MULTILAYERED AND MULTIPLE-TEXT CATENA MANUSCRIPTS ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

by

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Abstract

This study examines Greek *catenae* (or 'chains') on the Acts of the Apostles, specifically focusing on a group of manuscripts that contain catenae enriched with multiple layers of scholia and reflect various compilations. The primary objective of this thesis is to understand the nature of these works and uncover the connections among different catena types present in Acts. Starting with an overview of the historical research in this field, this investigation develops innovative methodological approaches to identify the core characteristics of these catena types, which are categorised into distinct content units. Furthermore, it seeks to reconstruct the editorial stages involved in their formation, divided into separate phases of production, and explores their role in understanding the origins and development of the principal catena types, specifically the Pseudo-Andreas catena (CPG C150), Pseudo-Oecumenius catena (CPG C151), and Pseudo-Theophylact catena (CPG C152), along with the evolution of particular *codices singuli* (CPG C155). This research sheds light on previously unnoticed writings, elucidates how they establish connections between separate catena traditions, and provides insights into scribal practices, compilation techniques, and the reception of catenae during the Byzantine Era.

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Table of Contents

List of Illustrations i

List of Tables iv

List of Abbreviations vii

Chapter I. Introduction: Acts Catenae and Manuscript Classification

1. Catenae, catalogues and type classifications 1

1.1 Karo–Lietzmann's *Catalogus* 9

1.2. von Soden's classification 13

1.3. Devreesse's dictionary entry 17

1.4. Hutchinson's dissertation 19

1.5. The *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (CPG) 22

1.6. The CATENA project database 23

2. Catena manuscripts featuring multiple layers and texts 42

2.1 Research on multiple-text manuscripts and paratexts 43

2.2 Research on multilayered and multiple-text commentary manuscripts 46

2.3 Exploring a new approach 50

3. Concluding remarks: methodological insights and study objectives 51

Chapter II. Catenae on Acts and Editions: A Critical Review

1. Introduction 56

2. The Pseudo-Oecumenius catena-commentary 57

3. The Catena of Pseudo-Theophylact 74

3.1 Sifanius' *Expositio* 75

3.2 Finettus' *Textus alter* 82

3.3 Finettus' *Textus tertius* 96
3.4 Other unedited catenae attributed to Theophylact 104
4. The Pseudo-Andreas Catena 109
4.1 Wolf's edition 110
4.2 Cramer's edition 117
5. von Matthaei's 'Eclectic' edition of selected scholia 138
6. Mai's edition of Severus of Antioch's fragments on Acts 145
7. Concluding remarks 150

Chapter III. Unveiling Pluritextuality: Stratification and Multiple Collections in Acts Catenae
1. Introduction 153
2. Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (GA 1424) 155
2.1 L1: 'Isolated' scholia 163
2.3 L2: Pseudo-Andreas abridged catena (C150.2c) 167
2.4 L3 and L4: Epitome by Leo Choirosphaktes (abridged version) 173
3. Paris, BnF, gr. 237 (GA 82) 176
3.1 L1: 'Isolated' scholia 181
3.2 L2: Epitome by Leo Choirosphaktes (full version) 184
3.3 L3: *Catena abbreviata* (C156) 185
3.4 L4: Pseudo-Andreas abridged catena (C150.2d) 188
3.5 L5: Epitome of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts* 191
4. Paris, BnF, gr. 216 (GA 605) 196
4.1 L1: *Catena abbreviata* (C156) 204
4.2 L2: Pseudo-Oecumenius catena-commentary (C151.3e) 206
4.3 L3: Epitome of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts* 209
4.4 L4: Scholia from Pseudo-Andreas (C150) and *Catena abbreviata* (C156) 212
5. El Escorial, RBME, Ψ III 18 (GA 920) 217

5.1 L1: 'Isolated' scholia 221
5.2 L2: Epitome of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts* 224
6. Vatican Library, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 (GA 886) 226
6.1 L1: Catena-commentary on Acts 1–2:13 (C155.5) 233
6.2 L2: Pseudo-Andreas catena on Acts 2:14–7:59 (C150.2f) 242
7. Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760 (GA 437) 256
7.1 T1: Pseudo-Theophylact catena (C152.1a) 260
7.2 T2: Pseudo-Andreas abridged catena (C150.2g/olim C155.4) 266
8. Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56, gr. 140 271
8.1 T1: Epitome by Leo Choirosphaktes (full version) 273
8.2 T2: Epitome of 'isolated' scholia 282
9. Concluding remarks 285

Chapter IV. Identifying Editorial Phases: Chronology, Layout, and Readability of Scholia in Multilayered Acts Catenae
1. Introduction 289
2. Disorderly scholia and layout strategies in Paris gr. 237 295
2.1 Disorder between layers: dislocated scholia as indicators of stratification chronology 296
2.2 Disorder within layers: scribes' organisation amid Stratification 298
a. Reverse sequence and relocation on the opposite page 302
b. Reinitiating a sequence within the same page 308
c. Unregulated disorder in L5 313
2.3 Identifying uncertain scholia layer through disorder 317
3. Chronology and alignment of supplementary scholia in Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 319
4. Chronology and absence of scribe coordination in the scholia of Paris, BnF, gr. 216 325
5. Concluding remarks 332

Chapter V. Rewriting Textual History: The Contribution of Multilayered and Multiple-Text Catena Manuscripts
1. Introduction 335
2. “Scholia-Catenae” on Acts 336
3. The development of C150.1 348
4. The development of C152.1 358
5. The development of C155.3 362
6. At the origin of the Scholia-Catenae on Acts: the role of C150 and C151 365
7. Concluding remarks 376
Appendix: Comparative Table of Scholia-Catenae across Multilayered and Multiple-Text Manuscripts 379

Chapter VI. Conclusions and Future Research Directions 389
Bibliography 397

List of Illustrations

Image 1. Comparison of the page layout between Paris, BnF, gr. 219 (f. 5r) and Donatus' edition 69

Image 2. Comparison of the page layout between Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 150 (f. 3r) and Finettus' *Expositio* 81

Image 3. Comparison of the page layout between Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 652 (f. 16v) and Finettus' *Textus alter* 95

Image 4. Comparison of the page layout between Florence, BML, Plut. IV.5 (f. 1r) and Finettus' *Textus tertius* 103

Image 5. Comparison of the page layout between Oxford, New College, 58 (f. 6r) and Wolf's edition 116

Image 6. Comparison of the page layout between Oxford, New College, 58 (f. 25v) and Cramer's edition 130

Image 7. Comparison of the page layout between Matthaei's edition, Moscow, GIM, Synod. gr.346 (f. 23v, bottom-right), and Synod. gr. 347 (f. 22r, top-right) 144

Image 8. Comparison of the page layout between Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760 (f. 186r) and Mai's edition (p. 457) 149

Image 9. Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (GA 1424), f. 176r 161

Image 10. f. 177r: main scribe (left outer margin), second scribe (right outer margin), third scribe (inner margin) 175

Image 11. Paris, BnF, gr. 237. f. 10v 180

Image 12. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, f. 46v: L1, scholium cross-shaped 183

Image 13. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, f. 10r: scholia from L2 185

Image 14. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, f. 15r: scholium from L3 187

Image 15. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, f. 10v: scholia from L4 191

Image 16. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, ff. 41v, 48r: variations in script style within L5 195

Image 17. Paris, BnF, gr. 216. f. 3 199

Image 18. Paris, BnF, gr. 216. f. 4v. Detail of the script of L1 205

Image 19. Paris, BnF, gr. 216. f. 4v. Particular of the script of L2 208

Image 20. Paris, BnF, gr. 216. f. 4v (left) and f. 7v (right). Variations in the script of L3 212

Image 21. Paris, BnF, gr. 216. f. 64r: Intersection of L3 and L4 by the unidentified Scribe 215

Image 22. El Escorial, RBME, Ψ III 18, f. 1v 220

Image 23. Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6, f. 185r: catena-commentary on Acts 1–2:13 236

Image 24. Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6, f. 189v: transition to catena on Acts 2:14–7:59 243

Image 25. Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760, ff. 2r and 181r: incipits of the two compilations on Acts 259

Image 26. Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56, ff. 211r and 219v: incipits of the two compilations on Acts 272

Image 27. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, ff. 10v–11r. Reverse sequence and Relocation on the opposite page 306

Image 28. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, f. 27r. Restarting a sequence 311

Image 29. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, ff. 40v–41r (top), 39v (bottom). Dislocation of scholia in L5 316

Image 30. Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3, f. 182v. L4 situated as the final scholium in a sequence 321

Image 31. Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3, f. 177r. L4 in the inner margin 323

Image 32. Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3, f. 166v. L4 inserted amidst L2 325

Image 33. Paris, BnF, gr. 216, f. 6r: scholium from L1 (in small majuscule) dividing two cross-shaped L2 scholia 329

Image 34. Paris, BnF, gr. 216, f. 8r: scholium from L4 (in light-brown ink) divided into two parts by pre-existing L3 scholia 332

Image 35. Progression of Scholia-Catenae on Acts from the earliest to the latest manuscript 347

List of Tables

Table 1. Comparing Type Classification of catena manuscripts on Acts 31

Table 2. Irregularities in selected scholia passages of Paris, BnF, gr. 237 49

Table 3. Differences between Donatus' edition and Paris, BnF, gr. 219 in scholia on Acts 1:4–6 70

Table 4. Manuscripts of Theophylact's *Textus alter* reassigned to C151.3 86

Table 5. Manuscripts of Theophylact's *Textus tertius* reassigned to C150.2b 101

Table 6. Differences within C150.2b 102

Table 7. List of scholia attributions and occurrences in Cramer's edition of Oxford, New College, 58 120

Table 8. Variations in number of scholia among the C150.1 manuscripts 136

Table 9. Variations in heading and number of scholia among the C150.1 Manuscripts 137

Table 10. List of scholia attributions and occurrences in C155.3 143

Table 11. Scholia on Acts 8:9–15 in Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 160

Table 12. Content units in the catena in Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 162

Table 13. Comparative analysis of Isidore's scholium on Acts 8:12 164

Table 14. Comparison of scholia in Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 with C150 in Acts 3:23. 170

Table 15. Comparison of scholia in Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 with C150

in Acts 2:3 171

Table 16. Content units in the catena in Paris, BnF, gr. 237 179

Table 17. Comparing the scholia of C156 in Paris, BnF, gr. 237 and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971 187

Table 18. Comparison of the epsilon ligatures in layers L2 to L5 195

Table 19. Content units in the catena in Paris, BnF, gr. 216 203

Table 20. Evidence of relationship between L4 in Paris, BnF, gr. 216 and C150.1 214

Table 21. Comparing the selection and distribution of C156 in Paris, BnF, gr. 216 and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971 216

Table 22. Content units in the catena in El Escorial, RBME, Ψ III 18 218

Table 23. Shared scholia in L1 of El Escorial, RBME, Ψ III 18 223

Table 24. Divergent approaches in handling Chrysostom's passages across the three Epitomes 225

Table 25. Content units in the catena in Vatican Library, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 232

Table 26. Compilation practice in L1 of Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 237

Table 27. List of extra scholia from Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25 found in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 241

Table 28. Hints of scribal mistake in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 244

Table 29. Extra scholium in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 and Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25 248

Table 30. Sequence and attribution of scholia in C150.1a, C150.1b, and C150.2f 251

Table 31. Content units in the catena in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760 258

Table 32. Comparison of scholia presentation in representatives of C152.1 (part 1) 263

Table 33. Comparison of scholia presentation in representatives of C152.1 (part 2) 264

Table 34. List of extra scholia from Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25 found in Vatican City, BAV, Vat gr. 760 268

Table 35. Content units in the catena in Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56, gr. 140 273

Table 36. Comparison of Leo Choirosphaktes' epitome, C150 and Chrysostom in scholia on Acts 8:13–27 279

Table 37. Counting shared scholia in T2 of Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56 283

Table 38. Reworking scholia shared only with Florence, BML, Plut.IV.29 284

Table 39. Determination of layers from overlapping sets of scholia in Paris, BnF, gr. 237 297

Table 40. Scholia count per modern chapter divisions of Acts 300

Table 41. Paris, BnF, gr. 237. Reverse sequence and Relocation on the opposite page 305

Table 42. Paris, BnF, gr. 237. Restarting a sequence 312

Table 43. Paris, BnF, gr. 237. Dislocation of scholia in L5 315

Table 44. Manuscripts with Scholia-Catenae on Acts 342

Table 45. Symbol-scholia in C150.1 found in the Collection of Scholia-Catenae 353

Table 46. Integration of scholia from various sources into C152.1c 361

Table 47. Extra scholia from the Collection in Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, 263 363

Table 48. Comparing the versions of Isidore scholium on Acts 8:12 372

List of Abbreviations

BA	Biblioteca Ambrosiana
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BBAW	Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften
BBKL	Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz–Traugott Bautz, eds. (1975–) *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 14 vols (+ 25 suppl.). Bautz: Hamm.
BEU	Biblioteca Estense Universitaria
BHM	F. Halkin, ed. (1957). *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*. 3rd edn. (repr. 1986), 3 volumes. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes.
BL	British Library
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
BNP	H. Cancik, M. Landfester, H. Schneider, eds., *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, (New Pauly Online).
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
cf.	*confer* ("compare")
CFHB	A. Kambylis, F. Kolovou, G. Prinzing, eds (1975–). *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae – Series Berolinensis*. Berlin-New York: De Gruyter.
ClaCla	Clavis Clavium
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique

CPG	M. Geerard, ed. (1974–2018). *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols. Turnhout: Brepols.
Cramer	J.A. Cramer (1833–1844). *Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, 8 vols, Oxford: OUP.
CSMC	Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures
CSNTM	Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts
DBBE	Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams
des.	*desinit* ("ending")
DigiVatLib	Digital Vatican Library
ead.	*eadem* ("the same")
EBE	Ethnike Bibliotheke tes Hellados
ECM	*Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior*
EHAI	Archival Institute of the Patriarchate of Bulgaria
GA	Gregory-Aland
GIM	Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Musej
HMT	Homer Multitext
id.	*idem* ("the same")
inc.	*incipit* ("beginning")
INTF	Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung
IRHT	*Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes*
ITSEE	Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing
MTM	Multiple-Text Manuscript

NPNF	A. Roberts, J. Donaldson, P. Schaff, *et al.* eds (1886–1889). *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Series 1, 14 vols., repr. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson.
NTVMR	New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room
OCD	S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, E. Eidinow, eds. (2012). *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edition. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press.
ODB	A.P. Kazhdan, ed. (1991). *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press.
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
ParaTexBib	Paratexts of the Bible
PG	J.-P. Migne, ed. (1857–1886). *Patrologiae cursus completes – Series graeca*, 162 vols. Paris.
PLP	*Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. by E. Trapp, vols 1–5. Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976–1996.
PMZ	*Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2013.
PTA	Patristic Text Archive
RBME	Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial
RGB	Rossiyskaya Gosudarstvennaya Biblioteka.

RGK	*Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten*, ed. by E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, *et al.*, 3 vols. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981–1997.
SBPK	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz
SC	Sources Chrétiennes, Paris 1943–
SLUB	Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden
suppl.	supplementary commentary
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
TuT	K. Aland, B. Aland, K. Wachtel, *et al.*, eds (1987–2017). *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 5 vols. Berlin-New York: De Gruyter.

Chapter I

Introduction:

Acts Catenae and Manuscript Classification

1. Catenae, catalogues and type classifications

Over the past century, and particularly in recent decades, there has been notable growth in the field of biblical catenae studies. *Catenae*, which means "chains", are collections of quotations extracted from a variety of texts, including both exegetical works such as Bible commentaries, but also non-exegetical literature (homilies, treatises, letters), attributed to Fathers of the Early Church that lived in the early years of Christianity up to the fifth or sixth century, an era coinciding with the flourishing of patristic literature.[1] Preserved in hundreds of medieval manuscripts, these citations were connected to specific words or phrases of corresponding scriptural verses, known as *lemmata*, in a manner that gave rise to a sequential chain of interpretations, which is why they came to

[1] The bibliography of literature focused on this area is vast and continuously expanding. In this context, I will confine myself to presenting a compilation of references related to 'catenae' that, to varying extents, offer general and comprehensive insights into the definition of the term, its history and contextual significance, the research domain and challenges. The ground-breaking methodological study on catenae was presented in the concise monograph by Lietzmann 1897, and it was swiftly followed by the first catalogue of catenae compiled by Karo–Lietzmann 1902. Specific entries on catenae are in Devreesse 1928, Sloane 1967, Mühlenberg 1989, Wachtel 1996, Kannengiesser 2006 (esp. 978–987), Curti–Barbàra Valenti 2008, Houghton and Parker 2016, Lamb 2016, Layton 2019, Constas 2021, Dorival 2021 (esp. 135–154).

be known as *catenae*.[2] As these citations provide interpretations for the chosen lemmata, they are technically referred to as 'scholia', from the Greek σχόλιον ("brief explanation") which originally indicated brief comments placed in the margin next to the commented word or phrase.[3] However, despite ongoing terminological debates, the term 'scholium' is now commonly used also to describe the exegetical explanations found within catenae, which may not necessarily be brief.

In physical manuscripts, this arrangement of scholia is achieved either by positioning these texts in the margins (three or, occasionally, four) surrounding the biblical text, which is positioned at the centre of the page (or extends toward the inner margin), or by listing the explanations immediately after the relevant verses in a continuous fashion.[4] In the first scenario, terms like "frame catena" or "marginal catena" are used to describe the layout of the commentary, as it resembles a border around the scriptural text and is indeed situated in the margins.[5] In the second case, the term "alternating catena" is employed because the biblical quotations indeed alternate with the

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[2] Cf. Fabricius–Harles 1802: 638: "*Non absurde autem catenae vocabulum hisce scriptis adplicatur, quoniam, ut catena ex pluribus constat annulis inter se connexis, sic illae expositionem librorum sacrorum ex plurium scriptorum cogitatis contextam offerunt*". However, the Latin term *catena* first appeared in the early sixteenth century to design the compilation on the four Gospels that Thomas Aquinas composed around 1263 AD on the request of Pope Urban IV. See further below II.2.

[3] On the meanings of 'scholium' and its development as a literary genre see Scherbenske 2019.

[4] On the layout of biblical catenae (frame or alternating) see Lietzmann 1897: 9–11; Houghton and Parker 2016: 8–13. On the layout of commentary manuscripts in general see Sautel 1999 (esp. 18–21); Maniaci 2002 (esp. 11–14).

[5] *Rahmenkatene* as per the German terminology coined in Keppler–Faulhaber–Rohr 1899: 2–3, or "glose encadrante" in the French terminology suggested by Sautel 1999: 19.

related comments.[6] Recent data in the Catena Catalogue, the first comprehensive online database of Greek catena manuscripts, indicates that frame catenae represent an earlier stage in the development of biblical catenae, primarily prevalent in the tenth and eleventh centuries; conversely, alternating catenae became predominant in the New Testament tradition from the twelfth century onward, although some earlier instances from the ninth-tenth and eleventh centuries also exist.[7]

These two types have different variations, which are not limited to biblical manuscripts but also found in secular works, and, depending on the specific layout, they employ different systems of cross-referencing the text commented and the commentary.[8] Within frame catenae, the most common devices include numbers (ranging from α' to ρ' [= 1–100] and restarting the sequence, or beginning anew on each page), letters (from α to ω), symbols (of a diverse and unpredictable range), lemmata (which involve quoting few words from the relevant commented verse), or combinations of two or more of these methods. In alternating-layout catenae, biblical verses can be presented in two main ways: they are either quoted in extensive portions followed by a group of scholia, with

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[6] In German, this concept is referred to by the generic term *Katene* (see Houghton and Parker 2016: 10). Sautel 1999: 19 defines it as "stratified gloss" ("glose stratigraphique"), where the text and commentary are clearly separated into distinct and successive paragraphs. For more information on variations of alternating layout, see Lorrain 2020.

[7] https://itsee-wce.birmingham.ac.uk/catenacatalogue. Among the frame catena manuscripts, which number 205 in total (including those with only scattered scholia), just 2 date back to the ninth century, while 38 are from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the majority of catena manuscripts (492 in total) belong to the alternating type, with only 4 manuscripts from the ninth century, 47 from the tenth century, and 47 from the eleventh century.

[8] See Viànes 2000 (esp. 79–81); Houghton and Parker 2016: 10–12. For a general overview of layout devices in commented manuscripts in frame layout see Maniaci 2002: 23–25.

the scriptural verse accompanied by the markup κείμενον (lit. "text) and the commentary by ἑρμηνεία (lit. "interpretation"), or segmented into short pericopes of texts, each accompanied by the relevant explanation. In both cases, distinguishing between one scholium and another is also achieved through graphical techniques like capitalising and/or rubricating the initial letter of the scholium, using ending marks at the conclusion (which could be a colon [:], a colon followed by a long dash [:–], and occasionally a full stop [.] or a middle dot [·]), and leaving space between consecutive scholia. However, even with these defined markers, it is not always straightforward to discern precisely which word (or group of words) in the biblical text a certain scholium refers to.[9]

We have a significant number of manuscript records primarily from the Greek East, where catenae were produced during the Byzantine Empire.[10] Nevertheless, we also have existing evidence of catenae in other languages, such as Coptic, Arabic, and Paleo-Slavic, and several Greek chains were translated into Latin during the Renaissance.[11] The oldest known Greek catena tradition is associated with the Book of Genesis and is attributed to Procopius of Gaza, a rhetor, philosopher and exegete who lived at the

[9] See Aussedat 2008: 553–554, and Lorrain 2000 (particularly pages 77–89) for reading issues in frame and alternating catenae, respectively.

[10] The Catena Catalogue (see further below II.1.6) lists a total of seven hundred twenty-one manuscripts with New Testament catenae (https://itsee-wce.birmingham.ac.uk/catenacatalogue. Last check, September 2023). As far as I am aware, there is no updated, comprehensive catalogue for Old Testament catenae manuscripts, making it difficult to ascertain their total number.

[11] We can find examples of the Arabic and Paleo-Slavic catenae on Acts (CPG 153 and C154). On New Testament catenae in Coptic see Schulz 2016. A list of Latin translations of Greek Old Testament catenae is provided by Dorival 2021: 141.

beginning of the sixth century AD.[12] This author is thought to have created an initial catena in Palestine that is not extant, and subsequently crafted a commentary based on his earlier work, known as *Epitome of the Octateuch*, that has instead been preserved (CPG C3).[13] Gilles Dorival, a scholar with over three decades of research expertise on Psalms catenae, suggests that Procopius likely relied on a pre-existing tradition that can be traced back to around 540 AD, and that in the period between 650 and 770 AD the production of catenae had gained significant popularity in Constantinople.[14]

While the exact beginning of the catena tradition on the New Testament remains uncertain, the earliest known catena manuscript is found in Codex Zacynthius (Cambridge, UL, Add. 10062), a palimpsest manuscript that dates to the eighth

[12] For a comprehensive exploration of the origins of catenae and Procopius' role into this matter, there is an extensive bibliography available. See at least Devreesse 1928: 1103–1105, Dorival 1986: 99–115, id. 2016 (esp. 72–76), and id. 2021 (esp. 145–154), for further insights and details. It is worth mentioning the revised perspective put forth by Petit 1996: 244 ss., which attributes the origins of catenae to the initiative of unidentified editors in the latter part of the fifth century.

[13] The predominant view, which is widely accepted among scholars (see for example Dorival 2016: 72–76, Petit 1977: 2, XX, XCVI, n. 2, Barbàra Valenti 2019: 22–24, Layton 2019: 223–224, with related bibliography), suggests that Procopius composed two types of catenae at different stages. This interpretation is primarily based on Procopius' prologue to the *Epitome of the Octateuch* (cf. ed. Metzler, 2, 1–12; and see further below III.6.a). Nevertheless, an alternative interpretation of this passage as presented by Goeke-Mayr and Makris 2020 (esp. 441–446), although not convincing, posits that Procopius never completed the alleged lost catena and, therefore, should not be credited as the creator of this genre of compilation.

[14] Dorival 1986–2018. Building on this premise, Dorival discerns two primary categories of catenae on Psalms: the Palestinian catenae and the Constantinopolitan catenae. These categories, in turn, are further subdivided into several subtypes, each corresponding to distinct phases of their development, which however, either directly or indirectly, intersect and influence each other. For a brief overview see Dorival 2016: 76–78; id. 2021: 144–145.

century.[15] Originally, it contained the Gospel of Luke with a catena in a frame layout, but in the twelfth century part of this text was intentionally erased and overwritten with an Evangeliarum, a book containing excerpts from all four Gospels. The preserved fragment comprises the first eleven chapters of Luke (1:1–11:33), although with some gaps, in which both the scriptural verses and the commentary are written in capital letters. This feature aligns with the manuscript's dating before the period of μεταχαρακτηρισμός (*metacharaktērismós*), which denotes the transition from majuscule to minuscule script that took place in Greek and Latin manuscripts around the turn of the ninth century.[16]

Despite often being described as a "bewildering task", as Charles Kannengiesser defined it, the study of catenae and their origins has deeply intrigued researchers.[17] They view catenae not only as a valuable source of exegesis that may have been lost in the direct tradition, but also as a window into understanding the techniques involved in compiling, excerpting, revising, and structuring during the Byzantine and Medieval periods.[18] Consequently, specialised research has emerged on various catenae related to both the Old Testament and New Testament. In the realm of New Testament catenae, which is the general subject of this thesis, extensive study has been (and continues to be) conducted on catenae connected to the Gospels and Pauline Epistles, as well as

[15] diktyon 73427 (GA 040). On this codex see the numerous contributions in Houghton–Parker 2020, and the edition and translation in Houghton–Manafis–Myshrall 2020.

[16] Regarding the transliteration of majuscule manuscripts into minuscule script, see Ronconi 2003.

[17] Kannengiesser 2006: 978.

[18] See the reflections in Cassin 2020 (here 46). On editorial techniques in byzantine compilations, especially those containing historical excerpts, see Manafis 2020.

commentary and scholiastic tradition on the book of Revelation.[19] In contrast, there exists a significant gap in the knowledge of catenae for the books of Acts and the Catholic Epistles, where very limited research has been undertaken: while two brief articles by Karl Staab and James H. Ropes have touched on the Catholic Epistles, the Book of Acts has only been the subject of an unpublished PhD dissertation by Oliver Hutchinson.[20] Although Hutchinson did undertake a broad study of Acts catenae, it is worth noting that his work is somewhat dated, not comprehensive, and lacks a thorough examination of the complete manuscript evidence. The present research focusses primarily on a specific group of manuscripts distinguished by their multiple compilations on Acts that exhibit overlapping content: this consists of extracts from different works, arranged in the same pages or sequentially within the same codex. I will refer to these as 'layers' and 'texts'. These will be introduced in the next paragraphs. This approach, while narrowing the scope to a select number of manuscripts, will, as I will demonstrate, shed new light on the broader tradition of Acts catenae. It will not only challenge previous theses but also illuminate the subject with fresh insights, ultimately contributing to a deeper understanding of this topic. Before going into further detail, it is vital to

[19] In addition to the traditional studies like Staab 1926 (on the Pauline catenae), Reuss 1941 (on the Gospels catenae), and De Groote 1995, 1996, 2001 (with respect to commentaries on Revelation), recent research has yielded new insights. For instance, see Parpulov 2020 and Panella 2021 for the Pauline catenae. Regarding catenae on the Gospels, see Houghton–Parker 2020, Manafis and Parpulov 2021, Patton 2022, Manafis 2022. For scholia on Revelation, see the contributions of Tzmalikos 2013, Allen 2016, and Malick 2021, among others. More research on Gospels and Pauline catenae is currently being carried out at the ITSEE as part of the CATENA Project at the University of Birmingham (see further details below I.1.6).

[20] Staab 1924, Ropes 1926, Hutchinson 1928.

introduce and define the concept of a 'catena type', as it will play a central role throughout the course of my thesis.

As highlighted by Hans Lietzmann in his pioneering work on catenae, the first step towards publishing extensive fragments of Greek church writers involves studying and publishing relevant catenae that transmit them.[21] Before undertaking this task it is crucial to study the manuscript tradition of the catena on a specific biblical book. To achieve this, it becomes essential to differentiate between 'types' of catenae, which are texts with shared textual features in manuscripts, and organise the extant manuscript evidence accordingly. Text types and their subgroups are conventional tools in New Testament textual criticism, utilised to categorise manuscripts based on their textual resemblances.[22] These tools enable scholars to track the evolution of the New Testament text, progressing from its latest versions to its earliest forms. In contrast to the typical practice in biblical text comparison, which involves selecting test passages and meticulously comparing them word by word to record variants, catena studies have commonly limited their comparisons to the beginning and ending (referred to as *incipit* and *explicit*) of the entire catena text or of scholia in selected test passages.

The history of this application and the methodological advancements in classifying catena manuscripts by type are summarised in a concise yet comprehensive article published in 1989 by Ekkehard Mühlenberg, already author of a critical edition of catenae on Psalms in 1975.[23] The following paragraphs primarily focus on the

[21] Lietzmann 1897: 26.

[22] Aland–Aland 1989: 317–337.

[23] Mühlenberg 1989 (esp. 17–18).

contributions that this progress has made to the understanding of catenae on Acts. Specifically, they emphasise the challenges involved in type categorisation, particularly due to the inconsistent application of different criteria for grouping and the difficulty of labelling catenae manuscripts with a complex, stratified history of compilation. Indeed, in the fourth volume of the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, which serves as the authoritative registry of Early Church writings, three Greek catena types related to Acts are identified and assigned catalogue numbers: *Catena Andreae* (C150), *Commentarii Ps.-Oecumenii* (C151), and *Commentarii Ps.-Theophylacti* (C152).[24] However, the actual manuscripts reveal a far more diverse and complex landscape than this simplified classification suggests. The following discussion will track the evolving scholarly understanding of this complexity.

1.1 Karo–Lietzmann's *Catalogus*

In 1902, Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann published the *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus*, which was the first comprehensive catalogue of manuscripts containing biblical catenae for both the Old Testament and the New Testament.[25] This catalogue was a result of a project initiated by Paul Wendland and served as a continuation of Lietzmann's previous monograph on catenae, where he introduced the concepts of catena-type and catena-layout and provided an initial classification of catena manuscripts.[26] The primary objective of the catalogue, as stated in the preface, was to

[24] CPG IV: 380–382.

[25] Karo–Lietzmann 1902.

[26] Lietzmann 1897.

gather manuscripts containing catenae, describe them, categorise them based on their type, and identify the compilers.[27] The intention was to assist editors in publishing fragments of patristic works from catenae by providing a valuable resource for comparing different types. Therefore, the focus remained primarily on regarding catenae as valuable repositories of previously lost exegetical writings waiting to be rediscovered, an approach resembling an 'archaeological' perspective applied to Byzantine compilations.[28]

The catalogue organises catena manuscripts according to their respective books, starting with the Old Testament. It provides brief descriptions of the physical characteristics and content of each manuscript and classifies them based on their type. Although not explicitly explained, the classification criteria involved comparing the beginning and ending of the catena as well as a sequence of scholia in a test passage. The names of the compilation authors are only provided when attested in the manuscript tradition. The catalogue also includes a list of Church Fathers named by the compiler as sources for the scholia, along with the number of occurrences for each quotation and the respective work cited by the compiler.

In the section dedicated to catenae on Acts, only the Pseudo-Andreas type is included.[29] It begins with a reproduction of patristic sources that essentially condenses the list presented in the printed edition of this type by John Cramer (1844).[30] The

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[27] Karo–Lietzmann 1902:1–2.

[28] This approach has been predominant within the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (see Mühlenberg 1989: 18), where it continues to be pursued by the research project "Alexandrian and Antiochene Bible Exegesis in Late Antiquity".

[29] Karo–Lietzmann 1902: 592–595. This division is reiterated in Lamb 2016: 291.

[30] Cramer III, 452–456.

catalogue then presents the opening and ending of the catena and scholia for Acts 8:9–25. Based on this information, eleven catena manuscripts are categorised into two types: *catena integra*, representing the complete compilation, and *catena ex opere maiore excerpta*, which includes abbreviated versions of the main catena (Table 1). In the manuscripts of the full type, Karo–Lietzmann introduce some additional manuscripts alongside those used by Cramer as a base text for his edition, Oxford, New College, 58 (first half of the twelfth century) and Paris, BnF, Coislin 25 (tenth century).[31] On the other hand, the second category includes seven manuscripts.[32] Among these is Paris, BnF, gr. 216, a manuscript dating back to the tenth century, that exhibits distinct layers of scholia in varying scripts surrounding the biblical text arranged in two columns. Although Karo–Lietzmann observed this characteristic in their concise description, they did not offer any rationale for incorporating it within the category of "excerpts" belonging to the Pseudo-Andreas catena. The same is true for Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6, a thirteenth-/fourteenth-century manuscript of which is noticed that it features a catena on Acts 1:1–7:59, and the majority of the Acts text and catena (ff. 189r–205v) is

[31] These are: Paris, BnF, gr. 221 (eleventh century – diktyon 49792, GA 610), Vatican City, BAV, Barb. gr. 582 (fourteenth century – diktyon 65122, GA 453), Athos, St Panteleimon Monastery, 770 (fourteenth century – diktyon 22909, GA 1678).

[32] These are: Paris, BnF, Coislin 202bis (first half of the twelfth century – diktyon 49342, GA 94), Paris, BnF, gr. 218 (eleventh century – diktyon 49789, GA 607), London, BL, Add. 22734 (eleventh century – diktyon 39005, GA 641), Paris, BnF, gr. 217 (first half of the eleventh century – diktyon 49788, GA 606), Moscow, GIM, Synod. gr. 347 (second half of the thirteenth century – diktyon 43972, GA 103), Paris, BnF, gr. 216 (tenth century – diktyon 49787, GA 605), Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 (thirteenth-fourteenth century – diktyon 66176, GA 886).

recorded by a second hand. This makes one assume that both parts belong to the same catena type, when in fact it is not the case.[33]

Karo–Lietzmann's classification merits recognition for introducing additional manuscripts of the Pseudo-Andreas catena, revealing that this compilation was more widespread than previously thought and branches, the abbreviated versions attesting to its evident fortune. These versions provide insights into the reception and popularity of the work not long after its earliest known manuscript, Paris Coislin 25, surpassing the full catena in terms of manuscript tradition. In general, although the catalogue successfully provide an overview of the manuscripts accessible to the authors, offering an easily expandable foundation for further research, it lack text comparison.[34] As a result, direct apographs and interrelations between catena types are not identifiable within this catalogue.[35] In the context of Acts catenae, the catalogue fails to mention the compilations attributed to Oecumenius and Theophylact, which actually represent a significant number of catena manuscripts.[36] It remains uncertain whether this omission was intentional, perhaps due to the structure of these works as bordering on commentaries.[37] Additionally, the catalogue does not differentiate between the various abbreviated recensions of the Pseudo-Andreas type. Furthermore, the authors were unaware of the existence of at least more representatives of both the full catena and the

[33] See below III.6.

[34] Kannengiesser 2006: 979 views Lietzmann's catalogue as "still indispensable".

[35] Mühlenberg 1989: 18.

[36] See Table 1 below and cf. II.2–3.

[37] See below II.2–3.

abridged versions. However, it is essential to note that, as they explicitly mention in the preface, their manuscript examination was confined to libraries in Paris, London, Vatican, and Moscow.[38] Despite their access to these libraries, they encountered limitations that hindered a complete survey of the manuscript evidence.

1.2 von Soden's classification

Between 1902 and 1913, Hermann Freiherr von Soden made an ambitious effort to classify catena manuscripts more comprehensively and analyse the relationships between different types of catenae.[39] In the introductory volume of his Greek New Testament edition, von Soden presents a list of biblical witnesses accompanied by commentaries or catenae, distinguished by a system of sigla different from those used for manuscripts with continuous non-commented text.[40] These sigla typically derive from the attribution of the corresponding commentary or catena (e.g., *O* for Oecumenius) and can be combined when a manuscript contains multiple types of commentaries (e.g., *OΘ* for Oecumenius + Theophylact), further divided by specific biblical books (e.g., $^{\pi\rho}$ for *πράξεις*, i.e. Acts). The catena manuscripts on Acts are featured within a list of commentary codices of the *Praxapostolos*, a term used to describe the practice of combining Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Pauline Epistles in the same codex, which was a common convention in the Byzantine world.[41] Although not explicitly categorised, the

[38] Karo–Lietzmann 1902: 1.

[39] Soden 1902.

[40] Soden 1902: 104–289.

[41] See Parker 2008: 283.

commentary manuscripts on Acts can be classified into several groups: those containing Andreas the Presbyter's catena on Acts and the Catholic Epistles ($A^{\pi\rho}$), the commentary on Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Pauline Epistles by Oecumenius (O), combinations of the commentary on Acts and Catholic Epistles with the commentary on Pauline Epistles by Theodoret ($O\Theta\delta$) or Theophylact ($O\Theta$), as well as commentaries on Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Pauline Epistles of uncertain authorship ($E\alpha$).[42]

In the latter part of the volume, von Soden presents a comprehensive list of all the manuscripts at his disposal, organised according to the categories of the Andreas, Oecumenius, *Textus alter*, and Theophylact types.[43] Alongside this, he provides an analysis of the distinctive features and attributes associated with each of these divisions. First, he separates the manuscripts with the Pseudo-Andreas catena, both in full and abbreviated versions, from those transmitting "excerpts" derived from the main compilation. Within this second group, he includes types of catenae that considers having the character of an edition, unlike other abridgments resembling collections for personal use.[44] There are two commentaries attributed to the sixth-century exegete Oecumenius, one published by Donatus in 1532 and the other by Finettus under Theophylact's name (called *Textus alter* in his edition), along with a separate compilation named *Expositio*, which Finettus suggested, albeit with uncertainty, could

[42] Soden 1902: 270–279.

[43] Soden 1902: 682–692.

[44] Soden 1902: 687.

be an authentic commentary by the eleventh-century archbishop of Bulgaria.[45] Additionally, he conducts an analysis of the relationship between the catenae preserved in these manuscripts, utilising the comparison of incipit-desinit as a basic criterion, as well as of other paratextual elements, particularly sections of the so-called Euthalian Apparatus, a system of critical notes and divisions found in manuscripts of the *Praxapostolos*, attributed to the fifth-century scholar Euthalius.[46] He also occasionally delves into fuller textual comparisons of sample passages and examines anomalies or points of interest worth investigating.

Von Soden's list, which is often overlooked in catena studies, deserves recognition as the first systematic attempt to study the textual relationship between catena types, effectively addressing a significant gap in Karo-Lietzmann's catalogue, although it is synthetic and does not trace the development of catena types. He goes beyond mere classification and description of the content of the manuscripts, providing comments, expressing evaluations and opinions on the quality of the compilations, and addressing controversial points of debate, such as the authorship of each compilation. He is also the first to include the commentaries by Oecumenius and Theophylact in the exposition of catenae on Acts, following the model of Cramer and those who had associated these works with the Andreas catena. However, von Soden's classification is sometimes unclear. The sigla devised to label the manuscripts are intricate, and the direct correlation with the corresponding catena types is not always immediately evident,

[45] Soden 1902: 687. On the content and editions of Pseudo-Oecumenius and Pseudo-Theophylact catenae see below II.2–3.

[46] On the Euthalian Apparatus see Zacagni 1968, Edwards 1993, Willard 2009.

because some codices have different types in different books. For example, O^1 (Paris gr. 237) is included among the representatives of the Andreas type, contrary to the implication in the siglum that it is an Oecumenius manuscript. Moreover, the presentation of Acts catenae is combined with that of the Catholic Epistles due to their frequent co-transmission.[47] Nevertheless, it should be noted that this is not always the case, as there are several manuscripts that contain only the Acts catena or the Catholic Epistles catena.[48] Additionally, von Soden's analysis does not consider any further subdivisions within each catena cluster, leading to a lack of distinction between full-type catenae and what he refers to as abbreviations intended for "private use".[49]

The major drawback is that, despite an examination of the existence of catena types in numerous manuscripts, the comparative analysis of catena characteristics is predominantly conducted using printed editions. While acknowledging in several instances that these publications rely solely on one manuscript, which may carry distinct traits, von Soden did not make an effort to scrutinise variations in the manuscript tradition. This becomes apparent, for example, when noting resemblances between Pseudo-Theophylact catena in Finettus' edition of Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 150 (fourteenth century) and the one attributed to the author in Athens EBE 490 (second half

[47] On the unity of Acts and Catholic Epistles in the manuscript tradition see Parker 2008: 283–285.

[48] Soden 1902: 682 provides a record of the instances known to him, but an updated list can be found in the Catena Catalogue, which includes fifteen catena manuscripts for Acts without Catholic Epistles and twenty-seven catena manuscripts for Catholic Epistles without Acts (last accessed in September 2023).

[49] Soden 1902: 687: "Solche Überarbeitungen können unverantwortliche Privatarbeit nach rein persönlichem Bedarf oder Geschmack sein".

of the thirteenth century).[50] In relation to this, von Soden acknowledges uncertainty as to whether the commentary they convey is identical, as he restricted his comparison to only the beginning of the first two scholia and their conclusion.[51] Moreover, the interactions among manuscripts often focus on the shared presence of paratextual components distinct from catenae, such as titles and elements of the Euthalian Apparatus. These aspects, however, are not confined to catena manuscripts alone; in fact, they are more numerous in many manuscripts of the Praxapostolos that lack accompanying commentary.[52] Moreover, the classification of types is solely based on author attributions, despite von Soden acknowledging the questionable legitimacy associated with these attributions. This classification approach will be replicated in the account found in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, although the latter primarily relies on how catenae are presented in printed editions and the work of Robert Devreesse (see below 1.3) rather than von Soden. Finally, there is a complete lack of interest and attention to the format of the catena manuscript, whether it is in a frame or alternating layout.

1.3 Devreesse's dictionary entry

The article titled "Chaînes exégétiques grecques" ("Exegetical Greek Catenae") by Robert Devreesse and published in the *Dictionnaire de la Bible* in 1928 offers a succinct yet

[50] See below II.3.4.

[51] Soden 1902: 688.

[52] A full catalogue of the manuscript evidence for the Euthalian Apparatus is currently being compiled at the University of Glasgow as part of the research project "Annotating the New Testament: Codex H, Euthalian Traditions, and the Humanities".

perceptive overview of both Old and New Testament catenae and their editorial history.[53] The section focusing on the Acts of the Apostles is relatively concise, primarily summarising the editorial evolution of printed editions and various types of catenae based on Karo-Lietzmann's catalogue. This section also delves into the ongoing debate regarding authorship and relationships among the different types, effectively condensing von Soden's conclusions that the catenae of Oecumenius and Theophylact are derived from the work of Andreas.

However, this account is limited in its reference to manuscript sources. Within the manuscript context, the discussion highlights two significant copies of Andreas preserved at the Vatican Library, namely Barb. gr. 582 (fourteenth century) and Reg. gr. 6 (thirteenth-fourteenth century).[54] Although both are later copies, Devreesse suggests that they reflect an earlier stage of the Andreas type. Especially noteworthy is the proposition that Reg. gr. 6, primarily containing extracts from Chrysostom, might represent the earliest form of the Andreas catena, a point of relevance that I will explore further in later chapters (III and V).[55] Moreover, the article extensively catalogues the patristic sources quoted within Andreas, providing references to their appearances in Cramer's manuscripts Oxford 58 and Paris Coislin 25, as well as in Barb. gr. 582.

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[53] Devreesse 1928.

[54] diktyon 65122 (GA 453); diktyon 66176 (GA 886).

[55] Devreesse 1928: 1205: "À notre avis, nous avons là, recopiée par un scribe d'âge postérieur, une première étape de la chaîne". See below III.6.2 and V.3.

These insights have been well-received and have significantly impacted subsequent overviews of New Testament catenae.[56]

1.4 Hutchinson's dissertation

An overlooked scholarly work is the PhD dissertation by Oliver W. Hutchinson, a doctoral student of Hans Lietzmann, which was completed in the same year as Devreesse's publication.[57] Hutchinson's thesis stands out as not only the "first American attempt at any critical study of any portion of the extensive realm of catena literature", as the author proudly claims,[58] but also as the first comprehensive examination dedicated exclusively to catenae on the book of Acts. While this was not Hutchinson's primary objective, the study ended up focusing primarily on Acts catenae, an area that had received limited attention.

Hutchinson's thesis is divided into three main sections: 1. An investigation into the manuscript sources of the catena; 2. A scrutiny of the sources employed by the catena compiler, coupled with an exploration of the compilers' date and methodology; 3. A comprehensive exploration of the history of Acts exegesis within the Greek Church up to the advent of printing. Hutchinson's major challenge involved identifying the sources that underlie the catena on Acts. He based his work substantially on prior manuscript

[56] A presentation of catenae in Acts, relying on Devreesse's work, can be found in Curti–Barbàra Valenti 2008: 649–650.

[57] Hutchinson 1928. I was unaware of this work during my initial reclassification of catena manuscripts on in Scieri 2022a.

[58] Hutchinson 1928: 12.

classifications and Acts catena accounts presented in the lists by von Soden and Karo–Lietzmann. Nevertheless, Hutchinson introduced several additional manuscripts not included in previous catalogues. Among these, three noteworthy examples are Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 38 (eleventh century), Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek Gud. gr. 104.2 (twelfth century) and Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 279 (fifteenth century).[59]

Furthermore, Hutchinson undertakes a more thorough analysis of the sources than the brief account in Devreesse. Indeed, the American researcher meticulously cross-references the Greek Fathers cited within the Pseudo-Andreas catena against direct traditions available through the Benedictine editions of the Fathers and their reprints in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.[60] While predominantly using Cramer's edition as a reference, Hutchinson extended his analysis to include scholia attributions in Paris Coislin 25 and gr. 221, as well as Vatican Barb. gr. 582, and investigated the interrelation between these codices.[61] He identified the Paris codex as the most valuable due to its preservation of the entire catena and recommended its utilisation as the foundational text for a critical

[59] diktyon 48560 (GA 638); diktyon 72138 (GA 97); diktyon 58654 (GA 1876). These manuscripts, absent from Parpulov 2021, have been recently added to the Catena Catalogue. Some of the additional manuscripts listed in Hutchinson 1928: 114, 117 are not included in the Catena Catalogue because they do not actually contain catenae.

[60] Hutchinson 1928: 36–97.

[61] Hutchinson 1928: 27. He did not include an examination of Athos St Panteleimon 770 and Jerusalem Staurou 25 in his study, citing a lack of access to these manuscripts. However, he describes these based on information in library catalogues.

edition.[62] In his assessments of individual Fathers cited within the catena, Hutchinson examines the catenist's compilation approach regarding source treatment, distinguishing between verbatim repetition and reworking, with both types observable especially in Chrysostom's scholia, as these can be compared with the direct tradition of his works. The scholar also raises the possibility that the substantial number of quotations from Didymus and Ammonius, ranking second and third to Chrysostom, could derive from lost commentaries on Acts.[63] Finally, he supports von Soden's view that the Pseudo-Andreas type represents the original Acts catena, forming the basis for subsequent works by Oecumenius and Theophylact, which he considers continuous commentaries and finds "valueless for modern critical purposes".[64] Although rejecting the authenticity of the attributions, Hutchinson suggests that the catena-commentary attributed to Pseudo-Theophylact (as seen in Sifanius' *Expositio*) predates the Pseudo-Oecumenius type, believing that this, in turn, originates from *Textus alter*.[65] This contradicts my interpretation of the hierarchical relationship between the latter two, as I will clarify in Chapter II.[66]

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[62] Hutchinson 1928: 118: "A critical edition of the catena would use Coisl 25 as the textual basis, since it is the most complete and the best manuscript, giving the readings of the other three in footnotes as an apparatus criticus".

[63] Hutchinson 1928: 36, 83.

[64] Hutchinson 1928: 105.

[65] Hutchinson 1928: 115: "The third commentary [...] incorporated the Textus Alter commentary with only slight omissions and a few additions from Andreas. This is the so-called Oecumenius commentary".

[66] See below II.3.2.

Despite the valuable contributions of Hutchinson's work, his evidence supporting manuscript relationships is mainly limited to representatives of the Pseudo-Andreas catena. Little material is presented for other types, whose relationships are primarily discussed on the basis of printed editions. Furthermore, his analysis does not extend to the external features of catena manuscripts, such as layout and cross-reference systems between biblical text and scholia, a notable limitation the scholar himself acknowledges.[67]

1.5 The *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (CPG)

The *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (CPG), developed by Maurits Geerard from 1974 to 2003 and subsequently updated through reprints, serves as the standard classification system for biblical catenae. This index assigns unique identification numbers to the works of Greek Church Fathers and early Christian authors, facilitating the process for scholars to find and reference specific texts. The comprehensive discussion on catenae (indicated with the siglum C) is presented in volume IV of the CPG.[68] According to this classification, catenae on Acts are divided into three main types: *Catena Andreae* (C150), *Commentarii Ps.-Oecumenii* (C151), *and Commentarii Ps.-Theophylacti* (C152). Additionally, two categories of non-Greek catenae are provided: *Catena arabica* (C153) and *Catena(e) palaeo-slavica(e)* (C154).[69] However, unlike other books of the New

[67] Hutchinson 1928: 24.

[68] CPG IV. The Acts section is on pp. 380–382.

[69] C154 was added in the latest updated version of 2018.

Testament, there are no further subdivisions or the identification of individual codices with unattested catena types. Only in the case of the Pseudo-Andreas catena are the manuscripts specified for the recognised types, and even then, this is restricted to the Oxford and Paris manuscripts employed by Cramer.

Indeed, Geerard's categorisation largely depends on printed editions and the classifications provided by Karo-Lietzmann and Devreesse, as noted by Mühlenberg.[70] As a result, when it comes to the Acts catenae, Geerard's classification overlooks von Soden's overview, Wolf's edition of Pseudo-Andreas and Matthaei's edition of selected scholia. However, since 2021, the online database *Clavis Clavium* (ClaCla), a comprehensive and organised open-access repository of Late Antique and Medieval Christian writings, has integrated information from the CPG.[71] This allows for regular updates of paper-based entries to include new findings. Incorporating new evidence from Parpulov's catalogue and my revised classification, the database now features updated information on New Testament catena manuscripts, including Acts, as it will be elaborated on in the paragraph below.

1.6 The CATENA project database

In 2018, the CATENA Project was launched at the University of Birmingham, under the leadership of Hugh Houghton as principal investigator.[72] This project was dedicated to

[70] Mühlenberg 1989: 18.

[71] https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla/Default.aspx.

[72] A project description can be found at the following link: https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/research/itsee/projects/catena/index.aspx.

the exploration of New Testament catenae manuscripts. One of the key tasks undertaken within the project was the compilation of a full catalogue of catena manuscripts, expertly executed by Georgi Parpulov and published in 2021.[73] Building upon this catalogue, which features over four hundred and seventy manuscripts, an online database called Catena Catalogue was developed and continues to be regularly updated by members of the Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing (ITSEE).[74]

This catalogue deserves acknowledgment for its inclusion of previously unavailable manuscript witnesses, effectively filling the gaps present in the *Kurzgefasste Liste*, which is a catalogue encompassing all known continuous-text Greek New Testament manuscripts, building upon the foundation laid by Caspar René Gregory's *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (1908).[75] In this context, Parpulov's contribution is noteworthy as it offers the first-ever comprehensive listing of New Testament catena manuscripts. Building upon the *Liste*, but also through consultation of the printed and handwritten catalogues of libraries in and outside Europe, Parpulov categorised the witnesses into existing CPG types based on the incipit and explicit of each catena. Additionally, he created sigla and numbers to group manuscripts with similar content units and subunits together.

Regarding the Acts catenae, Parpulov classified a total of sixty-six witnesses into the existing CPG types C150, C151, and C152. Additionally, he introduced two new designations: C155, representing the *codices singuli*, denotes codices with a catena type

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[73] Parpulov 2021.

[74] This can be accessed at https://purl.org/itsee/catena-catalogue.

[75] Aland 1994; Gregory 1908. The *Liste* is accessible at https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste.

absent from the remaining manuscript evidence, while C156, referred to as *catena abbreviata*, designates three manuscripts that contain scattered scholia.[76] Following the print publication of Parpulov's catalogue, the online Catena Catalogue has been expanded with the addition of seven new items: Zavorda, Monastery of St Nikanor, 99 (thirteenth century), Athos, Great Lavra, B 64 (tenth century), Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 38 (eleventh century), Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek Gud. gr. 104.2 (twelfth century), Sofia, EHAI, 908 (thirteenth century), Moscow, RGB, F 270, no. 56 (gr. 140) (thirteenth century), and Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 279 (fifteenth century).[77] In the appendix, Parpulov includes a list of commentaries attributed to individual authors, such as Theophylact and Zigabenus, whose works exhibit characteristics that lie on the border between a catena and a commentary in the strict sense. For these commentaries, the author provides a comprehensive enumeration of the manuscripts. However, to indicate cases where the attribution is disputed or incorrect (as determined by scribes, librarians, or former possessors of the manuscripts), he appends an asterisk (*). Regarding Theophylact's commentaries on Acts, the manuscripts indicated with an asterisk are the thirteenth-century Moscow, GIM, Synod. gr. 347,

[76] The following codices have not been assigned a Catena number, as they only contain a very limited number of scholia: London, BL, Add. 28816 (twelfth century – diktyon 39067, GA 203), which comprises two scholia, Durham NC, Duke University Library, 1 (thirteenth century – diktyon 13616, GA 1780), with three scholia, Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1262 (twelfth century – diktyon 53926, GA 1885), containing two scholia. Zavorda, Monastery of St Nikanor, 99 (thirteenth century – diktyon 72381, GA 2733) and Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, A 104 (eleventh century – diktyon 13455, GA 101 L1551) are both illegible.

[77] diktyon 72381 (GA 2733), diktyon 27116 (GA 1739), diktyon 62075 (GA 2996), diktyon 44336; diktyon 48560 (GA 638); diktyon 72138 (GA 97); diktyon 58654 (GA 1876). Moscow, RGB, F 270, no. 56 (gr. 140) has not been assigned a GA number because it does not feature a full biblical text, but only short lemmata.

Athens, EBE, 490, Florence, BML, Plut. IV.5, Milan, BA, F 104 sup and the fourteenth-century Paris, BnF, gr. 220.[78] Indeed, as I will demonstrate in Chapter II, none of these manuscripts can be conclusively linked to Theophylact: with the exception of Athens 490 to some extent, these are witnesses to distinct abridgments of C150.[79]

Nevertheless, Parpulov's catalogue has some limitations. It relies on the comparison of catena incipit and explicit rather than scholia on test passages, thus failing to identify subdivisions within individual types. Lietzmann had already pointed out a potential issue with this method, highlighting that catenae manuscripts are particularly susceptible to arbitrary alterations at their beginnings.[80] Moreover, it is common for the initial pages of catenae manuscripts to be either absent or significantly damaged. Furthermore, Parpulov does not provide a rationale for grouping manuscripts with varying incipits or endings under the same C number, implying that these might be abbreviated versions of the same type, although this assumption is not always accurate. In Chapter III, I will examine the case of manuscripts containing the Epitome of Leo Choirosphakets, which were mistakenly labeled as abbreviated versions of C150 due to the presence of shared scholia within this category.[81]

In an article published in 2022, which builds upon my doctoral research in the first two years (2020 to 2021), I extended Parpulov's catalogue by undertaking a

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[78] Parpulov 2021: 212. These manuscripts are categorised under the siglum p.Θϕ due to their inclusion of the Pseudo-Theophylact commentary on the Pauline Epistles (C167).

[79] See below II.3.

[80] Lietzmann 1897: 27.

[81] See below III.8.1.

comprehensive comparative analysis of forty-six catena manuscripts on Acts.[82] I chose to exclude manuscripts that only contain 'isolated' scholia rather than complete catenae.[83] I will delve further into this topic later in my thesis. The objective of this study was to augment the existing information in the Catena Catalogue by identifying new data and revising previously recorded details. Following the approach proposed by Lietzmann in his work on catenae, which involves using representative samples, preferably from various segments of the catenae, to classify types, I expanded the analysis previously found in Karo–Lietzmann's catalogue, which focused on Acts 8:9–25, by including two additional passages: Acts 2:1–16 and 28:19–31.[84] This expansion aimed to accommodate the presence of fragmentary copies in the examination.[85] I categorised the catena witnesses for Acts into types and subtypes, where subtypes represent variations resulting from the abbreviation, expansion, and modification of the base catena text. I introduced a multi-level numbering system to break down the original types into more detailed subtypes and groups, allowing for a more precise classification (e.g., .1 or .2a, b, c, etc.).[86]

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[82] Scieri 2022a.

[83] See Scieri 2022a: 285, n. 19.

[84] Lietzmann 1897: 27.

[85] In Table 1, missing sections at the beginning and ending of manuscripts are denoted by the abbreviations i.m. (*initium mutilum*) and d.m. (*desinit mutilum*), respectively.

[86] Panella 2021 and Marcon 2023 have also adopted a similar classification approach in their re-evaluation of catena manuscripts on the Pauline Epistles. They combine external presentation criteria with the identification of additional textual content to refine Staab's classification into distinct types, and identify new sub-groups.

Through the utilisation of distinct identification categories such as types, subtypes, and groups, a more lucid comprehension of the diverse tradition of Acts catenae was attained, shedding light on the breadth of variation within the manuscript tradition. The Andreas catena was found not to be the dominant tradition, with the Pseudo-Oecumenius tradition being more widespread: the Catena Catalogue, which has integrated my findings, enumerates twenty-nine manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenius type against eighteen of Pseudo-Andreas.[87] This conclusion was reached through a reassessment of a significant group of fifteen manuscripts, which was previously classified as *Textus alter* of Theophylact's commentary.[88] As I will discuss in Chapter II, I classified this group as a subset of C151, thereby corroborating von Soden's suspicion of its connection to the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena.[89]

The importance of my study is its division of manuscripts into subcategories, following the example of CPG for catenae in other biblical books (except Catholic Epistles). However, there are limitations that arise from restricting the comparison of incipit and explicit only in selected test passages. While the method used since Lietzmann is widely accepted as valid for identifying manuscripts of the same type, it is not applicable to manuscripts with multilayered catenae. Consequently, no explanatory evidence is presented for C150.c, d, and f, which in fact present stratified scholia. Additionally, manuscripts with 'isolated' scholia were excluded if they lacked exegetical

[87] The total count does not take into account manuscripts marked with an uncertain type, indicated by a question mark next to the corresponding C number.

[88] The recent discoveries have been incorporated into the ClaCla database (last access October 2023).

[89] See below II.3.2.

material related to the chosen passages, as they did not meet the criteria for catena manuscripts.[90] The arrangement of manuscripts within each subtype or group lacks clear explanation, although it follows the sequence of their GA numbers. The development stages of catena types were not extensively examined. The *codices singuli* and manuscripts with 'isolated' scholia are briefly mentioned but not thoroughly addressed. It is worth noting that two manuscripts that appear to contain two more independent abridgments of Pseudo-Andreas (C150) were initially misclassified. Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760 (eleventh century), in my 2022 work, was categorised as *codex singulus* C155.4 in the second catena (ff. 181r–246v).[91] However, as will be extensively discussed in this thesis, it should actually be assigned the next available number in the C150 subtype series, which is C150.2g. Another such case is Paris, BnF, gr. 203 (eleventh century), which was incorrectly listed in the group of manuscripts with 'isolated' scholia in my 2022 article.[92] A closer examination, however, reveals that it contains material from C150, as identified by Parpulov.[93] Indeed, the correct type number corresponds to yet another abbreviated version of C150, and as such, it should be assigned subtype number C150.2h.

Despite these limitations, my classification method revealed patterns, identified manuscripts with additional scholia within C150, highlighted variations among abbreviated types of C150, and recognised distinct recensions of C151 that were

[90] See Scieri 2022a: 285, n. 19.

[91] Scieri 2022a: 302–303.

[92] diktyon 49667 (GA 302). Cf. Scieri 2022a: 285, n. 19).

[93] Parpulov 2021: 197.

previously unobserved. In essence, my work sets the stage for further research on catenae of Acts and the eventual creation of critical editions for different catena types. Furthermore, it presents a flexible model that can be adapted and extended as needed. What follows is an updated and improved version of my classification of Acts catena manuscripts, as opposed to earlier proposed typologies (Table 1): this also features the final results of my thesis, namely the introduction of catena numbers C156 and C157 alongside associated manuscripts. Here, manuscripts are listed by types, and within each type or subtype, they are arranged in chronological order for better clarity. Parpulov's numbers have been included for all the entries in his printed catalogue, and new sigla like L1 and T1 have been introduced for certain entries. The specific meanings of these sigla will be explained in more detail later in this chapter, and the updated entries will be clarified in Chapter III.

Scieri type	diktyon	GA	manuscript	date	Parpulov number	layout	Acts fols.	Karo-Lietzmann	von Soden	Parpulov type
C150.1a	49167	307	Paris, BnF, Coislin 25	10th	acp.18.ii	frame	5r–190v	*catena integra*	$A\pi\rho^{11}$ "Andreas commentary"	C150
	49792	610	Paris, BnF, gr. 221	11th	acpr.21.ii.α	frame	3r–143v	*catena integra*	$A\pi\rho^{21}$ "Andreas commentary"	C150
	48716	2818	Oxford, New College, 58	12th 1/2	acp.18.ii	frame	1r–177r	*catena integra*	$A\pi\rho^{20}$ "Andreas commentary"	C150
	65122	453	Vatican City, BAV, Barb. gr. 582	14th	acp.18.i	alternating	4r–230r	*catena integra*	$A\pi\rho^{40}$ "Andreas commentary"	C150
	22909	1678	Athos, St Panteleimon Monastery, 770	14th	eacpr.27.i.α	frame	153v–192v	—	$A\pi\rho^{41}$ "Andreas commentary"	C150
C150.1b	35921	1895	Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25	10th 1/2	acp.18.i	alternating	3r–283v	—	$A\pi\rho^{10}$ "Andreas commentary"	C150
C150.2a	49342	94	Paris, BnF, Coislin 202bis	12th 1/2	acp.18.ii	alternating	30r–117r	*catena ex opere maiore excerpta*	O^{31} "Andreas commentary"	C150
	49789	607	Paris, BnF, gr. 218	11th	acp.18.iii	frame	2r–66v	*catena ex opere maiore excerpta*	O^{19} "Andreas commentary"	C150

C150.2b	39005	641	London, BL, Add. 22734	11th	acp.17.ii	frame	2r–67r	*catena ex opere maiore excerpta*	*O*[16] "Oecumenius commentary" (Donatus)	C150
	49788	606	Paris, BnF, gr. 217	11th 1/2	acp.19.ii p.Θδ	frame	2r–48r	*catena ex opere maiore excerpta*	*OΘδ*[10] "Andreas commentary"	C150
	42769	2576	Milan, BA, F 104 sup.	13th (1286–1287 AD)	ap.25.i	alternating	1r–69r	—	—	C150
	43972	103	Moscow, GIM, Synod. gr. 347 (V. 096)	13th 2/2	acp.17.iv	frame	9r–75r	*catena ex opere maiore excerpta*	*OΘ*[28] "Andreas commentary"	C150
	15921	455	Florence, BML, Plut.IV.5	13th 2/2	ap.25.i	alternating	1r–40r	—	*OΘ*[41] "Andreas commentary"	C150
C150.2c	13410	1424	Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (3P) (L2)	9th/10th - 12th (suppl.)	eacp.29.ii	frame	164v–206r	—	—	C150
C150.2d	49809	82	Paris, BnF, gr. 237 (L4)	10th 1/2	acpr.22.i.β	frame	10v–61r	—	*O*[1] "Andreas commentary"	C150
C150.2e	49791	608	Paris, BnF, gr. 220	14th	apc.17.vi	alternating	1r–61v	—	*OΘ*[44] "Theophylact commentary"	C150

	62075	2996	Sofia, EHAI, 908	13th	—	alternating	ff. 231r–v, 233r–238r, 232r–v	—	—	
C150.2f	66176	886	Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 (L2)	13th 2/2	a.An2	alternating	189r–205v	*catena ex opere maiore excerpta*	*Aπρ*[50] "Andreas commentary"	C150
C150.2g (olim C155.4)	67391	437	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760 (T2)	11th	a.24.iii	alternating	181r–246v	—	*Aπρ*[12] "Andreas commentary"	additional scholia to Acts
C150.2h	49667	302	Paris, BnF, gr. 103	11th	acp.28.i	frame	1r–97r	—	—	C150
C151.1a	49790	91	Paris, BnF, gr. 219	11th	acpr.21.ii.γ	alternating	5r–28v	—	*O*[14] "Oecumenius commentary" (Donatus)	C151
	49794	1933	Paris, BnF, gr. 223,	11th	pr.21.ii.β	alternating	202r–231v	—	—	—
	9325	olim 1371	Berlin, SBPK, Phillipps 1422 (018)	16th	—	alternating	207r–209r	—	—	—
C151.1b	14997	916	Escorial, RBME, X.III.3	11th	acpr.21.ii.α	frame	1r–32v	—	—	C151
C151.2	49168	056	Paris, BnF, Coislin 26	11th	acp.21.iii.α	alternating	2r–56r	—	*O*[7] "Oecumenius commentary" (Donatus)	C151

	44823	0142	Munich, BSB, gr. 375	11th	acp.21.iii.α	alternating	1r–55r	—	*O*[6] "Oecumenius commentary" (Donatus)	C151
	26041	1066	Athos, Koutloumousiou Monastery, 16	11th	acp.21.iii.α	alternating	1r–78v	—	*Oπρ*[21] "Oecumenius commentary" (Donatus)	C151
C151.3a	47289	314	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 3	10th 1/2	acpr.16.i.α	frame	10r–27r	—	*O*[46] *Textus Alter* (Finettus)	C152
	15917	454	Florence, BML, Plut.IV.1	10th	acp.19.iii	frame	1r–46r	—	*O*[11] *Textus Alter* (Finettus)	C152
	23466	1862	Athos, Hagiou Pavlou Monastery, 2	11th	acpr.16.i.α	frame	23r–98r	—	*O*[21] *Textus Alter* (Finettus)	C152
	39178	911	London, BL, Add. 39599	11th	acpr.19.ii	frame	2r–60v	—	—	C152
	2503	1360	Athens, EBE, 207	11th	acpr.16.i.α	frame	1r–88v/1–178	—	*O*[29] *Textus Alter* (Finettus)	C152
	35275	1888	Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Taphou 38	11th	acpr.16.i.α	frame	3r–72r	—	—	C152
	64414	441	Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, gr. 1	13th	ap.24.i	alternating	1r–55v	—	*O*[10] *Textus Alter* (Finettus)	C152

	16077	—	Florence, BML, Plut.VIII.19	13th	ap.24.ii	alternating	1r–41v	—	—	C152
	53963	2242	Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1299	13th in.	acp.23.v	alternating	11r–151v	—	—	C152
	43817	463	Moscow, GIM, Synod. gr. 192 (V. 095)	14th 1/2	ap.23.vii	alternating	4r–32v	—	—	C152
C151.3b	71969	424	Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 302	10th	acpr.16.ii.α	frame	17v–101r	—	—	C152
	49365	250	Paris, BnF, Coislin 224	11th in.	acpr.16.ii.β	frame	28r–111r	—	*O*[36] *Textus Alter* (Finettus)	C152
C151.3c	67901	621	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1270	13th	acp.23.vi	alternating	2r-67r	—	*O*[8] *Textus Alter* (Finettus)	C152
	67283	1842	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 652	14th	acp.23.viii	alternating	16r–75v	—	—	C152
C151.3d	48717	327	Oxford, New College, 59	12th 1/2	acp.19.iii	frame	1r–70r	—	*Oπρ*[40] *Textus Alter* (Finettus)	C152
C151.3e	49787	605	Paris, BnF, gr. 216 (L2)	10th	acp.17.i	frame	3r–85v	*catena ex opere maiore excerpta*	*O*[5] *Textus Alter* (Finettus)	C155.1
C152.1a	67391	437	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760 (T1)	11th	a.24.iii	alternating	2v–180r	—	—	C152

C152.1b	33678	1871	Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, Panaghias 33	10th–13th (suppl.)	acpr.19.i	frame	1r–5r	—	O^{20} "Oecumenius commentary" (Donatus)	C152
C152.1c	71817	1524	Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 150	14th	acp.26.i	alternating	3r–56r	—	$O\Theta^{40}$ "Theophylact commentary" (Sifanius)	C152
C152.1d	58654	1876	Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 279	15th	—	frame	10v–74v	—	—	—
C152.2	2786	254	Athens, EBE, 490	13th 2/2	acpr.26.ii	alternating	5r–157r	—	$O\Theta^{42}$ "Theophylact commentary"	C152
C155.1	see above C151.3e; below C156 and C157.1c									
C155.2	see below C156 and C157.1d									
C155.3	54507	—	Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, 263	10th 1/2	acp.22.i.α	alternating	1r–10r	—	—	C155.3
	13455	101 L1551	Dresden, SLUB, A.104	11th	—	frame	6r–178r	—	O^{17} unattributed	—
C155.4	see above C150.2g and C152.1a									
C155.5	66176	886	Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 (L1)	13th 2/2	a.An2	alternating	185r–189r	—	—	anonymous commentary

C155.6	40701	1839	Messina, Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria, S. Salv. 40	12th	acp.An1	alternating	1r–25v	—	*O*37 “Andreas commentary”	anonymous commentary
C156	13410	1424	Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (3P) (L1)	9th 2/2	eacp.29.ii	frame	164v–206r	—	—	C150
	33671	1870	Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, Panaghias 026	10th 1/2	acrp.22.ii	frame	9r–75v	—	—	C150
	49809	82	Paris, BnF, gr. 237 (L1+L3)	10th 1/2	acpr.22.i.β	frame	10r–61r	—	*O*1 “Andreas commentary”	C150
	15945	457	Florence, BML, Plut.IV.29	10th	acp.22.iv	frame	1r–80r	—	—	C150
	15244	920	Escorial, RBME, Ψ. III. 18 (L1)	10th 1/2 – 12th (suppl.)	acp.22.iii.α	frame	1r–44v	—	—	C155.2
	68692	627	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2062	10th	acpr.22.ii	frame	1r–v (mut.)	—	—	C150
	49787	605	Paris, BnF, gr. 216 (L1)	10th	acp.17.i	frame	3r–85v	*catena ex opere maiore excerpta*	*O*5 *Textus Alter* (Finettus)	C155.1
	27116	1739	Athos, Great Lavra, B 64	10th	—	frame	2r–31r	—	—	—
	70017	617	Venice, BNM, Z.546	10th	acpr.21.ii.α	frame	2v–59v	—	—	C151

	48650	638	Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 38	11th	—	frame	22r–93v	—	—	—
	54259	1162	Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 15	11th 1/1 – 2/2 (suppl.)	acp.23.i	frame	9r–44r	—	—	C156 (suppl. hand)
	26107	1859	Athos, Koutloumousiou Monastery, 82	11th	acr.22.v	frame	9r–70v	—	—	C150
	12109	1277	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3046	11th	acp.22.iii.β	frame	25r–102r	—	—	C150
	68600	1845	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971	11th	acp.23.iii	frame	42r–90r	—	—	C156
	63376	1764	Tirana, Arkivi Qëndror i Shtetit, F. 488, dos. 17	12th	ap.23.ii	frame	14r–99r	—	—	C156
	72138	97	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Gud. gr. 104.2	12th	—	frame	5r–55v	—	—	—
	49664	468	Paris, BnF, gr. 101	13th 2/2	acpr.22.vii	frame	6r–48v	—	—	C151
	43971	462	Moscow, GIM, Synod. gr. 346 (V. 24)	13th	acpr.22.i.β	frame	12r–65v	—	—	C150
C157.1a	13410	1424	Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (3P) (L3+L4)	9th 2/2	eacp.29.ii	frame	164v–206r	—	—	C150
	49809	82	Paris, BnF, gr. 237 (L2)	10th 1/2	acpr.22.i.β	frame	10v–61r	—	O^1 “Andreas commentary”	C150

	54421	—	Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 177	10th	ecap.8.i.β	alternating	pp. 450–64	—	—	C150
	42185	1980	Milan, BA, A 62 inf.	10th	ecap.8.i.γ	alternating	59r–63v	—	—	C150
	44336	—	Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56 (gr. 140) (T1)	13th	—	alternating	211r–219v	—	—	—
	68396	—	Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1767	16th	ecap.8.i.β	alternating	144r–155r	—	—	C150
C157.1b	49809	82	Paris, BnF, gr. 237 (L5)	10th 1/2	acpr.22.i.β	frame	10v–61r	—	O^{1} "Andreas commentary"	C150
C157.1c	49787	605	Paris, BnF, gr. 216 (L3)	10th	acp.17.i	frame	3r–85v	*catena ex opere maiore excerpta*	O^{5} *Textus Alter* (Finettus)	C155.1
C157.1d	15244	920	Escorial, RBME, Ψ. III. 18 (L2)	10th 1/2 – 12th (suppl.)	acp.22.iii.α	frame	1r–44v	—	—	C155.2
C157.2	44336	—	Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56 (gr. 140) (T2)	13th	—	alternating	216v–219v	—	—	—

Table 1. Comparing Type Classification of catena manuscripts on Acts

2. Catena manuscripts featuring multiple layers and texts

While scholarly works on Acts catenae remain limited, these texts feature in manuscript catalogues, where catena types are often associated with the names of authors linked to the chain compilations, even amidst uncertainty or scepticism regarding their authenticity, possibly for ease of reference. Regrettably, little to no attention has been given to aspects of layout and paratextual elements, including cross-referencing systems, in the classification of these catenae. Notably, a certain group of manuscripts has been overlooked that present a more intricate scenario than the individual compilations linked to Andreas, Oecumenius, and Theophylact. This oversight arises from the application of established criteria to sort manuscripts into recognised types.

The category I am discussing involves manuscripts that feature catenae on the book of Acts which exhibit multiple layers added sequentially and frequently by distinct scribes. These additions are primarily found within the same pages of a frame catena, although there are instances of an alternating layout. On the other hand, some manuscripts display multiple catenae on the same book, where content flows continuously across several pages in an alternating catena arrangement that is the outcome of a single production or editorial effort. I designate these categories as "multilayered" and "multiple-text" catena manuscripts, respectively, adopting this nomenclature from recent developments in manuscript studies that refer to the analysis of complex manuscripts.[94]

[94] The reference list is quite extensive. For brevity, I will only reference the introductory chapter by Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke in Friedrich–Schwarke 2016: 1–26. This chapter provides an in-depth

2.1 Research on multiple-text manuscripts and paratexts

Starting from the 1980s, a growing interest in the multifaceted nature of manuscripts – encompassing both the physical document and the text it carries – reached its peak with the organisation of two academic conferences hosted at the University of Hamburg in 2010 and 2016, respectively, which specifically focused on "multiple-text" manuscripts, commonly abbreviated as MTMs.[95] Despite the debate over the overlapping use of terms like "miscellaneous" or "composite", a multiple-text codex has been defined as "a codicological unit 'worked in a single operation' (Gumbert) with two or more texts or a 'production unit' resulting from one production process delimited in time and space (Andrist, Canart, Maniaci)".[96]

This trend intersects with a renewed recognition of the importance of *paratexts* in understanding a text's context and reception within the readers' community.[97] Paratexts, following the recent definition proposed by Patrick Andrist, are manuscript features whose thematic significance is rooted in their association with other elements in the

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historical account of the increasing scholarly interest in composite and multiple-text manuscripts, along with relevant bibliography.

[95] The initial conference, coordinated by the Research Group 963 'Manuscript Cultures in Asia and Africa', bore the title 'One-volume libraries' and was consolidated in the edited publication Friedrich–Schwarke 2016. The subsequent conference, arranged by the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), was titled 'The Emergence of MTMs', and its contributions were published in Bausi–Friedrich–Maniaci 2019.

[96] Friedrich–Schwarke 2016: 15–16.

[97] Although in its nascent phase in the early 2000s, the exploration of paratexts has experienced swift advancement through a sequence of studies and research initiatives in recent times, some of which are specifically dedicated to understanding the role of paratexts in various domains. An overview of these developments within manuscript studies can be found in Andrist 2018, particularly on pages 132–135.

same manuscript or the book as a whole.[98] They are vital as they highlight the dual aspects of the manuscript's history—its creators and its readers—and can provide avenues for tracking manuscripts across time and space, as emphasised in the thought-provoking title *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts* by Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin.[99] Scholia and catenae in biblical manuscripts are also considered paratexts, as in the codex they lose relevance when separated from the corresponding biblical texts.

As manuscripts began to be perceived as dynamic entities, possessing as many lives as the various owners, readers, and scribes to whom they were passed over centuries, a need arose for a scientific methodology to dissect the codex, identifying its various components beyond the dominant text that tends to define it. This led Patrick Andrist, Mariena Maniaci, and the late Paul Canart to develop a dedicated "syntax of the codex", intended as a structural analysis of manuscripts that provides a comprehensive typology and terminology for describing complex codices and an extensive tool for manuscript cataloguing.[100] This approach, which recognises the multifaceted character of a manuscript, has been extended to the study of paratextual elements within biblical manuscripts, resulting in the project ParaTexBib ("Paratexts of the Bible: Analysis and Edition of the Greek Textual Transmission"), a European Research Council project

[98] Andrist 2018: 143. These are sometimes referred to as "secondary content" – elements that support the "primary content" and often lack meaning without it.

[99] Ciotti–Lin 2016.

[100] Andrist–Canart–Maniaci 2013. An updated English version is currently in the works, incorporating significant revisions and important updates, some of which are previewed in Andrist–Maniaci 2021.

conducted at the University of Basel and the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich from 2014 to 2020.[101] Working in close partnership with Pinakes (managed by the Greek section of IRHT, the *Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes* in Paris) and the NTVMR (New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room, run by the *Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung* in Münster), the two leading online Greek manuscript databases, this online platform employs specialised tools to divide the codex into distinct units. Following a methodology based on the divisions outlined in *La Syntaxe du codex* by Andrist–Canart–Maniaci, and its recent updates, these units are classified as "production units" (UniProd), denoting content that is part of the same phase of production or editorial stage, and "content units" (UniCont), specifying the particular content within a production unit.[102] Additionally, the database provides graphical representations of these divisions using the Structural Visualization of Manuscripts (StruViMan), a web-based tool which offers scholars a new way to visualise the structure of manuscripts.[103]

Although the ParaTexBib database incorporates and continues to update descriptions of catena manuscripts, Parpulov's previously mentioned catalogue presents a

[101] The database can be accessed at http://paratexbib.eu. To learn more about its details, see Andrist–Wallraff 2016. Another recent project focused on paratexts in biblical manuscripts is the Templeton Religion Trust project "Paratexts seeking understanding", currently carried out at the University of Glasgow. This initiative explores paratexts within the framework of aesthetic cognitivism. A description of the project's aims and methods is in Allen–Royle 2020. A recent collection of scholarly contributions on paratexts in biblical manuscripts can be found in Porter, Stevens, Yoon 2023.

[102] Andrist–Canart–Maniaci 2013 (esp. 59–61, 104–107). The concept of UniCont is explored more comprehensively in Andrist–Maniaci 2021.

[103] These are illustrated in Dirkse–Andrist–Wallraff 2019.

valuable addition in this area. This is due to its description of Greek New Testament manuscripts containing catenae organised in groups according to the degree of similarity in textual units, although the abbreviation system employed in the catalogue entries is not elucidated adequately. Additionally, the catalogue briefly comments on instances of diverse production units, although not in a systematic manner, mostly in the form of footnotes.

2.2 Research on multilayered and multiple-text commentary manuscripts

Although there have been significant advances, existing studies have paid limited attention to multilayered and multiple-text commentary manuscripts. Nonetheless, two recent efforts appear to tackle this gap. The first of these initiatives is the "Homer Multitext Project" (HMP).[104] This project, running at the University of Houston since the early 2000s, is focused on creating a comprehensive digital archive of the textual tradition of the epic poems by the ancient Greek poet Homer, particularly the *Iliad*, by collecting and comparing various manuscript sources and versions. It provides diplomatic editions of these manuscripts and utilises digital tools to illustrate the textual history of the *Iliad* within its historical context, emphasising its evolution through oral composition and acknowledging the fluidity of the text over time, including the incorporation of scholia by scribes. A significant aspect of the project focuses on the tenth-century manuscript Venice, BNM, Marc. gr. Z 454 (= 822), also known as Venetus

[104] The project's materials, including digital manuscript images, are available for access at https://www.homermultitext.org. To explore the project's history and description, see at least Dué and Ebbott 2019.

A, which contains the oldest complete version of the *Iliad*.[105] This codex includes extensive marginal scholia spanning different historical periods. The project has created an innovative web-based digital edition of Venetus A, granting scholars access to previously unpublished content that includes scholia, introductory material, high-resolution manuscript images, and precise TEI-XML encoded transcriptions for in-depth analysis of the *Iliad*'s history and scholarship. Within the Homer Multitext Project, scholia are organised into distinct categories such as main marginal, intermarginal, interior, exterior, and interlinear scholia, with their respective page placement determining their affiliation. This structured markup system visually represents the intricate, multilayered structure of both text and paratext in the edition.

The second initiative is the project "Multilayered Manuscripts in the Transmission of Aristotle's *Organon*" which is currently underway at the University of Hamburg from 2019 to 2025.[106] This project aims to employ an interdisciplinary approach to investigate additional scribal layers in one hundred and fifty medieval manuscripts containing Aristotle's *Organon*, that were introduced over time, and encompass scholia, corrections, explanatory notes, restored material. Christian Brockmann, the principal investigator, has revealed complex stratification within the commentary on Aristotle's *Organon* in the manuscript Vatican Library, BAV, Vat gr. 244.[107] He has shown how the scribe of this

[105] diktyon 69925. The bibliography related to this manuscript, considering its importance in the history of the Homeric poems, is extensive. See at least the various contributions on the topic in Dué 2009.

[106] The project details can be found on their website at https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/written-artefacts/research-fields/field-d/rfd07.html.

[107] Brockmann 2021.

codex, Magentinus or a scholar of his circle, added marginal notes from various late-antique commentaries in different stages, employing distinct compilation techniques. This scholarly effort resulted in the creation of a specialised Aristotelean study manuscript that resonated with the compiler's intentions. The importance of this research lies in demonstrating how scholia can be stratified and expanded by the same scribe across different periods, essentially taking on both the functions of a compiler and a transcriber.

In the field of catena manuscripts, particularly in relation to Acts chains, although some attention has been paid to aspects like palaeographical and aesthetic relevance, the investigations of multilayered and multiple-text manuscripts has often remained limited in scope. One notable exception is the work of Staab, who, in the context of his study on Pauline catenae, examined the codices Paris gr. 216 and gr. 237.[108] Within these manuscripts, he discerns several layers of scholia, each reflecting distinct phases in the evolution of the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena. This process emphasises the importance of these strata in understanding the historical context of the one of the Pauline types of catenae and its progression.

Among the seventy-three manuscripts categorised as containing catenae on Acts in the Catena Catalogue, I have pinpointed seven manuscripts that exhibit multiple layers and texts within the Acts chain. As mentioned above, I refer to these as "multilayered" and "multiple-text" catena manuscripts. The terms "multilayered" and "multiple-text"

[108] Staab 1926: 146–147, 179–180. Panella 2021: 399 calls Paris. gr. 216 of a 'mixed catena' for the Pauline section.

overlap in commentary manuscripts. A multilayered catena can also be viewed as a compilation of multiple texts that has emerged from various compilations. Certainly, a multiple-text catena, which inherently contains multiple compilations, can also be considered multilayered when these texts are added at different stages of its production. However, because there are instances of multiple texts added in the same production stage, for clarity in my thesis discussion, I choose to use the term "multiple-text" specifically for manuscripts belonging to this case.

The group of multilayered manuscripts includes four items with a frame layout:

- Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3
- Paris, BnF, gr. 237.
- Paris, BnF, gr. 216.
- Escorial, RBME, Ψ.III.18.

One multilayered manuscript is in an alternating layout:

- Vatican, BAV, Reg. gr. 6.

Two manuscripts adopt a multiple-text structure with an alternating layout:

- Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 760.
- Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56, gr. 140.

None of these have been accurately classified in previous catalogues and lists of New Testament catena manuscripts. The *Catalogus* by Karo-Lietzmann (1902), von Soden's list (1911), Geerard's CPG (1974), Parpulov's catalogue (2021), and my own updated classification of Acts catenae (2022), have typically assigned them to a single catena type. This is due to a conventional approach used in these studies, as we have

seen above, which involves comparing exemplars' incipit and desinit of the chain or of selected scholia to determine the catena type.

2.3 Exploring a new approach

The recognition of multiple layers and texts became clear to me when I was invited to contribute to an edited volume that investigates the theme of order and disorder in manuscripts featuring biblical catenae.[109] More specifically, the volume focuses on understanding the rationale behind organisation of scholia within catenae manuscripts by exploring principles like author order, scholia content and length, while also considering visual layout aspects to comprehend the arrangement.

I chose to focus on Paris gr. 237, a manuscript that had intrigued me due to its complex features. Previously, both von Soden and Parpulov had categorised it as belonging to C150, while noting the presence of two scribal layers.[110] My observations indicated that only two scholia within my chosen test passages appeared to be written by the main scribe, Acts 8:9–25 and 28:19–31, while no scholia were present in 2:1–14. In contrast, the second scribe made more additions across all three sections. Additionally, certain comments did not align sequentially with the scriptural lemmata in two passages, suggesting irregularities in the scholia layout (see Table 2 below, where the instances of disorder are marked with an 'x').

[109] Scieri 2024.

[110] Soden 1902: 685, Parpulov 2021: 164–165.

f.	b.l.	scribe	disorder
Acts 2:1–14			
11v	2:3	second hand	
	2:3	second hand	
	2:6	second hand	
	2:4	second hand	x
	2:2	second hand	x
	2:11	second hand	x
	2:2	second hand	
	2:3	second hand	
	2:3	second hand	
	2:1	second hand	x
	2:4	second hand	
12r	2:2	second hand	
	2:14	second hand	x
	2:2	second hand	
	2:17	second hand	x
	2:22	second hand	x
	2:11	second hand	
	2:13	second hand	
	2:14	second hand	
Acts 8:9–25			
22v	8:8	second hand	
23r	8:14	second hand	
	—	second hand	
	8:16	**first hand**	
	8:20	second hand	
	8:22	second hand	
	8:15	second hand	x
23v	8:27	second hand	
Acts 28:19–31			
59r	28:17	second hand	
	28:17	second hand	
	—	second hand	
59v	—		
60r			
60v	28:21	**first hand**	
61r	28:31	second hand	

Table 2. Irregularities in selected scholia passages of Paris, BnF, gr. 237.

To understand the rationale behind these apparent scribal oversights, I conducted a comprehensive analysis of the entire catena using colour images. My methodology involved three key approaches:

1. Comparing the incipit and desinit of each scholium with external evidence from commentaries, catenae, and patristic works.

2. Scrutinising the script style in the scholia.

3. Analysing the arrangement and sequence of scholia on each page.

Through this thorough examination, I uncovered a composite textual stratification where C150 constituted only a significant part. This allowed me to identify multiple textual units with a specific compilation and discern the diverse nature of these compositions—many of which do not strictly adhere to the catena format but are at the borderlines of other genres like scholia collections, commentaries, and epitomes. This realisation prompted me to apply similar analysis to other manuscripts that exhibited similar characteristics and had been oversimplified in my preliminary classification. Notably, this was the case with Drama 3, Paris gr. 216, and Escorial Ψ.III.18—codices that were initially considered singular compilations but showed layers upon closer examination. I was also intrigued by two Vatican codices, Vat. gr. 760 and Reg. gr. 6, that I had partially labelled as *codices singuli* in Acts. Parpulov's subsequent discovery of a Moscow manuscript, F. 270, no. 56, containing two distinct exegetical compilations on Acts, further piqued my curiosity. Consequently, I made the choice to undertake a comprehensive examination of these manuscripts, utilising the aforementioned methods. Through this approach, a composite textual structure

emerged, which forms the central focus of this thesis and will be explored in the subsequent chapters.

3. Concluding remarks: methodological insights and study objectives

The identification and classification of catena manuscripts are a complex and evolving endeavour. Printed lists of catena manuscripts are incomplete, with only the online Catena Catalogue and ClaCla regularly being updated, highlighting the importance of digital publications. Historically, the categorisation of catena types was largely influenced by author attribution, leading to debates centred on fitting catenae into an author's production. However, achieving consensus on catena types has proved challenging.

Various methodologies have been employed for type classification, but none are exhaustive. One method involves comparing the incipit and explicit of catenae, as seen in the work of von Soden and Parpulov. This approach makes it possible to group a large number of similar items together, but it falls short when it comes to identifying more specific subtypes, subgroups, and abbreviated catenae, which can appear as distinct types due to omissions and alterations. Another method involves comparing the incipit and explicit of a single test passage, allowing for subdivision within a general type, as exemplified by the work of Karo-Lietzmann. Yet this approach has its limitations, particularly when it comes to comprehensively analysing manuscripts with multiple layers of commentary. Extending the analysis to multiple test passages, as was undertaken in my 2022 article, may address some issues but excludes codices with

isolated scholia, and multilayered manuscripts remain inadequately addressed if they lack relevant evidence in those passages.

While the pursuit of an effective catena classification methodology remains a complex challenge, the present investigation will concentrate on implementing this effectiveness in the analysis of catenae found in Acts manuscripts that feature multiple layers of scholia and consecutive compilations on the same book. The progress in historical research regarding manuscripts with multiple layers and texts has influenced my investigation of Acts catena manuscripts exhibiting similar complexities. Utilising categorisation approaches like "production units" and "content units" from studies on complex manuscripts and expanding on catena analysis methodologies—including comparing scholia, compilation practices, source treatment, layout, and textual organisation—alongside philological analysis and textual criticism, has allowed me to uncover intricate stratigraphy within the chosen Acts manuscripts.[111]

The present thesis examines seven multilayered and multiple-text catena manuscripts related to Acts, focusing on textual criticism, page layout, and palaeography. It is structured into six sections. Following this introduction section on research context and challenges (Chapter I), the study presents a detailed, critical overview of catena typologies in Acts, their representation in manuscripts, and their editorial history (Chapter II). Next, there is a reassessment of content units within Acts chains in the multilayered and multiple-text manuscripts chosen as a case study, using incipit and

[111] In addition to Lietzmann 1987 (esp. pages 1–27), the methods for examining Greek chains are thoroughly explained in Dorival 1986: 1–98. The title itself, "Comment Écrire l'Histoire Des Chaines" ("How to Write the History of Catenae"), highlights these.

explicit analysis, and making comparisons among manuscripts and external evidence (Chapter III). The investigation then explores whether the multiple layers in Acts catenae originate from distinct production units or a single project, involving an examination of page layout and scholia arrangement to understand the progression of overlap (Chapter IV). Lastly, the analysis demonstrates the importance of multilayered and multiple-text catenae for understanding the textual history of Acts catenae, challenging existing perspectives and addressing unresolved questions (Chapter V). The final chapter of the thesis serves as a conclusion, summarising the main findings and suggesting potential avenues for future research (Chapter VI).

For this research, I have employed various digital tools commonly used in biblical studies that are essential for advanced analysis of catena manuscripts.[112] My initial reference point has been the Catena Catalogue, where I have already contributed entries and intend to add more through the outcomes of this study. The New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room (NTVMR) has provided digital images for close examination of manuscripts, supplemented by access to even higher-resolution images through The Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts (CSNTM), as well as digitisations from relevant library websites such as Gallica (for the BnF manuscripts), DigiVatLib (for the Vatican Library manuscripts), Library of Congress (for the Greek manuscripts at the Library of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem). All of these resources are accessible through hyperlinks provided on the Catena Catalogue website. Finally, Pinakes has

[112] A thorough discussion and evaluation of these tools is in Houghton–Smith 2016, Clivaz–Allen 2019, Andrist 2021.

furnished valuable insights into manuscript description and essential bibliographical details, while ParaTexBib has played a pivotal role as a guiding resource, furnishing precise information about codex stratigraphy and description models. Apart from these, I have utilised primary transcriptions of scholia text, both partial and complete, organised within Excel spreadsheets. These sheets also contain metadata and record differences across various manuscripts and their layers. CollateX software has further improved textual comparisons.

In the following chapters, citations of manuscripts and text adhere to these conventions. In the first occurrence and at the beginning of paragraphs and tables, manuscripts are fully referenced, including their location and institution (with abbreviation where possible), complete shelfmark, and date (updated based on Catena Catalogue or Pinakes).[113] Diktyon and Gregory-Aland identifiers are provided in footnotes after the initial occurrence and are also reported in listing tables, alongside the Parpulov numbers. Subsequent mentions will use an abbreviated form (typically place name and abbreviated shelfmark). When quoting text from manuscripts, whether it is the beginning and end or the entire content of a scholium, I preserve the original spelling and diacritical marks, even if they deviate from the standard conventions. This includes instances like omitting iota subscript or using iota adscripts in diphthongs with a long first vowel, such as ηι instead of ῃ, or having the breathing and accent sometimes separated in two vowels of a diphthong, like ὁῦ instead of the standard οὗ, or ἐί instead of

[113] Cases where there is a difference in the dating of a manuscript are noted when the manuscript is being discussed.

εἴ. I also maintain any diacritical marks that might be misplaced or missing, including accents, breathings, punctuation, as well as spelling errors like changes in vowel quantity or itacism. Conversely, when referring to published editions, I enclose them in brackets. In accordance with customary editorial conventions, abbreviations and ligatures are enclosed within round brackets; however, if the Greek text is quoted within round brackets, these are placed between square brackets.

Unless stated otherwise, the translations provided are my own. The colour manuscript illustrations of Paris, BnF, gr. 237 have been generously contributed by the National Library of France. Images of Paris, BnF, gr. 216 have been reproduced from the Gallica digital library; those of Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 have been replicated from the CSNTM, and the illustrations of Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56, gr. 140 are included from the Manuscripts and Out-of-print Books Collection database.

Chapter II

Catenae on Acts and Editions:

A Critical Review

1. Introduction

At present, there is no critical edition of the catenae on Acts. Scholars have to rely on printed editions from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, which are based on a few manuscripts. These editions, spanning from the era of humanism to the emergence of textual criticism, often reproduce lower-quality manuscripts that were accessible to the editors, lacking a comprehensive understanding of critical edition methodologies and showing little to no attention for the layout of the commented manuscripts.[114] The primary objective of these editions was in fact to recover and disseminate patristic fragments that would otherwise be lost, viewing catenae mainly as a valuable source of texts.[115] Only in recent decades has there been an increasing trend to recognise catenae as independent works rather than merely subsidiary sources.[116] This shift in perspective

[114] Lorrain 2021: 228–236 provides a thorough presentation on the different editions of catenae, paying special attention to their layouts.

[115] This perspective finds frequent mention across various studies, as seen in works such as Lietzmann 1897: 17, Staab 1924: 289, Mühlenberg 1989: 2, and Curti 1989: 275, among others.

[116] Devreesse 1928: 1098 previously advocated assessing a collection based on its inherent worth rather than focusing solely on its usefulness for preserving fragments. Nevertheless, the practice of editing lost

has led to the emergence of various editing approaches, with ongoing proposals that greatly benefit from the tools offered by the digital era.[117] The following chronological presentation of these publications considers the benefits and drawbacks of each.

2. The Pseudo-Oecumenius catena-commentary

The sixteenth century marked the beginning of scholarly awareness of catenae. In 1532, Bernardinus Donatus (1483–1543) undertook the task of editing a manuscript that contained anonymous exegetical commentaries on the Acts, Catholic Epistles and Pauline Epistles, followed by the commentary on Revelation compiled by the Byzantine churchman and scholar Arethas of Caesarea (850/860–after 932).[118] As explained in the preface, this edition was based on a manuscript that the editor received from the Greek humanist Johannes Lascaris, also renowned as Janus Lascaris (ca. 1445–1535), and was requested by Matteo Giberti (1495–1543), Bishop of Verona, on behalf of Pope Clement VII (1478–1534) who wished to enhance the Library of the Roman Church with exegetical works by Church Fathers. Following the footsteps of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who wrote a compilation of extracts from Greek and Latin Fathers on the four Gospels titled *Catena aurea* around 1263, Donatus embarked on what would be not only the *editio princeps* of a catena on Acts but also the oldest edition of a Greek catena, even though its inclusion in the catena category remains a topic of controversy.

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works of specific exegetes from catenae persists: see Lorrain 2021: 222–227. For a comprehensive understanding of the methodology for editing exegetical works, see Cassin 2020.

[117] Cassin 2020: 44–49.

[118] Donatus 1532.

The main reason for this dispute is that the compiler of this work frequently omits author names preceding each extract in the Pauline catena, and consistently avoids including them in the section on Acts and Catholic Epistles. As a result, it becomes extremely challenging to identity the original patristic sources of the extracts. Donatus himself highlights this characteristic in two prefaces, the first dedicated to Clement VII, the second to the φιλήλληνες readers.[119] Here the editor explains that the succession of patristic interpretations is uninterrupted, giving the impression of a unified voice throughout.[120] This comparison brings to mind the preface of Procopius of Gaza's *Epitome on the Octateuch* (C3), where the sixth-century rhetor and possible initiator of the catenae explains his compilation process.[121] Initially, he collected interpretations from various commentaries and different works, assembling them into what was likely a catena that has not been preserved in the manuscript tradition. In a subsequent stage, he undertook a considerably condensed compilation, where the diverse voices are combined "to become a single body of writing from all the sources, as if the utterances of all were being set forth as those of a single person".[122] What Procopius of Gaza asserts for his

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[119] Donatus 1532: ff. 2r–3v.

[120] Donatus 1532: f. 3v: Αἱ τῇδε βίβλῳ περιεχόμεναι **ἐξηγήσεις** οὕτω θαυμαστήν τινα βραχυλογίαν καὶ σαφήνειαν καὶ δήλωσιν ἀναφαίνουσι τῶν ἀεὶ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ ζητουμένων, ὥστε πείθεσθαί με ῥᾳδίως, ταύτας τῶν παλαιοτέρων ἐκείνων, **ἀφ' ὧν εἰς ἓν ὡσπερεὶ σῶμα συνηθροίθησαν**, τοσούτῳ **διαφέρειν**, ὅσῳ τὸ μέλι τῶν ἀνθέων τιμιώτερον ("The explanations contained in this book reveal such a remarkable conciseness, clarity, and elucidation of the perpetual inquiries in divine scripture, that you may easily be convinced that they differ from those of the ancient ones, from which they were gathered into one body, just as the honey of the flowers is more precious").

[121] See Markschies 2014: 149–151, Lorrain 2021: 29.

[122] Procopius of Gaza, *Epitome of the Octateuch* 2.1–12 (ed. Metzler): Ἤδη μὲν καὶ πρότερον Θεοῦ τὸ δύνασθαι χορηγήσαντος, τὰς καταβεβλημένας **ἐκ τῶν Πατέρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων** εἰς τὴν Ὀκτάτευχον **ἐξηγήσεις**

own epitome is also what medieval authors claimed for the work of Thomas Aquinas. William of Tocco, a biographer of Thomas, praised the structure of his compilation as a continuous commentary, noticing that this "was marvellously assembled from the authorities of Holy Scripture. He transformed them into a unified narrative of the Gospels in such a way that it seemed to be the homily of a single teacher."[123]

Therefore, some scholars have proposed that the term 'catena' should be used specifically for collections that provide source identifications for each excerpt, while compilations based on catenae without such indications could be classified as

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συνελεξάμεθα ἐξ ὑπομνημάτων καὶ διαφόρων λόγων ταύτας ἐρανισάμενοι. […] εἰ δέ τι διάφορον, **καὶ τοῦτο συντόμως ἐκθέσθαι πρὸς τὸ διὰ πάντων ἕν γένεσθαι σῶμα τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου τὰς ἁπάντων ἡμῖν ἐκθεμένου φωνάς** ("Indeed, even before, by God's enabling, we had gathered these explanations from the writings of the Fathers and others, which had been scattered on the Octateuch, having collected these from various commentaries and sayings. […] And if there is anything different, (I aim) to present if briefly for it to become one unified body of scripture for all (explanations), as if they were the voices of one single and unique source presented to us all."). I have discussed the relationship between this text and the compilation practices in catenae in Scieri 2022b: 224–25.

[123] William of Tocco, *Life of St. Thomas Aquinas* 130.33–35 (ed. le Brun-Gouanvic): *Scripsit predictus doctor opus super quatuor euangelia, sanctorum auctoritatibus miro modo contextum, ex quibus sic euangeliorum* ***continuauit ystoriam quasi unius doctoris uideatur esse postilla*** ("The aforementioned scholar wrote a work on the four Gospels, artfully interwoven with the authorities of the saints, from which he narrated the story in such a continuous manner that it seems to be the commentary of a single scholar"). The original title of the *editio princeps* of Thomas Aquinas' work, published in Rome in 1470, emphasised the continuous structure, as it was named *Divi Thomae Aquinatis continuum in librum Evangelii secundum Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam et Joannem.* This highlighting of continuity was also present in the reprint published in Nuremberg in 1475, titled *Sancti Thomae de Aquino glossa continua super quattuor evangelistis*. The term 'catena' started to appear in printed editions from 1484 onwards, such as *Catena evangelica* in the Venice edition of 1484 and *Catena aurea* in the Augusta edition of 1494. See Fabricius–Harles 1802: 692.

commentaries.[124] On the other hand, German scholarship tends to prefer the term 'catena-commentary' (*Kettenkommentare*) to emphasise the primary reliance on chains of sources in these works, as opposed to commentaries, which may allow more space for the author's voice.[125] This perspective is evident in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, the official catalogue of patristic works, where Oecumenius' work is recorded as *Commentarii Ps.-Oecumenii* but included among catenae and assigned a catena number (C151).[126] In my thesis, I will use the term 'catena-commentary' to refer to compilations like the Pseudo-Oecumenius type and similar ones on the book of Acts, while still using the term 'catena' in its traditional and comprehensive sense. As a matter of fact, in recent years, several scholars have discussed how 'catenae' or 'catena-commentaries' in the manuscript tradition are referred to as 'collection' (συναγωγή, συλλογή), 'selections' (ἐκλογαί), or more broadly as 'interpretation' (ἑρμηνεία) and 'exegesis' (ἐξήγησις).[127] I will demonstrate various instances of these variations in the Acts catena tradition.

Regarding the exegetical compilation on Acts published by Donatus, it mainly consists of extracts from John Chrysostom, a fourth-century Church Father who was

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[124] See for example Dorival 2016: 67: "a compilation without names is not a catena, but a commentary, even if its sources are patristic fragments of various authors."

[125] For example, Markschies 2014 and Bossina 2015, *passim.*

[126] CPG IV: 381. It is noteworthy that not only Procopius' epitome, but also other commentary-like compilations are categorised as catenae. For instance, exegetical compilations on the Gospels by Peter of Laodicea, Nicetas of Heraclea, Theophylact of Bulgaria, as well as on Pauline Epistles by John of Damascus, and on Revelation by Oecumenius, Andrew of Caesarea, and Arethas of Caesarea are all labelled as catenae.

[127] See, among the others, Markschies 2014: 151; Houghton-Parker 2016: 2; Barbàra Valenti 2019: 18–19, Manafis 2020: 4–6.

archbishop of Constantinople and, as an exegete of the Scriptures, wrote fifty-five homilies on Acts, all of which are preserved in the manuscript tradition (CPG 4426).[128] However, Chrysostom's name is not explicitly quoted, except in one passage where he is indirectly referenced.[129] A few additional indirect references are made to Flavius Josephus (three), Eusebius of Caesarea (two), Origen (one), and Papias (one), and the specific works from which the quotations are taken are indicated.[130] Furthermore, seven times, extracts are introduced by the word ἄλλως ("otherwise", "in a different way"), corresponding to the Latin *alio modo/aliter*, indicating a different interpretation of a passage, sometimes by the same author and other times by a different one.[131] The remaining part of the compilation takes the form of a running commentary, skilfully interweaving extracts from various authors into a seamless passage. Hutchinson used several test passages in the Pseudo-Oecumenius type to identify extracts from various patristic authors, including Origen, Basil of Caesarea, Eusebius of Emesa, Didymus the

[128] The primary reference edition remains Migne's PG 60, with the most extensive translation being the one provided by Philip Schaff in NPNF XI, 1:12–538. The CNRS in Paris has published eight volumes of *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci* from 1968 to 2018, which will lay the foundation for a critical edition. For a historical overview of research, editions, and translations of Chrysostom's works, see Mayer 2015.

[129] PG 118, col. 53 (Λέγει δὲ ὁ Χρυσόστομος, ὡς ...).

[130] PG 118, coll. 69 (κατὰ τὸν Ἰώσηπον), 121 (ὡς καὶ Ἰώσηπος ἐν τοῖς τελευταίοις τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ἔδειξεν), 193 (ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἰώσηπος ἐν τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ λόγῳ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας, καὶ Εὐσέβιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας.) 305 (Εὐσέβιος δὲ τοὺς μετέπειτα χρόνους ἱστόρησεν ἀκριβῶς), 53 (ὥς φησιν Ὠριγένης ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Στρωματεῖ), 60 (Τοῦτο δὲ σαφέστερον ἱστορεῖ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου μαθητὴς, λέγων ...).

[131] PG 118, coll. 56, 60, 68, 89, 128, 132, 273. On the use of ἄλλως see Lietzmann 1897: 13, Barbàra Valenti 2019: 35. For a discussion about the emergence of catenae based on the use of this adverb, see Wilson 1967 and Montana 2011: 117–127.

Blind, Ammonius of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Severus of Antioch, and Isidore of Pelusium, and scholia that in the Pseudo-Andreas type are labelled as ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου ("from an unidentified [source]").[132] He suggested that all these extracts were, in fact, abbreviated from Pseudo-Andreas.

In 1545, the Flemish exegete Johannes Hentenius (or John Henten, 1499–1566) translated Donatus' edition into Latin, fulfilling the request of Cardinal Jean de Lorraine (1498–1550).[133] The translation was dedicated to the cardinal in the preface through words of admiration and gratitude. Nearly eighty-five years later, in 1631, the French scholar Federicus Morellus (or Frédéric Morel, 1552–1630) published an edition featuring the Greek text by Donatus and the Latin translation by Henten.[134] This edition was eventually reprinted in 1893 by the French priest Jacques Paul Migne (1800–1875) in volume 118 of his *Patrologia Graeca* (PG) which remains the reference edition to this day.[135] During the period between Donatus and Migne, several reeditions of individual sections of the catena emerged. In 1545, Joannes Bernardus Felicianus (c. 1490–1554) published another Latin version of the commentary on Acts and the Catholic Epistles in Donatus' edition.[136] Eventually, in 1842, Theoklitos Farmakidis published a revised

[132] Hutchinson 1928: 111–113. The analysis was done in Acts 7:20–58, 15:1–16:25, 20:1–21:22, 28:1–31.

[133] Henten 1545.

[134] Morel 1631.

[135] PG 118, coll. 29–308. From this point onward, I will refer to this edition, with the exception of Table 3, where I will cite the original edition by Donatus from 1532.

[136] Felicianus 1545. In 1553, Maximus Florentinus published the Pseudo-Oecumenius' catena on the Epistles of Paul (Florentinus 1553).

version of the Acts, Pauline, and Catholic Epistles catenae.[137] This edition faithfully reproduced Donatus' text while also including additional editorial changes.

In these various editions, catenae on Acts, Pauline Epistles, and Catholic Epistles have consistently been attributed to an individual named Oecumenius, albeit with some uncertainty due to the lack of a manuscript inscription. The matter, which has sparked a scholarly discussion outlined by Marc De Groote in various studies, originated with Donatus.[138] In the preface of his edition, the editor presented evidence from the conclusion of the catena on Colossians that he interpreted as the voice of the compiler.[139] Here the author acknowledges not finding the original sections of a commentary from John Chrysostom on the Epistle to Colossians and instead reconstructing their own version based on memory, taking responsibility for any shortcomings. The title Οἰκουμενίου in the margin of the passage in the exemplar used led Donatus and subsequent editors to interpret it as the compiler's signature.[140] However, Donatus expressed doubts about extending Oecumenius' authorship to the sections on Acts and the Catholic Epistles due to the lack of authorial headings. Despite this, he maintained

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[137] Farmakidis 1842.

[138] Among the others, see at least De Groote 2001 (esp. 20–23).

[139] PG 118, col. 23: Εὗρον γὰρ ἐν τῇ εἰς τὴν πρὸς Κολασσαεῖς Ἐπιστολὴν ἐξηγήσει κατὰ τὴν ἐσχάτην σελίδα τοιαύτην μαρτυρίαν· *Ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιγράφου*, φησὶ, *μὴ εὑρὼν καλῶς τὰς παραγραφὰς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου τῆς πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς Ἐπιστολῆς, συνέγραψα αὐτὰς ὅπως ἠδυνάμην. Εἰ οὖν εὑρεθῇ τι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἢ κοῦφον ἢ ἐπιλήψιμον, ἴστω ὁ ἀναγινώσκων, ἐμὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον πταῖσμα* ("For I found in the exegesis of the Epistle to the Colossians, at the very end, such a testimony: 'From the copy', he says, 'not finding the paragraphs of the blessed John on the Epistle to the Colossians, I composed them as best I could. So, if anything in them is found to be trivial or worthy of censure, let the reader know that such a mistake is mine.'). The italics is mine.

[140] PG 118, col. 23: Ἔχει δε γε αὕτη ὄνομο προτιθέμενον τὸ Οἰκουμενίου ("This one indeed has the name of Oecumenius attached to it").

that there was no valid justification to entirely reject the attribution.[141] The ongoing discussion among biblical scholars and editors, as summarised by De Groote, saw some supporting Oecumenius' authorship, others expressing reservations or claiming an unknown authorship, and a smaller number holding a mixed perspective.[142]

The identification of Oecumenius has been a subject of even greater debate. For many centuries, this attribution was linked to a bishop from Tricca in Thessaly who lived during the tenth or eleventh century and was also associated with a commentary on Revelation that served as a model for Arethas of Caesarea's commentary.[143] The prolonged debate surrounding this issue reached a partial resolution when Franz Diekamp demonstrated that the Oecumenius who wrote the commentary on Revelation should be distinguished from the bishop of Tricca.[144] Based on manuscript evidence, he identified the author of the Revelation commentary as a Monophysite exegete from Isauria in Asia Minor who lived in the sixth century. However, the question of the identity and authorship of the compiler of the commentaries on Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Pauline Epistles remains unresolved. Moving forward, I will adopt the current designation in the CPG and refer to the author of this catena as Pseudo-Oecumenius.[145]

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[141] This is evident from the chosen title for the catena on Acts: Ἐξήγησις τῶν παλαὶ ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν **ὑπὸ Ἀνωνύμου ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ Οἰκουμενίου** ἐκ διαφόρων ὑπομνημάτων συλλεχθεῖσά τε καὶ ἀκριβωθεῖσα εἰς σύνοφιν εἰς τὰς πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων ("An exposition on the Acts of the Apostles by an anonymous or even by Oecumenius of the writings of the ancient holy men, gathered and meticulously arranged into a harmonious whole").

[142] De Groote 1996, especially 87–105.

[143] See for example the descriptions in Fabricius–Harles 1802: 692–695, and Krumbacher 1897: 131–133.

[144] Diekamp 1901.

[145] This denomination is also used by Mühlenberg 1989: 16.

In contrast with the lengthy discussion regarding the authorship of the catenae, there has been relatively little focus on identifying the specific manuscript used by Donatus for his edition, which is neither mentioned by him nor by the subsequent editors. In his influential book on the catenae on the Pauline Epistles, Karl Staab put forth the view that Donatus' source was Paris, BnF, gr. 219 (eleventh century).[146] The deduction was made by considering the congruence of the text between the edition and the manuscript, alongside the presence of a donation note from 1518 on f. 1r of the Paris codex, which is ascribed to Janus Lascaris. Since then, this viewpoint has stood uncontested and unexplored, persistently being incorporated into present-day studies and catalogues,[147] disregarding von Soden's contrasting assertion that Donatus' text was printed from an unidentified codex.[148] The latter viewpoint, reinstated by Theodora Panella after a textual analysis comparing Paris gr. 219 with Donatus' edition in the Pseudo-Oecumenius' catena on Galatians,[149] is endorsed by me for the catena on Acts upon further comparison as it reveals additional details.

Despite Paris gr. 219 having the layout of an alternating catena in 'lemmatic' format, where the commentary text follows abbreviated pericopes of the biblical text (which is why it was excluded from the ECM), I have observed several marginal notes on

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[146] diktyon 49790 (GA 91). Staab 1926: 151–153, although he regarded this manuscript as the most deficient copy that Donatus could possibly have utilised.

[147] See for example CPG IV: 250. Another supporting example can be found in De Groote 2001: 20–28, where the Paris manuscript is described as Donatus' source "in all probability".

[148] Soden 1902: 691.

[149] Panella 2016: 134–135. Jacopo Marcon's recent doctoral thesis (Marcon 2023: 11–12, 451) offers support for this position, albeit with limited additional evidence provided.

ff. 5r–19r (Image 1). Some of these are from a later hand, possibly from the twelfth century, and contain the complete biblical text of Acts, although it abruptly ends at Acts 10:3 (f. 19r). I believe that this inclusion of the biblical text was an attempt to compensate for its concise lemmata integrated within the commentary. While most of the marginal notes are from the main hand of the commentary, upon comparing their content with Donatus' text and with the manuscript tradition of this type of catena, I could identify them as supplementary scholia.

The manuscripts Paris, BnF, gr. 223 (1045 AD), ff. 202r–231v, and Escorial, RBME, X.III.3 (twelfth-thirteenth century), ff. 1r–32v include the text of Paris gr. 219, presenting the scholia in the same order, albeit without the marginal additions.[150] A similar scenario is observed in the incomplete text of Berlin, SBPK, Phillipps 1422 (018) (sixteenth century), ff. 207r–209r which exhibits gaps precisely where Paris gr. 219 is damaged, indicating that it might be a direct copy of this.[151] In Donatus' edition, these marginal scholia are incorporated within the catena, suggesting that the editor's source had a similar text. Furthermore, the word order in the Paris manuscript, both within the main catena and the marginal notes, does not consistently correspond to the arrangement found in Donatus' text. Additionally, there are instances where the text diverges from the *editio princeps*. While certain variations could be attributed to editorial interventions by Donatus, such as corrections of mistakes in the exemplar, others appear to be the result

[150] diktyon 49794 (GA 1933); diktyon 14997 (GA 916), although this is dated to the eleventh century by Parpulov 2021: 156.

[151] diktyon 9325 (olim GA 1371).

of genuine scribal interventions. Table 3 provides an illustrative comparison in the presentation of scholia on Acts 1:4-6.[152]

The central commentary in Paris gr. 219 excludes the scholium on Acts 1:4 (inc. Πότε δὲ ἤκουσαν, des. *πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖσε*) found in Donatus' text. Instead, it includes this scholium in the lower margin of f. 5r and upper margin of f. 5v, clearly distinguished by the use of a symbol in the latter. Additionally, a portion of commentary (inc. Ὁμοῦ δὲ *συνελθόντες ἠρώτων*, des. *συμφέρει μαθεῖν, διδάσκειν*) which in Donatus' text is part of a scholium on Acts 1:6, is added to this scholium without a break. Moreover, the catena in Paris gr. 219 has an extended ending: τ(ῆς) ἐπιδημί(ας)· (καὶ) διδ(α)σκ(ά)λ(ο)υ τ(ο)ῦτο· τὸ οἷς θέλει. οὐκ οἷς οἱ μαθητ(αὶ) ἐφιστ(ᾶν). This is not present in Donatus' edition. Finally, there are some minor variations between the two texts, although some of these may be corrections made by the editor. For example, in the clause ἐπεὶ πρὸ τ(ο)ῦ πάθ(ους) ἐρ(ω)τήσ(αν)τ(ες) τὰ πε(ρὶ) συντελεί(ας) τ(ο)ῦ κόσμ(ο)υ (f. 5v), Paris gr. 219 incorrectly uses a participle, while Donatus' text has the correct imperfect form *ἠρώτησαν*. Another example is the omission of *πρὸ τοῦ πάθους* in the participial clause Ἀκούσαντες δὲ *πρὸ τοῦ πάθους*, which could be explained as a scribal error due to skipping between the ending -ες and -ους.

Considering that Paris gr. 223, Escorial X.III.3 and Berlin Phillipps 1422 (018) do not contain these marginal additions, but they do share the same word ordering in the main catena text as Paris gr. 219, as well as the extended ending, it is plausible to

[152] In the table, scholia that are included in the main catena of Donatus' edition but are found in the margins of Paris, BnF, gr. 219 are denoted by underlining. Additionally, variations and additional content are highlighted in bold.

hypothesise that all four manuscripts descend from a common exemplar with an abridged text.[153] However, it seems that the scribe of the Paris manuscript consulted a second exemplar that included the complete text found in Donatus' edition. He then added the supplementary material consecutively in the margins, giving the impression that they were part of the same cohesive text block. Despite the differences, Paris gr. 219, as previously acknowledged by von Soden, appears to be the closest manuscript to Donatus' model in terms of layout.[154] As noted by Staab and further emphasised by Agnès Lorrain, Donatus' edition stands out as a unique example of an effort to replicate the 'lemmatic' layout of the original model.[155] However, subsequent editions by Morel and Migne seem to have deviated from the intentions of the Veronese humanist by introducing longer biblical lemmata and altering the manuscript's division through the inclusion of chapter titles and numbers.[156] While Lorrain proposes that the occasional discrepancies in the length of biblical lemmata between Donatus' edition and Paris gr. 219 are deliberate interventions by the editor to harmonise the text, I argue that a more plausible explanations lies in the acknowledgment that Donatus utilised a distinct yet closely related textual model for his edition.[157]

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[153] Paris, BnF, gr. 223; Escorial, RBME, X.III.3, f. 1r; Berlin, SBPK, Phillipps 1422 (018), f. 207v. It is noteworthy that Paris gr. 219 also preserves a shorter recension of Andrew of Caesarea's commentary on Revelation: see Pirtea 2021: 41.

[154] Soden 1902: 691.

[155] Staab 1926: 154–156 (and n. 19); Lorrain 2021: 229–231.

[156] Lorrain 2021: 228, n. 47.

[157] Contrary to Henten's preface, Donatus' does not mention any textual subdivisions.



ΕΞΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΛΑΙ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ
ΥΠΟ ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΥ Η ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΟΥ
ΕΚΔΙΑΦΟΡΩΝ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΣΥΛΛΕΧΘΕΙ-
ΣΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΡΙΒΩΘΕΙΣΑ ΕΙΣ ΣΥΝΟΨΙΝ ΕΙΣ
ΤΑΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

Κεφ. α'.

Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην περὶ πάντων, ὦ Θεόφιλε, ὧν
ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας, ἐντειλάμενος
τοῖς ἀποστόλοις διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου, οὓς ἐξελέξατο, ἀνελήφθη.
Λόγον εἶπε πρῶτον, οὐκ εὐαγγέλιον, καίτοι Παύλου εὐαγγέλιον τὸν
ἑαυτοῦ καλοῦντος, ἡμᾶς φάσκοντα. κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου. τὸ κοινω-
δὲς γὰρ πάντα χοῦ φεύγουσιν. ὡς καὶ ὁ Ματθαῖος, βίβλος, φάσκων, γενέσεως.
ἡδὲ ὁ Μάρκος, ἀρχή, φησι, τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ἀπ' οὐ πω ἑαυτοῦ συγγρα-
φὴν καλεῖ εὐαγγέλιον, ἀπὰ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κήρυγμα. ἀρχὴ γὰρ τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ
Χριστοῦ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννου πρόοδος. πῶς δὲ τὸ καθ' Χριστὸν μυστηρίου
ἀποκαλύψεως, καὶ πῶς ἀνανθρωπήσεως αὐτοῦ, ἀρχὴ, ἡ ἐκ παρθένου γέννησις, καὶ ὅσα ὡδὶ
τούτοις. ἤρξατο δ' ἀρχῆς ἐχρήσατο τῶν οἰκείων συγγραφῶν Ματθαῖος, ὁ αὐτὸς ὁ Λου
κᾶς οὗτος. ἃ καὶ εὐαγγέλια οἱ πιστοὶ μὴ παῦται ἐδικαίωσαν καλεῖν, ὡς τὸ ὄντως
εὐαγγέλιον, τυγχάνει τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίαν σωτηρίαν χοντα. τῷ δὲ, πρὸς παντὸς,
ἁπλῶς, δοκεῖ ἀνακεῖσθαι τῷ εὐαγγελιστῇ Ἰωάννῃ. εἷς ὁ μὴν φησιν ἀκεῖναι ἅπαξ
τὸν τοῦτα γράψαι. μὴ δὲ μὴ χωρῆσαι τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία τὸν κόσμον. ὁ δὲ πρὸς
ταῦτ', φησί, τὸν λόγον ποιεῖσθαι, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τῆς ἀναλήψεως. Τί οὖν φα-

Image 1. Comparison of the page layout between Paris, BnF, gr. 219 (f. 5r) and Donatus' edition.

Donatus 1532, ff. 2–3	Paris, BnF, gr. 219, ff. 5r–v	
Acts 1:4	column	margins
Τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρός. Καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο ὁ πατὴρ ἐπηγγείλατο; φαμὲν οὖν, ὅτι ἤτοι ἐλλειπτικῶς τῆς, ἀπὸ, προθέσεως δεῖ τὸ ῥητὸν ἐκλαμβάνειν, ἵνα ᾖ, περιμένειν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ἣν ὑμῖν ἐποιησάμην τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ἤ καὶ ὅτι, ὡς αὐτός φησιν, ἃ παρὰ τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἀκήκοα, ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλω ὑμῖν. καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου πν(εύματο)ς ἐπαγγελία εἰ (καὶ) δι' αὐτοῦ γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπῆρξεν. εἰ δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ζητεῖς τοῦ πν(εύματο)ς, ὁ Ἰωὴλ ἐχέγγυος πιστώσασθαι τ(ὸν) λόγον, ἐκχεῶ, φάσκων, ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα.	*Τὴν ἐπαγγελί(αν) τ(ο)ῦ π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς.* Κ(αὶ) ποῦ τ(ο)ῦτο ὁ π(ατ)ὴρ ἐπηγγείλατο· φαμ(ὲν) οὖν· (ὅτι) ἤτοι ἐλλειπτικῶς τ(ῆς) ἀπὸ προθέσε(ως). δεῖ τὸ ῥητ(ὸν) ἐκ|λαμβ(ά)νειν· ἵν(α) ᾖ. πε(ρι)μέν(ειν) ἀ(πὸ) τοῦ πα(τρὸ)ς τ(ὴν) ἐπαγγελί(αν)· ἣν ὑμῖν ἐποιησάμ(ην) τ(ο)ῦ ἁγίου πν(εύματο)ς· ἤ (καὶ) (ὅτι) (ὡς)| αὐτό(ς) φη(σιν)· ἃ π(αρὰ) τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἀκήκοα. ταῦ(τα) ἀπαγγέλλ(ω) ὑμῖν· (καὶ) ἡ τ(ο)ῦ ἁγί(ο)υ πν(εύματο)ς ἐπαγγελία εἰ (καὶ) δι' αὐ|τ(ο)ῦ γέγον(εν). ἀλλ(ὰ) (καὶ) π(αρὰ) τ(ο)ῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ὑπῆρξ(εν).εἰ (δὲ) (καὶ) παρ' αὐτ(ο)ῦ ζητεῖς τ(ο)ῦ πν(εύματο)ς. ὁ ἰωὴλ ἐχέγγυο(ς) πιστ(ώ)σα|σθ(αι) τ(ὸν) λόγ(ον)· ἐκχεῶ φάσκ(ων) ἀ(πὸ) τ(ο)ῦ πν(εύματό)ς μ(ο)υ ἐπὶ π(ᾶ)σ(αν) σάρκα.	
Ην ἠκούσατέ. Πότε δὲ ἤκουσαν; ὅτε ἔλεγε, συμφέρει ὑμῖν ἵνα ἐγὼ ἀπέλθω. ἐὰν γὰρ ἐγὼ μὴ ἀπέλθω, ὁ παράκλητος οὐκ ἐλεύσεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς. (καὶ) πάλιν. ἐγὼ ἐρωτήσω τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἄλλον παράκλητον πέμψει ὑμῖν. Ατὰρ εἰ μηδέπω παρεγένετο τὸ πνεύμα, πῶς ἔλεγε, λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον. ἢ ὅτι τοῦτο ἔλεγε,		÷ *ἣν ἠκούσατέ μου.* Πότε (δὲ) ἤκουσ(αν)· ὅτε ἔλεγε· «συμφέρει ὑμῖ ν ἵν(α) ἐγ(ὼ) ἀπέλθ(ω)· ἐ(ὰν) γ(ὰρ) ἐγὼ μὴ ἀπ ἐλθ(ω). ὁ πα(ρά)κλητο(ς)| οὐκ **ἐλεύσετε** πρὸ(ς) ὑμ(ᾶς)» (καὶ) π(ά)λιν· «ἐγ(ὼ) ἐρ(ω)τήσ(ω) τ(ὸν) π(ατέ)ρα. (καὶ) ἄλλ(ον) πα(ρά)κλητ(ον) πέ μψει ὑμ(ῖν)· **(καὶ)** εἰ μη(δε)πω παρεγένετο τὸ πν(εύμ)α.| π(ῶς) ἔλε(γε)· «λάβετε πν(εῦμ)α ἅ

δεκτικοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιτηδείους ποιῶν εἰς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἔλαβον δὲ ὅτε κατῆλθεν, ἢ ὅτι τὸ μέλλον ὡς ἤδη παρὸν εἴρηκεν, ἢ ὅτι τοῦ πνεύματος ἡ δόσις, ἡ μὲν καθαρτικὴ ἡ δὲ τελειωτική. ἡ οὖν τελεία καὶ τελειοποιὸς, ὥστε καὶ ἑτέρους τελειοποιεῖν, τοῦ πνεύματος, τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐπιφοίτησις, κατὰ τ(ὸν) καιρὸν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς γέγονεν. οὐκ ἦλθε δὲ παρόντος αὐτοῦ, ὅτι, εἰ ὁ μὲν ἀπῆλθε, τὸ δὲ ἔμεινεν, οὐκ ἦν τοσοῦτον τὸ τῆς παραμυθίας. σφόδρα γὰρ αὐτοῦ δυσαποσπάστως εἶχον. οὐ κατῆλθε δὲ τὸ πν(εῦμ)α εὐθέως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ὀκτὼ τυχὸν ἢ ἐννέα ἡμέρας, ἵνα καὶ μικρὸν ἀθυμήσαντες, καὶ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ χρείᾳ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας κατ(α)στάντες, καθαρὰν καὶ ἀπηρτισμένην δέξωνται τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ ἡδονήν. ἄλλως δὲ ἔδει ἐν οὐρανῷ φανῆναι τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν, καὶ τὰς καταλλαγὰς γενέσθαι ἀπηρτισμένας, (καὶ) τότε ἐλθεῖν τὸ πν(εῦμ)α. σκόπει δὲ ἵνα πάλιν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν μὴ φύγωσι, **πῶς** τῇ προσδοκίᾳ ταύτῃ καθάπερ τινὶ δεσμῷ κατέχει πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖσε.		γι(ον)· ἤ (ὅτι) τ(ο)ῦτο ἔλε(γε)· δεκτικ(οὺς) αὐτ(οὺς) (καὶ) ἐπιτηδεί(ους) ποι(ῶν) εἰς τ(ὴν) ὑποδοχ(ὴν) τ(οῦ) πν(εύματο)ς· ἔλαβ(ον) (δὲ) ὅτε κ(α)τῆλ|θ(εν). ἤ (ὅτι) τὸ μέλλ(ον) (ὡς) ἤδη π(α)ρ(ὸν) εἴρηκ(εν). ἤ (ὅτι) τ(ο)ῦ πν(εύματ)ος ἡ δόσις ἡ μ(ὲν) καθ(αρ)τικὴ. ἡ (δὲ) τελει(ω)τική. ἡ **μ(έν)τοι** τελεί(α) (καὶ) τε|λειοποιὸ(ς) (ὥσ)τε (καὶ) ἑτέρ(ους) τελειοποι(εῖν) τ(ο)ῦ πν(εύματο)ς τ(οῖς) ἀπ(οστόλ)οις ἐπιφοίτη(σις). κ(ατὰ) τ(ὸν) κ(αι)ρ(ὸν) τ(ῆς) π(εν)τηκοστ(ῆς) γέγον(εν)· οὐκ ἦλθε (δὲ) π(α)ρ(όν)το(ς)| αὐτ(ο)ῦ (ὅτι) εἰ ὁ μ(ὲν) ἀπῆλθε τὸ (δὲ) ἔμειν(εν). Οὐκ ἦν τοσ(ο)ῦτ(ον) τὸ τ(ῆς) παραμυθί(ας). Σφόδρ(α) γ(ὰρ) αὐτ(ο)ῦ δυσαποσπ(ά)στ(ως) εἶχον.|| ÷ οὐ κ(α)τῆλθε (δὲ) τὸ πν(εῦμ)α εὐθέ(ως) ἀλλ(ὰ) μ(ε)τ(ὰ) ὀκτ(ὼ) τυχ(ὸν) ἢ θ ἡμέ(ρας)· ἵνα (καὶ) μικρ(ὸν) ἀθυμήσ(αν)τ(ες) (καὶ) ἐν ἐπιθυμί(ᾳ) (καὶ) χρεί(ᾳ) τ(ῆς) ἐπαγγελί(ας) κ(ατα)στ(άν)τ(ες), κ(α)θ(α)ρ(ὰν) (καὶ) ἀπηρ|τισμ(ένην) δέξ(ων)τ(αι) τ(ὴν) ἐπὶ τηι παρ(ο)υσί(ᾳ) ἡδον(ήν)· ἄλλ(ως) (δὲ). ἔδει ἐν οὐ(ρα)νῶι φανῆν(αι) τ(ὴν) ἡμετέ(ραν) φύ(σιν)· (καὶ) τ(ὰς) κ(ατ)αλλαγ(ὰς) γενέσθ(αι) ἀπηρτισμ(ένας)· (καὶ) τότε ἐλθ(εῖν)| τὸ

Acts 1:5 Ὅτι Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι. Παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὕδατι ἐβαπτίσθησαν, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. ἐνταῦθα φανερῶς ἤδη τὸ πρὸς Ἰωάννου αὐτοῦ ὑπερβάλλον (sic) παριστᾷ, οὐχ ὡς ὅτε ἔλεγεν. ὁ μικρότερος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν μείζων Ἰωάννου ἐστίν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε **ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας**. Βαπτισθήσεσθε εἶπεν, ἀλλ' οὐ βαπτίσω, τὸ ἀκόμιστατον μεταδιώκων. ἄλλως τε καὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦτο προδιδάξαντος ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ, περιττὴ ἡ δι' ἑαυτοῦ προσθήκη. χωρὶς δὲ ὕδατος οὐ βαπτίζει ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ χάριτι; **καὶ γὰρ** τὸ κυριώτερον τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστί, δ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐνεργεῖ. ἐπεὶ καὶ Χριστὸς αὐτὸς ἄνευ ἐλαίου γέγονε. Acts 1:6 **Οἱ μὲν οὖν συνελθόντες ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν, λέγοντες. κύριε, εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποκαθιστάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραὲλ**; Σκόπει **ἐνταῦθα**. ἐπεὶ πρὸ τοῦ πάθους **ἠρώτησαν** τὰ περὶ συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου, οὐκ ἔτι περὶ τούτου ἐπερωτῶσιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ	*ὅτι ἰω(άννης) μ(ὲν) ἐβάπτισ(εν) ὕδατι|* Παρὰ τ(ὴν) ἀρχ(ὴν) οἱ ἀπ(όστολ)οι ὕδατι ἐβ(α)πτίσθησ(αν)· μετὰ ταῦ(τα) (δὲ) (καὶ) ἁγίῳ πν(εύματ)ι· ἐνταῦθ(α) φανερ(ῶς) ἤδη τὸ πρὸ(ς)| ἰω(άννου) αὐτ(ο)ῦ ὑπ(ερ)βαλλ(ον) παριστ(ᾷ)· οὐχ (ὡς) ὅτε ἔλεγ(εν). ὁ μικρότερο(ς) ἐν τῇι βασιλείαι τ(ῶν) οὐ(ρα)νῶν, μείζω(ν) ἰω(άννου) ἐστί(ν).|| *Ὑμεῖς (δὲ) βαπτισθή(σεστε)·* βαπτισθήσεσθε, εἶπ(εν) ἀλλ' οὐ β(α)πτίσ(ω), τὸ ἀκόμιστ(α)τ(ον) μ(ε)τ(α)δι(ώ)κ(ων)· ἄλλ(ως) τε· (καὶ) ἰ|ωάννου τ(ο)ῦτο προδιδ(ά)ξ(αν)το(ς) ἐν τ(ῷ) εἰπ(εῖν)· αὐτὸ(ς) ὑμ(ᾶς) β(α)πτίσει ἐν πν(εύματ)ι ἁγί(ῳ) (καὶ) πυρὶ. Περιττὴ ἡ δι' ἑαυτ(ο)ῦ| προ(σ)θήκη· χ(ω)ρὶς (δὲ) ὕδατο(ς) οὐ βαπτίζει ἐν τ(ῷ) ὑπερώῳ χ(ά)ριτι. (**ὅτι**) τὸ κυρι(ώ)τερ(ον) τὸ πν(εῦμ)α (ἐστι) δι' οὗ (καὶ) τὸ ὕ|δ(ωρ) ἐνεργεῖ· (**ὅτι**) ἐπεὶ (καὶ) χ(ριστὸ)ς αὐτὸ(ς) ἄνευ ἐλαί(ο)υ γέγονε· σκόπει **δὲ**· (**ὅτι**) ἐπεὶ πρὸ τ(ο)ῦ πάθ(ους) **ἐρ(ω)τήσ(αν)τ(ες)** τὰ| πε(ρὶ) συντελεί(ας) τ(ο)ῦ κόσμ(ο)υ. οὐκ ἔτι πε(ρὶ) τ(ο)ύτ(ο)υ ἐπερ(ω)τῶσιν· ἀλλ(ὰ) πε(ρὶ) β(α)σιλεί(ας) κοσμικ(ῆς)· ἔτι γ(ὰρ) ἀτελέστερ(ον)	πν(εῦμ)α· σκόπει (δὲ)· ἵνα π(ά)λιν μ(ε)τ(ὰ) τ(ὴν) ἀνάλη(ψιν) μὴ φύγ(ω)σι, τῆι προ(σ)δοκί(ᾳ) ταύτηι κ(α)θ(ά)π(ερ) τινι δεσμ(ῷ). κατέχει π(άν)τ(ας) αὐτ(οὺς) ἐκεῖσε· ὀμ(ο)ῦ (δὲ) συνελ|θ(όν)τ(ες) ἠρ(ώ)τ(ων), ἵνα τ(ῷ) πλήθει δυσ(ω)πήσ(ω)σιν· ἀκ(ο)ύσ(αν)τ(ες) (δὲ) (ὅτι) οὐδ(εὶς) οἴ(δε) τ(ὴν) ἡμέρ(αν) π(ά)λ(ιν) ἐρ(ω)τ(ᾶ)σιν. ἐπειδ(ὴ) ἥκ(ο)υσ(αν) ὅ(τι) μέλλ(ο)υσι λάμβαν(ειν) τὸ πν(εῦμ)α, (ὡς) ἄξιοι| λοιπ(ὸν) ἤθελ(ον) μ(α)θ(εῖν).| (καὶ) ἀπαλλαγῆν(αι) τ(ῶν)| δυσχερ(ῶν) ἐπεθύμο(υν)·| οὐκ εἶπ(ον) (δὲ) **τότε**, ἀλ|λ' εἰ ἐν τ(ῷ) χρόν(ῳ) τ(ο)ύτ(ῳ)·| εἰ νῦν **φη(σίν)**. οὕτ(ως) ἐπε|θύμο(υν) τ(ὴν) ἡμέρ(αν). ἐμοὶ| (δὲ) δοκεῖ οὐ(δὲ) τετρ(α)ν(ῶ)σθ(αί)| π(ως) αὐτ(οῖς) τί ποτ ἦν ἡ βα|σιλεί(α)· οὔπ(ω) γ(ὰρ) ἦν διδ(α)|ξ(αν) τὸ πν(εῦμ)α· εἶπ(ον) (δὲ) τὸ (ἀπο)|καθιστ(ά)ν(εις). (ὅτι) μείζον(α)| λοιπ(ὸν) πε(ρὶ) αὐτ(ο)ῦ ἐφ(αν)τά|ζ(ον)το. διὸ (καὶ) αὐτὸ(ς) ἀνη|γμέν(ως) αὐτ(οῖς) διελέγετο·| οὐ γ(ὰρ) εἶπ(εν) οὐ(δὲ) ὁ υἱὸς| οἶδ(εν) ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑμ(ῶν) (ἐστι)· (καὶ)| ἵνα μὴ ἀθυμήσ(ω)σιν,| ἐπήγαγ(εν)· ἀλλ(ὰ) λήψε|σθε δύν(αμιν)· ἐκεῖνοι **(δὲ)** οὐ| πε(ρὶ) τ(ῆς) συντελείας ἠ|ρ(ώ)τησ(αν)· αὐτὸ(ς) (δὲ) ὃ οὐκ ἠ|ρ(ώ)τησαν διδάσκει·| (ὅτι) ἀρίστ(ο)υ διδασκά|λ(ο)υ (ἐστὶ), μὴ ἃ β(ο)ύλ(ον)τ(αι)| οἱ

βασιλείας κοσμικῆς. ἔτι γὰρ ἀτελέστερον διέκειντο. ὁμοῦ δὲ συνελθόντες ἠρώτων, ἵνα τῷ πλήθει δυσωπήσωσιν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ **πρὸ τοῦ πάθους,** ὅτι οὐδεὶς οἶδε τὴν ἡμέραν, **ὅμως (καὶ) νῦν** πάλιν ἐρωτῶσιν. **ἐπεὶ γὰρ** ἤκουσαν ὅτι μέλλουσι λαμβάνειν τὸ πνεῦμα, ὡς ἄξιοι λοιπὸν ἤθελον μαθεῖν, καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν δυσχερῶν ἐπεθύμουν. οὐκ εἶπον δὲ, **πότε**. ἀλλ᾽ εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ; εἰ νῦν; **φασίν**. οὕτως ἐπεθύμουν τὴν ἡμέραν. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ οὐδὲ τετρανῶσθαί πως αὐτοῖς, τί ποτ' ἦν ἡ βασιλεία. οὔπω γὰρ ἦν διδάξαν τὸ πνεῦμα. εἶπον δὲ τὸ, ἀποκαθιστάνεις, ὅτι μείζονα λοιπὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφαντάζοντο. διὸ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνημένως αὐτοῖς διελέγετο. οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν. οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς οἶδεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστί. καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἀθυμήσωσιν, ἐπήγαγεν. ἀλλὰ λήψεσθε δύναμιν καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐ περὶ τῆς συντελείας ἠρώτησαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὃ οὐκ ἠρώτησαν διδάσκει. ὅτι ἀρίστου διδασκάλου ἐστὶ, μὴ ἃ βούλονται οἱ μαθηταὶ, ἀλλ' ἃ συμφέρει μαθεῖν, διδάσκειν. διά τοι τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἐρώτησιν ἀπήντησεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔχουσαν χρηστὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κατεπεῖγον ἐδίδασκε. τοῦ πν(εύματο)ς γὰρ ἦν χρεία μάλιστα αὐτοῖς τότε.	διέκειν|το· **ἀλλ(ὰ) (καὶ) αὐτὸ(ς)**. οὐ πρὸ(ς) τ(ὴν) ἐρ(ώ)της(ιν) ἀπήστησ(εν), (ὡς) μηδ(ὲν) ἔχ(ς)υσ(αν) χρηστ(ὸν)· ἀλλ(ὰ) τὸ κ(α)τεπεῖγ(ον) **διδ(ά)σκει**· τ(ο)ῦ| πν(εύματο)ς γ(ὰρ) ἦν χρεί(α) μ(ά)λιστ(α) αὐτ(οῖς) **τ(ῆς) ἐπιδημί(ας)· (καὶ) διδ(α)σκ(ά)λ(ο)υ τ(ο)ῦτο· τὸ οἷς θέλει. οὐκ οἷς οἱ μαθητ(αὶ)| ἐφιστ(ᾶν)**.	μα|θητ(αὶ)·| **ἀλλὰ** συμφέρει μ(α)|θεῖν διδάσκειν :–

Table 3. Differences between Donatus' edition and Paris, BnF, gr. 219 in scholia on Acts 1:4–6.

3. The Catena of Pseudo-Theophylact

In 1755, the editor Bonifacius Finettus published three separate commentaries on Acts, all attributed to Theophylact, an exegete and Archbishop of Ochrid in Bulgaria (1055–1107).[158] These commentaries were based on three manuscripts: Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 150 (fourteenth century), Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 652 (fourteenth century), and Florence, BML, Plutei IV.5 (second half of the thirteenth century).[159] Because these commentaries significantly differed from each other, he published them under the titles *Expositio in Acta Apostolorum* (Theol. gr. 150), *Expositionis in Acta textus alter* (Vat. gr. 652), and *Expositionis in Acta textus tertius* (Plutei IV.5), respectively. In 1864, Migne republished these commentaries in volume 125 of his *Patrologia Graeca*.[160]

The CPG, based on Migne's edition and Devreesse's brief account of Acts catenae, contains an entry for *Commentarii Theophylacti* (C152) without differentiating between the three versions.[161] However, these commentaries have been extensively discussed and analysed by von Soden and Hutchinson, and differentiated in my 2022 article.[162] As a result, they have been reclassified and included in the Catena Catalogue: the *Expositio* is now classified as C152.1 ("Theophylact" subtype), *Textus alter* as C151.3 ("Oecumenius" subtype), and *Textus tertius* as C150.2b ("Andreas" abbreviated subtype). The reasons for this reassignment will be explained in detail below.

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[158] Finettus 1755. For an overview of Theophylact's life and work see ODB III: 2068.

[159] dikyton 71817 (GA 1524); diktyon 67283 (GA 1842); diktyon 15921 (GA 455).

[160] PG 125, coll. 495–1132.

[161] CPG IV: 381; Devreesse 1928: 1206.

[162] Soden 1902: 687–690; Hutchinson 1928: 106–110; Scieri 2022a: 291, 294, 298.

3.1 Sifanius' *Expositio*

The first commentary in Finettus' volume is a reprint of an edition that had been published in 1567 by Laurentius Hubert Sifanus (1520–1579), a German humanist known to have published the complete works of Gregory of Nyssa between 1562 and 1571.[163] The text of Theophylact's catena on Acts, titled *Enarratio in Acta Apostolorum*, was based on the fourteenth-century Vienna Theol. gr. 150, a manuscript containing the Acts, Catholic Epistles and Pauline Epistles with catena in alternating layout.[164] This codex was acquired by the humanist and polymath Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584) in Padua before 1560, as indicated on f. 1r.[165] Sambucus then sent the manuscript to bookseller Arnold Birckmann (before 1508–1541), who, aware of Sifanius' expertise in ancient Greek manuscripts, commissioned him to transcribe the text and publish it with a Latin translation. In a preface dedication to the brothers Markus (1529–1597) and Hans Fugger (1531–1598), prominent members of a wealthy and influential business family in the sixteenth century, Sifanius explains the challenging circumstances that surrounded the publication, mainly several delays caused by the manuscript's poor condition and the

[163] For information on Sifanus see the article by Heinz Schmitt in BBKL 24: 1366–1376, and Almasi–Kiss 2015: 86 (n. 513).

[164] Text in PG 125, coll. 484–848.

[165] For information on Sambucus see Almasi–Kiss 2015. On p. 86 (n. 513) the authors discuss a letter from Sambucus to Theodore Zwinger, dated March 1, 1560. In the letter, Sambucus informs Zwinger, his former companion and fellow student in Padua, that he had started translating Theophylact, but due to some unfortunate circumstances, he could not complete this task. Notably, Sambucus has made several marginal annotations in the manuscript, such as on ff. 2v, 65v, 76v, and others.

careful selection of an appropriate patron:[166] following his ten-year tenure as their tutor, Sifanius eventually approached the Fugger brothers, seeking their patronage and financial support for the publication.

In a subsequent dedication to Sambucus in 1567, Sifanius provides a justification for the imperfections found in his editions.[167] Due to the manuscript's deteriorated state and its unique status as a single copy of the text, the editor explains that he provided corrections for the original manuscript where the reading was deemed unacceptable. He marks these corrections in the margin with *habetur* or *habebatur* to allow readers to make an unbiased choice. In cases of uncertain readings, he suggests alternative possibilities in the margin accompanied by ἴσως ("perhaps"), encouraging diligent scholars to independently evaluate and make their own judgments based on their access to more accurate manuscripts. While Sifanius made these adjustments with the intention of facilitating meticulous research and enhancing accurate understanding within the academic community,[168] in Finettus' re-edition such corrections are incorporated into the text itself, with the original readings and explanatory notes provided in a concise apparatus placed at the bottom of the page (Image 2).

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[166] PG 125, coll. 477–482 The same content has been republished with commentary in Almasi-Kiss 2015: 86–93.

[167] PG 125, coll. 481–484; Almasi–Kiss 2015: 93–95.

[168] PG 125, coll. 483–484; Almasi–Kiss 2015: 94–95. *Atque hoc feci ut admonerem studiosos, quibus ea facultas est, ut adhibitis correctioribus exemplaribus, ipsi sibi iuxta ac reipublicae consulant in istiusmodi locis* ("And I have done this to remind those who have the ability that, by using more accurate exemplars, they can consult and correct such passages for themselves and for the benefit of the community").

Even though the main source for the commentary is Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts*, Sifanius notes in the preface that other fathers such as Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, and Severus of Antioch are quoted in the compilation, with their names often reported in the margins. Based on my analysis, the occurrences are distributed in the following manner:

- 6 from Josephus Flavius (PG 125, coll. 520B, 544A, 596C, 609B, 680B, 688A)
- 5 from Cyril of Alexandria (PG 125 coll. 572A, 620D, 625C, 709A, 716C)
- 2 from Severian of Gabala (PG 125 coll. 529A, 540C)
- 2 from Didymus of Alexandria (PG 125 coll. 528B, 572B)
- 2 from Eusebius of Caesarea (PG 125 coll. 596C, 680B)
- 1 from Severus of Antioch (PG 125 col. 529A)
- 1 from Origen (PG 125 col. 520B)
- 1 from Papias (PG 125 col. 521C)

However, all the material is brought together to form a unified body of work.[169] This method of combining different sources into a coherent whole is similar to how Pseudo-Oecumenius approached his compilation and reproposes the metaphor of the

[169] PG 125, coll. 481–482; Almasi–Kiss 2015: 92: *Nam non solum ex Ioanne Chrysostomo, verumetiam ex Basilio, Cyrillo, Severo et nonnullis aliis, quae ad propositum et rem institutam pertinere viderentur desumpsit, et* ***in unum corpus contraxit****, quam rem non modo genus dicendi, si quis animum attendat, verumetiam nomina authorum in margine annotata significant atque declarant* ("For he drew not only from John Chrysostom but also from Basil, Cyril, Severus, and some others whose writings seemed relevant to the purpose and the subject, and he gathered them into a single body of work, which not only the style of writing, if anyone pays attention, but also the names of the authors noted in the margin clearly indicate and declare").

"single body" (*in unum corpus contraxit*) that is found in the prefaces of Procopius of Gaza (ἕν γένεσθαι σῶμα τῆς γραφῆς) and Donatus (ἀφ' ὧν εἰς ἓν ὡσπερεὶ σῶμα συνηθροίθησαν). This compilation can indeed be referred to as a 'catena-commentary', as implicit in the CPG denomination *Commentarii Theophylacti* (C152).[170] Although Finettus would criticise Sifanius for not relying on Chrysostom's commentary to make emendations in uncertain passages,[171] the caution displayed in using this source to amend the catena in the Florentine codex reflects a methodological prudence in editing catena-commentaries, particularly the risk of altering the original text of the compilation. This may itself contain abbreviated and reworked material, and any efforts to "improve" it through direct traditions might result in a text that differs from the compiler's original intent, along with variants that were absent in the exemplar employed by them.

The work's attribution to Theophylact of Ochrid is a less debated issue. This is established based on the title in Vienna Theol. gr. 150 (f. 1r): ἐκ τῶν ἐξηγητικῶν τοῦ ἁγ(ίου) ἰω(άννου) τοῦ χρυσ(οστόμου) καὶ τινων ἐκ τῶν πατέρων ἐξηγήσεις εἰς τὰς πράξεις κατὰ συντομίαν συλλεγεῖσαι παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου θεοφυλάκτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου βουλγαρίας ("From the Explanations of St. John Chrysostom and some interpretations of the fathers on the Acts, gathered in a concise manner by the most blessed Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria").[172] While Sifanius initially questioned the author's identity but eventually

[170] CPG IV: 381.

[171] PG 125, coll. 407–408, 481–482.

[172] Because the inscription in the black and white digitised images on the NTVMR and DigiVatLib databases was hard to decipher, I am providing here a retranscription based on Soden 1902: 688, along with the inclusion of diacritical marks for accuracy.

identified him as the eleventh-century exegete and archbishop, there is no doubt in his preface about the authorship of the compilation.[173] However, these are raised by Finettus in the preface to his re-edition of Sifanius.[174] The editor points out that the style of the commentary in this manuscript differs from Theophylact's other writings, which primarily focus on the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles. As noted by Hutchinson, in those works Theophylact thoroughly reworks his sources, integrating the form and wording of these with his thoughts.[175] In the Vienna manuscript, instead, the commentary includes mentions of patristic sources, which raises concerns about its authenticity. Nevertheless, the editor acknowledges that quoting sources is typical in the genre of catenae, which are compilations of commentary from different sources, and suggests that later hands might have added material from these into the original catena.[176]

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[173] PG 125, coll. 481–482.

[174] PG 125, coll. 407–408.

[175] Hutchinson 1928: 108.

[176] PG 125, coll. 407-408: *nomina vero Patrum, cum fere solum in margine appareant, ab alio fortasse adjungi potuisse, eaque non satis esse, ut Catena potius dicatur quam Commentarius; praesertim cum verba Patrum ita invicem connexa sint, ut continentem expositionem conficiant: solum idcirco ex his inferri posse Theophylacti lucubrationi aliqua ab aliis addita esse. Id vero non mirum in hujus rationis opera, quod, cum totum ferme ex alienis dictis contextum sit, eruditus quisque arbitrari poterat, ea sibi omnia adjungere licere, quae ex usu esse putaret* ("Indeed, the names of the Fathers, since they mostly appear only in the margin, could have been added by someone else, and this is not enough to call it a Catena rather than a Commentary, especially since the words of the Fathers are so interconnected that they form a continuous exposition. It can only be inferred from these that some additions may have been made by others to the work of Theophylact. This is not surprising in works of this kind because, since almost the entire composition is made up of the sayings of others, anyone learned could consider it permissible to add whatever they thought was useful to themselves").

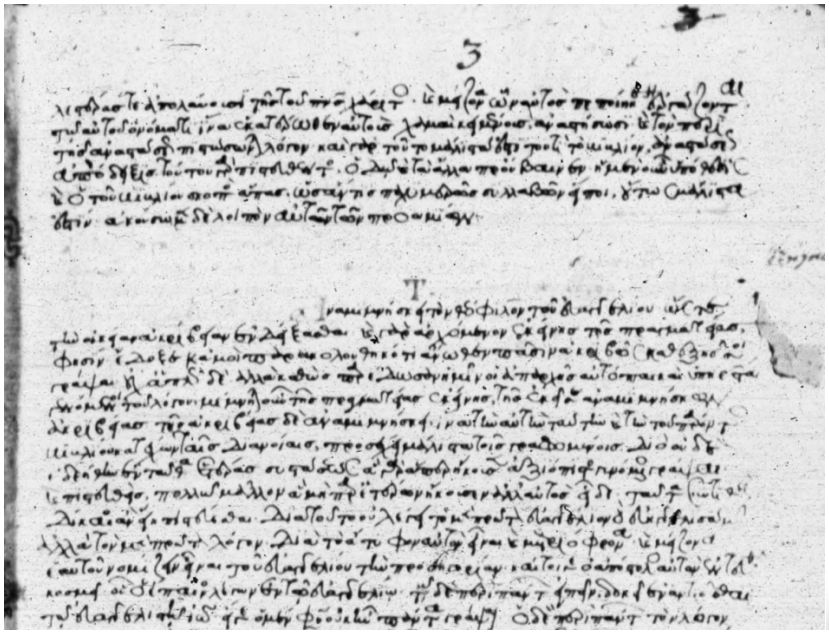
This statement by Finettus not only implicitly reveals an awareness of the distinction between a proper catena and a catena-commentary, which is often discussed in catena studies, but also explicitly recognises the compilation practices within the catena tradition. The idea that a learned editor or a scribe could incorporate their own judgment and additions in a work largely composed of borrowed content resonates with the concept of the 'open book' proposed by William Lamb, although with some limitations due to the absence of extensive manuscript evidence.[177] I will discuss this idea later, highlighting both its validity and drawbacks.[178] As we progress further, I will provide evidence to support Finettus' intuition regarding subsequent additions within a core commentary.[179] For now, it is sufficient to know that the compilation in Vienna, Theol. gr. 150 is also attested by three other witnesses. The first two are Vatican Vat. gr. 760 (eleventh century), ff. 2v–180r, and Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, Panaghias 33 (tenth century; commentary dated to thirteenth century), ff. 1r–5r, which in my 2022 reclassification of Acts catena manuscripts I identified as representatives of distinct stages of development, while the third is the newly added Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 279 (fifteenth century).[180]

[177] Lamb 2012: 58–64.

[178] See below V.2.

[179] See below V.4.

[180] diktyon 67391 (GA 437); diktyon 33678 (GA 1871); diktyon 58654 (GA 1876). See Scieri 2022a: 298–300.



est : audiamus autem deinceps ipsa principia.

CAPUT I.

Vers. 1. *Primum quidem librum confeci, o Theophile, de omnibus.*

Commonefacit Theophilum Evangelii, ut exquisitam et accuratam suam diligentiam ostendat. Etenim in initio illius operis : Visum est, inquit, etiam mihi, qui omnia a capite diligenter investigavi, deinceps tibi scribere ; non simpliciter autem, sed quemadmodum tradiderunt nobis qui ab initio spectatores et ministri Verbi fuerunt. Mentionem igitur facit illius commentarii, diligentiam, qua usus est illic, ei redigens in memoriam. Diligentiæ autem illum commonefacit, ut illam ipsam, et eum, qua usus est in hoc libro mente atque memoria tenens, ad ea quæ scribuntur, maxime animum attendat. Quamobrem ne optis quidem hic habuit alia commendatione. Nam qui idoneus ac gravis scriptor habitus sit, ac fidem fecerit earum rerum, quæ audivit, huic ea, quæ non ab aliis accepit, sed ipse vidit, componenti longe major fides haberi debebit. Idcirco non dicit : Primum quidem Evangelium, quod conscripsi : sed, Primum quidem librum seu commentarium : non enim erat vanus, et inanis

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ΚΕΦΑΛ. Α'.

Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην περὶ πάντων, ὦ Θεόφιλε.

Ἀναμιμνήσκει τὸν Θεόφιλον τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, ὥστε τὴν οἰκείαν ἀκρίβειαν ἐνδείξασθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἀρχόμενος [89] ἐκείνης τῆς πραγματείας, φησίν· Ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ παρακολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, οὐχ ἁπλῶς δὲ, ἀλλὰ καθὼς παρέδοσαν [90] ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπαρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ Λόγου. Μέμνηται οὖν τῆς πραγματείας ἐκείνης, τῆς ἐκεῖσε ἀναμιμνήσκων ἀκριβείας· τῆς ἀκριβείας δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκει, ἵνα τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην καὶ τὴν τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου κατέχων ταῖς διανοίαις, προσέχῃ [91] μάλιστα τοῖς γραφομένοις· Διὸ οὐδὲ ἐδεήθην [92] ἐνταῦθα ἑτέρας συστάσεως. Ὁ [93] γὰρ ἄπερ ἤκουσεν, ἀξιόπιστος γενόμενος γράφαι καὶ πιστευθεὶς, πολλῷ μᾶλλον, ἃ μὴ παρ' ἑτέρων ἤκουσεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς εἶδε, ταῦτα συντιθεὶς, δίκαιος ἂν εἴη πιστεύεσθαι. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐ λέγει, Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην, ἀλλὰ, Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον, διὰ τὸ ἄτυφον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ μετριόφρονα, καὶ μείζονα ἑαυτοῦ νομίζειν εἶναι τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου τὴν προσηγορίαν· καίτοι γε ὁ ἀπόστολος

Variæ lectiones et notæ.

[89] πρώτοις *erat.* [87] *pro*, τὰ, *lego* δέ. [88] οὖσιως, *erat.* [89] ἀρχόμενον, *erat.* [90] παρέδωσαν, *erat.* [91] προσέχει, *erat.* [92] ἴσ. ἐδεήθη. [93] Ὰ, *erat in apographo ; cristimo scribendum*, ὁ.

Image 2. Comparison of the page layout between Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 150 (f. 3r) and Finettus' *Expositio*

3.2 Finettus' *Textus alter*

Finettus' decision to include the text from Vatican Vat. gr. 652 (fourteenth century), a manuscript of Acts and Catholic Epistles with catena in alternating layout, was based solely on the inscription found on f. 16v: ἀπὸ φων(ῆς) τοῦ ἁγιωτάτ(ου) ἀρχιεπισκοπ(ου) πάσ(ης) βουλγαρίας κυρ(ίου) θεοφυλάκτ(ου) ("From the voice of the most holy Archbishop of all Bulgaria, Lord Theophylact"). As already noted by Hutchinson, this was written over an erased line.[181] However, doubts are expressed by Finettus in his preface regarding the attribution of the commentary to Theophylact, mainly because two other catenae are also attributed to him.[182] Upon examining the initial section of the catena, which consists primarily of scholia from Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts* with some variations, the editor noticed inaccuracies in the editing of the Father's material that an erudite like Theophylact would not have made, and considered the possibility of errors introduced by scribes, consequently making corrections to the manuscript.[183]

More importantly, after analysing the direct tradition of Chrysostom and other commentaries attributed to the archbishop of Bulgaria, the editor noticed that from Acts 7:20 the catena deviates from Chrysostom's text and aligns more with the Pseudo-

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[181] Hutchinson 1928: 108.

[182] PG 125, coll. 409–416.

[183] PG 125, coll. 409–410: *Quam ob rem Commentarius iste Theophylacto, viro doctrina et judicii maturitate praestanti, abjudicandus videri juri posset, nisi haec omnia in subsequentium librariorum oscitantiam, vel imperitiam, ac saepius temeritatem refundere praestaret* ("For this reason, this commentary could be considered to be taken away from Theophylact, a man distinguished by his learning and mature judgment, if it did not appear that all these things were better attributed to the carelessness, ignorance, and more often recklessness of later copyists").

Oecumenius catena published by Donatus.[184] Finettus examined this edition but could not definitively confirm Donatus' manuscript as the exemplar for *Textus alter*. He also rejected Oecumenius as the author based on stylistic parallels with his Pauline Epistles compilation.[185] While he considered Theophylact as a potential author due to the phrase ἀπὸ φωνῆς (lit. "from the voice") in the title, which also appears in his commentary on the Gospels, the absence in Vatican Vat. gr. 652 of a prologue by this author, usually present before his Gospel commentary, cast doubt, leading to the dismissal of Theophylact's authorship.[186]

The resemblance to Pseudo-Oecumenius' catena was later reinstated by Christian Friedrich von Matthaei and by von Soden.[187] The first edited a collection of selected scholia from four manuscripts, including Moscow, GIM, Sinod. gr. 192 (Vlad. 095)

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[184] PG 125, coll. 411–412: *Chrysostomus tamen non ita frequenter adire opus mihi fuit, cum a medio circiter septimo capite a Chrysostomo magis discedere et Commentario in Acta apostolorum sub nomine OEcumenii jam dudum vulgato ad amussim fere convenire deprehenderim* ("However, I did not need to consult Chrysostom's work as frequently, as I noticed that it tends to deviate from Chrysostom's commentary on the Acts of the Apostles and, from around the middle of the seventh chapter onwards, it closely aligns with the commentary on the Acts of the Apostles published long ago under the name of Oecumenius").

[185] PG 125, col. 412. Finettus contended that commentaries like this frequently combine fragments from various authors with unique styles, making it difficult to attribute a singular writing style to Oecumenius.

[186] PG 125, coll. 413–414: *Haec aliquanto fusius persecutus sum [...] ut eorum sententiam minime improbandam ostenderem, qui cum in tertio hujus editionis volumine locum habere voluerunt, tametsi maxima ex parte jampridem sub Oecumenii nomine prodiisset* ("I have discussed this in somewhat greater detail [...] to demonstrate that I do not disapprove of the opinion of those who wanted [this commentary] to have a place in the third volume of this edition, even though the majority of it had already been published under the name of Oecumenius").

[187] Matthaei 1782: 301–347; Soden 1902: 689.

(fourteenth century), which contains the same catena as *Textus alter*, while the second identified nine representatives of this type, including the Vatican manuscript published by Finettus (Table 4).[188] Von Soden conducted a thorough comparison between *Textus alter* and Donatus' text and noticed that only fifteen short scholia were absent from Donatus' text.[189] In contrast, the strong faithfulness of the Chrysostomian section before Acts 7:20 to the direct tradition, with only minor variant readings, led the German scholar to characterise the compiler as an admirer of Chrysostom.[190] Nevertheless, he also pointed out the absence of fifty-two scholia that can be found in Donatus' edition.[191] This observation suggests that this compilation is an abridged version of the Pseudo-Oecumenius type. Indeed, this is corroborated by a textual comparison, which

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[188] Von Soden's list consists of manuscripts all identified with the siglum *O* for *Kommentar des Ökumenius*, apart from Vat. gr. 652, which is assigned O^{Tp40}. However, Sinod. gr. 192 (diktyon 43817 [GA 453]) is not included in the list.

[189] Soden 1902: 692 enumerates these scholia as being found at Acts 7:47–49, 9:32–43, 10:34–43, 12:18–24, 13:47–49, 13:50, 14:18–26, 15:16–34, 17:19–34, 19:1–8, 27:1–28:1. Upon my examination, they correspond to the following references in PG 125: coll. 908C.3–8, 944A.3–5, 948A4–5, 949B.10–12, 960C.1–4, 969A.11–B.7, 969C.1–5, 973B.4–6, 981A.13–B.13, 996B.5–8, 1000C.1–9, 1005D.10–17, 1008B.1–6, 1024D.13–1025A.4, 1025A.4, 1052B.11–15, 105C.6–8, C.10–D.5.

[190] Soden 1902: 689.

[191] von Soden does not list these passages. Based on my examination, they align with the references found in PG 118: coll. 141C.10–D.7, 145C.2–4, 145D.10–148B.5, 149C.3–5, 149D.2–4, 153A.10, 153B.1–11, 157B.3–C.11, 161C.11–D.5, 165D.13–168B.9, 169A.14–B.2, 169D.2–9, 172A.5–11, 173C.11–D.2, 177D.1–4, 180A.9–14, 180A.5–10, 181B.15–D.7, 184C.1–3, 189D.9–11, 192A.10–13, 193D.13–196A.6, 197A.8–9, 197C.4–D.3, 200D.1–3, 201A.15–B7, 204B.13–C.2, 204D.12–13, 205A.14–B.9, 205C.2–10, 205D.1–7, 208B.6–15, 209A.14–C.5, 217D.2–3, 220A.12–C.4, 220D.11–221A.4, 225D.12–228A.2, 228B.4–14, 229A.2, 236A.15–B.3, 240B.5–11, 241D.7–11, 244D.4–7, 245A.15–C.9, 248A.2–9, 256B.12–C.5, 256D.5–257A.13, 257D.10–260A.13, 261B.1–6, 269D.1–273A.12, 276D.1–10, 280C.8–12, 281C.10–21, 285A.7–14, 289B.7–11, 292C.1–292A.2, 305B.15–308A.11.

reveals that these omissions primarily consist of sentences removed from what appears to be more extensive passages in Donatus' text, a pattern that is observed not only in the fourteenth-century manuscript used as the base text but also in earlier representatives.

In contrast to Parpulov, who has maintained the Clavis number C152 for this catena type while denying the genuine paternity of Theophylact,[192] in my re-categorisation of catena manuscripts on Acts, I have assigned the compilation to a subcategory of the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena, specifically C151.3.[193] This reclassification is not based on authorship but on the textual characteristics, as approximately three-quarters of *Textus alter* align with this tradition. An illustration of this relationship can be seen in Acts 8:9–25 and 28:29–31, where all the scholia on these passages are present in the same number and order in both types, clearly indicating their mutual connection.[194] Moreover, I have expanded von Soden's list by including five additional manuscripts. To account for the limited number of variations recorded between the manuscripts of this subtype, which are likely the result of different editorial stages, I have further subdivided them into four subgroups: C151.3a, b, c, d (Table 4).

[192] The genuine commentaries of Theophylact are classified as a distinct category and given the sigla e.Θϕ for Gospel commentary and p.Θϕ for Pauline commentary. See Parpulov 2021: 211–212.

[193] Scieri 2022a: 294–296.

[194] Scieri 2022a: 295 (table 6).

Manuscript	GA	diktyon	content	Acts section	date	layout	von Soden	Parpulov	Scieri
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 3	314	47289	acpr	10r–27r	10th 1/2	frame	O^{46}	C152	C151.3a
Florence, BML, Plutei IV.1	454	15917	acp	1r–46r	10th	frame	O^{8}	C152	C151.3a
Athos, Hagiou Pavlou Monastery, 2	1862	23466	acpr	23r–98r	11th	frame	O^{21}	C152	C151.3a
London, BL, Add. 39599	911	39178	acp	2r–60v	11th	frame	—	C152	C151.3a
Athens, EBE, 207	1360	2503	acp	1r–88v/1–178	11th	frame	O^{29}	C152	C151.3a
Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Taphou 38	1888	35275	acpr	3r–72r	11th	frame	—	C152	C151.3a
Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, gr. 1,	441	64414	ac	1r–28r	13th	alternating	O^{10}	C152	C151.3a
Florence, BML, Plutei VIII.19	—	16077	ap	1r–41v	13th	alternating	—	C152	C151.3a
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1299	2242	53963	acp	11r–151v	13th in.	alternating	—	C152	C151.3a
Moscow, GIM, Sinod. gr.192 (V. 095)	463	43817	acp	4r–32v	14th 1/2	alternating	O^{18}	C152	C151.3a
Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 302	424	71969	acpr	17v–101r	10th	alternating	—	C152	C151.3b
Paris, BnF, Coislin 224	250	49365	acpr	28r–111r	11th in.	alternating	O^{36}	C152	C151.3b
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1270	621	67901	acp	2r–67r	13th	alternating	O^{8}	C152	C151.3c
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 652	1842	67283	ac	16r–75v	14th	alternating	O^{26}	C152	C151.3c
Oxford, New College, 59	327	48717	acp	1r–70r	12th 1/2	frame	$O^{\pi p40}$	C152	C151.3d

Table 4. Manuscripts of Theophylact's *Textus alter* reassigned to C151.3

The connection to the Pseudo-Oecumenius tradition can also be observed in the biblical text. Houghton, who has conducted a recent analysis of the relationship between catena manuscripts included in the ECM, with a specific focus on the biblical text, has brought attention to the Textual Flow diagram of Acts manuscripts created by the ECM editors using the Coherence Based Genealogical Method.[195] He observes that immediately below Vienna Theol. gr. 302 (eleventh century), which contains a "pure" Byzantine text, is Munich, BSB, gr. 375 (eleventh century), which is classified as a representative of the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena in the 'Donatus text-type' (C151.1) according to von Soden.[196] However, in my 2022 study, I have identified the latter manuscript as belonging to another subtype which, although showing a closer resemblance to the 'Donatus text-type' than the abbreviated C151.3 (hence subcategory C151.2),[197] exhibits variations in scholia in several sections, particularly in the case of Acts 8:9–25. Despite the observed variations, the proximity of Theol. gr. 302 and Munich, BSB, gr. 375 in the Textual Flow diagram confirms that they belong to the same textual branch, which, in the context of the catena, implies that they share the same catena types. Moreover, the subcategorisation in the catena text could possibly account for the different level of variation in the Textual Flow diagram of the biblical text.[198]

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[195] Houghton 2023: 14–17.

[196] diktyon 44823 (GA 0142); Soden 1902: 691.

[197] Scieri 2022a: 294–295. Interestingly, Munich gr. 375 and the other two representatives of this subtype make also a subtype of the Pseudo-Oecumenius' commentary on the Pauline Epistles ("Secondary expanded type" according to Staab: 160–167; and cf. Panella 2021: 396).

[198] As noted in Houghton 2023: 14, n. 37, for the biblical text, the three other witnesses to C151, Vat. gr. 652 (GA 1842), Vat. gr. 1270 (GA 621), Uppsala gr. 1 (GA 441) are grouped on the far right-hand side of

The fact that Theophylact was not the author is also supported by palaeographical and manuscript evidence. The phrase ἀπὸ φωνῆς, which in Vat. gr. 652 precedes the attribution (f. 16v), has been the subject of lengthy debate among scholars. Finettus was uncertain whether it indicated that the text had been copied by a scribe who listened to Theophylact dictating the content aloud, or if it was a formula used to indicate an abbreviated version.[199] According to the philologist Marcel Richard, this expression, in texts from the fifth to the eighth century, signifies that the commentary is based on oral lectures, but starting from the ninth century, it simply indicates the compiler mentioned in the work, similar to the English words "by" or "from".[200] Nevertheless, the same phrase with this connotation can be found in Procopius of Gaza's epitomes on the Song of Songs (CPG C82) and Ecclesiastes (CPG C101), where the title reads ἐκλογῶν ἐπιτομὴ ἀπὸ φωνῆς ("Epitome of excerpts from the voice") followed by the names of the Fathers from whom he selected the scholia.[201] Despite the overall agreement with Richard's interpretation, Panagiotis Manafis has argued that in certain cases, such as the epitome attributed to Nicephorus in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocc. gr. 142 (thirteenth-fourteenth century), the phrase would be better translated as "according to", suggesting that the compilation may be a reworking of a work attributed to a certain author by someone else, rather than the author being the original compiler.[202] I believe that this is

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the diagram. This indicates their distinct textual relationship within the catena, which is separate from the Theol. gr. 302 (GA 424) and Munich gr. 375 (GA 0142), suggesting potential differences in their text-type.

[199] PG 125, coll. 413–414.

[200] Richard 1950: 196–197, 206; see also Sluiter 2000: 191.

[201] On these catenae see Faulhaber 1902.

[202] Manafis 2020: 153–154.

also the case with the expression in Vat. gr. 652, except that the abridgment is from a work that should not be attributed to Theophylact. It is worth noting that the same expression appears in Moscow Sinod. gr. 192 (f. 4r), added by a later scribe in the headframe underneath the main title of the commentary σχόλια λουκᾶ τῶν| ἀποστόλων πράξεις ("Scholia on the Acts of the Apostles by Luke"): ἑρμ(ηνεία) ἀπὸ φω(νῆς) τοῦ ἁγ(ίου) ἰω(άννου) χρ(υ)σοστόμ(ου) ("Interpretation from the voice of Saint John Chrysostom").[203] However, in this case, the name of the author is Chrysostom, not Theophylact, owing to the Chrysostomian reworking of the first part of the compilation. The title appears nearly identical, but without ἀπὸ φωνῆς, in two thirteenth-century manuscripts of this subtype, Florence, BML, Plutei VIII.19 (f. 6v) and Vat. gr. 1270 (f. 1r).[204] This further confirms that the ascription to Theophylact lacks any substantial basis and is merely found in a single isolated instance.

Upon scrutinising the script, it becomes evident that the manuscript was compiled by two scribes in different stages of production. The primary scribe, as identified by Daniele Arnesano, adopted the 'baroque minuscule' style of Otranto, which was prevalent in Southern Italy during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[205] Conversely, a separate hand can be attributed to a Salentine scribe named Droso of Aradeo, who is

[203] A later insertion are also the fragments of biblical text (Acts 1:1-9:12) written in the margins of ff. 1r–29r (see Treu 1966: 285–289). This scenario is similar to that of Paris gr. 219 (see above II.2). Nevertheless, it raises questions as to why additional biblical text would be needed, considering that the Moscow manuscript features the complete biblical content, albeit organised in sections using an alternating layout.

[204] Plutei VIII.19, f. 6v: ἑρμηνία τοῦ ἁγ(ίου) ἰω(άννου) τοῦ χρυσοστόμου; Vat. gr. 1270, f. 1r: ἑρμ(ηνεία ἰω(άννου) τοῦ χρ(υσοστόμου).

[205] Arnesano 2008.

associated with the creation of multiple manuscripts of Aristotle in the southern regions of Italy.[206] Indeed, Droso's handwriting, which is evident on ff. 2–15 of the manuscript, as well as in the marginal annotations found throughout its pages, appears to be discernible in the title that attributes the commentary on Acts to Theophylact. The geographical origin of both scribes being in Southern Italy offers a potential explanation for the ascription of the exegetical commentary in the manuscript to Theophylact, who garnered popularity and acknowledgment within that same region, as evidenced by a comprehensive survey of south-Italian Greek manuscripts conducted by André Jacob.[207] It is not a mere coincidence that there is a striking similarity between the title of Vat. gr. 652 and Vat. gr. 1221, which is the oldest dated Italo-Greek manuscript of Theophylact's work (dated to 1154 AD) containing his commentary on the Gospels presented alongside biblical text in two columns.[208] The titles preceding the biblical text and commentaries on Luke (ff. 149r, 151r) and John (f. 276r) in Vat. gr. 1221 share the same elements as the one found in Vat. gr. 652. Specifically, the title before Luke, written in majuscule, reads ἀπὸ φωνῆς τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκοπ(ου) πάσ(ης) βουλγαρίας κύρ(ου) θεοφυλάκτου, which is identical to the one in Vat. gr. 652 added by the Salentine scribe Drosos on f. 16v. This parallel suggests that the attribution of Theophylact's name to an Italo-Greek manuscript by a Salentine scribe is once again linked to his influence or recognition in the southern region of the Italian peninsula.

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[206] Arnesano 2006: 177–178.

[207] Jacob 2006: 21–67 (esp. 22–55).

[208] Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1221 (twelfth century – diktyon 67852, GA 863); see Jacob 2006: 30–32.

Additional evidence for corroborating the earlier existence of the *Textus alter* type prior to Theophylact is provided by the manuscript tradition. In my initial classification, Athos, Hagiou Pavlou, 2 was identified as external source for predating the catena, based on its date according to the INTF (ninth century), Parpulov (second half of the tenth century) and the initial dating provided by Pinakes (tenth century).[209] The ninth-century date in particular was suggested based on the identification of the dedicatory recipient 'Maria' as Maria of Amnia (795–823 AD), the first wife of the emperor Constantine VI.[210] However, the ParaTexBib team has now revised the dating based on palaeographical evidence, placing it in the eleventh century.[211] This reidentification now links 'Maria' to Maria of Alania (1053–1118 AD), wife of the emperor Michael VII Doukas and a patron of literary figures, including Theophylact, whom she commissioned to write his exegetical works, such as the Commentary on the Gospels.[212] Thus, the manuscript's date and dedication no longer serve as convincing evidence to exclude Theophylact as the author of the commentary. Nevertheless, two additional manuscripts, Oxford Barocc. 3, and Paris gr. 216, provide substantial evidence.

The fragmentary codex Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocc. 3, initially thought to be from the eleventh century, has been argued by Irmgard Hutter to have been produced in

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[209] For the date in the *Liste*, see https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste?docID=31862. Cf. Parpulov 2021: 127 (and compare it with the corresponding date in the Catena Catalogue: https://itsee-wce.birmingham.ac.uk/catenacatalogue/4311/?ga_identifiers__identifier=1862), and Pinakes at https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/23466/, where the previously stated date has been updated.

[210] Lampros 1895: 19 began this position based on the dedicatory subscription on f. 429v..

[211] https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org/manuscript/?diktyon=23466.

[212] Theophylact wrote multiple letters to Maria, which have been published by P. Gautier in CFHB 16/2.

the first half of the tenth century in Byzantium.[213] Additionally, Adrian C. Pirtea's comparative analysis of the paratextual elements of the Revelation section suggests that this manuscript, now considered the earliest witness to Arethas of Caesarea's commentary, could be associated with the scriptorium of the polymath and might even be a direct copy of his exemplar.[214] The second significant manuscript is Paris gr. 216, directly related to the scriptorium of Arethas, and dated to the first half of the tenth century, which predates Theophylact's time. This manuscript features scattered scholia in a small Alexandrine majuscule, potentially written by Arethas, which supplement a more extensive frame catena in an early *bouletée* minuscule, credited to Stephanos, a scribe of Arethas' scriptorium: this contains the *Textus alter* catena type, as I will explain more thoroughly in the upcoming chapter.[215] It is worth noting that four eleventh-century manuscripts presented by Pirtea as transmitting the *recensio brevis* of the commentary on Revelation by Andrew of Caesarea also contain C151.3, suggesting that the earliest exemplars of this subtype, dated between the tenth and eleventh centuries, were meant to host an abbreviated commented version of the Acts, Catholic Epistles and Pauline Epistles and Revelation.[216]

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[213] Hutter 1992: 14–15. The initial quire of the manuscript is missing, with ff. 1–9 having been replaced in the fourteenth century.

[214] Pirtea 2021: 56–58.

[215] See below III.4.

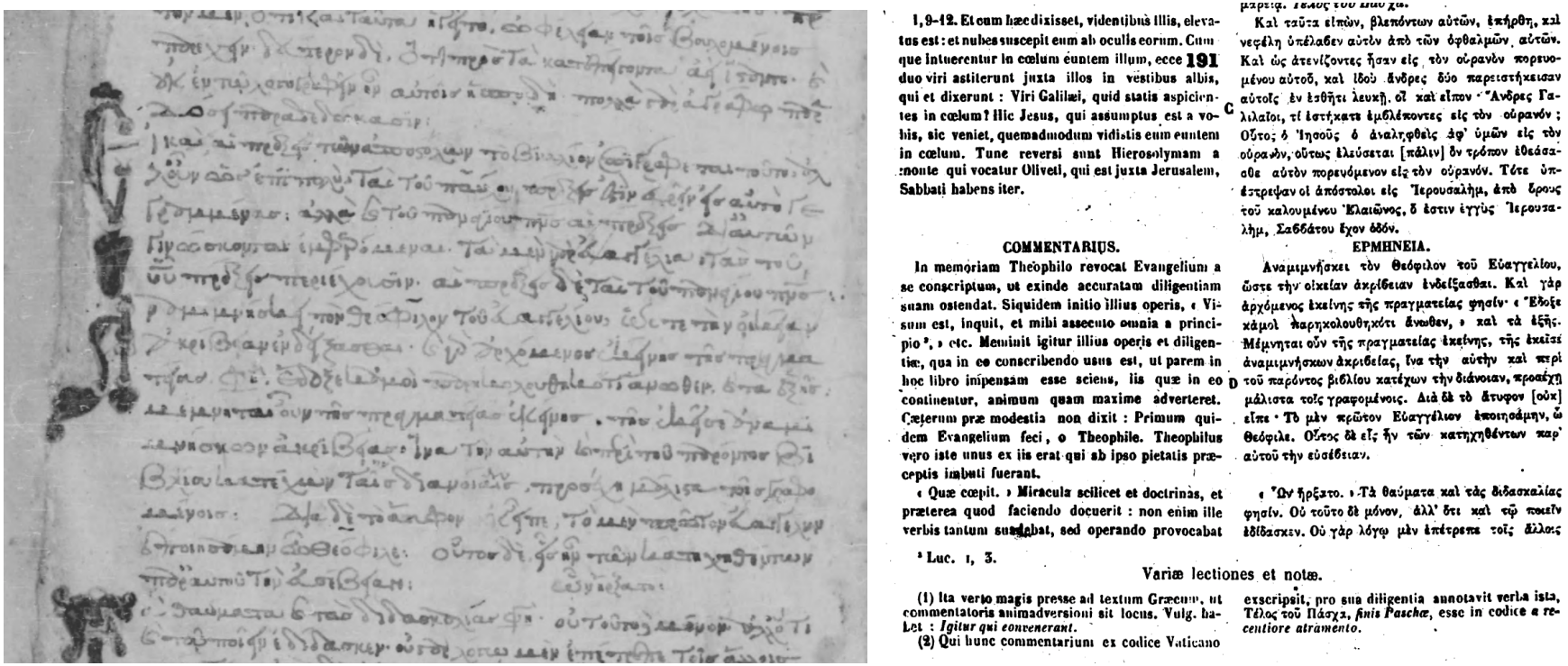
[216] Pirtea 2021: 59. These are Athos, Hagiou Pavlou Monastery, 2 (diktyon 23466, GA 1862); Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Taphou 38 (diktyon 35275, GA 1888); Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 302 (diktyon 71969, GA 424), and Paris, BNF, Coislin 224 (diktyon 49365, GA 250).

Based on the arguments and evidence presented above, it seems that the content previously published by Finettus as Theophylact's commentary on Acts, referred to as *Textus alter*, should not be credited to Theophylact himself. Instead, it is more appropriately identified as a version of the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena, specifically a shorter recension of the "Donatus text-type", rather than being the source of it as mistakenly assumed by Hutchinson.[217] Although the reasons for using Chrysostom's material in the first seven chapters are not entirely clear, it is plausible to suggest that the compiler of this subtype came across an exemplar of the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena that lacked the initial part. In response, they may have chosen to substitute the missing portion with an epitome of Chrysostom's *Homilies*, recognising that the Oecumenius catena primarily relies on the recycling and reworking of Chrysostom's work.

In terms of the editorial approach, Finettus maintains the separation in Vat gr. 652 between the biblical text and the commentary sections (Image 3). He denotes these sections as κείμενον and ἑρμηνεία, following the alternating layout of the manuscript, despite the fact that these headings are not consistently specified in the codex. He also preserves the brief biblical lemmata preceding the corresponding scholia and offers a Latin translation opposite the Greek text. However, he introduces changes to the text of the manuscript by incorporating square brackets to denote additions. Furthermore, a small critical apparatus is included at the bottom of the page to highlight non-authentic variations found in the codex, along with brief explanations of unclear words or passages. In order to rectify errors found in the Vatican codex, Finettus uses

[217] Hutchinson 1928: 110–111, 115.

Oecumenius' text in Donatus' edition as a reference, but when Donatus also exhibits inaccuracies, he turns to the other two commentaries attributed to Theophylact in Theol. gr. 150 and Plutei IV.5, as well as Chrysostom's direct tradition. Moreover, Finettus structures the catena into forty chapters, following the lectionary arrangement of Acts.



1, 9-12. Et cum hæc dixisset, videntibus illis, elevatus est : et nubes suscepit eum ab oculis eorum. Cumque intuerentur in cœlum euntem illum, ecce **191** duo viri astiterunt juxta illos in vestibus albis, qui et dixerunt : Viri Galilæi, quid statis aspicientes in cœlum ? Hic Jesus, qui assumptus est a vobis, sic veniet, quemadmodum vidistis eum euntem in cœlum. Tune reversi sunt Hierosolymam a monte qui vocatur Oliveti, qui est juxta Jerusalem, Sabbati habens iter.

COMMENTARIUS.

In memoriam Theophilo revocat Evangelium a se conscriptum, ut exinde accuratam diligentiam suam ostendat. Siquidem initio illius operis, « Visum est, inquit, et mihi assecuto omnia a principio [a], » etc. Meminit igitur illius operis et diligentiæ, qua in eo conscribendo usus est, ut parem in hoc libro impensam esse sciens, iis quæ in eo continentur, animum quam maxime adverteret. Cæterum præ modestia non dixit : Primum quidem Evangelium feci, o Theophile. Theophilus vero iste unus ex iis erat qui ab ipso pietatis præceptis imbuti fuerant.

« Quæ cœpit. » Miracula scilicet et doctrinas, et præterea quod faciendo docuerit : non enim ille verbis tantum suadebat, sed operando provocabat

[a] Luc. I, 3.

Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, βλεπόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπήρθη, καὶ νεφέλη ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν. Καὶ ὡς ἀτενίζοντες ἦσαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πορευομένου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο παρειστήκεισαν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐσθῆτι λευκῇ. οἳ καὶ εἶπον · Ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, τί ἑστήκατε ἐμβλέποντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν ; Οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναλῃφθεὶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, οὕτως ἐλεύσεται [πάλιν] ὃν τρόπον ἐθεάσασθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Τότε ὑπέστρεψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἀπὸ ὄρους τοῦ καλουμένου Ἐλαιῶνος, ὅ ἐστιν ἐγγὺς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, Σαββάτου ἔχον ὁδόν.

ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ.

Ἀναμιμνήσκει τὸν Θεόφιλον τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, ὥστε τὴν οἰκείαν ἀκρίβειαν ἐνδείξασθαι. Καὶ γὰρ ἀρχόμενος ἐκείνης τῆς πραγματείας φησίν· « Ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν, » καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Μέμνηται οὖν τῆς πραγματείας ἐκείνης, τῆς ἐκείσε ἀναμιμνήσκων ἀκριβείας, ἵνα τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου κατέχων τὴν διάνοιαν, προσέχῃ μάλιστα τοῖς γραφομένοις. Διὰ δὲ τὸ ἄτυφον [οὐκ] εἶπε · Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Εὐαγγέλιον ἐποιησάμην, ὦ Θεόφιλε. Οὗτος δὲ εἷς ἦν τῶν κατηχηθέντων παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐσέβειαν.

« Ὧν ἤρξατο. » Τὰ θαύματα καὶ τὰς διδασκαλίας φησίν. Οὐ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῷ ποιεῖν ἐδίδασκεν. Οὐ γὰρ λόγῳ μὲν ἐπέτρεπε τοῖς ἄλλοις

Variæ lectiones et notæ.

(1) Ita vero magis presse ad textum Græcum, ut commentatoris animadversioni sit locus. Vulg. habet : *Igitur qui convenerant.*

(2) Qui hunc commentarium ex codice Vaticano exscripsit, pro sua diligentia annotavit verba ista, Τέλος τοῦ Πάσχα, *finis Paschæ*, esse in codice *a recentiore atramento.*

Image 3. Comparison of the page layout between Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 652 (f. 16v) and Finettus' *Textus alter*

3.3 Finettus' *Textus tertius*

The last catena edited by Finettus as *Textus tertius* of Theophylact is found in Florence, BML, Plutei IV.5, a thirteenth-century manuscript containing Acts and Catholic Epistles with catena. This choice was made because, as the editor explains in the preface, Theophylact's commentary on the Acts, as published by Sifanius, had become rare and unavailable for sale.[218] In the absence of a copy, Finettus opted to acquire a version from the Florentine Medicean Library. This decision was influenced by Montfaucon's description in his *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum* (1739), which attributed the version to the Bishop of Bulgaria, presumably because he had found the abbreviation θεοφ. in the margin of f. 14r.[219] However, upon examination of the content, no evidence supporting the attribution to Theophylact was found. Despite the uncertainty regarding its authorship, Finettus states two reasons for publishing this work. Firstly, it was regarded as the commentary of Theophylact by an informed scholar, and although the attribution was weak, it could not be definitively refuted due to some similarities with the text of Sifanius' codex. Secondly, the editor believed it would be unfair for this copy to be lost and considered it potentially useful for future generations: he even suggested to combine all the commentaries on Acts included in his edition, along with Chrysostom's *Homilies*, to create a comprehensive commentary on Acts.[220]

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[218] PG 125, coll. 471–472.

[219] PG 125, coll. 472–473. However, I have not come across any evidence of this entry in Montfaucon's catalogue.

[220] PG 125, coll. 473–474: [...] *ex tribus hisce in Acta apostolica Commentariis, quos volume istud complectitur (praesertim si Chrysostomi fontis omnium praecipua adnotationes addantur) perfectum confici posse, absolutumque in eadem Acta Commentarium* ("From these three commentaries on the Acts

However, in the preface he also acknowledges that he soon came to discover further evidence for this compilation in the catena transmitted by a manuscript housed in Oxford. This manuscript is Oxford, New College, 58 (twelfth century), which, as I will illustrate in the following paragraphs, served as the foundational text for Wolf and Cramer's editions of the Pseudo-Andreas catena (C150).[221] Finettus even ventured to hypothesise that the text found in Florence Plutei IV.5 was an abridged version of the Oxford catena. His hypothesis proved correct. This catena indeed abbreviates the Oxford chain, omitting most of the patristic author names. The siglum θεοφ. that Montfaucon presumed to be θεοφ(υλάκτου) is in fact θεοδ(ώρου), as suspected already by Finettus: it refers to Theodore of Heraclea, to whom the scholium located opposite the abbreviation is attributed in the manuscripts of the Pseudo-Andreas full type (cf. Cramer III, 145.9–10.).[222]

Due to this characteristic, I have reclassified *Textus tertius* as an abridged subtype of C150, labelled as C150.2b. This category consists of several copies of the same catena, with four of them being identified by Karo-Lietzmann and von Soden, and one additional identification made by Parpulov and myself (Table 5).[223] Within this cluster it is possible to establish a subdivision between three manuscripts in frame layout, Paris, BnF, gr. 217 (eleventh century), London, BL, Add. 22734 (eleventh century), and

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of the Apostles, which this volume includes [especially if the principal annotations of Chrysostom, the source of all, are added], it is possible to constitute a perfect and independent commentary on the same Acts").

[221] See below II.4.1–2.

[222] PG 125, coll. 471–472.

[223] Karo–Lietzmann 1902: 593–595; Soden 1902: 683; Parpulov 2021: 188; Scieri 2022a: 290–291.

Moscow, GIM, Synod. gr. 347 (thirteenth century), and three in alternating layout, Paris, BnF, gr. 218 (eleventh century), our codex Florence, BML, Plutei IV.5 (thirteenth century), and Milan, BA, F 104 sup. (thirteenth century, 1286–1287 AD). Interestingly, the Ambrosiana manuscript also includes an attribution to Theophylact on f. 1r, between the headpiece and the beginning of the chain: ἐξήγησϊς σύντομ(ος) εἰς τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἀποστ(όλων) θεοφυλάκ(του) ἀρχιεπισκόπ(ου) βουλγαρί(ας) ("A brief explanation of the Acts of the Apostles by Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria"). However, it is important to highlight that the attribution found in this catena, similar to Vat. gr. 652, was added by a different hand to that of the main scribe.[224] The later addition of the attribution suggests that it might have been made to provide authority to the text.

The manuscripts belonging to each group display similar characteristics, not only in terms of their content, catena layout and text-type, but also in various other features.[225] These similarities are evident in Acts 8:9–17, which serves as a sample for comparison (Table 6). Notably, there seems to be a development of this subtype from the frame-layout manuscripts to the alternating-layout ones, indicated by the increasing number of scholia (nos. 2, 4, 6). However, it should be noted that one of these scholia (inc. Ὅτι οὐκ ἀργυρίου) is a chapter heading that was mistakenly treated as a comment, and another from the frame-layout group is missing from the alternating-layout codices

[224] While Turyn 1972: 52–55, recognises that the main scribe is a certain monk Paulus, as indicated by the subscription on f. 435v, and a different hand is observed on ff. 245v–246r, there is no mention of the Acts catena subscription on f. 1r. The manuscript description in Martini–Bassi 1906: 420–421 also does not provide any information on this matter.

[225] It is worth noticing that Milan F 104 sup. and Florence Plutei IV.5 are designed by Parpulov as ap.25.i, indicating they share the same content and order of books with catenae.

(no. 8). Another observation is that the alternating-layout manuscripts lack the attributions to Epiphanius of Salamis, Ammonius and Chrysostom (scholia nos. 1, 5, 7) which are present in abbreviated forms in the margins of Paris gr. 217 and London Add. 22734. This disappearance, already observed in Moscow Synod. gr. 347, is likely due to their abbreviated form, as is common in catenae.[226] Furthermore, it is worth noting that the alternating-layout manuscripts contain identical portions of biblical lemmata and scholia, although Milan F 104 sup. combines some scholia (nos. 1 with 2, and 3 with 4). The separation and numbering of these extracts in Paris gr. 218 and Florence Plutei IV.5 (using numerals in the margin of each comment to cross-reference them with the biblical text) contrasted with their omission in the Ambrosiana manuscript implies that these manuscripts are derived from a frame-layout manuscript. Furthermore, it suggests that the Florence manuscript may be descended from the Paris codex and possibly even the direct source for the Milan copy.

Despite the alternating layout in Florence Plutei IV.5, the organisation of Finettus' *Textus tertius* significantly differs from the manuscript (Image 4). Here, pericopes of biblical texts are followed by groups of scholia related to the passage quoted, as typical of alternating-layout catenae. The biblical text is distinguished from the scholia by dots in the margins, whereas the scholia are separated from one another by blank spaces, enlargement and rubrication of the initial letter of the first word, and an ending mark (two dots followed by a horizontal line). Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the numerals preceding each scholium serve as cross-references to the corresponding

[226] Scieri 2022a: 290.

lemmata of the biblical text, further indicating their individuality. The editor of the manuscript, besides excluding a Latin translation, chose to entirely eliminate the biblical sections and combine the scholia, employing a merging technique similar to what can be observed in the scribe of Milan F 104 sup. Because the Florence codex has several gaps resulting from water damage, the editor decided to fill these gaps using the full type of the Pseudo-Andreas catena found in the Oxford manuscript as well as other commentaries. Unfortunately, he was unaware of other manuscripts with the same subtype that could have provided a more reliable source for reconstruction. The use of square brackets denotes the added words, making them easily identifiable to readers. Furthermore, the editor integrated the "Martyrdom of Paul" concluding the Oxford catena at the end of the Florence chain.[227] These observations shed light on another aspect of the methodological approach and predominant interest in catena studies during the eighteenth century. It involved collecting fragments of lost patristic exegesis from various catenae and integrating them to complement one another, thereby reconstructing a catena that, in reality, had never existed.[228] Later in the discussion, I will investigate how this approach influenced the "eclectic" edition by von Matthaei, which incorporates scholia from a frame-catena manuscript of C150.2b, namely Moscow Synod. gr. 347.

[227] PG 125, coll. 1130D–1132A.

[228] See Lorrain 2021: 224, 227.

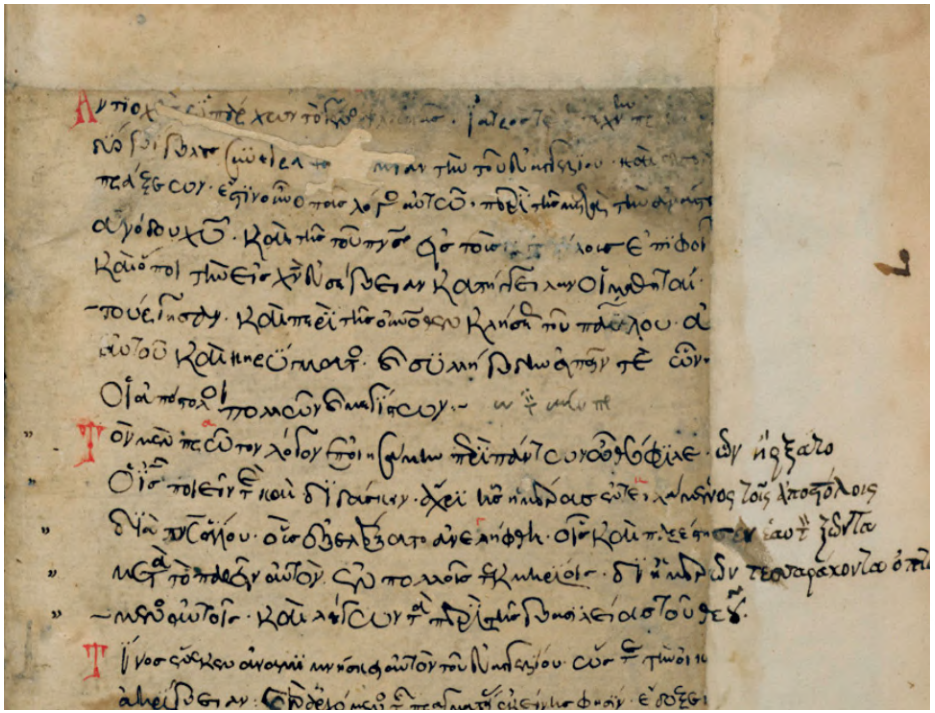
Manuscript	GA	diktyon	content	Acts section	date	layout	Karo–Lietzmann	von Soden	Parpulov	Scieri
Paris, BnF, gr. 217	606	49788	ac	2r–48r	11th 1/2	frame	Andreas type (b)	*ΟΘδ*[10] Andreas	C150 – acp.19.ii	C150.2b
London, BL, Add. 22734	641	39005	acp	2r–67r	11th	frame	Andreas type (b)	—	C150 – acp.17.ii	C150.2b
Moscow, GIM, Synod. gr. 347	103	43972	acp	9r–75r	13th 2/2	frame	Andreas type (b)	*ΟΘ*[28] Andreas	C150 – acp.17.iv	C150.2b
Paris, BnF, gr. 218	607	49789	acp	2r–66v	11th	alternating	Andreas type (b)	*Ο*[19] Andreas	C150 – acp.18.iii	C150.2b
Florence, BML, Plut. IV.5	455	15921	ap	1r–40r	13th 2/2	alternating	—	*ΟΘ*[41] Andreas	C150 – ap.25.i	C150.2b
Milan, BA, F 104 sup.	2576	42769	ap	1r–69r	13th (1286–1287 AD)	alternating	—	—	C150 – ap.25.i	C150.2b

Table 5. Manuscripts of Theophylact's *Textus tertius* reassigned to C150.2b

layout	frame			alternating		
scholia	Paris, BnF, gr. 217 (ff. 14r–v)	London, BL, Add. 22734 (ff. 15v–16r)	Moscow, GIM Synod. gr. 347 (ff. 25r–v)	Paris, BnF, gr. 218 (ff. 20r–v)	Milan, BA, F 104 sup. (ff. 21r–22r)	Florence, BML, Plut. IV.5 (ff. 13r–v)
1	ϛ̄ζ̄ πῶς αὐτ(ὸν) οὐκ ἀνεῖλ(ον) … ἐπι(φανίου) οὗτο(ς) ὁ σίμων … διδόναι πν(εῦμ)α ἅγιον :–	ϛ̄ζ̄ πῶς αὐτ(ὸν) οὐκ ἀνεῖλ(ον) … διδόν(αι) πν(εῦμ)α ἅγιον :–	[ϛ̄ζ̄] Πῶς αὐτὸν οὖν οὐκ ἀνεῖλον … διδόναι πν(εῦμ)α ἅγιον :–	Acts 8:9–13 ϛ̄θ̄ Πῶς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνεῖλον … διδόναι πνεῦμα ἅγιον :–	Acts 8:9–13 Π(ῶς) αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνεῖλον … διδόναι πν(εῦμ)α ἅγιον· οὐχ ὁ ἐν τοῖς ιβ'… πλὴν τ(ῶν) ἀποστόλ(ων) : +	Acts 8:9–13 π(ῶς) αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνεῖλον … διδόν(αι) πν(εῦμ)α ἅγιον :–

2	—	—	—	Οὐχ ὁ ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα ... πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων :–		οὐχ ὁ ἐν τ(οῖς) δώδεκα ... πλὴν τῶν ἀποσ(τό)λ(ων) :–
3	ϛη καὶ ἐπληροῦτο τὸ ... ἐπὶ τ(ῷ) ὀνόματί μου :–	ϛη καὶ ἐπληροῦτο τὸ ... ἐπὶ τῶι ὀνόματί μου :–	ϛη Καὶ ἐπληροῦτο τὸ ... ἐπὶ τῶι ὀνόματί μου :–	Acts 8:14–15 ρ̄ Καὶ ἐπληροῦτο τὸ ... ἐπὶ τῶι ὀνόματί μου :–	Acts 8:14–15 Καὶ ἐπληροῦτο τὸ ... ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι μου. τὸ μὲν τῆς ... τὸ τῶν σημείων : +	Acts 8:14–15 Καὶ ἐπληροῦτο τὸ ... ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόμ(α)τἳ μου :–
4	—	—	—	ν̄ [?] Τὸ μὲν τῆς ... τὸ τῶν σημεί(ων) :–		α̅ Τὸ μ(ὲν) τ(ῆς) ... τὸ τῶν σημείων :–
5	ϛθ ἀμμ(ωνίου) σημειωτέον· ὅτι οὐ ... συνιέναι τὰ γινόμενα :–	ϛθ ἀμμ(ωνίου) σημειωτέον· ὅτι οὐ ... συνιέναι τὰ γινόμενα :–	ϛθ Σημειωτέον ὅτι οὐ ... συνιέναι τὰ γινόμενα :–	Acts 8:16–23 α̅ Σημειωτέον· ὅτι οὐ ... συνιέναι τὰ γινόμενα :–	Acts 8:16–23 Σημειωτέον· ὅτι οὐ ... συνιέναι τὰ γινόμενα·	Acts 8:16–23 β̄ Σημειωτέον ὅτϊ οὐ ... συνϊέναι τὰ γϊνόμενα :–
6	—	—	—	Ὅτι οὐκ ἀργυρίου ... ἁγ(ίου) πν(εύματο)ς δίδοται :–	ὅτι οὐκ ἀργυρίου ... ἁγίου πν(εύματο)ς δίδοται·	Ὅτι οὐκ ἀργυρἳου ... ἁγίου πν(εύματο)ς δἳδοταϊ :–
7	τ(ο)ῦ χρ(υσοστόμου) ρ̄ Διατί οὐκ ἦσαν οὗτοι ... πέμπουσιν, ἀλλὰ πέτρον :–	ρ̄ χρ(υσοστόμου) διατί οὐκ ἦσαν οὗτοι ... πέμπουσιν, ἀλλὰ πέτρον.	ρ̄ Διατί οὐκ ἦσαν οὗτοι ... πέμπουσιν, ἀλλὰ πέτρον :–	β̄ Διατί οὐκ ἦσαν οὗτοι ... πέμπουσιν ἀλλ(ὰ) πέτρον :–	διατϊ οὐκ ἦσαν οὗτοι ... πέμπουσιν ἀλλὰ πέτρ(ον) : +	γ̄ δϊατἳ οὐκ ἦσ(αν) οὗτοι ... πέμπουσ(ϊν) ἀλλὰ πέτρ(ον) :–
8	ἀμμ(ωνίου) οὐχ (ὡς) εὐτελὴς ... ἔμφοβον αὐτ(ὸν) ἐποίησεν :–	ρα̅ ἀμμω(νίου) οὐχ ὡς εὐτελὴς ... ἔμφοβον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν :–	α̅ Οὐχ ὡς εὐτελὴς ... ἔμφοβον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν :–	—	—	—

Table 6. Differences within C150.2b



2061 EXPOSITIONIS IN ACTA TEXTUS TERTIUS. 1062

ΕΞΗΓΗΣΙΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΑΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

—

COMMENTARIUS

IN ACTA APOSTOLORUM

Ex codice Florentino bibliothecæ Mediceo-Laurentianæ *.

—

'Αντιοχεὺς ὑπάρχων τὸ γένος ὁ Λουκᾶς, ἰατρός τε A τούτου, οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν μετὰ ἀκριβείας εἶπεν ἅπαντα.
τὴν τέχνην, δύο βίβλους συνεγράψατο, μίαν τὴν τοῦ Οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ πρὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀεὶ μετ' αὐτῶν
Εὐαγγελίου, καὶ δευτέραν [ταύτην τὴν τῶν 'Αποστό- ἦν, οὕτω καὶ τότε, ἀλλὰ δι' ἡμερῶν μ'. Ἐφίστατο
λων] Πράξεων. Ἔστιν οὖν ὁ πᾶς λόγος αὐτῷ (a) περὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀφίστατο (e) ἀνάγων [αὐτῶν τὰς διανοίας,
τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν [εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνόδου τοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔτι συγχωρῶν ὁμοίως πρὸς αὐτὴν δια]κεῖσθαι
Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰς τοὺς ἀποστό- [ὥσπερ καὶ] πρότερον, ἀλλὰ μεῖζον [α αὐτὸν νομι-
λους ἐπιφοι[τήσεως, ὅπως] καὶ ὅποι τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν σθῆναι ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον. Οὐκ ἐφάνη δὲ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ'
εὐσέβειαν κατήγγειλαν οἱ μαθηταί, [καὶ ὡς διὰ ἀποστόλοις μόνον. Ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ τοῖς πολλοῖς φάν-
προσευχῆς καὶ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐθαυματ]- τασμα. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ [τεσσάρακοντα] ἡμέρας
ούργησαν, καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐρανόθεν κλήσεως (b) τοῦ [ἔμεινε μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἔλεγχον διδοὺς ἐν τῷ
Παύλου, ἀ[ποστολῆς τε] αὐτοῦ καὶ κηρύγματος· καὶ μακρῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ὄψεως τῆς οἰκείας], ἵνα μὴ νομί-
συλλήδδην εἰπεῖν γε, ὧν [ἔτλησαν] οἱ ἀπόστολοι [διὰ σωσι τὸ ὁρώμενον φάντασμα· διὸ καὶ συνεσθίει.
Καὶ τί διελέγετο; [περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ,

Image 4. Comparison of the page layout between Florence, BML, Plut. IV.5 (f. 1r) and Finettus' *Textus tertius*.

3.4 Other unedited catenae attributed to Theophylact

Three additional manuscripts of catenae attributed to Theophylact have been discovered which were unknown to Sifanius and Finettus. The first of these is Athens, EBE, 490 (second half of the thirteenth century), which consists of the Acts, Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, and Revelation, featuring catenae arranged in an alternating layout.[229] In the Acts section of the manuscript (ff. 5r–157r), there is a title that is nearly identical to that found in Vienna Theol. gr. 150: on f. 5r this reads ἐκ τῶν ἐξηγητικῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἰω(άννου) τοῦ χρ(υσοστόμου) καὶ τίνων ἐκ τ(ῶν) π(ατέ)ρων εἰς τὰς πράξεις | κ(αὶ) εἰς τ(ὰς) καθολικ(ὰς) κ(α)τ(ὰ) συντομί(αν) συλλογὴ παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτ(ά)τ(ου) θεοφυλάκτ(ου) ἀρχ(ι)επισκόπ(ου) βουλγ(α)ρί(ας) ("From the exegetical works of Saint John Chrysostom and some from the Fathers on the Acts and the Catholic Epistles, a concise collection from the most blessed Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria"). The only relevant differences in the title of Athens 490 are the mention of the Catholic Epistles and the word συλλογὴ instead of ἐξηγήσεις.

As noted by von Soden, both manuscripts not only bear the same title but also exhibit numerous similarities in content, particularly in the components of the Euthalian Apparatus.[230] More importantly, there is an observable influence from the Pseudo-Andreas catena type on both manuscripts: in Athens 490 the connection is so apparent that Staab, disagreeing with Theophylact's authorship, considered the catena in this codex to be a poorly constructed abbreviation from Pseudo-Andreas, consisting of edited

[229] diktyon 2786 (GA 254).

[230] Soden 1902: 687–689.

excerpts.[231] In my 2022 study, I have discussed some resemblances between the texts of the two manuscripts, including their common assembling and reworking of two extracts from Chrysostom's Homily on Acts 4 at Acts 2:3–16 (cf. PG 60, coll. 43.50–59 + 45.37–41).[232] It is worth noting that according to *Text und Textwert* (TuT), a comprehensive guide to New Testament manuscripts created by the INTF for determining their groupings based on their agreement in selected test passages (*Teststellen*), Vienna Theol. gr. 150 and Athens 490 are closely connected in their biblical text: Athens demonstrates a 100 percent agreement with Vienna in 32 out of 32 test passages.[233] In the *Editio Critica Maior* (ECM) of the Catholic Epistles, the overall agreement stands at 97.8 percent, and the fact that they share the same catena type, C177, leads Houghton to suppose that they could potentially be sister manuscripts or even a copy and its exemplar.[234]

Even though there is a close connection in the biblical text of Acts and some shared content in the catena, it is important to note that the catenae in these two manuscripts have distinct characteristics. One notable difference is seen in the selections and sequences of scholia. In contrast to the merging approach found in the Vienna manuscript, Athens 490 differentiates the names of the Church Fathers, aligning with the structure of the Pseudo-Andreas catena. Indeed, among the various terms employed for catenae in Byzantine literature, the word συλλογή ("collection") in the title of Athens 490 better expresses the characteristic of the chain as a compilation of selected excerpts,

[231] Staab 1933: x.

[232] Scieri 2022a: 300–302.

[233] TuT III/2: 175, 472. However, among the two, only Athens 490 was included in the ECM on Acts.

[234] Houghton 2023: 14 (figures can be consulted at http://intf.uni-muenster.de/cbgm/GenQ.html).

rather than a catena-commentary as seen in Vienna Theol. gr. 150. This suggests that the two manuscripts shared a common ancestor, rather than being in direct relationship with each other, and they also independently consulted additional sources to create their distinct compilations. Considering these findings, I agree with von Soden and Parpulov in classifying Athens 490 as member of the Pseudo-Theophylact group, designating it as C152.2 to highlight the differences with the Vienna, Vatican and Istanbul manuscripts categorised under C152.1.[235]

The other manuscript attributed to Theophylact, Paris, BnF, gr. 220 (fourteenth century), contains the Acts, Catholic Epistles and Pauline Epistles with catenae arranged in two columns, alternating with the biblical text.[236] In the Acts portion of the manuscript (ff. 1r–61v), there is a faint ink inscription at the beginning of f. 1r that Staab observed and disclosed to read τω βουλ ... Θεοφυλακτω.[237] Fortunately, the full title with the inscription to Theophylact is revealed by the manuscript Sofia, EHAI, 908 (thirteenth century), originating from the monastery of Backovo (Bulgaria) and now held at the Ecclesiastical Historical and Archival Institute of the Patriarchate of Bulgaria in Sofia.[238] This contains fragments of Acts 1–2:24 with catena in alternating two-column layout (ff.

[235] Soden 1902: 687–688; Parpulov 2021: 192; Scieri 2022a: 300–302.

[236] diktyon 49791 (GA 608).

[237] Staab 1926: 223–225.

[238] diktyon 62075 (GA 2996). As this manuscript was added to the online Catena Catalogue quite recently (https://itsee-wce.birmingham.ac.uk/catenacatalogue/result/4817?ga_identifiers__identifier=2996&limit), it does not have an entry in either Parpulov's printed version or my article. I extend my gratitude to the EHAI Library for their kind provision of high-resolution colour scans. Additionally, low-resolution images are now accessible on the NTVMR database.

231r–v, 233r–238r, 232r–v), just like in the Paris manuscript, and occasional additions in the margins (f. 231r).[239] Since in the extant portion the manuscript presents a catena layout and text corresponds exactly to the Paris codex, they clearly belong to the same type.[240] On f. 231r, the title reads Ἐξήγησις μερϊκὴ σὔντο|μος εἰς τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἁ|γἵων ἀποστόλων τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγ(ίου) | κ(αὶ) πανευφήμου ἀποστόλου κ(αὶ) εὐαγγε|λϊστοῦ λουκᾶ σϋγγραφείας ἥτϊς | καὶ ἐπονήθη τῷ μακαρϊωτάτω | ἀρχιεπϊσκόπῳ βουλγαρϊας | κυρῶ θεοφϋλάκτω :· (“Partial exegesis in brief on the Acts of the Holy Apostles that were composed by the holy and universally praised Apostle and Evangelist Luke, which was reworked by the most blessed Archbishop of Bulgaria, Lord Theophylact”). While this title bears some resemblance to the longer version found in Milan F 104 sup. (f. 1r), particularly in its definition of the commentary as a “brief explanation”, it is important to focus on two significant words. First, the use of the adjective μερικός (“partial”) suggests that this compilation might be of an abbreviated nature, focusing on specific sections. Second, the verb πονέω, meaning “to work hard”, in this context implies a process of “reworking” the sources.

Certainly, as von Soden and later Staab pointed out, Paris gr. 220 shows clear influences from the Pseudo-Andreas catena, specifically C150.2b, or what was previously known as Theophylact’s *Textus tertius* in Finettus’ edition.[241] In my 2022 article, I

[239] The contents of the remaining leaves, which include fragments from Chrysostom’s Homilies on Acts and the Pauline Epistles, are detailed in Getov 2017: 225–227.

[240] In addition, on ff. 25v–27v, this features fragments from the Pseudo-Andreas catena (C150. Cramer III, 40.30–44.9, 50.21–51.4), thereby constituting an example of a multiple-text catena manuscript on Acts, albeit fragmentary. The length is inadequate to ascertain whether this is an individual subtype.

[241] Soden 1902: 689; Staab 1926: 224.

reaffirmed the connection between Paris gr. 220 and C150.2b, highlighting that scholia within this subtype were merged into a single text in the Paris manuscript, indicating later editorial work.[242] Parpulov reclassified Paris gr. 220 as part of C150 in the Acts section, while in my article I further specified it as C150.2e.[243] Additionally, I observed that while most scholia in Paris gr. 220 closely align with *Textus tertius*, some also incorporate material from Theophylact's *Textus alter*, which, as previously discussed, is a subtype of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena C151.3. This connection appears to have been acknowledged in a librarian's annotation in the manuscript's front matter suggesting that, although the commentary on Acts might be attributed to Andreas of Crete (likely mistaken for Andreas the Presbyter), further investigation is needed to determine if Oecumenius was the actual author of the Acts commentary and others within the manuscript.[244]

To summarise, the catena type found in Paris gr. 220 and Sofia 908 is associated with all three individuals traditionally linked to Acts catenae, namely Andreas, Oecumenius, and Theophylact. However, due to the textual relationship that combines elements from C151.3 with a substantial foundation of C150.2b, I have chosen to categorise this manuscript as a distinct subtype within the Pseudo-Andreas abbreviated

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[242] Scieri 2022a: 292–293.

[243] Parpulov 2021: 139. Scieri 2022a: 292.

[244] *Cod. Membr. 13 saec. scriptus quo continentur Andreae Cretensis commentaria in acta apostolorum, epistolas Pauli et epistolas septem catholicas.* ***Videndum num haec commentaria Oecumenium auctorem häbeant*** ("The parchment codex, written in the 13th century, contains commentaries by Andrew of Crete on the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of Paul, and the seven Catholic Epistles. It needs to be investigated whether these commentaries have Oecumenius as their author").

category, labelled as C150.2e, while acknowledging its composite nature as a "mixed" catena. Given that Sofia 908 shares the identical catena type with the Paris manuscript, it has been assigned the same identifier in the Catena Catalogue.[245]

4. The Pseudo-Andreas Catena

Some discussion of this text has been provided earlier. In contrast to the catena-commentaries by Pseudo-Oecumenius (as seen in Donatus) and Pseudo-Theophylact (as seen in Finettus' *Expositio*), the Pseudo-Andreas catena can be considered 'the' catena according to the stricter definition put forth by Dorival, representing a compilation of extracts from various authors that are explicitly specified.[246]

The Pseudo-Andreas type has earned widespread recognition as the primary catena on Acts, mainly due to its reworking into various abbreviated versions and the subsequent development of catena-commentaries by Pseudo-Oecumenius (C151) and Pseudo-Theophylact (C152).[247] Von Soden, in particular, categorised these as independent versions with the characteristics of editions, differing from other excerpted catenae that more closely resemble collections for personal use.[248] I have listed the multitude of C150 versions in my 2022 article where I extended Karo-Lietzmann's classification to distinguish between manuscripts of the full type (C150.1) and the

[245] https://itsee-wce.birmingham.ac.uk/catenacatalogue/result/4817?ga_identifiers__identifier=2996

[246] Dorival 2016: 67.

[247] See for example Devreesse 1928: 1205; Curti–Barbàra Valenti 2008: 649.

[248] Soden 1902: 687.

abbreviated type (C150.2).[249] Each type is further divided into subtypes, indicating different developmental stages (in the case of C150.1) or various degrees of abridgment (in the case of C150.2), with most subtypes represented by a single manuscript. Despite this diversity, the Pseudo-Andreas catena is primarily known through Cramer's edition, based on a single manuscript—arguably the most corrupt one in the tradition. Yet, even before Cramer's work, there was an earlier edition of the same Oxford codex by Wolf in 1723–1724, albeit partial. Strangely, this work is rarely referenced in catena studies. Hence, I will proceed to analyse both editions, offering an overview of their structures and differences.

4.1 Wolf's edition

In 1723–1724, Johann Christoph Wolf (1683–1739) published volumes 3 and 4 of his *Anecdota Graeca Sacra Et Profana*.[250] These volumes contain selected scholia from the catena found in Oxford, New College, 58 (twelfth century), a manuscript containing Acts and Catholic Epistles with catenae, that the German scholar had previously discussed in

[249] Scieri 2022a: 287–293, the Catena Catalogue documents eighteen manuscripts distributed among C150.1 (full type) to C150.2 (abbreviated type), with six abbreviated subtypes labelled from .a to .f. These records can be found at https://itsee-wce.birmingham.ac.uk/catenacatalogue/results/?catena_types__identifier=C150&limit=1000 (last checked in September 2023). Furthermore, there have been recent updates regarding these manuscripts in the ClaCla database, accessible at https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla/OA/Details.aspx?id=1434148C69E549DA9007CD7E5CEA1D54 (last checked in October 2023).

[250] Wolf 1723: 92–194; 1724: 1–57.

his dissertation on Catenae from the Greek Church Fathers.[251] He examined this manuscript with the help of John Ernest Grabe (1666–1711), an Anglican clergyman and patristic scholar, who regarded the catena in this manuscript as the most exceptional among those preserved in Oxford. According to Wolf, the reason for the praise lay in the "keen judgment of the collector, whoever he may be, in selecting the most excellent opinions from the Doctors (of the Church)."[252]

This statement unveils the primary characteristic of this catena, setting it apart from previously published ones on Acts. The distinguishing feature lies in its compilation of different viewpoints from multiple Church Fathers each of whom is explicitly identified. Wolf meticulously lists these and warns about misattributions of exegetical passages between Severus of Antioch and Severian of Gabala, a common scribal error found in catena manuscripts.[253] Despite the extensive amount of material available, the editor chose to include only the scholia that contained text not previously published elsewhere. Consequently, he omitted extracts from works that had been directly transmitted and already published during his time, along with fragments published in other catenae. Wolf indeed highlights shared scholia in the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena and the importance of the chain in the Oxford manuscript in identifying its anonymous extracts, reinforcing a point previously made by Richard

[251] diktyon 48716 (GA 2818). See Wolf 1712.

[252] Wolf 1723: 5: [...] *exquisitum Collectoris, quicumque demum is fit, in seligendis praestantissimis Doctorum sententius iudicii acumen.*

[253] Regarding the manuscript confusion between Severus and Severian in C150, see Martin 1929: 714–715.

Simon.[254] He also aims to correct both the Oxford catena and the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena, with references to these connections provided in critical footnotes.

Once again, we can see that scholars in the eighteenth century often used catenae to supplement or clarify deficiencies or ambiguities in other texts, and published previously undiscovered material, highlighting the catenae's role as a valuable source of exegesis that might have otherwise been overlooked or lost.[255] Wolf's edition can be referred to as "partial edition" or "edition of unpublished sections" of a catena, following the nomenclature suggested by Agnès Lorrain, which highlights the pragmatic approach of focusing only on specific extracts considered important because they were not found in other published sources.[256]

Interestingly, in my examination of Wolf's selection, predominantly featuring scholia from Severus of Antioch, Severian of Gabala, and Didymus of Alexandria (the latter published separately in volume 4),[257] I have observed that the scholia that in C150 are titled ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου ("from an unattributed [source]"), as well as most of the scholia without a source heading, are missing in Wolf's edition. These omissions likely result not just from the anonymity of these fragments, but also from their partial inclusion in the

[254] Simon 1693: 465.

[255] See above I.1.

[256] Lorrain 2021: 226–227 ("«edition partielle», ou encore, «edition des seuls inédits»). She cites Charles Renoux's edition of the previously unpublished scholia from the catena on the Catholic Epistles in the Armenian version (1985), along with Fronton de Duc earlier edition of the catena on the Song of Songs (1694), as instances of this approach.

[257] Didymus' fragments follow the same order as in Cramer up to scholium on Acts 10:10 (= Cramer III, 176.29). However, the extract on Acts 5:14 (= Cramer III, 90.7–27) is not reproduced.

catena-commentary of Pseudo-Oecumenius. Consequently, Wolf might have considered duplicating them unnecessary. At the same time, the editor's inclusion of certain previously published comments, such as those attributed to Basil of Caesarea, in order to correct them based on published editions, anticipates another practice in scholarship that became more prominent and rigorous in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, involving using both the direct tradition of a work and catenae to rectify each other.

In the final part of the introduction to the Oxford catena, Wolf tentatively proposes that the composition of the catena likely occurred after the fifth century.[258] This inference is drawn from the presence of several fragments attributed to Hesychius of Jerusalem, who died in 450 AD. This contradicts the dating provided by Simon, who in volume 3 of his *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament* (1693) mentioned an ancient catena manuscript on Acts, which was then housed in the Royal Library of France, and today is designed as Paris, BnF, Coislin 25 (eleventh century).[259] According to Simon, this manuscript's compilation can be traced back as early as the beginning of the seventh century. Indeed, the latest mentioned author is Maximus the Confessor, who wrote in the seventh century (c. 580–662 AD).[260] Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge, as Gilles Dorival has pointed out, that although a catena is inherently later than the author it cites, thus offering a *terminus a quo* for dating, it may also include scholia added later.[261] Therefore, it is crucial to

[258] Wolf 1723: 7.

[259] diktyon 49167 (GA 307). Simon 1693: 465.

[260] cf. Paris Coislin 25, f. 72v, 82v–83r, 165r.

[261] Dorival 1986: 23–24.

differentiate between different stages of a catena. This distinction is particularly applicable to the catena under discussion. As I will demonstrate in more detail later on, Paris Coislin 25 and Oxford 58 represent distinct development phases of our catena.[262] Wolf's preface does not mention the supposed author of the compilation. The attribution was addressed for the first time by Bernard de Montfaucon and subsequently by Cramer, the editor responsible for the first complete edition of the Oxford manuscript.[263]

Concerning the format of the edition, which might have been influenced by its selective approach, there is no inclusion or reference to the layout of the catena manuscript, which in contrast to the editions of Pseudo-Oecumenius and Pseudo-Theophylact discussed earlier, features a catena in a frame layout. The editor rearranges the content into an alternating layout, where the scholia are placed after small sections of biblical text, extracted from the manuscript itself, indicated by Greek chapter numbers that correspond to the modern division established by Estienne in the sixteenth century (Image 5).[264] Furthermore, Wolf makes changes to harmonise the commentary, particularly when consecutive scholia from the same author appear, resulting in the omission of some intervening scholia. To achieve this, the editor employs a method where he replaces the author's name in Greek with the phrase τοῦ αυτοῦ ("of the same"),

[262] See below II.4.2.

[263] See below II.4.2.

[264] See Stephanus 1550. For instance, in Wolf 1723: 97, a scholium by Severus is preceded by ΚΕΦ Β to indicate chapter 2 and α to indicate verse 1. On the other hand, Oxford 58 on f. 6r has ΚΕΦ Γ which corresponds to the numeration found in the Euthalian Apparatus list. Additionally, it includes λβ to indicate Severus' scholium on the biblical pericope 37.

reminiscent of a compilation technique commonly used by compilers and scribes between extracts from the same author.[265]

Furthermore, it is important to note that the editor often removes titles and attributes from the headings of patristic sources, such as "archbishop" (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος) and "holy" (ἅγιος). Unfortunately, this practice can be problematic as the variations in the extent of a heading can provide valuable clues for determining the relationships between representatives of the same type of catena. For instance, upon analysing the six representatives of the Pseudo-Andreas full type (C150.1), I observed that some share a longer heading, while others mostly have shorter titles.[266] This distinction, along with other differences, allows for the identification of two subgroups within the textual tradition (C150.1a and C150.1b). Finally, an initial attempt by Wolf at a commented edition is apparent in the use of an apparatus, where the editor provides notes on his emendations *ope ingenii* or based on the stylistic features of the author of the fragment. Additionally, he includes references to similar or comparable passages from biblical and early Christian texts, including extracts from the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena-commentary. Although not explicitly stated, the idea of a possible connection to the catena published by Donatus begins to emerge within these pages.

[265] Curti–Barbàra Valenti 2008: 609; Houghton–Parker 2016: 10.

[266] See below II.4.2.



94 EXCERPTA

δειγμα ἐν τέτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιεπάτησεν ὁ Ἰούδας, πεφυσημένος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τῷ σάρκα, ὥστε μήτε ὀπόθεν ἅμαξα διέρχεται ῥαδίως, ἐκεῖνον δυνασθαι διελθεῖν· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτὸν μόνον τὸν τῆς κεφαλῆς ὄγκον αὐτοῦ. Τὰ γὰρ βλέφαρα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ φασι τοσοῦτον ἐξοιδῆσαι, ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν καθόλου τὸ φῶς μὴ βλέπειν, τὰς ὀφθαλμὰς δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἰατροῦ διόπτρας ὀφθῆναι δυνασθαι· τοσοῦτον βάθος εἶχεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἐπιφανείας. d)

scribens: *Judas ut magnum impietatis exemplum in mundo hoc verfatus eſt, quippe corpore in tantum inflatus, ut nec, qua currus facile tranſit, ipſi, imo nec ſoli ejus capiti, per tumorem tranſire licceret. Palpebras enim oculorum ejus ita ajunt intumuiſſe, ut ipſam quidem lucem non admitterent, oculi vero ejus nec beneficio dioptræ Medici conſpici poſſent: tam depreſſi illi erant per ſuperficiem exteriorem.*

ΚΕΦ. Β.

Σαββάτῳ ς. ά.

Τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς) Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς παθὼν τὸ ἐκούσιον πάθος σαρκὶ,

CAP. II.

Severi, V. I.

Dum Pentecoſtes) Chriſtus DEus, poſtquam quod ad corpus ſponta-

κθ

ſcripto. Ipſe ego eundem recitavi in Diſputat. de Catenis Patrum ibidemque monui, narrationem hanc fabulæ ſimillimam, integram in Catena noſtra MS. non legi per lacunam, quæ hic occurrebat. Omitto alios, qui ejusdem loci mentionem fecerunt.

d) τοσοῦτον βάθος) Interpres Oecumenii Latinus obſcoure & inficete hæc ita vertit: *tanta profunditate ab exteriori aſpectu erant ſeparati.*

Google

Image 5. Comparison of the page layout between Oxford, New College, 58 (f. 6r) and Wolf's edition.

4.2 Cramer's edition

In 1844, John Anthony Cramer (1793–1848), who held the position of Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford University and served as the Dean of Carlisle, published a catena on the Acts of the Apostles in the third volume of his comprehensive eight-volume series on New Testament catenae (1838–1844).[267] In this edition, he primarily drew upon Oxford 58, the same manuscript that Wolf utilised for his "partial edition". However, Cramer's approach differed as he chose to include the complete text of the catena, encompassing more than one thousand five hundred scholia from various patristic sources (Table 7).[268] These texts from Church Fathers span from the second half of the second century (Clement of Alexandria) to the first half of the seventh century (Maximus the Confessor). Additionally, a few scholia by the Jewish-Alexandrian author Flavius Josephus, as well as multiple scholia titled ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου ("from an unattributed [source]") and σχόλιον ("scholium"), are included.

The origin of the heading ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου has sparked speculation, as it also appears in Gospels catenae.[269] Hutchinson, on the other hand, has noted that in Pseudo-Andreas, at least twenty of these scholia resurface, often in an identical form, with Didymus of Alexandria being attributed as their source, and suggested that the compiler of the catena probably relied on an anonymous exegetical compilation that extensively integrated

[267] Cramer III. An online edition of this work in XML format can be accessed at http://opengreekandlatin.github.io/catenae-dev/.

[268] Cramer III: 452–456 contains a list of the specific passages of occurrences.

[269] See Houghton 2020: 63.

contributions from this author.[270] This would explain why the term ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου is used for scholia originating from this source. Didymus' name might have been, indeed, deleted from records due to his excommunication and accusations of Origenism.[271] It is important to differentiate the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου group from unattributed scholia which lack a heading altogether. This omission can arise from a range of factors, from accidental or intentional scribal omissions to a source compilation where these scholia were not linked to a source heading. The origins of the latter will be explored in Chapter V.[272]

Another category of scholia lacking explicit author names is the group with the heading τοῦ αὐτοῦ ("of the same"). This title is typically employed by a compiler when citing an passage from the same author of the previous scholium. To avoid redundancy, the author's name is omitted in the second scholium and replaced with τοῦ αὐτοῦ. However, it has been observed in several studies that this is often a result of scribal additions or modifications following copying errors, such as cases of eyeskip.[273] This phenomenon is prevalent in the Acts catena from the Oxford manuscript printed by Cramer. As an example, in Acts 5:29, there is a scholium titled τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Cramer III, 93.12–19) that appears after a passage from Chrysostom. However, upon closer examination, it becomes evident that this passage is actually a fragment from Athanasius of Alexandria's third discourse "Against the Arians" (cf. 3.57.2, ed. Metzler–Savvidis).

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[270] See Hutchinson 1928: 36–39, where a complete list of ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου passages in Cramer edition is provided.

[271] On Didymus and his relationship with Origen's theology see Bayliss 2015.

[272] See below V.3.

[273] See for example Lietzmann 1897: 13, Leanza 1989: 257–258, Curti–Barbàra Valenti 2008: 609.

Another illustration can be found at Acts 9:13, where, after an extract from Ammonius, there is a scholium designated as τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Cramer III, 156.17–25). However, a direct comparison with the original tradition reveals that this text comes, in reality, from Chrysostom (cf. PG 60, col. 157.51–62). Therefore, unliked Cramer's approach of including these τοῦ αὐτοῦ fragments when counting scholia attributed to a single author, it is crucial to exclude them from the overall count, unless their authenticity is rigorously verified through comparison with the direct tradition of that work, provided it is preserved.[274]

In Oxford 58, author names are sometimes accompanied by specific designations that include titles like πρεσβύτερος ("presbyter") and ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ("archbishop"), attributes like ἅγιος ("saint"), and the source of the extract, such as ἐξ ὁμιλίας ("from the homily") or ἐκ τοῦ ὑπομνήματος ("from the commentary"), along with a specific reference to the location within the text. Notably, ἅγιος is also associated with Church Fathers who were at one point deemed heretical, such as Severus of Antioch. As discussed extensively, this phenomenon, observed in other New Testament catenae, should not be regarded as a criterion for dating catenae or as indicative of a compiler's theological or doctrinal position.[275] Catenae of this nature are now generally considered a "neutral" compilation of exegesis from a variety of representative exegetical sources, irrespective of doctrinal

[274] See *Index Scriptorum* in Cramer III, 452–453.

[275] Houghton 2020: 65, who refers to Greenlee 1959.

beliefs.[276] This explains the inclusion of authors like Origen, Apollinarius of Laodicea, Severus, and others alongside orthodox figures in the Acts catena.

scholium attribution	number of occurrences
John Chrysostom	442
the same	433
unattributed	164
Ammonius	156
Didymus	62
Severus of Antioch	48
anepigraphos	53
Cyril of Alexandria	41
Severian of Gabala	15
Irenaeus of Lyon	11
Isidore of Pelusium	11
Athanasius of Alexandria	10
Eusebius of Caesarea	7
scholion	7
Basil of Caesarea	5
Hesychius of Jerusalem	5
Theodoret of Cyrrhrus	4
Origen	4
Nicholas the Presbyter	4
Eusebius of Emesa	3
Epiphanius of Salamis	3
Theodotus of Ancyra	3
Prologue of Paul	2
Flavius Josephus	1
Theodore of Heraclea	1
Gregory of Nazianzus	1
Theophilus of Alexandria	1
Apollinarius of Laodicea	1
Evagrius of Pontus	1
Gregory of Nyssa	1
Maximus the Confessor	1

[276] As an example, see Hutchinson 1928: 3, Petit 1996: 243–244, and Houghton 2020: 67. Nevertheless, some scholars argue that there is indeed a doctrinal basis. See for example Lamb 2012: 108–109, 176–177, as well as Layton 2019: 227.

Dionysius of Alexandria	1
Clement of Alexandria	1
Arsenius	1
Martyrdom of Paul	1
Total	1505

Table 7. List of scholia attributions and occurrences in Cramer's edition of Oxford, New College, 58

The catena's title in Oxford 58 is Ἑρμηνεία τῶν Πράξεων τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου καὶ ἑτέρων διαφόρων ("Exegesis of Acts by Chrysostom and other different [Fathers]'). Simon proposed that this title emphasises Chrysostom's prominence in the catena due to his frequent citations, amounting to 442 scholia attributed to him, along with many others simply titled "of the same" or unattributed.[277] On the contrary, Devreesse suggested that the title indicates the initial compilation's basis, possibly primarily or exclusively comprised of excerpts from Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts*, with later additions from other authors as well as other exegetical works belonging to Chrysostom himself.[278] He also proposed that this foundational core was preserved in the thirteenth-/fourteenth-century manuscript Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6, a subject which I will explore more extensively in Chapters III and V.[279]

[277] Simon 1693: 465. He also argued that the title could not have possibly included the full list of sources.

[278] Devreesse 1928: 1205–1206. The other works by Chrysostom used by the compiler are the Homilies on Matthew, John, Romans, I and II Corinthians, Colossians, Timothy, a homily on the Ascension, a passage from a discourse against the Jews. The fact that these titles are typically mentioned in the headings, unlike the Homilies on Acts, may support Devreesse's assertion that the Homilies on Acts had a more central role in forming the compilation's foundational core (Devreesse 1928: 1208).

[279] Devreesse 1928: 1205. See below III.6; V.3.

Cramer, in the preface, argued that the Oxford catena was superior to the Pseudo-Oecumenius one published by Donatus in 1532. He even claimed that this catena was essentially a condensed version of the Oxford text, with content compacted into a cohesive body and attributions to Fathers removed.[280] This viewpoint had a considerable impact on future scholarly work, including that of Devreesse and the CPG, where Pseudo-Oecumenius is described as an abridgment of Pseudo-Andreas.[281] However, while basing his edition on the Oxford manuscript, Cramer also consulted Paris, BnF, Coislin 25 (tenth century), an earlier representative of the catena that just like Oxford 58 contains Acts and Catholic Epistles.[282] This had been previously described by Simon, Fabricius and Montfaucon.[283] The consultation of the Paris codex served multiple purposes, including filling the gaps present in the Oxford manuscript (at Acts 1:18–2:1, and part of 2:3–4), documenting variant readings (in appendix to the volume), recording extra scholia and attributions, and determining the authorship of the catena.

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[280] Cramer III, iii: *Oecumenii enim opus nihil aliud est nisi Catenae nostrae epitome, in qua omnium auctorum nomina tacentur, et eorum excerpta in unum quasi corpus rediguntur* ("For Oecumenius' work is nothing other than an epitome of our Catena, in which the names of all the authors are silent, and their excerpts are brought together as it were one body."). He also raised uncertainties about Oecumenius authorship, aligning himself with earlier discussions.

[281] Devreesse 1928: 1206; CPG IV: 381: *Catena Andreae est, in compendium redacta, auctorum nominibus omissis* ("([Oecumenius Catena] is the Catena of Andreas condensed, with the names of the authors omitted").

[282] diktyon 49167 (GA 307).

[283] Simon 1693: 465, Fabricius–Harles 1802: 789–790, Monfaucon 1715: 75–82.

The attribution to Andreas the Presbyter, an otherwise unknown figure, was proposed by Montfaucon in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana* (1715), based on the subscription in Paris Coislin 25 at the end of the catena on the Catholic Epistles (f. 254v):[284]

> Ἀνδρέου δὲ τοῦ ἐλεεινοῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ συναγαγόντος καὶ παραθεμένου τὰς ἐμφερομένας τῇ βίβλῳ ταύτῃ παραγραφὰς οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες ὑπερεύχεσθε, ἵνα ὁ θεὸς δωρήσηται αὐτῷ ἔλεος ἐν τῇ φοβερᾷ καὶ ἀδεκάστῳ τῆς κρίσεως ἡμέρα. Παρακαλῶ δὲ τοὺς γράφοντας ταύτην τὴν βίβλον καὶ τήν προκειμένην εὐχήν μετὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως τάσσετε.
>
> (Cramer III, v)

> "But for Andreas, the pitiful and humble priest who has gathered and presented the passages included in this book, I beseech those who come across them to offer up prayers, so that God may grant him mercy on the fearful and unutterable day of judgment. I also urge those who write this book to set forth the aforementioned prayer along with the exhortation."

Von Soden, who observed the same annotation in another witness to C150, Athos, St Panteleimon Monastery, 770 (f. 207v),[285] suggested a possible date for the chain in the last quarter of the seventh century, proposing that the Andreas in question could be

[284] Cramer III, v–viii; Monfaucon 1715: 75.

[285] diktyon 22909 (GA 1678).

Andreas of Crete (c. 650–726 AD), better known for his hymnographical production.[286] Indeed, the attribution to Andreas of Crete is also present in the librarian's note on the front matter of Paris, BnF, gr. 220, which as discussed above contains an abbreviated version of the Pseudo-Andreas catena combined with elements of the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena-commentary.[287] However, Staab dismissed this hypothesis based on the inconsistency between this form of compilation and the literary production of a skilled rhetorician like Andreas of Crete.[288] In his analysis of the catena on the Catholic Epistles, the German scholar introduced a significant shift in the discussion of authorship, as he identified a longer version of the subscription in three manuscripts with a catena on Isaiah.[289] This discovery led him to propose that Andreas compiled a catena on Isaiah in three books, and he suggested that the name of the compiler was subsequently added in Paris Coislin 25 or an ancestor of this, with references to the catena on Isaiah removed.[290] With a level of uncertainty, he also considered that the subscription possibly originated from a scribe due to the mention of a prayer by the author, which is a common feature in scribal subscriptions, along with the use of terms

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[286] Soden 1902: 529–530, 686.

[287] Andrea lerosolymon Episcopus Cretensis spiega tutte l'Epistolle di S. Paulo et de Actibus omnium Apostolorum — Id est in.Ebraei Romani Corinthi Galatas Effessios Fillipenses Thessalonicenses in Matheon et Titon — Epistole di Pietro Giuda e Giovanni tutte l'Epistolle dl Paulo che S. Giovanni li pose in quatro tomi (text in Staab 1924: 224; "Andrea, Bishop of Jerusalem, from Crete, explains all the Epistles of Saint Paul and the Acts of all the Apostles — that is, to the Hebrews, Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Thessalonians, and to Matthew and Titus — the Epistles of Peter, Jude, and John. All of Saint Paul's Epistles that Saint John placed in four volumes").

[288] Staab 1924: 346–347.

[289] Staab 1924: 348–349. The text is also found is Fabricius–Harles 1802: 664.

[290] Staab 1924: 349.

like ταπεινός (“humble”) and, in the extended version, ἁμαρτωλός (“sinful”), attributes frequently employed by scribes in their subscription entries.[291] Nevertheless, Staab’s conclusions, later reaffirmed by James H. Ropes, ultimately advocate for reclassifying the compiler of this catena as Pseudo-Andreas, recognising the potential for a mistaken or ambiguous attribution.[292]

Cramer’s editions of catenae have received widespread criticism for various reasons. These include the limited use of manuscripts, primarily those easily accessible in Oxford and Paris, resulting in deficiencies, errors, and a lack of attention to the quality and layout of catena manuscripts.[293] Rather than reiterating previous scholarly critiques, I want to emphasise how these criticisms are particularly relevant to the editor’s presentation of the Acts catena by Pseudo-Andreas. To begin with, one significant aspect is Cramer’s decision to use the Oxford manuscript as the base text for the edition, rather than the earlier and more reliable Paris codex, which Montfaucon himself acknowledged as an excellent witness.[294] Oxford 58 is not an accurate copy due to its mutilation, internal text gaps, and missing scholia, which are occasionally supplied by a corrector in the margins of the catena. In contrast, Paris Coislin 25 is of an earlier date, contains a

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[291] Examples of such occurrences are documented in Staab 1924: 349, n. 2.

[292] Staab 1924: 349–350: “Ein Wort wäre noch anzufügen über die Arbeitsweise des P s e u d o - A n d r e a s.” cf. Ropes 1926: 387: “The name ‘Andreas’ for the catenist must disappear from use, since Staab skilfully shows that the note in Coislin 25, in which it is found, is probably due to the false inference of a scribe, and that the name has its proper place only in a wellknown catena on Isaiah where it is fully attested”.

[293] For instance, see the remarks by J.A.F. Gregg on Cramer’s edition of the Catena on Galatians (cited in Schatkin 1970: 303), where he emphasises the significant lack of precision. Also see the strongly critical comments made by Reuss 1941: 1, 3, and *passim* regarding his edition of Gospel catenae.

[294] Montfaucon 1715: 76.

catena that is free from gaps and is more faithful in its text, as it includes the scholia that are missing in Oxford 58. This choice becomes even more controversial when compared to the selection made for the base text of other New Testament books, where Paris codices were predominantly used, supplemented with Oxford manuscripts when available.[295] Secondly, the practice of using another manuscript to fill gaps in a lacunose one is risky when dealing with catenae and compilations. This is because unless the second witness is a direct copy or a sister manuscript, there is a possibility of introducing additions that reflect a separate editorial stage. As I will elaborate below, this is indeed the case, as Paris Coislin 25 contains an older editorial stage. Thirdly, Cramer's edition contains several inaccuracies where he includes text that was never in Oxford 58, without providing any conjecture or explanation, while omitting important text from the manuscript. Some specific instances include the followings:

a) Cramer omits three scholia in his edition, specifically on ff. 97r (inc. γνώμη ἰδία, φη[σὶν], des. προσκυν[εῖν] τοῖς εἰδώλοις), 112r–v (i.m.; des. ποιοῦντες τὴν εἴσοδ[ον]), and

[295] In the case of the catenae on Matthew and John, the foundation was Paris, BnF, Coislin 23 (eleventh century – diktyon 49165, GA 39), supplemented with content from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.4. (tenth century – diktyon 47130). However, for Mark, Luke, and the Pauline Epistles, no Oxford codices were utilised, except for Romans, wherein scholia on Romans 1–8 were taken from the sixteenth-century Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E.2.20 and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., gr. 412 (twelfth century – diktyon 44860, GA 1909) was employed for material from Romans 7:7 to the end. In contrast, Oxford codices were chosen as the core manuscripts for the catenae on the Catholic Epistles. For this category, similar to Acts, Oxford, New College, 58 formed the basis, accompanied by supplementary content from Paris, BnF, Coislin 25 for variations, and additional variants for the Jude catena from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Misc. 169 (tenth-eleventh century – diktyon 48369). Additionally, Arethas' commentary on Revelation drew upon Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocc. gr. 3 (tenth century – diktyon 47289, GA 314). For an overview, see Lamb 2016: 281–194.

113r (inc. Παύλου δημηγοροῦντος ἰουδαῖοι, des. καὶ θλίψις ἐπικειμένη). Among these, only the latter scholium, titled τοῦ αὐτοῦ and numbered $\overline{\pi\alpha}$ (= 581), is written by the main scribe. This comments on Acts 16:25 and is attributed to Chrysostom (cf. PG 60, col. 336.32–37). The other two scholia are additions made by a corrector in the margins of the catena. The first one is attributed to Ammonius, as confirmed by a comparison with Paris Coislin 25 (f. 110v). The second scholium, commenting on Acts 16:18, is by Severus of Antioch (cf. Paris Coislin 25 ff. 154v–155r). In Oxford 58, the corrector adds this extract in the upper margin. However, the beginning of the attribution is illegible due to the edge being cut off. At the end of another extract on the same biblical passage titled τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου (Cramer III, 271.12–24), the corrector appends the incomplete attribution Σευήρου ἀπὸ ("Severus from ..."). Additionally, he adds the heading ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου for the text immediately following, which lacks a title in the manuscript. Strangely, Cramer mentions only the additional headings in a note, mistakenly assuming that they refer to the same scholium, while speculating that the original author might be Didymus based on the writing style —a suspicion that was later confirmed by Hutchinson's observations regarding the origin of many ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia, as previously discussed.[296] Even more perplexing is that in the appendix with variants from Paris Coislin 25, he does record the additional scholium, which is transmitted as part of the main catena, including the titles in the correct positions.[297] It seems that he failed to

[296] Cramer III: 271, n. I. See Hutchinson 1928: 36, 83.

[297] Cramer III, 441.

realise that this text corresponds to the annotation made by the later hand in the margins of Oxford 58 f. 113r.

b) Cramer overlooks many more additions and corrections to the catena text by the second scribe in the margins. This includes instances where the corrector restores lacunae in the catena text, as evidenced by a comparison with Paris Coislin 25. For instance, at Acts 15:6, following a passage attributed to Ammonius there is a scholium titled τοῦ αὐτοῦ in Cramer's edition that reads: Πάλιν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐπιστοχάσασθαι, ὅτι ἄλλην τινὰ ἀξίαν ἐπαναβαίνουσαν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους εἶχον οἱ Ἀπόστολοι· διὸ οὐ συμπεριέλαβον αὐτοὺς τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις κοινῷ ὀνόματι πάντας σημάναι (Cramer III, 244.3–6). However, in the Oxford manuscript (f. 100r), attached to the word πρεσβυτέροις, there is a symbol indicating a later-hand addition in the margin: εἶχ(ον) οἱ ἀπόστολ(οι) διὰ οὐ συμπεριέλαβ(ον) αὐτ(οὺς) τ(οῖς) πρεσβυτέρ(οις). From this, we understand that the main scribe's eye-skipping caused the omission of the first occurrence of the dative πρεσβυτέροις and the subsequent text.

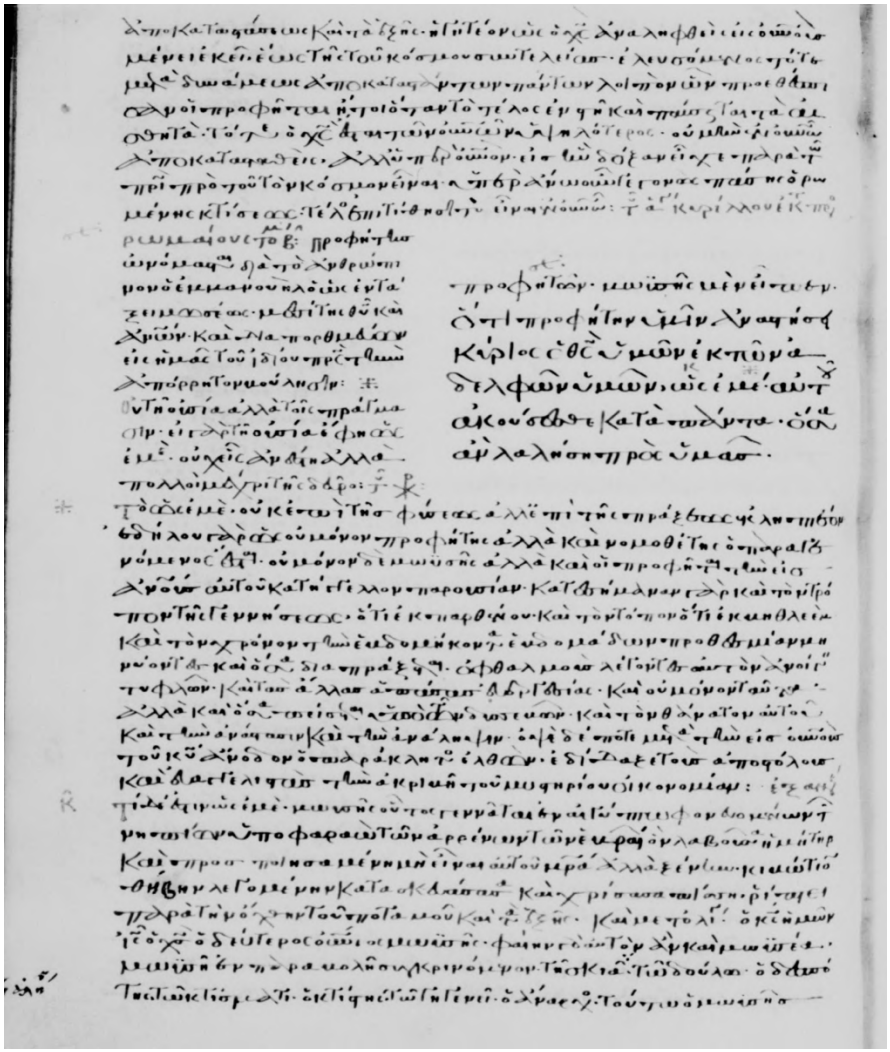
c) Cramer's oversights extend to the main text of the catena, resulting in several omissions of text and source headings. For instance, at Acts 7:2, a scholium attributed to Chrysostom in Cramer's edition contains the ending τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν δόξης τῆς διὰ τοῦ ναοῦ (Cramer III, 14–20). However, Oxford 58 (f. 41v) concludes with an additional short sentence, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστιν ἡ πηγή, which is also found in Paris Coislin 25 (f. 51v) and supported by the direct tradition (cf. PG 60, coll. 121.49–50).

d) Cramer's misreading of text is evident. For instance, at Acts 7:26, a scholium attributed to Eusebius of Emesa in the edition reads Εὗρε δὲ οὐχ ὃ ἐζήτει, ἀδελφὸν πρὸς

ἀδελφόν· παρῄει μέσος, οὐκέτι τὸν ζῆλον κινῶν, ἀλλὰ νουθεσίαν προεβάλλετο· μὴ ἀδίκει, φησὶν, ἀδελφός ἐστιν ὃν ἀδικεῖς· προεβάλλετο τὴν προσηγορίαν, ἵνα δυσωπήσῃ τὴν προσηγορίαν (Cramer III, 113.23–27). However, Oxford 58 (f. 45v) has πλεονεξίαν instead of προσηγορίαν, a variant also found in Paris Coislin 25 (f. 55r). It is evident that Cramer mistakenly duplicated the word.

Fourthly, influenced by earlier printed editions, Cramer altered the presentation of the catena in the manuscript (Image 6). He reorganised the text to resemble an alternating-layout catena, using modern chapter and verse references and expanding related comments. He also included variant readings from the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena in footnotes, which he sometimes used to correct the text of the Pseudo-Andreas catena. However, this choice does not accurately reproduce the cross-referencing system of the Oxford manuscript, which includes numbered scholia and others introduced by symbols, possibly indicating later additions, as I will demonstrate later.[298]

[298] See below V.3.



III. 22. ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΞΕΩΝ. 67

"πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι." ὑπεράνω οὖν γεγονὼς πάσης ὁρωμένης κτίσεως, τέλος ἐπιτίθησι τὸ εἶναι ἐν οὐρανῷ.

22 Μωυσῆς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας εἶπεν, ὅτι προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐμέ.

Τοῦ ἁγίου Κτρίλλου ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τόμου β. Προφήτης ὠνόμασται διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ὁ Ἐμμανουὴλ, ὁ ὡς ἐν τάξει Μωσέως μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διαπορθμεύων εἰς ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἰδίου Πατρὸς τὴν ἀπόρρητον βούλησιν.

Οὐ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἀλλὰ τοῖς πράγμασιν· εἰ γὰρ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἔφη, "ὡς ἐμὲ" οὐχ εἷς ἀνέστη ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ μεχρὶ τῆς δεῦρο.

Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου. Τὸ "ὡς ἐμὲ" οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς φύσεως ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς πράξεως ἐκληπτέον· ἐδήλου γὰρ ὡς οὐ μόνον προφήτης ἀλλὰ καὶ νομοθέτης ὁ παραγενόμενος ἔσται· οὐ μόνον δὲ Μωϋσῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ προφῆται τὴν εἰς ἀνθρώπους αὐτοῦ κατήγελλον παρουσίαν· κατεσήμαναν γὰρ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς γεννήσεως, ὅτι ἐκ παρθένου· καὶ τὸν τόπον, ὅτι ἐκ Βηθλεέμ· καὶ τὸν χρόνον, τὴν ἑβδομήκοντα ἑβδομάδων προθεσμίαν μηνύοντες· καὶ ὅσα διεπράξετο· ὀφθαλμοὺς λέγοντες αὐτὸν ἀνοίγειν τυφλῶν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἁπάσας εὐεργεσίας· καὶ οὐ μόνον ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα πείσεται ὑπὸ τῶν δυσσεβῶν· καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, καὶ τὴν ἀνάληψιν· ὀψὲ δέ ποτε μετὰ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς τοῦ Κυρίου ἄνοδον ὁ Παράκλητος ἐλθὼν, ἐδίδαξε τοὺς Ἀποστόλους καὶ Εὐαγγελιστὰς τὴν ἀκριβῆ τοῦ μυστηρίου οἰκονομίαν.

Αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

Ἐκ ἀνεπιγράφου. Τί δέ ἐστιν "ὡς ἐμέ;" Μωϋσῆς οὗτος γεννᾶται ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, φονευομένων τῶν νηπίων ὑπὸ Φαραὼ τῶν ἀρρένων τῶν Ἑβραίων· ὃν λαβοῦσα ἡ μήτηρ καὶ προσποιησαμένη μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ μητέρα ἀλλὰ ξενὴν, "κιβώτιον θήβην λεγομένην κατασκευάσασα καὶ χρίσασα πίσσῃ, ῥίπτει παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ "ποταμοῦ," καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα—Ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ δεύτερος οὐράνιος Μωϋσῆς, φαίνῃ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἂν καὶ Μωϋσέα· Μωϋσῆ ἐν παραβολῇ συγκρινόμενον, τῇ σκιᾷ, τῷ δούλῳ·

Image 6. Comparison of the page layout between Oxford, New College, 58 (f. 25v) and Cramer's edition

Fifthly, the assertion that the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena-commentary is simply a compendium of the Pseudo-Andreas catena is oversimplified, and lacks supporting evidence. In his article on the catenae on the Catholic Epistles Staab highlighted the independence of Pseudo-Oecumenius, noting its restructuring and reworking of material from Pseudo-Andreas, incorporating various sources to create an original compilation.[299] In my 2022 re-classification of Acts catenae, I observed a similar pattern in the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena-commentary on Acts, which demonstrates its independence from the mainstream type by employing a distinct compilation method, blending material from various sources, not all necessarily related to the Pseudo-Andreas type.[300] This involves paraphrasing sentences, introducing connecting phrases, and adding original content, making it challenging to identify the original source. Carmelo Curti refers to this as the "résumé technique", as opposed to the "cutting" or "cut-and-paste" approach in the Pseudo-Andreas catena, where extracts from sources are minimally edited and largely reproduced verbatim, with transitions between passages indicated by formulas like καὶ μετ'ὀλίγα ("and a little after") or καὶ πάλιν ("and again") or καὶ μετ' ἕτερα ("and afterwards") similar to the *infra* in modern reference conventions.[301] My initial statement implicitly expressed some uncertainty regarding the relationship of dependence between Pseudo-Andreas and Pseudo-Oecumenius types, although it was not the primary focus of my contribution. Now, after a more thorough examination, I have collected evidence that

[299] Staab 1924: 353.

[300] Scieri 2022a: 296.

[301] Curti 1989: 280, and Curti–Barbàra Valenti 2008: 611 (and see below III.6.1). These transitional phrases are also found in Gospel catenae, as mentioned in Houghton 2020: 64.

the Pseudo-Andreas catena actually incorporates scholia derived from the Pseudo-Oecumenius through another intermediate collection of scattered scholia. I will explore this point in detail in Chapter V.[302]

Finally, and most importantly, Cramer was not aware of four additional manuscripts belonging to the Pseudo-Andreas type, which were classified by von Soden and Karo-Lietzmann.[303] These are Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25 (tenth century according to Parpulov and Pinakes, but ninth on the NTVMR),[304] Paris, BnF, gr. 221 (eleventh century), Vatican City, BAV, Barb. gr. 582 (fourteenth century), and Athos, St Panteleimon Monastery, 770 (fourteenth century).[305] All of these manuscripts, except for Jerusalem Staurou 25, have been incorporated into the ECM of Acts and are depicted in the Textual Flow Diagram as closely interrelated.[306] They are joined by Paris, BnF, Coislin 202bis (twelth century), which represents an abbreviated subtype (C150.2a).[307] This close connection is similarly reflected in the catena type. In my 2022 article, after labelling this cluster as C150.1 to represent the full type of the Pseudo-Andreas catena, I have further subdivided its manuscripts into two distinct subcategories: C150.1a, which includes all of them except for Jerusalem Staurou 25, and

[302] See below V.6.

[303] Soden 1902: 683; Karo–Lietzmann 1902: 592–593.

[304] https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste?docID=31895. Cf. Parpulov 2021: 140 (and https://itsee-wce.birmingham.ac.uk/catenacatalogue/result/4580?ga_identifiers__identifier=1895&limit), and https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/35921/.

[305] diktyon 35921 (GA 1895); diktyon 49792 (GA 610); diktyon 65122 (GA 453); diktyon 22909 (GA 1678).

[306] The relationship among these catena manuscripts in the biblical text is explored in Houghton 2023: 22.

[307] Scieri 2022a: 290.

C150.1b, which is specifically designated for the latter because it incorporates five additional scholia in Acts 2:2–3, while omitting one in 8:25 and another in 28:22.[308]

Indeed, following a more comprehensive re-evaluation of the Pseudo-Andreas type, I verified that the Jerusalem manuscript represents a distinct editorial stage of C150. This is due to its inclusion of approximately fifty extra scholia, with a considerable concentration in Acts 1:3–2:3.[309] These extracts primarily bear titles such as ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου, σχόλιον, or are attributed to figures like Severus of Antioch, Didymus, and Apollinarius of Laodicea. On the other hand, approximately eighty scholia are missing in the Jerusalem manuscript but are present in different degrees in the manuscripts of C150.1a, where they are marked by a symbol rather than a number unlike most scholia: one more argument that justifies its separate subdivision as C150.1b. Of particular significance is that while the majority of these scholia remain anonymous, three of them are attributed to Maximus the Confessor, being drawn from works *Questions to Thalassios* (CPG 7688) and *Questions and Doubts* (CPG 7689), which were composed in the first half of the seventh century.[310] The absence of any scholia attributed to Maximus

[308] Scieri 2022a: 288–289.

[309] These are on ff. 3v–4r, 5r, 6r–14v, 15v–17r, 20v–23r, 24r–25v, 53r–54r, 72v, 79r, 92v, 98r, 146v, 148r, 178v, 198r, 199r, 200v, 209r, 216v, 222v–223r, 252r.

[310] See Cramer III, 153.20–33, which is ascribed to Didymus in manuscripts Oxford 58 (f. 62r), Paris gr. 221 (f. 54r–v), and Athos St Panteleimon 770 (f. 167v), but attributed to Maximus in Paris Coislin 25 (f. 72v) and Vatican Barb. gr. 582 (ff. 91r–v): cf. *Quaestiones et dubia* 119.1–16, ed. Declerck; III, 176.24–177.18, which lacks attribution and is combined with another anonymous scholium (176.9–24) in Oxford 58 (ff. 71v–72r), but is attributed to Maximus in Paris Coislin 25 (ff. 82v–83r) and Vatican Barb. gr. 582 (ff. 102v–103v): cf. *Quaestiones ad Thessalium* 27.1–35, ed. Laga and Steel. Also, see Cramer III, 365.11–18,

in Jerusalem Staurou 25 has significant implications, challenging the established dating of the Pseudo-Andreas catena's composition in between the seventh and eighth century, and raising methodological concerns.[311] The practice of using the latest cited author in a catena, often employed as a *terminus a quo* for dating catena manuscripts, can, in practice, only determine the dating of the most recent phase in the catena's development, as per Dorival's suggestion.[312] By setting aside Maximus' attribution, we are compelled to revaluate the dating of Pseudo-Andreas from the seventh century, as proposed by Simon and Montfaucon, and instead place it between the sixth and the seventh century.[313] This revision brings the dating into better alignment with Procopius of Gaza's *Epitome on the Octateuch* and the broader emergence of catenae as a literary genre. Put simply, C150.1a is a more recent form of the Pseudo-Andreas type, enhanced with Maximus' scholia and extra content that C150.1b lacks. However, since the earliest known copy of C150, the Jerusalem manuscript, is thought to date from the ninth or early tenth century, it is reasonable to suggest that the development of this catena likely occurred between the sixth and ninth-tenth centuries. Certainly, the expansion of this catena can be traced back to at least the tenth century, as evidenced by Paris Coislin 25, the earliest representative of C150 containing this additional material.

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which is the sole instance where the name Maximus is found in all the C150.1a manuscripts except Vatican Barb. gr. 582, where it is not present: cf. *Quaestiones et dubia* 144.1–8, ed. Declerck.

[311] Sic Hutchinson 1928: 99.

[312] Dorival 1986: 23.

[313] Simon 1693: 465; Monfaucon 1715: 75.

However, it is worth noting that even among the C150.1a manuscripts, there is a more extensive text compared to what is found in Cramer's Oxford 58. This discrepancy becomes particularly noticeable in instances where author headings are absent from the Oxford manuscript but present in the others, or when the headings it does have are shorter than those in the other manuscripts. A specific case is illustrated below, which compares scholia headings in Acts 7:35–38 against Cramer's edition (Table 9). It becomes evident that all manuscripts, except for the Oxford version, include headings for four scholia that lack titles in Oxford 58 (nos. 1, 3–5). These scholia are attributed to different authors, namely Hesychius of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, and Cyril of Alexandria. Additionally, a stronger correlation can be observed between Paris Coislin 25, Vatican Barb. gr. 582, and Jerusalem Staurou 25. These three manuscripts share an additional scholium (no. 2) attributed to Chrysostom (though without a heading in the Vatican manuscript). They also lack another scholium (no. 3) attributed to the same author, which is found in Oxford 58, Paris gr. 221, and Athos St Panteleimon 770. This might at first suggest considering the reclassification of Paris Coislin 25 and Vatican Barb. gr. 582 into subcategory C150.1b, owing to their proximity to Jerusalem Staurou 25. Nevertheless, both manuscripts contain fewer scholia compared to the Jerusalem manuscript, while simultaneously featuring a considerably greater number of additions not shared by the latter (Table 8). Thus, it remains justified to categorise them as C150.1a, acknowledging that they both reflect an editorial stage that lies between the Jerusalem and the Oxford, Paris, and Athos manuscripts. Paris gr. 221 and Athos St Panteleimon 770, on the other hand, exhibit a closer relationship with the Oxford

manuscript due to their sharing of the same omission (no. 2) and addition (no. 3). However, their inclusion of scholia headings absent in the Oxford version suggests that they represent an editorial stage that comes after the Jerusalem, Paris Coislin, and Vatican manuscripts, yet predates Oxford 58.

This example, while not constituting an exhaustive analysis of the manuscript tradition of the Pseudo-Andreas type, is intended to highlight the unreliability of Cramer's edition and emphasise the necessity for a new critical edition of this compilation. In any scenario, it is important to note that no manuscript of this type contains an identical number of scholia, as shown in Table 8. Consequently, any attempt to reconstruct the textual evolution must meticulously take into account the distinct variations of each individual codex and also acknowledge the inherent challenge of constructing an exact *stemma codicum* of a catena due to the dynamic nature of these compilations and their development.

scholia	Cramer	Oxford 58	Paris Coislin 25	Paris gr. 221	Vatican Barb. gr. 582	Athos 770	Jerusalem Staurou 25
extra	–	3	22	8	19	5	47
missing	3	–	2	2	40	6	81

Table 8. Variations in number of scholia among the C150.1 manuscripts.

Acts 7:35–38	C150.1a					C150.1b
scholia	Oxford, New College, 58, ff. 47v–48r / Cramer III, 117.34–119.12	Paris, BnF, Coislin 25, ff. 57r–v	Paris, BnF, gr. 221, ff. 44r–v	Vatican City, BAV, Barb. gr. 582, ff. 71r–v	Athos, St Panteleimon Monastery, 770, f. 164r	Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25, ff. 98r–v
1	[no heading] Ἐνταῦθα μὲν δοκεῖ … τοῦ Υἱοῦ γεγένηται.	**Ἡσυχίου πρεσβυτέρου**	**Ἡσυχίου πρεσβυτέρου**	**Ἡσυχίου πρεσβυτέρου**	**Ἡσυχίου πρεσβυτέρου**	**Ἡσυχίου πρεσβυτέρου**
2	—	Ἰωάννου	—	[no heading]	—	τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου
3	[no heading] Ἀπολέσθαι τὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν … διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενόμενα.	–	**τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου**	–	**τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου**	–
4	[no heading] Ἀναστήσει Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς … οὐκ ἐναντιοῦται αὐτῷ.	**τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου**	**τοῦ αὐτοῦ**	**τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου**	**τοῦ αὐτοῦ**	**τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου**
5	[no heading] Προαναφωνεῖ γὰρ πάλαι … χρηματίσας διαθήκης ἄγγελος.	**τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου**	**τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου**	**τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου**	**Κυρίλλου**	**τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου**
6	τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου. Πάλιν οὐδαμοῦ ναός … τῷ ὄρει γεγενημένων.	τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου	τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου	τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου	τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου	τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου

Table 9. Variations in heading and number of scholia among the C150.1 manuscripts.

5. von Matthaei's 'Eclectic' edition of selected scholia

Christian Friedrich von Matthaei (1744–1811) included a compilation of scholia on Acts in the fifth volume of his New Testament edition, which was published in 1782.[314] These scholia were extracted from four manuscripts that Matthaei acquired during his tenure as Professor of Classical Literature in Moscow, a position he held from 1803: Dresden, SLUB, A 104 (eleventh century), Moscow, GIM, Synod. gr.346 (V. 024, thirteenth century), Synod. gr. 192 (V. 095) (first half of the fourteenth century), and Synod. gr. 347 (V. 096) (second half of the thirteenth century).[315] He refers to these codices as "a", "f", "h", and "d", respectively. I have previously addressed the Moscow manuscripts Synod. gr. 347 and Synod. gr. 192, which contain the abbreviated version of the Pseudo-Andreas catena C150.2b and of the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena-commentary C151.3, respectively.[316] I will provide a more thorough analysis of Synod. gr. 346 in Chapter III, explaining that comprises a compilation of 'isolated' scholia rather than a continuous frame-catena.[317] In this section, my attention will be directed towards Dresden A 104.

During the classification of Acts catena manuscripts, Dresden A 104 was initially overlooked by Parpulov and me due to extensive water damage that the manuscript suffered during World War II in 1945, resulting in partial fading of the text and the disintegration of the parchment.[318] As a result, the commentary section on ff. 1–36r and

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[314] Matthaei 1782: 301–347 (*Scholia ad Acta Apostolorum*).

[315] diktyon 13455 (GA 101/L1551); diktyon 43971 (GA 462); diktyon 43817 (GA 463); diktyon 43972 (GA 103).

[316] See above II.3.2 and II.3.3.

[317] See below III.3.1.

[318] Parpulov 2021: 4.

122–186r is now illegible.[319] Yet, Parpulov indicated to me that this may correspond to the manuscript published by von Matthaei as codex "a". Due to the composite nature of von Matthaei's edition and the limited availability of scholia for our analysis (only incipit and explicit of the catena for Parpulov, and three test passages for me), we decided to exclude this compilation from our lists. After the publication of Parpulov's catalogue and my revised type-classification, I revisited the evidence from Dresden A 104 in Matthaei's edition, utilising the barely legible parts of the digitised images on the NTVMR. To my surprise, when I compared it with the 'lemmatic' catena on Acts in Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, 263 (ff. 1r–10r), a multiple-text manuscript dating from the mid-tenth century, previously identified as *codex singulus* (C155.3) in the Acts catena, I discovered a significant overlap in scholia between the two manuscripts.[320] The main difference lies in the layout. Dresden A 104 contains the complete text of Acts arranged in two columns, accompanied by scholia in the margin (primarily the upper margin) which were added by a later scribe, as noted by Staab who had the opportunity to study the manuscript before the damage occurred.[321]

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[319] See NTVMR record: "Die Hs. ist durch Wasserschäden im gegenwärtigen Zustand nicht benutzbar (fol. 1-36 u. 122-186: l 1551)" (last checked June 2023).

[320] diktyon 54507. The manuscript, containing a lexicon, scholia on classical works, and catenae on New Testament books, is a unique source of the *Lexicon Patmense*, a lexicon-dictionary for the speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes. It also includes excerpts from the Greek tradition of Sextus' γνῶμαι and two anthologies. On these, see at least Dorandi 2007: 147, 149.

[321] Staab 1933: xv–xvi, while not specifying the date of the supplementary hand, accurately points out that the manuscript's layout was not originally designed to accommodate a catena.

While Patmos 263 contains nearly double the number of scholia compared to von Matthaei's edition of Dresden A 104 (Table 10), it is important to note that the editor intentionally omitted four scholia by Maximus the Confessor, including one titled τοῦ αὐτοῦ, due to their allegorical content which he considered excessively artificial.[322] Among the fifteen other scholia missing from the Dresden manuscript, thirteen (ff. 6r–10v) are found in a coherent group of manuscripts containing 'isolated' scholia, which I will extensively examine in Chapter V.[323] This suggests the possibility of a later addition from this collection. Only two scholia at Acts 1:18 (f. 1r, attributed to Chrysostom, inc. Ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ, des. ἐλαί[ων] τ[ῆς] ἱ[ερουσα]λὴμ) and 11:15 (f. 6r, attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, inc. Πν[εύματ]ι γὰρ ἁγίῳ, des. ἅπαντες πν[εύματο]ς ἁγίου) might potentially belong to the original compilation and were inadvertently omitted from the Dresden codex. The omission of at least the second scholium by Cyril of Jerusalem might be due to homoeoteleuton with the preceding comment by Anastasius I of Antioch (end. τὸ κήρυγμα οὗ). Moreover, the Dresden manuscript exhibits variations in author headings, including omissions, abbreviations, and replacements. While it might be hypothesised that there is a direct relationship between the two manuscripts, the presence of differing attributions, such as Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ in the Dresden manuscript (cf. Matthaei 1782: 323), replaced by καὶ ἄλλως in Patmos 263 (f. 7v), suggests that they might originate from

[322] Matthaei 1782: xvii: [...] *tamen aliquot allegoricas interpretationes S. Maximi frigidissimas et ad lectorum ludibrium excogitatas omisi* ("However, I omitted several allegorical interpretations by Saint Maximus that were extremely cold and contrived for the amusement of readers"). Nevertheless, he did print some of Maximus' extracts from other codices.

[323] See below V.2.

the same source, and perhaps even be direct copies of the same exemplar. Due to their shared catena type, classifying the Dresden manuscript as belonging to the type C155.3 seems reasonable, even though this category is technically designated for *codices singuli*.

Regarding the content, the catena in Patmos 263 and Dresden A 104 exhibits significant divergences from previously mentioned types and is indeed a unique catena. To begin with, this compilation primarily focuses on specific biblical passages, which are presented in a concise format in Patmos 263 and emphasised with majuscule script. Here, the use of majuscule script is also extended to the scholia headings, where the names of the sources are listed, resembling the practice in C150. However, the majority of these excerpts diverges from the selection found in Pseudo-Andreas, and a few are extracted from writings by Church Fathers that are not present in this type. These include authors of *Quaestiones et responsiones* ("Questions and Responses") such as Pseudo-Caesarius, Anastasius Sinaita and material attributed to Leontius of Byzantium.[324] With a few exceptions, the exegetical extracts find support in the direct tradition, and it is noteworthy that the catenist demonstrates remarkable fidelity to the patristic source, making minimal changes primarily related to grammar and concordance. This resembles the approach taken by the compiler of C150.

Von Matthaei's edition, while originally intended as an appendix to aid readers in understanding complex aspects of the biblical text, can be characterised as "eclectic" due to the editor's selection and combination of scholia from various manuscripts. Each

[324] The scholium heading for Anastasius Sinaita in both sources reads Ἀναστασίου Ἀντιοχείας, which appears to stem from the confusion between the seventh-century author and the homonymous Anastasius I, a sixth-century bishop of Antioch. On the genre of "Questions and Responses" see Perrone 2019.

manuscript corresponds to a distinct type of catena, leading to a comprehensive edition where biblical lemmata extracted from his edited New Testament text are accompanied by each relevant scholium from the four manuscripts, and concluded with one or more sigla denoting the respective manuscripts (Image 7). This approach, which aims to gather and present valuable scholia while acknowledging variations among sources, is not exclusive to von Matthaei, but can also be observed in editions of Old Testament catenae, such as Balthasar Cordier's edition of Psalms chains.[325] Lorrain observes that Cordier essentially created a "secondary catena", a common practice among catenists, which involves building a catena using another catena as a foundation.[326] The editor achieved this by amalgamating the contents of various manuscripts, resulting in a more comprehensive catena consisting of multiple chains. It is almost redundant to mention that this approach greatly obscures the visual layout presentation of the catena manuscripts in both frame and alternating layout, essentially prioritising the retrieval of the exegesis within them.

Additionally, in von Matthaei's publication of the Dresden manuscript, the content is influenced by his exegetical preferences as he censors Maximus' scholia. Nevertheless, the editor refrains from philological interventions in the manuscript text and focuses on presenting his conjectures, explanations, and comparisons with other catenae (specifically, Donatus' edition of Pseudo-Oecumenius) in footnotes, mirroring the approach observed in Wolf's edition of Pseudo-Andreas.

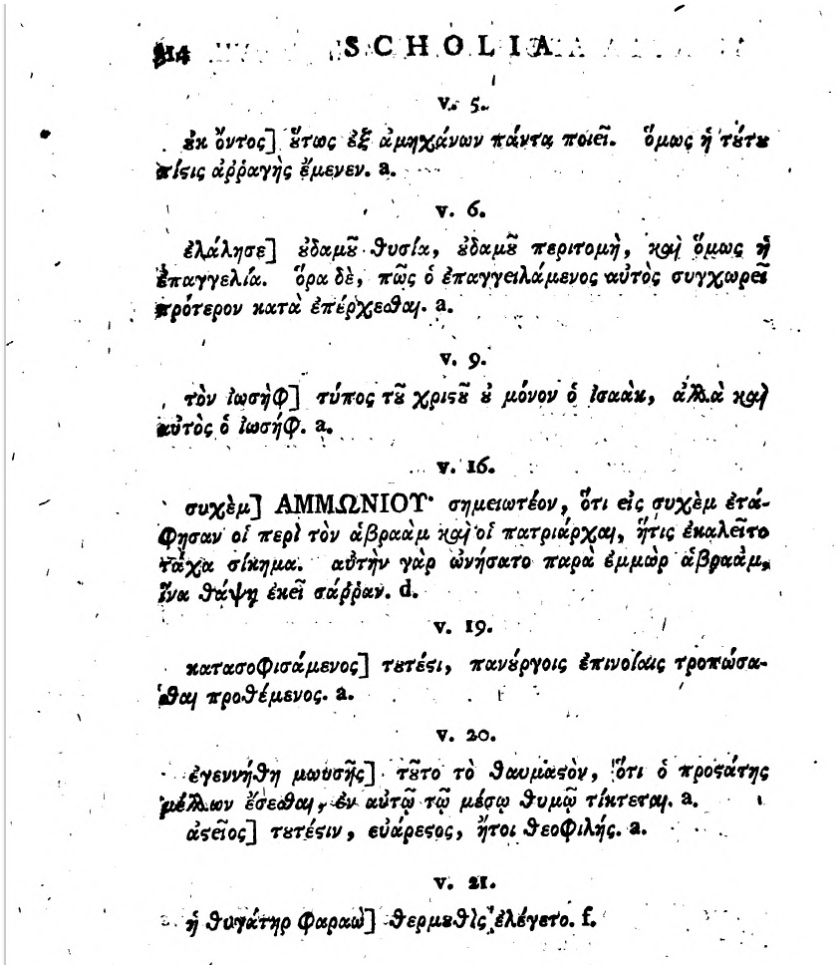
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[325] Corderius 1643: xiii–xiv.

[326] Lorrain 2021: 224–225. To understand the distinction between "primary" and "secondary" catenae, which are constructed from original sources and other compilations, respectively, see Dorival 1986: 18–20.

scholium attribution	**Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, 263**	**Dresden, SLUB, A 104 / Matthaei 1782**
unattributed	11	5
John Chrysostom	5	3
Maximus the Confessor	3	3?
elsewhere (ἄλλως)	3	1
Cyril of Jerusalem	2	1
Eusebius of Caesarea	2	1
Gregory of Nazianzus	2	2
Gregory of Nyssa	2	2
(Pseudo-)Caesarius	2	2
Flavius Josephus	1	—
Origen	1	—
Cyril of Alexandria	1	—
Basil of Caesarea	1	1
Anastasius Sinaita	1	1
Leontius	1	1
the same (Maximus)	1	1?
Total	39	24?

Table 10. List of scholia attributions and occurrences in C155.3



314 SCHOLIA

v. 5.

ἐκ ὄντος] ἔτως ἐξ ἀμηχάνων πάντα ποιεῖ. ὅμως ἡ τέτε πίστις ἀῤῥαγὴς ἔμενεν. a.

v. 6.

ἐλάλησε] ἐδαμῶς θυσία, ἐδαμῶς περιτομὴ, καὶ ὅμως ἡ ἐπαγγελία. ὅρα δὲ, πῶς ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτὸς συγχωρεῖ πρότερον κατὰ ἐπέρχεσθαι. a.

v. 9.

τὸν ἰωσὴφ] τύπος τῦ χριςῦ ὁ μόνον ὁ ἰσαὰκ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἰωσήφ. a.

v. 16.

συχὲμ] ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥ· σημειωτέον, ὅτι εἰς συχὲμ ἐτάφησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν ἀβραὰμ καὶ οἱ πατριάρχαι, ἥτις ἐκαλεῖτο τάχα σίκημα. αὐτὴν γὰρ ὠνήσατο παρὰ ἐμμὼρ ἀβραὰμ, ἵνα θάψῃ ἐκεῖ σάῤῥαν. d.

v. 19.

κατασοφισάμενος] τετέσι, πανέργοις ἐπινοίαις τροπώσασθαι προθέμενος. a.

v. 20.

ἐγεννήθη μωυσῆς] τῦτο τὸ θαυμάσιον, ὅτι ὁ προσάτης μέλλων ἔσεσθαι, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μέσῳ θυμῷ τίκτεται. a.

ἀσεῖος] τετέσιν, εὐάρεσος, ἤτοι θεοφιλής. a.

v. 21.

ἡ θυγάτηρ φαραὼ] θερμεθὶς ἐλέγετο. f.

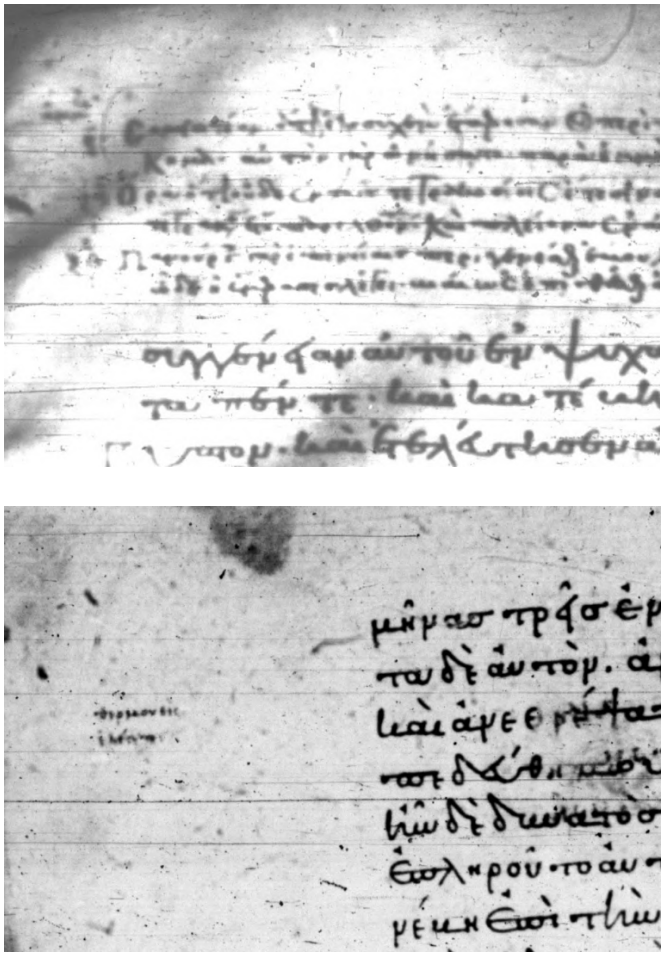


Image 7. Comparison of the page layout between Matthaei's edition, Moscow, GIM, Synod. gr.346 (f. 23v, bottom-right), and Synod. gr. 347 (f. 22r, top-right).

6. Mai's edition of Severus of Antioch's fragments on Acts

In 1838, Cardinal A. Mai published in volume 10 of his *Classici Auctores* from Vatican manuscripts a commentary on the beginning of the second chapter of Acts, which he believed could be taken from an exegetical work by Severus on this book.[327] However, he did not indicate the manuscript used as a source of these pages.

In his 1928 article, Martin examined the attribution of scholia on Acts 2 to Severus of Antioch in Mai's edition by using the evidence in Cramer's edition of the Pseudo-Andreas catena in Oxford 58, including the appendix of variants in Paris Coislin 25.[328] He challenged Cardinal Mai's hypothesis that these scholia could be part of Severus' treatise on Acts, claiming that he placed excessive trust in the source attributions of his manuscript. Martin argued that many scholia credited to Severus by Mai are actually present in the Pseudo-Andreas catena under different attributions. He demonstrated that these scholia can be more accurately assigned to authors such as Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Nicolas the Presbyter, and especially Severian of Gabala, who is often mistaken for Severus in catena manuscripts. As neither Severus nor Severian has been directly transmitted in the tradition, determining the authorship of scholia attributed to these individuals is a challenging task that requires a thorough analysis of the fragments in catenae, including language, style, theological thoughts, and comparison with ancient translations of the original works (such as the Syriac translation of Severus' Cathedral

[327] Mai 1838: 457–470.

[328] Martin 1929.

Homilies).[329] The article concludes that only a limited number of scholia can be definitely attributed to Severus, and Mai's edition has limited utility in reconstructing Severus of Antioch's lost works. It ultimately suggests that there is no substantiated evidence to support the existence of a lost commentary by Severus on the beginning of Acts.

Without revisiting Martin's study or cross-referencing the additional manuscript evidence not considered, my focus is on identifying in the Catena Catalogue the Vatican manuscript used by Cardinal Mai. Devreesse put forth the idea that the supposed reconstructed commentary on Pentecost attributed to Severus by Mai was, in fact, a detached segment from the Pseudo-Theophylact catena-commentary on Acts (Finettus' *Expositio*).[330] Devreesse's intuition was on the right track. Nevertheless, he was unable to locate any evidence for this text in the Vatican manuscripts he examined. In fact, he did not verify and perhaps was unaware of the manuscript Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760 (eleventh century), which is a rare instance of a codex entirely dedicated to Acts and containing two catenae on Acts back to back.[331] This multiple-text catena manuscript will be explored in greater detail in Chapters III and V.[332]

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[329] The "Die alexandrinische und antiochenische Bibelexegese in der Spätantike" project at the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (BBAW) is systematically adding transcriptions and analyses of fragments by Severus and Severian as preserved in the indirect tradition to their Patristic Text Archive (PTA) database.

[330] Devreesse 1930: 304–305.

[331] diktyon 67391 (GA 437).

[332] See below III.7, and V.4.

For now, it is important to note that Severus' text in Mai's edition is reproduced from the second catena in this Vatican codex, so far categorised as a *codex singulus* (C155.4),[333] but in fact an abbreviated version of the Pseudo-Andreas type (C150.2g). By comparing the sequence of scholia in Mai's edition (pp. 457–470) and those in Vat. gr. 760 (ff. 186r–194v), it becomes evidence that the text of Severus in Mai's edition is essentially a compilation of scholia from Vat. gr. 760. However, it is important to acknowledge that within this list, there are extracts that in the Vatican codex are attributed to figures other than Severus of Antiochus, such as Severian of Gabala (ff. 191r, 192r–193v, 194v), Nicolas the Presbyter (f. 194r–v), Cyril of Alexandria (f. 191v), and Chrysostom (ff. 191r–v, 192v–193r). These attributions are also present in the C150.1 manuscripts. While it is unclear why Mai removed these headings from his edition, it is essential to highlight this inaccuracy to demonstrate its unreliability in determining the authorship of the published scholia. Therefore, Mai's edition should not be considered as external evidence when researching authentic material from Severus.

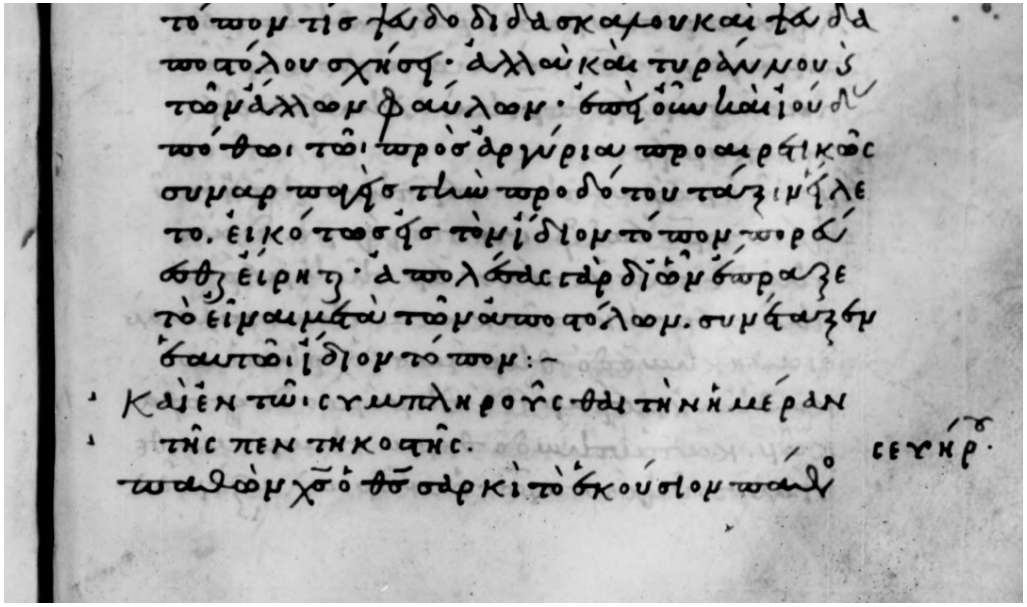
Lastly, as Devreesse pointed out, Mai's edition essentially presents a chain of citations without accompanying lemmata, which means it represents a series of patristic quotes without specifying their authors (Image 8).[334] Mai follows a methodology that can be traced back to the seventeenth century, adopted by scholars like Fronton De Duc and Jacques Sirmond, and later supported by Devreesse, which aimed to publish "author-

[333] Scieri 2022a: 302.

[334] Devreesse 1930: 305.

centered" editions to facilitate the reconstruction of lost commentaries by presenting unedited excerpts from catenae.[335]

[335] Lorrain 2021: 221.



ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΗΡΟΥ.

ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΣΤΗΝ.

Act. apost. cap. II.

Καὶ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεν- v. 1.
τηκοστῆς. - Παθὼν Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς σαρκὶ τὸ
ἑκούσιον πάθος, καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν, συνανέ-
στησεν ἑαυτῷ τοὺς τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ νενεκρωμένους ἡ-
μῶν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ διαβόλου κράτος καθῄλυσε· διὰ
τοῦτο μέχρι τῆς πεντηκοστῆς εἰς γῆν οὐ κλινό-
μεθα προσευχόμενοι, κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν
ψάλλοντες· αὐτοὶ συνεποδίσθησαν καὶ ἔπεσον,

Image 8. Comparison of the page layout between Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760 (f. 186r) and Mai's edition (p. 457).

7. Concluding remarks

The overview presented above reaffirms my initial conclusions that the catenae on Acts reveal a level of complexity previously underestimated.[336] The editorial history illustrates that only a limited portion of the extensive manuscript tradition has been accessible to editors, relying on a small number of manuscripts that happened to come into their possession.

Furthermore, these editions primarily aimed to utilise catenae as a means of propagating patristic exegesis, serving either to establish authoritative support for the sacred text during the Counter-Reformation under papal direction or to disseminate the works of Byzantine commentators.[337] It is with this perspective in mind that the catena-commentaries attributed to Oecumenius (Donatus' edition) and Theophylact (Sifanius' and Finettus' editions) were published. The necessity to establish authority for these works had driven both scribes and editors to add the name of an author to them. As pointed out by von Soden, the proliferation of different compilation types on Acts attributed to Theophylact of Bulgaria, each with only one exemplar upholding this authorship, can be understood as an attempt to compensate for the genuine absence of a commentary on this book within his exegetical works on the New Testament.[338] On the other hand, a different trend emerged, aiming to narrow the focus of research by

[336] Scieri 2022a: 302–305.

[337] Mühlenberg 1989: 16.

[338] Soden 1902: 689. Parpulov 2021: 221–212 identifies about one hundred fifty manuscripts of Theophyalct's commentary on the Gospels and about fifty on the Pauline Epistles, dated from the eleventh to the sixteenth century.

extracting and disseminating only previously unpublished patristic extracts. This was accomplished by either compiling a comprehensive collection of extracts in a single work, as demonstrated in Matthaei's "eclectic" edition of selected scholia, or by publishing previously unknown fragments of authors from catenae, as undertaken by Wolf, or by using unedited scholia to reconstruct presumed lost works, as undertaken by Mai. The first attempt at presenting the catena as an independent text was pursued by Cramer, who, despite significant limitations and shortcomings, seemed to partially embody the concept later outlined in 1891 by Paul Wendland as the initial, necessary step towards studying patristic fragments.[339]

Regardless of their distinct purposes, all these editions suffer from unreliability and are entirely inadequate for scholarly investigations. This is due not only to their dependence on individual manuscripts but also to their absence of proper philological and scientific methodology. Furthermore, none of the editions accurately replicate the manuscript layout or consider paratextual elements such as cross-reference signs between the biblical text and scholia. Although recent studies have highlighted the potential value of integrating layouts into modern editions of catenae, the inclusion of paratextual elements is still overlooked.[340] However, as stressed by Lietzmann, when working with catena manuscripts, it is crucial to give careful attention to external features.[341] As I will extensively demonstrate in subsequent chapters of my thesis, these

[339] P. Wendland cited by Lietzmann 1897: 26.

[340] See Lorrain 2021: 219–220.

[341] Lietzmann 1897: 17.

elements play a significant role in understanding manuscript tradition and the evolution of catenae.

Finally, when undertaking the task of editing catenae, it is crucial to recognise the challenges posed by dealing with layered compilations, where catenae have undergone additions or reductions over time. While there is a consensus on the importance of concentrating on individual types (or subtypes) when editing a catena, as evidenced by the numerous editions of Old Testament catenae following this approach, there is more debate regarding the editing of catenae that exhibit multiple layers of compilation. Lorrain highlights Petit's edition of the Exodus chain as a notable example of a multilayered catena edition, which permits a thorough examination of how compilers utilised, chose, and modified their sources, providing valuable insights into both the catena's original core and its subsequent enrichment.[342] This approach would be equally suitable for catenae on Acts and, in a broader sense, for compilations that exhibit a stratified composition.

However, while this approach may be suitable for "closed" traditions, such as well-established and relatively well-attested types and subtypes (C150, C151, C152 etc.), it becomes problematic when dealing with multilayered and multiple-text catena manuscripts. In these cases, each layer and text represent a distinct compilation with its own existence and, very often, its independent manuscript tradition. This issue will be the central focus of this thesis going forward, beginning with Chapter III, which will introduce the multilayered and multiple-text catena manuscripts of Acts.

[342] Lorrain 2021: 233–234.

Chapter III

Unveiling Pluritextuality:

Stratification and Multiple Collections in Acts Catenae

1. Introduction

A meticulous comparison of scholia present in the seven manuscripts under scrutiny – Paris gr. 237, Drama 3, Paris gr. 216, Escorial Ψ.III.18, Vat. gr. 760, Reg. gr. 6, Moscow F. 270 no. 56 – against recognised catena and commentary types on Acts, along with manuscripts featuring unidentified types, reveals a complex arrangement of texts. As explained in Chapter I, this methodology involves using internal criteria such as the beginning and concluding words of scholia, analysing script characteristics, and making external comparisons with other catena manuscripts and patristic writings.[343] Drawing from the terminology found in the *La Syntax du codex* to describe multifaced manuscripts, this approach identifies numerous "content units" some of which are components of the same "production unit", while others differ, indicating separate stages of production.[344] In the context of the Acts manuscripts under consideration, applying the definition provided by Andrist–Maniaci seems relevant: they describe "UniConts" as

[343] See above I.2.3.

[344] Andrist–Canart–Maniaci 2013.

distinct sections within a codex's overall content, that are delineated by factors such as transitions between different works, significant textual divisions, and the physical boundaries of the manuscript itself.[345] They also acknowledge that there are situations where identifying the transition from one work to another can be challenging, particularly if one or both of the works are not well-known.[346] This observation seems to be applicable to Acts manuscripts where the transition between different sets of scholia has occasionally been overlooked due to limited awareness of external evidence.

In the following paragraphs, a detailed analysis of multilayered and multiple-text catena manuscripts will be undertaken to provide insight into this issue, with a particular emphasis on their "content units". For each manuscript, an overview of the current research status will be presented, followed by a thorough examination of each identified layer, including its textual classification and relationships with other sources and catena manuscripts. For convenient referencing, when citing manuscript text, I provide the initial and concluding words of scholia along with a reference to the corresponding biblical lemmata in the manuscript, all accompanied by the page number. In discussions about catena layers, I employ the label "L", sequentially ordered using Arabic numerals (L1, L2, L3, L4, L5). When uncertainty arises about the layer of a scholium, I indicate it with a number and a question mark if a suggestion is presented (e.g., 3?), and with just a question mark if not (e.g., ?). In cases involving multiple-text catena manuscripts, I

[345] Andrist–Maniaci 2021: 377.

[346] Andrist–Maniaci 2021: 377, n. 20.

replace “L” with “T” to represent “text” followed by Arabic numerals indicating chronological progression.

2. Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (GA 1424)

The manuscript Drama 3 is an early minuscule that contains the entire New Testament with an extensive set of paratextual features, including scholia.[347] What sets it apart is its unique arrangement of the New Testament books, with the book of Revelation located after the Catholic Epistles and before the Pauline Epistles.[348] The manuscript is believed to have been produced in the middle or second half of the ninth century, placing it among a small group of fewer than twenty minuscules dated to this period.[349] The script used for the biblical text is a small-sized minuscule pre-*bouletée* that is similar to that found in the so-called “philosophical collection” and other manuscripts from the latter half of the ninth century.[350] However, the marginal scholia, except for those on Revelation, were only partially written by the main scribe. The majority of these extracts are additions from the first half of the twelfth century and are written in a small-sized

[347] diktyon 13410 (GA 1424). The manuscript has been the subject of various studies, with Clark 1937: 104–106, and Kavrus-Hoffmann 2015 providing the most comprehensive description.

[348] Kavrus-Hoffmann 2015: 125, notes that this order is rare. The only other manuscript from the ninth-tenth century known to have the same order is Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 1 (diktyon 66171), which contains the so-called Leo Bible.

[349] Lanier–Han 2021: 32 (and n. 11).

[350] Kavrus-Hoffmann 2015: 126–127. The author argues that the irregular use of diacritics in the titles and subscriptions, as well as the non-abbreviation of *nomina sacra*, support the manuscript’s execution in the ninth century. On the ‘philosophical collection’ see the contributions in Bianconi–Ronconi 2020, and also see Ronconi 2013.

"informal cursive" script with numerous abbreviations.[351] The biblical text was written in a single-column format by a monk named Sabas, who left his colophon on the last page of the manuscript (f. 336v).[352] It is highly probable that this work was carried out in the scriptorium of the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople, based on codicological and palaeographical features.[353] Sabas was also responsible for scattered scholia on each book found throughout the manuscript and for the entire commentary section on the Revelation. The remaining scholia were added by the anonymous twelfth-century hand, and there is a possibility that this addition was made within the same Stoudios Monastery, as suggested by Nadia Kavrus-Hoffman.[354] For some time the manuscript was held in the Kosinitza monastery (Μονή τῆς Εἰκοσιφοινίσσας) in the village of Kosinitza near Drama in northern Greece. [355] After being illegally taken to Europe in the 1900s, it was purchased by Franklin Gruber in 1920 and later acquired by the Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary. However, in 2016, the manuscript was returned to its previous location, where it is currently held.

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[351] According to Kavrus-Hoffman 2015: 127–129, there is a resemblance between the script used in this manuscript and that found in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 846, which dates back to the first half of the twelfth century. Additionally, she records later notes on ff. 7r and 336v, written by different hands, which are likely pious invocations made by monks. One note is attributed to a certain "humble and sinful" Nikandros (f. 7r), and the other to the "servant of God" Christophoros (f. 336v).

[352] Text and translation in Kavrus-Hoffman 2015: 128.

[353] Kavrus-Hoffman 2016: 123–126.

[354] Kavrus-Hoffman 2015: 130.

[355] Kavrus-Hoffman 2015: 130, and Lanier-Han 2021: 31–32, provide the manuscript's history, offering insights into its origins and previous ownership.

Limited attention had been given to the scholia found in the margins of all texts in Drama 3 before Parpulov's catalogue.[356] The catenae in the manuscript are categorised by him as follows: a complete catena on Matthew (C110.4), the *Recensio II* of the commentary by Victor of Antioch on Mark (C125.2), a distinctive type of catena for Luke found in a single codex (C137.10), and the expanded form of the *Catena prima aucta* on John (C140.2). The catenae on the on Acts and Catholic Epistles are classified as *Catena Andreae* (C150 and C176, respectively), and the Pauline Epistles contain the "Expanded type" of the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena (C165.3). Furthermore, the commentary on Revelation, which is entirely written by the main scribe, is attributed by De Groote to Oecumenius.[357] Gregory R. Lanier and Moses Han have recently conducted a preliminary study of the paratextual features of the manuscript, focusing primarily on the Gospels section and aiming to reassess the biblical text.[358] While the study addresses certain aspects of the paratextual features, such as markers of Old Testament quotations and text-critical annotations by later editors, it overlooks important features such as the catenae and their text-types.[359] This leads the authors to assert that the main scribe of Drama 3 "makes comments of his own" in certain passages of Colossians,[360] while in fact

[356] Parpulov 2021: 198.

[357] De Groote 1995.

[358] Lanier-Han 2021: 29–59. Their findings suggest that the manuscript might not entirely adhere to the Byzantine text-form, particularly in Mark and potentially in the other Gospels. This indicates a possible earlier stage in the evolution of the Byzantine text-form, transitioning from an immature state to a more established and mature form in later centuries.

[359] The significance of the Euthalian apparatus as the primary *corpus* to which the Old Testament markers in the Acts, Catholic Epistles and Pauline Epistles belong is not addressed either.

[360] Lanier–Han 2021: 41.

these scholia belong to the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena as observed in Staab's "Expanded type" and "Normal type".[361] Despite these shortcomings, the study provides some important observations, such as the palaeographical note emphasising the presence of multiple later scribes for the comments, rather than just one twelfth-century hand.[362] Later in the discussion, I will illustrate how this detail plays a crucial role in understanding the textual stratification of the manuscript.[363]

The catena on Acts covers ff. 164v–206r.[364] While this manuscript is not mentioned in the lists of Karo–Lietzmann and von Soden, its opening (f. 164: ἀντιοχεὺς ὑπάρχων τὸ γένος) and ending (f. 206r: σ[ωτηρ]ίου πάθ[ους], λ̄ς̄) led Parpulov to classify this manuscript as a representative of C150.[365] Based on the comparison of this catena with the Acts catena manuscript tradition in three test passages, I have classified it as the abbreviated subtype C150.2c.[366] However, during my initial comparison, I noticed some peculiarities in the test passage on Acts 8:9–25 (f. 176r; Table 11, Image 9). Only two scholia, at Acts 8:12 and 8:15, attributed to Isidore of Pelusium and Chrysostom, respectively, are from the main hand, while the rest are from the later copyist. Furthermore, I observed that the first scribe uses sigla or symbols to connect the relevant extracts to the biblical lemmata, while the later-hand scholia are connected through the

[361] See Marcon 2023: 56–57.

[362] Lanier–Han 2021: 36–38.

[363] See below III.2.2–3.

[364] The scholia are present on all pages except for ff. 118v, 199r, 200v.

[365] Parpulov 2021: 198. The conclusion is abbreviated from a scholium, which, in its complete form, ends with βασιλείας κληρόνομοι καθίστανται (Cramer III, 424.3).

[366] Scieri 2022a: 291.

repetition of the biblical quotation in short form, except for the comment on Acts 8:13, which also uses a symbol. Two scholia do not use any cross–reference system at all, and the connection to the biblical text is not highlighted. The second of these, located in the bottom margin just below a Chrysostom scholium from the main hand, is written in a lighter brown ink than the rest of the later hand and shows traits suggesting a different copyist (e.g., the size of the omega in the ligature τω and of the sigma in the abbreviation -σ([αν]). I did not find evidence of the first of these two scholia in any representative of C150, and I also noticed that some comments reproduce material from C150 in a more or less reworked form.

attribution	inc.-des.	b.l. Acts	cross-reference system	cf. C150	scribe
ἰσιδώρ(ου)	ὁ εἷς τ(ῶν) ζ̄ τ(ῶν) πρὸ(ς) τ(ὴν) τ(ῶν) χηρ(ῶν) οἰκον(ο)μί(αν) οὐχ ὁ ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα ... ἐπὶ ἱεροσολύμων κατέμεινεν -	8:12	symbol	Cramer III, 133.32–134.11	main + later
—	οὐ πίστεως ἕνεκ(εν) ἀλλ' (ὥσ)τε γενέσθ(αι) τοιοῦτο(ς) :–	8:13	symbol	Cramer III, 136.7–8	later
—	δέον τῶ σίμω(νι) ... αὐτ(ῶ) φη(σίν) κέχρησαι :–	8:19	lemma	Cramer III, 139.10–14	later
ἀνεπιγρά(φου)	δείκνυτ(αι) (ὡς) ἡ ... τὸ ἅγ(ιον) ἡγησάμ(εν)ο(ς)	8:22	lemma	Cramer III, 139.26–31	later
—	τὸ εἰ ἄρα ἀφεθήσ(ε)σθαι ... ὅτι ἀδιόρθωτο(ς) ἦν :–	—	—	—	later
χρ(υσοστόμου)	ἴσ(ως) διὰ τ(ὸν) ... ἀσφαλ(εῖς) ὦσ(ιν) :	8:25	lemma	Cramer III, 141.32–33	later
ἰωάννου	σημείων μεγάλων γινομένων. ... σημείων οὐκ ἔλαβον :–	8:15	symbol	Cramer III, 136.14–16	main
—	ἐπεὶ καὶ οὗτος ... ἤγουν ἰάσθαι ἄλλους :–	—	—	Cramer III, 136.21–25	later (light brown ink)

Table 11. Scholia on Acts 8:9–15 in Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3

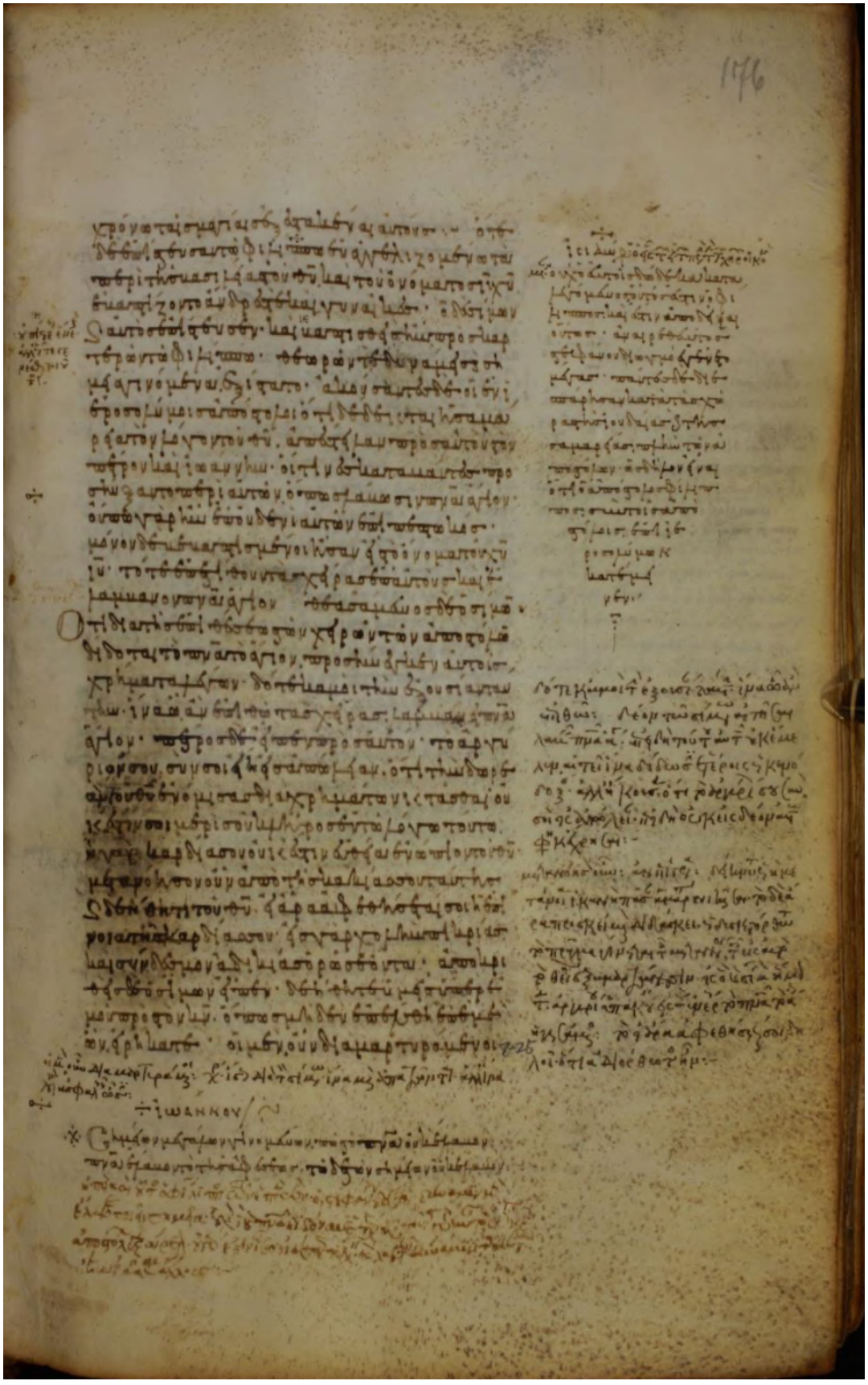


Image 9. Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (GA 1424), f. 176r.

Based on these anomalies, I conducted a more detailed analysis that considered the entire catena and revealed a plurality of catena types that overlap with each other. The Acts catena, which includes a total of four hundred and forty-three scholia, consists of three layers of scholia corresponding to three separate compilations, with the involvement of three scribes (Table 12).

Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (GA 1424)				
Layer	**number of scholia**	**scribe**	**text**	**external evidence**
1	10	main	'isolated' scholia	–'isolated' scholia manuscripts: Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, Panaghias 026 –multilayered catena manuscripts: L1 in Paris, BnF gr. 237 and Escorial, RBME, Ψ.III.18
2	382	second	Pseudo-Andreas abridgment (C150.2c)	*Catena Andreae* (CPG C150; Cramer III)
3	36	second	Epitome by Leo Choirosphaktes of *Chrysostom's Homilies on Acts*	–Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 177; Milan, BA, A 62 inf.; Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56 (gr. 140); Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1767 –multilayered catena manuscripts: L2 in Paris, BnF, gr. 237
4	7	third		
n.i.	8	second	?	?
total	443	3	3	

Table 12. Content units in the catena in Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3

2.1 L1: 'Isolated' scholia

The earliest layer of scholia in the manuscript (L1) was written by the same scribe responsible for the biblical text. It is transcribed in a smaller pre-*bouletée* script, with glosses and scholia headings in Alexandrine majuscule. In the outer margins, certain scholia are arranged in a geometric shape, specifically a reverse triangle, providing an early example of decorative marginalia that will later become common in annotated manuscripts.[367] L1 consists of ten comments and glosses of varying lengths that are scattered throughout the manuscript (ff. 176r, 177r, 190r–v, 192r–193r), often separated by a significant distance, and are connected to the biblical text by symbols of different shapes.[368] The comments are ascribed to Isidore of Pelusium (f. 176r), Chrysostom (ff. 176r, 177r, 192v), and Ammonius (ff. 177r, 192r, 193r). There are two unattributed glosses written in small majuscule. One of these glosses (f. 190r inc. ἡ πᾶσα τοῦ βώμου, des. ἀγνώστω καὶ ξένω) reproduces the text on the Athens altar observed by the apostle Paul (Acts 17:23), while the other (f. 190v ὁμηρου καὶ ἀράτου) identifies the source of the quotation "Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν" ("For we are too his offspring") at Acts 17:28, which is the astronomical poem *Phaenomena* (v. 5) *by* the Hellenistic poet Aratus of Soli (c. 315/310–240 BC).[369] Both glosses are not strictly scholia, but rather paratexts belonging to the Euthalian Apparatus.[370] However, in Drama 3, as well as in several other catena

[367] Hutter 2010 has conducted a comprehensive survey of this trend.

[368] For a classificatory perspective on the linkage through symbols see Atsalos 1991.

[369] However, the reason for associating this gloss with Homer remains unclear, as there is no evident source from the author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that corresponds to this quotation. See Allen 2022: 8–9.

[370] On these texts see Willard 2009: 76, Edwards 1993.

manuscripts containing 'isolated' scholia, these two texts are visually represented and connected to the biblical text using the same symbols as other scholia from L1, making them visually indistinguishable from the latter.[371]

All the scholia are also found in C150, where they are attributed and, in some cases, also indicated by symbols.[372] However, in the Drama manuscript, they appear in an abbreviated form and have undergone some degree of reworking compared to the full type. One noteworthy example is the scholium on Acts 8:12 from Isidore as illustrated in Table 13 below, with the words in common highlighted in bold.

Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 f. 176r	***Catena Andreae* (*CPG* C150)** Cramer III, 133.32–134.11	**Isidore of Pelusium, *Letters on the interpretation of the Holy Bible* 447–448** *PG* 78
ἰσιδώρ(ου) : **ὁ εἷς τ(ῶν) ζ̄ τ(ῶν) πρὸ(ς) τ(ὴν) τ(ῶν) χηρ(ῶν) οἰκον(ο)|μί(αν). οὐχ ὁ ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα κατα|λεγόμενος ὅῦτος ἐστιν ὁ φί|λιππος**. καὶ ἔστιν ἀποδείξαι| ὁῦτως· **ἀναιρεθέντος| στεφάνου διωγμὸ(ς) ἐγένετο| μέγας· πάντες δὲ διε|σπάρησαν κατὰ τὰς χώ|ρας τῆς ἰουδάιας (καὶ)** τῆς| **σαμαρείας. πλὴν τῶν ἀ|ποστόλων· ὡς δῆλον εἶναι| ὅτι ὁ ἀπόστολος φίλιπ|πος.**	*Ἰσιδώρου ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς υμζ.* **Οὐχ ὁ** Ἀπόστολος **Φίλιππος ὁ ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα καταλεγόμενος**, ἀλλ' **εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ τῶν** μετὰ τοῦ ἀριστέως καὶ ἀρχιστρατηγοῦ τῶν καλλινίκων μαρτύρων Στεφάνου ἐπιλεγεὶς **πρὸς τὴν τῶν χηρῶν οἰκονομίαν· οὗτός ἐστιν** ὁ καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον βαπτίσας, καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα κατηχήσας. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς υμη.* Ἐπειδὴ καὶ μαρτυρίαν	ΥΜΖ′. ΑΝΤΙΟΧΩι. (...) **οὐ** γὰρ **ὁ** ἀπόστολος **Φίλιππος, ὁ ἐν τοῖς δεκαδύο καταλεγόμενος**, ἀλλ' **ὁ εἰς τοὺς ἑπτὰ τῶν** μετὰ τοῦ ἀριστέως καὶ ἀρχιστρατήγου τῶν καλλινίκων μαρτύρων Στεφάνου ἐπιλεγεὶς **πρὸς τὴν τῶν χηρῶν οἰκονομίαν, οὗτός ἐστιν** ὁ καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον βαπτίσας, καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα κατηχήσας. ΥΜΗ′. ΤΩι ΑΥΤΩι. Περὶ αὐτοῦ.

[371] See below V.2.

[372] cf. Cramer III, 133.2–134.4, 136.14–15, 148.4–8, 155.25–27, 315.21–25, 316.33–317.5, 320.31, 325.14–17. The marker of Aratus quotation is present in Jerusalem Staurou 25 (f. 209r), Paris Coislin 25 (f. 135r), and Vatican Barb. gr. 582 (f. 168r), whereas the inscription of the Athens altar is found in the Paris manuscript (f. 132v).

σὺν τοῖς ἀπο|στόλοις. ἐπὶ ἰε|ροσολύμων| κατέμει|νεν :–	ζητεῖς τοῦ πράγματος γραφικὴν, ἄκουε τοῦ παναρίστου Λουκᾶ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι γεγραφότος· **ἀναιρεθέντος Στεφάνου διωγμὸς ἐγένετο μέγας** ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· **“πάντες δὲ διεσπάρησαν κατὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ** τῆς **Σαμαρείας, πλὴν τῶν Ἀποστόλων·” ὡς δῆλον εἶναι ὅτι ὁ Ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος σὺν τοῖς** ἄλλοις **Ἀποστόλοις ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων κατέμεινεν.**	Ἐπειδὴ καὶ μαρτυρίαν ζητεῖς τοῦ πράγματος Γραφικήν, ἄκουε τοῦ παναρίστου Λουκᾶ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι γεγραφότος: **Ἀναιρεθέντος Στεφάνου ἐγένετο διωγμὸς μέγας** ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, **πάντες δὲ διεσπάρησαν κατὰ τῆς χώρας τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Σαμαρείας, πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὡς δῆλον εἶναι ὅτι ὁ ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος σὺν τοῖς** ἄλλοις **ἀποστόλοις, ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων κατέμεινε.**

Table 13. Comparative analysis of Isidore's scholium on Acts 8:12.

Upon comparing the scholium in the Drama manuscript with the direct tradition and its almost identical reproduction in C150, significant differences emerge. In Drama 3 the scribe has intentionally condensed the source material, omitting specific details about the background of Philip the Evangelist (his taking care for the widows in Jerusalem after the martyrdom of Stephen, as well as his baptism of the eunuch and Simon Magus). Instead, they emphasise that Philip should not be mistaken for the apostle of the same name among the twelve apostles. By combining two separate scholia from the full type, the scribe also eliminates Isidore's address to the reader, and replaces it with a connecting sentence of demonstrative nature (*καὶ ἔστιν ἀποδείξαι\| ὁῦτως˙*). Although there are notable similarities between C150 and the direct source, it appears more likely that the Drama manuscript drew upon the scholium found in C150 rather than directly from Isidore's work. This conclusion is supported by textual agreements in specific phrases, such as the

use of οὐχ instead of οὐ γὰρ in the direct source, τῶν ἑπτὰ instead of τοὺς ἑπτὰ, διωγμὸς ἐγένετο instead of ἐγένετο διωγμὸς, and τῆς Ἰουδαίας instead of τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

Importantly, this entire set of glosses and scholia is present, with some variations, in a handful of manuscripts that feature a relatively small number of scholia arranged around the biblical text in a framed layout, introduced by symbols.[373] Two of these manuscripts are also multilayered (Paris gr. 237 and Escorial Ψ.III.18) and will be discussed shortly.[374] Among these codices, the codex Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, Panaghias 026 (ff. 9r–75v), dating from the first half of the tenth century, stands out.[375] Not only does the Istanbul manuscript share all ten scholia of the Drama codex in the same order, length, and attributions, but also the graphic presentation of the source headings and the shape of most symbols. Even the scriptural text in Istanbul Panaghias 026 shows a close similarity to the Drama manuscript. The data from TuT indicates that the two manuscripts share all the twenty-six readings that deviate from both the Majority Text (or Byzantine Text) and Nestle-Aland (or critical text), with only one exception, and they agree with Nestle-Aland against the Majority Text in seventy-five readings, except one.[376] This suggests that the two manuscripts were copied from a common or very similar exemplar. The Istanbul manuscript could potentially be a direct descendant of Drama 3, despite the presence of two additional scholia (ff. 12v, 74v) and two additional

[373] See below V.2

[374] See below III.3–4.

[375] diktyon 33671 (GA 1870).

[376] TuT III/1: 219, 289.

glosses (ff. 22r, 53v).[377] It is reasonable to consider that these additions might have been incorporated at a later stage in the antigraph or by the scribe of the Istanbul manuscript itself.

2.2 L2: Pseudo-Andreas abridged catena (C150.2c)

The initial layer of supplementary commentary by the twelfth-century hand, second in sequence within the catena (L2), consists of three hundred and eighty-two scholia derived from the Pseudo-Andreas catena (C150). These scholia constitute the bulk of the chain and are linked to the biblical text through a 'lemmatic' system.[378] This method involves succinctly restating the lemma before the corresponding scholium to establish connection, as we have observed in catena manuscripts with alternating layouts like Paris gr. 219 and Patmos 263.[379]

The catena begins right on the first page of the biblical text (f. 165r, at Acts 1:1, inc. τὸ διὰ πν[εύματο]ς, des. πν[εύματο]ς· [καὶ] τὰ ἑξῆς. cf. Cramer III, 1.4–15). However, on the preceding page (f. 164v), which was originally left blank, there is a scholium containing biographical information of the evangelist Luke (inc. ἀντιοχεὺς ὑπάρχων τὸ γένος, des. [καὶ] μεγίστ[ων] κινδύνων). Traditionally, this passage serves as the *hypothesis*

[377] The scholia are found verbatim in C150 (cf. Cramer III, 10.17–21, 415.2–24), where the first is anonymous and the second is attributed to Eusebius of Caesarea.

[378] Additionally referred to as the 'verbal' system (see Maniaci 2006: 253–254) or "renvoi par lemmes" (see Vianès 2000: 85).

[379] See above II.1 and II.5.

("introduction") of Acts and has been associated with the Euthalian Apparatus.[380] In the frame-layout manuscripts of C150, both in its full and abridged versions, it is located as the first scholium of a numbered sequence of scholia, marked by the symbol $\overline{\alpha}$ (= 1) and connected to Acts 1:1.[381] While its alignment with the initial verse of the biblical text corroborates Blomkvist's observation that the *hypothesis* links Luke as the narrator (διηγούμενος) to the reference of the Gospel as his "first work" (πρῶτος λόγος), the positioning of this scholium before the biblical text in the Drama 3 manuscript could indicate its inherent independent character.[382] The arrangement of scholia is consistent throughout the Acts text until its conclusion (f. 206r), with the final scholium abbreviating and combining the "Prologue to the Pauline Epistles" (inc. ἰστε[ὸν] ὅτι μέχρι) and "Martyrdom of Paul" (des. σ[ωτηρ]ίου πάθ[ους], $\overline{\lambda\varsigma}$) attributed to Euthalius.[383] Unlike the frame-catena manuscripts of the full type where these texts are numbered, in the Drama manuscript, similar to the opening extract, the scholium lacks a connection to the biblical text. This distinction arises from the original nature of the source texts as a major piece and minor piece, respectively, of the Euthalian Apparatus.

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[380] This text, as observed by Blomkvist 2012: 190–191, seems to be an abridged version of Eusebius (*H.E.* 3.4.6) rendered in a simplified style. The *hypothesis* is also present in different variants, which are enumerated by Soden 1902: 327–33, and Blomkvist 2012: 189–192. It is also found at the beginning of commentaries on Luke: see for example Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1221 (twelfth century – diktyon 67852, GA 863), f. 149r.

[381] Cf. Paris Coislin 25 (f. 5r), Paris gr. 221 (f. 3r) Oxford 58 (f. 1r), Athos St Panteleimon 770 (f. 153v).

[382] Blomkvist 2012: 190.

[383] Willard 2009: 11–22; 59–68 (and for the translation of the Prologue 147–155 [M 709B–Z 535]); cf. Cramer III, 422.13–424.14.

The association of L1 scholia with C150 is not limited to the introductory and concluding scholia but encompasses the remaining three hundred and seventy-two comments, all of which are present in the major catena: only the origin of eight scholia remains uncertain, despite some of them having a patristic attribution that it is possible to cross-reference on the TLG.[384] Additionally, two more key aspects solidify this connection. Firstly, the retention of source headings applies to the majority of scholia, resembling what is observed in the full type. Secondly, the sequence of scholia, in most instances, mirrors the arrangement seen in the full type.

However, the degree of abbreviation varies significantly from one scholium to another, occasionally omitting the incipit of the extract, at times the conclusion, and on other occasions, sections from the body of the text. This process of abbreviation sometimes leads to scribal errors, particularly oversights, resulting in scholia that amalgamate initially distinct extracts. Some of these scholia, in their original sources, are attributed to separate authors, but in the Drama manuscript, due to this amalgamation, are ascribed to a single writer. For example, on f. 169r, a scholium on Acts 3:23 (inc. ἐπειδὴ ἀθάν[α]τ[ος], des. εἴγε θεοσεβ[ῶς] ἐπολιτεύσατ[ο]) is titled σχόλ(ιον). However, a comparison with representatives of C150 reveals that this is, in fact, an extract from

[384] These are at Acts 1:18 (f. 165v inc. οὐ λέγει ὅτι, des. ἐδω[κε] ἰούδας τότε), 2:1 (f. 25 inc. μετὰ τ[ὴν] ϖ̄ ἡμέρ[αν], des. ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπο[στόλων]), 3:13 (f. 168v inc. παῖδα θ[εο]ῦ ἤτοι, des. ποιήση τ[ον] λόγ[ον]), 7:57 (f. 175r inc. μὴ φέροντ[ι] ἀκ[ο]υ[ειν], des. βλασφημί[ας] ἐνόμιζ[ον]), 12:1 (f. 181v, ἀμμωνί[ου] πρεσβ[υτέρου]. ἐκκλη[σία] τὸ ἐκ τ[ῶν] πιστ[ῶν] σύστημα), 12:8 (f. 181v, inc. διὰ τὸ μὴ νομισθῆν[αι], des. τὸν διδάσκαλ[ον] μόνον), 12:19 (f. 182r χρ[υσοστόμου]. inc. κατεδίκασ[εν] αὐτοὺς, des. τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον), 22:9 (f. 197r χρ[υσοστόμου]. inc. καὶ π[ῶς] ἑτέρωθ[ι], des. πρὸ[ς] ἀστ[εῖν] φων[ῆς]), 27:24 (f. 204r ἀμμων[ίου]. inc. ἐντεῦθεν δείκνυτ[αι] ψευδὲς, des. οὐ καιροῦ σου).

Didymus to which the scribe inadvertently affixes the title “scholium” due to eyeskip from the beginning of the first extract to the beginning of the second one, both containing the same words ἀθάνατος and ἡ ψυχὴ at close distance with each other (Table 14).

f. 169r	Cramer III, 69.18–24
σχόλ(ιον). ἐπειδὴ **ἀθάν(α)τ(ος)** ἐστιν **ἡ ψυχὴ** ἐξολόθρευσ(ιν) αὐτ(ῆς) νοοῦμ(εν) τὸ ἔξω γενέσθ(αι) τ(ῶν) ἀγαθ(ῶν) ὧν ἔμελλ(εν) ἀπολαύ(ειν) εἴγε θεοσεβ(ῶς) ἐπολιτεύσατ(ο) :	*Σχολιον.* **Ἀθάνατος** οὖσα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου **ἡ ψυχὴ**, οὐ καθάπαξ ἐξολοθρεύεται, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τινὸς τάγματος ἀγαθοῦ, ὁποῦ ἦν τεταγμένος πρότερον· οὕτω καὶ Ἰούδας ἐξολοθρεύθη ἐκ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν Ἀποστόλων. *Διδύμου.* Ἐπειδὴ **ἀθάνατός** ἐστιν **ἡ ψυχὴ**, ἐξολόθρευσιν νοοῦμεν, τὸ ἔξω γενέσθαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὧν ἤμελλεν ἀπολαύειν, εἴγε θεοσεβῶς ἐπολιτεύσατο.

Table 14. Comparison of scholia in Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 with C150 in Acts 3:23.

An example of blending and reverse order is on f. 167r (Table 15). At Acts 2:3, the scribe abbreviates a scholium by Severus of Antioch that in the full type is divided in two parts by the connecting phrase καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγα (“and a little later”). It is apparent here that they probably intended to transcribe only the second part of the scholium following the transition formula, but their eyes jumped from ἐγηγέρθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς in this portion to the same phrase in the portion before, therefore determining the mix of the two parts but in reverse order. This further confirms that the transcription was conducted from an exemplar that likely included the full type, from which only scholia considered relevant to the scribe were chosen.

f. 167r	Cramer III, 49.22–31
σεβήρου ἀντιοχ(είας). τὸ **ἐγηγέρθαι** αὐτ(ὸν) **ὑπὸ τ(ο)ῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς** λέγεσθ(αι) διὰ τὸ τ(ῶν) ἀκουόντ(ων) ἀσθεν(ὲς), εὐπαρήδεκτ(ον) τ(ὸν) λόγ(ον) ταύτη κ(α)τεσκεύασ(εν) :	Οἱ Ἀπόστολοι κηρύττοντες τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἔλεγον τὸν Χριστὸν **ἐγηγέρθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς** διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀκουόντων ἀσθενὲς, εὐπαράδεκτον τὸν λόγον ταύτῃ κατασκευάζοντες. Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα—Καὶ τὸ **ἐγηγέρθαι** δὲ αὐτὸν **ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς** λέγεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ἀκουόντων ᾠκονόμει τὸ ἀσθενές· etc.

Table 15. Comparison of scholia in Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 with C150 in Acts 2:3

The textual comparison with other subtypes of C150 suggests that Drama 3 contains an independent abbreviated version, which I marked as C150.2c, because the selection and extent of scholia in this manuscript is largely different from the other abridgments. It is also possible to argue that this abbreviation derives from a later stage of the development of C150, represented by C150.1a. First, the Drama catena contains some anonymous scholia and others attributed to Maximus the Confessor (sometimes in full extent, sometimes abbreviated) which are present in C150.1a as an additional layer added between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the ninth century, as I have illustrated in Chapter II.[385] Such is the case for example on f. 168v (anonymous scholium at Acts 3:11, inc. ἡ [δὲ] στοὰ ἵστ[α]τ[ο], des. κύρο[ς] ὁ πέρσης. cf. Cramer III, 61.5–7), and f. 169v (at Acts 4:11, μαξίμ[ου]. τουτέστι τῆς ἐκκλη[σίας]), with the latter missing in Cramer's Oxford 58 but present in Paris Coislin 25 (f. 36v) and its closely related Vatican Barb. gr. 582 (f. 45v).

[385] See above II.4.2.

The textual relationship with this cluster is also confirmed by similarity of text, scholia attribution and distribution. As an example of shared attribution against the Oxford manuscript, f. 166r ascribes to Severian of Gabala the scholium on Acts 1:20 (inc. οὐκ εἶπε μερίζομ[ε]ν[αι], des. φωτίζη τ[οὺς] πιστεύοντ[ας]). This is shared by Jerusalem Staurou 25 (f. 28r), Paris Coislin 25 (f. 12r, cf. Cramer III, 425) and Vatican Barb. gr. 582 (f. 14v), against the name of Severus of Antioch in Paris gr. 221 (f. 9r), Oxford 58 (f. 7v, cf. Cramer III, 20.4–32) and Athos St Panteleimon 770 (f. 156r). As already mentioned in Chapter II, the confusion between Severus and Severian is very common in catena manuscripts, due to their similar abbreviation.[386] This evidence demonstrates the connection of Drama 3 with earlier representatives of C150.1 than the Oxford manuscript. Due to its older date and better text, this codex might preserve more accurate scholia attributions. This seems to be the case on f. 171v, a scholium presumably on Acts 5:28 (inc. οἱ μακάρ[ιοι] ἀπόστολ[οι], des. ἢ θάνατ[ον] ὑπομέν[ειν]). This is rightly attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (cf. *Against Arians* 3.57.2, ed. Metzler–Savvidis) like in Jerusalem Staurou 25 (f. 79v), Paris Coislin 25 (f. 46r) and Vatican Barb. gr. 582 (f. 57r).[387] In contrast, Oxford 58 (f. 37r) and Paris gr. 221 (f. 34v) have τοῦ αὐτοῦ, following a scholium by Chrysostom, probably originated by palaeographic misunderstanding of the abbreviation of Athanasius' name (often in the form $\tau^{ου}$ $\alpha\theta^{ου}$, that can be easily confused with $\tau^{ου}$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau^{ου}$).

[386] See above II.4.2.

[387] Athos St Panteleimon 770 (f. 162r) lacks a title. The variant in Paris Coislin 25 is absent from the records in Cramer's appendix.

2.3 L3 and L4: Epitome by Leo Choirosphaktes (abridged version)

The third layer was added by the second scribe (L3) and completed with a fourth layer by a third scribe (L4): L3 comprises forty scholia and glosses distributed between ff. 165r and 182v, whilst L4 supplies seven comments scattered on ff. 166r–v, 168r–v, 170v, 176r, and 177r. Altogether, these form a set of forty-three scholia and glosses extracted from the same type of work, with the last extract at Acts 13:2 (inc. πῶς οὖν λέγει, des. τὸ δὲ, οἱ ἀπόστολοι).

This set is found in a group of manuscripts, dated from the tenth to the sixteenth century, where the extracts form an epitome ascribed to the diplomat and scholar Leo Choirosphaktes, also known as Leo Magister (c. 840–919 AD), and made up of scholia from Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts*. These are Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 177 (tenth century; pp. 450–64), Milan, BA, A 62 inf. (tenth century; ff. 59r–63v), Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56 (gr. 140) (thirteenth century; ff. 216v–219r), Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1767 (sixteenth century; ff. 144r–155r).[388] It is also included in the multilayered catena manuscript Paris gr. 237, where it forms L2.[389] The characteristics and attribution of this work will be discussed in greater detail later in the context of Moscow F 270, no. 56.[390] For now, it will be important to highlight that the text in the Drama codex is an abbreviated version of the epitome, as it lacks several extracts and also presents a number of textual variations, especially omissions and ordering. However, it

[388] diktyon 54421, diktyon 42185 (GA 1980), diktyon 44336, diktyon 68396.

[389] See below II.3.2.

[390] See below III.8.1.

seems to be textually closer to the version in Paris gr. 237, suggesting this could be its ancestor, as evidenced in particular in the scholia arrangement. For instance, it shares with Paris gr. 237 the same order of the extracts on Acts 5:38 (οὐκ εἶπ[εν]· ἐαν ἦ θ[εὸ]ς ὁ χ[ριστὸ]ς· ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο δηλοῖ) and 6:1 (διακονίαν δὲ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην καλεῖ), which in the four manuscripts in alternating layout are presented in a reversed order.[391]

In both L3 and L4, much like in L2, the connection between scholia and the biblical text is marked by the repetition of the biblical lemmata in short form, although these are avoided in cases of scriptural reference in common with the previous comments.[392] Unlike L2, no scholium bears an author attribution. The differentiation in handwriting styles between the scribe of L2–3 and that of L4 is quite apparent, primarily discernible through variations in ink colour, a detail highlighted by Lanier and Han.[393] The second scribe employs a deep and rich brown ink, which is in stark contrast to the lighter brown ink chosen by the third scribe when transcribing (as seen in Image 10). Furthermore, while the cursive style of writing remains somewhat consistent, particularly concerning the usage of abbreviations and their forms, certain letters within the writing of the third scribe are particularly enlarged, making them stand, such as epsilon, sigma, and omega. The omega often appears accompanied by a tau above it or combined in a ligature with a

[391] cf. Paris gr. 237 (f. 18r–v), Patmos 177 (p. 457), Milan, BA, A 62 inf. (f. 61r), Moscow F. 270, no. 56 (f. 215r), Vatican Vat. gr. 1767 (ff. 157v–158r).

[392] See for instance f. 165r, which contains a sequence of three scholia. The first scholium starts with the words τίνο(ς) (δὲ) χάριν, while the last scholium concludes with ὡς περιστερᾶ ... (...)μωρητ(αι). In this sequence, the biblical lemmata are omitted, as they pertain to the same Acts 1:3 reference δι' ἡμερ(ῶν) τεσσαρά(κοντα) found in the preceding scholium (inc. τὸ δι' ἡμερ[ῶν], des. γὰρ καὶ ἀφίπτατο).

[393] See above III.2.

circumflex accent. Additionally, features such as a rounded majuscule gamma and a left-leaning delta point to the characteristics of the thirteenth-century "Beta-Gamma" script style, which is renowned for its heightened emphasis on extreme modular contrast.[394] As a result, these characteristics suggest that this additional content should be dated to the thirteenth century. In any case, despite the challenge posed by distinguishing between informal and scholarly twelfth-century scripts, as exemplified by Nigel Wilson, it becomes evident that the supplementary exegetical material on Acts in Drama 3 is the work of two distinct hands.[395] The third hand took on the role of completing the transcription of Leo's Epitome of Chrysostom, that was initiated by the second scribe. In the forthcoming chapter, I will examine the difference in the distribution of scholia by these hands.[396]

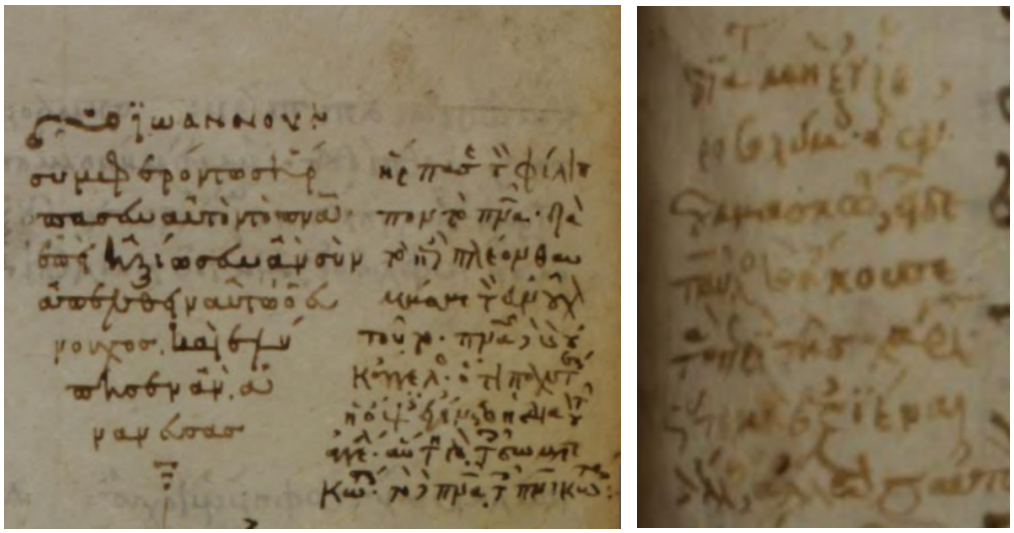


Image 10. f. 177r: main scribe (left outer margin), second scribe (right outer margin), third scribe (inner margin)

[394] See Wilson 1977: 264–267; cf. De Gregorio, "Beta-gamma style" in BNP. Consulted online on 31 August 2023 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e216030>

[395] Wilson 1977. Expanding upon Wilson's insights, Canart–Perria 1991 have illustrated a broad spectrum of scripts in this context, encompassing numerous sub-categories.

[396] See below IV.3.

3. Paris, BnF, gr. 237 (GA 82)

Scholarly consideration of Paris, BnF, gr. 237 has primarily concentrated on its biblical content and script.[397] This manuscript, transcribed in a single column of 28 lines, includes Acts, Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, and Revelation with scholia. It aligns with the Byzantine text-type and has been categorised by Kurt Aland as belonging to Category V.[398] Herman C. Hoskier highlighted its significance in his study of the text of Revelation.[399] Upon scrutinising the script of the biblical text, Jean Irigoin and Maria Luisa Agati placed the codex's origin within the *bouletée* minuscule style, dating it to the early tenth century, and proposed an Italo-Greek origin.[400] In contrast, Alessia Aletta contended that the manuscript was created in the Constantinople region, predating the emergence of the *bouletée* script, and pushed its dating back to the late ninth or early tenth century.[401]

However, the scope of investigation has largely disregarded the exegesis framing the scriptural text along three margins. This framework comprises a compilation of excerpts from various sources, including the Pseudo-Andreas catena on Acts (C150) and the Catholic Epistles (C176), the Pseudo-Oecumenius "Normal type" on the Pauline Epistles (C165), and the commentary on the Apocalypse by Andreas of Caesarea (CPG

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[397] diktyon 49809 (GA 82). A description of the manuscript with bibliography is on ParaTexBib (https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org/manuscript/?diktyon=49809) and Pinakes (https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/49809/). See at least Omont 1886: 27; Hatch 1951: 94.

[398] Aland 1989: 138.

[399] Hoskier 1929.

[400] Irigoin 1977: 196; Agati 1992: 272–273; also see Agati 1991 (esp. 214).

[401] Aletta 2004: 89–92, whose positions are supported by Speranzi 2010: 27.

7478). The initial identification of Paris gr. 237 as part of the Pseudo-Andreas catena was proposed by von Soden based on the incipit and explicit of the compilation, leading to the conclusion that it contains an independent excerpt from the full version, differing in that it mostly lacks attributions for the extracts.[402] Expanding on this, Parpulov reaffirmed the assignment to C150 in his catalogue of New Testament catena manuscripts.[403] Building on this, I further categorised this catena as an abbreviated subtype, C150.2d, following the analysis of test passages.[404] Parpulov also recognised a second hand that supplemented the scholia written by the primary scribe, suggesting a tenth-century date for this addition. Staab had previously noted this second hand's presence in the Pauline section, classifying Paris gr. 237 as part of the 'miscellaneous excerpts' from the "Normal type" of the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena where two layers of scholia overlapped.[405] Aletta continued the discussion by offering palaeographical insights into the additional hand, linking its morphological characteristics to the late ninth or early tenth century, implying that it was contemporaneous with the original scribe.[406]

Despite these investigations, there has been a lack of comprehensive inquiry into the content of these additional scholia and how they relate to C150. A thorough analysis of the entire Acts catena (ff. 10r–61r) has unveiled the complexity and stratification of

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[402] Soden 1902: 685, where Paris. gr. 237 is indicated by the siglum O^1.

[403] Parpulov 2021: 164–165.

[404] Scieri 2022a: 292.

[405] Staab 1926: 179–180, and cf. Panella 2021: 399–400.

[406] Aletta 2004: 89.

these supplementary scholia (Image 11). Although the Pseudo-Andreas catena makes up a substantial part of the exegetical content, it is just one component of a broader range of content. These supplementary scholia can be classified into specific groups, corresponding to various types of text for which the manuscript tradition of catenae and commentaries on Acts provides substantial evidence. This evaluation has resulted in the identification of four layers of scholia added after the initial one transcribed by the primary scribe, and it has also enabled the determination of the order in which they were incorporated in subsequent stages of transcription. As I will elaborate in greater detail in Chapter IV, the chronology of these additions becomes evident due to the disorder of several scholia across the page, which results from their overlap. As new scholia are incorporated, they are often transcribed onto pages already containing material from previous layers, causing a disruption in the organised arrangement of comments on the page.

The catena in Paris gr. 237 comprises four hundred and eleven marginal scholia that are predominantly unattributed. These scholia are linked to the biblical text through a 'symbolic' cross-reference system. They can be distinguished in five distinct layers (Table 16). Within this structure, the Pseudo-Andreas catena constitutes more than fifty percent of the content, accounting for two hundred and nineteen scholia. However, the remaining half is distributed among four different works. The forthcoming paragraphs will examine the content within each layer and explore their relationships with the identified sources. Seven scholia remain unidentified in external sources available.

Paris, BnF, gr. 237 (GA 82)				
Layer	**number of scholia**	**scribe**	**text**	**external evidence**
1	27	main	'isolated' scholia	–'isolated' scholia manuscripts: Moscow, GIM, Synod. gr. 346 (Vlad 24). –multilayered catena manuscripts: L1 in Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3, Escorial, RBME, Ψ.III.18.
2	79	second	Epitome by Leo Choirosphaktes of *Chrysostom's Homilies on Acts*	–Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 177; Milan, BA, A 62 inf.; Moscow, RGB, num., F. 270, no. 56 (gr. 140); Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1767 –multilayered catena manuscripts: L3 and L4 in Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3.
3	12	second	C156	–Tirana, Arkivi Qëndror i Shtetit, F. 488, dos. 17; Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971; Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 150. – multilayered catena manuscripts: + L1 in Paris, BnF, gr. 216, and Escorial, RBME, Ψ.III.18.
4	219	second	Pseudo-Andreas abridgment (C150.2d)	*Catena Andreae* (CPG C150; Cramer III)
5	67	third	Epitome of *Chrysostom's Homilies on Acts*	Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts* (CPG 4426; PG 60)
n.i.	7	second	?	?
total	411	3	5	

Table 16. Content units in the catena in Paris, BnF, gr. 237

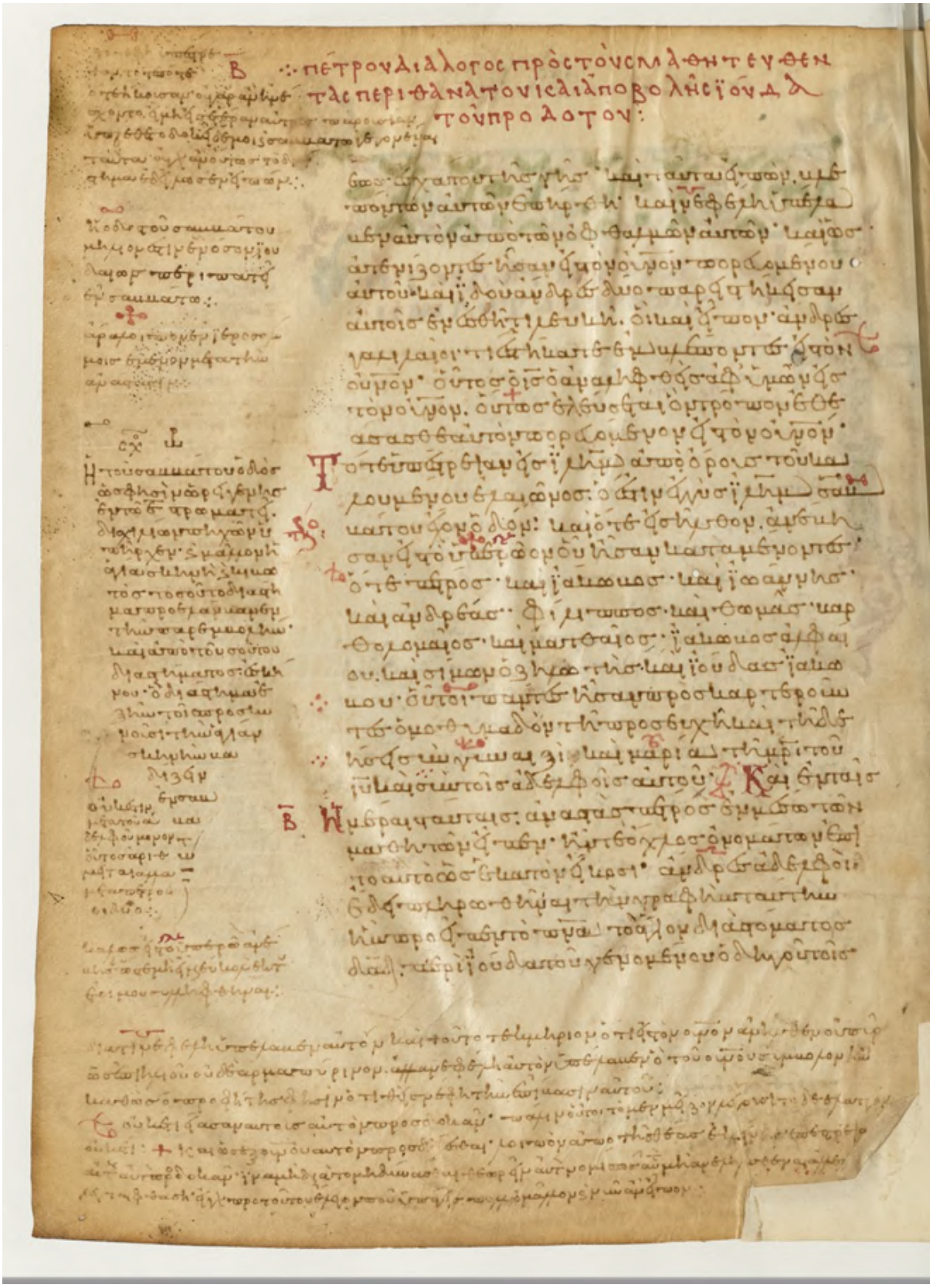


Image 11. Paris, BnF, gr. 237. f. 10v

3.1 L1: 'Isolated' scholia

The earliest layer of scholia (L1) consists of twenty-seven comments and glosses of different lengths, which are dispersed throughout the manuscript with significant gaps between them. These scholia are linked to scriptural lemmata by various symbols, similar to the arrangement in Drama 3. The same scribe who wrote the biblical text is responsible for this set of comments. While the predominant script of these is the pre-*bouletée* minuscule, the glosses and scholia headings (when present) are written in a small Alexandrine majuscule, and some of the scholia in the outer margins are adorned with figurative designs (Image 12), just like in the Drama codex.[407] In Paris gr. 237, in addition to the reverse triangles, there is also the inclusion of a Patriarchal cross (ff. 46r–v and 49r), which is a recurrent motif in manuscripts containing figurative marginalia.[408]

This stratum encompasses all the scholia present in Drama 3, along with an additional seventeen scholia, all unattributed (ff. 28r, 30r, 32r, 37v, 39r, 41r, 43r, 44r–v, 46r–v, 49r, 50r) or genetically titled σχόλιον (ff. 10v, 36v, 38r), except the comment at Acts 28:21 (f. 60v) which is ascribed to Eusebius of Caesarea.[409] Similar to the situation observed with the Drama codex, additional external evidence is available from several manuscripts in which these scholia are found, displaying variations while adhering to a framed layout, and also employing symbols as cross-reference system.[410] Just as Drama 3

[407] See above III.2.1.

[408] See Hutter 2010.

[409] The scholium on Acts 19:35 (ϕ. 44v) is unique in having the heading ἄλλο(ς), referring to the previous comment titled ἀμμω(νίου).

[410] See below V.2.

finds a counterpart in the Istanbul manuscript, Paris gr. 237 also has a sister manuscript in the thirteenth-century codex Moscow, GIM, Synod. gr. 346 (Vlad 24) (ff. 12r–65v).[411] In addition to their shared designation as acpr.22.i.β by Parpulov, to indicate their identical textual contents, Synod. gr. 346 contains the complete set of twenty-seven scholia present in Paris gr. 237, maintaining the same sequence, length, occasional attributions, and even replicating the visual arrangement of source headings and the forms of most symbols. For example, the heading σχο(λιον) on f. 10v of Paris gr. 237 (cf. f. 12v in Synod. gr. 346) in both manuscript is written as σχ°, with the omicron appearing in a smaller size placed on top of the combination of sigma and chi. This is followed by ωρ, meaning ὡραῖον, a common user's note in catena manuscripts denoting the significance of a passage.[412] A similar phenomenon is observed in the title ισιδ(ωρου) on f. 22v of Paris gr. 237 (cf. f. 26r in Synod. gr. 346), which in both codices is abbreviated as ισι$^{\delta}$, with the small delta superscript. Regarding the symbols, a comparison can be made with scholia on ff. 28r, 30r, 32r, 37v, and others (cf. ff 31v, 33v, 35v, 44v in in Synod. gr. 346).

Even the scriptural text indicates a close affinity between the two manuscripts. The data in TuT indicate that the two manuscripts share all the readings that diverge from both the Majority Text and Nestle Aland (twenty-seven), nearly all the readings agreeing

[411] diktyon 43971 (GA 462). This manuscript serves as one of the exemplars designated as codex 'f' for the compilation of scholia on Acts published by Matthaei 1782 (see above II.5). The specific sections from this manuscript are on pp. 1–4, 9–21, 299–347, and 353.

[412] See Curti–Barbàra Valenti 2008: 608.

with Nestle Aland against the Majority (seventy-four), and even a special reading at Acts 10:10 (*Teststelle* 32).[413]

However, rather than a direct connection, it is plausible that both manuscripts were copied from a common or similar exemplar. This is suggested by the fact that Synod. gr. 346 features an additional scholium (f. 54r), two extra glosses (ff. 32v, 50r), and two author headings (ff. 31v, 53r) that are absent from the Paris manuscript. Given this, if the second scribe of Paris gr. 237 introduced the supplementary content soon after the first hand transcribed L1, sometime between the late ninth and early tenth centuries according to Aletta, it is unlikely that the thirteenth-century scribe of the Moscow manuscript intentionally chose to exclude these later additions, which constitute the bulk of the catena.

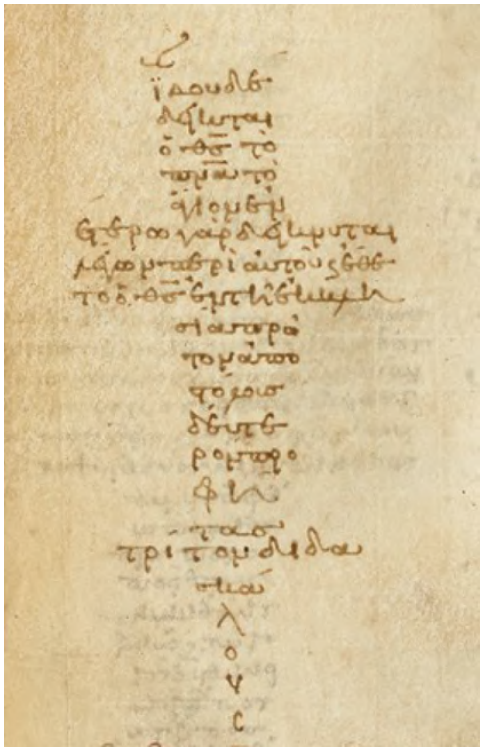


Image 12. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, f. 46v: L1, scholium cross-shaped

[413] See TuT III 1/2: 57–58, 117.

3.2 L2: Epitome by Leo Choirosphaktes (full version)

The first layer introduced by the second scribe, making up the second layer of scholia in the catena (L2), includes seventy-nine scholia. These are dispersed between folios 10r and 31v, with the very first scholium marking the beginning of the entire catena in Paris gr. 237 (inc. και π[ως] ὁ ϊωαννη[ς], des. αρχῆς ἄχρι τελ[ους]), and concluding with the last entry on Acts 13:2 (inc. τὸ μεν λειτουργοῦντων, des. τὸ δὲ αυτὸν ἀπόστολοι). As in L1, these scholia are connected to their corresponding scriptural lemma through symbols, apart from three cases (f. 10r, inc. δι[α]τι εν μ[εν] τω β[α]πτισμ[α], des. τ[ου] αγιου πνευματος, f. 16r, δηλοῖ δὲ τουτο [ότι] μονον εκεκτητο, 24r, inc. διατι μὴ ἐν ϊεροσολύμ[οις], des. αξιοπιστος ἦν διηγουμενος), where the linkage is avoided due to shared scriptural references with preceding comments. In contrast to L1, no scholium within this set bears an author attribution. This layer is also identifiable due to the lighter tone of the brown ink (Image 13).

This collection includes the epitome of Chrysostom's Homilies on Acts attributed to Leo Magister, the same as found in L3 and L4 of Drama 3, but in its complete form as preserved in the aforementioned manuscripts Patmos 177, Milan A 62 inf., Moscow F. 270, no. 56, and Vatican Vat. gr. 1767. While a thorough analysis of the content and structure of this epitome will be conducted in the discussion of the Moscow manuscript (section III.8 below), it is important to mention at this point that the order of extracts in Paris gr. 237 closely resembles the arrangement found in the four manuscripts. However,

there are instances of sequence inversions.[414] Instead of presuming a direct copy-exemplar relationship between the Paris manuscript and the four alternating-layout codices (with the early tenth-century Patmos codex as the sole potential candidate), the presence of an extra fragment on Acts 8:39 in all four manuscripts, along with differences in the arrangement of scholia and textual variations, indicates that these manuscripts likely originate from a common lost exemplar.

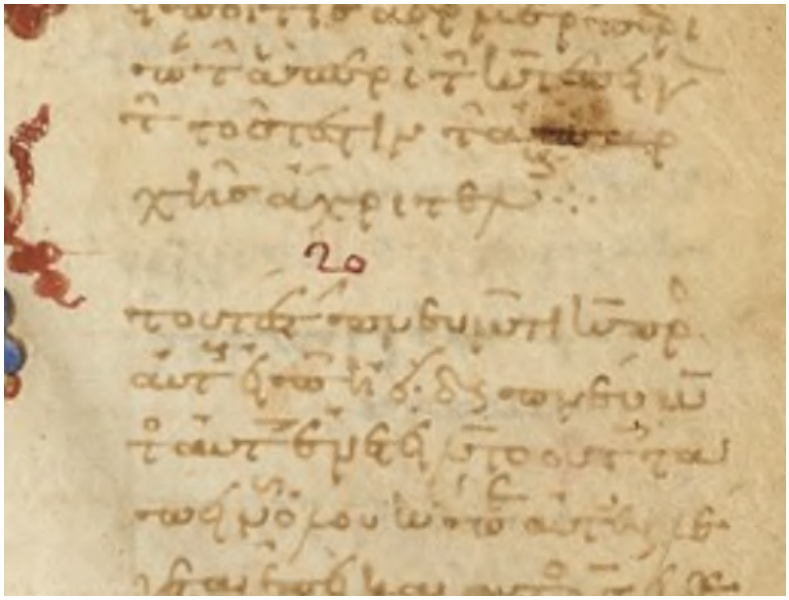


Image 13. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, f. 10r: scholia from L2

3.3 L3: *Catena abbreviata* (C156)

The second layer introduced by the later scribe, forming the third stratum within the catena (L3), comprises a limited collection of twelve anonymous scholia. These extracts are distributed from f. 10r, with the initial scholium related to Acts 1:3 (inc. πρόσεχαι τῇ

[414] The order is reversed in scholia at Acts 1:23 (f. 11r), 2:2–4 (ff. 11v), 2:44 and 2:46 (ff. 13r–v), 5:38 (f. 18r), 6:1 (f. 18v), 8:13 (f. 22v), 8:14–22 (f. 23r), 9:19 (f. 25r). Some of these, however, are oversights in Paris gr. 237 (see below IV.2).

ἀναγνωση, des. [καὶ] πίνω εἴρηται) to f. 21v, concluding with the last scholium tied to Acts 7:43 (inc. μολὸχ ἤτοι μολχόμ, des. ἐστιν εἴδος σκοτασμοῦ), possibly even extending to f. 31r (at Acts 7:55, inc. διὰ τὸ ἴδειν τὸν υ[ιο]ν, des. ἤτοι θεοριῶν ἐπεφάνη). They are written in a darker shade of brown ink compared to L2 (Image 14).

Almost the entire collection appears in the eleventh-century manuscript Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971 (ff. 42r–90r), classified by Parpulov as C156 and assigned the label *Catena abbreviata* in the ClaCla database.[415] In this manuscript, nine out of the twelve scholia from Paris gr. 237 are present, and they are ordered in the same sequence (see Table 17). This suggests a shared origin between the two manuscript sets, although the relationship might not be direct. This is due to the presence of some scholia not shared between them at both ends, and discrepancies in the Vatican manuscript's scholia that contain more orthographic and spelling errors compared to the Paris manuscript. Among the remaining three scholia, two (ff. 13r, relating to Acts 2:42, inc. κατα την θείαν, des. τριαδαν ὁμοουσιων εβαπτισθησαν, f. 15r, at Acts 4:11, inc. παντοκράτωρ γὰρ ὑπαρχει, des. καὶ κεφαλιαῖος λίθος) are present in Tirana, Arkivi Qëndror i Shtetit, F. 488, dos. 17 (ff. 14r–99r), a manuscript of the twelfth century categorised under C156.[416] The remaining scholium (f. 10r, associated with Acts 1:3, inc. πρόσεχαι τῇ ἀναγνωση, des. [καὶ] πίνω εἴρηται) is found in the eleventh-century Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, 150 (ff. 9r–44r), which is also classified as C156.[417]

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[415] diktyon 68600 (GA 1845). https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla/OA/Details.aspx?id=FB45DB9DE0E78E4AB98277140316F8FD.

[416] diktyon 63376 (GA 1764). Parpulov, however, dates this back to the tenth century.

[417] diktyon 54259 (GA 1162).

The connection between L3 in Paris gr. 237 and these three manuscripts, all part of the same catena type, justifies extending the label C156 to this layer as well.

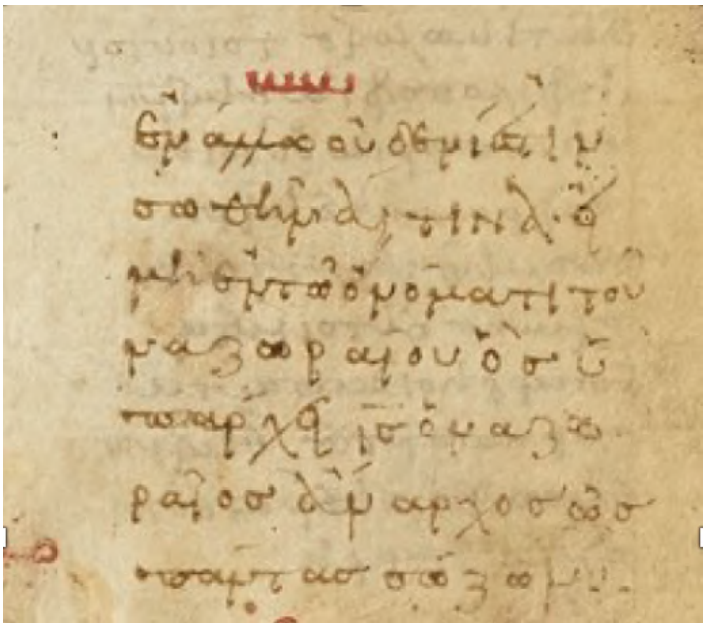


Image 14. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, f. 15r: scholium from L3

Acts b.l.	Paris, BnF, gr. 237	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971
2:33	f. 13r σημειοτεον ὅτι τὸ πν(ευμ)α τὸ αγιον ὑποδείκνυσιν ὁραθέν :	f. 44v σημεωτέον. ὅτι τὸ πν(ευμ)α τὸ ἅγιον ὑποδικνυσιν ὁραθέν.
2:38	ὧν γὰρ ἡ οὐσία μια τούτον (καὶ) τὸ ὄνομα ἓν.	ὧν γαρ ἡ ούσία μία καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἕν.
2:42	κατα την θείαν πιστιν καὶ ... ὁμοουσιων εἰς τριαδαν ὁμοουσιων εβαπτισθησαν ∴	f. 45r κ(α)τ(α) τ(ην) θει(αν) πίστ(ιν) κ(αὶ) ... ὁμωουσίω τριάδι ὁμοιον·
3:6	f. 13v εἰ ὅτι ὁ βαπτιζόμενος ἐν ... καὶ οὐκ αν(θρωπ)ος μόνος ∴	f. 45v εἰ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος ἐν ... καὶ οὐκ αν(θρωπ)ος
3:11	f. 14r αὕτη ἡ μόνη στοᾶ ἵστατο ... καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν κὺρος ὁ πέρσης :	αὕτη μόνη στοᾶ ἱστατο ... κ(αὶ) ὁκωδόμησεν κῦρος ὁ πέρσις
3:26	f. 14v σημειωτεον ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἔφη ὑιοὶ ... π(ατε)ρα ἐκείνοις τε καὶ ἑαυτῶ ∴	f. 46v σημειώτεον. ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἔφη ὑιοὶ ... π(ατε)ρα ἐκείνοις τε κ(αὶ) ἑαυτόν
4:2	—	f. 46v αυτη (?) γὰρ ἔλεγε. ... ἀν(θρωπ)οις ὁμώουσιος :

4:4	f. 15r διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο προελεγεν ἐπι τῶν ... πίστεως (καὶ) ὑμεῖς μετα ταῦτα ∴	f. 47r διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο προέλεγεν ἐπὶ τῶν ... πίστε(ως) κ(αὶ) ὑμεῖς μετὰ ταῦτα.
4:11	παντοκράτωρ γὰρ ὑπαρχει ὃν τρόπον περικρατεῖ πάντας γωνιαῖος καὶ κεφαλιαῖος λίθος :	—
4:12	ἐν ἄλλω οὐδενὶ ἐστιν σωθῆναι ... ναζαραῖος ἄναρχος ὡς πάντας σώζων.	f. 47r ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ (εστιν) σωθῆναι ... ὁ ναζωραῖος ὡς πάντας σώζων :-
4:27	—	f. 47v πρὸς αυ(τοὺς) γὰρ ἔλεγε· ... κ(α)τ(α) τ(ην) τάξιν μελχι.
4:33	f. 16r διὰ γὰρ τὼν θεοσημείων θείαν ... τὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντα ∴	f. 48r διὰ γὰρ των θεῖων σημίων θεί(αν) ... τῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντα :

Table 17. Comparing the scholia of C156 in Paris, BnF, gr. 237 and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971

3.4 L4: Pseudo-Andreas Catena (C150.2d)

The third layer of supplementary exegesis, forming the fourth stratum within the catena (L4), consists of two hundred and nineteen scholia. These were written by the same scribe responsible for L2 and L3, which they closely resemble in terms of script. The ink colour remains consistent with that of L3, displaying the same shade of brown (Image 15). This similarity hints at the possibility that these additions were made during a similar timeframe to the previous layer.

These scholia include a significant portion of the catena and begin at Acts 1:9 (f. 10v, inc. διατι νεφελη ὑπελαβεν, des. τὴν ἐπίβασιν αὐτοῦ), extending uniformly throughout the codex until Acts 22:9 (f. 49v, inc. ποτε μὲν ειρηται, des. ἀκουσάντων δὲ τῶν λαληθέντων). The quantity decreases markedly after Acts 17:29 (f. 41v, inc. οὐκ εἶπεν οὐκ, des. [καὶ] διάστημα ὑπονοεῖ). It remains uncertain whether this incompleteness reflects that of the exemplar or a scribal preference. While attributions are mostly absent (except for a

scholium on f. 19v, attributed to Cyril of Alexandria), all these extracts correspond to scholia found in C150, attributed to various Church Fathers.[418] Although the absence of attributions is a common trait among the abbreviated subtypes of C150.2, the selection and extent of scholia within Paris gr. 237 significantly differ from other abridgments. Therefore, the identification of this catena as an independent subtype, C150.2d, is justified.

The alignment with the Pseudo-Andreas type is also evident in the sequence of scholia, mirroring the order in the full type. The heading ἄλλος ("another author") that introduces a few extracts is in most cases a phonetic error for ἄλλως ("elsewhere"), indicating that the extract originates from a different part of the same work or from another work by the same author. For instance, for the brief scholium at Acts 2:2 (f. 12r, inc. *αἱ γλωσσαι σημαίνουσιν*, des. *τῆς τριάδος μυστήριον*) this correction is necessary due to the unity of this text and the preceding one (f. 12r, inc. *ἐκ του ου[ρα]νου*, des. *τῆς ἐκκλησίας σώματι*) in C150.1 (cf. Cramer III, 16.30–17.14), where together they form a single scholium from Severus of Antioch's Cathedral Homily 48 (CPG 7035; cf. PO 165).[419]

[418] Most scholia have corresponding evidence in the full type C150.1a. However, a limited number of comments that are not present in this type are found in the abbreviated subtypes C150.2b and 2e.

[419] The same holds true for the consecutive scholia at Acts 7:24 (f. 20v). Despite the second one (inc. *ἃ ἐποίει αἴνιγμα*, des. *λεγομενους ϊσραηλίτας σώζειν*) being introduced by ἄλλος, both it and the preceding text (inc. *ἀνηλεν μωυσῆς οὐ*, des. *πραγμα ἢ φωνος*) are attributed to Eusebius of Emesa in C150.1 (cf. Cramer III, 113.30–114.9). The distinction and scribe's confusion between ἄλλος and ἄλλως in catena manuscripts is discussed in Barbàra Valenti 2019: 35.

The arrangement of scholia in the full type of C150 also sheds light on certain instances of apparent disorder in Paris gr. 237. For example, three consecutive scholia on f. 13v are linked to Acts 2:25 (inc. ἀλλα καὶ ὁ προφήτης, des. αὐτὸν προορόμενος εἶπεν), 2:27 (inc. τοῦ ἀποστόλου πέτρου, des. εἰς ἀεὶ διαμένουσα), and then again 2:25 (inc. τὸ ἐκ δεξιῶν, des. αὐτὸν δουλου μορφήν), respectively. This sequence reflects the order in C150.1, where the first two excerpts constitute a single fragment from Gregory of Nyssa's *Refutatio confessionis Eunomii* (CPG 3136, cf. 178.7–179.3 ed. Jaeger). The third scholium is labelled ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in C150.1 and connected to 2:25. Given that Gregory's comment spans both 2:25 and 2:27, the unity between the two scholia from this text in C150.1 highlights a common difficulty faced by catena compilers: the complexity of segmenting an exegetical passage from a source to correspond precisely with specific words or phrases in the biblical text.[420] Nevertheless, by dividing the scholium into two segments, Paris gr. 237 maintains alignment with the corresponding lemmata while retaining the order found in both C150.1 and the direct source.

[420] This challenge becomes even more intricate when several scholia provide commentary on distinct lemmata within the same verse, a phenomenon observed not only in biblical catenae but also in annotated manuscripts of Homer, as exemplified in Aussedat 2008: 553–554.

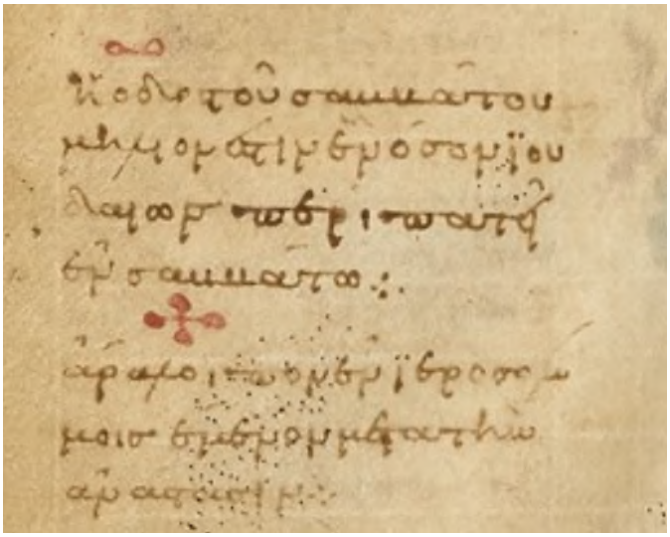


Image 15. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, f. 10v: scholia from L4

3.5 L5: Epitome of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts*

The final layer (L5) comprises sixty-seven scholia, which, despite being anonymous, are exclusively drawn from Chrysostom's Homilies on Acts. This implies that the heading ἄλλος, which occasionally introduces some scholia, should be understood as a scribal error for ἄλλως, just like in L4.[421] However, in contrast to L2–4, the scribe of L5 frequently employs this heading instead of the symbol for extracts linked to a different lemma than the preceding scholium. For instance, a scholium on f. 41v (inc. ὅτι ὁ ἀρχησυναγωγος, des. ἀεὶ τῶ παυλω), positioned below one linked to Acts 18:6 (inc. ορα πῶς παλιν, des. ένεκεν ελεγεν τουτο), comments on Acts 18:8 in Chrysostom's Homily in Acts 39.2 (cf. PG 60, coll. 278, 22–29). Similarly, a scholium on f. 44r (inc. πῶς ενὶ ναους, des. εν εφεσω) explains Acts 19:24 in Chrysostom's Homily in Acts 42.1 (cf. PG 60, col. 297, 12–14), whereas in Paris gr. 237 it follows an extract linked to Acts 19:21 (inc. πως δεον εξ αρχής, des. μαθητων τῆ προφητεια).

[421] These scholia are on ff. 40r–v, 43r, 44r, 59r.

Diverging from L4, the source for these scholia is not Chrysostom's fragments in C150 but originates from the direct tradition of his work. This conclusion arises from the absence of several extracts in the Pseudo-Andreas catena, which are found in the direct tradition of Chrysostom. The missing scholia in C150 are located at various points within the manuscript:

- f. 39v (Acts 17:1, inc. κατα το ηοθως, des. εστιν ἡς σ[ωτη]ρια)

- f. 40r (Acts 17:1, inc. δια τι ουκ εβουλετο, des. περιγενεσθαι χωρης σημείον)

- f. 40v (Acts 17:16, ου γὰρ ην αλλαχοῦ τωσουτους πειρασμους ϊδεῖν)

- f. 43r (Acts 19:7, inc. διατι δε του, ακριβεστερον αὐτὸ ἐξετιθεντο, inc. συνεβαλετο φησιν παραγενομενος, des. τὸν χ[ριστο]ν ι[ησου]ν)

- f. 43v (Acts 19:7, inc. τί δηποτε δεον, des. ἐλύμας δὲ ἐτυφλωθη)

- f. 44r (Acts 19:21, inc. πως δεον εξ αρχής, des. μαθητων τῆ προφητεια)

- f. 46r (Acts 20:16, inc. τις η επειξις, des. τον λογον καλει)

- f. 46v (Acts 20:32, inc. οὐκ ειπεν οἰκοδομησαι, des. και πειθον θαρρ[ειν])

- f. 47v (Acts 21:8, inc. ὁ φιλιππος ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς, des. προφητευσαν ἀλλα γαμους)

- f. 53r (Acts 24:1, inc. ὅρα πῶς και, des. στασιαστην βουλεται παραδουναι)

- f. 53r (Acts 26:28, inc. οὐκ ενοησεν ὁ παυλος, des. απηλλαγμενον τον λογον, Acts 26:29, inc. τι [εστι] τουτο, des. ὁποιως καγώ ειμι)

- f. 57r (Acts 26:21, inc. τί δηποτε δεον, des. οὐδεν επασχον ἐλύμα).

The scribe responsible for L5 seems to differ from the one behind L2–4. Palaeographically, the initial three supplementary layers (L2–4) show no significant differences. The informal script exhibits a lack of calligraphic precision, displaying

variable letter sizes and angles characteristic of many scholarly hands from the tenth century.[422] However, these variations, especially the reduction in letter size, occur when the scribe attempts to fit scholia into narrow spaces on the page. In contrast, the script of L5, despite shared script inconsistencies with L2–4, features distinct traits indicative of a separate scribe. In particular, when transitioning from rounded, large, and upright letters on the initial pages (ff. 39v–43r) to cursive and smaller characters in the remaining section (Image 16), L5 employs different ligatures.[423] The formation of epsilon ligatures, such as εγ, ελ, εν, εξ, ερ, εσ (see Table 18), demonstrates variations. In L2–4, epsilon resembles an omicron with a headline stroke and an ascender appended above. It joins the subsequent letter through the middle stroke. In contrast, L5 portrays the epsilon as two distinct bowls connected with the next letter through the bottom of the upper bowl (corresponding to the epsilon's middle stroke, as seen in ελ, εν, εξ, ερ) or as an upward stroke adjoining the apex of the next consonant. The lower stroke either overlaps with a feature of the previous letter (like the cross stroke of τ) or forms a small bowl (as seen in εγ, ερ, ες).[424]

[422] On the informal handwritings of the tenth century see Orsini 2006.

[423] There are two instances (ff. 42r–v) where the transition in handwriting can be observed within the same scholium. These cases occur in the scholia at Acts 18:18 (inc. *ὅρα πῶς ο νομος*, des. *τυπθηναι τὸν σώσθενην*) and 18:24 (inc. *εἰ το βαπτισμα*, des. *τοὺς μαθητας τουτο*).

[424] Both of these variations are observed within the group ερ. In some instances, the epsilon is connected to the swash of the rho, a ligature known as the "ace of spades" (a characteristic of Italo-Greek scripts, but also found in manuscripts from the tenth to twelfth centuries, as discussed in Devreesse 1955: 34). In other cases, the epsilon forms the loop of the subsequent letters.

Additionally, the marks used to denote the start and end of a scholium exhibit different characteristics compared to other sets of later scholia. In most instances, the symbol preceding a scholium is duplicated (e.g., on ff. 39v, 41v–42r, 43r). However, it can also be single (e.g., on ff. 43v–44r), as in previous layers, or occasionally omitted (e.g. on ff. 41v, 43r, 44r) and replaced by ἄλλος. The shape of the concluding mark also diverges, taking the form of a colon followed by a tilde (:~), similar to L1, or sometimes resembling a plus sign (+), which might result from a rapid drawing of the former. In contrast, L2–4 do not include a tilde or horizontal stroke: the ending mark alternates between four dots in a diamond shape (⁘), two dots (:), and one high dot (·).[425]

While a systematic comparison of the scripts is necessary for conclusive confirmation, these observations point to the possibility of a third scribe expanding the catena with material from Chrysostom. As I will elaborate further in Chapter IV, this identification is also supported by the disregard for text-comment unity on the page in L5, contrasting with the priority given to it in L2–4.[426]

[425] Nevertheless, in all layers, one can come across sporadic scholia lacking a concluding mark.

[426] See below IV.2.

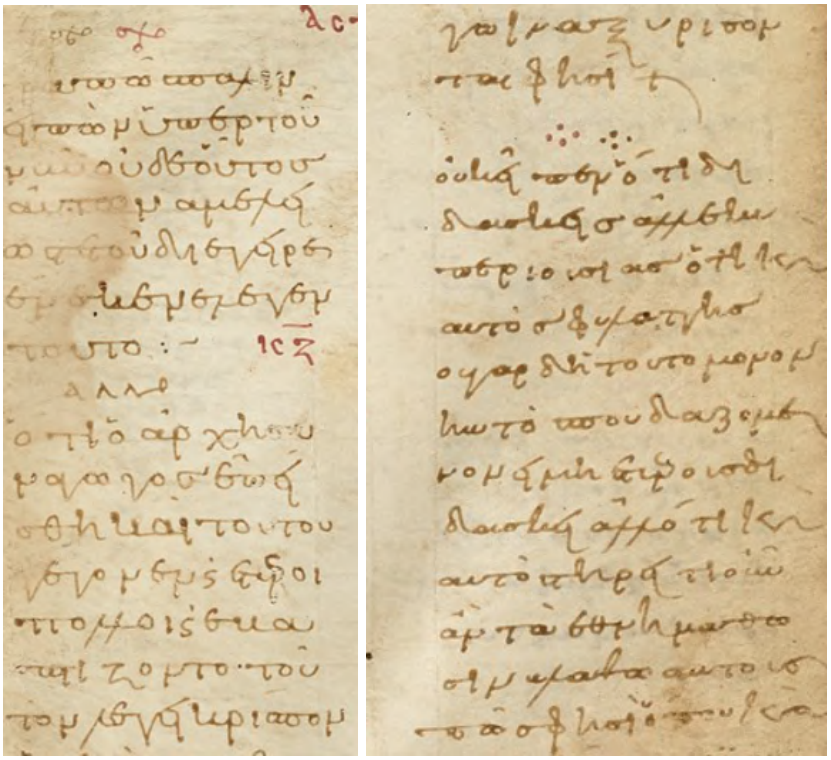
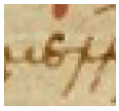
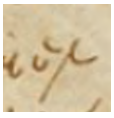
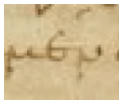
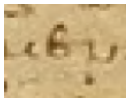
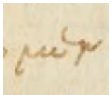
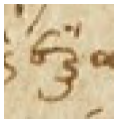
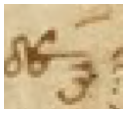
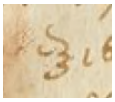
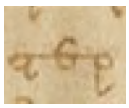
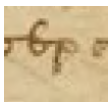
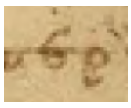
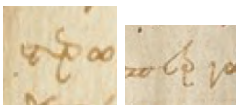
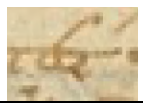
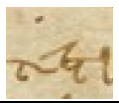


Image 16. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, ff. 41v, 48r: variations in script style within L5

ligature of ε-	L2	L3	L4	L5
ελ	 f. 11v	 f. 15r	 f. 13r	 f. 43v
εν	 f. 13v	 f. 13r	 f. 13r	 f. 45v
εξ	 f. 11r	 f. 21v	 f. 13r	 f. 45v
ερ	 f. 11v	 f. 14r	 f. 13r	 f. 45v
εσ				

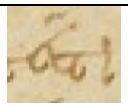
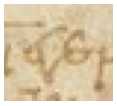
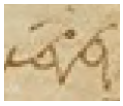
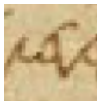
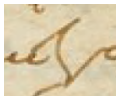
	f. 10r	 f. 15r	 f. 13r	f. 48r
εγ	 f. 11v	 f. 14r	 f. 13r	 f. 48r

Table 18. Comparison of the epsilon ligatures in layers L2 to L5.

4. Paris, BnF, gr. 216 (GA 605)

This manuscript, dating to the tenth century, is an exquisite codex featuring Acts, Catholic Epistles and Pauline Epistles accompanied by commentary.[427] The arrangement consists of two columns for the biblical text, while the commentary is presented in a frame format. The catenae found within this manuscript are categorised by Parpulov as follows: Acts is denoted among the *codices singuli* (C155.1, ff. 3r–85v), the Catholic Epistles provide the Pseudo-Andreas catena (C175, ff. 86r–128r), and the Pauline Epistles are the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena of the "Secondary expanded-type" (C165.3, ff. 128r–333r).[428] The catena on the Pauline Epistles in this manuscript was partially published by Cramer, who edited the catena on 2 Corinthians from the manuscript as *Scholia e Cod. 216* in the fifth volume of his catena edition.[429]

[427] diktyon 49787 (GA 605). The bibliography on this codex is extensive (see details on Pinakes). Relevant volumes pertinent to my research on this codex will be cited as I delve into the discussion.

[428] Parpulov 2021: 134.

[429] Cramer V: 445–59. The text of the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena from this manuscript was printed, alongside Paris, BnF, gr. 223 (eleventh century –diktyon 49794 [GA 1933]). This edition was supplemented with content from two Oxford codices, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.7 (eleventh century – diktyon 46969 [GA 48]) and Roe 16 (tenth century – diktyon 48398 [GA 1908]).

In the classifications of Karo–Lietzmann and von Soden, the transcription of scholia by three scribes was overlooked (Image 17). Staab first identified this threefold scribal compilation and argued that the third scribe worked within margins left by the first two scribes.[430] All three scribes drew from the same Pseudo-Oecumenian source for the Pauline catena, expanding it with material from Chrysostom and Theodoret.[431] Staab also highlighted the ornate scholia decoration, including cross and geometric designs, acknowledging that the manuscript's decoration seemed to garner more interest than its actual content.[432]

Indeed, subsequent scholarship has primarily focused on the palaeographic and aesthetic aspects of this manuscript, aiming to ascertain its date, context of production, and purposes. Agati dated the manuscript to the early tenth century based on its script and decoration, associating it with the early stage of minuscule *bouletée*.[433] By comparing its codicological and palaeographic features to Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 1453 (last quarter of the ninth century – diktyon 68084), she proposed Constantinople as the origin and identified three scribes behind the marginalia. Aletta extended the palaeographic research, affirming the Constantinople origin and linking the main scribe's

[430] Staab 1926: 146–148.

[431] Although Panella 2021: 339, n. 58 argues that the manuscript contains a "mixed catena" resulting from combining the Pseudo-Oecumenius type with fragments of different provenance. Marcon 2023: 55, on the other hand, marks the catena on Romans as an "abridged version" of the Psuedo-Oecumenius catena.

[432] Staab 1926: 148: "Im allgemeinen scheint die Hs mehr Interesse durch ihre Ausstattung als durch ihren Inhalt zu verdienen".

[433] Agati 1992: 261–263. She suggests that a more accurate description for this script would be "geometrically arcaic", with certain similarities to the *bouletée*.

hand to Stephanos, known to have worked for Arethas of Caesarea's scriptorium and who produced the Euclid manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, D'Orville 301 in 888 AD.[434] Thus, she concluded that the manuscript predates the full development of *bouletée* and, owing to its script's resemblance to the 'philosophical collection', originated around the late ninth to early tenth century.[435] She supported Agati's observation of two additional hands contributing to the catena – one using a small Alexandrine majuscule for brief scholia, and the other occasionally enhancing the figures created by Stephanos. She emphasised the manuscript's luxury nature, highlighted by the diverse array of figural scholia described in detail, and positioned its austere elegance among the most notable manuscripts from the late ninth to early tenth century.

[434] Aletta 2004: 73–94. On pp. 75–79, Aletta notices that the manuscript in question is the earliest one to feature a purchase note from Arethas (also see Wilson 1996: 120–121).

[435] The similarities between Paris gr. 216 and the 'philosophical collection' are also highlighted by Ronconi 2013: 195–196.

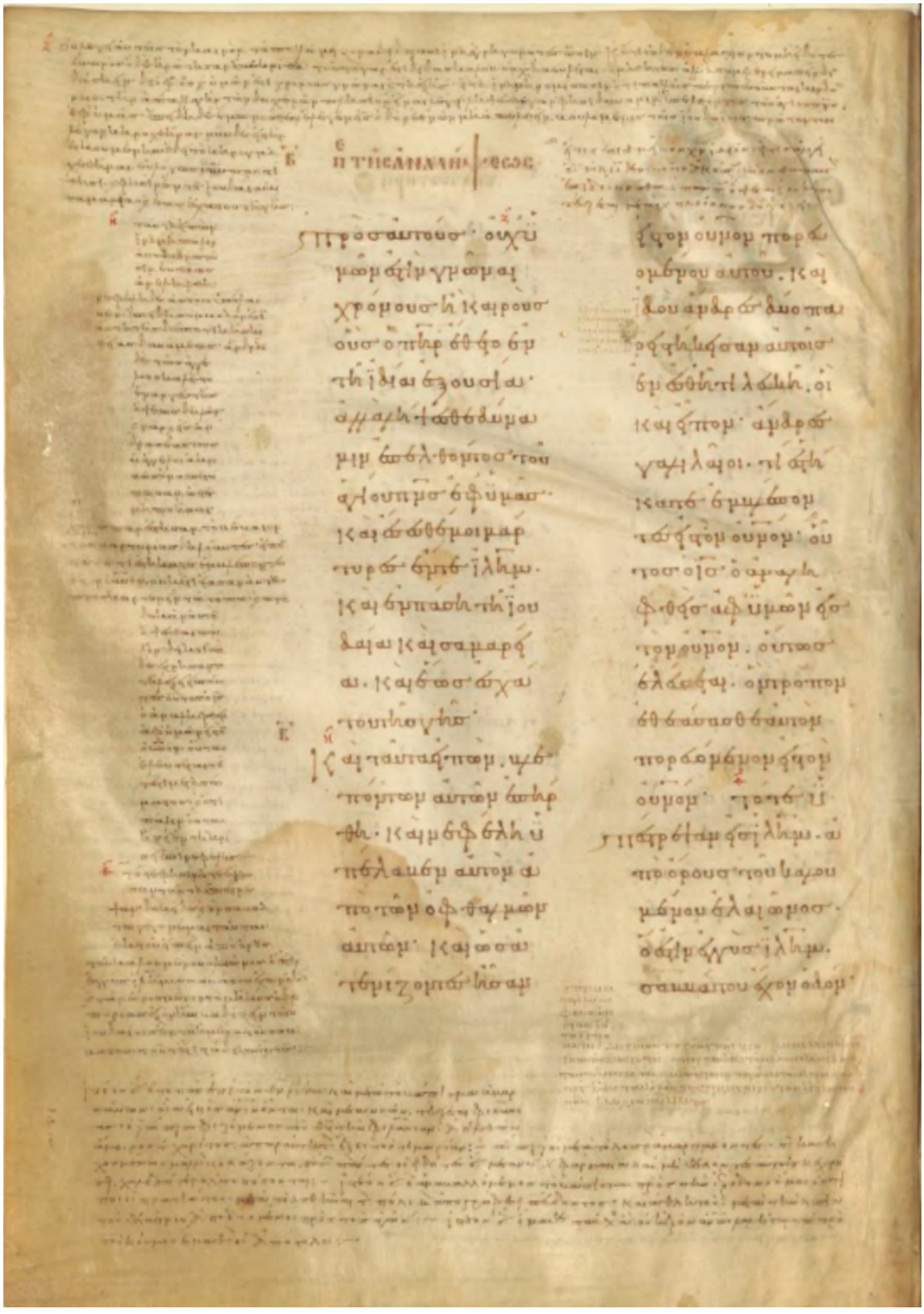


Image 17. Paris, BnF, gr. 216. f. 3v.

The decorative quality of the marginalia and their association with Arethas' scriptorium were examined by Irmgard Hutter and Kalliroe Linardou.[436] Hutter noted the appearance of decorative figural scholia in the ninth century, linked to the 'philosophical collection' and reminiscent of Hellenistic *carmina figurata*. She associated these ornamental elements with Arethas' scholia, which were found in various forms, including Christian crosses, in classical manuscripts ordered by the archbishop of Caesarea between 888 and 932 AD. She argued that these designs were primarily decorative, not connected to the content of the notes, and were strategically placed to enhance visual appeal for both scribe and reader, while also preventing empty spaces on manuscript pages.[437] In contrast, Linardou argued that the visual manipulation of script, especially by the anonymous scribe, served functional purposes in conveying the message to readers.[438] She agreed with Aletta that the manuscript likely came from Arethas' circle, suggesting the three scribes collaboratively planned graphic and non-graphic scholia. She also proposed that the tiny majuscule script was Arethas' hand and represented the primary layer of scholia.[439] In the Acts section, Linardou pointed to an eagle-shaped scholium (f. 16v, inc. περὶ θευδᾶ μέμνηται, des. κομίζουσι[ν] εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα) and connected its content to

[436] Hutter 1992 (esp. 99–100), Linardou 2017.

[437] The practical use of stretching the outer margin part of the catena and giving it an extravagant shape to fill the possible voids of the outer margins is also highlighted by Sautel 2001: 128–129.

[438] Linardou 2017. See conclusion on p. 237: "Apart from their decorative quality, aiming explicitly at the aesthetic satisfaction of the reader/viewer, they also served practical purposes and most certainly helped the reader to find the right correspondence between the main text and its gloss."

[439] Linardou 2017: 237. She draws a comparison with the small uncial script in Oxford, Bodleian Library, D'Orville 301 (ninth century – diktyon 47907), while emphasising the necessity for a comprehensive palaeographical study of this set of scholia.

events involving Leo Choirosphaktes and Emperor Leo the Wise. This helped date the manuscript between 907 and 912 AD.[440]

Linardou's hypothesis appears less convincing when comparing the small capital script in Paris gr. 216 with other manuscripts from the later ninth or early tenth century owned or commissioned by Arethas.[441] Lidia Perria has shown that these codices share unique ornamentation and script features attributed to Arethas' annotations.[442] Paris gr. 216 shares some of these characteristics with these manuscripts, such as the shapes of certain letters (beta, zeta, omega, tau), the placement of annotations in the outer margin (sometimes upper or lower) when the exegetical material is sparse (ff. 6r, 16v, 41v, 60r), or within a frame around the text when the annotations are dense (ff. 4v, 66r), consistent line spacing, inconsistent use of reference marks (mostly lacking), and a preference for specific symbol shapes when using them (often in the same ink as the scholium, as seen on f. 16v). However, Paris gr. 216 stands out by not featuring the abbreviations observed

[440] Linardou 2017: 231–234. She suggests that the eagle symbolises imperial authority, and her proposition is that the passage's emphasis on Theudas revolt and its suppression by Fadus bears similarities to Choirosphaktes' role in the failed Doukas family rebellion. This event likely drew significant attention from Arethas due to his rivalry with Choirosphaktes and the triumph of Emperor Leo the Wise (866–912 AD) over his adversaries. Based on this analysis, the manuscript's possible dating falls between 907, the onset of the Doukas rebellion and Choirosphaktes's exile, and 912, the year of the emperor's death. Nevertheless, the number of majuscule letters reintroduced in the script would point out to a later date.

[441] These manuscripts are: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Clark. 39 (diktyon 47776), Vatican City, BAV, Urb. gr. 35 (diktyon 66502), Paris, BnF, gr. 451 (diktyon 50025), Moscow, GIM, Sinod. gr. 394 (V. 231; diktyon 44019), Oxford, Bodleian Library, D'Orville 301 (diktyon 47906), Paris, BnF, gr. 2951 + Florence, BML, Laur. 60.3 (diktyon 52591 + 16501), London, BL, Harley 5694 (diktyon 39648), and Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, F 10 (diktyon 56333).

[442] Perria 1990.

in those manuscripts, albeit limited, particularly what Perria identifies as a distinctive abbreviation for καὶ and a unique ligature for omicron-upsilon.[443] In Paris gr. 216, there is almost a complete absence of abbreviations, and all the letters are fully spelled out. Furthermore, the writing of the scholia in the Paris codex is rigidly aligned with the writing line, whereas in the manuscripts discussed by Perria the alignment is more relaxed. Although these observations may not definitively refute Linardou's claim, as a scribe's writing style can vary over time, they do suggest that attributing these annotations to Arethas should be approached with caution. While some of Linardou's ideas may be valid, such as the potential ideological connotation of certain *scholia figurata*, others seem less convincing, such as the hypothesis of a tight collaboration between the three scribes during the same production phase, as I will illustrate in Chapter IV.[444]

Except for Staab, previous studies on the manuscript lack attention to the textual aspects of the scholia and have limited familiarity with catenae and their textual variations. With regard to the Acts catena, this was initially classified by Karo-Lietzmann as a potential excerpt of the Pseudo-Andreas type (C150), albeit with uncertainty, and placed by von Soden among the representatives of the Pseudo-Oecumenius commentary (C151).[445] However, a new assessment by Parpulov identified Paris gr. 216 as a *codex singulus* in Acts (C155.1) due to its threefold scribe structure.[446] This identification was

[443] Perria 1990: 76.

[444] See below IV.4.

[445] Karo–Lietzmann 1902: 595, Soden 1902: 689–690.

[446] Parpulov 2021: 134.

initially embraced in my 2022 article, but a comprehensive reassessment based on comparison with the catena tradition and external sources, considering incipit, explicit, layout, and script, led to a complete reclassification of this catena, which only partially confirms previous designations.[447]

The Acts catena is composed of a total of four hundred and sixty scholia. What sets it apart is not only the involvement of three scribes but also the presence of four distinct catena types, as illustrated in Table 19.

Paris, BnF, gr. 216 (GA 605)				
Layer	**number of scholia**	**scribe**	**text**	**external evidence**
1	35	first (Arethas?)	C156	–Tirana, Arkivi Qëndror i Shtetit, F. 488, dos. 17; Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971. –multilayered catena manuscripts: L3 in Paris, BnF, gr. 237
2	197	second/main (Stephanos)	C151.3	–*Commentarii Ps.-Oecumenii* (CPG C151; PG 125, coll. 849–1060 = Pseudo-Theophylact's *Expositionis in Acta textus alter*)
3	180	third (anonymous)	Epitome of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts*	–Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts* (CPG 4426; PG 60)
4	48	third (anonymous)	C150 + C156	–*Catena Andreae* (CPG C150; Cramer III) –Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971
total	460	3	4	

Table 19. Content units in the catena in Paris, BnF, gr. 216

[447] Scieri 2022a: 302–303.

4.1 L1: *Catena abbreviata* (C156)

L1, which Linardou believes to have been written by Arethas, consists of a relatively small set of thirty-five scholia presented in an elegant tiny Alexandrine majuscule (Image 18).[448] Unlike the Pauline section where L1 contributes most of the comments in the margins, in this case, the scholia are inserted either interlinearly within the biblical text or in close proximity to the corresponding verses.[449] Among these, only four scholia are linked through sigla or symbols (found on ff. 6r, 16v, 26v, 60r), and the majority lack clear source headings. Four scholia are attributed to specific sources: two to Apollinarius of Laodicea (at Acts 1:20, f. 4v, ἀπολιναρίου. inc. οὐκ ἐναπέθανε τῆι ἀγχόνηι, des. τὰ ἔγκατα ἐκκενωθεῖναι. inc. τοῦ αὐτοῦ. πρησθεὶς ἐπιτοσοῦτον τὴν σάρκα, des. ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιφράξηι), one to Chrysostom (at Acts 8:15, f. 24v, inc. σημείων μεγάλων γινομένων, des. σημείων οὐκ ἔλαβον), and one is "from a different" source or passage (at Acts 26:1, f. 78v, ἐξ ἑτέρου. inc. τὸ ἐν ὀλίγωι, des. καὶ τῶν συνόντων), although it is possible that these annotations may have been added later, either by a rubricator, or, likely, by Stephanos, as I will discuss in Chapter IV.[450]

The scholia originating from L1 can also be identified in specific manuscripts of C156 and L3 of Paris gr. 237, which as discussed above contains material associated with the same catena type within its multilayered composition.[451] Specifically, there is

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[448] These are on ff. 3r–5r, 6r–8r, 9v, 10v–11v, 13r, 16v, 22r–23v, 24v–25r, 26v–27r, 41v, 56v, 60r, 66r, 72v.

[449] Staab 1924: 149.

[450] See below IV.4.

[451] See above III.3.3.

agreement in twenty-one out of thirty-six scholia with the twelfth-century Tirana dos. 17, ten out of sixty-five with the eleventh-century Vat. gr. 1971, and nine out of fifteen (?) with L3 of the late ninth/early tenth-century Paris gr. 237. Only four scholia are shared by all four manuscripts, those at Acts 1:1 (f. 3r, τὸν παθόντα λέγει καὶ τὰ θαύματα πεποιηκέναι), 3:11 (f. 9v, inc. ἀύτη μὲν ἡ στοὰ, des. κῦρος ὁ πέρσης), 3:25 (f. 10v, inc. ὑμεῖς ἔφη υἱοὶ, des. ἐκείνοις δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῶ), and 4:4 (f. 11r, inc. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο προέλεγεν, des. ὑμεῖς μετὰ ταῦτα). Notably, the last three are arranged exactly in the same sequence as found in L3 of Paris gr. 237 (ff. 14r–15v). However, a larger number adheres to the arrangement found in Tirana, dos. 17. For instance, ff. 3r–v in the Paris manuscript present the initial ten scholia of the Tirana codex in the same sequential order (cf. ff. 15r–v). If we were to attribute the script of L1 to Arethas, it is conceivable that Paris gr. 216 embodies an earlier phase of the compilation, subsequently augmented in the three later manuscripts.

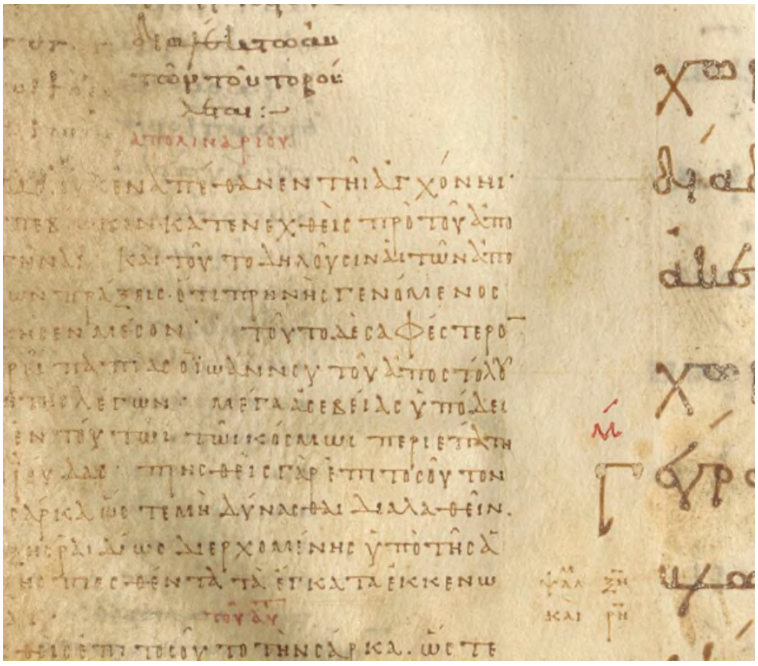


Image 18. Paris, BnF, gr. 216. f. 4v. Detail of the script of L1

4.2 L2: Pseudo-Oecumenius catena-commentary (C151.3e)

L2, transcribed by the same hand responsible for the biblical text and recognised by Aletta and Linardou as that of Stephanos, contains one hundred and ninety-seven scholia. These scholia are connected to the biblical text by Greek letters, rather than numerals, spanning from alpha to omega and then restarting. They are positioned within three margins of the page: upper, outer, and lower. This scribe, much like in the Pauline section, has transcribed the majority of the scholia. Interestingly, they have also arranged several comments to form various shapes, including crosses, circles, ellipses, squares, triangles, and trees. This artistic technique is executed with great skill. In the Acts section, the most frequently occurring shape is the orthodox cross (Image 19). However, circles and rhomboids can also be observed (e.g., f. 49r). As mentioned earlier, this design element is commonly encountered in various manuscripts. We have previously seen it in L1 of Drama 3 (triangle) and Paris gr. 237 (cross), and Hutter has provided examples of these shapes, including the cross, in secular works as well, such as the renowned tenth-century Venetus A (Venice, BNM, Marc. gr. Z 454) with scholia on the *Iliad*.[452] Consequently, there is no substantial evidence in this layer to suggest that these figurative marginalia hold a deeper function beyond being ornamental.

Regarding their textual content, these scholia are consistent with the Pseudo-Oecumenius type, which confirms the classification proposed by von Soden. Specifically,

[452] Hutter 1992: 101, and n. 28.

the text corresponds to the catena published by Finettus as Theophylact's *Textus alter*.[453] The script's dating to the late ninth or early tenth century provides strong internal evidence that this catena was not assembled by the Bulgarian bishop. Instead, it should be categorised as a subtype of the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena, specifically identified as C151.3 in my revision.[454] Compared to Finettus' edition, which is based on Vatican Vat. gr. 652, the Paris manuscript contains significantly fewer scholia.[455] However, it includes some unique scholia at specific verses in the Acts section, such as Acts 20:17 (f. 61r, inc. ἐπειδὴ λανθάνει τοὺς πολλοὺς, des. μὴ ἔλαττον ἐτῶν ξ̄), 24:14 (f. 72v, inc. μετὰ τὴν κλῆσιν, des. ἐπείσηγετο ὅτι ἀνέστη), 26:13 (f. 77v, inc. τῶν αἰσθητῶν τὸ φωτεινότερον, des. φῶς ἐκεῖνο φη[σι]), and a combined piece from the Euthalian prologue to the Pauline Epistles and the "Martyrdom of Paul" (f. 85v, inc. ἀπὸ τοῦ ιθ̄ ἔτους τιβερίου, des. ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθεὶς). These scholia are not present in the Vatican manuscript but are found in most other manuscripts of the same subtype. This suggests that Vat. gr. 652 represents an abridged version of the original subtype, and Finettus' edition should be considered as a work of reference rather than a representative exemplar of this subtype. On the other hand, a scholium attributed to Didymus at Acts 2:34 (f. 7v, inc. τὸ ὑ[ι]ω κυρίω ὄντι, des. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀναίνεται) in Paris gr. 216 is absent from any other C151.3 exemplar. This scholium seems to be a combination of extracts from different sources under the name of

[453] See above II.3.2.
[454] Scieri 2022a: 294–298.
[455] The sections that are absent from the manuscript correspond to PG 125, coll. 853A–D, 860B–D, 865B–C, 869A, 873A–876B, 888B–889A, 889C–892A, 897D–900B, 909C, 920C, 924A, 928B, 936A–B, 940B–D, 948A, 949C, 960C, 964D.

Didymus.[456] Similarly, the prefatory scholium (f. 3r, inc. αὕτη ἡ συγγραφὴ, des. τὰ τοῦ παναγίου πν[εύματο]ς) and the first comment at Acts 1:1 (f. 3r, inc. τὴν οἰκεῖαν ἀκρίβειαν, des. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐσέβειαν), both attributed to Chrysostom in Paris gr. 216, show slight variations compared to the same extracts in the Vatican codex and the other representatives of C151.3.[457] The reduction in scholia number and the observed variations suggest that the catena in Paris gr. 216 should be considered an independent variation of *Textus alter*. Therefore, it should be assigned a distinct designation within the series of editorial revisions, such as C151.3e.

[456] The concluding section can be located in Gregory of Nazianzus' *De filio* (*orat.* 30.4, ed. J. Barbel).

[457] As observed by Soden 1902: 690, the introductory scholium has a minor variation in its initial part compared to Finettus' manuscript (cf. PG 125, col. 849: οὗτος ὁ μακάριος Λουκᾶς μαθητὴς ἦν Παῦλος), while the main content and conclusion remain unchanged.

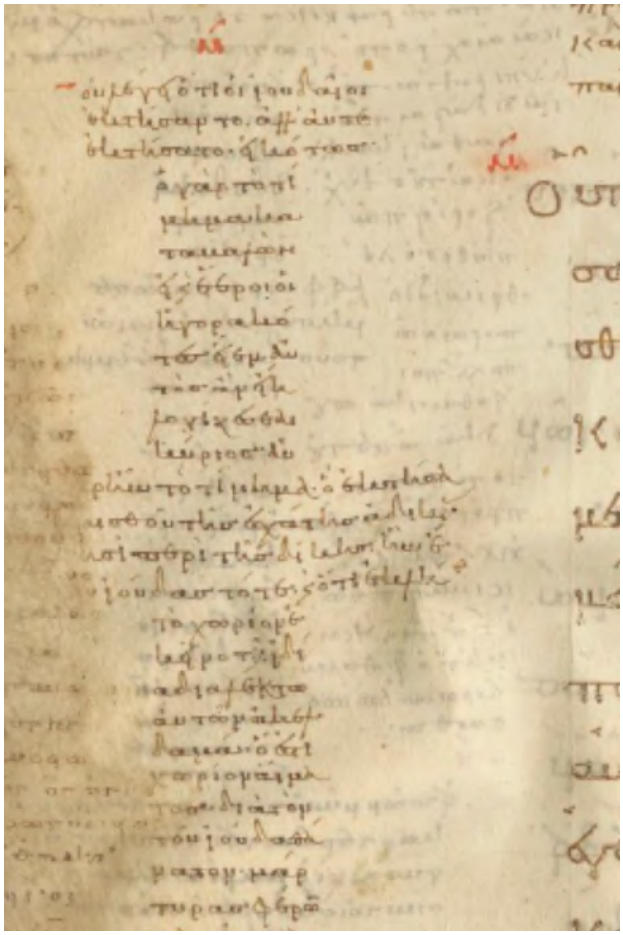


Image 19. Paris, BnF, gr. 216. f. 4v. Particular of the script of L2

4.3 L3: Epitome of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts*

L3, transcribed by an anonymous scribe, comprises a total of one hundred eighty scholia. Similar to L2, these are placed in three margins of the page and at times in the space between the two columns of the biblical text. In the first instance, these are written in cursive minuscule, while in the second case, they sometimes imitate the tiny majuscule of L1 (e.g., ff. 7v, 24v. Image 20). The linkage between these scholia and the biblical text is primarily established through simplified symbols, which differ from the more elaborate drawings observed in Drama 3 and Paris gr. 237.[458] Only on rare occasions are the

[458] This distinction is also applicable to Escorial Ψ.III.18, a topic I will address in the next paragraph III.5.

scholia denoted by alphabetical letters (e.g., ff. 9r and 54r), possibly because they relate to the same scriptural lemmata as the alphabetical scholia from L2. Additionally, several comments lack a cross-reference symbol, particularly when they constitute a group of passages all connected to the same biblical lemma; in such cases, only the first comment is preceded by a symbol (f. 14r, at Acts 5:4, inc. θ[εὸ]ς οὖν τὸ πν[εύμ]α, des. ἐψεύσατο ὁ ἀνανίας).

The first seven scholia, on Acts 1:1–5, are copied in the initially empty page before the list of chapter headings (ff. 1r–2v), far away from the first page of the biblical text (f. 3r), to which they are connected through the repetition of short lemmata. Moreover, at the top of the page is a title stating the content of the material, an epitome of Chrysostom's Homilies on Acts: τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ά)σ(ι) ἡμῶν ἰωάννου τοῦ χρ(υσο)στόμου· ἐκ τ(ῆς) ἑρμηνείας τῶν πράξεων· σχόλια κατ' ἐπιτομήν ("Scholia in summary from the interpretation of the Acts by John Chrysostom among the holy Fathers"). As I will repeat again in Chapter IV, this unusual position, besides confirming that this group of comments was added subsequently to those by the first scribe and Stephanos, it may also suggest lack of coordination and planning with the previous scribes.

Similar to L2 in Paris gr. 237, the compiler frequently includes prepositional phrases like ἰστέον ὅτι or simply ὅτι at the start of scholia. These are widespread in scholiastic tradition, extending beyond catenae, and may have originated from Alexandrian marginal signs.[459] They are often translated as "because" or "note that", but they mostly serve as introductory markers, often left out in translation. Indeed, this

[459] See Dickey 2007: 122.

connection is a common occurrence in various types of epitomes, including historical epitomes.[460] The purpose behind such conjunctions is often to establish a link between the upcoming passage of discussion and the preceding one.

Unlike L5 in the same codex, the extracts do not always reproduce verbatim the material from Chrysostom, and the compiler often combines extracts from distant passages into one. For example, the antepenultimate scholium at Acts 5:4 (f. 14r inc. ἰστέον [ὅτι] ὠφέλειται, des. ἐξομολόγησαι. [καὶ] σωθήση) results from a combination of different passages from Homily on Acts 12 (cf. PG 60, coll. 101.53–54 + 104.4–14, 25–28, 45–46). For this reason, it is uncertain and would require further investigation to ascertain whether the source is the direct tradition or another epitome of Chrysostom's Homilies, different from those encountered in Paris gr. 237.

The anonymous scribe in this layer occasionally mimics the figural scholia crafted by Stephanos. This is evident in his replication of shapes such as crosses (e.g., ff. 13r, 27v, 43v, 63r), rhomboids (e.g., f. 48r), amphoras (e.g., ff. 13r, 34r, 46v), and trees (f. 42r). Notably, the anonymous scribe also at times enhances or extends certain drawings created by Stephanos. For example, on f. 53v, the anonymous scholiast ingeniously extends an existing vertical-bar scholium attributed to Stephanos (inc. οὐ τοῦτό φη[σι], des. κολάσεως οὐκ ἐλέος) by adding a horizontally oriented comment (inc. ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ γένους, des. ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς). This amalgamation results in the formation of a cross-shaped scholium. Another example is on f. 54v, where the scribe complements a cross standing on top of a seemingly amphora, made by Stephanos (inc. τοῦτο ποιεῖ ὥστε, des. ἡμέρα

[460] See Manafis 2020: 19, 40 (n. 205).

ὤφθη ἀυτῶ), by adding scholia that resemble tendrils, effectively serving as handles for the amphora (inc. τοῦτον λέγει κρίσπον, des. ὑβρίζοντες τὸν χ[ριστὸ]ν, and inc. τοῦτον ὀΐμαι [καὶ], des. παρεῖν[αι] τ[ῶ] παύ[λω]).

Furthermore, this scribe occasionally takes the initiative to enhance or expand upon the content of scholia from previous layers. For instance, on f. 4v, the extended scholium attributed to Apollinarius of Laodicea from L1 initially concludes with the phrase ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιφράξηι. However, following this, the anonymous scribe appends an additional sentence: τοσαύτη δ(ιὰ) τ(ῆς) σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ (καὶ) ἐπὶ γῆς κρίσις| ἐχώρισεν. This extended ending aligns with the version found in C150 (Cramer III, 13.7–8), which, as we will explore in the subsequent paragraph, serves as another source utilised by the anonymous scribe.

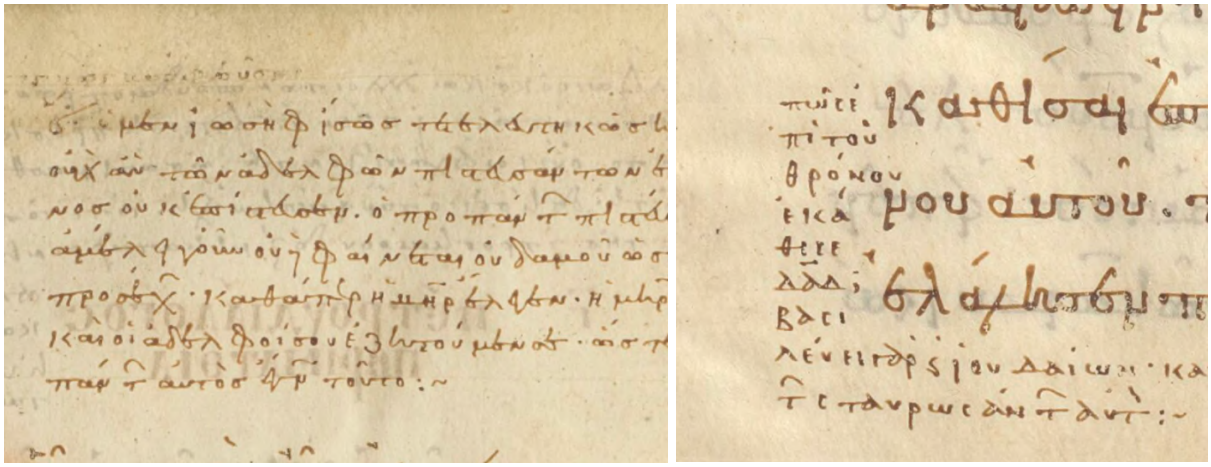


Image 20. Paris, BnF, gr. 216. f. 4v (left) and f. 7v (right). Variations in the script of L3.

4.4 Scholia from Pseudo-Andreas (C150) and *Catena abbreviata* (C156)

A final layer, designated as L4, has been identified, consisting of forty-eight scholia. Although written by the same anonymous scribe as L3, these scholia are a mixture of

extracts from Chrysostom's Homilies and other sources.[461] Many of them can be recognised by the lighter shade of brown ink, occasionally complementing the darker-brown scholia from L3 by the same hand (for instance, on ff. 8r and 64r), as well as some scholia from L1 (e.g., ff. 25r, 56v) and L2 (e.g., f. 57r).

While many scholia can still be traced back to Chrysostom's Homilies, a significant number are not present there and instead are found in the Pseudo-Andreas catena (C150), where these are attributed to various figures, including Isidore of Pelusium, Cyril of Alexandria, Severus of Antioch.[462] Additionally, ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia are also included. Some scholia in this layer follow the same order as in C150, and others are combined into single unattributed scholia. For instance, the comment at the top of f. 12v (inc. καθάπ[ερ] συνθήκ[ας] ἀπαιτοῦντες, des. ὑπ[ὲρ] τ[ο]ῦ κη|ρύγματος) blends an extract from Chrysostom's Homily on Acts 11.1 (cf. PG 60, col. 93.35–40), found with the same extent in C150 (cf. Cramer III, 79.12–18), with a section from Athanasius' "On the Interpretation of the Psalms" (cf. PG 27, col. 64.28–30) and another from Chrysostom's Homily on Acts 11.2 (cf. PG 60, col. 95.48–51). This arrangement is similar to C150 where the second and third extracts are consecutive (cf. Cramer III, 80.9–15).[463]

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[461] These scholia are distributed across various folios: 8r, 12v–13v, 15r, 16v, 17v–18r, 24r, 25r, 27v–28r, 29r–v, 31v, 33r, 37r, 38v, 39v, 40r, 42v–43v, 44r, 45v, 47v–49v, 53v, 57r–v, 59r, 60r, 61v, 66v, 69r, 73v–74r, 80r, 81r–v, 82v, 83r–84r, 85v, 77r, 80r, 83r.

[462] For example, on ff. 8v, 10v, 13r–v, 14r, 16v, 24v, 40r, 44r, 45v, 52v, 56v–57r, 61r–v, 83r, 85. Indeed, the final scholium in this group (f. 85r, inc. εἶτα τοῦ προφήτου, des. ἐμφαίνει οὐκ ἀναίρεσιν) has a title ἰσιδώ(ρου) added above it (cf. "Epistle on the Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures" 2.270.20–46), which may have been added by the rubricator or Stephanos along with a *helios* symbol.

[463] Similar instances can also be observed in the scholia on ff. 12v–13r, 64r, and 77r.

Interestingly, some scholia from Chrysostom's Homilies in this layer preserve a version closer to that in C150 than the direct tradition. An example is the cross-shaped scholium on the outer margin of f. 77r (inc. δύο τίθησι πε[ρὶ], des. ταύτην ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω), which combines two separate extracts from Chrysostom's Homily on Acts 52 that appear consecutively in C150 (cf. PG 60, col. 360.9–19 + 362.50–57; Cramer III, 389.24–390.5).[464] Highlighting this further is a scholium found in Acts 21:38 (f. 64r). This comment is distinguishable not only due to its lighter brown shade, which overlays another scholium by the same hand in a darker shade, indicating different stages of addition (Image 21), but also from a textual perspective, it offers evidence of its origin from C150. What distinguishes it is the combination of a scholium from Chrysostom's Homily 46.2 on Acts (PG 60, col. 323.19–33) and another from Ammonius, which are adjacent to each other in C150.1 (Table 20). Furthermore, upon comparing it to the direct tradition, it becomes evident that the content in Paris gr. 216 corresponds more closely to that of C150, albeit in a condensed and slightly modified manner (additions are highlighted in bold, and morphological or order changes are indicated by underlined words in the table). This alteration is a product of the abridgment process (with the excluded sections printed in grey in the sources within the table).

Acts 21:38		
Paris, BnF, gr. 216 f. 64r	**C150.1** Cramer III, 349.30–350.8.	**Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts* 46.2** (PG 60, col. 323.19–33)

[464] There are other cases of Chrysostom's scholia that exhibit a closer alignment with C150 rather than the direct source. These are found on ff. 17v, 18v, 24r, 32v, 46v, 48r, 47v–48v, 51v, 61v, 62v, 64r, 77r, and 83r.

συμβουλεύουσιν <u>οὐκ ἐπιτάττουσι(ν)</u>| **τοῦτο οἱ πε(ρὶ) τὸν ἰάκωβον**· ὅθεν **(καὶ)**| πείθουσιν· <u>οἰκονομίας γ(ὰρ)</u> ἦν **ἡ**| συγκατάβασις· **οὐ νομοθεσίας·**| οὐκ ἄρα ἐγκοπὴ τοῦ κηρύγματο(ς)| τοῦτο ἦν· **ἀλλ' οἰκονομία·** οἱ **γ(ὰρ)**| ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις πιστεύσαντες| ἀπὸ ἰουδαίων· τὰ ἔθη τὰ νομι|κὰ ἤθελον **ἔτι** φυλάττειν :–	*Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.* Ὡς συμβουλεύοντες φασὶν, <u>οὐχ ὡς ἐπιτάττοντες</u>· ὅθεν πείθουσιν αὐτὸν, <u>ὅτι οἰκονομία</u> καὶ συγκατάβασις ἦν· οὐκ ἄρα ἐγκοπὴ τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦτο ἦν· ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνομοθέτουν ἐκείνοις τὰ τοιαῦτα· οὐκ ἄρα ἐγκαλεῖ Πέτρῳ ἁπλῶς· ὅπερ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς, τοῦτο Πέτρος ἐκεῖ σιγῶν καὶ ἱστῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ δόγμα· καὶ οὐκ εἶπε τί γὰρ οὐ χρὴ τοὺς κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη διδάσκειν· οὐκ ἀρκεῖ τὸ μὴ κηρύξαι ἐκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἔδει καὶ πλέον τι, ποιῆσαι νόμον. *Εἰσὶν ἡμῖν ἄνδρες τέσσαρες εὐχὴν ἔχοντες ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν· τούτους παραλαβὼν ἁγνίσθητι σὺν αὐτοῖς, Ἀμμωνίου.* Οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πιστεύσαντες ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων τὰ ἔθη τὰ νομικὰ ἤθελον φυλάττειν.	Οὗτος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἄνθρωπός τις νεωτεροποιὸς γέγονε καὶ στασιαστής. Πρὸς δὴ τοῦτο ἀπολογεῖται ὁ Παῦλος, καὶ δι' ὧν εἶπεν ἀπάγει τῆς ὑποψίας αὐτόν. Ἴδωμεν δὲ ἄνωθεν τὰ ἀνεγνωσμένα. Εἰσὶν ἡμῖν ἄνδρες, φησὶ, τέσσαρες εὐχὴν ἔχοντες ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν· τούτους παραλαβὼν, ἁγνίσθητι σὺν αὐτοῖς. Πρὸς δὴ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντιπίπτει ὁ Παῦλος, ἀλλὰ πείθεται. Ὅθεν δῆλον, ὅτι οὐ προηγουμένως ἔδει τοῦτο ποιεῖν (διὸ καὶ πείθουσιν αὐτόν), ἀλλ' ὅτι οἰκονομία τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ συγκατάβασις ἦν. Οὐκ ἄρα ἐγκοπὴ τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦτο ἦν, ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνομοθέτουν ἐκείνοις τὰ τοιαῦτα. Τοῦτο τοίνυν οἰκονομῶν καὶ αὐτὸς Πέτρῳ ἐγκαλεῖ ὕστερον· καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς αὐτὸ ποιεῖ. Ὅπερ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς, τοῦτο Πέτρος ἐκεῖ σιγῶν καὶ ἱστῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ δόγμα.

Table 20. Evidence of relationship between L4 in Paris, BnF, gr. 216 and C150.1

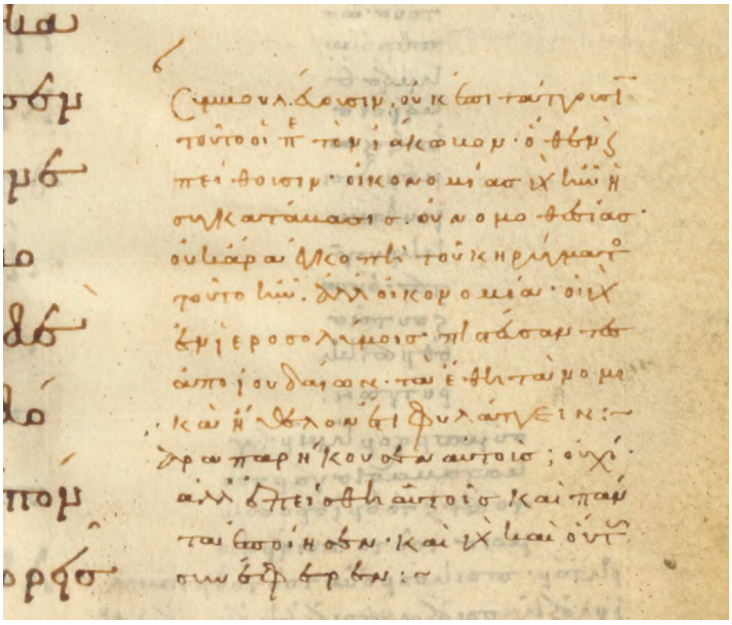


Image 21. Paris, BnF, gr. 216. f. 64r: Intersection of L3 and L4 by the unidentified scribe

Around twenty scholia of this layer do not appear in C150. Nevertheless, several of these are found in C156, especially in Vatican Vat. gr. 1971. These extracts follow a similar or very close sequence in their distribution (Table 21). While the chosen excerpts vary from Paris gr. 216's L1 and Paris gr. 237's L3, it is plausible that both scribes used exemplars stemming from a common ancestor.

In light of these findings, it is conceivable that after completing the epitome of Chrysostom's Homilies, the scribe turned to additional sources, including a version of C150, potentially lacking author names, to supplement his work. Simultaneously, the scribe incorporated material from C156, albeit from a different source than L1, likely a manuscript closer to Vatican Vat. gr. 1971. However, uncertainties remain about whether they collaborated closely with the the first scribe Arethas (?) and the second copyist Stephanos or annotated the manuscript at a later stage. Further exploration of this possibility will be undertaken in Chapter IV.

Paris, BnF, gr. 216	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971
f. 43r ἕλληνες ἐπίστευσαν ἀν(θρώπ)οις ὁμοιοῦσθαι … τὸν θ(εὸ)ν ὁμοιωθῆναι ἀν(θρώπ)οις	f. 65v ἕλληνες ἐπίστευσαν ἄν(θρωπ)οις ὁμοιοῦσθαι … τ(ὸν) θ(εο)ν ὁμοιωθήναι ἀν(θρώπ)οις :
πρόσεχε τοῖς λεγομένοις … ἐπιστρέφειν ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμεθα :–	f. 65v πρόσεχε τοῖς λεγομένοις. … ἐπιστρέφειν ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμεθα :
f. 50v ὁ μὲν παῦλο(ς) ἔφη … πανοικὶ πεπιστευκ(ῶς) τ(ῶ) θ(εῶ) :–	f. 70r πρόσεχε τῇ ἀναγνώσει· ὁ μέν γὰρ παῦλος εἶπεν … πανοικεῖ πεπι(σ)τ(ευκως) τ(ω) θ(εω) :
f. 54v εἰ ἄν(θρωπ)ος (ὅτι) … ὑβρίζοντες τὸν χ(ριστὸ)ν :–	f. 72v εἰ ἄν(θρωπ)ος ἐστιν … ὑβρίζοντες τὸν χ(ριστό)ν :
f. 56v ἐντεῦθεν διδάσκει ἡμᾶς … εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας :–	f. 74r παιδεύει τοὺς βουλομένους … εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας :
f. 62r ἰδοὺ δέδεικται θ(εὸ)ς … προφήτ(ας)· τρίτ(ον) διδασκάλους :–	f. 76v ἰδοὺ. δέδεϊκται θ(εο)ς … προφήτας. τρίτον διδασκάλους :

Table 21. Comparing the selection and distribution of C156 in Paris, BnF, gr. 216 and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971

5. El Escorial, RBME, Ψ III 18 (GA 920)

Limited information is readily available about this manuscript, and its bibliography is incomplete.[465] The codex, held at the Monastery of El Escorial (Spain), is dated to the tenth century by Gregory; Parpulov suggests it comes from the first half, but ParaTextBib indicates the eleventh century.[466] The manuscript contains Acts (ff. 1r–44v), Catholic

[465] diktyon 15244 (GA 920). The manuscript is described by Gregory 1900: 283, 322, and Andrés 1967: 78-79 (number 473). Scrivener 1894: 299 added this manuscript to the list of New Testament manuscripts (208[a]).

[466] Gregory 1908: 179; Parpulov 2021: 167; ParaTexBib Description by Jovan Stanojević (2021), https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org/manuscript/?diktyon=15244, access date: 26.8.2023.

Epistles (ff. 44v–74r), and Pauline Epistles (ff. 74v–213v) with marginal scholia, along with Revelation (ff. 214r–239v) without commentary. The biblical text is presented in one column per page and is categorised as Byzantine (Category V) by Aland.[467] Unfortunately, it has not been preserved in its entirety and displays multiple gaps within the Acts and Revelation sections.[468]

This manuscript is absent from the catena classifications of Karo–Lietzmann and von Soden. It has been identified as a *codex singulus* for the Acts catena (C155.2), the Pseudo-Andreas type for the Catholic Epistles (C176), and Type E of the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena in the Pauline section (C165).[469] Parpulov noted two distinct scripts within the manuscript, one by the scribe of the biblical text and the other by a twelfth-century hand (Image 22). Although initially classified as C155.2 in my 2022 reclassification of Acts catenae, there is now evidence to suggest that the three hundred and sixty-seven scholia of this catena, only extant from Acts 8:12 onwards, can be divided into two distinct layers representing separate compilations (see Table 22 below).

El Escorial, RBME, Ψ III 18 (GA 920)				
Layer	**number of scholia**	**scribe**	**text**	**external evidence**
1	35	main	'isolated' scholia + C156	–Athos, Koutloumousiou Monastery 82; Cambridge, UL, Add. 3046 –multilayered catena manuscripts: L1 in Drama,

[467] Aland 1989[2]: 139.

[468] The portions of text that are absent in the manuscript include Acts 1:1-7:35; 7:53-8:12; 11:20-12:14; 15:11-18; and Revelation 22:1–end. This information is provided in Soden 1902: 217.

[469] Parpulov 2021: 167. Marcon 2023: 78–81 identifies the scholia in the Pauline section from the first hand as Staab's *Extravagantes*, and those from the later hand as the *Normaltypus*.

				Kosinitza Monastery, 3; L1 and L3 in Paris, BnF, gr. 237; L1 in Paris, BnF, gr. 216. –C156: Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 15
2	332	second	Epitome of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts*	–Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts* (CPG 4426; PG 60)
total	367	2	3	

Table 22. Content units in the catena in El Escorial, RBME, Ψ III 18

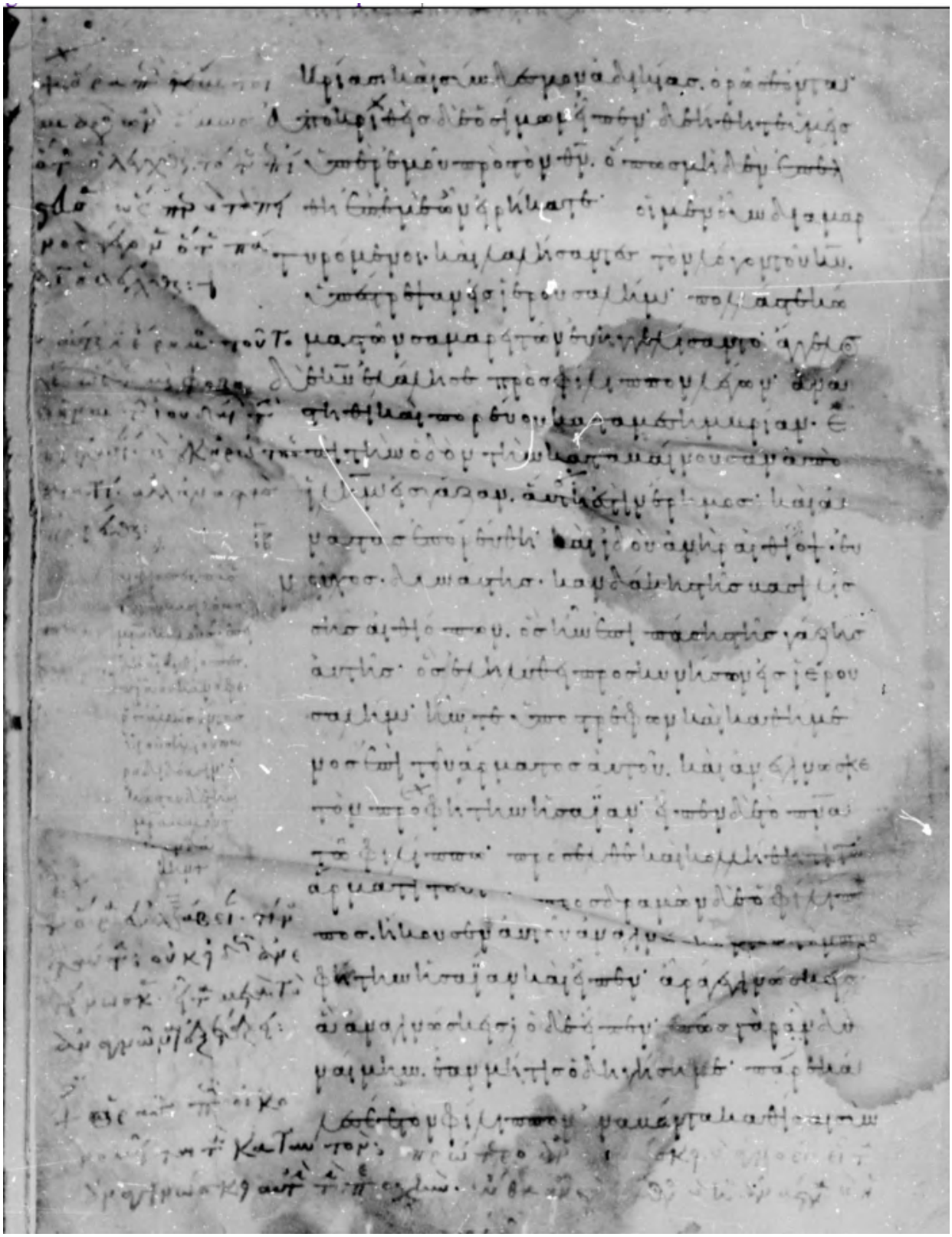


Image 22. El Escorial, RBME, Ψ III 18, f. 1v

5.1 L1: 'Isolated' scholia

In L1, transcribed by the main scribe, there are thirty-five scholia that are introduced with symbols.[470] These scholia are the same 'isolated' extracts in L1 as found in Paris gr. 237 and Drama 3. The latter shares ten out of thirty-five scholia with L1, while the Paris codex shares twenty scholia, and seven entries are common to all three manuscripts.[471] There are eleven additional scholia that are not shared with either Paris gr. 237 or Drama 3.[472] However, almost all of these, except one found on f. 39v (inc. τί λέγεις ὦ παῦλε, des. τοῦτο οὕτως εἶπον), can be located in other manuscripts containing isolated scholia, which also include most of those in the Drama and Paris codices, though exhibiting variations in the total number.[473]

The relationship between L1 in the Escorial codex and Athos, Koutloumousiou Monastery, 82 (ff. 9r–70v) and Cambridge, UL, Add. 3046 (ff. 25r–102r) is particularly notable.[474] These manuscripts, dated to the eleventh century, contain Acts, Catholic Epistles and Pauline Epistles (with Athos Koutloumousiou 82 lacking the latter) and Revelation (only in Athos Koutloumousiou 82), along with scholia. Despite certain lacunae, including the initial portion of Acts that has been supplied by later hands, these

[470] These scholia are found on ff. 1v, 2r–v, 5r, 6v, 9r, 10r–v, 11v, 13r–v, 16v–17r, 20r–21r, 23r–v, 24v, 25r, 26v–27v, 30r, 31r, 39v, 42v.

[471] Shared with both manuscripts are scholia at Acts 8:39 (f. 2r), 9:7 (f. 5r), 17:23 (f. 20v), 19:9 (f. 23v), 19:12 (f. 23v), 19:24 (f. 24v), 19:35 (f. 25r).

[472] These are at Acts 8:27 (f. 1v), 12:15 (f. 9r), 13:19 (f. 10v), 14:11 (f. 13r), 14:19 (f. 13v), 16:6 (f. 17r), 17:19 (f. 20r), 17:28 (f. 21r), 20:38 (f. 27v), 28:7 (f. 42v). Two scholia on f. 30r and 39v are not connected to biblical lemmata.

[473] See below V.2.

[474] diktyon 26107 (GA 1859); diktyon 12109 (GA 1277).

manuscripts share a significant number of scholia.[475] Specifically, Athos Koutloumousiou 82 contains thirty-seven scholia, Cambridge Add. 3046 has thirty-eight scholia, and these are distributed sparsely throughout their entirety just like in Escorial Ψ III.[476] The latter shares thirty-one scholia with Athos Koutloumousiou 82, twenty-six scholia with Cambridge Add. 3046, and the three manuscripts share thirty scholia with each other. The close relationship between these three manuscripts is supported by the alignment in their biblical text. According to TuT, the three manuscripts share nearly all readings that deviate from both the Majority Text and Nestle Aland (twenty-five readings), most of the readings agreeing with Nestle Aland against the Majority (seventy-one readings), and even two special readings at Acts 15:18, 18:27, 23:20, and 24:22.[477] Interestingly, the manuscripts from Escorial and Cambridge also feature the same content units, designated as acp.22.iii.α and acp.22.iii.β by Parpulov.[478] These commonalities strongly suggest a shared *Vorlage* for the three manuscripts.

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[475] Athos Koutloumousiou 82 was added replacement folios on ff. 1–8r in the fourteenth century (Parpulov 2021: 170, n. 1). Cambridge Add. 3046 was added two replacement folios (ff. 225 and 232) in the thirteen century, and new quires later at the beginning and end (ff. 1–16, containing Acts 1:1–3:22, and 305–307); missing are ff. 87r–96v (Acts 23:23–17:19). See the description on the Cambridge University Library website at https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-03046/1).

[476] The first survived scholium in Athos Koutloumousiou 82 starts at Acts 8:12 (f. 13r), the last at Acts 28:17 (f. 70r). The first survived scholium in Cambridge Add. 3046 starts at Acts 5:4 (f. 28v) and the last ends at 28:21 (f. 101r).

[477] TuT III 1/2: 168–169, 197, 284. However, it should be noted that given the partial mutilation of each manuscripts in different points, the figures slightly vary when considering the agreement between two manuscripts.

[478] Parpulov 2021: 168, 170.

Furthermore, Escorial Ψ III 18 shares sixteen scholia with Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 15 (eleventh century), one of the manuscripts grouped as C156 by Parpulov, which contains a total of fifty-two comments added by a later hand (second half of the eleventh century).[479] A similar pattern emerges with Athos Koutloumousiou 82 and Cambridge Add. 3046, which have sixteen and seventeen scholia in common with the Patmos manuscript, respectively. This shared agreement also extends to the biblical text of Patmos 15, which displays twenty-five readings differing from both the Majority Text and Nestle Aland, elsewhere aligning with Nestle Aland against the Majority (forty-one readings).[480]

This indicates potential overlap among the examined manuscripts containing 'isolated' scholia and at least one manuscript from the C156 group, a topic that will be further explored in Chapter V. Table 23 provides a summary of the scholia that Escorial Ψ III 18 (L1) shares with the two groups.

	'isolated' scholia				C156
El Escorial, RBME, Ψ III 18 (L1)	**Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (L1)**	**Paris, BnF, gr. 237 (L1)**	**Athos, Koutloumousiou Monastery 82**	**Cambridge, UL, Add. 3046**	**Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 15**
scholia in common	7/10	20/27	31/37	26/38	16/52

Table 23. Shared scholia in L1 of El Escorial, RBME, Ψ III 18

[479] Parpulov 2021: 173–174, n. 1.

[480] TuT III 1/2: 188.

5.2 L2: Epitome of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts*

L2 is added by the later scribe who, similar to what we have observed in the later hands of Paris gr. 237, replicates the use of symbols by the main one. Furthermore, this scholiast marks both the beginning and ending of the relevant comments with crosses (+). This layer makes the bulk of the catena with three hundred and thirty-two scholia all extracted from Chrysostom's Homilies on Acts. The selection and extent of material, however, does not match exactly the epitomes of Chrysostom in L5 of Paris gr. 237 and L3 of Paris gr. 216, thereby making this a witness to a third independent epitome, possibly created by the scribe of this manuscript.

Indeed, confirmation of this observation arises from the limited overlap between L2 in Escorial Ψ.III.18 and L5 in Paris gr. 237, as well as L3 in Paris gr. 216. This overlap is evident in just two passages, specifically Acts 18:8 and 20:7. In these instances, the scholia within the Escorial manuscript directly reproduce Chrysostom's selected passages word for word, while in contrast, Paris gr. 237 and 216 exhibit varying degrees of abridgment, as illustrated in Table 24. This contrast becomes particularly apparent in the scholium for Acts 20:7, where the Chrysostom passage is fully preserved only in the Escorial manuscript. On the other hand, at Acts 18:8, while Escorial Ψ.III.18 briefly summarises the impact of Crispus, the leader of the Corinthian synagogue, on inspiring others to undergo baptism after Paul's visit, this significance is more faithfully preserved in Paris gr. 237, albeit with adjusted syntax, and entirely omitted in Paris gr. 216. In sum, the Escorial manuscript generally employs a more literal compilation approach compared to the Paris manuscripts.

Paris, BnF, gr. 237 (L5)	Paris, BnF, gr. 216 (L4)	El Escorial, RBME, Ψ III 18 (L2)	Chrysostom, *Homilies in Acts*
Acts 18:8			
f. 41v ἄ λ λ ο ς **ὅτι** ὁ ἀρχησυ|ναγωγος ἐπεί|σθη καὶ τουτου| γέγονεν (καὶ) ἑτέροι| πολλοὶ (καὶ) εβα|πτιζοντο· τοῦ|τον λέγει κρίσπον| **ὡς καὶ** γραφων| φησι οὐδενα ε|βαπτισα εἰ μη| κρισπον (καὶ) γαϊον τοῦτον οἶομαι …	f. 54v τοῦτον| λέγει κρίσπον,|| **ὡς και** γρά|φων φη(σι)· οὐδέ||να ἐβάπτι|σα εἰ μι κρίσπ(ον)|| καὶ γάϊον	f. 21v κρίσπο(ς) δὲ **φη(σὶ)**| ὁ ἀρχισυνάγωγ(ος) ἐπίστευς(ε)| τῶ κ(υρί)ω σὺν ὅλω τω οἴκω| αὐτοῦ· **(καὶ) τοῦ μάλιστα| ἱκαν(ὸν) πρὸ(ς) τὸ ἐπαγάσθαι** :– τοῦτ(ον) κρίσπον λέγει| τ(ὸν) ἀρχισυνάγωγο(ν). πε(ρὶ) οὗ φη(σι)| γράφ(ων), οὐδένα ἄλλο(ν) ἐβάπτι|σα. εἰ μὴ κρίσπο(ν) (καὶ) γάϊον :	39.1 (PG 60, col. 278.21–27) Κρίσπος δὲ ὁ ἀρχισυνάγωγος, φησὶν, ἐπίστευσε τῷ Κυρίῳ σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ. Ὅρα τοὺς πιστοὺς τότε μετὰ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦτο ποιοῦντας ὁλοκλήρου. Τούτου δὲ γενομένου, εὐθέως καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐβαπτίσθησαν. Τοῦτον Κρίσπον λέγει τὸν ἀρχισυνάγωγον, περὶ οὗ φησι γράφων· Οὐδένα ἄλλον ἐβάπτισα, εἰ μὴ Κρίσπον καὶ Γάϊον.
Acts 20:7			
f. 45v ὅρα πως παντα παρεργα **καλων** του κηρυγματος καὶ ην κυριακη| ημων μεχρι μεσονυκτιου φησιν ουδε νυκτα εσιγα αλλα τοτε| μαλλον διελεγετο ατε ησυχιας ουσι : –	f. 60r ὅρα πῶς πάντα| πάρερ|γα ἦν τοῦ κηρύγματος·| πεντηκοστὴ τότε ἦν. καὶ| κυριακὴ· μέχρι μεσονυ|κτίου φη(σίν)· οὐ(δὲ) νύκτα ἐσί|γα :–	ff. 25v–26r ὅρα π(ῶς) πάντ(α) πάρεργα ἦν τοῦ κηρύγματο(ς)· πεντηκοστὴ τότ(ε) ἦν· (καὶ) κυριακὴ| ἦν· ὁ δὲ. (καὶ) μέχρι μεσονυκτίου τ(ὴν) διδασκαλί(αν) ἐκτείνει· οὕτω τ(ῆς) τ(ῶν) μαθητ(ῶν)| σ(ωτηρ)ίας ἐφίετο, ὅτι οὐ(δὲ) τ(ὴν) νύκτα ἐσίγα· ἀλλὰ τότ(ε) μᾶλλο(ν) διελέγετο. ἅτ(ε)|	43.1 (PG 60, col. 303.31–38) Ὅρα πῶς πάντα πάρεργα ἦν τοῦ κηρύγματος. Πεντηκοστὴ τότε ἦν καὶ Κυριακὴ ἦν· ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι μεσονυκτίου τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐκτείνει· οὕτω τῆς τῶν μαθητῶν σωτηρίας ἐφίετο, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὴν νύκτα ἐσίγα, ἀλλὰ τότε μᾶλλον διελέγετο, ἅτε ἡσυχίας οὔσης. Ὅρα πῶς καὶ πολλὰ

		ἡσυχίας οὔσ(ης). ὅρα π(ῶς) (καὶ) πολλὰ διελέγετο (καὶ) παρ' αὐτ(ὸν) τοῦ δείπνου τ(ὸν) καιρ(όν) :	διελέγετο, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν τοῦ δείπνου τὸν καιρόν.

Table 24. Divergent approaches in handling Chrysostom's passages across the three Epitomes.

6. Vatican Library, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 (GA 886)

I have thoroughly explored this manuscript in a recent scholarly contribution originating from my presentation at the twelfth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in 2021.[481] What follows is both a recapitulation and an expansion of the content presented in that paper.

The manuscript Reg. gr. 6, housed in the Vatican Library, is a thirteenth-/fourteenth-century minuscule codex containing the entire New Testament text, except for the Catholic Epistles, accompanied by a commentary.[482] Specifically, it contains a text and commentary of Matthew (ff. 2r–75v), Mark (ff. 75v–93r), Luke (ff. 94r–134r), John (ff. 134v–182r), Acts (ff. 185r–205v), Pauline Epistles (ff. 208r–336v), and Revelation (f. 336v). However, the section dedicated to Acts is incomplete, with both the biblical text and commentary ending at Acts 7:59 (f. 205v). Moreover, only a small portion of Revelation is available (f. 336v: Rev. 22:1–2 with scholia). The Alands classify the biblical text of this manuscript as a representative of the Byzantine text-type (Category V).[483]

[481] Scieri 2022b.

[482] For a detailed description of the manuscript's contents, see Stevenson 1888: 4–6, and Reuss 1941: 224–226. Concise entries are also in Scrivener 1894: 267, and Gregory 1900:229–230.

[483] Aland 1989: 134.

Despite this, its biblical text is such that it has been included in the ECM of Acts, listed among the Codices Byzantini. The agreement of its existing seven chapters with the Byzantine text is around 91%. However, as observed by Houghton, some of its readings are marked in the ECM with the siglum 886K, to indicate differences between the biblical quotations in the commentary and the readings in the lemma text.[484] Except for an extract from Theodoret of Cyrrhus (ff. 1r–v) and an epigram by Ioannes Chortasmenos, the manuscript's contents were transcribed by a single scribe who also handled the biblical text and commentary for all the books, and some supplementary contents.[485] The Acts section on ff. 189v–205v, however, was copied by a different scribe.

Despite the manuscript's association with the date 1454 AD in the *Kurzgefasste Liste* (the official catalogue of Greek New Testament manuscripts), based on Gregory, this seems to be a misinterpretation.[486] The Greek ownership note on f. 205v suggests a date following the Byzantine practice, which equates to the year 1446 AD.[487] This date pertains to the time when the manuscript was acquired by Ioannes Chortasmenos during

[484] Houghton 2023: 22, and n. 23.

[485] The supplementary content includes a scholium from Eusebius of Caesarea and a list of κεφάλαια ("chapter headings") of Matthew (f. 1v), along with three epigrams (ff. 2r, 134r, 208r). The text of the epigrams is available on the DBBE (https://dbbe.ugent.be) under occurrences 18108, 24486, 18110, and 18809. On Ioannes Chortasmenos see RGK III: 315.

[486] https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste?docID=30886. Cf. Gregory 1900: 229.

[487] The transcription of the note can be found in Stevenson 1888: 6, and Evangelatou-Notara 2000: 29. The manuscript employs the Byzantine practice of dating from the creation (5508 BC), with the given date being 6954 (͵ϛ ϑ ν δ'), equivalent to the year 1446 AD (6954–5508). There is a possibility that the INTF date might result from a misreading of the year's last two digits (54). For more insight into the Byzantine practice of dating manuscripts, consult Perria 2011: 175–185.

the fifteenth century.[488] Based on palaeographical evidence, Parpulov proposes that the main content's scribe could date back to the second half of the thirteenth century, while the supplementary catena of ff. 189v–205r should be attributed to the fourteenth century.[489]

Indeed, the first commentary's script seem to relate to the "Beta-gamma style" of the thirteenth century, which is characterised, especially in its early exemplars, by the large form of circular letters and the elaborated shape of beta and gamma (Image 23). It also shares the same enlarged characters and rich ligatures that we have seen in L3 of Drama 3. The hand resembles either the one from the thirteenth-century Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 131, or the one from the fourteenth-century Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1332.[490] The second script is instead more reminiscent of the so-called "Triclinius" or "Thessalonian" style, popular in the first half of the fourteenth century.[491] This hand shares similarities with the fourteenth-century Venice, BNM, Marc. gr. Z. 464 and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1509, attributed to Demetrius Triclinius, who is considered the initiator of this style.[492] The general neatness of the letters, the small and consistent module, the majuscule alpha (which alternates with a minuscule alpha) and an

[488] Subsequently, the manuscript passed through the hands of Makarios, abbot of the Monastery of St. Marina (fifteenth century), and Demetrios Lascaris Leontari (fifteenth century), the author of the subscription. See Evangelatou-Notara 2000: 29. The PLP entries provide further details on these three possessors (nn. 16174, 14676, 30897). The Latin note on f. 206r repeats the names of the owners, while f. 1r contains an ownership note by Christian Raue (seventeenth century).

[489] Parpulov 2021: 214, n. 1.

[490] diktyon 47418, and diktyon 67963. See Wilson 1973, Texts nn. 29–30, Plates nn. 58–62.

[491] See Smith 1994.

[492] diktyon 69935, and diktyon 68140.

enlarged final lunate sigma (also alternating with a minuscule sigma) are all traits of Triclinius' script that can be seen in Reg. gr. 6 (Image 24).

The commentary on the Gospels is linked to Nicetas of Naupactus, a lesser-known figure distinct from Nicetas of Heraclea. This authorship is indicated in the inscription before the text and commentary on Matthew (f. 2r), where the commentary is said to draw primarily from the works of Chrysostom and other commentators.[493] A marginal annotation accompanying the inscription further states that this same author composed additional exegetical works, including a commentary on the Acts of the Apostles: οὗτος δὲ καὶ τὸ ψαλτήριον ἐξηγήσατο καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου καὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τὰς καθολικάς. Εἰ δὲ καί τινα ἕτερα οὐ γινώσκω· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ μόνα ἦλθον εἰς χεῖρας ἐμάς ("This one also produced an exegesis on the Psalter, the Pauline Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Catholic Epistles. I have no idea whether there are others, for only these came into my hands"). This attribution also extends to the commentary on the Pauline Epistles, especially Romans (f. 208r), where a comparison is made with Theophylact of Bulgaria's commentary. Nonetheless, modern scholarship contests this authorship, with differing opinions regarding the allocation of authorship for the commentaries on the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epistles.[494] Parpulov confirms

[493] F. 2r: νϊκήτα ἐπϊσκόπου τ(ῆς) μ(ητ)ροπόλε(ως) ναυπάκτου· σῦνταγμα εἰς τὸ κ(α)τὰ ματθαῖον ἅγϊον εὐαγγέλϊον· σϋντεθ(ὲν)| μάλϊστα μ(ὲν) ἐκ τ(ῶν) ἐξηγήσεων τ(οῦ) ἁγΐου ἰω(άννου) τ(ο)ῦ χρϋσοστόμου· εἶτα (καὶ) ἀπὸ ἑτέρων δϊαφόρων :– ("Treatise by Nicetas bishop of the Metropolis of Naupactus on the holy Gospel of Matthew, composed especially from the expositions of Saint John Chrysostom and after that from different others."). cf the librarian's note on f. 1r, *Niceta episcopus Naupacti liber in evangelia*.

[494] On the matter of debate regarding authorship details, see Scieri 2022b: 221–222.

Theophylact as the author of most of the commentaries in the manuscript, except for the fragments on Acts and Revelation, which are distinct.[495]

The authorship of the commentaries, whether attributed to Nicetas of Naupactus or Theophylact of Bulgaria, remains a subject of scholarly debate. No inscription is present for the commentaries on Acts and Revelation. On f. 185r, the commentary on Acts lacks a title and commences directly with a reworked sentence from Chrysostom's Homily 1 on Acts, implying a prologue-like intent: Οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν ἱερῶν (καὶ) θείων εὐαγγελίων ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος τοὺς πίστους ὠφελεῖν δύνατ(αι), cf. PG 60, col. 13.16–17.[496] Nevertheless, there are no definite cues to determine the author of the commentary on Acts 1–2:13, given the lack of other witnesses to this text as well as commentary manuscripts on Acts attributed to Nicetas. In contrast, as previously discussed in Chapter I, there are at least five catena manuscripts on Acts attributed to Theophylact, yet none of them align with the compilation found in Vatican Reg. gr. 6.[497] Parpulov suggests that this unknown commentary could possibly contain a missing section from another fragmentary catena manuscript, Messina, Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria, S. Salv. 40.[498] However, this assumption is not easily verifiable, since the preserved fragments of the Messina

[495] See Parpulov 2021: 211–212, where these two works are denoted as e.Θϕ and p.Θϕ. The determination of authorship hinges on comparisons between the beginning and end of each section and existing texts found in Migne: cf. PG 123, coll. 143–1348 and 124, coll. 9–317 for the commentary on the Gospels, and PG 124, coll. 336–1357 and 125, coll. 9–404 for the Pauline commentary. Additionally, the commentary on Paul is listed as Theophylact's catena C167 in Pinakes (https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/66176/).

[496] Certain pages (182v–184) lack script and have not been digitised by INTF due to this absence.

[497] See above II.3.

[498] diktyon 40701 (GA 1839).

manuscript commence at Acts 8:2. On a different note, von Soden incorporated this codex into the category of independent excerpts originating from the Pseudo-Andreas catena (C150).[499] This manuscript's classification in my 2022 analysis of catena manuscripts on Acts is marked as a *codex singulus* (C155.6).[500] While it appears distinct from C150 and its subtypes, it is possible that C150 served as one of its models.

The fragmentary nature of the Acts section is exacerbated by the presence of two different types of compilations in the commentary part, transcribed by distinct hands (thirteenth and fourteenth century). These compilations are bound together to complement one another: the first catena covers Acts 1–2:13, while the second continues from Acts 2:14–7:59. This dual compilation has received minimal attention in twentieth-century scholarship on New Testament catena manuscripts. Karo–Lietzmann, von Soden, and Devreesse classify this manuscript as a witness to the Pseudo-Andreas catena (C150), based on their analysis of the second commentary on Acts 2:14–7:59.[501] This section appears to reproduce an abridged version of the C150 type. Staab also remarks on the disorganised structure of the first catena on Acts 1–2:13, which resembles a formless mass.[502] In his catalogue of New Testament catena manuscripts, Parpulov included this witness in an appendix of manuscripts with single-author commentaries, although the commentator's identity is unspecified.[503]

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[499] Soden 1902: 685 (O^{37}).

[500] Scieri 2022a: 302.

[501] Karo–Lietzmann 1902: 595 (Vatican Reg. gr. 6 is categorised as *catena ex opere maiore excerpta*). Soden 1902: 682–686 (Vatican Reg. gr. 6 is designated as $A^{\pi\rho 50}$); Devreesse 1928: 1205–1206.

[502] Staab 1926: 219–220.

[503] In Parpulov 2021: 214, this manuscript is identified as a.An2.

The subsequent paragraphs will analyse the Acts section, offering fresh insights into the two fragmentary catenae from Vatican Reg. gr. 6 and their relation to the manuscript tradition of the Pseudo-Andreas catena. The division of content units is displayed in Table 25 below.

Vatican Library, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 (GA 886)				
Layer	**number of scholia**	**scribe**	**text**	**external evidence**
1	? (sections are intermixed)	main	C155.5	— cf. Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25 (C150.1b)
2	322	second	C150.2f	–*Catena Andreae* (CPG C150; Cramer III). cf. Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25 (C150.1b)
total	?	2	2	

Table 25. Content units in the catena in Vatican Library, BAV, Reg. gr. 6

6.1 L1: Catena-commentary on Acts 1–2:13 (C155.5)

The initial catena found in Acts (ff. 185r–189v) exhibits a notably distinct structure. It adopts the form of an alternating catena, where biblical references are immediately followed by variable-length commentary segments. This biblical text is marked using some of the same techniques observed in single-author commentaries for lemma identification.[504] These include leaving a blank space within a line, using rubrication, and employing a double-dot punctuation (dicolon) followed by a horizontal line (:–). This same punctuation is utilised to indicate the conclusion of the commentary sections, which are rather extensive (Image 23).

The most notable feature of this catena involves the composition's arrangement. This commentary is not comprised of attributed scholia presented sequentially and demarcated by distinct ending markers. Instead, it resembles the structure of a single-author commentary. However, upon close analysis, it becomes evident that this compilation is constructed from scholia fragments or, more accurately, selections from various patristic sources. The compiler appears to have chosen extracts to create a continuous commentary, blending comments from different Church Fathers in a manner that results in a somewhat disjoined presentation. The extent of the exegetical material varies, ranging from brief textual units like short phrases to more extensive blocks encompassing clauses and sentences. The sources' names are rarely provided: Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus are mentioned only a few times (three and two

[504] See Houghton–Parker 2016: 10–11.

times, respectively).[505] These references are often indirect and through paraphrases. In a few instances, they are vaguely attributed to anonymous sources using indefinite pronouns and expressions, such as τις εἶπε ("someone said").[506] It remains unclear whether this specific case reflects the compiler's decision not to specify authors or indicates the absence of author attributions for these fragments in the manuscript's source.

Nonetheless, this type of compilation is not uncommon within the catena tradition. In relation to Acts, it finds parallels in the catenae by the Pseudo-Oecumenius (C151) and Pseudo-Theophylact, as discussed in Chapter II.[507] In essence, it represents another 'catena-commentary' that finds a literary predecessor in Procopius of Gaza's *Epitome of the Octateuch* (C3), where the author's references are absent, and differing interpretations are amalgamated into a cohesive whole as though written by a single writer. Based on this context, my recent investigation of catena manuscripts on Acts incorporated this initial fragmentary compilation from Vatican Reg. gr. 6 into the category of catenae preserved by *codices singuli*, designated with the identifier C155.5.[508]

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[505] f. 187r: τῶ (δὲ) χρυσολόγω δοκεῖ ... ὡς ἐνταῦθα γέγραπτ(αι) ὁ (δὲ) χρυσοῦς τ(ὴν) γλῶτταν. F. 188v: ἡ (δὲ) χρϋσῆ γλῶττα φησῖν (ὡς). f. 189r: ὁ θεόλογος γρηγόιιος φησῖν ... Τούτω γ(ὰρ) ἀρέσκετ(αι) (καὶ) ὁ πολὺς ἐν θεολογί(α) γρηγόρϊος.

[506] f. 187: (καὶ) εἰρήκασϊ τϊνες. f. 188v: οἱ μ(ὲν) γὰρ εἶπον ὡς ... οἱ δὲ, ὅτϊ. f. 189r: εἶπε δέ τϊς, ὡς. Equivalent expressions are found in Theophylact's commentary on the Pauline Epistles, as examined by Panella 2016: 127.

[507] See above II.2–3.1.

[508] Scieri 2022a: 302.

Indeed, despite the distinctiveness of its structure and the challenge in detecting the individual patristic sources, there is ample evidence that a substantial number of fragments are derived from the Pseudo-Andreas catena (C150). The initial sentence in Vatican Reg. gr. 6, providing commentary on Acts 1:3 (inc. Ἀντιοχεὺς ὑπάρχων τὸ γένος), mirrors the beginning of C150 (cf. Cramer III, 1.4–7). Moreover, scattered throughout the commentary are several fragments also present in C150, where they are attributed to specific sources: these are from Apollinarius of Laodicea, Chrysostom, Cyril, Didymus, Severus of Antioch, and Severian of Gabala, and even the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia.

While occasionally the scholia are reproduced in their entirety, more frequently, the compilation methodology in Vatican Reg. gr. 6 seems to adopt the prevalent 'cutting' technique, which is a common way of condensing exegetical content in catenae.[509] This involves extracting smaller sections from the source while omitting certain portions (likely deemed non-essential for the exegesis) and adding transitional words and grammatical adjustments to account for the exclusions. This approach generally shortens the source text while maintaining its original style. On rarer occasions, the 'résumé' technique is employed, entailing paraphrasing and reworking the source while retaining only select words or phrases. In all cases, the chosen passages from a particular author are sometimes presented individually as they appear in the source, but more frequently they are fragmented and interwoven with passages from other authors, forming a cohesive text block that may not adhere to the original source's sequence. An illustrative example of this phenomenon is provided in Table 26.

[509] See Curti 1989: 280; Curti–Barbàra Valenti 2008: 611.

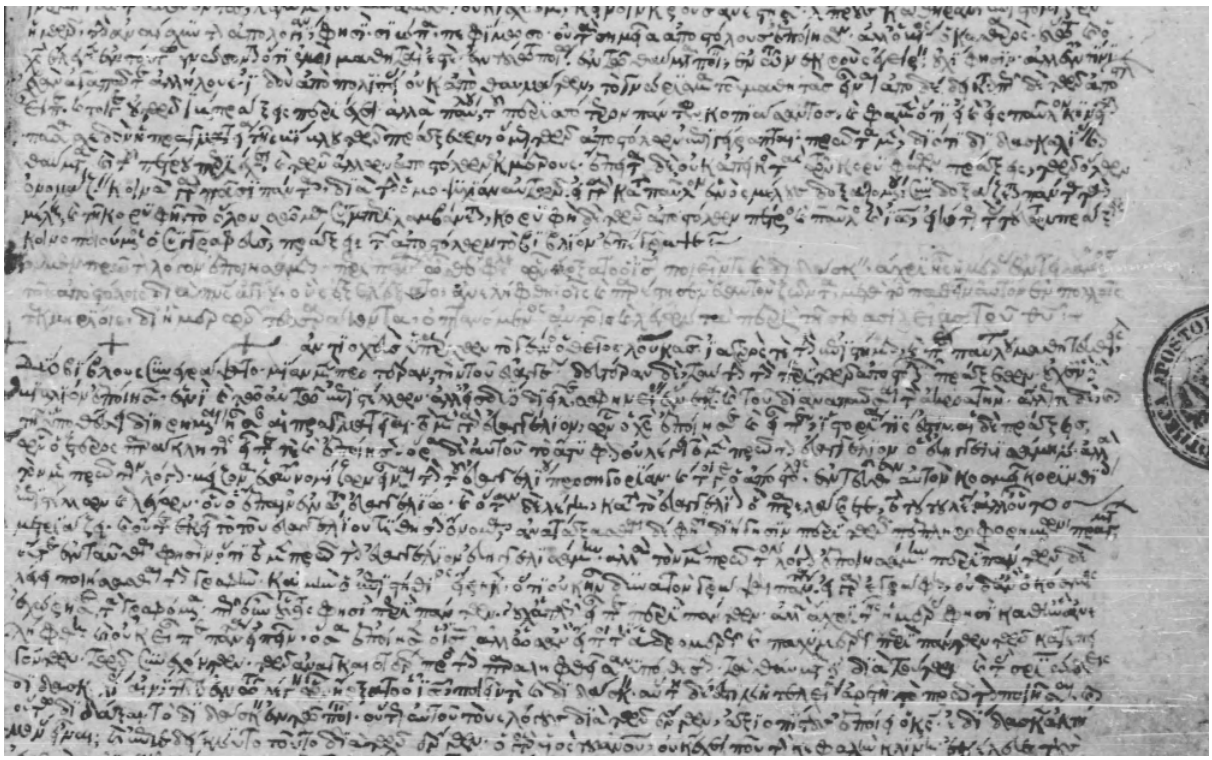


Image 23. Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6, f. 185r: catena-commentary on Acts 1–2:13.

Vatican Library, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 (f. 188v)	Pseudo-Andreas catena full type (C150.1)
at Acts 2:2–3 ὅτε μ(ὲν) **οὖν τῶ** ϊω(άννη), γνωσθῆναι ἔδει τὸ πν(εῦμ)α, ἐν εἴδει περϊστερᾶς, **κάτεισ(ιν)** ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ χ(ριστο)ῦ· ὅτε δὲ| πλῆθος ὅλον ἐπϊστραφῆναι **κατῆλθ(εν) ἐν εἴδει πϋρίν(ων) γλωσσ(ῶν)**. τἵ δήποτε; ἐκεῖ μ(ὲν) τὸ πρᾶον τοῦ δεσπότου **δηλοῦτ(αι)**· ἐνταῦθα (δὲ)· τὸ τϊ|μωρητϊκ(ὸν) **τῶν ἀποστόλ(ων) παραγϋμνοῦται**· (καὶ) **τὸ** τ(ῆς) **μελλούς(ης)** κρΐσε(ως) **δϊακριτϊκ(όν)**. ὅτε μ(ὲν) γὰρ ἁμαρτήμ(α)τα σϋγχωρῆσαι ἔδει, πολλῆς ἔδει τῆς| πραότητος· ἐπειδὴ (δὲ) ἐτύχομ(εν) δωρεᾶς, λοιπὸν (καὶ) κρΐσεως καιρὸς (καὶ) ἐξετάσεως. ὥσπ(ερ) τὸ πῦρ ἔχει τὴν φωτϊστϊκὴν (καὶ) καυστικὴν δΰναμ(ϊν),| οὕτ(ως) ὁ λόγος τῶν ἀποστόλων· (καὶ) ἐφώτϊζε τοὺς πιστεύοντ(ας), (καὶ) ἀνήλϊσκε τοὺς ἀντϊλέγοντας. τοιαύτην εἶχε γλῶσσαν πϋρὸς **ὁ** παῦλος ἦ| κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ, (καὶ) τὸν ἀνθῦπατ(ον) ἐφώτϊε· (καὶ) τὸν ἐλῦμαν τὸν μάγ(ον) ἐτῦφλωσε· τῆ αὐτῆ δϋνάμει· κἀκεῖν(ον), φωτΐσ(ας), (καὶ) τοῦτ(ον) τϋ|φλώς(ας)· **ὤφθησαν οὖν τ(οῖς) ἀποστόλοις· γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πῦρὸς· οὐκ εἶπε μερϊζόμ(εν)αι· ἀλλὰ** *δϊαμερϊζόμ(εν)αι*· καλ(ῶς)· ἐκ μϊᾶς γὰρ **ἦσαν**| ῥΐζης· ἵνα μάθης ὅτι ἐνέργειά ἐστϊν ὑπὸ τοῦ παρακλήτου πεμφθεῖσα, οὐκ ἐφάνησαν εὐθέ(ως) γλῶσσαι, ἀλλὰ πῦρ πολύ· εἶτα ὥσπ(ερ)| κατεμένετο τὸ πῦρ (καὶ) δϊεμερΐζετο εἰς γλῶσσ(αν)· τΐνο(ς) μερΐζοντος· τΐνο(ς) μερϊζομ(έν)ου· οὐχ ἡ φῦσϊς τοῦ πν(εύματο)ς ἐμερΐζετο· ἀλλ' ἦν τὸ **μ(ὲν)** μερίζο(ν)| τὸ πν(εῦμ)α· τὸ (δὲ) μερϊζόμ(εν)ον· ἡ δωρεὰ	at Acts 1:5 *τοῦ αὐτοῦ.* [Δείκνυσι λοιπὸν τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰωάννου φανερῶς· ...] Τί δήποτε; Ἐκεῖ μὲν τὸ πρᾶον **δηλῶν**, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸ τιμωρητικόν. Καὶ τῆς κρίσεως **δὲ εὐκαίρως ἀναμιμνήσκει**. Ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἁμαρτήματα συγχωρῆσαι ἔδει, πολλῆς ἔδει τῆς πραότητος· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐτύχομεν **τῆς** δωρεᾶς, λοιπὸν καὶ κρίσεως καὶ ἐξετάσεως καιρός. Cramer III, 6.27–7.16 (cf. Chrysostom, Homily 1 on Acts, in PG 60, col. 21, 28–33) at Acts 2:3 *τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.* [Ὥσεὶ πυρός', φησι· καλῶς ὡς, ἵνα μηδὲν αἰσθητὸν ...] Ὅτε μὲν **γὰρ** Ἰωάννῃ ἔδει γνωσθῆναι τὸ Πνεῦμα, **ὡς** ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν **ἦλθε** τοῦ Χριστοῦ· **νῦν** δὲ ὅτε πλῆθος ὅλον ἐπιστραφῆναι **ἐχρῆν, ὡσεὶ πυρός**. Cramer III, 17.31–18.3 (cf. Chrysostom, Homily 4 on Acts, in PG 60, col. 43, 8–11) *τοῦ αὐτοῦ.* **Καὶ** καλῶς **εἶπε**, *Διαμεριζόμεναι.* Ἐκ μιᾶς γὰρ **ἦν** ῥίζης· ἵνα μάθῃς, ὅτι ἐνέργειά ἐστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρακλήτου πεμφθεῖσα. [Ὅρα δὲ καὶ ἐκείνους πρώτους δειχθέντας ἀξίους ... οὕτω δὴ καὶ οὗτοι πάντα εἴασαν τὰ ἑαυτῶν.] Cramer III, 18.4–13 (cf. Chrysostom, Homily 4 on Acts, in PG 60, col. 43, 45–47) *Σευήρου* (but *Σευηριανοῦ* in the other manuscripts of C150.1). [Οὐκ εἶπε πυρὸς, ἀλλ' 'ὡσεὶ πυρὸς,' οὐ γὰρ ἦν πῦρ τὸ φαινόμενον· ...] οὐκ ἐφάνησαν εὐθέως γλῶσσαι, ἀλλὰ πῦρ πολύ· εἶτα ὥσπερ κατεμένετο τὸ πῦρ καὶ διεμερίζετο εἰς γλῶσσαν. τίνος μερίζοντος; τίνος μεριζομένου; οὐχ ἡ φύσις τοῦ

τοῦ πν(εύματο)ς· τὸ γὰρ πν(εῦμ)α, οὐ δϊαιρεῖται, ἀλλὰ δϊαιρεῖ.	Πνεύματος ἐμερίζετο, ἀλλ' ἦν τὸ μερίζον τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὸ δὲ μεριζόμενον ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος· τὸ γὰρ Πνεῦμα οὐ διαιρεῖται, ἀλλὰ διαιρεῖ. **'ὤφθησαν διαμεριζόμεναι ὡσεὶ πυρός'**[· διατί γλῶσσαι; ...] **καὶ** ὥσπερ τὸ πῦρ ἔχει τὴν φωτιστικὴν καὶ καυστικὴν δύναμιν, οὕτως ὁ λόγος τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ ἐφώτιζε τοὺς πιστεύοντας καὶ ἀνήλισκε τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας. Τοιαύτην εἶχεν γλῶσσαν πυρὸς Παῦλος· ᾗ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐφώτισεν καὶ Ἐλύμαν τὸν μάγον ἐτύφλωσεν· τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει κἀκεῖνον φωτίσας, καὶ τοῦτον τυφλώσας. Cramer III, 20.4–32

Table 26. Compilation practice in L1 of Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6

In the segment dedicated to the commentary on Acts 2:2–3, the compiler of Vatican Reg. gr. 6 amalgamates phrases, sentences, and segments of variable length from various scholia in C150.1 which were originally distant from one another.[510] Particularly notable is the fusion of the first scholium by Chrysostom commenting on Acts 1:5, with the second and third extracts from the same author, along with a scholium attributed to Severian of Gabala in all C150.1 representatives, except Oxford 58, all of which explain Acts 2:3.[511] The chosen fragments are largely reproduced verbatim, with minor deviations in vocabulary (employing synonyms such as κάτεισιν instead of ἦλθε, and οὖν for γάρ) and grammatical variations (using the indicative δηλοῦται instead of the participle δηλῶν; employing the third plural ἦσαν instead of the third singular ἦν), as well as a few additions (τῶν ἀποστόλων; τὸ ... μελλούσης ... διακριτικὸν), omissions (νῦν, εὐκαίρως, καί, εἶπε), and substitutions (κατῆλθεν ἐν εἴδει πυρίνων γλωσσῶν instead of ἐχρῆν ὡσεὶ πυρός; παραγυμνοῦται instead of ἀναμιμνήσκει).

However, what stands out is the substantial rearrangement of the original sequence found in C150.1.[512] Not only are the text segments from the initial two scholia by Chrysostom inverted, but furthermore, the third excerpt from the same author is

[510] The sections of text omitted in Vatican Reg. gr. 6 from C150.1a are enclosed within square brackets, and additions are indicated in bold text for both groups.

[511] In addition to be a single-manuscript variant, the fact that this passage is not included in Hutchinson's list of Severus' passages found in the *Patrologia Orientalis* (see Hutchinson 1928: 93) strongly suggests that the attribution to Severus is likely incorrect.

[512] The portion of text οὐκ εἶπε μεριζόμεναι, ἀλλὰ is not addition from Vatican Reg. gr. 6, but an omission from Oxford 58, since it is present in the other witnesses to C150.1. Equally, the omission or addition of articles are likely to be scribal interventions.

inserted between two fragments derived from Severus' scholium, both of which are also reversed. This manipulation results in a genuine blending where explanations initially attributed to distinct authors are interwoven to appear as though they stem from a single writer, similar to Procopius' approach in his epitome.

As is evident in Table 27, Vatican Reg. gr. 6 additionally features reworked extracts from fifteen of the thirty-one supplementary scholia on Acts 1–2:13 found in the ninth-/tenth-century manuscript Jerusalem Staurou 25. As discussed in Chapter II, due to the additional content, I have classified this variant as subtype C150.1b, setting it apart from the five other instances of the full type (C150.1a).[513] In Vatican Reg. gr. 6, some of these chosen extracts are positioned near one another, similar to Jerusalem Staurou 25. Nevertheless, the compiler rearranges the sequence from that in the Jerusalem codex. This suggests a close relationship between the catenae in the two manuscripts. Conversely, other fragments in Vatican Reg. gr. 6 are not found in either Jerusalem Staurou 25 or the representatives of C150.1a. However, certain sections are traceable back to direct traditions when preserved, as seen in Chrysostom's Homilies.[514] Therefore, it can be deduced that the compiler drew from several sources. In specific cases, the origins of certain commentary portions remain undisclosed, leading to the possibility

[513] See above II.4.2.

[514] The evidence includes Athanasius' *Orationes tres contra Arianos* (PG 26); Chrysostom's *Homiliae in Acta Apostolorum* 1–4 (PG 60), *Homiliae in principium Actorum* 2 (PG 51), *Homiliae in Matthaeum* 77 (PG 58), *Homiliae in Joannem* 87 (PG 59), *Homiliae de sancta pentecoste* 2 (PG 50), *Homiliae in epistulam 1 ad Corinthios* 30 (PG 61), *Expositiones in Psalmos* (PG 55), *Fragmenta in Jeremiam* (PG 64); Gregory of Nazianzus' *Orat. 41 in Pentecosten* (PG 36), *Epistulae theologicae* 101 (SC 208); Isidore of Pelusium's *Epistulae de interpretatione divinae scripturae* 499–500 (PG 78).

that these sections might contain the compiler's own interpretations, which aligns with the characteristic style of the 'catena-commentary' form of exegetical compilation.

Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25 (C150.1b)	Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6
ἀμμωνίου πρεσβυτέ(ρου) (f. 8r) Τάχα μὲν καὶ ὕδατι … ὡς μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι.	f. 186r τάχα (δὲ) ἐπεὶ (καὶ) … ὡς μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι.
σχό(λιον) (f. 8r) Τὴν δαψιλείαν κ(αὶ) … ἀνελθὼν πρὸς τὸν π(ατέ)ρα.	f. 186r τοῦτο δὲ τ(ὴν) δαψιλειαν … ἀνελθὼν πρὸς τὸν π(ατέ)ρα.
ἐξ ἀνεπιγρά(φου) (f. 8v) Ὁ κεραμεὺς λαμβάνων γῆν … τότε ὑιοθεσίαν ἔχοντας. …	f. 186v ὅρα (δὲ) ὅτϊ ὥσπ(ερ) ὁ κεραμεὺς γῆν λαβὼν …_τότε υἱοθεσΐαν ἔχοντες, …
ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου (f. 13v) Οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῆ … μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς συγκατέβη … ἐκεῖθεν ἀποστείλοι τὴν ἀχειρότευκτον πέτρω σινδόνα …	f. 186v οὐχ ἁπλ(ῶς) (δὲ) ὁρώντων … μᾶλλον (δὲ) σϋγκατέβη· … … κἀκεῖθ(εν) τῆς ἀχειροτεύκτου σϊνδόν(ος) τῶ πέτρῳ …
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ϵ̄ λόγου τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν (f. 14r–v) Ἐμοῖ δοκοῦσιν ἅπας … οἰκείας φαντασθῆναι φύσεως. … τίνος δὲ ἕνεκεν τὴν σάρκα … δι' ἡμᾶς εἰσὶν εὐεργετημένοι.	f. 187r τΐνος ἕνεκ(εν) τ(ὴν) σάρκα … δι' ἡμᾶς εἰσὶν εὐηργετημ(έν)οι … ὅθ(εν) δοκεῖ μοι (καὶ) ἅπ(ας) … οἰκεί(ας) φαντάσθῆναι φΰσε(ως).
διδύμου (f. 16v–17r) … οἱ καταχθέντες παρὰ τῶ ἀβραὰμ … ἄγγελος ἀνὴρ ἐίρηται.	f. 186v … οἱ καταχθέντες παρὰ τῶ ἀβραὰμ … ἄγγελος, ἀνὴρ εἴρητ(αι) …
σχό(λιον) (f. 20v–21r) ἕκαστος γὰρ ἀφ' ὧν πράττει ἢ καλὸν ἑαυτῶ … φλογὶ ἧ ἐξεκαύσατε.	f. 187r … ἕκαστος πράττει ἢ καλὸν ἑαυτῶ … φλογὶ ἧ ἐξεκαύσατε.
διδύμου (f. 21r–v) ὁι φύσεις ἀπολλυμένας … φυσικὴν ἐνέργειαν δηλοῖ.	f. 187v οἱ φύσεις ἀπολλυμ(ένας) … φυσϊκὴν ἐνέργει(αν) δηλοῖ.
ἀπολιναρίου εἰς τοὺς ἀριθμούς (ff. 22v–23r) … οὐ γὰρ τύχη … κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ.	f. 187v οὐ γὰρ τΰχη … κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν αὐτοῦ …
[no title] (f. 24r–v) … ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν θεωρίαν … ἀνέβησαν ε εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶον ὁῦ ἦσαν …	f. 188r … ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν θεωρΐαν … στραφέντες ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὑπερῷον.
τοῦ χρυσοστ(όμου) (f. 24v) διὰ τί μὴ χωρὶς αἰσθητῶν ὑποδειγμάτων … (καὶ) ὀυχ ἁπλῶς ἦχος γέγονεν …	f. 188r (καὶ) δϊατΐ μὴ χωρΐς αἰσθητῶν … οὐχ ἁπλ(ῶς) ἦχος γέγον(εν) …

σευηριανοῦ (f. 25r) … ἡ πρώτη φωνὴ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ἐν τῶ ὄρει … ἐγένετο ἡ φωνὴ ἀυτοῦ …	f. 188r … ἡ πρώτη φωνὴ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ἐν τῶ ὄρει … ἐγένετο ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ …
[no title] (f. 25r) ὀυκ ἦν ἄυτη ἡ πνοὴ … ὁ φόβος ἠν ἁγνός.	f. 188r … διὰ τὸ ὑπερεξηχεῖσθαι εἰς τὰ πέρατα … … παραστήσωσ(ιν) οἱ νομοθετούμ(ενοι) τῶ νομοθέτη … … ἡ δὲ πνοὴ αὕτη οὐκ … ὁ γὰρ φόβος κ(υρίο)υ ἁγνὸς …
[no title] (ff. 25r–v) … διὰ τὸ ὑπερεξηχεῖσθαι εἰς τὰ πέρατα … παραστήσωσιν ὁι νομοθετούμενοι τῶ νομοθέτη.	

Table 27. List of extra scholia from Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25 found in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6

6.2 L2: Pseudo-Andreas catena on Acts 2:14–7:59 (C150.2f)

The second catena in Vatican Reg. gr. 6 represents the standard type, and it follows an alternating layout similar to the first fragmentary catena-commentary in this manuscript. The biblical text is marked with rubrication and is separated from the scholia by a double dot, which may or may not be followed by a horizontal line, serving as a marker for the end of a scholium. Each comment's author is typically identified either by their full name (e.g., Διδύμου) or through an abbreviation or monogram (e.g., χρ for Χρυσοστόμου or τυ αυ for τοῦ αὐτοῦ). These identifiers can be found within the text itself, in the blank space between two scholia, or in the margin, usually near the beginning of the scholium. To facilitate identification, the author's name or abbreviation is highlighted with rubrication.

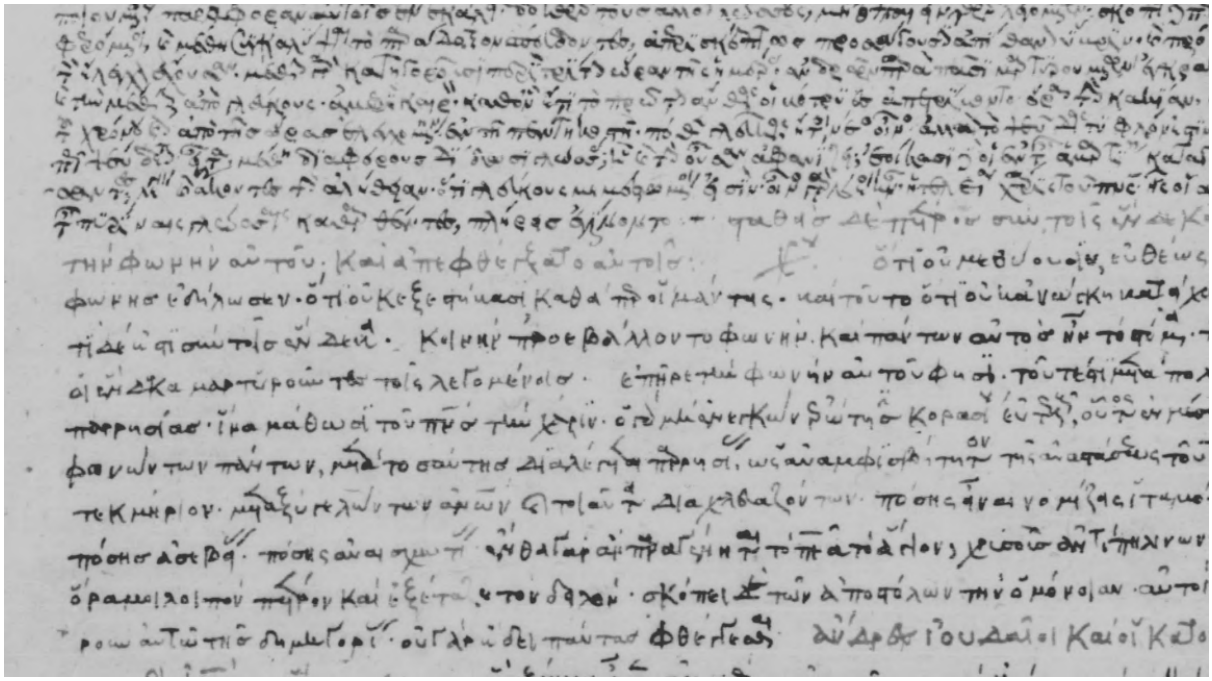


Image 24. Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6, f. 189v: transition to catena on Acts 2:14–7:59.

As stated above, Karo–Lietzmann, von Soden, and Staab have already identified this catena as an abridged version of C150. I supported this view by categorising the second catena in Vatican Reg. gr. 6 as C150.2f.[515] Yet it remains to be verified whether this is truly a condensed version of the full type or, as proposed by Devreesse, if the shorter content actually represents an earlier form of C150 preserved by a later manuscript.[516] In fact, among various types of catenae derived from Pseudo-Andreas, Vatican Reg. gr. 6 stands alone as the sole version where the chosen scholia are faithfully reproduced, while the other catenae typically abbreviate or modify the original material.

Among the three hundred twenty-two scholia of this catena, only three (ff. 192r–v, 195v–196r, 196v) present a shorter text than C150.1 (cf. Cramer III, 55.19–56.16, 75.15–

[515] Scieri 2022a: 292.

[516] Devreesse 1928: “A notre avis, nous avons là, recopiée par un scribe d’âge postérieur, une première étape de la chaîne”.

23, 80.12–20), not containing the text preceded by the phrase καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα ("and a little later"). Since this heading is generally added when two extracts from the same author or the same work follow in sequence, the missing portions might have been added in the later tradition of C150.1 rather than omitted by Vatican Reg. gr. 6. Equally, given the presence of the formula in several other extracts, the few omissions in Vatican Reg. gr. 6 might be simply explained as an abbreviation of the full scholia.

The suspicion that this manuscript contains an abridgment comes from observing f. 194r (Table 28): here a scholium which in C150.1 is attributed to Didymus (Cramer III, 66.19–67.2) is stripped of a large portion of text and the name of the author is erased.[517] However, the omission might be due to scribal eye-skip: as can be seen in Table 28, the beginning of this scholium shares similar words with the beginning and ending of the scholium before (titled σχόλιον in C150.1, but anonymous in Vatican Reg. gr. 6). It is therefore possible that the scribe, after copying the previous scholium and the name Διδύμου before the adjacent extract, mistook the beginning of this for the incipit or the explicit of the scholium already copied. As a result, the copyist erased Didymus' attribution, believing that the text yet to be transcribed (inc. ἡγητέον ὡς Χριστὸς ἀναληφθεὶς) was a continuation of the previous scholium; indeed, in the full catena from Jerusalem Staurou 25 (ff. 59v–60r) this portion is separated from the rest of the comment by a line break.

[517] Even after the erasure, it is still possible to discern the curvature at the top of the letter δ, the υ with the acute accent, and the lower stroke of the letter μ.

Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 (f. 194r)	C150.1 (Cramer III, 66.19–67.2)
[no heading] τὸ ἄχρι καὶ τὸ ἕως παρὰ τῆ θειᾶ γραφῆ, οὐ χρόνου ἐστί σημαντικὸν ... καὶ δόξης θεοπρεποῦς κρῖναι ζῶντας (καὶ) νεκρούς : ~~διδύμου.~~ ἡγητέον ὡς ὁ χ(ριστὸ)ς ἀναληφθεὶς, εἰς οὐ(ρα)νοὺς μένει ἐκεῖ ... τέλος, ἐπιτίθησι τῶ εἶναι ἐν οὐ(ρα)νῶ.	*σχόλιον.* Τὸ **ἄχρι καὶ τὸ ἕως** παρὰ **τῆ θειᾷ γραφῆ οὐ χρόνων** ἐστὶ **σημαντικόν**· ... καὶ δόξης θεοπρεποῦς κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. *Διδύμου.* Ἑπόμενος τίς **τῆ** συνη**θείᾳ** τῆς **γραφῆς**, τὸ **καὶ τὸ ἕως** ἐκλήψεται **οὐ** πάντως **χρονικὰς** περιγραφὰς **σημαίνοντα**· ... **ἄχρι χρόνων** ἀποκαταστάσεως, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς· ἡγητέον ὡς Χριστὸς ἀναληφθεὶς εἰς οὐρανοὺς μένει ἐκεῖ ... τέλος ἐπιτίθησι τὸ εἶναι ἐν οὐρανῷ.

Table 28. Hints of scribal mistake in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6

Furthermore, Vatican Reg. gr. 6 lacks headings for several scholia that are present in the full version of C150. This particularly occurs in extracts where the attribution matches that of an earlier scholium, following the omission of intervening scholia. For example, on f. 189v, two scholia from Chrysostom, both of which are named Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου in the full type and are separated by one from Severian (cf. Cramer III, 30.7–31.8), have different treatments in Vatican Reg. gr. 6. The first one retains its title, while the second one is devoid of a heading. This is because, in Vatican Reg. gr. 6, due to the omission of the intervening scholium by Severian, these entries end up being closer to each other, and as a result, the scribe does not duplicate the attribution of Chrysostom.[518]

[518]Additional instances of this phenomenon can be observed in various scholia from Chrysostom on ff. 189v–190v, corresponding to Cramer III, 31.32–32.5; 33.28–30; 37.11–16; and 43.9–19 in C150.1.

These observations provide support for the hypothesis that the second catena in Vatican Reg. gr. 6 is an abbreviated version rather than an earlier abbreviation of the C150.1 catena.

In addition to establishing the relationship involving the abbreviation with C150.1, it is possible to refine the investigation further and identify which branch of the tradition this manuscript is aligned with. There are enough indications to suggest that the second catena within Vatican Reg. gr. 6 could be closely linked to Jerusalem Staurou 25 (C150.1b). Both of these manuscripts exhibit a distinct developmental stage of the catena, setting them apart from the versions represented by C150.1a.

Firstly, it is noteworthy that, although Vatican Reg. gr. 6 contains several fewer scholia than all the C150.1 witnesses (one-hundred one less than in Cramer's base manuscript Oxford 58), it shares all the twenty-three omissions of scholia seen in Jerusalem Staurou 25 on Acts 2:14–7:59, which are instead recorded by the five representatives of C150.1a.[519] In contrast, the two manuscripts share three extra scholia, which are absent from the majority of C150.1a exemplars: these are titled ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου (f. 192v), τοῦ αὐτοῦ (f. 198v), Ἀμμωνίου (f. 201v). While the first and third of these are only shared with Jerusalem Staurou 25 (ff. 53r, 92v) and not with the representatives of

[519] These omissions correspond to the following passages in Cramer's edition: Cramer III, 36.30–35; 37.29–34; 49.22–31; 53.30–32; 55.10–11; 58.1–22; 58.33–59.3; 61.5–7; 67.6–24; 72.4–6; 85.27–32; 86.5–11; 113.17–20; 118.4–7; 123.20–33; 129.4–9; 130.23–24.

C150.1a, the second also appears as a supplement in Paris Coislin 25 (f. 46r) and Vatican Barb. gr. 582 (f. 57r).[520]

The *anepigraphos* scholium, however, seems to duplicate the first sentence of the scholium immediately after, which is titled Διδύμου in both Vatican Reg. gr. 6 and Jerusalem Staurou 25, but ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in the C150.1a manuscripts. In truth, following a manuscript comparison, it emerges that due to *saut du même au même* ("eyeskip") the C150.1a exemplars incorporated the *anepigraphos* scholium into what originally was Didymus' extract, thereby removing not only the original heading but also a portion of text which, despite the high similarity, is not completely identical to the unattributed scholium.[521] Table 29 shows that the passage attributed to Didymus in Vatican Reg. gr. 6 and Jerusalem Staurou 25 contains two variations in comparison to the *anepigraphos* text: ἐκτὸς φημὶ σπεύδοντας instead of σπουδάζοντας, and προτίθησιν αὐτοὺς instead of προσετίθει. They also share the addition of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ between καθ' ἑκάστην and τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, and the variant προστιθεῖ for προστίθησιν in the conclusive lines of the scholium. This suggests that the *anepigraphos* scholium might have been added from a source (perhaps another catena) containing a simplified and unattributed text of Didymus' extract, and that Vatican Reg. gr. 6 and Jerusalem Staurou 25 derive from an earlier stage of the C150 catena in which the two extracts had not yet overlapped.

[520] Both manuscripts indicate the additional scholium with a symbol (÷) and position it within the margins. In Paris Coislin 25, this additional text is titled Ἰωάννου.

[521] This text is underlined in table 29.

Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 (f. 192v)	**Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25 = C150.1b** (ff. 53r–v)	**C150.1a** (Cramer III, 57.4–14)
ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου. ὁ συνεργῶν κ(ύριο)ς τοῖς προαιρουμ(ένοις) τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοὺς **σπουδάζοντας**| συγκαταριθμηθῆναι μᾶλλον δὲ ἑνωθῆναι τοῖς προλαβοῦσϊ τὴν πίστιν **προσετίθη** καθ ἑκάστην τῆ ἐκκλησία : *Διδύμου.* ὁ συνεργῶν κ(ύριο)ς τοῖς προαιρουμ(ένοις) τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοὺς **ἐκτὸς φημὶ σπεύδοντας** συγκαταριθμηθῆναι· μᾶλλον δέ ἑνωθῆναι| τοῖς προλαβοῦσϊ τὴν πίστιν· **προτίθησιν αὐτοὺς** καθ ἑκάστην **ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ** τῆ ἐκκλησία : νοήσεις δὲ τὸ λεγόμ(ενον)| ... ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν **προστιθεῖ** αὐτοὺς τοῖς πιστοῖς ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ κ(ύριο)ς :	*ἐξ ἀνεπιγρά(φου).* ὁ συνεργῶν κ(ύριο)ς τοῖς προαιρουμέ|νοις τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοὺς **σπουδάζοντας** συγκαταριθμηθῆναι μᾶλλον δὲ| ἑνωθῆναι τοῖς προλαβοῦσι τὴν πί|στιν **προσετίθει** καθ ἑκάστην τῆ| ἐκκλησία : *Διδύμου.* Ὁ συνεργῶν κ(ύριο)ς τοῖς προαιρουμέ|νοις τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοὺς **ἐκτὸς φημὶ| σπεύδοντας** συγκαταριθμηθῆ|ναι μᾶλλον δὲ ἑνωθῆναι τοῖς| προλαβοῦσι τὴν πίστιν **προτί|θησιν αὐτοὺς** καθ ἑκάστην **ἐπὶ| τὸ αὐτὸ** τῆ ἐκκλησία νοήσεις δὲ| τὸ λεγόμενον ... ἡ| φύσις αὐτῶν **προστιθεῖ** αὐτοὺς || τοῖς πιστοῖς ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ κ(ύριο)ς·	*ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου.* Ὁ συνεργῶν Κύριος τοῖς προαιρουμένοις τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοὺς **σπουδάζοντας** συγκαταριθμηθῆναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑνωθῆναι τοῖς προλαβοῦσι, τὴν πίστιν **προσετίθει** καθ' ἑκάστην τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ· νοήσεις δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον ... ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν **προστίθησιν** αὐτοὺς τοῖς πιστοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Κύριος.

Table 29. Extra scholium in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6 and Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25

Further confirmation of this relationship can be deduced by observing that both manuscripts share several scholia that are either inverted in order or positioned differently in comparison to the versions represented by C150.1a. These scholia occasionally undergo title modifications to accommodate the altered arrangement, as illustrated in Table 30.[522] For instance, in the section addressing Acts 5:41–42, the third

[522] Except for Oxford 58 (Cramer's base manuscript), the manuscripts in the table are arranged based on their similarities.

scholium titled Χρυσοστόμου in C150.1a is designated as no. 2 in both Vatican and Jerusalem manuscripts. However, the name of the source is omitted and substituted with τοῦ αὐτοῦ ("of the same") due to the reversed order. In C150.1a, this scholium appears after another comment attributed to Ammonius; hence, specifying the name Chrysostom is essential to avoid any confusion with Ammonius. A similar scenario arises in the section covering Acts 7:30–32. A scholium by Eusebius of Emesa, initially listed as no. 6 in C150.1a, is relocated to no. 2 in Vatican Reg. gr. 6 and Jerusalem Staurou 25. Given its proximity to another scholium by the same author, the name becomes redundant in these manuscripts. However, in the C150.1a witnesses, where the scholium follows one by Cyril, the name Eusebius must be spelled out. Likewise, in the section addressing Acts 7:42–43, the sixth scholium in C150.1a is elevated to no. 2 in the Vatican and Jerusalem codices. While the substitution of Χρυσοστόμου with τοῦ αὐτοῦ cannot be applied to the reversed scholium (as it is preceded by an extract from Didymus), it can be applied to the subsequent comment also attributed to Chrysostom.

An even more diverse arrangement of scholia can be observed in Acts 7:59. Although missing in Paris gr. 221, the first scholium (no. 1) is present in the majority of C150 manuscripts under consideration. However, in Jerusalem Staurou 25 and Vatican Reg. gr. 6, this extract occupies the third position in the sequence and is attributed to Ammonius. In contrast, in Oxford 58 and Athos St Panteleimon 770, it remains anonymous and maintains its original sequence.[523] Conversely, in Paris Coislin 25 and

[523] However, in Cramer III, 130.27, this scholium is printed after scholium no. 4.

Vatican Barb. gr. 582, this scholium is not integrated into the main text of the catena but is instead provided in the margins. It is linked to the lemma πνεῦμα μου by a symbol.[524]

[524] In table 30, the marginal placement of the scholium is indicated by an asterisk attached to the corresponding number (*).

scholium position	C150.1a					C150.1b	C150.2f
	Oxford, New College, 58	Paris, BnF, Coislin 25	Vatican City, BAV, Barb. gr. 582	Paris, BnF, gr. 221	Athos, St Panteleimon Monastery, 770	Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25	Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 6
Acts 2:24							
1	1 ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου	1	1	1	1	**3** **Χρυσοστόμου**	**3** **Χρυσοστόμου**
2	2 Σευήρου …	2	2	2	2	**4** **τοῦ αὐτοῦ**	**4** **τοῦ αὐτοῦ**
3	3 untitled	3	3	3	3	1	1
4	4 untitled	4	4	4	4	2	2
Acts 5:32							
1	1 τοῦ αὐτοῦ	1	1	1	1	**2**	**2**
2	2 untitled	2	2	2	2	**1**	**1**
Acts 5:41–42							
1	1 τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2 Ἀμμωνίου …	2	2	2	2	**3** **τοῦ αὐτοῦ**	**3** **τοῦ αὐτοῦ**
3	3	3	3	3	3	**2**	**2**

	τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου						
Acts 7:21–23							
1	1 Ἀμμωνίου	1	1	1	1	**2**	**2**
2	2 Διδύμου	2	2	2	2	**1**	**1**
Acts 7:30–32							
1	1 Εὐσεβίου	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2 τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου	2	2	2	2	**6** **τοῦ αὐτοῦ**	**6** **τοῦ αὐτοῦ**
3	3 τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου	3	3	3	3	**2**	**2**
4	4 τοῦ αὐτοῦ	4	4	4	4	**3**	**3**
5	5 Κυρίλλου	5	5	5	5	**4**	**4**
6	6 Εὐσεβίου ἐπισκόπου Ἐμίσης	6	6	6	6	**5**	**5**
Acts 7:42–43							
1	1 Διδύμου	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2	**6**	**6**

	τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου						
3	3 τοῦ αὐτοῦ	3	3	3	3	**2 τοῦ αὐτοῦ**	**2 τοῦ αὐτοῦ**
4	4 τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου ...	4	4	4	4	**3**	**3**
5	5 τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου ...	5	5	5	5	**4**	**4**
6	6 τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου	6	6	6	6	—	—
Acts 7:59							
1	1 untitled	5*	5*	—	1	**3 Ἀμμωνίου**	**3 Ἀμμωνίου**
2	2 untitled	1	1	1	2	1	1
3	3 Ἀθανασίου	2	2	2	3	—	—
4	4 untitled	3 **Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου**	3 **τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου**	3	3	2 τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου	2 Χρυσοστόμου
5	5 τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου ...	4	4	4	5	4	4

Table 30. Sequence and attribution of scholia in C150.1a, C150.1b, and C150.2f

Table 30 also illustrates that Vatican Reg. gr. 6 and Jerusalem Staurou 25 share the practice of attributing scholia that are anonymous in C150.1a. However, the accuracy of these attributions is not always certain. For instance, in the section on Acts 2:24, scholia nos. 3 and 4, which in C150.1a are preceded by a scholium from Severus of Antioch, are titled Χρυσοστόμου and τοῦ αὐτοῦ in Vatican Reg. gr. 6 and Jerusalem Staurou 25, respectively. The latter scholium indeed originates from an extract from Chrysostom's Homily 6 on Acts (cf. PG 60, col. 58, 44–45). Yet, the source of the former scholium remains undetermined outside of the catena. The same situation applies to the section on Acts 7:59, where scholium no. 3, which is anonymous in C150.1a, is attributed to Ammonius in both Vatican Reg. gr. 6 and Jerusalem Staurou 25. In contrast, Vatican Reg. gr. 6 and Jerusalem Staurou 25, along with Paris Coislin 25 and Vatican Barb. gr. 582, attribute scholium no. 4 to Chrysostom, while in C150.1a, it is preceded by a comment from Athanasius. These instances suggest that the absence of a title does not necessarily indicate that the source of a scholium is the same as the preceding one.[525]

On the other side, some attributions in Vatican Reg. gr. 6 are clearly erroneous, and the accurate identification is provided by the representatives of C150.1 (including Jerusalem Staurou 25) and sometimes confirmed by the direct tradition. For example, on f. 198v, the title τοῦ αὐτοῦ introduces a scholium correctly attributed to Chrysostom in C150.1, following an extract from Didymus. Similarly, on f. 204v, the same title is repeated for two consecutive scholia in C150.1 attributed to Chrysostom and Origen,

[525] On this topic, see Curti–Barbàra Valenti 2008: 609–610; additionally, see Leanza 1989: 257–258.

respectively. The first instance is accurate, as the extract comes from Chrysostom's Homily 17 on Acts; however, the second τοῦ αὐτοῦ is incorrect, as the scholium is an extract from Origen's Letter to Africanus (cf. PG 11, col. 72.5–11). These cases demonstrate that the title τοῦ αὐτοῦ in catenae manuscripts can sometimes be misleading and not always reliable.[526]

In another case on f. 202r, the heading καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα introduces a comment that in C150.1 manuscripts is attributed to Eusebius of Emesa and follows a scholium from Chrysostom. While the absence of this extract outside of the catena makes confirming Eusebius' attribution challenging, the lack of this comment in Chrysostom's direct tradition suggests that καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα here is incorrect. Similarly, on f. 193r, a scribe's mistake involving the same phrase results in the combination of two scholia originally distinct and attributed to individual authors. This error causes the scribe to copy the first part of a scholium from Chrysostom up to καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα and then jump to the same formula to introduce the second part of the subsequent scholium attributed to Severus of Antioch. As a result, a significant portion of both comments is omitted, and the resulting mixture is falsely attributed solely to the first author due to the oversight.

This examination emphasises the importance of the form of scholia headings and the arrangement of extracts in determining the relationships among catena manuscripts. The divergences in titles, sequence, and positioning of scholia offer valuable insights on the links and dependencies between different manuscripts. This understanding

[526] See Curti–Barbàra Valenti 2008: 609; also see Leanza 1989: 258–259.

highlights how seemingly minor textual nuances can exert substantial influence on the study of catena manuscripts and their interrelationships.

7. Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760 (GA 437)

This manuscript and Tirana dos. 17 stand out among the catena manuscripts of the Apostolos because they contain only Acts.[527] It dates to the eleventh century and presents the complete text of Acts on ff. 2r–180r, followed by an abbreviated version on ff. 181r–248r, both accompanied by catenae in an alternating format (Image 25).[528] The original manuscript's initial and final folios were lost during a re-binding process, likely in the thirteenth century. A bifolium was subsequently added, with the missing content transcribed: the beginning of Chrysostom's Homilies on Acts in the reworked version found in the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena (C151) (inc. [ε]ἰ καὶ πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων τὸ βιβλίον ἐπιγράφεται), and as an ending, the "Travels of the Apostle Paul" (f. 249 inc. [κἀκεῖ]θεν εἰς Νεάπολιν, εἶτα εἰς Φιλίππους τῆς Μακεδονίας), which is a debated minor piece of the Euthalian Apparatus.[529] Moreover, a quaternion from the first half of the fourteenth century, produced in Crete according to De Gregorio, was appended to the end (ff. 250r–257r). This section contains the complete text of Aristotle's "On Interpretation" (*Peri Hermeneias*) in one column and a partial Latin translation by

[527] Houghton–Parker 2016 note that "Catena manuscripts containing only Acts are rare. The *Liste* only contains: 437 1764".

[528] Overall description in Devreesse 1950: 277–278.

[529] See Soden 1902: 128–129 (Chrysostom's prologue), 367–368 (Ἀποδημίαι Παύλου τοῦ Ἀποστόλου); Willard 2009: 73–74.

Boethius in the other, which is why this manuscript has attracted significant attention.[530] In the fifteenth century, it became a part of the Vatican Library collection – it is listed among the Greek codices owned by Popes Nicholas V and Callixtus III – and it remains preserved there.[531]

Von Soden categorised this manuscript among the representatives of the Pseudo-Andreas catena (C150), focusing solely on the second compilation.[532] Parpulov, on the other hand, assigned the first catena in the manuscript to the Pseudo-Theophylact type (C152).[533] This identification was earlier proposed by Devreesse in his catalogue of Vatican codices.[534] Through a comparison of incipits and explicits of selected text passages, I have confirmed Parpulov's assignment and refined it to C152.1a, representing the first editorial stage of this type.[535] Parpulov did not designate a specific type for the second catena, merely referring to it as additional scholia, while Devreesse considered its

[530] For the ff. 250r–257r. the manuscript is an apograph (copied by the same scribe Lullude) of Modena, BEU, Mutin. gr. 235 (fourteenth century – diktyon 43377), which is in turn a direct copy of Milan, BA, Ambr. L 93 sup. (ninth century – diktyon 42962), one of the *codices vetustissimi* of Aristotle's *Organon*. On these manuscripts and a detailed description of the Aristotle part in the Vatican codex see De Gregorio 1993: 163–167, 200–201.

[531] See Manfredi–Potenza 2022.

[532] Soden 1902: 684.

[533] Parpulov 2021: 187.

[534] Devreesse 1950: 277.

[535] Scieri 2022a: 298–299. However, the chronological relationship of this manuscript to two other representatives of this type, Vienna Theol. gr. 150 and Istanbul Panaghias 33, was not determined by my analysis.

content as uncertain.[536] For my part, I categorised this as a *codex singulus* and labelled it as C155.4, leaving its examination for future study.[537]

Although the identification of the first catena in Vat. gr. 760 is confirmed, a comprehensive re-evaluation of the manuscript, considering the beginning and ending of all scholia and conducting a systematic comparison with the manuscript tradition, suggests that the second catena warrants further consideration. Specifically, the situation is as illustrated in Table 31 and discussed in the following paragraphs.

Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760 (GA 437)				
Text	**number of scholia**	**scribe**	**text**	**external evidence**
1	653	main	C152.1a	–*Commentarii Ps.-Theophylacti* (CPG C152; PG 125, coll. 495–848)
2	256	main	C150.2g (olim C155.4)	–*Catena Andreae* (CPG C150; Cramer III).
total	N/A	1	2	

Table 31. Content units in the catena in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760

[536] Devreesse 1950: 277; Parpulov 2021: 187.

[537] Scieri 2022a: 302.

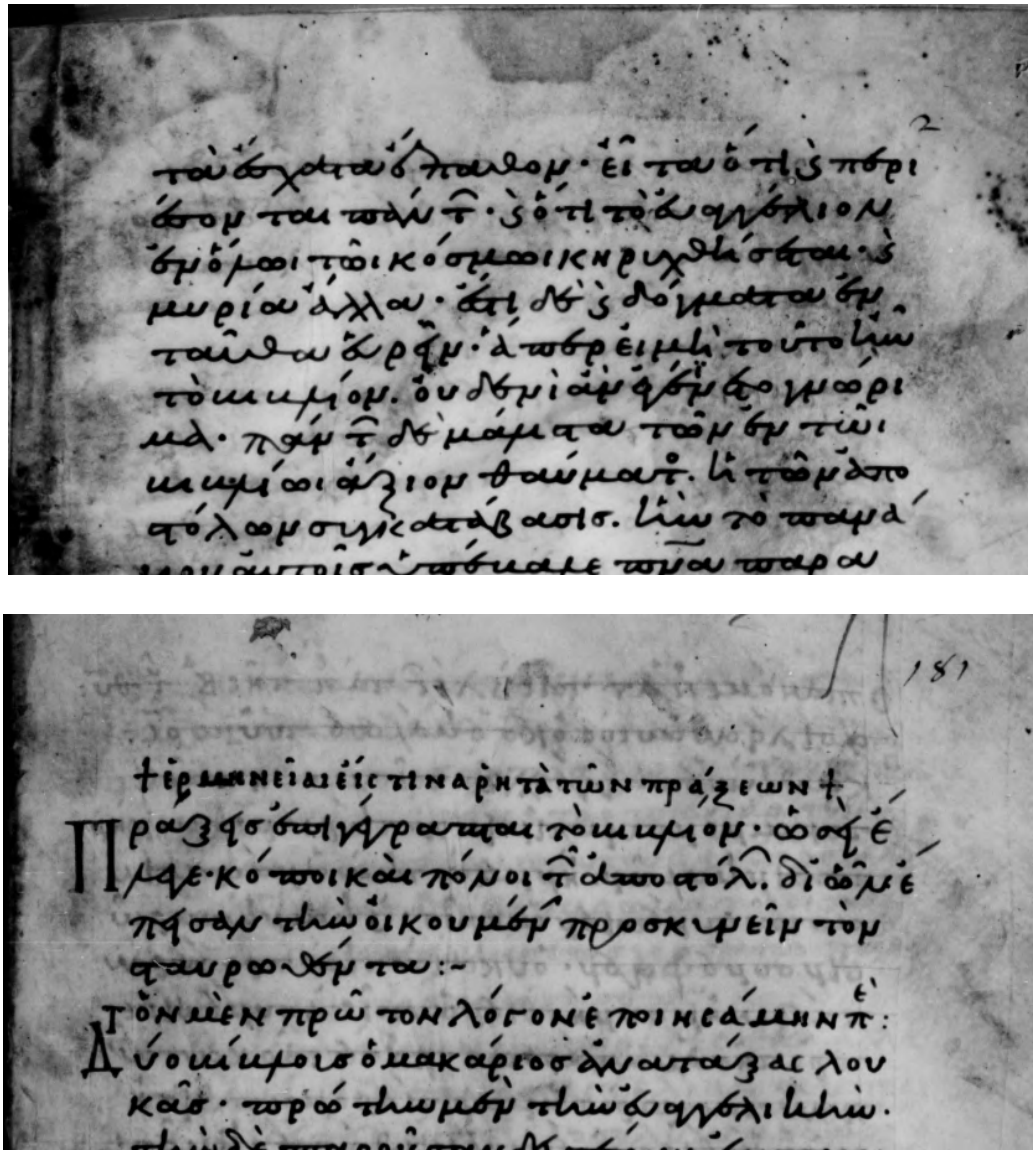


Image 25. Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760, ff. 2r and 181r: incipits of the two compilations on Acts

7.1 T1: Pseudo-Theophylact catena (C152.1a)

The first catena consists of six hundred fifty-three scholia that belong to the Pseudo-Theophylact catena-commentary published as *Expositio* by Sifanius in PG 125 (C152.1). While the beginning (f. 1r: [...] τούτων γὰρ πιστευόντων ὁδῷ προβαίνει ἀκολούθως καὶ τὰ λοιπά) is damaged, the subsequent scholia are found in the Vienna manuscript Theol. gr. 150, which was published by Sifanius and later re-edited by Finettus.

Besides the Vatican codex, two other manuscripts also contain this commentary, yet both are fragmentary and present the Acts catena in a frame layout. One of these is Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, Panaghias 33, which only has Acts 25:9–28:31 remaining, accompanied by scholia added by a later hand throughout the margins and linked to the biblical text with symbols. The other is Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 279, a fifteenth-century codex featuring partial commentary in the margins of Acts, Catholic and Pauline Epistles, Revelation.[538] It holds significance as the second example of type C152.1 in a frame layout, similar to Istanbul Panaghias 33. However, unlike the use of symbols in the latter manuscript, this one employs numbers to link scholia to biblical lemmata.

There is even a suspicion that these manuscripts might share a connection, as both feature scholia that are not present in the Vatican and Vienna manuscripts (Table 32, no. 5; Table 33 nos. 5–7). Although confirmation is hindered by the loss of the Istanbul manuscript before Acts 25:9, the treatment of scholia that the two manuscripts share

[538] diktyon 58654 (GA 1876).

with the Vienna and Vatican codices indicates the likelihood of independent revisions. Table 32 provides insight into this matter: the Sinai codex, for instance, not only introduces new comments (scholium no. 5) and omits others (a part of no. 4), but also demonstrates reworking (nos. 1, 3) or abbreviation (no. 4) even within the beginning and ending. In contrast, the data in Table 33 illustrates that Istanbul Panaghias 33, despite incorporating some additional material (scholia nos. 5–7), does not undertake significant reworking of the shared content found in the Vatican manuscript.

As the only witness to present the catena fully, the Vienna manuscript served as the basis for my systematic comparison, utilising Finettus' edition in PG 125. In contrast, the Vatican manuscript contains significantly fewer scholia. Notably absent from this are scholia that have author attributions in Vienna Theol. gr. 150, despite containing a considerable number of unattributed ones that are amalgamated from various authors.[539] Indeed, the second difference between the Vatican codex and others of C152.1 involves the segmentation of certain scholia, which are aggregated into a single unit in Vienna Theol. gr. 150. This divergence is clear in Tables 32 and 33, illustrating how Vatican Vat. gr. 760 aligns more closely with the two fragmentary Istanbul and Sinai manuscripts in terms of scholia presentation. Despite certain non-shared content, all three manuscripts separate scholia that are amalgamated in Vienna Theol. gr. 150.

Considering the missing content and the division of scholia, it is plausible that the earliest manuscript of C152.1 embodies the initial stage of the commentary. Consequently, maintaining the C152.1a designation for Vatican Vat. gr. 760, as initially

[539] Examples are provided by Scieri 2022a: 299, table 7.

assigned in my classification, seems appropriate. Subsequent manuscripts tend to aggregate originally separated scholia due to oversights, such as misunderstood author abbreviations or overlooked ending marks. The opposite scenario, requiring the scribe's comprehensive awareness of the sources of the transcribed extracts, is less common. Therefore, it can be inferred that both the Istanbul and Sinai manuscripts represent later stages wherein additional comments have been integrated, while some of the original divisions are retained (Table 32 scholium no. 3 and part of scholium no. 4; Table 33 scholium no. 1). A later stage is evident in the Vienna manuscript, which not only introduces new commentary additions, including scholia attributed to specific authors, but also merges comments that were initially distinct. This stage is denoted as C152.1c. However, C152.1c does not derive from either C152.1b or C152.1d, as these contain numerous scholia absent in the former. Instead, C152.1c likely evolves from the foundations of C152.1a, and Vienna Theol. gr. 150 could even be a descendent of Vatican Vat. gr. 760.

scholia	Acts 2:1–4		
	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760 (ff. 17v–18v)	**Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 279 (f. 13r)**	**Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 150 (ff. 7v–8v = PG 125, coll. 528D.4–533C.13)**
1	Διατί ἐν τῶι συμπληροῦσθ(αι) τὴν ἡμέραν … οὗτοι καὶ ταῦτα ἴδωσιν :	**ζ** **Τίς ἐστὶν αὕτη ἡ πεντηκοστή**· … αὐτὸ τοιοῦτον καλεῖ· περὶ αὐτὴν ὡς εἰπεῖν … οὗτοι κ(αὶ) ταῦτα ἴδωσιν·	Ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν … οὗτοι καὶ ταῦτα ἴδωσι·
2	—	—	Σευήρου (in marg.) Διαμεριζόμεναι γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρὸς. Παθὸν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς … ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν.
3	—	—	Σευηριανοῦ (in marg.) **Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς** … γνωρισθῆναι, ἐχρῆν, ὡσεὶ πῦρ.
	Διατί μὴ χωρὶς αἰσθητῶν … **εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον** διαναστῆναι αὐτούς :	**η** Διατὶ μὴ χωρὶς αἰσθητ(ῶν) … **πλέον τοῦτο** διαναστήν(αι) αὐτούς :–	
	πολλὴν **καὶ σφοδρὰν** τὴν ῥύμην … εκει **συνδραμεῖν καὶ συνελθεῖν ἐποίησεν** :	**θ** Πολλὴν τὴν ῥύμην λέγει … **τούτου φρικωδέστερον γνῶναι** :	
	Καλῶς φη(σι) ὡσεὶ πυρὸς· (καὶ) καθάπερ πνοῆς … ἐπιστραφῆναι ἐχρῆν. ὡσεὶ πῦρ :	**ι** **καὶ ὤφθησαν αὐτοῖς φη(σιν) διαμεριζόμεναι γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρός**· … ἐπιστραφῆναι, ἐχρῆν, ὡσεὶ πυρός :–	
4	τουτέστι. παρέμεινεν· ἐπανεπαύσατο· τὸ γὰρ καθίσαι … ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις **ἐκχεῶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα** :–	**κ** Τουτέστι, παρέμειν(εν). ἐπανεπαύσατο. τὸ γὰρ καθίσαι … ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, **καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς** :	Ἐκαθισέ τε ἐφ' ἕνα ἕκαστον … **προφητῶν ἐπὶ Χριστῳ μαρτύρια.**

	οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἔλαβον. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπλήσθησαν· καὶ … τῶι ὀφθέντι ἐπὶ τ(ῆς) βατου ἐν εἴδει πυρό(ς)	—	
5	—	σκόπει ἵνα μὴ ἐκπλήξη … ἐν πν(εύματ)ι ἁγ(ίῳ). κ(αὶ) πυρί.	—

Table 32. Comparison of scholia presentation in representatives of C152.1 (part 1)

scholia	Acts 28:19–27		
	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760 (ff. 177r–180r)	Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, Panaghias 33 (f. 5r)	Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 150 (ff. 55v–56r = PG 125, coll. 844A.11–845C.13)
1	εἰδὼς ὁ παῦλος … ἀντιλεγόντων τῶν ἰουδαίων :–	Εἰδὼς ὁ Παῦλο(ς) … ἀντιλεγόντ(ων) τ(ῶν) ἰουδ(αίων) :–	Εἰδὼς ὁ Παῦλος … ἀντιλεγόντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων.
	τί οὖν· ἵνα … διαφυγεῖν τὸν κίνδυνον :–	Τϊ οὖν· ἵ(ν)α … διαφυγ(εῖν) τ(ὸν) κἵνδυν(ον) :–	Τί οὖν; ἵνα αὐτῶν … διαφυγεῖν τὸν κίνδυνον.
	μία ἦν ἐλπίς … κατάστασιν τῶν δεσμῶν :–	Μϊ(α) ἦν ἐλπ(ις) … κ(α)τάστασ(ἵν) τ(ῶν) δεσμ(ῶν) :–	Τουτέστι, μία ἦν ἐλπὶς … τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν δεσμῶν.
2	—	—	Πρὶν ἐπιδημῆσαι τὸν Παῦλον … ἐδήλωσεν Ἰουδαικῶν ἀποστόλων.
3	αἵρεσιν καλοῦσιν οἱ ἰουδαῖοι … ἢ καὶ ἕλληνες :	Αἵρεσ(ϊν) καλοῦσ(ιν) ἰουδαῖοι … ἢ (καὶ) ἕλλην(ες) :–	Αἵρεσιν καλοῦσιν Ἰουδαῖοι … ἢ καὶ Ἕλληνες.
4	ὅρα πῶς οὐ ῥάπτουσιν … λοιπὸν τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτόν :	Ὅρα π(ῶς) οὐ ῥάπτουσ(ιν) … λοιπ(ὸν) τὰ κ(α)τ᾽ αὐτ(όν) :	Ὅρα πῶς οὐ ῥάπτουσιν … λοιπὸν τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτόν.
5	—	ἀσύμφωνοι (δὲ) ὄντ(ες) … ἔτϊ μᾶλλ(ον) στηριξαι :–	—

6	—	Τοῖς ὑπουργ(ὸν) λέγουσι ... ἴσ(ης) ἐξουσί(ας) μετέχει :–	Τοῖς ὑπουργὸν λέγουσι ... ἴσης ἐξουσίας μετέχει.
7	—	Τὸν τρόπ(ον) τοῦ ... συμβέβηκεν μυσάντων τ(οὺς) ὀφθαλμούς :–	—

Table 33. Comparison of scholia presentation in representatives of C152.1 (part 2)

7.2 T2: Pseudo-Andreas abridged catena (C150.2g/olim C155.4)

The second compilation consists of two hundred fifty-six scholia that explain only specific lemmata from Acts. This selectivity is evident from the title itself: ἑρμηνείαι εἰς τινα ῥητὰ τῶν πράξεων ("Interpretations on some sayings of the Acts"). Contrary to my earlier classification where I erroneously labelled it as a *codex singulus* C155.4, this catena represents an abbreviated version of the Pseudo-Andreas type, thus aligning with von Soden's attribution. My initial findings were skewed due to the abridgment's tendency to omit the initial and final parts of the original scholia found in the complete catena, as well as to merge multiple scholia into a single one. Given that this abridgment demonstrates independent choices in selecting and interpreting scholia from C150, it is appropriate to reclassify it as C150.2g.

Indeed, although Devreesse initially considered this catena's content uncertain, he had already observed that the second compilation within the manuscript predominantly includes scholia with author attributions, distinguishing it from the first compilation.[540] We have observed a similar characteristic in the abridgment found in Drama 3 (C150.2c). However, this practice is not consistently applied and often results in the blending of multiple scholia into a single one, wherein the attributed author's name represents only one of the original sources. For instance, at Acts 8:5 (ff. 210r–211r inc. οὐχ ὁ ἀπόστολο[ς] φίλιππο[ς], des. ἡ τάξις φυλάττεται), the scribe attributes the scholium to Isidore of Pelusium (ἰσιδώ[ρου]), although this is formed by abbreviating and merging a scholium from Isidore with one from Ammonius (cf. Cramer III, 133.32–134.11 + 137.1–138.23).

[540] Devreesse 1950: 277.

Only in one instance have I found that the compiler attributes the combined scholia to both sources: at Acts 5:1 (ff. 201v–202r inc. κατανοῆσαι δεῖ ἐνταῦθα, des. βίον καὶ θάνατον), which bears the heading ἀθανα(σίου) (καὶ) ἰσιδώρ(ου) (cf. Cramer III, 86.6–11 + 88.6–18).

Furthermore, despite the presence of various abbreviations in the scholia text, several comments exhibit extended endings compared to Cramer's Oxford manuscript. These extended explicits are also found in Jerusalem Staurou 25 and Paris Coislin 25. For instance, a scholium at Acts 2:30 (f. 196v) titled ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφ(ου) concludes with εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αιῶνος, resembling the ending in the Jerusalem codices, while Oxford 58 lacks τοῦ αιῶνος. Moreover, the manuscript includes attributions that are absent in Cramer's edition but present in other manuscripts from C150.1a. For example, at Acts 4:26 (ff. 200–201r), the attribution ἀθανα(σίου) accompanies a short scholium (εἰς σύμβασιν καὶ φιλίαν ἤκασιν ἠρώδης τε καὶ πόντιος πιλᾶτος. cf. Cramer III, 80.25), that is unattributed in Cramer. This suggests that, similar to Reg. gr. 6, Vat. gr. 760, it abbreviates from a manuscript belonging to the branch of the tradition featuring the attribution to Athanasius and the supplementary scholia present in the oldest extant codex. These extra scholia might have been inadvertently omitted or discontinued in the representatives of C150.1a.

The compilation date of this catena, much like the one in Drama 3, probably falls after the last stage of the full type. This is suggested by the inclusion of scholia from Maximus the Confessor (ff. 213r–214r, inc. τίς ἡ διαφωνία, des. τὸ φῶς τεθέασθ[αι]) and unattributed scholia found at Acts 3:11 (f. 198r, inc. αὕτη μόνη ἡ στοὰ, des. ὠικοδόμησε κῦρος ὁ πέρσης) and 3:22 (f. 199r, inc. τὸ ὡς ἐμὲ, οὐκ, des. ἀνέστη. αλλὰ πολλοί), but absent

from the oldest codex of C150.1, Jerusalem Staurou 25. Interestingly, similar to the two fragmentary catenae in Vatican Reg. gr. 6, particularly the first catena-commentary, this manuscript also contains a substantial number of scholia that are exclusive to the Jerusalem codex. Table 34 provides a list of these.

Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25 (C150.1b)	**Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760**
f. 4r σχό(λιον). τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως μέχρι τῆς ... ταφεὶς καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν κ(αὶ) πορευόμενος ... οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος :–	f. 181r [no heading] Τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως. μέχρι τῆς εἰς οὐ(ραν)οὺς ἀνόδου ... ταφεὶς κ(αὶ) ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρ(ῶν) :–
f. 3v σευήρου ἀντιοχ(είας) ἐκ τ(ῆς) π(ε)ρ(ὶ) ἀναστασίαν διάκο(νον) ἐπιστολ(ῆς). Ταύτας τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ... τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀποκαλύπτων μυστήρια· βασιλείαν αὐτὸς ὁ κ(ύριο)ς ἐκάλεσεν τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ... τὸ καινὸν συμπίνειν ποτήριον :	ff. 181v–182r [no heading] Βασιλείαν αὐτὸς ὁ κ(ύριο)ς ἐλάλεσε τοῦ π(ατρὸ)ς ... τὰ πε(ρὶ) τῆς βασιλείας ἀποκαλύπτων μυστήρια :–
f. 8r σχό(λιον). Τὴν δαψιλείαν κ(αὶ) οἱονεὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ... ἐλάμβανον ἐπελθόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἁγίου πν(εύματο)ς :–	ff. 182r–v [no heading] τὴν δαψίλειαν καὶ οἱονεὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ... ἐλάμβανον. ἐπελθόντος αυτοῖς τ(ο)ῦ ἁγίου πν(εύματο)ς :–
f. 12r σχό(λιον). οὐκ ἀγνοῶν αὐτὸς τῶν χρόνω(ν) τὸ συμπέρασμα ... τὴν βασίλειαν τῶν οὐ(ρα)νῶν οὐ τὴν ποσότητα τῶν χρόνων κατασημαίνειν ... ταύτη γὰρ ἐστιν ἡ ἐρώτησις ἐκείνη·	ff. 182v–183r [no heading] οὐκ ἀγνοῶν αὐτὸ(ς) τῶν χόον(ων) τὸ συμπέρασμα ... τὴν βασιλείαν τ(ῶν) οὐ(ραν)ῶν. οὐ τὴν ποσότητα τῶν χρόνων κατασημαίνειν :–
ff. 12v–13r διδύμου λήψεσθε δύναμιν ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου πν(εύματο)ς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ... τὴν πέμψω ὑμῖν τὸν παράκλητον ἐπαγγελίαν εὔδεσθαι δὲ οὕτως ἐκδεξάμενοι ... εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τῆς ἀληθείας.	f. 183r [no heading] ἀλλὰ λήψεσθε δύναμιν ἐπελθόντο(ς) τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ αὐτὴ ... τὴν πέμπψω ὑμῖν τὸν παράκλητον ἐπαγγελίαν :–
ff. 13v–14v ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου·	ff. 183r–v [no heading]

οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῆ κ(αὶ) ἁπλῶς πεποίηκεν· ... τὴν ἀποφοίτησιν ἔστιν τὴν σωματικὴν ... αὐταρκῶς ἀνέβη ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον :–	οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῆ καὶ ἁπλῶς πεποίηκεν ... τ(ὴν) ἀποφοίτησιν ποιεῖ τὴν σωματικὴν ἀνέβη βλεπόντων αὐτῶν :–
f. 15v–16r ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου· οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἁπλῶς ἀδελφοὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα τῶν ζητουμένων· τί γὰρ κ(αὶ) τοῦτο εἰδὼς ὁ κ(ύριο)ς ὅτι ἐνστήσονται ἄν(θρωπ)οι πεφθαρμένοι ... ἀπαντήσει θλίψις. ἀνοιγήσεται δὲ κ(αὶ) θύρα ὑμῖν· κ(αὶ) μετ' ὀλίγα. Τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν ἀναληφθέντα ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἠνίξατο ... ἀπὸ νεφέλης τῆς παρθένου εἰς νεφέλην ἦλθεν (καὶ) διὰ νεφέλης ἀνῆλθεν ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον· κ(αὶ) μετ' ὀλίγα. Καὶ ὅτι εἴπομεν ὅπου ἦν μὴ τοπικῶς ... συναναστρέφεσθαι ὀφθαλμοφανῶς. ἢ συναλίξεσθαι ... ἢ ἀντιμετρεῖσθαι τοῖς γηγενέσι(ν)	f. 183v [no heading] ἀπὸ νεφέλης τῆς παρθένου. εἰς νεφέλην ἦλθε· ... συναναστρέφεσθ(αι) ὀφθαλμοφανῶς ἢ συναυλ΄ιζεσθ(αι) :– ff. 183v–184r [no heading] εἰδὼς ὁ κ(ύριο)ς ὅτι ἐνστήσονται ἄν(θρωπ)οι πεφθαρμένοι ... κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἀτενιζόντ(ων) αὐτῶ(ν) εἰς τὸν οὐ(ρα)νὸν ἀνελήλυθεν :–
ff. 20v–21r σχό(λιον) Ἕκαστος γὰρ ἀφ' ὧν πράττει ἢ καλὸν ἑαυτῷ ... κ(αὶ) τῇ φλογὶ ᾗ ἐξεκαύσατε·	ff. 185v–186r [no heading] ἕκαστος ἀφ' ὧν πράττει. ἢ καλὸν ἑαυτῶι ... καὶ τῃ̃ φλογὶ ἧι ἐξεκαύσατε :
ff. 21r–v διδύμου : Οἱ φύσεις ἀπολλυμένας ἐνίων ἀν(θρώπ)ων ... πολλὰ σημαίνει ἡ τόπος φωνή. δηλοῖ γὰρ ... συνέταξεν ἑαυτῷ ἴδιον τόπον· κ(αὶ) αὐτὸ δὲ ἐπορεύθην. ἐκούσιον ἀλλ' οὐ φυσικὴν ἐνέργειαν δηλοῖ.	f. 186r διδύμ(ου) πολλὰ σημαίνει ἡ τόπος φωνή· δηλοῖ γ(ὰρ) ... συνέταξεν ἑαυτῶι ἴδιον τόπον :–
ff. 24r–v [no heading] Ἐδόθη μὲν νόμος ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντεκοστῆς· ... εἰς μίαν δὲ ἀπαρχὴν σταχύων τῷ θ(ε)ῷ <u>προσαγομένων</u> ... τὸ ὑπερῷον οὗ ἦσαν καταμένοντες.	ff. 187r–188r [no heading] γίνονται ἡμεραι ϖ̄ ... εἰς μίαν δὲ ἀπαρχὴν στάχυω(ν) τῶι θ(ε)ῷ προσαγομένων :
f. 25r σευηριανοῦ· Καλῶς τὸ ἐξ οὐ(ραν)οῦ·... τοῦ πν(εύματο)ς τὴν ἐπιφοίτησιν· ... ὁ φόβος κ(υρίο)υ ἁγνός·	ff. 188r–v σευηρια(νοῦ) Καλῶς τὸ ἐξ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ ... τοῦ ἁγίου πν(εύματο)ς ἐπιφοιτήσεως :
f. 92v ἀμμωνίου· ἀστεῖος ἐυάρετος τῷ θ(ε)ῷ. ἀντὶ τοῦ θεοφιλὴς·	f. 205r [no heading] ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐάρετος τῶι θῶι. θεοφιλής :

Table 34. List of extra scholia from Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25 found in Vatican City, BAV, Vat gr. 760.

An important point to note is that a considerable portion of the scholia in Vatican Vat. gr. 760 seems to be abridged versions taken either from those without author attributions or from extracts indicated as ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου ("from an unnamed source") and σχόλιον ("brief explanation") in Jerusalem Staurou 25. The reason for the lack of headings in the Vatican manuscript could be attributed to the fact that the titles ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου and σχόλιον inherently express the anonymity of these sources, making it unnecessary to include these headings in the transcription. Furthermore, it is evident that certain scholia in the Vatican Vat gr. 760 are presented in a different order compared to the Jerusalem manuscript. For instance, on ff. 181r–182 the extract σχόλιον appears before one attributed to Severus, whereas in Jerusalem Staurou 25 the sequence is reversed. On f. 183v, there are two segments of ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia that are arranged differently from the Jerusalem manuscript, where they are separated by the phrase καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα. Instances where portions of text appear in reversed order are also seen in Severus of Antioch's scholium on ff. 181v–182r.

Lastly, it is worth noting that a significant number of scholia from this catena are also present in Vienna Theol. gr. 150. The exact relationship between these manuscripts will be examined in Chapter V.[541]

[541] See below V.4.

8. Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56, gr. 140

Limited information is available about this manuscript, only recently added to the Catena Catalogue, as it has been primarily described by Aleksei Egorovich Viktorov in his catalogue of manuscripts held by Petr Ivanovich Sevast'ianov (1863–1907) and now preserved at the Russian State Library (RGB) in Moscow.[542] Dating back to the late thirteenth century, the manuscript contains catena-epitomes of various New Testament books in an alternating layout, with the biblical text condensed into brief lemmata, thus constituting a 'lemmatic' type of compilation. In the Catena Catalogue, the epitomes are categorised as C110.3 for Matthew, C130.3 for Luke, C140.3 for John, C176 for Catholic Epistles, and tentatively attributed to C150 for the Acts section.[543]

The Acts section (ff. 211r–224r) is subdivided into two distinct segments (ff. 211r–219v and 219v–224r). Each of these can be associated with different compilations, thus establishing this manuscript as an exemplar of a multiple-text Acts catena manuscript (Image 26). The subsequent sections will offer a thorough analysis of these distinct texts within this manuscript. Table 35 presents this information concisely.

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[542] Viktorov 1881: 15–16. I extend my gratitude to Georgi Parpulov for his contribution in identifying this previously overlooked manuscript in the catalogue.

[543] https://itsee-wce.birmingham.ac.uk/catenacatalogue/4819/?content_details=Acts&limit=1000&_sort=identifier_ntvmr&_fields=identifier_ga%2Cidentifier_ntvmr%2Cidentifier_diktyon I did not reference this manuscript in my reclassification of the catenae on Acts, as I did not become aware of it until later.

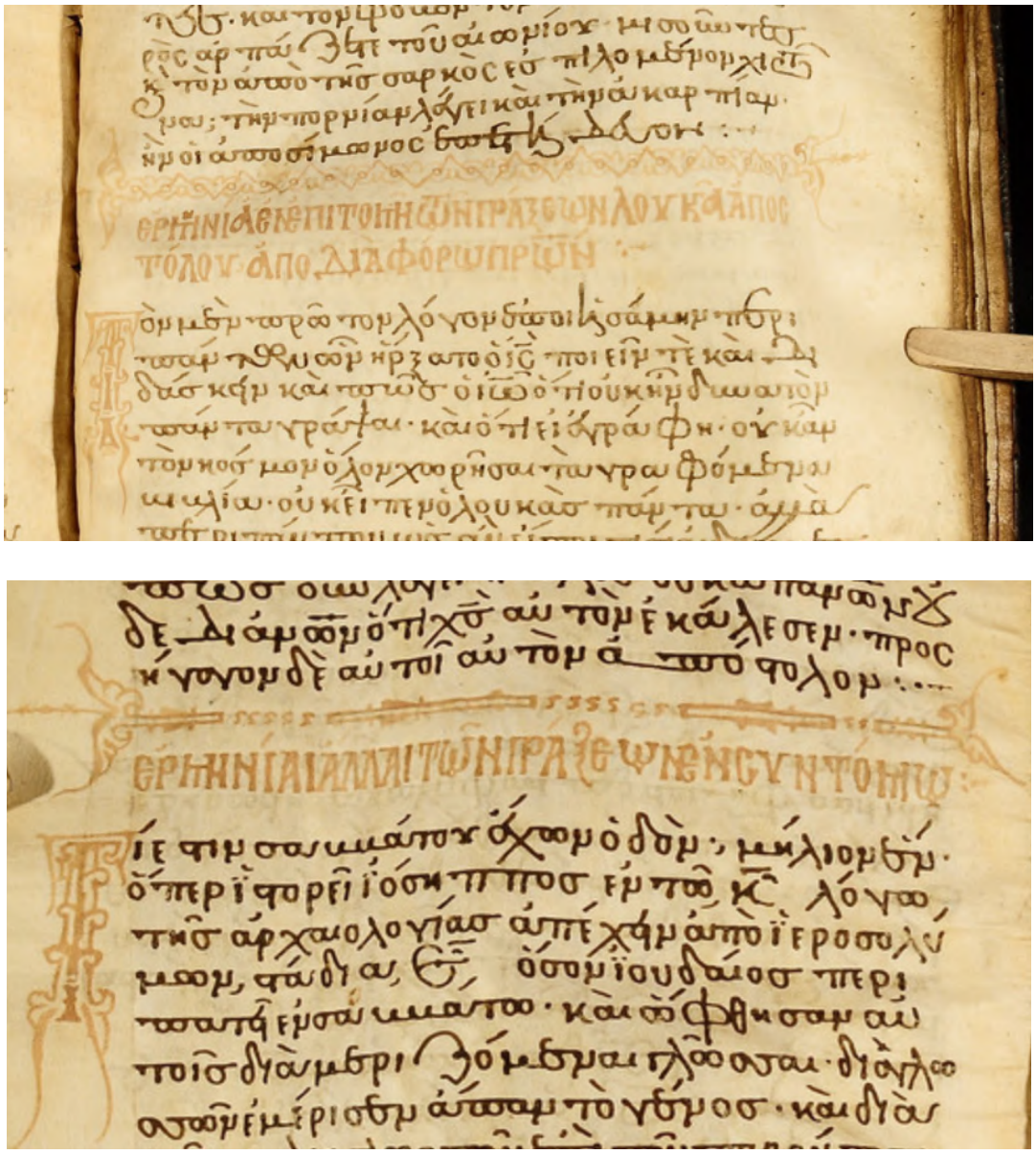


Image 26. Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56, ff. 211r and 219v: incipits of the two compilations on Acts

Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56, gr. 140				
Text	**number of scholia**	**scribe**	**text**	**external evidence**
1	81	main	Epitome by Leo Choirosphaktes of *Chrysostom's Homilies on Acts*	–Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 177; Milan, BA, A 62 inf.; Moscow, RGB, num., F. 270, no. 56 (gr. 140); Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1767 –multilayered catena manuscripts: L3 and L4 in Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3; L2 in Paris, BnF, gr. 237
2	32	main	Epitome of 'isolated' scholia	–'isolated' scholia manuscripts: Florence, BML, Plut.IV.29 –multilayered catena manuscripts: L1 in Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3; Paris, BnF, gr. 237; Escorial, RBME, Ψ.III.18.
total	N/A	1	2	

Table 35. Content units in the catena in Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56, gr. 140

8.1 T1: Epitome by Leo Choirosphaktes (full version)

As previously mentioned, Choirosphaktes' Epitome of Chrysostom, previously observed in L3 and L4 of Drama 3 and L2 of Paris gr. 237, is also found in the Moscow manuscript and three other codices that employ alternating-layout and lemmatic style commentary. These manuscripts are Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 177 (tenth century), Milan, BA, A 62 inf. (tenth century), and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1767 (sixteenth century). The Vatican manuscript is recognised by palaeographers as a direct copy of the Patmos one.[544] In both codices, the attribution to Leo Choirosphaktes is present. The Patmian manuscript (p. 450) reads λέοντος μαγίστρου, ἀνθυπάτου, πατρικίου,

[544] Mercati 1935: 136; Canart 1979:58–59, n. 92, 243, 247.

τοῦ προγεγονότος μυστικοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου ἐπιτομή ("Epitome of Leo the magister, proconsul, patrician, the previous *Mystikos* and *Kanikleios*") while the Vatican manuscript (f. 155r) has τοῦ αὐτοῦ (scil. λέοντος) ἐπιτομὴ εἰς τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων λουκᾶ ("Epitome of the same [i.e., of Leo] on the Acts of the Apostles of Luke"), following the mention of the author's name in the title of the epitome on Luke's Gospel (f. 130r). In contrast, the Ambrosian and Moscow manuscripts feature shorter titles omitting the author's name: the first on f. 59r has ἐπιτομὴ εἰς τὰς Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλου Λουκᾶ ἀποστόλου ("Epitome on the Acts of the Apostle of the apostle Luke"), the second on f. 211r reads ἑρμηνία ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τῶν πράξεων Λουκᾶ ἀποστόλου, ἀπὸ διαφόρων π(ατέ)ρων ("Exposition in brief of the Acts of the apostle Luke, from various Fathers").

The ascription to Leo Choirosphaktes, accompanied by a succession of administrative titles, appears in other manuscripts that convey diverse writings attributed to the Byzantine diplomat.[545] Choirosphaktes is recognised for a range of compositions, encompassing letters, hymns, epigrams, anacreontic poems, theological treatises, and exegetical works, notably the extensive poem *Chiliostichos Theologia* ("A thousand-verse Theology").[546] While the attribution of certain works and the Christian faith of the author remain subject to dispute, Ioannis Vassis, who published an edition of the theological poem, proposed the possibility that Choirosphaktes may have composed his exegetical works around 907 AD, during his exile in the Petra fortress following

[545] For further information about this figure, see the entry "Leon Choirosphaktes: Λέων" in the PMZ online (last accessed on 27th August, 2023).

[546] Vassis 2002.

diplomatic missions to Baghdad, Jerusalem, and Antioch.[547] Alternatively, he might have written the epitomes during his second exile after 913 AD, while residing in the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople, after failing to establish Constantine Doukas as emperor.[548] It is plausible that during this time, he gained access to a wealth of exegetical material available at the monastery, which he could have used in the composition of his works, including Chrysostom, who, as a former archbishop of Constantinople, held significant influence and was widely studied in Byzantium. It is also noteworthy that the epitome was incorporated as L2 in Paris gr. 237. According to Aletta, this material was added around the same time as the main late-ninth/early-tenth century hand in Constantinople.[549] If the attribution to Choirosphaktes is accurate, this suggests that his epitomes gained popularity soon after their initial production.

Regarding its content, the epitome comprises a series of citations (eighty-one in the Moscow manuscript) primarily drawn from Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts*. These citations are often abbreviated and rephrased, focusing on selected portions of the biblical book. In their original form, they are interwoven with references to the biblical text in an alternating layout. This format aligns with what is known in codicological

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[547] Vassis 2002: 10, 16. The attribution of authorship for numerous works is a subject of debate. See the entry "Choirosphaktes, Leo" by A.P. Kazhdan in ODB I: 425–426. The authenticity of the religious beliefs is brought into question due to the presence of Neoplatonic and astrological elements in certain theological writings. See Magdalino 2000: 141–166 for details. On the features and origins of the exegetical epitome, see Dorival 1986: 100–109.

[548] I express my gratitude to my colleague Andrew J. Patton, who is researching Leo's epitome and catenae on the Gospels, for this valuable suggestion.

[549] See above III.3.2.

studies as 'continuous gloss', a type of commentary where the commentary text seamlessly accompanies the main text without clear demarcation: this is opposed to the 'stratified gloss' layout, where text and commentary are distinctly separated into paragraphs that follow each other.[550] Nevertheless, the excerptor introduces each section with the conjunction ὅτι, a practice already observed in the discussion of the Epitome of Chrysostom (L4) in Paris gr. 216.[551]

This epitome likely existed in this format before being incorporated into the marginal scholia of Paris gr. 237, retaining its complete text. It also appears in an abridged form in Drama 3. However, neither of these manuscripts are direct successors of the four alternating-format manuscripts. When comparing the epitome in multilayered frame catena manuscripts and alternating layout manuscripts, specifically in the scholia on Acts 8:13–27 (as shown in Table 36), significant structural and arrangement differences become evident.

Compared to the alternating-layout manuscripts, Paris gr. 237 omits one scholium entirely (at Acts 8:39) and abbreviates another (at Acts 8:14). The alternating-layout manuscripts sporadically arrange scholia in an unordered manner (e.g., no. 1 at Acts 8:18). The correct order found in Paris gr. 237 and Drama 3 aligns with the direct tradition of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts*. Drama 3, however, features an additional comment (no. 6 at Acts 8:15), which deviates from the linear sequence and was added by the second scribe, as indicated by the underlined text in the table. In Paris gr. 237, the

[550] See Sautel 1999: 19. On the format variations of alternating layout catenae see Lorrain 2020.

[551] See above III.4.3.

misplaced comment is marked by inverted commas (”), suggesting an overlap with a previous scholium from the main scribe (L1) on the same page.

Drama 3 presents an abbreviated version of the epitome, and its order corresponds with that of Paris gr. 237. Additionally, it shares the absence of the scholium at Acts 8:39. Conversely, at Acts 8:13, the Drama codex includes the same extended scholium (no. 1) found in the alternating-layout manuscripts, which in Paris gr. 237 is instead abbreviated. This raises the possibility that Drama 3 and Paris gr. 237 either share a common source, or independently rearranged scholia in a relevant order to match the corresponding lemmata. Such a transition from alternating to frame catena layout manuscripts could have been relatively straightforward. Lastly, in the Moscow manuscript, one scholium (no. 7 at Acts 8:27, inc. κανδάκην αἰθίοπες πᾶσαν, des. ἦν παρ αυτοῖς) is expanded with material that appears to have been derived from the same source used by the compiler to create the epitome of ‘isolated’ scholia as the second compilation in this manuscript.[552] Regardless, these observations suggest that Drama 3 and Paris gr. 237 are more likely descendants of an ancestor shared with the four alternating-layout manuscripts, including Moscow F 270, n. 56, rather than being directly linked.

Table 36 also shows that despite being tentatively categorised as C150 by Parpulov, a substantial portion of the comments is absent in the Pseudo-Andreas catena.[553] Conversely, they align with the direct tradition of Chrysostom. Even when considering scholia shared with both C150 and Chrysostom’s direct tradition or only with the latter,

[552] See below III.8.2.

[553] See Parpulov 2021: 99–100.

the text often undergoes alterations and additions, which may have derived from other existing epitomes or introduced by the compiler himself. Returning to Table 36, it is evident that certain extracts are not present in Chrysostom's direct tradition (e.g., no. 2 at Acts 8:14). This absence may either indicate substantial modifications to the extent that the source material's origins are obscured, or, alternatively, these scholia might represent original contributions made by the compiler.

sch. no.	Drama 3, ff. 176r–v	b.l.	Paris gr. 237, ff. 22v–23v	b.l.	Moscow F. 270, ff. 216r-v (cf. Patmos 177, pp. 458-459, Ambrosiana A 52, ff. 61v-62r, Vat. gr. 1767, ff. 158r-v)	b.l.	Pseudo-Andreas Catena (full type)	b.l.	Chrysostom, *Homilies on Acts*, 18–19	b.l.
1	οὐ πίστεως ἕνεκ(εν) ἀλλ' (ὥσ)τε γενέσθ(αι) τοιοῦτο(ς) :–	8:13	οὐ πιστε(ως) ἕνεκεν ἀλλ ὥστε γενέσθαι τοιοῦτος· οἱ μεν οὖν διαμαρτυράμενοι ... ἵνα δίδω ἑτέροις ὡς κενόδοξος ::	8:13	πν(εῦμ)α λέγει καὶ τῆν τοιαύτην δωρεὰν τὴν ἐκ πν(εύματο)ς :·	**8:18**	*Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.* Οὐ πίστεως ἕνεκεν, ἀλλ' ὥστε γενέσθαι τοιοῦτος. (Cramer III, 136.7–8)	8:14	Οὐ πίστεως ἕνεκεν, ἀλλ' ὥστε γενέσθαι τοιοῦτος ... οὐκ ἔμελεν αὐτῷ τούτου, ἵνα διδῷ ἑτέροις αἰτεῖ. (PG 60, coll. 145.7–8; 146.9–10, 25–27)	8:13–14
2	—	—	πν(εῦμ)α λέγει καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην δωρεὰν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πν(εύματο)ς	8:14	διατί οὐκ εἶσαν οὗτοι λαμβάνοντες ... δύναμιν τοι αὖτην· ἤγουν· ἴᾶσθαι ἄλλους :·	—	—	—	—	—
3	**δέον τῶ σίμω(νι) αἰτῆσαι λαβ(εῖν) πν(εῦμ)α ἅγ(ιον)** ... οὐκ εἰς δέον αὐτ(ῶ)	8:19	ἐπειδὴ οὐκ εις δεον φησὶν αὐτὸ κέχρησ(αι)	8:20	**δέον τῶ σίμωνι αἰτῆσαι λαβεῖν πνα ἅγιον·** ... ἀλλ ἱνα δῶ ἑταίροις δια τοῦτω αἰτεῖ ως κενόδοξος :·	8:13	—	—	Δέον οὖν τοὐναντίον αἰτῆσαι, ἵνα λάβῃ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ... Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἰς δέον αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐχρήσατο (PG 60, col. 146.25–32)	8:14

4	φη(σίν) κέχρησαι :–				ἐπειδῆ οὐκ εἰς δέον αὐτὸ φη(σὶν) κέχρησθαι :·	8:20	*Τοῦ αὐτοῦ·* Ἐπειδὴ οὐκ εἰς δέον αὐτῷ κέχρησαι· οὐκ ἐστι … (Cramer III, 139.10–11)	8:20		8:20
5	τὸ εἰ ἄρα ἀφεθήσ(ε)σθαι σοι δηλοῖ ὅτι ἀδιόρθωτο(ς) ἦν :–	–	τοῦτο δηλοῦντος ἐστ(ιν) (οτι) ἀδιόρθωτο(ς) ἦν διὰ τοῦτο προκειτ(αι) τὸ εἰ αρα ::	8:22	τοῦτο δηλοῦντός ἐστιν ὅτι ἀδιόρθωτος ἦν· διὰ τοῦτο πρόσκειται τὸ εἰ ἄρα :·	8:22	—		Εἰ ἄρα ἀφεθήσεταί σοι, ὅτι ἤδει ἀδιόρθωτον ὄντα (PG 60, col. 146.41–42)	8:22
6	<u>ἐπεὶ καὶ οὗτος ὁ φίλιππο(ς) τῶν … δύναμιν τοιαύτ(ην) ἤγουν ἰάσθαι ἄλλους :–</u>	–	διατὶ οὐκ ησαν οὑτοι| λαβόντες πν(εῦμ)α ἅγιον … δυν(α)μιν τοιαύτην ἤγουν ϊασθαι ἄλλους ::	**8:15**	διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πλέον θαυμάσαι τὸν εὐνοῦχον τοῦτο γίνεται· … (καὶ) ἐλύπησεν ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἀνανεύσας. :· (**absent from Drama 3 and Paris gr. 237)**	**8:39**	*Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· … Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα*—Διατί οὐκ ἦσαν οὗτοι λαβόντες Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον; … καὶ ὅρα τοὺς κορυφαίους, οὔκ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀλλὰ Πέτρον. (Cramer III, 136.18–27)	8:17	Καὶ διὰ τί οὐκ ἦσαν οὗτοι λαβόντες Πνεῦμα ἅγιον … Δύναμιν μὲν γὰρ ἔλαβον ποιεῖν σημεῖα, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ Πνεῦμα διδόναι ἑτέροις. (PG 60, col. 144.19–33)	8:20

7	βασιλίσσ(ης) εἶπ(εν)· ὅτι ἐκεῖ γυναῖκες ... ὁ νόμο(ς) παρ' αὐτ(ῶν) ἦν :–	–	ἐκεὶ γὰρ γυναῖκες ἐκρατουν το παλαι καὶ οὗτος ο νομο(ς) παρ αυτοῖς ἦν ::	8:27	**κανδάκην αἰθίοπες πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ μ(ητέ)ρα καλοῦσιν· ... ἔστιν δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἐν αἰθιοπία,** (**only in Moscow F. 270**) γυναίκες ἐκράτουν τὸ παλαιὸν· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἦν παρ αυτοῖς :·	8:27	Κανδάκην Αἰθίοπες πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μητέρα καλοῦσιν· οὕτω Βίων ἐν πρώτῳ Αἰθιοπικῶν (Cramer III, 143.5–8. cf. Bion fr. 5 ed. Müller)	8:27	Καὶ γὰρ γυναῖκες ἐκράτουν τὸ παλαιὸν, καὶ οὗτος ἦν νόμος παρ' αὐτοῖς. (PG 60, col. 151.2-3)	8:27

Table 36. Comparison of Leo Choirosphaktes' epitome, C150 and Chrysostom in scholia on Acts 8:13–27

8.2 T2: Epitome of 'isolated' scholia

The second section related to Acts, found on ff. 219v–224v, is not detailed in Viktorov's catalogue. It bears the title ἑρμηνίαι αλλαι τῶν πράξεων ἐν συντώμῳ ("other interpretations of Acts in summary").[554] This compilation consists of a total of thirty-two segments where biblical lemmata are integrated into the explanations concerning Acts, mirroring the approach seen in Leo's epitome. However, the last four segments are misplaced, as they offer commentary on Rom. 9:3 (ff. 223r–v), 2 Cor. 12:7 (ff. 223v–224r), and 1 Cor. 9:20 (f. 224v) instead. Therefore, a total of twenty-eight sections comments on Acts.

Upon scrutinising the opening and closing passages of each section and comparing them with the manuscript tradition of Acts catenae, I discovered that this compilation is an epitome of the 'isolated' scholia that form L1 in Drama 3, Paris gr. 237, Escorial Ψ.III.18, and the affiliated manuscripts discussed earlier. Specifically, the compiler restructures, abbreviates, or expands these scattered scholia in an alternating-layout fashion. It is evident that a notable alignment exists with the 'isolated' scholia and C156 manuscripts previously discussed, with around one-quarter of the content being shared, as demonstrated in Table 37. Nonetheless, a stronger connection emerges with an additional manuscript from the same group, dating to the tenth century – Florence, BML, Plut.IV.29 (ff. 1r–80r).[555] This manuscript, like its counterparts, is categorised as C150 by Parpulov.[556] However, it is worth noting that a substantial number of scholia are

[554] The spelling faithfully reflects the orthographic norms observed in the manuscript.

[555] diktyon 15945 (GA 457).

[556] Parpulov 2021: 169.

absent when compared to the Pseudo-Andreas type – a topic I will consider further in Chapter V.[557]

epitome	'isolated' scholia						C156
Moscow no. 56 (T2)	Florence Plut.IV. 29	Drama 3 (L1)	Paris gr. 237 (L1)	Escorial, Ψ III 18 (L1)	Athos Koutloumousiou 82	Cambridge Add. 3046	Patmos 15
scholia in common	17/34	1/10	7/27	11/35	12/37	9/38	12/52

Table 37. Counting shared scholia in T2 of Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56

What distinguishes the Florence manuscript is not just the higher count of shared scholia (seventeen) in comparison to the other manuscripts, but also the presence of five scholia that are exclusively shared between this and Moscow F 270 no. 56. These scholia are located at Acts 5:37, 15:17, 17:29, 22:25, 28:15. The interconnectedness and similarity between these manuscripts are illustrated in Table 38, which provides a visual representation of how the reshaping of scholia in an epitome-like manner is implemented. At the outset, most of them are enriched with introductory conjunctions and phrases that are characteristic of epitomes (indicated in bold in the table), similar to what was observed in Leo's epitome. These elements include ὅτι ("because"), along with interrogative pronouns and expressions like διατί ("why") and τίς/τί ἐστιν ("who/what is"), which are frequently encountered within commentary and epitome genres. These linguistic devices enable the compiler to incorporate the cited biblical lemma (indicated in italics in the table) without the necessity of presenting the entire passage, as would

[557] See below V.3.

typically occur in alternating-layout commentaries. Much like Leo's epitome, a distinct demarcation between the biblical lemmata and the exegetical elucidation is not always evident; instead, these two facets merge to form a unified textual entity.

Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56 (T2)	**Florence, BML, Plut.IV.29**
Acts 5:37	
f. 14r οὗτος ϊ|ούδας| ὁ γαλι|λαῖος| κ(αὶ) οἱ με|τ' αὐτοῦ| ὧν τὸ αἷ|μα πιλά|τος ἀνέ|μιξε με|τὰ τῶν| θυσιῶν| αὐτοῦ·| ἐκώλυσε| γὰρ τὰς| ὑπὸ τῆς| γερου|σίας τοῦ λαοῦ παραδιδομένας γίνεσθαι περὶ τ(ῆς) σ(ωτη)ρίας| τ(οῦ) βασιλέ(ως) κ(αὶ) τοῦ ῥωμαίων ἔθνους :–	ff. 220r–v **τίς** *ἦν ἰούδας ὁ γαλιλαῖο|ς ὁ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς|* διδάσκων· ὃς *ἀπέστησεν λαὸν πολὺν| ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπώλετο·* οὗτος ἰοῦ|δας ὁ γαλιλαῖος καὶ οἱ μετ αὐτοῦ ὧν τὸ| αἷμα μετὰ τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτοῦ ἔμιξεν || ὁ πιλάτος· ἐκόλυσεν γὰρ τὰς ὑπὸ τῆς γερου|σίας τοῦ λαοῦ παραδιδομένας γίνεσ|θαι θυσίας· περὶ τῆς σ(ωτη)ρίας τοῦ βασιλέ|ως καὶ τοῦ ρωμαίων ἔθνους :·
Acts 15:17	
f. 42r ὁ σταυρω|θεὶς οὖν| ἦν. ὁ λέ|γων ταῦ|τα ἐν ἡ|σαΐαι·| αὐτοῦ| γὰρ τὸ| ὄνομα| ἐπικέ|κλητ(αι)| πάντα| τὰ ἔθνη·| χριστια|νοὶ γὰρ| προσα|γορεύοντ(αι) :	f. 221v **ὅτι** ὁ σταυρω|θεῖς οὖν ἦν ὁ λέγων ταῦτα ἐν ἡσαΐᾳ· αὐτοῦ| γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπικέκληται πάντα τὰ| ἔθνη· χριστιανοῖ γὰρ πρὸς ἀγορεύονται :·
Acts 17:29	
f. 49r ἐπειδὴ| ἐκ τοῦ| γένους| ἡμῶν| εὐδόκη|σεν ὁ θ(εὸ)ς| τεχθῆν(αι)| ἐπὶ τ(ῆς) γῆς·	f. 222v **ὅτι** *γένος ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ θ(εο)υ,| οὐκ ὀφείλωμεν νομίζειν χρυσῷ ἢ ἀργύ|ρω;* ἐπειδῆ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν εὐ|δόκησεν ὁ θ(εο)ς, τεχθύναι ἐπὶ γῆς·
Acts 22:25	
f. 63v δείκνυ|σιν ἐν|ταῦθ(α)| ὅτι περ| ἀξιω|ματι|κοῦ γέ|νους| ἐτύγ|χανεν·–	f. 223r **ὅτι** ἄν(θρωπ)ον ρω|μαῖον οὐκ ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν μαστίζειν· ἀξιω|ματικοῦ γὰρ γένους ἐτύγχανεν ὁ παῦλος·
Acts 28:15	
f. 78v τριῶν κα|πηλίων	f. 223r τριῶν ταβερνῶν· γ̄ καπιλίων

Table 38. Reworking scholia shared only with Florence, BML, Plut.IV.29

9. Concluding remarks

The comprehensive analysis provided in this chapter highlights the complex nature of multilayered and multiple-text catena manuscripts, underscoring the need for meticulous examination. Among catenae on the Acts of the Apostles, seven codices have catenae with marginal or alternating layouts resulting from the interaction of multiple sets of scholia. These scholia were either transcribed by different scribes or by the same scribe at different points in time. Despite acknowledging their layered structure, prior research has grouped these catenae under a single category based on traditional classification criteria, such as comparing exemplars at the beginning and end of the catena or in selected test passages.

The present, more thorough, investigation involving the incipits and explicits of each scholium, along with systematic comparisons of manuscripts and palaeography, not only confirms the existence of diverse layers on the same pages but also facilitates the identification of their connections with individual compilations in other manuscripts. Some of these texts consist of isolated scholia, while others are epitomes of patristic works rather than catenae in the strict sense. The following categories emerge from this examination:

1. Collections of Scholia
   - Isolated Scholia
   - C156 (Abbreviated Catena)
2. Abbreviated Recensions of Pseudo-Andreas Catena
   - C150.2c
   - C150.2d

- C150.2f

- C155.4 (now C150.2g)

3. Epitomes of Chrysostom's Homilies on Acts

- Epitome by Leo Magister

- Other Epitomes

4. Catena-Commentaries, primarily based on Chrysostom

- Pseudo-Oecumenius' Minor Recension (C151.3)

- Pseudo-Theophylact's *Expositio* (C152.1)

- Anonymous Catena-Commentary possibly associated with Nicetas of Naupactus (C155.5)

These works span various genres of compilations, each with its own subvariants. It is important to note that not all these works strictly adhere to the catena format. Among these seven manuscripts, connections exist not only to the tradition of other catena types but also among the manuscripts themselves. Specifically:

- Four frame-layout multilayered catenae (Drama 3, Paris gr. 237, gr. 216, Escorial Ψ.III.18) share isolated scholia, pre-*bouletée* scripts, a symbolic cross-reference system, and a common transcription date (ninth-tenth century for Drama 3, Paris gr. 237, gr. 216, tenth-eleventh cenrury for Escorial Ψ.III.18). Variations in biblical text and possibly a Constantinopolitan origin also contribute to their relationship. This collection is mirrored in an alternating layout epitome version within the Moscow manuscript F 270, no. 56.

- Leo Choirosphaktes' epitome connects three manuscripts: the frame-layout multilayered Drama 3 and Paris gr. 237 (with differing variations), and the alternating multiple-text manuscript Moscow F 270, no. 56.

- Three manuscripts (Paris gr. 237, gr. 216, partly Escorial Ψ.III.18) are connected by C156, a new category encompassing abbreviated catenae that share scattered scholia, albeit with varying content that partly overlaps with the 'isolated' scholia group.

- These same three manuscripts contain distinct versions of Chrysostom's homilies on Acts, illustrating different compilation practices.

- Five manuscripts (Drama 3, Paris gr. 237, gr. 216, Vatican Reg. gr. 6, Vatican Vat. gr. 760) encompass diverse abridgments from the Pseudo-Andreas catena (C150). They stem from distinct editorial stages, with the Vatican codices seemingly tied to the oldest exemplar of this type.

- Finally, three manuscripts feature different catena-commentary types: Pseudo-Oecumenius *recensio minor* (C151.3) in Paris gr. 216, an anonymous catena-commentary (C155.4) in Vatican Reg. gr. 6, and Pseudo-Theophylact's commentary on Acts (C152.1) in Vatican Vat. gr. 760. Despite the differences, they all share a compilation approach involving seamless excerpting and integration of various sources into a unified scriptural body.

However, the process of how these catena-types developed awaits further investigation. The origins of the isolated scholia, the reasons for their widespread presence, the relationship with C156 and the selective inclusion of some in C150 all demand exploration. Additionally, the occurrence of certain extracts from the Pseudo-

Theophylact commentary in Vatican Vat. gr. 760 appearing in C150 is puzzling. These inquiries, among others, will find their answers in Chapter V. Before this, Chapter IV will tackle yet another pressing question: how can we ascertain the chronological order of added layers in the multilayered manuscripts and determine whether they are linked to one or more phase of production?

Chapter IV

Identifying Editorial Phases: Chronology, Layout, and Readability of Scholia in Multilayered Acts Catenae

1. Introduction

In the following sections, I will explore multilayered catenae on Acts as "production units", endeavouring to establish the chronological sequence in which the identified layers of scholia were transcribed, particularly focusing on instances where the distinction between different strata is not immediately clear or the relationship of the scribal hands might be in question.

To begin with, we can readily discern separate production units within manuscripts, following the definition by Andrist-Canart-Maniaci of a production unit as a series of actions stemming from a singular act of creation.[558] For example, manuscripts such as Vat. gr. 760 and Moscow F 270, no. 56 contain two distinct texts, each created in a continuous effort by the same scribe. This suggests that although the texts themselves may have had different origins and purposes, they were brought together within these manuscripts as part of a single production unit during their composition.

[558] Andrist–Canart–Maniaci 2013: 59.

In the case of Vatican Reg. gr. 6, it becomes evident that the two fragmentary texts are associated with separate production units, a conclusion drawn from the notable chronological gap between the activities of the two scribes.[559] This conclusion is further supported by the activity of the second scribe, who attempted to address the incompleteness of the first pre-existing commentary on Acts by introducing an entirely distinct form of catena. The latter is the most prevalent catena form, namely the Pseudo-Andreas catena, which by that time had already spawned various abbreviated versions. This use of the Pseudo-Andreas catena by the second scribe adds weight to the argument against the existence of a genuine commentary on Acts by either Nicetas of Heraclea or Theophylact of Ochrid.[560] This is because the Pseudo-Andreas catena was widely circulated, suggesting that there was no genuine commentary by these erudite figures, whose works are usually well-preserved.[561] Despite the later scribe's endeavour to extend the content of the initial text, the distinct differences in catena-type and style firmly establish that the two texts belong to separate production and content units.

The situation becomes more complex when examining Drama 3, Paris gr. 237 and gr. 216. In the first two manuscripts, a clear distinction can be observed, as recognised by palaeographers, between the initial hand responsible for the biblical text and a primary layer of sparse scholia (L1 in both cases), and subsequent hands responsible for

[559] See above III.6

[560] See above II.3, and III.6.

[561] The Catena Catalogue (cf. Parpulov 2021: 211–212) lists 155 manuscripts of Theophylact's commentaries on the Gospels (e.Θϕ) and 44 copies on the Pauline Epistles (p. Θϕ). For the catenae by Nicetas of Heraclea, the database records 12 manuscripts with catena on Matthew (C113), 22 with catena on Luke (C135), 8 with catena on John (C144) (last checked September 2023).

additional layers of scholia. While the second and third layers in the case of Drama 3 appear to be from the twelfth century, in the case of Paris gr. 237, the additions seem more recent, possibly even contemporaneous with the tenth-century main scribe, as suggested by Aletta.[562] However, what is noteworthy in both instances is the discovery, as illustrated in in Chapter III, that there are at least two more hands at play in each manuscript that had been previously overlooked. These later hands seem to be responsible for the latest phases of transcription, L4 in Drama 3 and L5 in Paris gr. 237, respectively. Moreover, in the case of the Paris codex, I have demonstrated that the first additional hand transcribes three distinct sets of scholia corresponding to three separate compilations.

Finally, while in Drama 3 and Paris gr. 237 it was evident that L1 was associated with an earlier production unit, in contrast, Linardou thought that all three layers in Paris gr. 216 were part of the same production stage, involving the collaboration of three scribes.[563] However, questions arise regarding the timing of this activity. Were they all actually executed in the same phase? How can the chronological order of these layers be established? In this chapter, my aim is to address these inquiries and provide answers to them. The evidence I have compiled reinforces the idea that there are separate production units within the newly identified layers of Drama 3 and Paris gr. 237, as well

[562] Aletta 2004: 89.

[563] Linardou 2017: 237: "The extraordinary number, variety and execution of the decorated scholia was an integral part of the project from its inception; the programme was therefore carefully designed and executed by the scribes in close collaboration."

as within the layers of Paris gr. 216. I have utilised several primary criteria to collect this evidence, including:

1. Analysing the textual arrangement of scholia on the page, or *mise en text*,[564] in relation to previous paratextual elements in the page and preceding layers of scholia. This involves examining the order and potential disorder that arises from the overlap of various layers.

2. Assessing adherence to readability standards and patterns in the layout. The underlying premise is as follows: transcribing a catena or commentary in a frame layout poses challenges for scribes in managing the available margin space. Codicological studies on the *mise en page* (or 'formatting') of commentary manuscripts conducted over recent decades, especially by Marilena Maniaci and Jacques-Hubert Sautel, have demonstrated that synchronising text and commentary demands meticulous planning of both layout and page ruling, as the capacity of a frame layout is indeed directly proportional to the capacity of the margins.[565] Maniaci, in particular, has emphasised two fundamental rules guiding scribes when transcribing commentary manuscripts. [566] These principles involve connecting each scholium to its corresponding passage while

[564] In this context, '*mise en text*' is employed as per the definition suggested by Andrist–Canart–Maniaci 2013: 58, referring to the techniques employed by the scribe to organise content across the pages to make it easily accessible to readers.

[565] The numerous contributions by Maniaci are methodologically significant, as they address issues arising from the frame layout of glossed manuscripts through a range of measurements involving text and commentary. Notably, her works include Maniaci 2002, and for insights into the layout of commented manuscripts of the *Iliad*, see Maniaci 2000, 2006a, and 2006b. For a focus on the codicological aspects of frame catena manuscripts of the New Testament, see Sautel 1999 and 2001.

[566] Maniaci 2006a: *252–253.*

maintaining text and commentary on the same page or facing pages. This is done to guarantee readability and prevent the commentary from extending onto the next page. However, a quantitative and comparative analysis conducted on glossed manuscripts of the *Iliad* has revealed that despite careful planning of *mise en page* and ruling, scribes can encounter challenges in coordinating text and commentary, especially when the latter is densely packed.[567] It becomes difficult to predict the extent and frequency of commentary that needs to be transcribed. As a result, scribes employ various strategies to ensure that text and scholia can coexist on the same page. These strategies range from abbreviating text or commentary through cuts and omissions to reintroducing previously omitted scholia in the remaining space on the page, or occasionally continuing the transcription on the facing page.

In contrast to the *Iliad* manuscripts, where text and commentary were concurrently planned by a single scribe with both layout and ruling calculated for both sections in advance, the challenges faced by the scribes of Drama 3, Paris gr. 237 and gr. 216 arise from the evolving stratification of paratextual material. This expansion was not part of the original layout and ruling planning, further complicating page management. As pointed out by Maniaci, the complexity of manuscripts was often exacerbated by the layering over time of annotations originating from various scribes, eras, contexts, and intentions, all of which had to be accommodated within the remaining space on the page.[568] Given this situation, conducting a comprehensive quantitative analysis following

[567] See especially Maniaci 2006b: 253–286.

[568] Maniaci 2006a: 242.

the codicological framework presented by Maniaci, particularly concerning measurements, would be challenging in this context.[569] However, several criteria, such as the method of differentiation and coordination between text and comments, as well as the size and treatment of the script in relation to the available space, can still be employed to examine layered texts.

Indeed, despite this background, later scribes appear undeterred by the addition of a substantial amount of exegesis. This phenomenon provides the explanation for many instances of disordered scholia. The interaction between overlapping layers frequently leads to the repositioning of comments either on the same page or a different one. This disrupts the anticipated sequential arrangement between the scholia and their corresponding scriptural lemmata. Conversely, the expected order is generally maintained in cases where no pre-existing scholia are present. Therefore, through an examination of the placement of scholia on the page, it becomes possible to establish the chronological order of layers, reinforce the textual findings discussed in Chapter III regarding the assignment of scholia to specific layers, and even make attempts to assign uncertain scholia to particular layers when their affiliation is unclear. Furthermore, this analysis can provide insights into the editorial intentions behind these inclusions, shedding light on whether the various contributing scribes aimed to create a Bible for broader reader consultation, a more specialised study-bible for personal use, or simply a repository of exegesis.

[569] See Maniaci 2002: 31–32.

The forthcoming sections will conduct a comprehensive exploration of scholia layout and instances of disorder in Drama 3, Paris gr. 237, and Paris gr. 216.

2. Disorderly scholia and layout strategies in Paris gr. 237

The case of Paris gr. 237 stands out as particularly puzzling due to its unprecedented level of layer overlap in comparison to other manuscripts featuring Acts catenae. It not only exhibits instances of disorder between different layers but also within scholia belonging to the same layer. Consequently, this manuscript will be the focus of an extensive discussion. This examination will occasionally be conducted in conjunction with reference tables (here Tables 41–43), wherein each scholium is assigned a unique number based on its positioning on the page. These numbers commence anew in each table. Additionally, every scholium is categorised into a specific layer denoted by ascending Arabic numerals, representing its chronological order. Another column in the table designates the catena type of each layer and scholium, utilising an em-dash when external evidence is unidentified. When a page lacks exegesis, the same em-dash is employed. The last column indicates the location of disorder, represented by a small symbol corresponding to the mispositioned scholium. A single symbol (x) indicates disorder within the sequence on the page, while two symbols (xx) indicate that the scholium is out of sequence within its layer.

2.1 Disorder between layers: dislocated scholia as indicators of stratification chronology

To begin with, sequences of scholia become disorderly when scribes introduce these across pages that are already occupied not only by scholia from previous layers, but also by chapter numbers, headings, and mark-ups of Old Testament quotations. The precedence of these elements over L2 is proven by the instance on f. 11r, where a scholium on Acts 1:23 (inc. [οῖς] ἀποστόλ[οις] παλαι, des. ἦν ἡ ὀνομ[α]σία) encircles the Old Testament reference to Psalms 68 and 108. There are also instances where scholia from this layer are positioned at a certain distance from such material, in an effort to avoid it at the cost of aligning with the biblical lemmata: for example, on ff. 11r and 16r, the transcription of scholia starts from the top-right margin, because chapter headings are written in the upper margin.

However, disorder of scholia can offer insights into the chronology of these additions, revealing both the stages at which they were transcribed and their sequence. Disorder primarily arises from the interaction of layers, and it becomes apparent that this disruption is absent when there is no overlap on the same page, as exemplified in Table 39, where the disorder caused by the intersection of scholia sets is marked by “x”, and the respective layer affiliation is indicated by “yes”.

In L2, scholia maintain their sequence without disorder, except in instances where they intersect with scholia from L1, leading to transcription above or below pre-existing scholia. In cases where earlier scholia are absent, there is room for new material, often aligned with the corresponding biblical text, though precise alignment is not always

achieved, especially when copying more numerous entries. Instances of non-correspondence between scholia sequence and scriptural text are rare, usually arising from oversight. These discrepancies are corrected by indicating sequence disruptions with inverted commas (“ “) above the scholia and preceding the corresponding biblical lines.[570] L3, represented by the C156-set, shows minimal disorder unless influenced by L2 scholia. L3 and previous layers contribute to most instances of disorder in the subsequent, more numerous set of scholia from C150. With limited L3-scholia, L2 primarily causes sequence disruptions in L4. This effect is observed when L2 is the sole pre-existing layer on a page, when L2 coexists with L1, or when L2 appears alongside L3. L1 and L3 alone affect a smaller number of L4-scholia. Disorder in L5 is caused by L4 or L1, with L2 and L3 no longer playing a role. The increase in ‘isolated’ L1 scholia in the latter part of the book leads to more instances of L5 encountering earlier comments, prompting reorganisation of the new additions.

Text	L1	L2	L3	L4	L5
‘isolated’ scholia	yes	—	—	—	—
Epitome by Leo Magister	x	yes	—	—	—
C156	x	x	yes	—	—
C150.2d	x	x	x	yes	—
Epitome of Chrysostom’s Homilies	x	—	—	x	yes

Table 39. Determination of layers from overlapping sets of scholia in Paris, BnF, gr. 237

[570] See above III.8.1.

2.2 Disorder within layers: scribes' organisation amid stratification

As discussed in the Introduction of this chapter, balancing commentary with the main text in frame layout commentary manuscript is a codicological challenge, guided by two fundamental rules for scribes: ensuring that each scholium corresponds to its relevant passage while maintaining readability and preventing overflow onto the following page. Yet, dense commentary in glossed *Iliad* manuscripts shows that planning does not always eliminate coordination issues, prompting strategies like abbreviation and reintroduction of omitted commentary. In contrast to meticulously planned *Iliad* manuscripts, the scribes of Paris gr. 237 encountered unique challenges due to the expansion of layers, complicating page organisation. Originally not designed for an extensive catena, for which the manuscript's margins would have been too narrow, the initial aim was to incorporate a limited selection of self-contained scholia, a task successfully achieved by the L1 scribe.[571]

The subsequent scribe was undeterred by this limitation and added a significant amount of exegesis. This presented no issues during the early stages of transcription due to the intermittent positioning of L1-scholia, which left ample space across the manuscript free of commentary. Moreover, the initial incorporations of Leo Magister's epitome and the C156-extracts introduced a relatively modest quantity of scholia—less than a hundred in total. These are frequently concise and sporadic, resembling the nature of the L1-scholia. As a result, the instances of overlap between L2 and L3 within

[571] Staab 1924: 180. This concept aligns with Maniaci's definition of 'discontinuous commentary' ('commento irregolare'), which stands in contrast to the concept of a 'running commentary' ('commento sistematico'): see Maniaci 2002: 15.

the same page were restricted, contributing to a decreased likelihood of a disorderly arrangement. This, in turn, helped maintain alignment or proximity of the scholia to their corresponding lemmata in the central text.[572]

The complexity escalated when this scribe introduced an additional layer derived from the Pseudo-Andreas catena, a compilation encompassing over one thousand five hundred scholia in its complete form. While it is plausible that L4 transcribed from an abbreviated exemplar and further shortened the scholia to fit the layered page, these fragments alone make up a significant proportion—53.28 per cent—almost twice the combined content of L1, L2, and L3. Consequently, the scribe confronted the challenge of integrating these scholia into pages that were already partly or fully filled with material from the preceding layers. Moreover, the presence of paratexts like running titles, chapter numbers, and Old Testament quotation markers added to the reduction of available page space.

The scribe, aiming to enrich the catena with extensive exegesis within the limitations of the page margins, grappled with the space available. When permitted, they attempted to arrange the scholia in line with the scriptural text's sequence. However, when faced with a substantial number of lengthy scholia and constrained page space, maintaining strict order became challenging, often leading to disorderly placement of scholia within the same layer. This complexity was particularly evident in the first ten chapters of Acts, where the volume of scholia was higher (see Table 40). Notably, chapter

[572] There are about twenty cases of nearly perfect alignment: for example, on ff. 12r, 13r, 16v, 17r, 18r–v, 19r, 21r, etc.

2 contains a peak of forty-five scholia, with L4 contributing twenty-seven—more than twice the number found in L2 (twelve). This trend might reflect a common practice in glossed manuscripts, where commentators focused intensively on the initial sections of a work.[573] Specifically, the average scholia count per Acts chapter is notably higher in the first ten chapters, averaging 23.4.[574] In contrast, the subsequent eighteen chapters average 10.41 scholia per chapter, with only Acts 13 slightly surpassing twenty scholia, and Acts 25 containing none.

Acts chapter	total scholia	L1	L2	L3	L4	L5	uncertain layer
1	28	1	12	1	14	—	—
2	45	—	12	3	27	—	3
3	17	—	6	3	7	—	1
4	22	—	8	4	9	—	1
5	15	—	4	—	11	—	—
6	8	—	3	—	5	—	—
7	26	—	3	—	22	—	1
8	19	3	7	1	9	—	—
9	29	1	17	—	10	—	—
10	25	2	4	—	20	—	—
11	11	—	—	—	11	—	—
12	13	1	2	—	9	—	1
13	21	1	1	—	19	—	—
14	10	—	—	—	10	—	—
15	13	—	—	—	13	—	—
16	19	3	—	—	15	—	—
17	17	2	—	—	6	9	—
18	4	—	—	—	—	4	—
19	19	8	—	—	1	10	—
20	11	2	—	—	—	9	—
21	14	1	—	—	—	13	—
22	4	1	—	—	1	2	—
23	4	—	—	—	—	4	—

[573] Maniaci 2006a: 234–238, observes this phenomenon in in the glossed manuscripts of the *Iliad*.

[574] Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that Acts 6, containing the fewest scholia (eight), is also the shortest chapter within the book, comprising only fifteen verses.

24	4	—	—	—	—	4	—
25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
26	4	—	—	—	—	4	—
27	4	—	—	—	—	4	—
28	5	1	—	—	—	4	—

Table 40. Scholia count per modern chapter divisions of Acts

The disordered placement of scholia was not considered problematic because of the benefits of a frame layout, which allowed flexibility in consultation.[575] In fact, the choice of later scribes to preserve the original system of symbols introduced by the first scribe, while maintaining consistency in presenting the catena, offered practical advantages. It facilitated the gradual incorporation of scholia without disturbing the numbered order or impeding consultation.[576] Nevertheless, this approach also led to disorder within the various layers of scholia, as evident in the case of Paris gr. 237.

Despite this, the scribe of L2–4 made efforts to maintain a level of legibility. He aimed to keep scholia within the same page or opening as the corresponding biblical verses, minimising page turns unless absolutely necessary. This commitment to legibility led to the adoption of various arrangements, often improvised during the transcription process, a practice similar to what is observed in commented manuscripts of the *Iliad*.[577]

[575] See Aussedat 2008: 554. The 'free' rhythm of reading is especially highlighted in the concluding remarks by Vianès 2000: 87. She cites excerpts from preface material known as *Explanatio de catenarum redactione* that precedes the catena on the Prophets (Keppler–Faulhaber–Rohr 1899: 192–196). This material is also present in several New Testament catena manuscripts, including the oldest surviving exemplar, the eight century Codex Zacynthius: see Houghton 2020: 67–68.

[576] A similar level of flexibility is provided by a 'lemmatic' or 'verbal' cross-referencing system between text and comments, as discussed in Vianès 2000: 85.

[577] Maniaci 2000, 2006a, and 2006b.

These solutions were adapted to address specific challenges in the page, often requiring the repositioning of scholia. While influenced by the work of previous layers, these arrangements could also result from factors such as miscalculations of available space, practical considerations, or occasional oversight.

a. Reverse sequence and relocation on the opposite page

Examining f. 10v (Table 41; Image 27), a pattern emerges: three scholia (nos. 1–3) in the left margin align with the middle of the page (Acts 1:12–13), while three lengthier ones (nos. 7-9) in the bottom margin correspond to the upper part (Acts 1:9–11). This reversal stems from a thoughtful consideration of scholia length versus available space within the page. Scholia from L1 (no. 4) and L2 (no. 6) fill the lower half of the outer margin, with the upper margin occupied mostly by a chapter number and heading. Consequently, the scribe begins with longer scholia in the lower margin before accommodating shorter ones in the upper half of the outer margin. However, this does not accommodate the final scholium (no. 5), which is neatly placed in the small angle formed by the 'tail' of L1- and L2-scholia. Interestingly, such reversals based on scholia length and margin space are seen in other commentary manuscripts, even medieval legal codices as exemplified in the preface to the *editio princeps* of the *Digestum novum* (1476 AD).[578]

[578] *Digestum novum* (text in Maniaci 2002: 20, n. 2): *quippe incuria scribencium nonnumquam aut etiam cartarum angustia sepenumero glosarum series inversa est. Cum enim glosa ipsa, ut videmus, prolixior esset, scriptores eam in ampliorem quendam magisque spaciosum reposuere locum. At contrario, si quando minor foret atque brevior, in artiorem libri marginem depinxerunt* [...] ("Since sometimes owing to the scribal negligence or also frequently to the narrow space of the leaves, the series of glosses was reversed. When in fact the same gloss, as we can see, was more extensive, the writers would restore it in a

Although this method is helpful, it does not always resolve the challenge of maintaining text-comment alignment. Following the inversion on f. 10v, the scribe of Paris gr. 237 could not accommodate lower half scholia due to page saturation. Consequently, they continued the series onto the recto (f. 11r), using the free lower half and full lower margin. The upper margin contains another chapter number and heading, while the upper half of the outer margin features five L2-scholia on Acts 1:17–26 (nos. 10-14). Despite the space constraints, the scribe skillfully incorporated seven scholia (nos. 15-21) that provide a sequential commentary on biblical passages spanning the last ten lines of the verso (Acts 1:14–16) and the initial two lines of the recto (Acts 1:16–17). This approach compromises the aesthetic balance between text and commentary, yet it allows both to remain visually accessible to the reader.

Placing comments on the opposite page to the text was not considered a significant violation of the readability rule in annotated manuscripts. This was because readers could still easily move their gaze between the text and commentary on the same opening, whereas flipping to the next page would take the reference text out of sight.[579] This likely explains the omission of L4-scholia for Acts 1:18–26 on the following page (fol. 11v), which appears intentional or even enforced.[580] In fact, the full type of the Pseudo-

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wider and more spacious margin; conversely, when this was smaller and briefer, they would transcribe it in a narrower margin of the book").

[579] Maniaci 2006b: 240. The dislocation of scholia between the verso and recto of the same opening is a prevalent feature in Western manuscripts of legal texts, as explored by Devoti 1999: 175–176.

[580] The omission and partial reintroduction of scholia is among the solutions adopted by the scribe of Florence, BML, Laur. Plut. XXXII.3 (eleventh-twelfth century): see Maniaci 2006a: 265, and ead. 2006b: 233–237.

Andreas catena (C150.1) includes thirteen scholia on this section. Including these comments would have required moving them from the front to the back of the next page, which would have disrupted the fundamental principle of readability. On the other hand, having text and scholia on opposite pages can slow down the reader's engagement with both. Addressing this concern, the scribe on f. 11r abbreviates the lemma before scholia nos. 14 (ουτοι παντ[ες]), 20 (ανδρες), and 21 (και ελαχεν) and duplicates a four-dot symbol (commonly used to mark scholium endings) both before the comment and in the margin of the corresponding scriptural line. These supplementary cues aid readers in navigation and identifying the relevant scriptural text.

f. 10v					
no.	inc. ... des.	b.l.	L	text	disorder
1	τότε φη(σὶν) ὑπέστρεψαν ... διάστημα ἐδείλωσεν εἰπών ·:·	1:12	4	C150.2d	xx
2	ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ σαββάτου ... περιπατεῖν ἐν σαββάτω ·:·	1:12	4	C150.2d	xx
3	ἄρα λοιπον ἐν ... μετα τὴν ἀνάστασιν ·:·	1:13	4	C150.2d	xx
4	Ἡ τοῦ σαββάτου ... βαδίζειν ἐν σαββατω =	1:12	1	isolated scholia	—
5	οὐκ εστιν τι ... πετρου οι δύο ·:·	1:13	4	C150.2d	x
6	καλως εἰς το ὑπερῶ(ον) ... τ(ου) ἑτοίμου συλληφθηναι ·:·	1:13	2	Epitome of Leo Magister	—
7	διατι νεφελη ὑπελαβεν ... τὴν ἐπίβασιν αὐτοῦ :	1:9	4	C150.2d	xx
8	οὐκέτι εἴασαν αὐτους ... τὸ δε ελαττον οὐκέτι :	1:11	4	C150.2d	xx
9	καὶ ὡς ἐξ ου(ρα)νου ... νῦν ἂν εἶπον ·:·	1:11	4	C150.2d	xx

f. 11r					
no.	inc. ... des.	b.l.	L	text	disorder
10	φησὶν σὺν ἡμῖν ... τ(ον) ἐκείνου τὸπον :	1:17	2	Epitome of Leo Magister	—
11	διατι μὴ πλεί(ους)... περιστὴ τὸ ἀνάξιον ·:·	1:23	2	Epitome of Leo Magister	—
12	τ(οῖς) ἀποστόλ(οις) παλαι ... ἦν ἡ ὀνομ(α)σία :	1:23	2	Epitome of Leo Magister	—
13	διατι οὐκ εἰπεν ... θ(εο)ῦ παντα προὼριστ(αι) ·:·	1:24	2	Epitome of Leo Magister	—
14	οὔπω γ(αρ) ἑαυτοὺς ... τινο(ς) σημειου μαθείν +	1:26	2	Epitome of Leo Magister	—
15	μεγα γὰρ τοῦτο· ... εδεδοίκ[εισαν] τοὺς ἰουδαίους	1:14	4	C150.2d	x
16	εἶπε γαρ ὅτι ηκολούθησεν αὐτὸ :	1:14	4	C150.2d	x
17	πῶς οὖν λέγει ... συναγαγὼν οὕτως κατῆλθεν :	1:14	4	C150.2d	x
18	(καὶ) οὗτοι ἀπιστοῦντες· πρότερον ἦσαν ·:·	1:14	4	C150.2d	x
19	ὡς θερμὸς (καὶ) ... ἀεὶ ἄρχεται τοῦ λόγου ·:·	1:15	4	C150.2d	x
20	εἰ γὰρ ὁ ... τοιοῦτον αἱ θλίψεις :	1:16	4	C150.2d	x
21	κλῆρον δε πανταχοῦ ... τιμωρίας γεγονεν κήρυξ ·:·	1:17	4	C150.2d	x

Table 41. Paris, BnF, gr. 237. Reverse sequence and Relocation on the opposite page

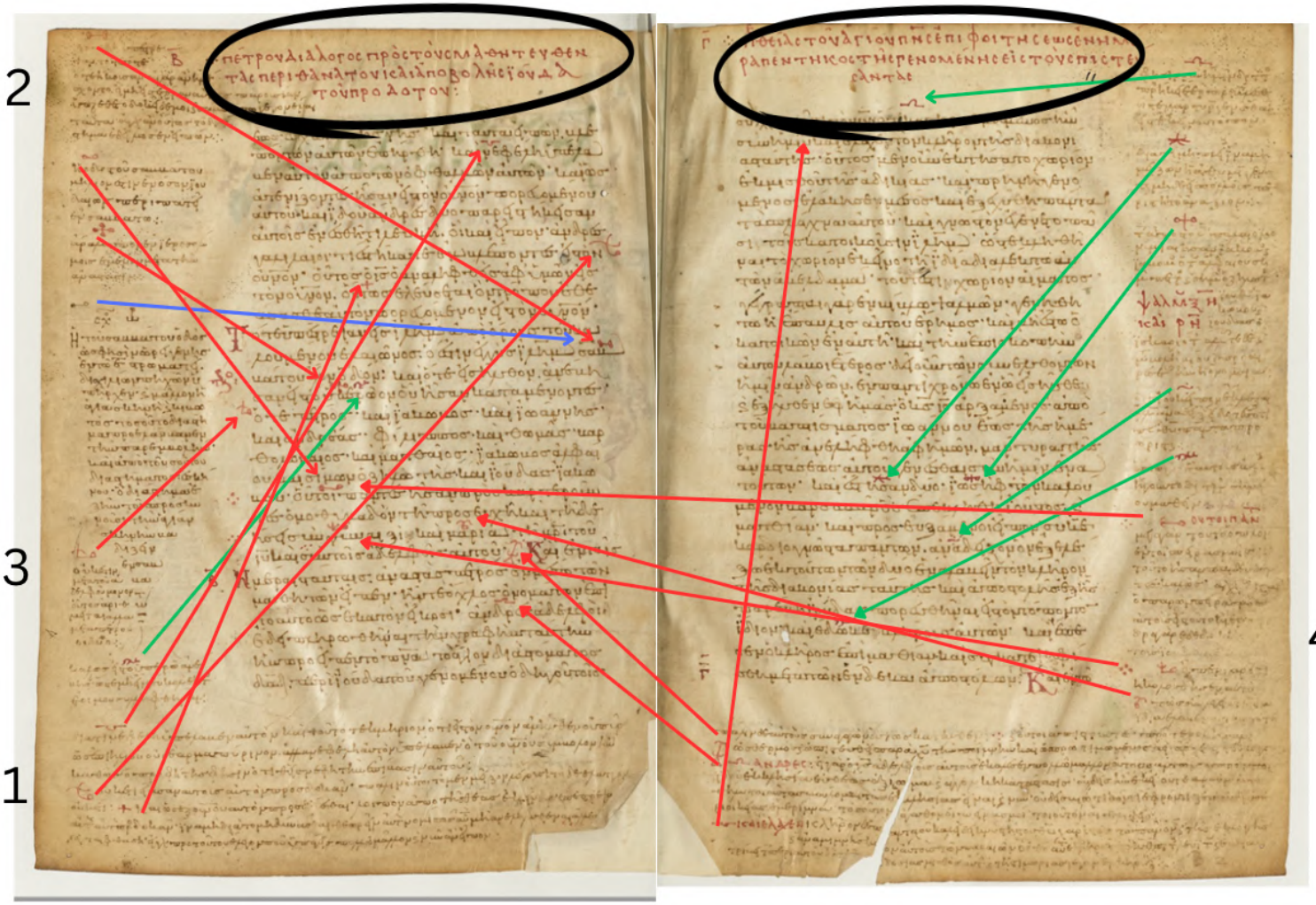


Image 27. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, ff. 10v–11r. Reverse sequence and Relocation on the opposite page

Relocating scholia to the facing recto side of the opening recurs throughout the manuscript (e.g., on ff. 12r, 13r, 29r). In one instance, space shortage on the recto leads the scribe to 'anticipate' a scholium in the margin of the facing verso (on f. 15v, inc. ὥσπερ τότε φησὶν, des. λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον σου, referencing Acts 4:24 on f. 16r). Another case involves simultaneous sequence inversion and relocation, such as a scholium on Acts 10:48 (inc. ὁ βαπτιζόμενος εἰς, des. υμῶν ὑπόστασιν μίαν), which is written in the lower margin of f. 29r, even though the passage is on f. 28v, because on the top right outer margin of the recto the scribe preferred to write two longer scholia on Acts 11:7–8 (inc. ὡσανη ελεγεν ἠκανὸν, des. [καὶ] φωνὴ προσετεθη. inc. ὁρᾶς ὁτι τὸ, des. γὰρ ην ἀνάγκη). Inversion and relocation are here motivated by a balance between scholia length and margin capacity.

Additionally, on f. 11v, it can be noticed that some scholia in L4 were reversed to ensure a continuous flow between two scholia that explain the same scriptural lemma. Specifically, a scholium discussing Acts 2:3 (inc. δια γλωσσων διεμέρισεν, des. διάνοιαν προς γνωσ[ιν]) was prioritised over one addressing Acts 2:1 (inc. τουτέστιν πρὸ τῆς, des. τα[.]τα ἵ[..]σ[.]ν.), in order to maintain a coherent connection with an existing scholium from L2 located above and referring to the same scriptural passage.

Occasionally, a reverse sequence might result from overestimating the remaining space in the margin. An example is seen on f. 31v, with an inversion of scholia connected to Acts 13:2 (inc. ὡσπερ ὁ π[ατ]ηρ, des. τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος) and 13:1 (inc. ἴδοὺ ὁ τρόπως, des. [καὶ] προφητειας ἠξιώθη), respectively. Although it is possible that the inversion was

present in the antigraph, the disorder could originate from the scribe's oversight.[581] Indeed, signs of inattention become apparent in the partial replication of a scholium from L2 on Acts 13:2, found in the outer margin (inc. τὸ μεν λειτουργοῦντων, des. τὸ δὲ αυτὸν ἀπόστολοι). This replicated content then reappears in the lower margin as a scholium referring to the same passage (inc. τί ἐστιν ἀφωρίσατε, des. ὑπὸ τοῦ πν[ευματο]ς). Both of these scholia are slightly modified versions of the same extract from Chrysostom's Homily on Acts 27 (cf. PG 60, col. 205.43–52). This pattern implies that the scribe of L4 did not adequately pay attention to the content of the pre-existing exegetical material.[582]

b. Reinitiating a sequence within the same page

Another form of internal disorder within L4 often occurs in conjunction with the reversal and relocation of scholia. This disorderly pattern emerges when, upon exhausting the space in the lower margin, surplus scholia are crowded into any available space within the page, usually starting from the highest point. This leads to a cyclical writing direction.

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[581] Instances of reversed scholia that result from the process of copying can be found in the manuscripts of C150, as discussed earlier in section III.6.2.

[582] Layer overlap in the content of scholia can be observed in other instances as well. For instance, on f. 13v, there exists layer overlap between L2 (inc. πε[ρι] νηστει[ας] ἐνταυθα, des. εν ψυχῆς ἁπλότητι) and L4 (inc. ορας ότι οὐχ, des. μι αφελίας οὔσης). Similarly, on f. 20r, there is overlap between L4 (inc. οὐδαμοῦ ναὸς οὐδαμοῦ, des. ἐν οίκω βαρβαρικῶ) and L2 (inc. τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι, des. ναὸς οὐδαμοῦ θυσία) on f. 21r. Another example occurs on f. 26r with a dual case of repetition between L2 (inc. δι[α]τ[ι] β[ο]υλομενος ἐγειραι, des. ἰδεῖν τὸσουτον θαυμα) and L4 (inc. τί δήποτε παντας, des. δακρυσι μηδε ταραχθήναι·), as well as between L2 (inc. σπείρα τον νοῦν, des. καὶ ήσυχία ἦν) and L4 (inc. διατί βλέπει τὸν, des. ἦν [καὶ] κατανυξει) on f. 26v.

An instance of this disorder appears on f. 27r (Image 28). As observed in Table 42, the upper half of the outer margin is occupied by an L2-scholium (no. 2 on Acts 10:13). Commencing from the upper margin (no. 1 on Acts 10:16), the scribe begins the L4-additions, then leaps over the L2-scholium by placing the next extract in the lower half of the outer margin (no. 3 on Acts 2:17). Subsequently, the scribe moves to the bottom margin (nos. 5-6 on Acts 2:20). At this point, the concluding scholium in the series (no. 4 on Acts 10:23) is relocated to the upper part of the lower margin, within the narrow area formed by the edge of the outer margin and the marginal space between the text and commentary sections.[583] This positioning ensures that it aligns precisely with the corresponding height of its associated biblical passage.

This phenomenon, however, is not solely determined by previous stratification. On f. 35r, for instance, a scholium on Acts 14:27 (inc. *οὐκ εἰπαν ὅσα*, des. *τοὺς πειρασμοὺς λέγειν·*) is placed in the upper margin after the scribe has already filled the other sides with scholia (at Acts 14:19, inc. *ἐνταύθα πληροῦται τὸ*, des. *ἐνόμιζον οὗτοι ἔσυρον*, at 14:22, inc. *εἰστέον ὅτι οὐχ*, des. *ἑνθεν εκδημίαν ἀπολαμβάνουσιν*, at 14:23, inc. *ἄλλη παραμυθεία καὶ*, des. *ὀφείλοντες πολλα διδάσκεσθαι*). This suggests an overestimation of the outer and lower margins. Had the scribe properly assessed the space available, the scholium on Acts 14:27 might have fitted in the lower margin.[584]

[583] This marginal space is called 'corridoio' in Maniaci 1998: 160, and 'couloir' in Sautel 1999: 29–30.

[584] Conversely, in the glossed manuscripts of the *Iliad*, certain instances of scholia cuts and omissions arise from a miscalculation of the margin's capacity and an exaggerated concern about overloading the page. This perspective is discussed by Maniaci 2006a: 265, and 2006b: 259.

This type of disorder happens in conjunction with sequence inversion and relocation to the opposite page on ff. 12v–13r. Here, the layout is further complicated by the presence of three L3-scholia in the upper half of the outer margin (at Acts 2:33, inc. σημειοτεον ὅτι τὸ, des. αγιον ὑποδείκνυσιν ὁραθέν, 2:38, inc. ὧν γὰρ ἡ οὐσία, des. τὸ ὄνομα ἓν, 2:42 inc. κατα την θείαν, des. τριαδαν ὁμοουσιων εβαπτισθησαν), and potentially in the upper margin (at Acts 2:36, inc. οὐ περὶ τῆς θεότητος, des. το αὐτὸν σταυρωθηναι). Additionally, a brief L2-scholium (inc. ὅτι ου τόπω, des. αυτο αλλα πίστει) aligns with its biblical line (Acts 2:44) at the edge of the outer margin. To navigate this complexity, the scribe first resumes the series of comments on the scriptural text from the verso onto the recto. They write the scholium on Acts 2:29 (inc. ὅταν μέλλει τί, des. αὐτοὺς [καὶ] οἰκειούμενος) in the outer margin, immediately below the last L3-scholium at 2:42, then proceed to transcribe the following comments on Acts 2:30 (inc. ταῦτα λέγει· ἵνα, des. εἰς αὐτὸν τιμῆς), 2:31 (inc. τοῦτο παλῖν θαυμαστὸν, des. αὐτοῦ τότε θάνατος), 2:32 (inc. πἀλιν ἐπὶ τὸν, des. αὐτὸ φανερῶς λέγει) onto the lower margin, which has no previous material and allows for the continuous flow of the comment on Acts 2:30. All these extracts are introduced by citations of the relevant scriptural lemmata (Acts 2:29: ανδρες ἀδελφοὶ; 2:30: προφητης οὖν ὑπάρκων; 2:31 ὅτι οὐ κατελεί[φθη]; 2:32: τοῦτον τὸν ι[ησου]ν), although the reasons for not differentiating the linking symbol are unclear. Subsequently, the copyist moves upward and arranges the remaining sequence downwards across the limited available spaces: the vertical arrangement of these scholia (nos. 59, 64, and 66) mirrors the sequence of the biblical text: Acts 2:33 (inc. ἐξέχεεν φησὶν οὐκ, des. ἀλλα μετα δαψιλίας), 2:34 (inc. τὸ ϊσότιμον ὑιοῦ, des. δεξιὸν ἢ ἀριστερων), 2:41 (inc. πῶς οίη τοῦτο, des.

μᾶλλον τοῦ σημείου). As in the instance observed on f. 27r, it is notable that the script size of the scholia is compressed, and the last comment encroaches on the marginal space between the written areas of the manuscript, which appears to serve as an “emergency lane” for surplus scholia.

f. 27r					
no.	**inc. … des.**	**b.l.**	**L**	**text**	**disorder**
1	τὸ τῆς τριαδος δεικνυσιν αὐτὸν … πίστης τὴν αληθει θεοσέβειαν παρειστησιν·	10:16	4	C150.2d	x
2	δέον γινώσκειν ὅτι η μεν … ἦλθεν (καὶ) ἐκεῖ παλιν ὑπεστρέψεν ·∴	10:13	2	Epitome of Leo Magister	—
3	ευκαιρως ἔρχοντ(αι) οἱ άνδρες τὴν … ὧν ἠρώτησαν ἡ εκεῖ ξενίζεται :	10:17	4	C150.2d	—
4	καλὼς πρότερον φιλοφρώνηται τους άνδρ(ας) … ταυτα ὅταν απολογίσασθαι δέει πετρον :	10:23	4	C150.2d	xx
5	πολλὴ τοῦ πν(ευματο)ς ἡ ἐξουσία … ἀλλ οτι ἐγὼ αὐτους ἀπεσταλκα :	10:20	4	C150.2d	—
6	καὶ παλ(ιν) τοῦτο ἀπολογία πέτρου … διεκρίθη (καὶ) επαιδεύθη μι διακρίνεσθαι ·∴	10:20	4	C150.2d	—

Table 42. Paris, BnF, gr. 237. Restarting a sequence

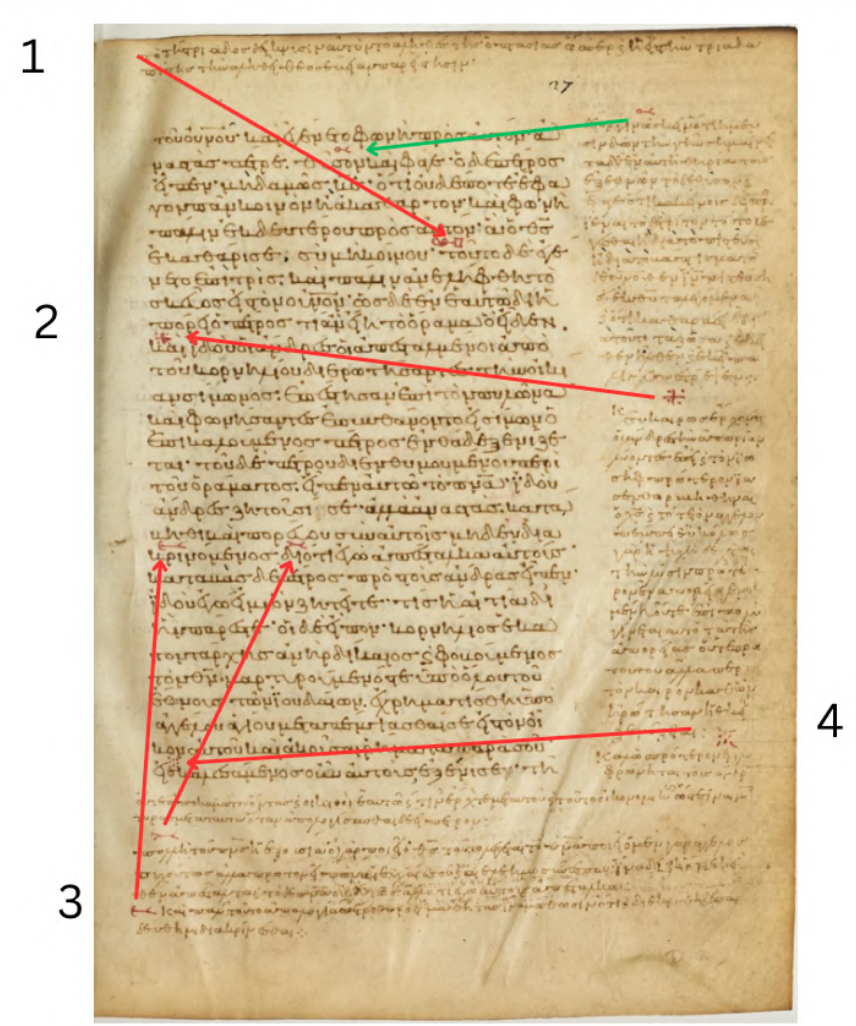


Image 28. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, f. 27r. Restarting a sequence

c. Unregulated disorder in L5

In marked contrast to L4, the internal disorder in L5 exhibits less variation and primarily involves the dislocation of scholia to other pages, often disregarding the essential principle of maintaining synchronisation between text and commentary across separate pages. There are only two instances of scholia relocated to the facing page: on f. 45v, two extracts on Acts 20:19 (inc. ὁρας ὅτι αλγει, des. του ονοματος σθηναι) and 20:20 (inc. ἡμων γὰρ ἁ, des. αλλα και εδειδαξεν) are transferred to the verso due to the outer margin of the recto being occupied by a lengthy cross-shaped scholium on Acts 20:17 from L1 (inc. ἐπεὶ δὲ λανθάνει, des. επισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις), and the upper and lower margins just previously filled with fragments on earlier passages 20:16 (inc. τις η επειξις, des. τον λογον καλει) and 20:19 (inc. ὅρα τινος μαλιστα, des. ἄρχοντας προς αρχομενους).

Except for these instances, the relocations consistently take place from the verso to the recto of the next page. An example of this can be observed with a scholium on f. 43v (inc. ὄντως αυτη ἡ, des. τε καὶ ελληνας), which explains Acts 19:9 and is relocated from f. 43r. More frequently, the scholia are transferred to a previous page, often at a considerable distance from the corresponding biblical text. This scenario is demonstrated in Table 43 (cf. Image 29). Two scholia on f. 39v (nos. 1a and 2a) provide explanations for Acts 17:22–23, verses located two pages later, on f. 40v. The margins of f. 41, on both recto and verso, are completely occupied by scholia from L1 (nos. 6–7) and L4 (nos. 1, 2, 5, 8), leaving no room for L5. Only two very brief extracts from L5 (nos. 3, 4 on Acts 17:16 and 17:22) are inserted at the bottom of the page, while the rest of the sequence is displaced two pages earlier. Even further from the biblical text are three scholia on f. 59r

(inc. τὸ γαρ θαυμαστὸν, des. δεικνυς και ευμηχανον, inc. εβουλετο και εαυτον, des. ην αυτους πληξαι, inc. τινος οὖν ενεκεν, des. κηρυσσων φορητὸς ἦν), which are moved three pages away from their corresponding lemmata. Although Acts 28:17 (and possibly 28:25 for the last scholium lacking a symbol) appears on f. 60v, this page's outer and lower margins are already occupied by an extensive L1-scholium (inc. πρὶν ἐπιδημῆσαι τὸν παῦλον, des. ἐδήλωσεν ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀποστόλων) and a chapter title and number in the upper margin.

While these dislocations are often driven by clashes with preceding layers, the scribe likely felt compelled to relocate scholia to any available space in the manuscript. Nonetheless, alternative choices could have been made to preserve page unity. One such option could have involved omitting scholia for which no available space remained on the facing pages. The decision to retain these indicates that the priority of L5 lies in accumulating exegetical content within page gaps, even if this compromises page unity and the ease of referencing. The repetition of abbreviated biblical lemmata, as observed in L4, is insufficient to ensure readability, as readers must frequently navigate back and forth across pages to locate scriptural passages. This inclination to fill margins with exegesis at the expense of page unity, further corroborated by palaeographical insights, highlights the distinct identity of the scribe responsible for L5 as compared to L2–4.

f. 40v						f. 41r					
no.	**Inc. ... des.**	**b.l.**	**L**	**text**	**disorder**	**no.**	**inc. ... des.**	**b.l.**	**L**	**text**	**disorder**
1	ἐλυπητο ὁρῶν ούσαν ... θ(εο)υ τὴν πρόνοιαν	17: 16	4	C150.2c	—	5	ἐνταυθα λοιπὼν ἐνιγματοδῶς ...ἀλλ ὑπο διανοίας :	17: 24	4	C150.2c	x
2	οἱ ἀθινέοι οἱ ... γεγόντα σ(ωτη)ριον λόγον :	17: 18	4	C150.2c	—	6	ἡ πᾶσ(α) τοῦ ... ἀγνώστω καὶ ξένω ='	17:23	1	'isolated' scholia	—
3	ου γὰρ ην ... τωσουτους πειρασμους ἰδεῖν :	17: 16	5	Epitome of Chrysostom's Homilies	x	7	ὁμηρου καὶ αράτου ='	17: 28	1	'isolated' scholia	—
4	ἡγον αυτον φη(σιν) ... αἱ φωνικαὶ δικαὶ·	?	5	Epitome of Chrysostom's Homilies	—	8	οὐκ εἶπεν οὐκ ... (καὶ) διάστημα ὑπονοεῖ :	17: 29	4	C150.2c	—

f. 39v					
1a	τουτεστιν εὐλαβεστέρους εγκομιαζων ... οὐδεν λεγει βαρύ +	17:22	5	Epitome of Chrysostom's Homilies	xx
2a	οι γαρ αθηναιοι ... τουτ(ον) εγω καταγγελλω [...]	17:23	5	Epitome of Chrysostom's Homilies	xx

Table 43. Paris, BnF, gr. 237. Dislocation of scholia in L5

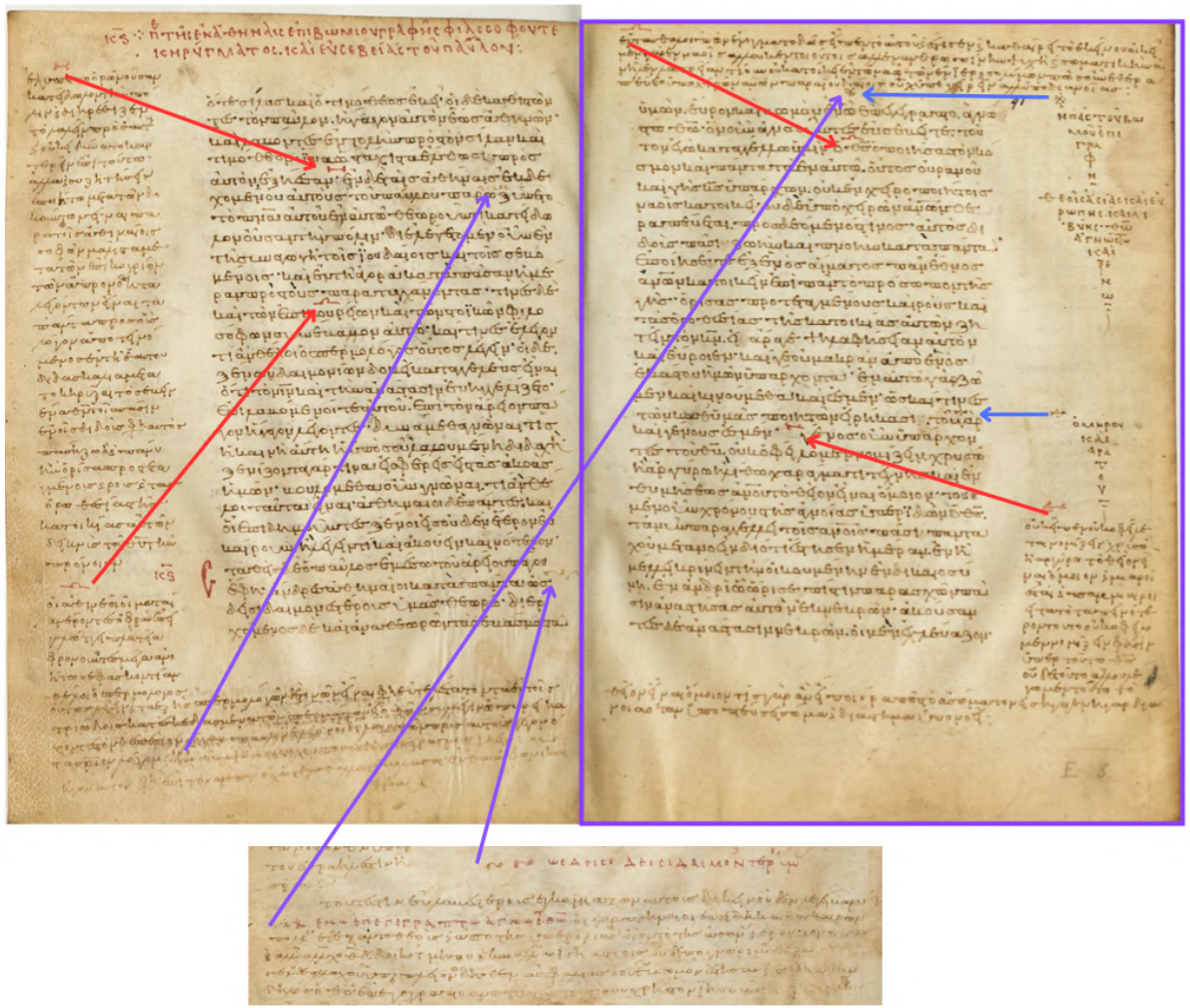


Image 29. Paris, BnF, gr. 237, ff. 40v–41r (top), 39v (bottom). Dislocation of scholia in L5.

2.3 Identifying uncertain scholia layer through disorder

Examining the instances of internal disorder in Paris gr. 237 can provide valuable clues for assigning scholia with uncertain origins to specific layers. Despite the uniform script of L2–4 and a lack of identification of external evidence, analysing the position of these scholia in relation to the scribal habits observed above could offer insights for future philological confirmation. I will present three instances.

On f. 13r, the scholia from L4 follow a pattern along the scriptural text, extending from the lower margin of the verso to the outer and lower margins of the facing page. For instance, the scholium on Acts 2:29 (inc. ὅταν μέλλει τί, des. αὐτοὺς [καὶ] οἰκειούμενος), 2:41 (inc. πῶς οἱη τοῦτο, des. μᾶλλον τοῦ σημείου), 2:30 (inc. ταῦτα λέγει· ἵνα, des. εἰς αὐτὸν τιμῆς), 2:31 (inc. τοῦτο παλῖν θαυμαστὸν, des. αὐτοῦ τότε θάνατος), and 2:32 (inc. πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν, des. αὐτὸ φανερῶς λέγει) follow this order, with some extracts having the related biblical lemma duplicated to facilitate easy referencing. The scribe initiates a new sequence at the top of the recto page that begins at Acts 2:33 (inc. ἐξέχεεν φησὶν οὐκ, des. ἀλλα μετα δαψιλίας). Then, they skip over three scholia from L3 at Acts 2:33 (inc. σημειοτεον ὅτι τὸ, des. αγιον ὑποδείκνυσιν ὁραθέν), 2:38 (inc. ὧν γὰρ ἡ, des. τὸ ὄνομα ἓν), 2:42 (inc. κατα την θείαν, des. τριαδαν ὁμοουσιων. ἐβαπτισθησαν). The scribe then manages to fit two scholia within the limited space between these L3 comments and an existing L2 scholium at Acts 2:33 (inc. ὅτι ου τόπω, des. αυτο αλλα πίστει). The content within this narrow space is connected to Acts 2:34 (inc. τὸ ϊσότιμον ὑιοῦ, des. δεξιὸν ἢ ἀριστερων) and 2:41 (inc. πῶς οἱη τοῦτο, des. μᾶλλον τοῦ σημείου). These texts are tightly written, with the latter encroaching into the marginal space between biblical section and commentary,

indicating the scribe's effort to accommodate them and marking them as the most recent in the series.

However, a scholium on Acts 2:36 (inc. οὐ περὶ τῆς θεότητος, des. το αὐτὸν σταυρωθηναι) at the very top of the upper margin raises questions, as it is absent from both C150 and C156. Determining if it belongs to L3 or L4 is a challenge. Plausibly, the dislocation results from its length. During L3, the scribe might have avoided placing it in the outer margin to prevent disrupting the flow with the nearby L2-scholium at the margin's end. Alternatively, if copied during L4, one could wonder why the scribe did not initiate the sequence with the scholium on Acts 2:33 from the top margin. The letter shapes appear looser in this specific scholium, suggesting that they might not have accounted for further scholia, a possibility consistent with this scholium being attributed to L3.

Two additional instances occur on f. 22r and 31r. In the first case, an uncertain scholium on Acts 7:55, positioned in the top-right corner and upper margin (inc. διὰ τὸ ϊδειν, des. ήτοι θεοριῶν ἐπεφάνη), might belong to L3. If it were from L4, it should appear either below another scholium on the same passage (inc. θεὸν ϊδεῖν αδύνατον, des. ἐν στύλω νεφέλης) or even above the L2-scholium on Acts 7:55 (inc. θεὸν ϊδεῖν αδύνατον, des. ἐν στύλω νεφέλης). In the latter scenario, it would have likely prompted the scribe to begin copying the scholium on Acts 7:53 (inc. τοῦτεστιν οἷς ὁ, des. εν τῶ βάτω) further up.

Lastly, on f. 31r, attributing the scholium on Acts 12:20 (inc. ἐν τοις πατριαρχικοῖς, des. κύριόν ἐστιν ὄνομα) to L3 clarifies its reversed order with the scholium on Acts 12:17 (inc. οὐ γαρ επειραζεν, des. ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν ἀναχωρεισε). L4 would likely arrange them

sequentially according to the biblical text. Disorder arises because the scholium on Acts 12:21 (inc. ευθυς δε η, des. θ[εο]ν πρὸς ἀγορεύοντες) is higher up due to limited space in the lower margin. This might be due to transcribing the extract on Acts 12:20 after an L2-scholium on Acts 12:30 (des. ἐπι καθεδρας λαμπρὰς, des. το ευφημεισθ[αι] ὸìα θεόν), explaining its alignment with the referenced biblical line.

3. Chronology and alignment of supplementary scholia in Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3

In contrast to Paris gr. 237, Drama 3 exhibits minimal overlap among the four identified layers. This can be attributed to the relatively small number of scholia from the earliest layer (L1), which amounts to only ten comments in total. As a result, scribes of subsequent layers rarely encounter these L1 scholia, appearing only on ff. 167v, 176r, 177r, 190r-v, 192r, and 193r. Conversely, instances of overlap between the second layer (L2), third (L3) and fourth layer (L4) can be observed, distinguished by the differing shades of brown ink - darker for L2–3 and lighter for L4. By examining all occurrences of the handwriting in light brown ink, responsible for completing Leo Choirosphaktes' Epitome, I determined the chronological sequence between it and the handwriting in dark brown ink, which was responsible for both a portion of Leo's Epitome and C150.2c. This analysis revealed a consistent pattern where the scholia in light brown ink were either situated at the base of a series of comments, found in the inner margin, or inserted into small gaps among the scholia written by the dark-brown ink scribe.

An example of the first scenario can be found on f. 182v, in the scholium beginning with πῶς οὖν λέγει παῦλο(ς) and ending with τὸ δὲ, οἱ ἀπόστολοι (Image 30). This text does not feature a repeated lemma, unlike the scholium above. Comparing it with the corresponding scholium in Paris gr. 237 (f. 31v) and the alternating-layout manuscripts of Leo's Epitome confirms that this scholium, excerpted from Chrysostom's Homily on Acts 27.1 (cf. PG 60, col. 205.43–52), comments on Acts 13:2. The lemma itself is present in the scholium immediately above, rendered in a darker-brown script, and serves to establish a connection between the C150.2c-scholium by Ammonius (inc. οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχ[εν], des. ἐπιγενομέν[ης] χειροθε[σίας] ὑπερέβησ[αν]) and the corresponding biblical text. The absence of the lemma in the light-brown scholium is an intentional decision made to avoid redundancy, thereby indicating its later placement.

Another example can be found on f. 176r, a case previously discussed in Chapter III when examining the scholia on Acts 8:9–15 (cf. Table 13).[585] This analysis focused on different cross-reference systems and source materials to highlight the distinction between the three hands. In this context, I revisit this example because the lower-margin scholium on the same page (inc. ἐπεὶ καὶ οὗτος, des. ἤγουν ἰάσθαι ἄλλους) lacks a repeated lemma. By comparing it to the similar scholium in Paris gr. 237 (f. 23r) and the alternating-layout manuscripts of Leo's Epitome, it becomes evident that this extract, derived from Chrysostom's Homily on Acts 18.3 (cf. PG 60, col. 144.19–33), comments on Acts 8:15. Once again, considering that the link to the biblical text is already established through the scholium above, attributed to L1 and indicated by a symbol

[585] See above III.2.

(associated with Ammonius, inc. οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχ[εν], des. ἐπιγενομέν[ης] χειροθε[σίας] ὑπερέβησ[αν]), the scribe of Leo's Epitome avoids duplication, and highlights the connection by transcribing the scholium directly below the L1 entry, as if to extend its continuation. This emphasises the commentary unit related to the same biblical passage.

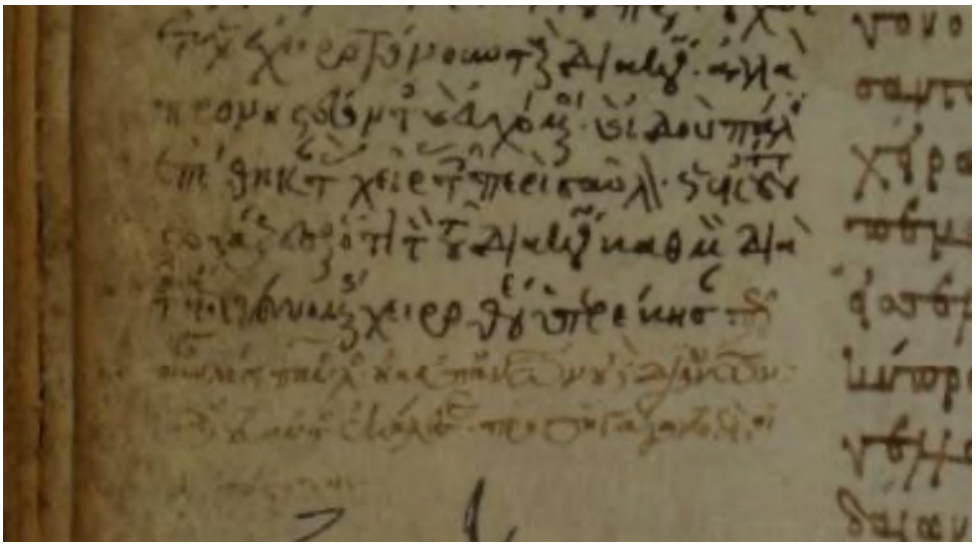


Image 30. Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3, f. 182v. L4 situated as the final scholium in a sequence

An example of a scholium positioned in the inner margin is found on f. 177r, beginning with δϊατ(ι) μὴ ἐν ϊεροσολύμ(οις) and concluding with ἀξϊόπιστο(ς) ἦν δϊηγούμενος (Image 31). The decision to employ the inner margin, a space not originally intended for commentary according to the manuscript's *mise en page*, can be attributed to the fact that the outer margin had already been written on by prior scribes. It contains a triangular scholium from L1 attributed to Ammonius (inc. ὅτι καὶ ἀνανίας, des. τὸν γεγονότα διωγμόν), and two scholia above it added by the scribe of C150.2c, also attributed to Ammonius (inc. ἑωρακ[ὼς] τ[ὸν] ἰ[ησοῦ]ν), des. πν[ευματ]ικ[ῆς] μετασχ[ὼν]

ἀνέσφηλ[εν]) and Maximus the Confessor (inc. π[ῶς] ἐν τῇ ὀπτα[σία], des. τοῦ κ[υρίο]υ φων[ῆς]). Given that the lower margin was also occupied by another scholium from the latter scribe (inc. διὰ τοῦτο οὐ, des. ἐπειδὴ τυφλὸς ἦν), along with a chapter heading, the scribe with the light-brown ink opted to use the inner margin as an alternative space, similar to an 'emergency lane', to write the comment. This decision was made in alignment with the respective biblical lemma, revealed to be Acts 9:2 upon comparing this entry with the corresponding passage by Chrysostom (Homilies on Acts 19.3, cf. PG 60, coll. 152.57–153.5), thereby once again avoiding the duplication of reference.[586]

Another instance can be found on f. 168v, where a scholium beginning with διατί οὐκ εἶπ(εν) and ending with οὕτω(ς) ὠκονόμηται φησίν, is transcribed at the very bottom of the inner margin. This positioning choice is a result of the lower half of the outer margin and the entire lower margin already being occupied by C150.2c-scholia. Despite having some available space in the centre of the outer margin and the upper margin, the scribe likely felt that these positions would be too distant for the scholium, as the relevant biblical lemma, Acts 3:21, is located across the last four lines of the scriptural block. By placing this scholium in the inner margin, the scribe aligns it with the pertinent biblical lines. However, this time they repeat the lemma in a shortened form as ὃν δεῖ οὐ(ρα)ν(ὸν) μὲν, possibly to avoid confusion with the concluding words of Acts 3:20.

[586] In this case, the biblical lemma is not specified in either Paris gr. 237 or in the alternating-layout manuscripts of Leo's Epitome.

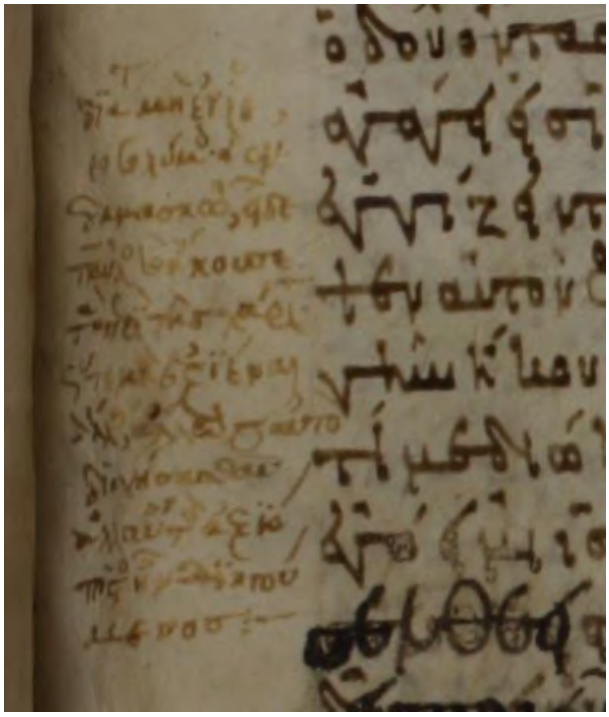


Image 31. Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3, f. 177r. L4 in the inner margin

An example of a scholium being inserted in a compressed space is observed on f. 166v (Image 32). Here, a brief extract, *ἀντὶ τοῦ μετὰ πολλ(ῆς) τῆς παρρησίας*, from Leo's Epitome (cfr. Paris gr. 237, f. 12r). is situated in the outer margin amidst two scholia by the hand of C150.2c. These consist of a comment from Chrysostom on Acts 2:6 (inc. *ἐγένετ[ο] γὰρ*, des. *συναχθῆ τὸ πλῆθ[ος]*) and an extract from Severian of Gabala on Acts 2:16 (inc. *οὐκ εἶπ[εν] ἐκχεῶ*, des. *δωρε[ὰ] τὰ πν[εύματο]ς*). Although it might initially appear that the scholium from Leo's Epitome was present prior to the annotations in dark-brown ink, which cover the page extensively from top to bottom margin except at this specific point, I argue that the scribe of C150.2c skipped over the stained area. The subsequent transcription of the Leo-scholium by the light-ink hand in this 'affected' space of the page indicates that the scribe had limited options when providing their annotation.

Another instance is found on f. 170v, where a scholium starts with καθάπερ ἐγχειρισθεντας αὐτοὺς and ends with παρρησίας πάσης ἐπεδίδουν (cf. Paris gr. 237, f. 16r). This scholium is positioned between two previously added comments from C150.2c, both attributed to Chrysostom (one short, καρδίαν [καὶ] ψυχὴν τὸ αὐτό λέγει, and a longer one starting with διὰ τοῦτο ἦν and ending with οὐδεὶς ἦν ἐνδεής). The condensed handwriting of the entry and the placement of the biblical lemma reference, Acts 4:33, on the far right of the last line of the preceding scholium suggest its subsequent insertion. This arrangement places the scholium in a precise chronological order with the scholia above and below it, which are associated with Acts 4:32 and 4:34, respectively.

The examples presented above not only provide evidence of the chronological relationships between the two additional hands (L2–3 and L4) but also suggest different concerns for readability. The lack of this consideration in L2–3 is evident in how scholia are positioned wherever there is space available in the margin. This disregard becomes apparent particularly when scholia extend across the marginal space between the biblical text and the lower margin designated for commentary. This happens consistently, unlike in the case of Paris gr. 237 (e.g., on ff. 165r, 166r–167r, 168v, 169r, 170r, etc.), and even extends onto the recto side of the subsequent page (e.g., on ff. 166r–v, 186r–v, 190r–v, 191r–v). All of this suggests that during this phase, the annotated book was regarded more as a repository of exegesis than a text for practical or liturgical use. On the other hand, the decision of the L4 scribe to employ the inner margin, while undoubtedly influenced by practical constraints, could also reflect a deliberate intention to align scholia with their corresponding biblical passages. This choice, even in a space not

originally intended for commentary, hints at a possible consideration for improving ease of consultation and accessibility.

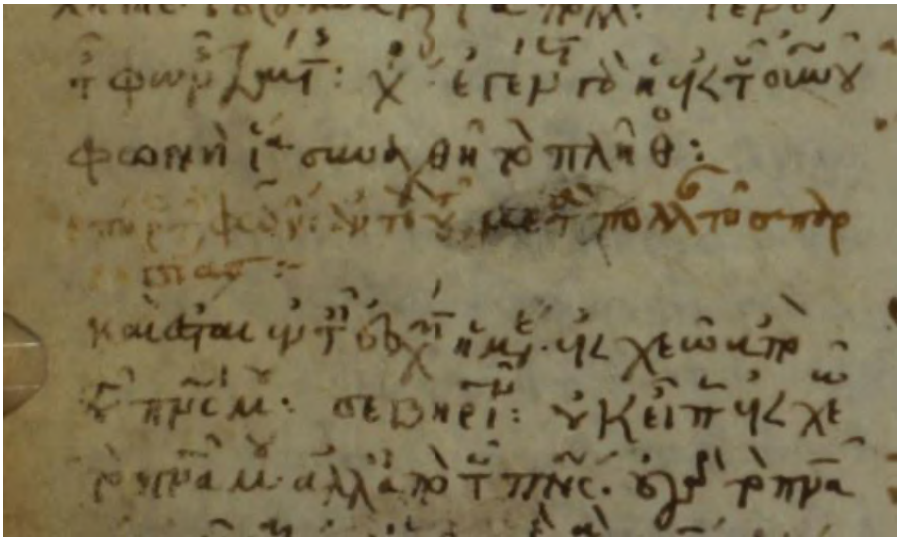


Image 32. Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3, f. 166v. L4 inserted amidst L2.

4. Chronology and absence of scribe coordination in the scholia of Paris, BnF, gr. 216

The manuscript Paris gr. 216 presents a complex scenario, featuring three distinct scripts attributed to scribes who may have been commissioned by Arethas of Caesarea to create a scholarly manuscript. According to Linardou, Arethas himself contributed a few marginal scholia in Alexandrine majuscule, although when compared with manuscripts genuinely annotated by Arethas, there are doubts about this assumption due to palaeographical differences.[587] She suggests that these scribes collaborated to produce an

[587] See above III.3.1.

edition that reflected Arethas' editorial goals, including biblical commentaries.[588] While the first two hands were identified respectively as Arethas (by Linardou) and Stephanos (by Aletta), the third hand remains anonymous. Staab and Linardou also suggest that the scholia in Alexandrine majuscule represent the first layer, but they do not provide a comprehensive explanation for this argument.[589] A thorough analysis of the Acts chain further reinforces this identification.

The first piece of evidence relates to the position of scholia. For instance, on f. 6r, a majuscule scholium (beginning with τοῦτο προσεκωτέρους αὐτοὺς and ending with ὅτε πάντες ἐισιν [...]), linked to Acts 2:14 through repeated lemma (σταθεὶς δὲ πέτρος) and symbol (※), is inserted between two cross-shaped scholia connected to Acts 2:16 and 2:17 by the letters *sigma* (ϲ) and *tau* (τ), respectively (Image 33). Instead of assuming that this scholium was inserted later, I believe that the reverse is true. In fact, when Stephanos draws the Patriarchal cross, he maintains the two crossbars together (e.g., ff. 3v, 4r, 6v, 7r–v, 8v, etc.). He draws only one crossbar when he lacks sufficient space in the margin due to majuscule scholia by the first hand (e.g., f. 4v) or when a scholium is brief enough to require a single-bar cross (e.g., f. 5v, 18r, 50r, 57r–v, 61v–62r, etc.).

The second piece of evidence concerns the textual aspect. On f. 60r, a lengthy scholium occupies the entirety of the upper margin and outer margin. This extract, beginning with πῶς φησὶν ὁ παῦλος and ending with φησὶν καὶ γεγέννημαι, is initially

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[588] See Pirtea 2021: 49–50.

[589] Staab 1926: 147; Linardou 2017: 228: "In some cases, and when they are combined with decorated marginalia, it is crystal clear that this group of comments was the first to be added, before the work of Stephanos and his other colleague."

unconnected to any biblical lemma. The link between the scholium and Acts 21:39 is established by Stephanos, who adds a red ink letter χ (*chi*) to connect it. The inference that Stephanos is responsible for this addition is not only based on his subsequent scholium on f. 68r, which is marked with the next letter in the sequence, ψ (*psi*), but it is also supported by the presence of this passage across the majority of C151.3 witnesses, containing *Textus alter* (cf. PG 125, coll. 1024D–1028B). The version of this type in Paris gr. 216 contains fewer scholia than the printed text and some other manuscripts.[590] However, the absence of this extract from Stephanos' contributions suggests a deliberate decision to avoid redundancy with the same scholium from a different source (C156) already supplied by the first scribe. This intention becomes apparent as they introduce the letter '*chi*' to connect the scholium to Acts 21:39, further emphasising their acknowledgment of its presence within C151.

Staab already stated that the anonymous scribe represents the most recent contributor of scholia in the Pauline catena, who used the available margins left vacant by the first two scribes to write additional content.[591] On the other hand, in the section of my thesis dedicated to examining the content units in the Acts catena of Paris gr. 216, I noticed that the anonymous scribe frequently completes scholia from previous layers with his own work, which is mainly excerpted from Chrysostom's Homilies on Acts, C150 and C156.[592] This integration process results in the creation of a new, often elaborate and extravagant form. However, it has not been adequately investigated

[590] See above III.3.1.

[591] Staab 1926: 147.

[592] See above III.4.3–4.

whether these two works were transcribed simultaneously or in separate stages. I will present evidence to support the latter scenario.

For instance, on f. 8r, the uppermost scholium at the top of the upper margin (inc. ἀξιόπιστος ὁ λόγος, des. τοῦ ἁγίου πν[εύματο]ς) is derived from C150 (cf. Cramer III, 53.1–6) (Image 34). The use of lighter-brown ink suggests its addition at a different time than the darker-brown scholium below, attributed to Chrysostom (inc. καὶ ὑ[ὸ]ν αὐτ[ὸν], des. ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐστ[αυ]ρώσατε. cf. Chrys. *Hom. in Ac.* 6.3 [PG 60, col. 59.58–63]). Furthermore, the fact that this extract is actually the first part of a longer, triangular-shaped scholium extending into the outer margin suggests that it was added at a later stage. The asterisk symbol (※) above the text signals this continuation, as it does not appear elsewhere in the biblical text on the page. A textual comparison with C150 reveals that the first three lines of this scholium (inc. ἐπήνεσαν τὰ λεχθέντα, des. πείρα δείκνυσι ἐναργῶς) effectively extend the previous extract, thereby constituting a unified passage attributed to Chrysostom (cf. Cramer 53.6–7). The choice to split this scholium is influenced by the prior allocation of the lower part of the upper margin and the upper portion of the outer margin to scholia from Chrysostom, which were transcribed by the same scholiast in a previous phase. Additionally, a concise majuscule extract by the first hand had been introduced at an even earlier stage.

In conclusion, the evidence confirms that L1 is represented by C156, written by the first hand (Arethas?); L2 corresponds to C151.3e and was added by Stephanos; L3 is reflected by the Epitome of Chrysostom and was contributed by the anonymous scribe;

and L4 is represented by the latter scribe's insertions, which drew from both C150 and C156 in a subsequent phase.

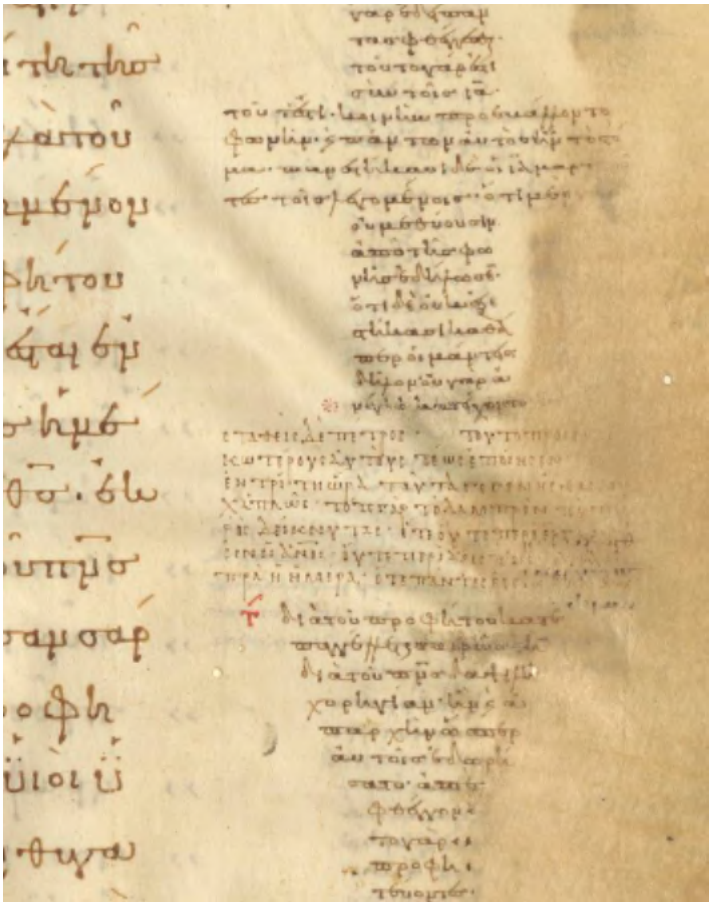


Image 33. Paris, BnF, gr. 216, f. 6r: scholium from L1 (in small majuscule) dividing two cross-shaped L2 scholia

Furthermore, there is evidence to raise suspicion that the scribe responsible for these scholia not only transcribed them in two distinct phases but also likely did so separately from the involvement of the first scribe and Stephanos. This perspective challenges the assertion made by Aletta and Linardou that all three scribes participated in a single production phase, even though it remains plausible that their work was conducted within the same scriptorium.

The first argument revolves around the shape of the scholia. Linardou emphasises the ideographic meaning of figurative scholia, particularly highlighting how certain examples appear to convey religious and political messages.[593] For instance, the eagle-shaped scholium on f. 16v, linked to Acts 5:34, can be interpreted as a reference to Leo the Wise's suppression of the Doukas family rebelling against imperial authority in 906/7 AD. However, as previously noted, elaborate designs predominantly appear in the scholia attributed to the anonymous scribe. This stark contrast emerges when comparing them with the scholia crafted by Stephanos, which are primarily characterised by crosses and geometric patterns. This disparity raises a question: if the two layers were a result of coordinated collaboration, why did Stephanos not employ scholia featuring more intricate and ideologically connotated depictions, like those of the anonymous scribe? This inquiry becomes more intriguing considering Stephanos' close relationship with Arethas, who had entrusted him with the Euclid manuscript.

The second argument focuses on the displacement of some scholia considerably distant from their corresponding biblical texts. A noteworthy observation is that the initial series of Chrysostom's scholia were relocated by the anonymous scribe to a separate page before the beginning of the catena and arranged in an alternating 'lemmatic' layout, where short biblical lemmata are followed by the corresponding scholia.[594] If the project had been planned as a collaborative effort involving all three scribes, it raises the question of why the anonymous copyist found it necessary to place

[593] Linardou 2017: 231–234.

[594] See above III.3.3.

several scholia so far removed from their associated text. Even if we were to consider that this scribe joined the project in its later stages, they could have simply chosen to incorporate a selection of extracts solely on the initial lines of Acts onto f. 3r and left out the rest. Instead, their decision to start the transcription from an entirely blank page several pages ahead suggests that, at this point, their primary emphasis was on annotating the manuscript as a comprehensive repository of exegesis. This is further implied by their choice to label the added commentary as the "Scholia in summary from the interpretation of the Acts by John Chrysostom among the holy Fathers" (τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π[ατ]ρ[ά]σ[ι] ἡμῶν ἰωάννου τοῦ χρ[υσο]στόμου· ἐκ τ[ῆς] ἑρμηνείας τῶν πράξεων· σχόλια κατ' ἐπιτομήν). It is plausible that the scribe noted that Stephanos attributed the first two scholia of his C151.3 text to Chrysostom, and since it has been illustrated previously in my thesis that the initial seven chapters of this catena type largely mirror Chrysostom's work verbatim, the title chosen by the anonymous scribe might reflect this recognition.[595] However, even this would not adequately explain the decision to transcribe the commentary at such a considerable distance. Furthermore, the scholia from the third scribe frequently lack cross-reference symbols with the biblical text which further strengthens the idea that, during this phase, there was an inclination towards assembling a repository of exegesis. Despite this, the scribe made efforts to mantain the sophisticated design established by the previous copyist and even surpassed it with their elaborate embellishments. This highlights their evident awareness of the unique character of the meticulously annotated luxury Bible in Paris gr. 216.

[595] See above II.3.2.

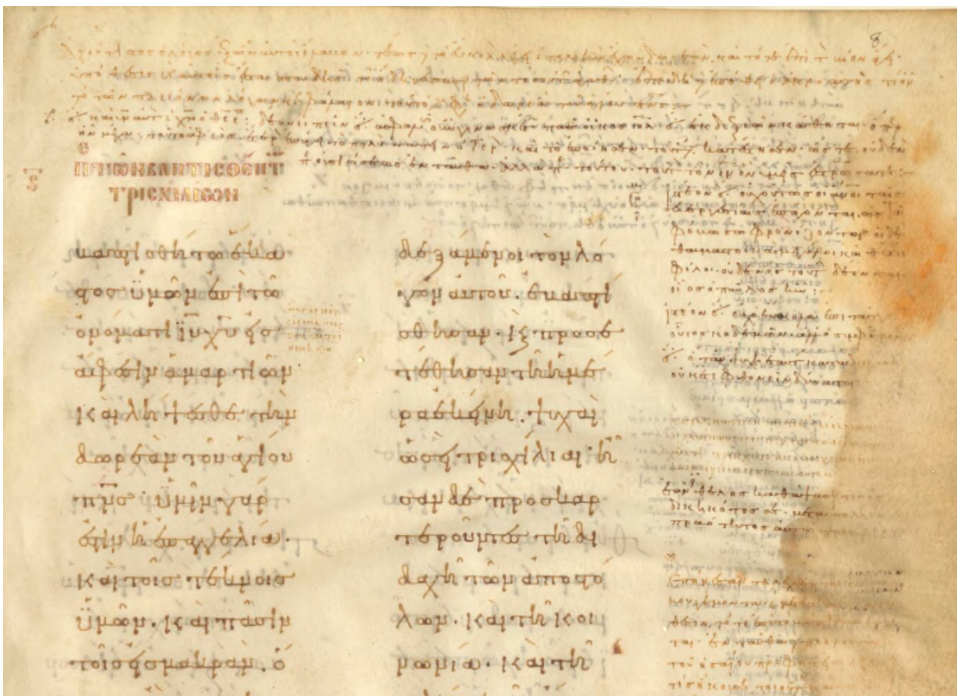


Image 34. Paris, BnF, gr. 216, f. 8r: scholium from L4 (in light-brown ink) divided into two parts by pre-existing L3 scholia

5. Concluding remarks

Examining how scholia are laid out in these three multilayered manuscripts provides a valuable demonstration of a systematic approach to studying complex catena manuscripts. Analysing how scholia are positioned makes it evident that their alignment with the biblical text frequently diverges from an orderly pattern. This irregularity suggests the existence of separate layers of scholia associated with different stages of transcription, offering insights into their chronological progression and the varying intentions of the scribes responsible.

The manuscript Paris gr. 237 is an example of a complex catena manuscript with multiple layers of scholia. The arrangement of scholia in the Acts section shows

deviations from a regular sequence, indicating different layers by various scribes (L1, L2-4, L5). The disorderly placement of scholia is due to the interaction of these layers on the pages. The additional hands coped with limited margin space differently: L2-4 aimed for unity between text and commentary, while L5 focused on quantity over coherence. The goal of the first additional scribe was to create an 'anthological' catena that readers could consult effortlessly, incorporating various texts. Conversely, the second additional scribe focused on accumulating exegetical content without emphasising visual coherence. Palaeographical differences suggest that two scribes expanded the scholia, with differing purposes. The analysis sheds light on the manuscript's origin, clarifying its position in the Acts catenae tradition.

In Drama 3, the differencence between additional scribes (L2–3 and L4) becomes evident through their differing concern for readability. L2–3's disregard for readability is seen in the placement of scholia, which frequently span the boundary between the main text and commentary area. This suggests that the manuscript was perceived a collection of exegesis rather than a text designed for practical exegetical consultation. L4's choice to utilise the inner margin, despite its limitations, suggests an intention to align scholia with biblical passages, with a focus on making them more accessible consultation.

Lastly, within Paris gr. 216, the coordination between the three scribes working at the same time is cast into doubt by several remarks. While no compelling evidence has been put forth to challenge the idea of collaboration between the first two scribes, Arethas (?) and Stephanos, the third copyist appears to deviate from the presumed joint endeavour by introducing instances of disorder within the scholia. This suggests that this

material was likely added after Stephanos' contributions. Additionally, this anonymous scribe places initial scholia from Chrysostom at a distance from the corresponding biblical verses, adopting an alternating 'lemmatic'-layout approach to commentary in the case of the first seven scholia. This departure indicates a lack of uniformity in terms of arrangement. However, what remains consistent is the elaborate and figurative nature of the marginalia, reflecting a distinct stylistic trend.

In conclusion, by examining the irregular arrangement or disorder of scholia in multilayered manuscripts focused on Acts, it becomes possible to bring some order into the reconstruction of the editorial stages of these compilations. This process helps uncover the scribal practices concerning the stratified layout and thus offers insights into their intentions and objectives as new units of production are conceived and incorporated.

Chapter V

Rewriting Textual History:
The Contribution of Multilayered and Multiple-Text Catena Manuscripts

1. Introduction

The investigation into the content units found within multilayered and multiple-text Acts catena manuscripts has revealed a wide range of compilations. Previously unknown materials have been discovered, ranging from widely scattered scholia and epitomes of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts* to a diverse assortment of versions of the Pseudo-Andreas (C150), Pseudo-Oecumenius (C151), and Pseudo-Theophylact (C152) catenae. Additionally, the analysis of the handwriting and distribution of the scholia on the manuscript page has provided insights into how such content often reflects distinct production units. But how do these units connect to one another, and what can they reveal about the textual tradition?

In this chapter I will demonstrate the significance of these composite manuscripts as valuable resources for reconstructing the development of Acts catenae and the various types that emerged within it. The primary focus will be on the analysis of the 'isolated' scholia, found in the majority of multilayered and multiple-text manuscripts. These represent an established collection whose presence in major types like C150, C151, and

C152 is crucial for comprehending the interaction between these clusters and their role in the textual history of Acts catenae. The comparative analysis of these compilations will not merely consider small textual variations but also pay attention to paratextual elements, in particular scribal devices to cross-reference scriptural lemmata and exegetical material.

This investigation will prompt a reconsideration of the traditional historical account that has long regarded the Pseudo-Andreas catena as the predominant form of Acts catena and model for all subsequent variations,[596] leading to a substantial revision of our previous understanding, and ultimately proposing new methodological approaches to the study of multilayered textual traditions.

2. "Scholia-Catenae" on Acts

The previous chapter revealed that the so-called 'isolated' scholia, which make up layer 1 (L1) in Drama 3, Paris gr. 237, Escorial Ψ.III.18, and text 2 (T2) in Moscow gr. 140, are not actually isolated but rather form a recurrent set found in other biblical manuscripts of the Acts. These include Panaghias 026, Moscow Synod. gr. 346, Athos Koutloumousiou 82, Cambridge Add. 3046, Florence Plut.IV.29, among others. These scholia also overlap with the set referred to as C156, which is attested in layer 3 (L3) of Paris gr. 237, layer 1 (L1) and 4 (L4) of Paris gr. 216, and the manuscripts Tirana dos. 17, Vatican Vat. gr. 1971, and Patmos 15.

[596] See above II.4.2.

In addition to the manuscripts discussed earlier, which display a closely intertwined relationship and often form pairs of closely related manuscripts, this collection of scholia extends its influence even further. It appears in a relatively significant number of manuscripts dating from the tenth to the thirteenth century. In these codices, including the ones mentioned previously, this set of scholia is found in different quantities and arrangements, introducing several forms of variation, as illustrated in Table 44 (with manuscripts arranged in chronological order based on the scholia material).[597] The widespread presence of these texts across numerous manuscripts strongly indicates that they constitute a coherent *corpus*, or perhaps multiple *corpora*, of scattered annotations that exhibit a fluid nature and undergo changes over time.

The origin of scholiastic collections, including their dates and places of origin, is a topic of debate in contemporary scholarship.[598] The question of how these *corpora* came into place is interconnected with the emergence of scholia themselves, which were designed as explanatory notes to aid readers in understanding complex or unclear aspects of a text.[599] Scholia trace their origins back to ancient Hellenistic scholarship, within the

[597] It is noteworthy that a similar number and type of manuscripts in Table 44 appear in the list of "Excerpts from the Pseudo-Oecumenius type" (C165.5) discussed by Staab 1926: 168–181 (cf. Panella 2021: 399–402, and Marcon 2023: 67–73).

[598] Montana 2011 provides an exceptionally detailed and comprehensive overview of the current state of research and its evolution. For more in-depth information on this topic, also see the various contributions in Montana–Porro 2014, a volume specifically dedicated to the emergence of scholiastic tradition.

[599] See OCD: 961, s.v. "Scholia". In this context, the term "scholium" is employed in a broader sense, without making a distinction based on whether it was originally exclusively reserved for marginal annotations or for comments in a sequential format, as is the case with the *hypomnema*. Cf. Dickey 2007: 11, n. 25; Montana 2011: 105–106.

textual studies conducted by the Alexandrian grammarians in the third and second centuries BC.[600] The earliest instances are associated with scholia interpreting Homer, who was likely the most widely read author in the ancient world.[601] Scholiastic *corpora* were also prevalent for the works of Attic playwrights in both tragedy and comedy, such as Aeschylus and Aristophanes, but also more specialised and technical literature, including compilations of scholia accompanying Greek mathematical treatises.[602] Thorough research has been conducted into when these collections emerged, how they evolved from initial annotations into structured sets and their complex relationship with catenae. Some suggest they might have originated as fragments of lost commentaries or *hypomnemata*, which were essentially exegesis of specific works, often transmitted as separate volumes but specifically intended to be read alongside the main text, while others propose that many scholia may have started as marginal comments rather than passages within larger commentaries.[603] Irrespective of their origins, it is important to

[600] For a comprehensive overview of Hellenistic philology, besides referring to the classic work on the subject by Pfeiffer 1968, see Montana 2012 as well.

[601] Among others, see the contributions on the Homeric scholia by Lara Pagani and Davide Muratori in Montana–Porro 2014: 39–89.

[602] For instance, see the works of Marco Ercoles (on the scholia on Aeschylus), Renzo Tosi (focusing on the scholia on Aristophanes), and Fabio Acerbi (for the scholia on mathematical treatises) in Montana–Porro 2014, specifically on pp. 15–23 and 90–169.

[603] Both John Williams White (1914) and Günther Zuntz (1930s) proposed the origins of scholia from *hypomnemata*, although they had differing opinions on the timeframe. White suggested the fourth or fifth century AD, while Zuntz argued for the ninth century AD. This discrepancy in dating is discussed in Montana 2011: 115–118, and Montana–Porro 2014: 1–3. Regarding the association with catenae, see Wilson 1967, who drew parallels between Greek catenae and scholiastic corpora to support the idea that both compilations emerged during the Late Antique period. Additionally, Aussedat 2008 further strengthens Wilson's arguments by analysing similarities between classical scholia and catenae.

note that there is an absence of direct evidence from Late Antiquity regarding the production of marginal scholia through systematic compilation of exegetical sources, and the earliest witnesses of these texts are medieval manuscripts.[604]

In the realm of Greek catenae, Dorival coined the term "Scholia-Catenae" to describe the production of scattered scholia on the Psalms (C10a.1).[605] Dating back to the sixth century in Palestine, these were brief, intermittent explanations developing from the tradition of scriptural scholia associated with Origen (second–third century AD). According to Jerome's preface to his translation of Origen's Homilies on Ezekiel (cf. 8.318 ed. Baehrens), Origen composed a work of uncertain title, perhaps called Σημειώσεις or Σχόλια, which contained concise explanations of certain Old Testament books and the Gospel of John.[606] Dorival posits that these scholia were initially inserted in a two-column format alongside the biblical text, and over time, they evolved by incorporating fragments from other sources into the empty spaces on manuscript pages between one comment and another.[607] This gradual process eventually led to the emergence of catenae presented in a framed layout.

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[604] Montana 2014: 7.

[605] Dorival 1985: 211: "Le deuxième modèle palestinien est celui que je propose d'appeler les *chaines-scholies*. Son origine doit être cherchée dans la forme littéraire des Scholies à l'Écriture, genre littéraire apparu en Palestine à l'époque d'Origène. Il se caractérise par la brièveté de l'explication, mais aussi, au moins dans les témoignages les plus anciens, par sa discontinuité". And cf. Dorival 2016: 76: "During this first Palestinian stage, there were also what I have called the *Scholia-Catenae*. Their origin is found in the scriptural Scholia, which have been known since Origen. Unlike the commentaries, the explanations are intermittent; often, they are short, but some of them are more developed" (italics added by me).

[606] On this lost work see Junod 1995.

[607] Dorival 1985: 211, and id. 2016: 76. In contrast, Leanza 1993 (and cf. id. 1995) argued against this theory and proposed that the scholia were presented on a single page, somewhat resembling the structure

When we examine the context of Acts catenae manuscripts, we observe a significant presence of such manuscripts, constituting twenty-six percent of the total items in the Catena Catalogue. This prevalence suggests that these scholia in the margins were not random additions. In most of these manuscripts, except for Patmos 15, where scholia were added later, the biblical text is placed in the centre of the page, leaving ample space in the margin. This layout indicates a deliberate preparation to accommodate exegesis from the beginning. Upon closer examination of Table 44, it becomes apparent that each of these manuscripts contains a distinct number of scholia, with none of them having an identical count.[608] However, what unites them is a shared characteristic: in all these codices the scholia are dispersed throughout the text, selectively referencing specific passages, and they employ a 'symbolic' system of cross-referencing. The sole exceptions to this pattern are Tirana F. 488, dos. 17 and Venice, BNM, Z.546 which opt for numerical references instead, although the first does have a few scholia that feature symbols.[609] Additionally, there are exceptions in manuscripts such as Paris gr. 216 (L1),

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of the 'lemmatic' catena, which featured concise explanations immediately after the relevant chosen lemmata.

[608] London, BL, Add. 28816 (diktyon 39067, GA 203 – twelfth century), Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1262 (diktyon 53926, GA 1885 – twelfth century), and Durham, NC, Duke University Library,1 (diktyon 13616, GA 1780 – thirteenth century) are excluded from the list because they contain only two scholia (London Add. 28816 and Paris Suppl. gr. 1262) and three scholia (Durham 1) respectively. However, I have included the lacunose Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2062 (diktyon 68692, GA 627 – tenth century) because the single surviving scholium in it (f. 1r, at Acts 28:21) shares the same characteristics as many other 'isolated' scholia manuscripts of the cluster, providing sufficient evidence to confidently assign it to this category. These characteristics include the title Εὐσεβίου ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὸν Ἡσαίαν and the use of a symbol to cross-reference the scholium with the biblical text.

[609] See scholia on ff. 21v, 64v, 69r.

Oxford Wake 38, and Wolfenbüttel Gud. gr. 104.2, where most scholia do not employ any cross-reference sign; instead, the relevant biblical lemmata are indicated mainly by the proximity of the annotations. This diversity in the composition of these manuscripts appears to align with the concept of an "open book" structure, as proposed by William Lamb.[610] This theory, originally applied to the tradition of catenae on the Gospel of Mark but relevant to biblical catenae in general, suggests that the manuscript tradition can seem divergent and "chaotic" due to ongoing additions, amendments, and adaptations made with each new copy. In essence, a catena was a text that grew and evolved over time. While this concept does not quite align with extensive catenae, catena-commentaries, and epitomes, which exhibit well-defined types and subtypes supported by diverse manuscript evidence, it seems to have some validity in the case of Scholia-Catenae. As observed by Fausto Montana regarding scholiastic *corpora*, "the manuscripts that transmit scholia are, as far as the scholiastic component is concerned, copies of a rather unusual kind due to the specific 'open' nature of erudite works".[611]

[610] Lamb 2012: 91–93, and id. 2016: 280–281.

[611] Montana 2014: 110.

diktyon	GA	manuscript	century	Parpulov series	layout	Acts fols.	number of scholia	linking device
13410	1424	Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (3P)	9th/10th	eacp.29.ii	frame	164v–206r	10 (L1)	symbol
33671	1870	Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, Panaghias 026	10th	acrp.22.ii	frame	9r–75v	14	symbol
49809	82	Paris, BnF, gr. 237	10th 1/2	acpr.22.i.β	frame	10r–61r	27 (L1) 13 (L3)	symbol
15945	457	Florence, BML, Plut.IV.29	10th	acp.22.iv	frame	1r–80r	34	symbol
15244	920	Escorial, RBME, Ψ III 18	10th 1/2	acp.22.iii.α	frame	1r–44v	35* (L1)	symbol
68692	627	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2062	10th	acpr.22.ii	frame	1r–v	1*	symbol
49787	605	Paris, BnF, gr. 216	10th	acp.17.i	frame	3r–85v	35 (L1)	symbol / none
27116	1739	Athos, Great Lavra, B 64	10th	—	frame	2r–31r	27	symbol
70017	617	Venice, BNM, Z.546	10th	acpr.21.ii.α	frame	2v–59v	16	number
48650	638	Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 38	11th	—	frame	22r–93v	47	symbol / none
54259	1162	Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 15	11th 1/1 – 2/2 (scholia)	acp.23.i	frame	9r–44r	52	symbol / none
26107	1859	Athos, Koutloumousiou Monastery, 82	11th	acr.22.v	frame	9r–70v	37*	symbol

12109	1277	Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3046	11th	acp.22.iii.β	frame	25r–102r	38*	symbol
68600	1845	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971	11th	acp.23.iii	frame	42r–90r	65	symbol
63376	1764	Tirana, Arkivi Qëndror i Shtetit, F. 488, dos. 17	12th	ap.23.ii	frame	14r–99r	36	number + symbol
72138	97	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Gud. gr. 104.2	12th	—	frame	5r–55v	45	symbol/ none
49664	468	Paris, BnF, gr. 101	13th 2/2	acpr.22.vii	frame	6r–48v	22	symbol
43971	462	Moscow, GIM, Synod. gr. 346 (V. 24)	13th	acpr.22.i.β	frame	12r–65v	30	symbol
44336	—	Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56 (gr. 140)	13th	—	alternating	216v–219v	28 (T2)	—

Table 44. Manuscripts with Scholia-Catenae on Acts

Indeed, examining the data in Image 35, this perspective gains credibility as we notice a trend: the number of scholia tends to grow over time. Initially, there are relatively few scholia from the ninth and early tenth centuries. However, as we move into the latter part of the tenth century, there is a noticeable increase, with the eleventh century reaching a peak. Subsequently, there is a gradual decrease in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, possibly due to the simultaneous prevalence of alternating-format catenae during this period, gradually replacing the extensive production of frame catenae.[612] It is worth noting that four of these manuscripts display signs of damage, as indicated by an asterisk (*) next to the total scholia count in Table 44 and to the manuscript shelfmark in Image 35. Codices Escorial Ψ III 18, Athos Koutloumousiou 82, and Cambridge Add. 3046 have suffered significant losses, with about a quarter of the text of Acts missing due to damage in the initial portions of the manuscripts. Manuscript Vatican Vat. gr. 2062, on the other hand, has only preserved one folio with a single scholium. This hints that the scholia collection in these mutilated manuscripts might have been even more extensive in the past than what we see today.[613]

However, despite the variations, there are notable similarities between several of these manuscripts. In Chapter III, pairs of manuscripts were observed, such as Drama 3 (L1) and Istanbul Panaghias 026; Paris gr. 237 (L1) and Moscow Synod.

[612] See for example the figures related to the Gospel catenae in Houghton 2020: 59–60.

[613] In this context, Parpulov's reconstruction of the lost beginning of the Athos and Cambridge manuscripts with the scholium on Acts 1:12 (inc. Ἡ τοῦ σαββάτου ὁδὸς, des. βαδίζειν ἐν σαββάτῳ) seems plausible. See Parpulov 2021: 168, 170, where the scholium is enclosed in square brackets to indicate the reconstruction.

gr. 346; Athos Koutloumousiou 82 and Cambridge Add. 3046, and another pair represented by Athos, Great Lavra, B 64 and Paris, BnF, gr. 101 can be added.[614] These pairs have a nearly identical number of scholia, with only minor differences. Furthermore, it is essential to note that this collection is not limited to the manuscripts of the 'isolated' scholia *corpus* but also extends to the three manuscripts categorised by Parpulov as C156, identified in the ClaCla database as *Catena abbreviata*: Patmos 15, Vatican Vat. gr. 1971, and Tirana F. 488, dos. 17.[615] Since this label was used to describe a type of abbreviated catena consisting of short glosses, it would be reasonable to apply it to encompass all the manuscripts discussed thus far and listed in Table 44. Future in-depth research can then aim to identify potential subdivisions within this broader category. In this context, however, I will generally refer to this compilation as 'Scholia-Catenae', following Dorival's denomination, or 'Collection', leaving the task of delineating subdivisions for further investigation.

In addition to being widely spread, the Scholia-Catenae on Acts had a significant impact on the development of various catena types. Since the majority of scholia in the Collection also appear in the multilayered and multiple-text manuscripts on which this thesis focuses, a comprehensive list of these extracts is provided in the Appendix at the end of this chapter, which will be consistently referred to during the discussion. This table combines the scholia found in the four multilayered manuscripts Drama 3, Paris gr. 237, Paris gr. 216, and Escorial Ψ III

[614] See above III.2–5.

[615] https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla/OA/Details.aspx?id=FB45DB9DE0E78E4AB98277140316F8FD.

18, in addition to the multiple-text manuscript Moscow F. 270, no. 56.[616] Rather than attempting to compile an exhaustive list of the Collection, which in terms of sequence and number as presented in the table never truly existed, the Appendix aims to offer a comprehensive overview of the material shared among these complex manuscripts and a reference point to emphasise and explore the presence of this material within different types of catenae. Additionally, it visually demonstrates the close relationships between these manuscripts that contain multiple levels and numbers of catenae on Acts.

[616] In this case, the standard orthography has been adopted for the *incipit* and *explicit* of the Greek text.

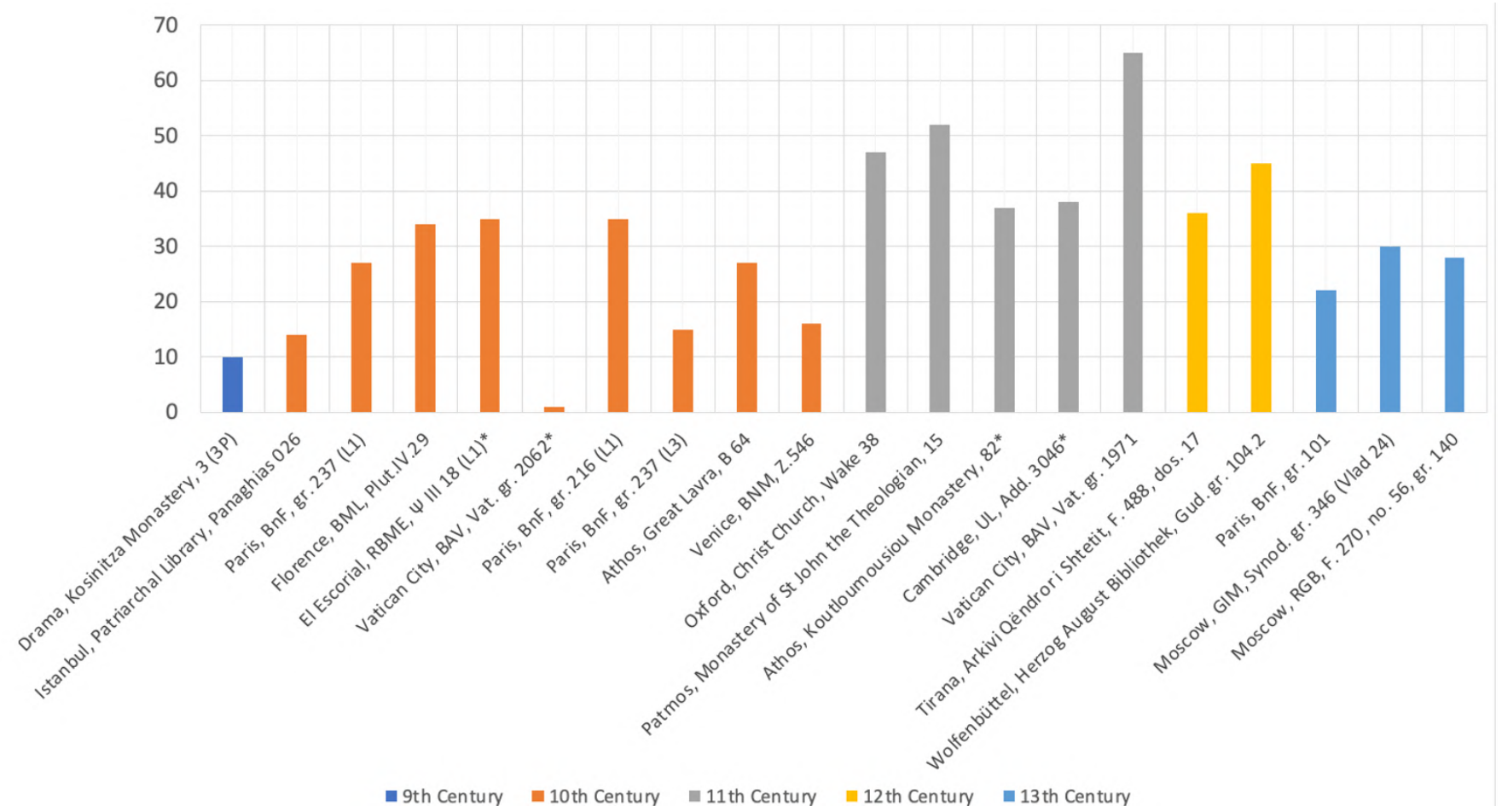


Image 35. Progression of Scholia-Catenae on Acts from the earliest to the latest manuscript

3. The development of C150.1

In the preceding chapters, we have noted the presence of certain Scholia-Catenae in the Pseudo-Andreas type (C150). However, it is important to stress that the designation "C150", as proposed by Parpulov for select manuscripts with Scholia-Catenae like Florence Plut.IV.29, Moscow Synod. gr. 346, Vatican Vat. gr. 2062, Athos Koutloumousiou 82, Cambridge Add. 3046, Istanbul Panaghias 026, does not cover all the evidence, as many of these scholia are not found in the Pseudo-Andreas type.[617]

What is intriguing, though, is that several of the elements that do appear exhibit a significant presence across the majority of Scholia-Catenae manuscripts, as detailed in Table 45. In particular, the highest number of occurrences is seen in one scholium at Acts 9:10 (no. 9) which is found in more than half of the items (fourteen). This entry is also one of the few with an attribution (in this case, Ammonius). Following closely is the inscription of the Athens altar linked to Acts 17:23 (no. 18) which appears thirteen times. Then, four scholia occur in half the manuscripts, with ten instances of the scholium on Acts 19:12 (no. 23), and nine instances for scholia on Acts 10:11 (no. 10), 17:28 (no. 19), and 19:35 (no. 24). The remaining extracts vary in frequency within C150.1a, with most scholia typically occurring four times. This observation raises the possibility that this selection, or at least the segment with the highest occurrence, may constitute the foundational core of the collection of Scholia-Catenae, which gradually expanded over time.

[617] Parpulov 2021: 164–166, 168–170.

Another compelling argument for the origins of these C150.1a scholia within the Collection arises when we compare the linking system between the biblical text and scholia in the two types. The extracts, whether in the frame-layout manuscripts of C150.1a or in the alternating layout of Vatican Barb. gr. 452, which retains the original numbering system in a few scholia (on ff. 4r–8v, 60r–v), are predominantly introduced with symbols. Even though the use of symbols is not entirely consistent among all the representatives, it does mirror the practice seen in the Scholia-Catenae manuscripts. While some symbols in scholia also serve to indicate later additions of originally omitted entries (either accidentally or deliberately),[618] in this specific case, they signify the incorporation of a set of annotations already marked with such a cross-reference system. It becomes evident that the use of this device not only facilitates expansion while maintaining the original numerical order but also points to the provenance of these supplements from a manuscript (or a group of manuscripts) where the same linking method is consistently applied. This phenomenon is not unique to Acts catenae but is also present in other biblical books. For the New Testament, an illustrative case is found in the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena on the Pauline Epistles that reveals the overlap of three layers of scholia, as extensively examined by Staab in 1924, and recently by Panella and Marcon.[619] Two sets, referred to as *Corpus Extravagantium* and *Scholia Photiana*,

[618] For instance, in Paris Coislin 25, on f. 8r, two scholia, on Acts 1:9 (Ἵνα μὴ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐρωτῶσιν, εὐθέως ἀνελήφθη. Cf. Cramer III, 9.9) and 1:10 (Εἰκότως, "ἐπὶ στόματος γὰρ δύο μαρτύρων σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα. Cf. Cramer III, 9.13–14), respectively, are added in the left margin of the biblical block.

[619] Staab 1926 (esp. 93–182); Panella 2021; Marcon 2023.

contain scholia marked with symbols:[620] the first set is mainly anonymous (but sometimes named) while the latter attributed to the Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople (810–893 AD). These were added to a core set of numbered scholia attributed to Oecumenius between the second half of the eighth century and the ninth century, respectively. A similar situation exists in the catenae on the Gospels, where several manuscripts present scholia introduced by a similar variety of signs.[621]

The final piece of strong evidence supporting the influence of the Collection in C150.1 emerges from the comparison with Jerusalem Staurou 25, the oldest manuscript in the series, where these scholia are indeed absent, as Table 45 illustrates. This absence serves as confirmation of the earliest stage of development of the Pseudo-Andreas type in this manuscript (C150.1b), as discussed in Chapters II and III.[622] It is worth repeating that the abbreviated subtype C150.2f, as found in the multilayered manuscript Vatican Reg. gr. 6, lacks all the twenty-three scholia absent in Jerusalem Staurou 25 in the portion Acts 2:14–7:59:[623] these are all present in the representatives of C150.1a, and, not surprisingly, they include seven entries shared with the Collection (nos. 2–7 in Table 45). This serves as a significant confirmation that, despite the Vatican codex being a later production, it abbreviates from an exemplar linked to an earlier phase of C150.1, a time when the Collection had not yet been incorporated.

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[620] Staab 1926 *passim* calls these "*Haken*" and "*Phantasiehaken*" or "*Phantasiezeichen*" (literally 'hooks' or 'creative hooks/symbols').

[621] Reuss 1941 *passim*, who also refers to these as "*Haken*".

[622] See above II.4.2 and III.6.2.

[623] See above III.6.2.

Within the Jerusalem codex, only two scholia from this list are present. As discussed in Chapter III, the first scholium (no. 19), associated with Acts 17:28 and attributing the quotation Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν to Aratus (and Homer), belongs to the Euthalian Apparatus' short list of quotations.[624] While its origin within the Euthalian *corpus* requires further examination, it is possible that its widespread presence in the catena manuscripts of the Collection might be attributed to its linkage to the relevant verse using symbols, which made it visually indistinguishable from exegetical scholia. This is evident, among the others, in the multilayered manuscripts Drama 3 (f. 190v) and Paris gr. 237 (f. 41r). The absence of symbols in Paris Coislin 25 and Vatican Barb. gr. 582 may suggest that it was initially a separate item that later came to be treated as a scholium. This seems further confirmed by its indication in manuscript Patmos 15 with a number (f. 29v, κζ) which indicates the sequence of the entry in the short quotation list (f. 4v).[625] The second scholium regards Acts 19:12 (no. 23) and contains a text from Ammonius Presbyter that appears in an abbreviated version in the scholia of the Collection. This may have been included in the original core of the Pseudo-Andreas type, possibly stemming from the direct tradition that contained a more extensive version of the text, as implied by the frequent appearance of scholia from this author in the catena (168 occurrences in Cramer's text).[626] Therefore, when the compiler(s) supplied material from the Collection, they skipped this scholium as it was already present in the core

[624] See above III.2.1.

[625] See Allen 2022: 4.

[626] Hutchinson 1928: 36, suggests that this work may have been a book of σημειώσεις or brief explanations of important passages in Acts, following a style similar to Origen.

catena. A clue supporting this argument is that this text is consistently within the numbered series in all frame manuscripts representing C150.1a.[627]

The analysis conducted above emphasises the significance of paratextual features, specifically the methods used to divide and mark scholia. These features are crucial for understanding the development of catenae and the sources employed in their creation. Nevertheless, these aspects have not received as much scholarly attention in the Acts catenae as they have in the Pauline catenae.

[627] The only manuscript where it is represented by symbol is Vatican Barb. gr. 582.

scholium n.	symbol-scholia in Pseudo-Andreas (C150)	Acts b.l.	C150.1a					C150.1b	Scholia-Catenae	
			Paris, BnF, Coislin 25	Paris, BnF, gr. 221	Oxford, New College, 58	Vatican City, BAV, Barb. gr. 582	Athos, St Panteleimon Monastery, 770	Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 25	presence in manuscripts	occurrences in manuscripts
1	Ἡ τοῦ σαββάτου ὁδὸς ... βαδίζειν ἐν σαββάτῳ.	1:12	symb	symb	symb	no symb	no symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 7)	8
2	Κατὰ τὴν θείαν πίστιν ... τριάδα ὁμοούσιον ἐβαπτίσθησαν.	2:41	symb	symb	no symb	symb	no symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 18)	4
3	Πλούσιοι ὄντες ἡδέως ... πτωχεύσαντος πλουσίου Θεοῦ.	2:45	symb	symb	no symb	no symb	no symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 19)	4
4	Αὕτη μὲν ἡ στοὰ ... Κῦρος ὁ Πέρσης.	3:11	symb	symb	no symb	no symb	—	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 20)	8
5	Οὐ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ... μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο.	3:22	symb	symb	symb	symb	—	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 21)	4
6	Διὰ τοῦτο προέλεγεν ... καὶ ὑμεῖς μετὰ ταῦτα.	4:4	symb	symb	symb	symb	no symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 23)	6

7	Θεὸς οὖν τὸ … ὃ ἐψεύσατο Ἀνανίας.	5:3	symb	symb	symb	—	symb	—	Yes[628]	4
8	Κανδάκην Αἰθίοπες πᾶσαν … τὴν μητέρα καλοῦσι Κανδάκην.	8:27	symb	symb	symb	symb	symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 37)	4
9	**Ἀμμωνίου πρεσβυτέρου** Ὅτι καὶ Ἀνανίας Διάκονος … τὸν γεγονότα διωγμόν.	9:10	symb	symb	symb	no symb	no symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 40)	14
10	Τέσσαρσιν εὐαγγελίοις δεδεμένην … ἐν ᾗ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.	10:11	symb	symb	symb	symb	symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 41)	9
11	Εὰν προσδράμῃ τῷ βαπτίσματι … ἤγουν τῆς προλαβούσης πλάνης.	10:35	no symb	symb	symb	symb	no symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 42)	7

[628] Cf. Florence, BML, Plut.IV.29 (f. 11r), Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 15 (f. 13v), Cambridge, UL, Add. 3046 (f. 28v), Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971 (f. 48r).

12	Συμεὼν ὁ ἐν τῷ Λουκᾶ ... τὸν δοῦλόν σου, δέσποτα.”	15:14	symb	?	no symb	no symb	—	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 52)	4
13	Ὁ σταυρωθεὶς οὖν ἦν ... Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ προσαγορεύονται.	15:17	symb	symb	symb	—	symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 53)	3
14	**Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου** Γνῶθι σαφῶς ὅτι ... δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.	16:17	symb	symb	symb	no symb	—	—	Yes[629]	2
15	Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ Στεφάνας ... Κορινθίους πρώτῃ Ἐπιστολῇ.	16:33	symb	symb	symb	symb	—	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 58)	5
16	Εἰ ἄνθρωπον ἐκήρυσσεν ... εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς αὐτῶν.	17:20	symb	symb	symb	no symb	no symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 59)	2
17	Δεισιδαίμων λέγεται ὁ ... ξύλον καὶ πνεῦμα.	17:22	symb	symb	symb	symb	no symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 61)	4

[629] Cf. Florence, BML, Plut.IV.29 (f. 15r), Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971 (f. 69r).

18	ἡ πᾶσα τοῦ βώμου ἐπὶγραφὴ· ... Θεῶ ἀγνώστῳ καὶ ξένῳ	17:23	no symb	—	—	—	—	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 62)	13
19	Ἀράτου ἀστρονόμου καὶ Ὁμήρου ποιητοῦ.	17:28	no symb	—	—	no symb	—	yes	Yes (Appendix, no. 63)	9
20	Ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ... τεχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.	17:29	symb	symb	symb	symb	no symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 65)	3
21	Τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα ... οὐ ποιήσεις κρίσιν;	17:31	symb	symb	symb	—	no symb	—	Yes[630]	2
22	Παιδεύει χωρίζεσθαι ἀπὸ ... εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας.	19:9	symb	symb	symb	symb	symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 68)	7
23	Τὸ τῶν σουδαρίων καὶ τῶν σκιῶν ... δάκρυον, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.	19:12	no symb	no symb	no symb	symb	no symb	yes	Yes (Appendix, no. 69)	10
24	Τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ ... πρὸς	19:35	symb	symb	symb	symb	no symb	—	Yes	9

[630] Cf. Florence, BML, Plut.IV.29 (f. 49v), Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1971 (f. 72r).

	κατάπληξιν τῶν ἀκεραιοτερων.								(Appendix, no. 72)	
25	**Ὠριγένους** Παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τρεῖς ... ἐκάλεσαν, ἤγουν ζηλωτάς.	21:38	symb	?	symb	symb	no symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 78)	7
26	**Ἰωσήπου** Σικάριοι λέγονται λῃσταὶ, ... οἱ λῃστεύοντες ἔλαβον.	21:38	symb	?	symb	symb	no symb	—	Yes (Appendix, no. 79)	5

Table 45. Symbol-scholia in C150.1 found in the Collection of Scholia-Catenae

4. The development of C152.1

While the precise relationship between the identified subtypes C152.1 and C152.2 remains unclear, a detailed analysis of the multiple-text manuscript Vatican Vat. gr. 760 suggests that C152.1 itself is a multilayered and multiple-text catena.

This claim is based on a thorough comparison that goes beyond the recognition of the two catenae in this manuscript as subtypes of the Pseudo-Theophylact (C152.1a) and Pseudo-Andreas (C150.2g) types, as explored in Chapter III.[631] In the course of the discussion, it was noted that certain scholia from C150.2g are present in Vienna Theol. gr. 150 (C152.1c), while the absence of several other scholia found in the Vienna manuscript was also observed in C152.1a. Consequently, I conducted a systematic comparison between the included and excluded scholia across all three catena texts, namely C152.1a, C152.1b, and C150.2g, in order to understand the disparities and resemblances. Surprisingly, it was discovered that C152.1c essentially represents the outcome of merging the scholia in C152.1a with those from C150.2g, in addition to the incorporation of scholia from the Scholia-Catenae collection. An example of this process is provided in Table 46. Just like the pieces of a puzzle fitting together, when we amalgamate the scholia from C152.1a with those from C150.2g, represented by the first and second catena in Vatican Vat. gr. 760, respectively, and then incorporate those from the Scholia-Catenae type, we will reconstruct the text of C152.1c that is represented in the Vienna manuscript. Indeed, there is minimal correspondence of scholia between the two catenae within Vatican Vat. gr. 760 (as seen in scholium no. 3 in Table 46). When

[631] See above III.7.

there is overlap, it seems that the compilers of Vienna Theol. gr. 150, or its source, opt for the catena containing a longer version. For example, in Vienna Theol. gr. 150, a scholium on Acts 16:4 (inc. Δόγματα λέγει, οὐ τὰ) shares its conclusion with catena one/C152.1a in the Vatican manuscript (f. 120, cf. PG 125, col. 728D.4–5 ζωῆς ὁρᾷ διατύπωσιν). In contrast, catena two/C150.2g in the Vatican manuscript (f. 270r) has a shorter ending for this scholium (cf. PG 125, col. 728D.4). Conversely, a scholium on Acts 21:9 in Vienna Theol. gr. 150 (inc. Τοῦ διακόνου Φιλίππου ἦσαν) concludes similarly to catena two/C150.2g in the Vatican manuscript (f. 238v, ὅτι καὶ παρθένοι ἦσαν), whereas catena one/C152.1a in the Vatican codex (f. 147v) has a shorter conclusion (cf. PG 125, col. 784D.4).

It is worth noting that many of the scholia introduced from the Collection are also present in Vienna Theol. gr. 150/C152.1c and spread across the multilayered catena manuscripts. These include those corresponding to Appendix nos. 46 (cf. PG 125, col. 692D.3–693A.13), 55 (cf. col. 723A.8–11), 58 (cf. col. 737A.13–15). 60 (cf. col. 744B.1–5), 61 (cf. PG 125, col. 745A.5–7), 62 (cf. col. 745B.8–10), 70 (cf. col. 763D.7), 71–72 (cf. col. 769C.6–13), 84 (cf. col. 784C.7–D.5), 89 (coll. 844C.3–845A.10). Since several of these are also present in C150.1a (cf. Table 45, nos. 14–18, 23), this observation provides further evidence for the existence of a shared foundational core within the Collection.

This discovery holds significant importance and implications because it addresses the question raised by the editors of this catena, Sifanius and Finettus, regarding why the Pseudo-Theophylact catena sometimes includes named scholia that also appear in

Pseudo-Andreas.[632] The answer is not that Pseudo-Theophylact directly draws from Andreas, extracting material and reworking it more or less freely, as Pseudo-Oecumenius does. Rather than making extensive modifications, the compiler of Pseudo-Theophylact in the Vienna manuscript seamlessly integrates one entire compilation into another, with minimal alterations: out of the two hundred fifty-six scholia present in catena two of Vatican Vat. gr. 760/C150.2g, only around thirty remain distinct and are not assimilated into Vienna Theol. gr. 150/C152.1c.[633] The primary change made by the compiler is the removal of author names, along with the incorporation of distinct biblical lemmata within the text.[634] However, it is worth noting that the omission of names might likely be a result of scribal error, as late catena manuscripts in alternating layouts often contain mixed-up scholia and biblical lemmata. For the most part, the compiler rarely abbreviates passages, occasionally introducing connecting words such as ἄλλως ("otherwise/elsewhere") between one scholium and another (for example, cf. PG 125, coll. 744B.10, 760A.10).

Fundamentally, the evidence suggests that the base form of C152.1 is found in the first catena in Vatican Vat. gr. 760 (ff. 2r–180r). To this core, composed mainly of scholia from Chrysostom, an abbreviated version of the Pseudo-Andreas catena was subsequently added, represented by the second compilation in the same codex (ff. 181r–248r). Then, scholia from the Scholia-Catenae collection were incorporated. The result of

[632] See above II.3.1.

[633] Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760, ff. 188r–190v, 192r–193r, 194v, 198r–v, 199v, 200r–202v, 203v, 205r–206v.

[634] The scarce instances of author names being mentioned are detailed in II.3.1.

this amalgamation is the type of catena found in Vienna Theol. gr. 150, presenting itself as a multiple-text (featuring multiple catena types) and multilayered (expanded at different stages) composition. Nevertheless, it is crucial to emphasise that the Vienna manuscript did not directly reproduce the content of the Vatican manuscript; instead, it likely derived from a predecessor of this, as indicated by variations in the text and the blending of scriptural lemmata and exegetical material. It is unclear whether this combination of sources came together in a single production process or resulted from various stages of production. Unfortunately, complete frame-catena evidence is absent, as both the manuscripts representatives of C152.1b and C152.1d are damaged and incomplete. Unlike the case of C150.1a, we do not have here the guidance provided by paratextual features for cross-referencing text and commentary to clarify the sequential order of the additions.

scholium no.	Acts 28:29–31			
	C152.1a	C150.2g (olim C155.4)	Scholia-Catenae	C152.1c
	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760 (1) (ff. 177r–178v)	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 760 (2) (ff. 245v–246v)		Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 150 (PG 125, coll. 844–848)
1	εἰδὼς ὁ παῦλος … ἀντιλεγόντων τῶν ἰουδαίων :–	—	—	Εἰδὼς ὁ Παῦλος … ἀντιλεγόντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων.
2	τί οὖν· ἵνα … διαφυγεῖν τὸν κίνδυνον :–	—	—	Τί οὖν; ἵνα αὐτῶν … διαφυγεῖν τὸν κίνδυνον.
3	μία ἦν ἐλπίς … κατάστασιν τῶν δεσμῶν :–	μία ἦν ἐλπίς … κατάστασιν τῶν δεσμῶν ; (cf. Cramer III, 414.14–16)	—	Τουτέστι, μία ἦν ἐλπὶς … τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν δεσμῶν.

4	—	—	Πρὶν ἐπιδημῆσαι τὸν ... ἐδήλωσεν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀποστόλων. (cf. Appendix no. 89)	Πρὶν ἐπιδημῆσαι Παῦλον ... ἐδήλωσεν Ἰουδαικῶν ἀποστόλων.
5	αἵρεσιν καλοῦσιν οἱ ἰουδαῖοι ... ἢ καὶ ἕλληνες :	—	—	Αἵρεσιν καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ... ἢ καὶ Ἕλληνες.
6	ὅρα πῶς οὐ ῥάπτουσιν ... λοιπὸν τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτόν :	—	—	Ὅρα πῶς οὐ ῥάπτουσι ... λοιπὸν τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτόν.
7	—	τοῖς ὑπουργὸν λέγουσι ... τῆς ἴσης ἐξουσίας μετέχει : (cf. Cramer III, 417.31–418.2)	—	Τοῖς ὑπουργὸν λέγουσι ... τῆς ἴσης ἐξουσίας μετέχει.
8	ἐποίησαν τοῦτο, φη(σὶ), τὰ ... ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψωσιν ἰάσεται αὐτούς :	—	—	Ἐποίησαν τοῦτο, φησὶ, τὰ ... ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψωσιν, ἰάσεται αὐτούς.
9	—	οὐχ ὡς τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ σπυδάζοντο(ς) ... ἀναχαιτίζοντα τῆς κακίας αὐτόν :– (cf. Cramer III, 418.19–26)	—	Οὐχ ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ σπυδάζοντος ... ἀναχαιτίζοντα τῆς κακίας αὐτόν.
10	—	οὐ καθάπερ ὁ σινωπεὺς ἐκεῖνος ... ἐν ᾗι κατέμενον ἐν τῆι ῥώμηι. (cf. Cramer III, 421.15–25)	—	Οὐ καθάπερ ὁ Σινωπεὺς ἐκεῖνος ... ἐν ᾗ κατέμεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ.

Table 46. Integration of scholia from various sources into C152.1c.

5. The development of C155.3

The Scholia-Catenae type played a role in expanding not only the well-known Pseudo-Andreas (C150) and Pseudo-Theophylact (C152) types but also the lesser-known C155.3,

exemplified by Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, 263 (tenth century) and Dresden, SLUB, A 104 (eleventh century). In Chapter II, it was noted that Dresden A 104 appears to align with C155.3, being identical to Patmos 263 apart from the absence of a few scholia.[635] The missing comments are supplementary additions from the Scholia-Catenae, as listed in Table 47, confirming that Patmos 263 originally contained a core set of texts shared with the Dresden manuscript, both stemming from a common ancestor.

Examining the table, it becomes apparent that most of these texts are present in the Appendix, except for two (nos. 11, 12), and a significant portion of them (nos. 1, 5–10, 13) align with the symbol-scholia in C150.1a. Notably, their sequence appears similar to C150.1a and the Appendix (cf. nos. 43–44, 55–56, 72–73, 79–80). Besides highlighting the multilayered nature of this catena and how its textual tradition evolved dynamically over time, this observation further corroborates the presence of a foundational core within the Collection, which, though subject to variations, served as the basis for expanding material in various catena types.

scholium no.	**Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, 263**	**Scholia-Catenae in multilayered and multiple-text catena manuscripts**
1	f. 6r κ(αὶ) ἄλλω(ς). τέσσαρσιν εὐαγγελίοις δεδεμένην, ... πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.	Yes (cf. Appendix, no. 41)
2	f. 6v Ποῖον καιρόν; τὸν ... Γάϊον γέγονεν ἀυτοκράτωρ.	Yes (Appendix, no. 43)
3	ff. 7r–v	Yes

[635] See above II.5.

	Τρίτον ἔτος ἀγρίππα ... ἤδη θανεῖν ἀπάγομαι.	(Appendix, no. 44)
4	ff. 7v–8r Ἐν τῇ ἀσίᾳ ... κυριεύουσαν τῶν ἐκεῖσε.	Yes (Appendix, no. 55)
5	f. 8r ἄλλω(ς) Διατί δὲ ἐκωλύθη ... καὶ χρόνον πολύν.	Yes (Appendix, no. 56)
6	f. 8r Ἄρειος πάγος τὸ ἐν ... τινῶν ἄρχειν λαχόντες	Yes (Appendix, no. 61)
7	f. 8v ἀντὶ τοῦ ἱερόδουλον· ... κορῶν (καὶ) σαρῶν.	Yes (Appendix, no. 72)
8	f. 8v τοῦ ἐξ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ ... κατάπληξιν τῶ(ν) ἀκεραιοτέρων.	Yes (Appendix, no. 73)
9	f. 8v ὠριγέν(ους)· Παρὰ ἰουδαίοις τρεῖς ... ἐκάλουν, ἤγουν ζηλωτάς.	Yes (Appendix, no. 79)
10	f. 8v ἰωσήπ(ου). Σικάριοι λέγονται· λῃσταὶ ... (καὶ) σικάριοι ἐκλήθησαν.	Yes (Appendix, no. 80)
11	f. 9r Τουτέστι δι’ ὀλίγ(ων) ... χ(ριστ)ῶ κηρύσσειν πίστιν.	—
12	f. 9r κυρίλλοου ἀλεξανδ(ρείας) ἐκ τ(ῆς) ἑρμ(ηνείας) ἡσαϊου. βιβ(λου) $\bar{\beta}$ τομ(ου) $\bar{\varsigma}$ Ἔθος γάρ π(ῶς) ... τ(ὴν) ἐκεῖσε θάλασσαν.	—
13	ff. 10r–v εὐσεβίου. Πρὶν ἐπιδημῆσαι τὸν παῦλον ... ἐδήλωσ(εν) ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀποστόλ(ων).	Yes (Appendix, no. 90)

Table 47. Extra scholia from the Collection in Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, 263

6. At the origin of the Scholia-Catenae on Acts: the role of C150 and C151

We have seen that the Collection of Scholia-Catenae on Acts has been extensively disseminated across various manuscripts and has even been incorporated into different categories of catenae to enhance their content. Nevertheless, it is essential to investigate the origins of this material. Although conducting a thorough analysis of the sources for each of these scholia would be a vast endeavour, it is possible to pinpoint the provenance of those scholia that have been assimilated into the principal categories of C150.1 and C152.1, as well as type C155.3.

A comparison between the ninenteen manuscripts of the Scholia-Catenae and the representatives of these types highlights a significant finding: a substantial portion of the scholia found in these catenae can be traced back to the Pseudo-Oecumenius type (C151). This observation may explain the anonymity of many of these scholia, suggesting that it is not merely a scribal oversight but rather a consequence of their origin from a catena-commentary. In this kind of compilation, as has been discussed in Chapter II, scholia are often integrated as fragments within the commentary, and attributing them to specific authors is not a common practice.[636] A similar explanation was suggested by Staab regarding the anonymous scholia found in the Pseudo-Andreas catena on the Catholic Epistles (C176).[637] These comments appear to contain material originating from Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 652, in which Staab identified the *Commentarius primigenius* (C175), and they are also found in Vatican City, BAV, Vat.

[636] See above II.2.

[637] Staab 1924: 331–342, and cf. Devreesse 1928, col. 1225.

gr. 1971.[638] Parpulov, however, has reclassified the latter as containing the *Catena abbreviata prima* (C182.1), a category corresponding to the *Catena abbreviata* on Acts (C156).[639] Indeed, the two Vatican manuscripts also include the short recension of Pseudo-Oecumenius (C151.3) and the Scholia-Catenae on Acts, respectively.[640] This suggests the existence of a collection for the Catholic Epistles, possibly in conjunction with the Acts Collection, although further investigation is needed to determine whether they circulated together or separately and to what extent they are attested.[641]

The Appendix illustrates the connection between Scholia-Catenae and C151, with more than half passages found either in Donatus' printed text (PG 118) or across other manuscripts of the three subtypes.[642] This relationship was somewhat noticed by scholars in the context of manuscript descriptions, yet it was never investigated systematically. For example, Antonio Maria Biscionio observed in the catalogue of manuscripts in the Mediceo-Laurentiana Library that some comments in Florence, BML, Plut.IV.29, dating

[638] Other manuscripts that are recognised as containing the *Commentarius primigenius* include Vatican Library, BAV, Vat. gr. 652 (fourteenth century), Vatican Library, BAV, gr. 1270 (fourteenth century), and Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, 263 (tenth century); see CPG IV: 396. The first two manuscripts are also coincidentally linked to C151.3, while the last one contains content from the Scholia-Catenae on Acts.

[639] Parpulov 2021: 176–177.

[640] See above II.3.2, and III.3.3, 4.4.

[641] The suggestion that the catenae on Acts and the Catholic Epistles share the same lineage arises from the recognition of identical attributions (Pseudo-Andreas, Oecumenius, Theophylact) associated with both of them. This sense of unity is emphasised by von Soden 1902: 692–693, who addresses them collectively.

[642] The reference to specific manuscripts is included only when a scholium is not present in the edition of Donatus (PG 118).

back to the tenth century, were found in Pseudo-Oecumenius.[643] Additionally, Paris, BnF, gr. 101 (thirteenth century), and Venice, BNM, Z.546 (tenth century), are both classified by Parpulov as variants of C151 in his catalogue because all the scholia in these two manuscripts are present in this type.[644] However, it was not previously recognised that these abridgments were closely associated with numerous other manuscripts containing 'isolated' scholia.

While it may be reasonable to consider whether the Pseudo-Oecumenius type incorporated the Scholia-Catenae collection into its commentary, this does not appear to be the case for the following reasons:

a) The absence of symbols preceding such scholia in C151 manuscripts, including both frame catena representatives and alternating-layout manuscripts, is notable. Instances of scholia marked by symbols are limited, and these cases might represent additions that were initially overlooked due to oversight and subsequently propagated. This seems to be the case with Appendix, scholium no. 61 on Acts 17:22. In several frame-catena manuscripts of C151.3 (for instance, Athos Hagiou Pavlou 2, f. 63r; Vienna Theol. gr. 302, f. 30r; London Add. 39599, f. 40r), this scholium is accompanied by a symbol but is positioned outside of the main marginal catena, in the space between the commentary and the biblical text. Two codices of C151.2, namely Paris, BnF, Coislin 26

[643] Biscionio 1752: 67.

[644] Parpulov 2021: 155, 172. However, due to the limited quantity of the exegetical material (a total of sixteen entries in Venice Z.546, and of twenty-two in Paris gr. 101) there is some uncertainty surrounding the categorisation of these codices as C151, as indicated in the entries in the Catena Catalogue, where a question mark is prudently added next to the relevant catena number.

(f. 41v) and its sister manuscript Munich, BSB, gr. 375 (f. 40v), also include this scholium as a marginal addition outside of the main commentary in alternating layout.[645]

b) Some of these scholia feature indirect references, which are typical of the catena-commentary style. For example, in the Appendix, scholium no. 7, concerning Acts 1:12, there is an indirect reference to the source of the passage, Origen's lost *Stromateis*, in the form of "as X says in Y work" (ὡς φησὶν Ὠριγένης ἐν τῷ ε' Στρωματεῖ, cf. PG 118, col. 53D). This stylistic element is a characteristic feature of catena-commentaries and can be found both in Pseudo-Oecumenius and in the anonymous fragmentary composition in Vatican Reg. gr. 6 (C155.5), as previously discussed.[646]

c) Upon closer examination of the scholia, it is apparent that in C151 these texts are often part of a broader context that adds clarity of meaning to the passage. An example is scholium no. 36 in the Appendix, which comments on Acts 8:27 narrating the encounter between Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch, a high-ranking official responsible for the treasury of Candace, the queen of Ethiopia. The passage in the Collection quotes a fragment from the lost *Aethiopica* of Bion of Soli (ca. second century BC) preserved in Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 6.35:

[645] On the close relationship between these two manuscripts see Panella 2016: 122–123.

[646] See above II.2 and III.6.1.

Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι Κανδάκην Αἰθίοπες πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μητέρα καλοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ πατέρα Αἰθίοπες οὐκ ἀναφέρουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὄντας υἱοὺς ἡλίου παραδιδόασιν· ἑκάστου δὲ τὴν μητέρα καλοῦσι Κανδάκην.[647] (PG 118, col. 161D.5–9)

However, what sets C151 apart is that it includes an additional sentence preceding the quote which explains that Ethiopia was ruled by queens, emphasising the role of women in leadership in that region, and therefore providing a background to the subsequent explanation on the term 'Candace':[648]

Γυναῖκες δὲ ἦρχον ἐκείνης τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, ὧν καὶ ἡ Κανδάκη κατὰ διαδοχὴν μία, ἧς ὁ εὐνοῦκος ὑπῆρχε ταμίας τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν.[649] (PG 118, col. 161D.3–5)

The confirmation that certain scholia originated in C151 and were subsequently added to C150 carries significant implications. It challenges the commonly held belief that Pseudo-Oecumenius is merely an epitome of Pseudo-Andreas.[650] In fact, there appears to be a reciprocal relationship to some extent. While there is clear evidence of

[647] "It must be known, however, that the Ethiopians call every king's mother Candace, since the Ethiopians do not mention the father of kings but instead consider them as true sons of the sun; and for each of them, they call the mother Candace".

[648] Cf. Dio Cassius 54.5.4–5; Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Alexander Romance*, 3.18–23; Strabo 17.1.54. For information regarding 'Candace' (Κανδάκη in Greek) as a dynastic title and the political and military leadership of the Candaces, see Török 1997, in particular 213–14 and 448–87.

[649] "But women held power in that land of Ethiopia, among whom Candace, one in succession, had a eunuch as the custodian of the royal treasuries".

[650] See above II.4.2.

the influence of Pseudo-Andreas, as demonstrated by previous scholars like Hutchinson, who listed passages where C150 patristic fragments are condensed and integrated into the C151 catena-commentary, and my own research, which identified the discernible source used in test passages from C151.1 and C151.2, it is important to recognise that this influence is not one-sided.[651]

It is essential to point out that these supplementary scholia do not originate directly from the manuscripts of Pseudo-Oecumenius. Instead, they pass through the Scholia-Catenae as an intermediary source. This is apparent not just through the utilisation of symbol systems in the frame-layout codices of C150.1a, as previously mentioned, but also due to the inclusion of scholia not present in C151 but predominantly found in the manuscripts of the Collection across the multilayered and multiple-text manuscripts. Scholia that are present in C150.1a but absent in C151 include Table 45, nos. 2–3, 5 (Appendix nos. 18–19, 21), 12–13 (Appendix nos. 52–53), 16 (Appendix no. 60), and 20 (Appendix no. 66). Additionally, several of these extracts, along with others, closely resemble the organisational layout of the Collection. If we isolate the symbol-scholia in C150.1a and arrange them in sequence, we discover that most of them follow the same order as several scholia in the Appendix. This resemblance is particularly evident in Table 45, nos. 2–5 (Appendix nos. 18–21), 9–11 (Appendix nos. 40–42), 12–13 (Appendix nos. 52–53), 17–19 (Appendix nos. 62–64), and 25–26 (Appendix nos. 79–80).

Nonetheless, it seems that the Scholia-Catenae collection itself incorporates scholia that have been condensed from C150.1a. Some of this abbreviated material includes

[651] Hutchinson 1928: 110–113; Scieri 2022a: 296–297.

attributions to specific authors. To illustrate, when we examine the scholia in Drama 3 (Appendix, nos. 35, 36, 38, 40, 63, 64, 68, 70, 71, 74), we find that all of them are attributed to specific sources and are also shared with Paris gr. 237, as well as, in the case of those that are not mutilated, with Escorial Ψ. III. 18. Interestingly, all of these entries appear in a more complete form in C150.1a. It appears that when the compilers of C150.1a integrated scholia from the Collection, they excluded those that had been abbreviated and were accessible in their full extent through direct sources, particularly those by Chrysostom, Ammonius, and Isidore of Pelusium. As an example, I here reintroduce the extract from Isidore on Acts as presented in Chapter III, Table 13 (corresponding here to Appendix, scholium no. 35). However, I include an additional column featuring the exegetical passage in C151 and omit the sentence later added by another hand at the beginning of the scholium in Drama 3. The comparison of such passage in the Scholia-Catenae, C150, C151, and the direct tradition, as illustrated in Table 48, strongly supports the observation that the text in the Collection is an abridged form of C150.1a, which, in turn, closely follows the direct tradition of Isidore of Pelusium's *Letters*. In contrast, very little is shared with C151 (highlighted in bold in the table), as it omits what appears as the second scholium in C150.1a and instead freely adapts a section that corresponds to a third scholium in C150.1a, content which is absent in the Scholia-Catenae. This not only reaffirms the reliance of the Collection on Pseudo-Andreas but also underscores the independence of Pseudo-Oecumenius in reshaping catena material.

Scholia-Catenae	C150.1a	C151	Direct tradition
Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 f. 176r	***Catena Andreae*** Cramer III, 133.32–134.11	***Commentarii Ps-Oecumenii*** PG 118, 156B.8–C.15	**Isidore of Pelusium, *Letters on the interpretation of the Holy Bible* 447–448** PG 78
ἰσιδώρ(ου) : **οὐχ ὁ ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα κατα|λεγόμενος ὁῦτος ἐστιν ὁ φί|λιππος.** καὶ ἔστιν ἀποδείξαι| ὁῦτως· **ἀναιρεθέντος| στεφάνου διωγμὸ(ς) ἐγένετο| μέγας· πάντες δὲ διε|σπάρησαν κατὰ τὰς χώ|ρας τῆς ἰουδάιας (καὶ)** τῆς| **σαμαρείας. πλὴν τῶν ἀ|ποστόλων· ὡς δῆλον ἔἶναι| ὅτι ὁ ἀπόστολος φίλιπ|πος. σὺν τοῖς ἀπο|στόλοις. ἐπὶ ἰε|ροσολύμων| κατέμει|νεν** :–	*Ἰσιδώρου ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς υμζ.* **Οὐχ ὁ** Ἀπόστολος **Φίλιππος ὁ ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα καταλεγόμενος**, ἀλλ᾽ εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ τῶν μετὰ τοῦ ἀριστέως καὶ ἀρχιστρατηγοῦ τῶν καλλινίκων μαρτύρων Στεφάνου ἐπιλεγεὶς πρὸς τὴν τῶν χηρῶν οἰκονομίαν· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον βαπτίσας, καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα κατηχήσας. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς υμη.* Ἐπειδὴ καὶ μαρτυρίαν ζητεῖς τοῦ πράγματος γραφικὴν, ἄκουε τοῦ παναρίστου Λουκᾶ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι γεγραφότος· **ἀναιρεθέντος Στεφάνου διωγμὸς ἐγένετο μέγας** ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· **“πάντες δὲ διεσπάρησαν κατὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ** τῆς **Σαμαρείας, πλὴν τῶν Ἀποστόλων·” ὡς δῆλον εἶναι ὅτι ὁ Ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος σὺν τοῖς** ἄλλοις **Ἀποστόλοις ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων κατέμεινεν.**	**Οὐχ ὁ** ἀπόστολος **Φίλιππος, ὁ ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα καταλεγόμενος, οὗτός ἐστιν,** ἀλλ᾽ εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ, ὁ μετὰ Στεφάνου ἐπιλεγεῖς πρὸς τὴν τῶν χηρῶν οἰκονομίαν. Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθές ἐστιν. ἐντεῦθεν δῆλον. Τῶν γὰρ ἀποστόλων μόνων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις παραλειφθέντων, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν μαθητῶν ἄλλων ἀλλαχόσε διασπαρέντων, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἤδη, πάντες δὲ διεσπάρησαν κατὰ τὰς χώρας τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Σαμαρείας, πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων. Ἐν τοῖς διασπαρεῖσιν ἦν καὶ οὗτος ὁ Φίλιππος, ὃς καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα κατήχησεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, καὶ κατὰ θεῖον χρησμὸν τὸν Εὐνοῦχον βαπτίσας, ὑπὸ Πνεύματος Κυρίου εἰς Ἄζωτον εὑρέθη, πρὸς δὲ Καισάρειαν ὥρμησε τὴν αὐτὸν ἐνεγκοῦσαν. Τῆς γὰρ ἐπὶ Στεφάνου λύπης πειρασθεὶς, καὶ δείσας μὴ τῶν ὁμοίων μετάσχῃ,	ΥΜΖ′. ΑΝΤΙΟΧΩι. (…) **οὐ** γὰρ **ὁ** ἀπόστολος **Φίλιππος, ὁ ἐν τοῖς δεκαδύο καταλεγόμενος**, ἀλλ᾽ **ὁ** εἰς τοὺς ἑπτὰ τῶν μετὰ τοῦ ἀριστέως καὶ ἀρχιστρατήγου τῶν καλλινίκων μαρτύρων Στεφάνου ἐπιλεγεὶς πρὸς τὴν τῶν χηρῶν οἰκονομίαν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον βαπτίσας, καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα κατηχήσας. ΥΜΗ′. ΤΩι ΑΥΤΩι. Περὶ αὐτοῦ. Ἐπειδὴ καὶ μαρτυρίαν ζητεῖς τοῦ πράγματος Γραφικήν, ἄκουε τοῦ παναρίστου Λουκᾶ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι γεγραφότος· **Ἀναιρεθέντος Στεφάνου ἐγένετο διωγμὸς μέγας** ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, **πάντες δὲ διεσπάρησαν κατὰ τῆς χώρας τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ**

		ἐπαλινόστησεν οἴκαδε. Ἄλλως τε, εἰ ὁ βαπτίσας ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἦν, εἶχεν ἂν τὴν αὐθεντίαν τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος δόσεως, καὶ οὐκ ἂν Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης καταβάντες ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος παρέσχοντο χάριν. Οὗτος οὖν βαπτίζει μόνον, ὡς μαθητὴς, τελειοῦσι δὲ τὴν χάριν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, οἷς ἡ τῆς τοιαύτης δόσεως αὐθεντεία ἐδέδοτο.	**Σαμαρείας, πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὡς δῆλον εἶναι ὅτι ὁ ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος σὺν τοῖς** ἄλλοις **ἀποστόλοις, ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων κατέμεινε**.

Table 48. Comparing the versions of Isidore scholium on Acts 8:12

Conversely, it seems that some other sources, despite having author attributions, were incorporated into C150.1a from the Scholia-Catenae. For instance, the scholia nos. 79 and 80 in the Appendix, which are attributed to Origen and Flavius Josephus, as indicated by the symbols adjacent to the corresponding texts in C150.1a (cf. Table 45 nos. 25–26) and their incorporation into C155.3 (cf. Table 47 nos. 9–10).

It is important to highlight that this reciprocal influence between C151 and C150 likely occurred at distinct stages rather than simultaneously. Staab proposed a similar theory regarding the coexistence of anonymous and attributed scholia, distinguished by symbols, within the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena on the Pauline Epistles in Paris gr. 237.[652] According to this theory, the anonymous set marked by symbols might represent the source of the *Corpus Extravagantium*, which constitutes the initial additional layer of extracts forming the Pseudo-Oecumenius *Normaltypus* (C165.1). On the other hand, those scholia that are indicated by numbers in this type and are abbreviated in Paris gr. 237 could be a subsequent reinsertion from the *Normaltypus* onto the Paris manuscript. Panella has added nuance to this theory by observing that Paris gr. 237 is indeed the only abridged version of the *Normaltypus* that includes both a selection of numbered scholia from this set and a layer of symbol-scholia from *Extravagantes*.[653]

[652] Staab 1926: 180.

[653] Panella 2021: 399–400. However, her conclusion regarding the reason for the addition of symbols shows some uncertainty (cf. p. 400: "we do not know whether the scribe found the task of introducing a new numbering system too great a challenge, or whether he copied the manuscript from an earlier exemplar, which did not have numbers.").

This instance, therefore, presents a noteworthy parallel, as a comparable scenario is apparent in L1 of the Acts catena within the same manuscript, a topic thoroughly discussed in Chapter III.[654] In contrast, L1 of Drama 3 exclusively features attributed scholia, most likely originating from C150. The only anonymous texts are two sections of the Euthalian Apparatus (Appendix, scholia nos. 63–64). This stands in stark contrast to what we find in L3 of the Paris gr. 237 and L1 of Paris gr. 216, where we predominantly encounter anonymous scholia, many of which can be traced back to C151. This suggests that when the primary scribe was adding content to create L1 in Paris gr. 237, the anonymous scholia from the Collection, partially drawn from C151, had become intermingled with those derived from C150 which carried attributions. This mixed-source Collection continued to expand, and this fuller version is exemplified in L1 of Escorial Ψ. III. 18. The significance of the reception of the Scholia-Catenae, finally, becomes evident in its appearance as an epitome in T2 of Moscow F. 270, no. 56.

After establishing the evolution of the Collection from catena types C150 and C151, the next step is to investigate the origin of scholia that are predominantly found in the Scholia-Catenae type but do not appear to have clear origins in either C150 or C151 (as indicated in the Appendix with an em dash —). A thorough exploration of this matter would exceed the scope of this thesis. This is because, while there is a significant number of scholia shared among the manuscripts of the Collection, there is also a substantial number of extracts that do not appear to be in common between these codices. Each of these scholia should be subject to separate examination and comparison, not only within

[654] See above III.3.1.

the catena tradition but also across various compilation genres. This is particularly relevant for those scholia that share similarities with lexical glosses, emphasising word definitions rather than engaging in exegetical commentary. Furthermore, identifying the exact manuscript used by each type to incorporate the Scholia-Catenae presents a challenging task. Among the nineteen manuscripts of the Collection, none precisely matches the number of scholia integrated into C150.1a, C152.1a and C155.3. This presents us with two possibilities: either the original exemplar has not survived, or the compiler(s) relied on a combination of manuscripts from the Collection.

7. Concluding remarks

Multilayered and multiple-text catena manuscripts provide important insights into the origins and structure of major catena types. In essence, these are also multilayered catenae that have undergone diverse stages of development marked by various additions and revisions. Paratextual elements, such as symbols, play a pivotal role in signalling these intricate layers, thus serving the cause of textual criticism. This fresh perspective challenges long-standing misconceptions and prompts a revaluation of prevailing beliefs about Acts catenae in several critical aspects:

1. The existence of a Collection of Scholia-Catenae challenges the initial perception of these scholia as isolated and scattered annotations within multilayered manuscripts. Instead, they constitute a dynamic and interconnected *corpus*. This collection exhibits a fluid nature, characterised by expansion, abbreviation, and reworking, resulting in the emergence of several distinct *corpora* that share a common core foundation. This can be

readily observed in what appear to be the most frequently shared scholia among the manuscripts of the Collection, many of which align with L1 of multilayered catenae manuscripts Drama 3, Paris gr. 237 and 216, Escorial Ψ. III. 18. The existence of epitomes crafted from these scholia, as evidenced in the multiple-text manuscript Moscow F. 270, no. 56, underscores the significance and widespread influence of the Collection. These scholia serve as crucial links, bridging not only multilayered and multiple-text manuscripts but also enabling a deeper comprehension of the intricate relationships among major catena types such as Pseudo-Andreas (C150), Pseudo-Oecumenius (C151), Pseudo-Theophylact (C152), and even other independent catenae like C155.3, of which they expanded the original core.

2. A reassessment of the connection between Pseudo-Andreas and Pseudo-Oecumenius results in a significant change in scholarly perspective. Contrary to the conventional belief, it becomes clear that C150 is not solely a source of C151 but in a branch of the manuscript tradition (C150.b) it draws on the latter to further develop, and this dependence is achieved through the mediation of the Collection. The Scholia-Catenae, in part, incorporate material that originates from C151, which accounts for their anonymity. The fact that C150 does not directly access C151 but instead does so through the Collection is evidenced by comparing the scholia shared among the three compilations. It becomes evident that C151 often provides more contextual information than the fragments found in the Collection. This discovery reshapes our comprehension of the Acts catena tradition, indicating that the primary influence seems to be exerted by the Pseudo-Oecumenius catena, which is further supported by its prevalence among

extant manuscripts, with Pseudo-Andreas assuming a secondary position. Conversely, certain portions of the Scholia-Catenae also appear to be condensed versions of Pseudo-Andreas. This demonstrates that the relationship between these categories is not unidirectional; mutual influence is possible.

3. The multilayered composition of the Pseudo-Theophylact catena. The text found in Vienna Theol. gr. 150, which has traditionally been recognised as the reference text, such as in Finettus' edition, is, in fact, a complex amalgamation. It not only brings together the two catenae on Acts from Vatican Vat. gr. 760, which are themselves distinct and independent types (C152.1a and C150.2g, respectively) but also incorporates scholia extracted from the Collection. This finding challenges the previously held belief that Theophylact relies on Pseudo-Andreas or merely condenses Pseudo-Oecumenius. In reality, the similarities between these texts can be attributed to the inclusion of an abbreviated subtype of the first, as well as the assimilation of additional material from the Scholia-Catenae, primarily stemming from C151.

In summary, the discoveries made while examining multilayered and multiple-text catena manuscripts on Acts encourage a comprehensive reassessment of the history of catenae related to this book. These insights serve as a crucial means to grasp how these catenae evolved over time.

Appendix: Comparative Table of Scholia-Catenae across Multilayered and Multiple-Text Manuscripts

no.	b.l.	inc. des.	Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (L1)	Paris, BnF, gr. 237 (L1)	Escorial, RBME, Ψ. III. 18 (L1)	Paris, BnF, gr. 216 (L1)	Paris, BnF, gr. 216 (L3)	Moscow, RGB, F. 270, no. 56 (T2)	C151
1	1:1	Ἡγημὼν ἦν οὗτος Θεόφιλος.	—	—	—	f. 3r	—	—	PG 118 col. 45A
2	1:1	Τὸν παθόντα λέγει καὶ τὰ θαύματα πεποιηκέναι.	—	—	—	f. 3r	—	—	PG 118 col. 45A
3	1:4	Τουτέστι κοινωνῶν ἀλῶν, κοινωνῶν τραπέζης.	—	—	—	f. 3r	—	—	PG 118 col. 48A
4	1:4	Πρόσεχε τῇ ἀναγνωσῇ ... καὶ πίνω εἴρηται.	—	—	—	—	f. 10r	—	—
5	1:5	Παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ... καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.	—	—	—	f. 3r	—	—	PG 118 col. 49A
6	1:7	Ἰδοὺ ἄνδρας ἀνδράσιν ... ἦσαν ὁμοούσιοι ἀλλήλοις.	—	—	—	f. 3v	—	—	PG 118, col. 53B
7	1:12	Ἡ τοῦ σαββάτου ὁδὸς ... βαδίζειν ἐν σαββάτῳ.	—	f. 10v *scholion*	—	f. 3v	—	219v–220r	PG 118, col. 53D
8	1:13	[Πέτρος] ἐπιλύων ἢ ἐπιγνούς. ... [Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου] ἐξομολόγησις.	—	—	—	f. 4r	—	—	PG 118, col. 56A

9	1:16	Οὐκ ἐναπέθανε τῇ… τὰ ἔκκατα ἐκκενωθῆνι.	—	—	—	f. 4v Apollinarius of Laodicea	—	—	PG 118, coll. 57D–60A
10	1:16	Πέρσης ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο … ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιφράξῃ.	—	—	—	f. 4v Apollinarius of Laodicea	—	—	PG 118, coll. 60A–B
11	2:3	Διὰ γλωσσῶν διεμέρισεν … ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ.	—	—	—	f. 5r	—	—	—
12	2:14	Σταθεὶς δὲ Πέτρος … εἰσὶν ἐπ᾽ ἀγορᾶς.	—	—	—	f. 6r	—	—	PG 118, coll. 65CD–68A
13	2:24	Οὗτος γὰρ ἔφη … ἐγὼ λαμβάνω αὐτήν.	—	—	—	f. 6v	—	—	PG 118, col. 72D
14	2:25	Σημειωτέον ὅτι ὁ λεγόμενος … λέγει τὸν Ἰησοῦν,	—	—	—	f. 7r	—	—	cf. Escorial, RBMEl, X.III.3, f. 6v
15	2:33	Σημεωτέον ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα… ἅγιον ὑποδείκνυσιν ὁραθέν.	—	—	—	f. 7v	—	—	—
16	2:36	Οὐ περὶ τῆς θεότητος … μετὰ τὸν αὐτὸν σταυρωθῆναι.	—	—	—	—	f. 13r	—	—
17	2:38	Ὧν γὰρ ἡ οὐσία … τὸ ὄνομα ἓν.	—	—	—	—	f. 13r	—	—
18	2:41	Κατὰ τὴν θείαν … τριάδα ὁμοούσιον ἐβαπτίσθησαν.	—	—	—	f. 8r	f. 13r	—	—

19	2:45	Πλούσιοι ὄντες ἡδέως ... πτωχεύσαντος πλουσίου Θεοῦ.	—	—	—	—	—	f. 220r	—
20	3:11	Αὕτη μὲν ἡ στοὰ ... ᾠκοδόμησε Κῦρος ὁ Πέρσης.	—	—	—	f. 9v	f. 14r	f. 220r	PG 118, col. 84A
21	3:22	Οὐ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ... μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο.	—	—	—	—	—	f. 220r	—
22	3:26	Σημειωτέον ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἔφη υἱοὶ... πατέρα ἐκείνοις τε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς.	—	—	—	f. 10v	f. 14r	—	PG 118, col. 92D
23	4:4	Διὰ τοῦτο προέλεγεν ... ὑμεῖς μετὰ ταῦτα.	—	—	—	f. 11r	f. 15r	f. 220r	PG 118, col. 93CD
24	4:11	Παντοκράτωρ γὰρ ὑπάρχει ... καὶ κεφαλαῖος λῖθος.	—	—	—	f. 11v	f. 15r	—	cf. Escorial, RBMEl, X.III.3, f. 11v
25	4:12	Ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ... ὡς πάντας σώζων.	—	—	—	f. 11v	f. 15r	—	—
26	4:33	Διὰ γὰρ τῶν θεοσημείων... ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντα.	—	—	—	f. 13r	f. 16r	—	PG 118, col. 105A
27	5:37	Ἐοίκασιν οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι ... Λουκᾶν Εὐαγγελίῳ φέρεται.	—	—	—	f. 16v	—	—	PG 118, col. 121 A–B
28	5:37	Οὗτος Ἰοῦδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ... τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνους.	—	—	—	—	—	ff. 220r–v	PG 118, col. 121B

29	6:5	Οὗτος ὁ Νικόλαος ... μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα.	—	—	—	—	—	f. 220v	—
30	7:43	Μολὸχ ἤτοι μολχὸμ εἴδωλον δέ... ἐστιν εἶδος σκοτασμοῦ.	—	—	—	f. 22r	f. 21v	—	PG 118, col. 148B
31	7:43	Πῶς ἤκουσεν ὁ πατὴρ ... ρεφᾶν, ποιήσεως ὑμῶν.	—	—	—	—	—	f. 220v	PG 118, col. 148C
32	7:53	Ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ ... καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρει.	—	—	—	f. 22v	—	—	PG 118, col. 152C
33	7:55	Διὰ τὸ ἰδειν ... ἤτοι θεοριῶν ἐπεφάνη.	—	—	—	—	f. 22r	—	—
34	7:58	Οἱ κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου ψευδομάρτυρος.	—	—	—	f. 23r	f. 23r	—	PG 118, col. 153A
35	8:12	Οὐχ ὁ ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα ... ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων κατέμεινεν.	f. 176r Isidore of Pelusium	f. 22v Isidore of Pelusium	?	f. 23v abbreviated	—	—	PG 118, col. 156C
36	8:15	Σημείων μεγάλων γινομένων ... Πνεῦμα οὐκ ἔλαβον.	f. 176r Chrysostom	f. 23r Chrysostom	?	f. 24v Chrysostom	—	—	PG 118, col. 157B
37	8:27	Κανδάκην Αἰθίοπες πᾶσαν ... μητέρα καλοῦσι Κανδάκην.	—	—	f. 1v	—	—	—	PG 118, col. 161D
38	8:39	Συμφερόντως ἥρπασεν αὐτὸν ... ἐλύπησεν ἂν ἀνανεύσας.	f. 177r Chrysostom	f. 24r Chrysostom	f. 2r Chrysostom	—	—	—	PG 118, col. 165B

39	9:2	Ὁδὸν ἐκάλουν τὴν … ἢ ὁδὸν πολιτείαν ἀκουστέον.	—	—	—	f. 26v	—	—	PG 118, coll. 167D–168A
40	9:7	Ὅτι καὶ Ἀνανίας … διὰ τὸν διωγμόν.	f. 177r Ammonius	f. 24v Ammonius	f. 2v Ammonius	f. 27r Ammonius	—	—	PG 118, col. 169A
41	10:11	Τέσσαρσιν εὐαγγελίοις δεδεμένην … πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.	—	f. 26v *scholion*	f. 5r	—	—	—	PG 118, col. 180C
42	10:34	Ἐὰν προσδράμῃ τῷ … τῆς προλαβούσης πλάνης.	—	f. 28r	f. 6v	—	—	—	—
43	12:1	Ποῖον καιρόν; τὸν … Γάιον γέγονεν αὐτοκράτωρ.	—	f. 30r	—	—	—	ff. 220v–221v	PG 118, coll. 193A–B
44	12:15	Τρίτον ἔτος Ἀγρίππᾳ … ἤδη θανεῖν ἀπέγομαι.	—	—	f. 9r	—	—	—	PG 118, col. 200B–C
45	12:20	Ἐν τοῖς πατριαρχικοῖς…κῦριόν ἐστιν ὄνομα.	—	—	—	—	f. 31r	—	—
46	13:13	Ἰωάννης ὁ καλούμενος …. εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα.	—	f. 32r	f. 10r	—	—	—	PG 118, col. 224B–C
47	13:16	Σεβομένους ἐνταῦθα καὶ … τῆς θρησκείας εἰσάγων.	—	—	—	f. 41v	—	—	PG 118, col. 209AB
48	13:19	Χεταῖοι, Γεργεσαῖοι, Ἀμορραῖοι … Εὐαῖοι, καὶ Ἰεβουσαῖοι.	—	—	f. 10v	—	—	—	PG 118, col. 204C

49	13:41	Ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς σταυροῦται καὶ ἀποθνήσκει.	—	—	f. 11v	—	—	—	—
50	14:11	Ἕλληνες ἐπίστευσαν ἀνθρώποις … Θεοῦ ὁμοιωθῆναι ἀνθρώποις.	—	—	f. 13r	—	—	f. 221v	—
51	14:19	Ἐνταῦθα πληροῦται τὸ … ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελειοῦται.	—	—	f. 13v	—	—	—	—
52	15:16	Τίς ἦν ὁ Συμεὼν … τὴν μετὰ βαβυλῶνος.	—	—	—	—	—	f. 221v	PG 118, col. 217D
53	15:17	Ὁ σταυρωθεὶς οὖν ἦν … Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ προσαγορεύονται.	—	—	—	—	—	f. 221v	—
54	15:39	Τί οὖν; ἐχθροὶ … ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς.	—	—	f. 16v	—	—	ff. 221v-222r	PG 118, col. 225B
55	16:6	Διατί ἐκωλύθησαν διατρίψαι … Ἰωάννου χρόνον πολύν.	—	—	f. 17r	—	—	f. 222r	—
55	16:6	Ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ … κυριεύειν τῷ ἐκεῖσε.	—	f. 37v	f. 17r	—	—	—	PG 118, col. 228A
57	16:14	Ἐν ἄλλοις εἴρηται … πορφυρόβαφα ἦν πιπράσκουσα.	—	f. 38r *scholion*	f. 17r	—	—	f. 222r	—
58	16:33	Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ Στεφάνας … Κορινθίους πρώτη Ἐπιστολῇ.	—	f. 39r	—	—	—	—	PG 118, col. 232C

59	16:27–34	Ὅτι ὁ δεσμοφύλαξ … Ἐν Φιλιππησίοις ἦν.	—	—	—	—	—	f. 222r	—
60	17:19	Ἐπιλαβόμενοί τε αὐτὸν … εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς αὐτῶν.	—	—	—	—	—	f. 222r	—
61	17:19	Ἄρειον πάγος τὸ ἐν … τινων ἄρχειν λαχόντες.	—	—	f. 20r	—	—	ff. 222r–v	PG 118, col. 237A
62	17:22	Δεισιδαίμων καλεῖται ὁ … καὶ ξύλον καὶ πνεῦμα.	—	—	f. 20v	—	—	f. 222v	cf. Paris, BnF, Coislin 26, f. 41v; Munich, BSB, gr. 375, f. 40v
63	17:23	Ἡ πᾶσα τοῦ βώμου ἐπὶγραφὴ· … Θεῷ ἀγνώστῳ καὶ ξένῳ	f. 190r	f. 41r	f. 20v (longer)	—	—	f. 222v	PG 118, col. 237C
64	17:28	Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἀράτου	f. 190v	f. 41r		—	—	—	—
65	17:28	Διὸ Μωυσῆς ἔλεγεν. … τῇ ζωῇ ὑμῶν.	—	—	f. 21r	—	—	—	—
66	17:29	Ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ γένους … τεχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.	—	—	—	—	—	f. 222v	—
67	19:6	Ἰδοὺ ἐνταῦθα ἰδικῶς … τῶν χειρῶν Παύλου.	—	f. 43r Ammonius	f. 23r	—	—	f. 222v	—

68	19:9	Ὁδὸν λέγει τὸν Χριστόν ... τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.	f. 192r Ammonius	f. 43v Ammonius	f. 23v	f. 56v	—	—	PG 118, coll. 248D–249A
69	19:9	Παιδεύει τοὺς βουλομένους ... εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας.	—	f. 43r	f. 23v	—	—	—	PG 118, col. 249A
70	19:12	Σουδάρια καὶ σιμικίνθια ... δάκρυον, καὶ τὰ ὁμοῖα.	f. 192r Ammonius	f. 43v Ammonius	f. 23v Ammonius	—	—	—	PG 118, col. 249A
71	19:24	Ἴσως κιβώρια μικρὰ.	f. 192v Chrysostom	f. 44r	f. 24v	—	—	—	—
72	19:35	Νεωκόρον ἀντὶ τοῦ ... κορῶν καὶ σαρῶν.	—	f. 44v	f. 25r	—	—	ff. 222v–223r	PG 118, col. 253B
73	19:35	Τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ... κατάπληξιν τῶν ἀκαιραιοτερων.	—	f. 44v *allos*	f. 25r	—	—	f. 223r	PG 118, col. 253B
74	19:35	Τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Δῖός· ... καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων.	f. 193r Ammonius	f. 44v Ammonius	f. 25r Ammonius	—	—	—	PG 118, 253B
75	20:4	Τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ... τῆς πατρῖδος ἐμνημόνευσεν.	—	—	—	f. 60r	—	—	PG 118, col. 256B–C
76	20:17	Ἐπειδὴ λανθάνει τοὺς ... εἶναι τοῦτον διαγράφει.	—	f. 46r	f. 26v	—	—	—	PG 118, coll. 256D–257A
77	20:28	Ἰδοὺ δέδεικται ὁ Θεὸς ... προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους.	—	f. 46v	f. 27r	—	—	—	—

78	20:38	Ἐν ᾧ πάσχειν ... Ὑιοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ.	—	—	f. 27v	—	—	—	—
79	21:39	Παρὰ Ἰουδαῖοις τρεῖς ... ἐκάλεσαν, ἤγουν ζηλωτάς.	—	f. 49r	f. 30r Origen	—	—	f. 223r	PG 118, col. 268B
80	21:39	Σικάριοι λέγονται λησταὶ ... οἱ λῃστεύοντες ἔλαβον.	—	—	f. 30r Flavius Josephus	—	—	f. 223r	PG 118, col. 268A–B
81	22:3	Πῶς φησὶν ὁ Παῦλος ... ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ γεγέννημαι.	—	—	—	—	—	—	PG 118, col. 269D
82	22:11	Ἰδοὺ φῶς ἄστεκτον ἀποδείκνυται Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος.	—	f. 50r	f. 31r	—	—	—	—
83	22:25	Ὅτι ἄνθρωπον Ῥωμαῖον ... ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Παῦλος.	—	—	—	—	—	f. 223r	PG 118, col. 269D
84	24:6	καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπείρασε ... νόμον ἠθελήσαμεν κρῖναι.	—	—	—	f. 72v	—	—	—
85	26:29	Τί λέγεις, ὦ Παῦλε, ... τοῦτο οὕτως εἶπον.	—	—	f. 39v	—	—	—	—
86	26:29	Τί ἐστιν ἐν ὀλίγῳ με ... πάντας (καὶ) ἐξῆς.	—	—	—	f. 78v	—	—	PG 118, col. 292C–D
87	26:29	Τὸ ἐν ὀλίγῳ φίληξ ... καὶ τῶν συνόντων.	—	—	—	f. 78v ἐξ ἑτέρου	—	—	PG 118, col. 292D
88	28:7	οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι .... αἰδοῦνται κρύπτειν.	—	—	f. 42v	—	—	—	PG 118, col. 292D

89	28:15	τριῶν καπηλίων.	—	—	—	—	—	f. 223r	PG 118, col. 301C
90	28:21	Πρὶν ἐπιδημῆσαι τὸν … ἐδήλωσεν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀποστόλων.	—	f. 60v Eusebius of Caesarea	—	—	—	—	PG 118, col. 304B

Chapter VI

Conclusions and Future Research Directions

The research presented in this thesis brings to light the complexity of catena manuscripts on the Acts of the Apostles, especially those featuring multiple layers and multiple texts. Several key findings and implications can be summarised in three major points:

1) Complexity of Manuscript Identification and Classification. The study has emphasised the challenges in identifying and classifying catena manuscripts, especially due to the incomplete nature of printed lists and catalogues. Digital databases like the Catena Catalogue and ClaCla are essential for keeping such catalogues up-to-date. The historical reliance on author attribution for categorisation has led to debates and a lack of consensus on catena types. The editorial history of catena manuscripts reveals that only a limited portion of the extensive manuscript tradition has been accessible to editors. These editions primarily aimed to propagate patristic exegesis or disseminate Byzantine commentators' works. However, they suffer from unreliability and lack proper philological and scientific methodology. Of particular concern is their disregard for paratextual elements beyond the scholia text itself, such as the systems for linking them to the biblical text and the layout of scholia on the manuscript page.

2) Methodologies for Classification. Several methodologies have been employed for the classification of catena manuscripts, including comparing the incipit and explicit of initial and conclusive scholia or of scholia in selected test passages. However, it is crucial

to acknowledge that none of these methods is exhaustive, and they possess inherent limitations when it comes to identifying specific subtypes and subgroups within catena manuscripts. A more reliable and accurate classification method involves a comprehensive approach that extends the analysis of incipit and explicit to cover the entire catena text present in a manuscript. This analysis is then compared against the available manuscript evidence and editions. Furthermore, this method incorporates the examination of the layout of the exegetical material on the manuscript page, in addition to conducting palaeographic analysis of scripts. This holistic approach becomes essential, particularly when dealing with manuscripts that feature layers of scholia added over time and originating from different sources. By considering the entirety of the catena text, analysing the layout of scholia on manuscript pages, and conducting palaeographic scrutiny, this method ensures a comprehensive understanding of the manuscript's content and structure, making it invaluable for identifying distinct subdivisions within these complex exegetical compilations.

3) Complexity and Relevance of Multilayered and Multiple-Text Manuscripts. Multilayered catena manuscripts on the Acts of the Apostles, including Drama 3, Paris gr. 237, gr. 216, Escorial Ψ. III. 18, Vatican Reg. gr. 6, as well as multiple-text manuscripts Vatican Vat. gr. 760 and Moscow F. 270, n. 56, represent complex items in terms of their catena content. These manuscripts feature catenae arranged in frame or alternating layouts, which result from the interplay of multiple sets of scholia. These scholia have been transcribed by different scribes or by the same scribe at various stages of manuscript production. Despite the recognition of their stratified nature, prior

scholarly work has often grouped these catenae under a single type. This classification typically relied on conventional criteria such as incipit and explicit comparisons within partial sections. However, a more comprehensive approach that involves an extended survey of the incipit and desinit of each scholium, along with systematic manuscript comparisons, reveals that these catenae are characterised by the coexistence of different compilations. Many of these writings find evidence in other manuscripts, indicating both their interdependence and broad diffusion. Among these compilations, some consist of collections of scattered scholia, while others take the form of epitomes of patristic works, rather than conforming to the traditional catena format where patristic extracts are interlinked and identified by author attributions.

Multilayered and multiple-text catena manuscripts provide valuable insights into the origins and structures of major catena types. They challenge previous assumptions and unveil complex relationships among various catena types, including Pseudo-Andreas (C150), Pseudo-Oecumenius (C151), and Pseudo-Theophylact (C152). Moreover, these manuscripts shed light on the existence of a Collection of Scholia-Catenae, which serves as a dynamic *corpus* of extracts from various sources bridging different catena types. As a result of this discovery, the relationship between Pseudo-Andreas and Pseudo-Oecumenius is revaluated, with the understanding that a branch of C150 is considered a later derivative of C151, mediated through the Collection. This change in perspective challenges the conventional belief that regarded C151 as simply an abridged version of C150, instead highlighting a reciprocal influence between the two. Furthermore, the Pseudo-Theophylact catena is revealed to have undergone a multilayered composition,

incorporating different catenae types as well as scholia from the Collection. This discovery challenges previous assumptions regarding its sources and origins.

In light of these findings, it becomes imperative to revaluate the classification of catena manuscripts, taking into account their intricate and multifaceted nature. However, this endeavour presents a significant challenge: how should we categorise 'isolated' scholia and epitomes that exist on the outskirts of the catena category? These scattered scholia seem to be more than isolated fragments; they suggest a process of consolidation and dissemination rather than just sporadic occurrences. Considering this, my recommendation is to encompass all manuscripts containing dispersed scholia under the classification C156, a category that Parpulov introduced to describe a form of *Catena abbreviata*, even when the specific source is not explicitly identified. This proposal gains further credibility when we consider that a substantial number of manuscripts exhibit varying degrees of overlap between the Collection of 'isolated' scholia and C156.

Regarding the epitomes, these would be designated as C157. Building on my earlier subdivisions, I propose introducing a subcategory C157.1 for the Chrysostom epitomes, followed by a letter to indicate the specific subtype. For example, C157.1a would designate the Epitome of Chrysostom by Leo Choirosphaktes (or Epitome of Chrysostom, Type I), C157.1b the Chrysostom epitome in L5 of Paris gr. 237 (or Epitome of Chrysostom, Type II), and C157.1c the Chrysostom epitome in L3 of Paris gr. 216 (or Epitome of Chrysostom, Type III). C157.2 would encompass the Epitome of 'isolated' scholia in Moscow F. 270, no. 56. The advantage of these new designations lies in their capacity to accommodate forthcoming collections under the same genre-type

number (here, C156 and C157) while providing subdivisions for distinguishing distinct content (.1) and variations of that content (.a, .b, .c).

The significance of these discoveries extends beyond mere archival value. They serve as invaluable resources for gaining a deeper understanding of the development of the textual tradition of Acts catenae and the various types that emerged within it. In other words, the relevance of this thesis is to show how it is possible to examine the broader tradition of catenae on a biblical book starting from the analysis of a limited yet instrumental group of items.

Furthermore, this research provides valuable insights into the concept of catenae as both "closed" and "open" traditions when examining individual manuscripts. It becomes evident that in multilayered and multiple-text catena manuscripts, there are content units that are not original but rather reflect established types (e.g., Scholia-Catenae in Drama 3, Paris gr. 237, gr. 216, Escorial Ψ. III. 18; the Leo Epitome in Drama 3, Paris gr. 237, Moscow F. 270, n. 56). However, there are also units that are truly original or represent the first copy, even when drawing on established types. Examples include several abbreviations of Pseudo-Andreas (C150.2c in Drama 3, C150.2d in Paris gr. 237, C150.2f in Vatican Reg. gr. 6, C150.2g in Vatican Vat. gr. 760), the earliest stage of Pseudo-Theophylact catena (C152.1c in Vatican Vat. gr. 760), various epitomes of Chrysostom's Homilies on Acts (found in Paris gr. 237, gr. 216, Escorial Ψ. III. 18), an anonymous catena-commentary building on the earliest stage of C150 (in Vatican Reg. gr. 6), and yet another anonymous epitome of the widespread Collection of Scholia-Catenae (in Moscow F. 270, no. 56).

To echo Fausto Montana's observations on scholiastic *corpora*, to understand the nature and origins of scholia in the field of catenae on the New Testament we should shift our perspective from analysing broad types to examining texts as they are presented in individual manuscripts.[655] This approach allows for a nuanced perspective, acknowledging a diverse landscape of "closed" and "open" traditions, with types and subtypes on the one hand, as well as variations, expansions and original contaminations of these types implemented by individual scribes on the other. The importance of my research lies in demonstrating how effectively this process of augmenting a catena in a manuscript over time results in the scribe assuming the dual roles of compiler and transcriber.

One final critical observation that surfaces from the analysis in this thesis relates to the editing of manuscripts with multilayered and multiple-text catenae. This challenge becomes evident when dealing with catenae that have been expanded with new material, as seen in cases like C150 or C152, which were augmented with the Scholia-Catenae. Traditional philological and textual-critical methods employed in print editions would require a choice between focusing solely on establishing the initial stage of a catena (or *Urkatene*, as normally referred to) or editing a catena in its fully expanded state, often resulting from multiple layers accumulating over time. This approach may risk losing track of the intricate stratification within a catena. The complexity increases even more in manuscripts where scholia overlap from different, self-contained texts. This is not merely a selection of material incorporated into a core catena but rather the juxtaposition

[655] Fontana 2011: 156–161.

of multiple catenae within the same manuscript, either overlapping in the same page or spanning several pages.

To edit multilayered and multiple-text catenae, I believe the most effective approach would be to develop digital editions structured similarly to the Homer Multitext Project's edition of *Iliad* manuscripts and based on updated information in the ParaTexBib database. This digital format would allow for the visual differentiation of various layers while preserving the overall view of the text and its stratification, reproducing the complex network of "content units" and "production units". It essentially becomes a multi-level diplomatic edition, but in a digital format. Furthermore, this method would facilitate the inclusion of critical editions for various scholia sets.[656] Each set would necessitate publication as an autonomous critical edition grounded in the evidence representing the specific type or subtype to which it belongs. In other words, a critical edition derived from the individual tradition of each layer. This approach would allow for the presentation of the 'conglomerate' in a multilayered manuscript while maintaining the essential critical edition of the original sets or types of scholia that overlap within it in their earliest recoverable form. Additionally, this approach would facilitate our understanding of the editing process carried out by the compilers and scribes in relation to their source texts.

In conclusion, the research presented in this thesis provides a comprehensive reassessment of the history of catenae related to the Acts of the Apostles. It highlights

[656] On digital editions and the importance of combining critical editions of various collection types with an edition of the collection as an independent entity, see Cassin 2020 (esp. 46–49).

the complexity and interconnectedness of manuscripts of these compilations and their importance for understanding the evolution of catenae over time. These findings encourage a reconsideration of existing beliefs about Acts catenae and open up new avenues for further scholarship and research in this domain. The multilayered and multiple-text catena manuscripts on Acts, in particular, demonstrate that the history of Acts catenae is one of continuous, unpredictable expansion, contamination, and rewriting. Future research can endeavour to evaluate whether these newly created versions or reworkings align with the intentions (and what those intentions might be) of the individuals responsible for producing these texts and also help illuminate the identity, practices, and expectations of readers of Acts catenae during the Byzantine Empire.

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https://www.homermultitext.org (The Homer Multitext Project)

https://itsee-wce.birmingham.ac.uk/catenacatalogue/ (Catena Catalogue)

https://lib-fond.ru (Manuscripts and Out-of-print Books Collection)

https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/ (New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room)

http://opengreekandlatin.github.io/catenae-dev/ (Cramer's edition of catenae)

http://paratexbib.eu (ParaTexBib – Paratexts of the Bible)

https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/ (Pinakes – Textes et manuscrits grecs)

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