golgotha. The rubrics seem to presuppose that the worshippers actually passed through the gate. This would fit what we know from Egeria, who casts a passage through a “gate” as an integral part of the procession. It would also suit the psalm J associates with the gate, Psalm 117 (LXX), which contains the line:

Open to me, O gates of righteousness.  
 Entering them, I will give thanks to the Lord.  
 This is the gate of the Lord.  
 The righteous ones will enter it. (Ps 117.19–20 LXX)<sup>36</sup>

What is unclear is why a gate entrance should appear here at all. If we read J as an intact source, then the people have already made a stop at the Caiaphas/St. Peter site, a church that lay within the walls of the fifth-century city built

<sup>35</sup> PO 35.1: 45.

<sup>36</sup> The idea that the rubric envisions passage through a gate also suits Michael Daniel Findikyan’s correlation of Psalm 117 with various, later “Armenian services that include an entrance procession including processions at baptism, church dedications, and the office of absolution of penitents” (Findikyan 2011, 40, n. 52). One can recognize passion-related themes in verses 22–25 of the psalm as well.

by Eudocia. The worshippers, in short, were already inside the city and hardly in need of entering one of the city's gates.

To make spatial sense of this rubric, we would have to posit an unusual, even convoluted, processional path, one involving several gates rather than a single one. For example, we would have to imagine that the participants entered through a particular gate to reach the Caiaphas/St. Peter site—presumably, the East Gate, as in Egeria's time, or a southern gate.<sup>37</sup> (Elsewhere in J, Psalm 117 LXX is prescribed for only one other passage, and it is again for a passage from the Mount of Olives to Holy Sepulcher.<sup>38</sup>) Then, after the station at that church, the participants would have to march back towards the city wall, arriving at either the same gate through which they initially entered the city or a different one. But why would the participants travel all the way back to a city gate—perhaps even one at the opposite extreme of the city—once already inside the city? For that matter, did they exit and re-enter this gate? Or did they exit one gate and re-enter through another? Was such a route logistically feasible?<sup>39</sup> And even if they did return to that gate, why does J show no special rubrics for the first time the worshippers passed through that gate (or another)? For example, if this initial entry occurred through an eastern gate, why did the worshippers not continue to ritualize that earlier passage, which had been a special fixture of the vigil for a century, as seen in the writings of Egeria?<sup>40</sup>

None of these reconstructions is especially satisfying. Nevertheless, scholars posit such unusual routes on the premise that J is an accurate, intact witness to a fifth-century state of affairs. But I would like to suggest another, better way to make sense of this rubric: a text-critical one. The peculiarities of this entry are resolved if we treat the inclusion of a gate entrance at this point of J as an

<sup>37</sup> Buchinger 2012, 308.

<sup>38</sup> AL 34*bis* (PO 36.2: 258–59). Locals might well have attached special meaning to the gate they passed on this route, perhaps even imagining the specific gate through which they processed as “the gate of the Lord” mentioned in the psalm (Ps 117.20 LXX).

<sup>39</sup> Longer routes or more complex routes around or across the Kidron valley or the southwestern hill of the city might have been challenging due to the terrain, dark hour, and limitations of the crowd. Egeria notes that the descent through the Kidron Valley was especially taxing on participants: “on account of the large size of the crowd both wearied from the vigil and weak from the daily fasting, because they have to come down such a large mountain, they come very slowly” (*Itinerarium Egeriae* 36.2 [CCSL 175: 79; McGowan and Bradshaw 2018, 174]).

<sup>40</sup> An alternative way to make sense of this rubric is to posit that worshippers passed through a different gate at this point, one internal to the city, lying between St. Peter and Golgotha. Admittedly, Benjamin Isaac suggests that “perhaps there was also a south wall along the line of the current existing city wall,” since “at least the Madaba map seems to suggest this and the Traveler from Bordeaux of 333 indicates that there was a wall which excluded what was then called Mount Zion” (Isaac 2012, 32). At present, however, no secure archeological trace of such a wall or gate exists. Even if we grant the existence of such a wall, problems remain. The worshippers would still have had to have passed through one, if not two, gates prior to reaching St. Peter's. But again, if they entered the city through another gate, why was that entry not ritualized? And why would the entry through a smaller, hypothetical intermural gate—one too insignificant to survive in the historical record—be ritualized?

error—a scribal attempt to reconcile two routes reflected in his exemplars. As it stands, the broader Armenian Lectionary tradition would support this approach.

### *A Text-Critical Solution*

Recall again that, in the period represented by Egeria, worshippers went from Gethsemane, through the East Gate, to Golgotha—a pattern also seen in P. Later sources, however, indicate that the city eventually enhanced this route with dedicated stops and readings at churches, including stops at Caiaphas/St. Peter and Holy Wisdom before the arrival at Golgotha—in effect, tracing Jesus’s steps across the city after his arrest. This complex sequence is attested in the later Georgian Lectionary system, which contains no trace of a ritualized gate entrance.<sup>41</sup> In all likelihood, this change in the processional pattern occurred in the late-fifth century, after the St. Peter and Holy Wisdom churches were built, the period in local ritual life I associate with the Armenian Lectionary (456–479 CE). In this case, we might imagine a scenario in which the change was simultaneously incorporated into an early copy of the Armenian Lectionary, producing, as Renoux suggested, discrepancies that can only be understood against an evolution of local liturgy.

I believe this sort of scenario stands behind the conflicting rubrics found in J. Instructions from two distinct periods in the city’s liturgy were knit together, producing the confusing rubrics later seen in J—a text which, we should recall, is a much later, medieval manuscript (late twelfth century). Tellingly, the incoherence of J’s rubrics dissolves when we simply remove the intrusive and late (Georgian Lectionary-like) instruction to go to St. Peter. Without the station, the text reads seamlessly as a description of a descent from Gethsemane, through a gate, to Golgotha, as presupposed by Egeria and attested in P.

This is not merely a clever solution. It is, in fact, a reading attested in two Armenian Lectionary manuscripts closely related to, and roughly contemporaneous with, J: one in the Tübingen University Library, MA XIII 21 (also twelfth century) (D); and one in Rome, Pontifical Armenian Leonine College, 1(70) (copied in 1302) (F).<sup>42</sup> Although these manuscripts contain Armenianisms, they are relatively conservative witnesses, classed by Renoux as representatives of the oldest (pre-eighth century) Hagiopolite-type *Čašoc’*. These texts share J’s peculiarities (for example, mention of Psalm 78 LXX and the gate), and they follow J’s rubrics for Holy Thursday nearly verbatim (over and against P). Unlike J, however, these manuscripts lack the station at St. Peter, besides a few minor changes (table 2).

<sup>41</sup> Tarchnischvili’s edition of the Georgian Lectionary also shows a stop at Sion immediately before Golgotha. This summary condenses GL li. 651–64 (Georgian in CSCO 188: 117–21; Latin translation in CSCO 189: 94–97).

<sup>42</sup> Renoux introduces these sources and presents them in synopsis with others in *PO* 48.2.

Table 2. Rubrics for Holy Thursday Night in Other Armenian Witnesses<sup>43</sup>

<i>J (late twelfth century)</i>	<i>D (twelfth to fourteenth century<sup>44</sup>)</i>	<i>F (early fourteenth century<sup>45</sup>)</i>
40ter. At the same hour of the night, immediately they descend from the Holy Mount of Olives to Gethsemane and they read the Gospel according to Matthew [26.31–56].	At the same hour of the night, immediately they descend from the Holy Mount of Olives to Gethsemane and they read the Gospel according to Matthew [26.31–56].	At the same hour immediately they descend from the Mount of Olives to Gethsemane and they read the Gospel according to Matthew [26.36–56 <sup>46</sup> ].
41. And then, they go to the courtyard of the high priest, at the place of the repentance of Peter.		
And they read the Gospel according to Matthew [26.57–75].		
42. At the same hour of the night, they go, singing Psalm 117, antiphon [117.1 LXX; 118.1 MT].	At the same hour of the night, they go, singing Psalm 117, antiphon [117.1 LXX; 118:1 MT].	At the same hour of the night, they go, singing Psalm 117, antiphon [117.1 LXX; 118.1 MT].
And beginning at the gate, they say in <i>gobala</i> Psalm 78	And beginning at the gate,	And beginning at the gate,
until they come before Holy Golgotha,	they come before Holy Golgotha,	until they come to Holy Golgotha,
and they read from the Gospel of John [18.2–27 <sup>47</sup> ].	and they read the Gospel according to Matthew [26.57–75 <sup>48</sup> ].	and they read the Gospel according to Matthew [26.57–27.2 <sup>49</sup> ].

<sup>43</sup> Representing *PO* 36.2: 274–79 and *PO* 48.2: 193.

<sup>44</sup> *PO* 44.4: 491.

<sup>45</sup> *PO* 44.4: 502.

<sup>46</sup> This is the same reduced lection found in P.

<sup>47</sup> Georgia Frank (2023, 67) speculates that the pericope's mention of cock crows may explain the decision to read the gospel upon arriving, just close to dawn, at Golgotha.

<sup>48</sup> As in J's courtyard pericope, above.

<sup>49</sup> As in P.

Recall again that Renoux claims that the “upheaval” in this section of the *Čašoc* manuscripts “manifests that the editors or the copyists no longer understand the order of the archetype.”<sup>50</sup> What’s good for the goose is good for the gander. The analysis we apply to D and F makes equal sense for J, a contemporary manuscript in the same broad tradition as these. J’s text may be more archaic than that of D and F in other sections—it lacks blatant Armenianizations—but it may not be as archaic here. There is no reason to privilege its witness in this instance.

We can hypothesize, then, that lurking behind J are probably two different exemplars: one that knew a direct route from Gethsemane to Golgotha (a route known to Egeria and reflected in different ways in P, D, and F) and another that had come to incorporate a longer circuit from Gethsemane, beginning with Caiaphas/St. Peter and continuing to Pilate/Holy Wisdom (as reflected in the later Georgian Lectionary system). In this scenario, a scribe—probably one earlier than the scribe who penned J—examined manuscripts descended from both exemplars and noticed competing, divergent rubrics in his sources for the Holy Thursday procession. Evidently, he decided to merge the two rubrics, stacking one on top of the other. This scribe, however, was not familiar with local topography; he set the Caiaphas/St. Peter rubric before the gate rubric it had supplanted, an arrangement that is topographically illogical (table 3).

Table 3. Reconstructed Holy Thursday Rubrics

<i>*Reconstructed Jerusalem Lectionary I, Original Armenian Translation (circa 460 CE)</i>	<i>*Reconstructed Jerusalem Lectionary II, Revised Armenian Translation (circa 475 CE)</i>	<i>J</i>
At the same hour of the night, immediately they descend to Gethsemane and they read the Gospel according to Matthew [26.31–56].	At the same hour of the night, they descend to Gethsemane, and they read the Gospel according to Matthew [26.36–56 <sup>51</sup> ].	40 <sup>ter</sup> . At the same hour of the night, immediately they descend from the Holy Mount of Olives to Gethsemane, and they read the Gospel according to Matthew [26.31–56].

<sup>50</sup> PO 48.2: 193.

<sup>51</sup> The pericope has been reduced by the excision of the prediction of Peter’s denial (Matt 26.31–35). This is likely due to the introduction of a new station at the Caiaphas/St. Peter site articulated around that betrayal.

Table 3. Reconstructed Holy Thursday Rubrics (*continued*)

*Reconstructed Jerusalem Lectionary I, Original Armenian Translation (circa 460 CE)	*Reconstructed Jerusalem Lectionary II, Revised Armenian Translation (circa 475 CE)	J
At the same hour of the night, they go, singing Psalm 117, antiphon [117.1 LXX; 118:1 MT].  And beginning at the gate, they say in <i>gobala</i> Psalm 78 [Ps 78 LXX; Ps 79 MT]	And then, they go to the courtyard of the high priest, at the place of the repentance of Peter, and they read the Gospel of Matthew [26.57–75].	41. And then, they go to the courtyard of the high priest, at the place of the repentance of Peter, and they read the Gospel according to Matthew [26.57–75].  42. At the same hour of the night, they go, singing Psalm 117, antiphon [117.1 LXX; 118.1 MT].  And beginning at the gate, they say in <i>gobala</i> Psalm 78 [Ps 78 LXX; Ps 79 MT] <sup>52</sup>
until they come before Holy Golgotha,		until they come before Holy Golgotha,
and they read the Gospel of Matthew [26.57–27.2 <sup>53</sup> ]		and they read the Gospel of John [18.2–27 <sup>54</sup> ].

<sup>52</sup> In effect, the J lineage combines what were probably two competing rubrics in recensions I and II, placing them in an illogical order. By contrast, the P lineage only knows (or selects) the revised rubric.

<sup>53</sup> The Matthean gospel might have originated here, since P, D, and F associate a Matthean gospel with the arrival at Golgotha (PO 48.2: 194, n. xlii.3). The longer form in P and F makes sense as the original lection, since it ends with mention of the transfer to Pilate, a fitting transition to the next gospel from John. A form of this gospel was later transferred to the new station at St. Peter.

<sup>54</sup> The Matthean gospel is dropped since it was already featured in the station at St. Peter. The origins of this gospel, however, are unclear. Two other Armenian witnesses, B and V, pair John 18.2–27 with Psalm 117 LXX on the descent from the Mount of Olives (PO 48.2: 193 [see footnote xii.1, 2]). The Gospel describes the denial of Peter, a focus eventually transferred to the Caiaphas/St. Peter site. The Georgian Lectionary includes a nearly identical reading as part of a station at Sion (GL li. 662 [Georgian in CSCO 188: 120; Latin translation in CSCO 189: 96]).

The scribe made a second critical move. As he worked down the passage, trying to eliminate the confusion in his sources and restore (whatever he surmised was) the original route, he opted not to include other rubrics present in his sources, assuming he had all of them. Many of these instructions were more obviously incompatible. For example, it is likely that he encountered a rubric instructing worshippers to go to the Holy Wisdom site. In the scribe's (flawed) reconstruction of the processional route, however, the people had already arrived at Golgotha, which he would have correctly recognized as the ultimate destination of the procession. Golgotha, after all, was the site of the morning services for Good Friday. He might well have resolved this problem by simply excising the reference to "the palace of Pilate," perhaps counting it as an error. Even as he took out the stational indication, however, he preserved the readings for the station—readings intended for the Pilate/Holy Wisdom site, as other Armenian Lectionary manuscripts reveal:

Table 4. Palace of Pilate Entries in Synopsis<sup>55</sup>

<i>J</i>	<i>E, F</i> <sup>56</sup>	<i>D</i>	<i>V</i> <sup>57</sup>	<i>P</i>
42 <i>bis</i> . At dawn, this canon is performed:	42 <i>bis</i> . At the same hour of the night, they go singing to the palace of Pilate,	42 <i>bis</i> . In the morning, they go to the palace of Pilate.	42 <i>bis</i> . In the morning, they go to the palace of Pilate.	42. At the same hour of the night, they go, to the palace of the judge,
Psalm 118, antiphon . . . [108.4 LXX; 109.4 MT]		Psalm of return, antiphon . . . [108.4 LXX; 109.4 MT]		
And after that, they read the Gospel of John [18.28–19.16a]	and [F: after that] they read the Gospel of John [18.28–19.16a]	and they read the Gospel of John [18.28–19.16a]	and they read from the Gospel of John [18.28–19.16a].	and they read from the Gospel of John [18.28–19.16a].

Here again, the features of *J* make best sense as a scribal intervention.

### *Peculiarities in P*

If *J* shows evidence of scribal changes, is *P* a purer witness, untouched by these sorts of interventions? I would argue not. Consider again the processional route

<sup>55</sup> Representing *PO* 36.2: 278–81 and *PO* 48.2: 193.

<sup>56</sup> Pontificio Leoniano Collegio Armeno I (early twelfth century).

<sup>57</sup> Venice, Mekhitarist Library 285 (eleventh to twelfth century).

it posits. P has worshippers travel directly from Gethsemane to Golgotha—the archaic pattern attested by Egeria, which we have also reconstructed for at least one early exemplar impacting J. But the gospel P prescribes for Golgotha, Matthew 26.57–27.2, is not the one Egeria knows.<sup>58</sup> Still more curiously, after this gospel, P has worshippers leave Golgotha to travel to Pilate/Holy Wisdom and then return to Golgotha—in effect, moving back and forth between stations.<sup>59</sup> This path hardly fits the historicizing/mimetic spirit of the later form of the procession, which traced Jesus’s steps across the city.<sup>60</sup> (Golgotha was Jesus’s final destination.) It also lacks the elegance of later Georgian sources, which attest a station at the Holy Wisdom church, as P does, but which situate that station within a natural circuit from Gethsemane through intermural stations, such as St. Peter to Holy Wisdom to Golgotha.<sup>61</sup>

The rubrics of P are plausible but unusual. We can certainly imagine the worshippers moving back and forth through the city through such a route. Then again, most routes in the broader field of Armenianized manuscripts are also superficially plausible, if not always likely or historical. The question we should ask ourselves is why we should privilege P’s witness in this section over those of other Armenian witnesses when its peculiarities may be best interpreted against the broader documented problem of textual disruption in these rubrics.

Here again, a text-critical solution provides a satisfying answer.<sup>62</sup> The sequence in P can be understood as a harmonization of the same two exemplars we posited behind J, each of which captured a distinct stage of local liturgical practice. One of these exemplars attested a route from Gethsemane to Golgotha (as in Egeria, D, and F), and another had come to incorporate a more complex circuit from Gethsemane with stops at the Caiaphas/St. Peter and the Holy Wisdom churches (as in the later Georgian Lectionary). The jarring back-and-forth/arrival-and-return movement in P makes sense as a different approach to the same problems encountered by the scribe behind J, namely, how to incorporate the Pilate/Holy Wisdom rubric. The scribe responsible for the P lineage opted to keep the route from Gethsemane to Golgotha he found in one exemplar and a route from Holy Wisdom to Golgotha

<sup>58</sup> AL (P) 41 (PO 36.2: 276–77).

<sup>59</sup> AL (P) 41–42*bis* (PO 36.2: 276–81).

<sup>60</sup> On the historicizing/mimetic dimension of Jerusalem liturgy, including the Holy Week readings, see Buchinger 2012, 283–326.

<sup>61</sup> This summary condenses GL, li. 651–65 (Georgian in CSCO 188: 117–21; Latin translation in CSCO 189: 94–97). Note, however, that the Georgian manuscripts show textual disruption in these entries as well, producing different stational routes.

<sup>62</sup> Another possible interpretation—that the fifth-century church of Jerusalem observed a high number of vestigial rubrics on Holy Thursday night—seems less likely for a church that placed a premium on a natural link between stations and readings (see *Itinerarium Egeriae* 47.5 [CCSL 175: 89; McGowan and Bradshaw 2018, 193]) and that was still actively, even drastically, reforming its Holy Thursday rubrics to strengthen those connections.

in another, juxtaposing them. In turn, and again like the scribe of J, that scribe excluded some elements that did not fit one or more of his exemplars, including the gate entrance and the stop at St. Peter (table 5).<sup>63</sup>

Table 5. Distribution of Holy Thursday Night Stations (J, P, E)<sup>64</sup>

<i>*Reconstructed Jerusalem Lectionary, Stage I (460 CE; cf. Egeria)</i>	<i>*Reconstructed Jerusalem Lectionary, Stage II (c. 475; cf. Georgian Lectionary)</i>	<i>J</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>E</i>
Gethsemane	Gethsemane	Gethsemane	Gethsemane	Gethsemane
Gate	Caiaphas/Peter	Gate Caiaphas/Peter		[ <i>gate psalm</i> ] Caiaphas/Peter
	Holy Wisdom <sup>65</sup>	[ <i>no explicit mention of station</i> ]		
Golgotha	Golgotha	Golgotha	Golgotha	Golgotha
			Holy Wisdom	Holy Wisdom
			Golgotha	Golgotha

### *Peculiarities in E*

The idea I am proposing here—that the non-Armenianizing J and P manuscripts were impacted by earlier attempts to make sense of multiple, competing exemplars—is not unprecedented. Renoux himself posits that another non-Armenianizing manuscript, E, was shaped by these sorts of scribal interventions, citing its Holy Thursday rubrics as evidence.<sup>66</sup> Strikingly, those rubrics contain features that are continuous with the kinds of features we have found in witnesses such as J and P.

E begins as J does: with the participants leaving Gethsemane to go to the Caiaphas/St. Peter site and then on to Golgotha. But, notably, E lacks—or

<sup>63</sup> In this scenario, the different lections incorporated into P were likely taken from different exemplars than those J privileged.

<sup>64</sup> Condensing AL 40<sup>ter</sup>–42 (PO 36.2: 274–81)

<sup>65</sup> A further station at Sion might have also existed here since it appears in the Georgian Lectionary. Alternatively, that station might have entered the procession at a later point.

<sup>66</sup> PO 36.2: 161. Renoux's argument also encompasses other peculiarities of E, including an unusual mystagogical instruction, as well as its mix of elements found in all of J, P, and some later, Armenianized lectionaries (Renoux 1971, 160–61).

perhaps has excised—any reference to a gate. Nevertheless, it retains the processional psalm associated with the approach to the gate (Psalm 117 LXX), appointing it for the last stretch of the journey between Caiaphas/St. Peter and Golgotha. Next, and quite unusually, E mirrors P (and D) by having the crowd move from Golgotha to the Pilate/Holy Wisdom site and then back to Golgotha again—in effect, moving back and forth between stations. Here again, any semblance of a natural circuit or logical sequence is broken.

Renoux's intuition that E is likely an eclectic source, reconciling various exemplars, makes complete sense of its features. E's lineage appears to have been, if anything, highly conservative, trying to retain as many of the rubrics from both processional sequences as possible (table 5). The result, however—vestigial rubrics, confusing back-and-forth routes, and discrepancies with other sources—recalls the issues of J and P, raising the question of why scholars should apply a different standard to those texts than they do to E. The Holy Thursday rubrics in all three sources deserve skepticism and scrutiny, and their problems can all be explained through the same process: scribal intervention. All seem to be responding to the same challenges, albeit in different, though always intelligible, ways.

## Conclusion

Today, scholars privilege two Armenian Lectionary/Շաօո՛ւ manuscripts, J and P, over hundreds of others, when describing the liturgical practices of the fifth-century church in Jerusalem. Dozens of books and articles assume that these manuscripts capture the liturgy of the city at specific, fixed points, and they set the two in a relative dating, as if J faithfully portrays the liturgy of Jerusalem in a single, if unknown, year (for example, 461), while P faithfully portrays the city's worship in a slightly later but equally definite year (for example, 467). But as I have argued here, this approach is deeply problematic. J and P are medieval manuscripts whose textual lineages were vulnerable to scribal changes. And indeed, both manuscripts participate in a textual disruption affecting the entire Armenian Lectionary corpus. Specifically, their rubrics for Holy Thursday show peculiarities consistent with, and explicable against, the harmonizing scribal interventions evident in other examples of the medieval Շաօո՛ւ.

It is not hard to see how this disruption might have arisen. The earliest Armenian translation of the Early Jerusalem Lectionary probably emerged in “an Armenian community incorporated into a Greek monastery in Jerusalem or the Jordan Valley,” serving its needs and perhaps those of other local Armenian-speaking communities.<sup>67</sup> In this context, the nascent Armenian Lection-

<sup>67</sup> Thus Paul Peeters as quoted in Capelle 1943, 14, n. 36.

ary probably represented a “living literature,” that is, “material that circulates in a community . . . but is constantly subject to revision and rewriting to reflect changing historical and cultural circumstances.”<sup>68</sup> The lectionary, after all, was not so much a text as a description of a liturgical practice—a living, changing practice. In this case, its original versions likely underwent one or more major revisions in the fifth century, a period of fast-paced liturgical reform in the Jerusalem liturgy, driven by (a) the construction of new monumental churches on perceived sacred sites in the city and (b) adjustments to the city’s lectionary readings to highlight the significance of new stations and to set the day’s readings in a more logical sequence. As local church officials modified the city’s liturgy, Armenian monks probably incorporated these major modifications into newer copies of the lectionary.<sup>69</sup> These major modifications did not continue indefinitely, however. They seem to have concluded by the end of the fifth century, since the Armenian Lectionary does not attest a single church constructed in the sixth century.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, some scribes continued making minor changes to later versions of the document, perhaps altering a reading here or there to correct perceived errors in the text, address discrepancies, or even respect variant uses among the city’s monasteries.<sup>71</sup> Accidental changes might have also crept into the manuscripts. Through this process, multiple divergent recensions of what was once a single lectionary emerged.

In a later period, these recensions fractured even further as scribes, confronted with multiple, discrepant copies of the Armenian Lectionary, attempted to harmonize their features.<sup>72</sup> These monks were too far removed

<sup>68</sup> Bradshaw 2015, 28–29.

<sup>69</sup> Specifically, in the 460s or 470s, the church of Jerusalem seems to have undergone a major liturgical reform probably spearheaded by Patriarch Anastasius I (458–478 CE). One effect of this change was a move towards a greater historicization in the Jerusalem liturgy (developing a suggestion by Renoux in *PO* 35.1: 184)—precisely the sort of change reflected in the introduction of new Holy Thursday night stations. The processional route Egeria knew—a processional route that might have still been in place at the earliest translation of the Jerusalem Lectionary—did not have a consistent historicizing quality (see Taft 1982, 105; Baldovin 1987, 88; Bradshaw 1992, 49; Frank 2003, 66–67).

<sup>70</sup> If I am correct that the Armenian Lectionary was as a kind of “living literature,” then all modern copies of AL might reflect a single translation revised multiple times. Smaller variations across the tradition may simply represent later redactions of the lectionary text.

<sup>71</sup> Analogously, Verhelst believes “that the translation [of the Georgian Lectionary] was an evolving one, constantly being revised over the course of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries” (2006, 430). The minor edits to the Armenian Lectionary, then, might have also continued for centuries. Alternatively, in his study of the secondary or Armenianized *Čašoc’* manuscripts, Renoux suggests that extended contact between the Armenian and Georgian communities might have led to the transmission of isolated elements between them (*PO* 44.4: 2). If such a process impacted the lineages of D and F, it might also have shaped the lineages of J, P, and E, not least as scribes internalized or reconciled the readings of different exemplars.

<sup>72</sup> Their task would have been further complicated by the emergence of other, Armenianizing manuscripts.

from fifth-century Jerusalem practice to know how to put the pieces of the textual puzzle back together. The result was the emergence of multiple mixed exemplars, whose broad and jarring variation would eventually be reproduced in later sources, such as J and P. As eclectic texts, the latter manuscripts are, in effect, time-lapse photographs, uniting and blurring several moments in the liturgical life of Jerusalem within a single frame. By drawing their overlapping images together, however, we can trace the face—the rapidly changing face—of Jerusalem’s ritual practices across a limited time span.

This study, then, is a call for scholars to conceptually distinguish the contents of the Early Jerusalem Lectionary from the contents of every medieval Armenian Lectionary manuscript that survives today, including J and P. No intact copy of the Early Jerusalem Lectionary survives to the present—not in Greek and not in an Armenian translation. Nevertheless, many liturgical rubrics from ancient Jerusalem survive in medieval Armenian manuscripts, though not always in a clear and unaltered form. In this case, we should begin the necessary work, the arduous work, we have neglected for far too long. We should develop a proper critical edition and critical apparatus for the Armenian Lectionary tradition. We should begin reconstructing the Armenian Lectionary’s urtext(s)—and, by extension, the practices of the fifth-century Jerusalem church—not from one or two manuscripts but from the hundreds of available Armenian witnesses. And we should recognize the very real possibility that some of the so-called “secondary” Armenian manuscripts more faithfully preserve the shape of individual Jerusalem practices than J and P do. That critical edition will provide us with a more accurate portrait of Jerusalem’s fifth-century worship patterns—patterns that would dramatically shape Christian devotion for centuries, even millennia, to come. Most importantly, that critical edition will be a vital reference for the next wave of studies exploring the late antique Christian world.

*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*  
*hmendez@email.unc.edu*

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