THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CATENAE ON THE GOSPELS

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to explain how the catenae on the Gospels developed up to the ninth century. Updated descriptions are provided here of five catena traditions on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John which are called the Type A Basic Form, Type A Catena Form, Type B Basic Form, Type B Catena Form, and Type Z catenae. This research builds on the new catalogue of catena manuscripts of the Greek New Testament and the *editio princeps* of the catena in Codex Zacynthius. The Type A and Type B compilations developed in similar patterns of expansion from an anonymous compilation commentary into a more complex catena with attributed scholia. Examining the additional material in the Catena Forms led to the identification of another catena tradition, Type Z, as the source of the attributed scholia. The Basic Forms also share a connection to Type Z. All three compilations used as a source an early exegetical collection which is cited in the Type Z manuscripts with the enigmatic appellation ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου (from an unattributed source). These findings chart the development of the catenae on the Gospels in new ways, proposing that the manuscripts in Type Z are a distinct catena type which were a project to interpret the Gospels as a collection. The catenae on Mark developed separately from the other catenae on the Gospels even though they are transmitted in the same manuscripts. The recensions of the *Commentary on Mark* are given updated descriptions and assessed in light of the development of the other catenae on the Gospels. These conclusions have led to a reclassification of the catenae on Luke in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* and provide the foundation for studying catenae as a genre of exegetical writing, the history of biblical interpretation, and the receptions or use of catenae in Byzantine Christianity.

For Kayle

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Andrew J. Patton

Michaelmas

29 September 2023

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List of Abbreviations

ANTF	Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung
BA	Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milan)
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican City)
BBKL	*Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
Bib	*Biblica*
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BL	British Library (London)
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Florence)
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid)
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris)
BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Venice)
BNU	Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria (Turin)
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich)
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
c.	Century
ca.	*circa*
CB	Chester Beatty (Dublin)
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum: Series Graeca
COMSt Bulletin	*Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin*
CPG	*Clavis Patrum Graecorum*
CPG IV[1]	Geerard, Maurits, ed. *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. IV Concilia. Catenae*. 1st ed. Corpus Christianorum 4. Turnhout: Brepols, 1980.
CPG IV[2]	Noret, Jacques and Maurits Geerard, eds. *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. IV Concilia. Catenae*. 2nd ed. CCSG 4. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSNTM	Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts
d.	died
EBE	National Library of Greece (Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος) (Athens)
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
GA	Gregory-Aland
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftstellar der ersten Jahrhundert

GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
INTF	Institute für Neutestamentliche Textforschung
ITSEE	Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
Liste	Aland, Kurt, Michael Welte, Beate Köster, and Klaus Junack. *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments.* 2nd ed. ANTF 1. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994. Now updated online: https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste.
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna)
Opth	*Open Theology*
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RB	*Revue biblique*
RBén	*Revue Bénédictine*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
RevScRel	*Revue des sciences religieuses*
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
RNB	National Library of Russia (St Petersburg)
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
RTL	*Revue théologique de Louvain*
SBB	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin)
SHM	State Historical Museum (Moscow)
TENTS	Texts and Editions for New Testament Study
TLG	*Thesaurus Linguae Graeca*
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*

TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*
TS	Texts and Studies
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAC	*Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der ältern Kirche*

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

> "Authoritative scripture begets authoritative interpretation, which is tied, in part, to the authority of the interpreter. Authoritative interpretations are not exactly scriptural. Yet they participate, to some degree, in scriptural authority and exist, as we might say, in the margins of scriptural texts."[1]

1 Catenae and Compilers

Late antique Byzantium had a vibrant literary culture of readers, writers, and compilers of texts. One of the most innovative textual inventions from this period was a new form of biblical commentary called catenae which emerged in the sixth century. A catena is composed of a series of exegetical extracts called scholia excerpted from multiple early Christian or Byzantine writers. The scholia are linked together to form a continuous commentary on an entire biblical book.[2] The

[1] Hindy Najman, "The Vitality of Scripture Within and Beyond the 'Canon'," *JSJ* 43 (2012): 515.

[2] Specialist literature on catenae will be cited below. The best short introduction to catenae, though dated, is Gilles Dorival, "Des commentaires de l'Écriture aux chaînes," in *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible: Bible de tous les temps I*, ed. Claude Mondésert (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), 361–384. Robert Devreesse's essay, written nearly a century ago, is still foundational: "Chaînes exégétiques grecques," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1928): 1:1084–1233. Other recommended introductions to catenae are Jean-Marie Auwers, "Les chaînes exégétiques comme modèle de lecture polysémique. L'exemple de l'Épitomé sur le Cantique des cantiques," *RTL* 40 (2009): 213–235, esp. 213–220; Maria Antonietta Barbàra Valenti, "Aspetti del genere letterario delle catene esegetiche greche," in *Estratti catenari esegetici greci. Ricerche sul Cantico dei cantici e altro*, Testi e studi di cultura classica 76 (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2019), 15–42; Reinhart Ceulemans, "Catenae," in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, ed. Roger Bagnall, K. Brodersen, A. Champion, and A.W. Adams (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019), 1371; Fr. Maximos Constas, "Biblical Hermeneutics," in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Literature*, ed. Stratis Papaioannou (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 110–131; Carmelo Curti and Maria Antonietta Barbàra, "Greek Exegetical Catenae," in *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers, 451–750*, ed. Angelo di Berardino, trans. Adrian Walford (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2006; repr., 2008), 605–654; Gilles Dorival, "Biblical Catenae: Between Philology and History," in *Commentaries, Catenae, and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in Conjunction with the COMPAUL Project*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, TS 3/13 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2016), 65–81; Gilles Dorival, *The Septuagint from Alexandria to Constantinople: Canon, New Testament, Church Fathers, Catenae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021); Charles Kannengiesser, "Catenae—"Chains" of Biblical Interpretation," in *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, ed. Charles Kannengiesser, vol. 2, The Bible in Ancient Christianity 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 978–987; Christos Th. Krikones, "Περὶ ἑρμηνευτικῶν σειρῶν (Catenae)," *Βυζαντινά* 8 (1976): 89–139; William R.S. Lamb, "Conservation and Conversation: New Testament Catenae in Byzantium," in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Publishing, 2016), 277–299; Richard A. Layton, "Catenae," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Paul M. Blowers and Peter W. Martens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 221–229; Ekkehard Mühlenberg, "Katenen," in

interaction between biblical text and commentary takes complex forms as the scriptures are segmented into smaller units which are explained by one or more scholia. The compilers, known as catenists, engaged in a process of textual curation involving reading, selecting, editing, and arranging excerpts to form a new work.[3] The standard reference system for catenae is the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* which assigns a reference number and often a label or title to each catena.[4] These typically are called catena types. These compilations exhibit two trends in Christianity in Byzantium: the influence of the Bible and biblical interpretation, and perhaps more importantly, that Byzantine Christians relied on authoritative tradition to understand the meaning of the scriptures. Despite being the most popular form of exegetical literature from the sixth to the tenth centuries, catenae remain an understudied subject.

Band 18 Katechumenat/Katechumenen - Kirchenrecht, ed. Gerhard Müller, vol. 18, TRE (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989), 14–21; Ekkehard Mühlenberg, "Catena II. Christianity," in *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, ed. Constance M. Furey et al., vol. 4 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 1060–1064.

[3] On the mechanics of editing and rewriting, see Jeremiah Coogan, *Eusebius the Evangelist: Rewriting the Fourfold Gospel in Late Antiquity*, Cultures of Reading in the Ancient Mediterranean (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 62–66; Francesca K. A. Martelli, *Ovid's Revisions: The Editor as Author* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). On editing in catena traditions specifically: Carmelo Curti, "La tradizione catenaria e il recupero dei commenti greci alla Bibbia: validità e limiti," in *Eusebiana I. Commentarii in Psalmos*, 2nd ed., ed. Carmelo Curti, Saggi e testi classici, cristiani e medievali 1 (Catania: Università, Centro di Studi sull'Antico Cristianesimo, 1989), 275–282. Rewriting in Byzantium took specific forms, but commentary has not been the focus of these studies: Juan Signes Codoñer, "Towards a Vocabulary for Rewriting in Byzantium," in *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung*, ed. Juan Signes Codoñer and Inmaculada Pérez Martin, Lectio 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 61–90; Stephanos Efthymiadis, "Rewriting," in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Literature*, ed. Stratis Papaioannou (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 348–364. On textual curation, Krista Kennedy, *Textual Curation: Authorship, Agency, and Technology in Wikipedia and the Chambers' Cyclopedia*, Studies in Rhetoric/Communication (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2016).

[4] Maurits Geerard, ed., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. IV Concilia. Catenae*, 1st ed., Corpus Christianorum: Clavis Patrum Graecorum 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1980); Jacques Noret and Maurits Geerard, eds., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. IV Concilia. Catenae*, 2nd ed., Corpus Christianorum: Clavis Patrum Graecorum 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018). Now updated in an open-access online database called *Clavis Clavium*: https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla. The CPG reference numbers for catenae are formatted with the prefix CPG C.

The term *catena*, Latin for "chain," first appeared in the context of biblical commentary in the title of Thomas Aquinas's *Catena aurea*, completed in 1268 CE.[5] The title was invented by publishers; Thomas referred to the work as an *expositio continua*. The new title perhaps differentiated it from the *Glossa ordinaria* and reflected its privileged place in biblical interpretation. This was one of Aquinas's most popular works, which is widely available in a rich manuscript tradition and numerous printings.[6] Incidentally, Thomas used several catenae as sources for comments by Greek writers, some of which were translated into Latin for him by secretaries. These sources include the *Commentary on Mark* attributed to Victor of Antioch (CPG C125), the catena on Luke by Nicetas of Heraclea (C135), and Theophylact's commentaries on Mark, Luke, and John.[7]

[5] The standard Latin edition of the *Catena aurea* is Angelici Guarienti, ed., *Catena aurea in quatuor evangelia*, 2 vols., Nova Editio Tauriensis (Turin-Rome: Marietti, 1953); English translation: John Henry Newman, ed., *Catena Aurea: Commentary on the Four Gospels, Collected out of the Works of the Fathers by S. Thomas Aquinas*, trans. M. Pattison, J.D. Dalgairns, and T.D. Ryder, 4 vols. (Oxford: Parker, 1841–1845). Studies on the *Catena* have been limited, see especially: Carmelo Giuseppe Conticello, "San Tommaso ed i Padri: La *Catena aurea super Ioannem*," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 57 (1990): 31–92; Michael Dauphinais, Roger W. Nutt, and Andrew Hofer, eds., *Thomas Aquinas and the Greek Fathers* (Ave Maria, FL: Sapientia Press of Ave Maria University, 2019); Jean-Pierre Torrell, *The Person and His Work*, vol. 1 of *Saint Thomas Aquinas* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 136–141; James Athanasius Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino: His Life, Thought and Works* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974) 177–179. Also note the handbook entries, Eleonore Stump, "Biblical Commentary and Philosophy," in *The Cambridge Companion to Aquinas*, ed. Norman Kretzmann and Eleonore Stump, Cambridge Companions to Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 252–268; Jean-Pierre Torrell, "Life and Works," in *The Oxford Handbook of Aquinas*, ed. Brian Davies and Eleonore Stump (Oxford: Oxford Handbook of Aquinas, 2012), 15–32. Stump notably sets aside the *Catena* because it is derivative: "The *Catena aurea* is useful for understanding the background against which to evaluate Aquinas's own biblical commentaries, but because it is his compilation from commentaries by others, it will not be considered here" (252). This sentiment neglects the creative task of compilation.

[6] Conticello, "San Tommaso," 37 n. 24. On the *Glossa ordinaria*: Lesley Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary*, Commentaria 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Margaret T. Gibson, "The Place of the Glossa Ordinaria in Medieval Exegesis," in *Ad Litteram: Authoritative Texts and their Medieval Readers*, ed. Mark D. Jordan and Kent Emery Jr. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 5–27.

[7] Conticello, "San Tommaso,"55–57; Torrell, *The Person and His Work*, 137.

Catena is therefore a modern designation for these compilations of biblical exegesis. The titles in catena manuscripts typically describe the text as ἐξηγητικαὶ ἐκλογαί (exegetical extracts), συναγωγὴ τῶν ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν (collection of exegetical extracts), or ἑρμηνεῖαι διαφόρων ἑρμηνευτῶν (interpretations of various interpreters).[8] A typical title in a Gospels catena manuscript reads Ἑρμηνεῖαι διαφόρων ἑρμηνευτῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ [ματθαίον/λουκᾶν/ἰωάννην] ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ("Interpretations of various interpreters of the holy Gospel according to [Matthew/Luke/John]"). The title indicates that the text was formed from various sources and offers interpretations on a particular book.[9] English scholarship has adopted the Latin word catena (plural: catenae), French researchers use *chaîne* as a translation of the Latin term, German transliterates catena into *Katene*, and modern Greek uses σειρά.

1.1 *The Catenists*

Only a few catenae are transmitted with a named author. The earliest named catenist is Procopius of Gaza (d. ca. 530) who produced commentaries and catenae on the Octateuch (CPG 7430), Song of Songs (CPG 7431), Proverbs (CPG 7432), Ecclesiastes (CPG C101/ CPG 7433), and Isaiah (CPG 7434).[10] The association of Procopius with these works, especially the *Epitome on the*

[8] Panagiotis Manafis, (*Re*)*writing History in Byzantium: A Critical Study of Collections of Historical Excerpts* (London/New York: Routledge, 2020), 3–4; Devreesse, "Chaînes," col. 1: 1087; Dorival, "Des commentaires," 362; Krikones, "Περὶ ἑρμηνευτικῶν σειρῶν (Catenae)," 89.

[9] Patrick Andrist stated that titles, as a paratext, "tell the readers how the text should be read and, beyond this, how the work should be understood." This title accomplishes those functions: Patrick Andrist, "The Limits of Paratextuality: Old and New Questions," *Comst Bulletin* 8 (2022): 229.

[10] On Procopius and his commentaries, see especially the editions by Metzler and Auwers: Karin Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza: Eclogarum in libros historicos Veteris Testamenti epitome. Teil 1: Der Genesiskommentar*, GCS N.F. 22 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); Karin Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza: Eclogarum in libros historicos Veteris Testamenti epitome. Teil 2: Der Exoduskommentar*, GCS N.F. 27 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020); Jean-Marie Auwers, ed., *Procopii Gazaei Epitome in Canticum canticorum*, CCSG 67 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011). Leanza also should be noted: Sandro Leanza, ed., *Procopii Gazaei catena in Ecclesiasten: necnon Pseudochrysostomi Commentarius in eundem Ecclesiasten*, CCSG 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978).

Octateuch, led to him being dubbed the father of the catenae or the πρῶτος εὑρετής ("first inventor").[11] Françoise Petit demonstrated that rather than having invented catenae, Procopius used an earlier catena, now lost, and produced an epitome of it.[12] Karin Metzler further argues that the compilation of the *Urkatene* on the Octateuch was a collaborative project which Procopius may have been part of without having coordinated it; she holds that he then used the catena for his *epitome* and collected other sources from the same library, perhaps Caesarea.[13] Procopius therefore played but one part in the transmission of catenae.[14]

Apart from Procopius, other named compilers in catenae before the tenth century are Peter of Laodicea on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John and the Psalms, Titus of Bostra on the Gospel of Luke, John Drungarius on the Major Prophets, Victor of Antioch on the Gospel of Mark, Andreas of Caesarea on the Acts of the Apostles, and Oecumenius for the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic

[11] Dorival has taken a keen interest in Procopius as the first catenist: Dorival, "Des commentaires," 363–368; Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 43, vol. 1 (Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 99–114; Dorival, "Biblical Catenae," 69–70; Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 54, vol. 5 (Leuven: Peeters, 2018); Dorival, *The Septuagint*, 147–151.

[12] Françoise Petit, "La chaîne grecque sur la Genèse, miroir de l'exégèse ancienne," in *Stimuli. Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann*, ed. Georg Schöllgen and Clemens Scholten, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband 23 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996), 243–253. See also Bas ter Haar Romeny, "Procopius of Gaza and his Library," in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*, ed. Hagit Amirav and Bas ter Haar Romeny, Late Antique History and Religion 1 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 173–190.

[13] Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza, Eclogorum, Genesis*, XXV–XXVI. Reinhart Ceulemans finds this solution plausible, "While she is aware that this solution stands on uncertain grounds, it is to my knowledge the best given so far" ("The Transmission, Sources and Reception of Procopius' Exegesis of Genesis: Observations in the Wake of the New Edition," *VC* 71 [2017]: 214). See also the older argument about catenae and Caesarea put forward by René Cadiou, "La biblithèque de Césarée et la formation des chaînes," *RevScRel* 16 (1936): 474–483.

[14] Dorival is most reluctant to concede that Procopius did not invent catenae: "there is no compelling reason to question the assertion that Procopius was the father of the catenae if one accepts that the two-author catenae date to sometime between the ninth and twelfth centuries; and that the New Testament catenae are posterior to the Old Testament catenae" (Dorival, *The Septuagint*, 151). Likewise, Ekkehard Mühlenberg states unequivocally, "Procopius is doubtless the originator of the catena" (Mühlenberg, "Catena II. Christianity," 1062).

Epistles, and the Pauline Epistles. All these attributions are pseudonyms.[15] The names assigned to catenae function as "bibliographic labels" which lends the text a unifying coherence through the perceived connection to a particular person.[16] Several catenae have reliable attributions after the tenth century, the most prominent among them being Nicetas of Heraclea (d. 11th c.) who compiled magisterial catenae on Job, the Psalms, the Gospels (excluding Mark), and Hebrews.[17] The fact that most catenae were transmitted anonymously likely contributed to their neglect in scholarship. Peter Martens articulated this point about Christian literature more broadly: "Precisely because these writings cannot be firmly tied to an author, let alone a luminary that sparks interest, they tend to get ignored since they cannot support authorially-motivated research projects."[18] Anonymous works are neglected while named works are regularly studied.

The anonymous composition of catenae renders details about the composition of the texts difficult to ascertain. Unlike some large-scale late antique textual projects such as the *Hexapla*

[15] The attributions of all these catenae are discussed or noted in the following chapters. On the pseudonymous attribution of catenae, see Dorival, "Biblical Catenae," 79–80. The attribution of anonymous catenae to specific figures parallels the situation in Jewish Pseudepigrapha. Unlike many of these texts, the catenae were frequently ascribed to obscure figures about whom little is known apart from these ascriptions. As Eva Mroczek writes, "Anonymous texts are not necessarily 'texts in search of an author,' whose vacuum of authority is filled by an authorial name" (*The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016], 88). See also Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 77. (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Jed Wyrick, *The Ascension of Authorship: Attribution and Canon Formation in Jewish, Hellenistic, and Christian Traditions*, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature 49. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

[16] The term "bibliographic label" is taken from Jeremiah Coogan, "Doubled Recycling: The Gospel according to Mark in Late Ancient Catena Commentary," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 28 (2023): 149–165.

[17] Bram Roosen, "The Works of Nicetas Heracleensis (ὁ) τοῦ Σερρῶν," *Byzantion* 69 (1999): 119–144; Robert Browning, "The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century," *Byzantion* 32 (1962): 167–202; Dorival, "Des commentaires," 376–380.

[18] Peter Martens, "Classifying Early Christian Writings: Boundaries, Arrangements, and Latent Dynamics," *Early Christianity* 12 (2021): 441. See also Ellen Muehlberger, "On Authors, Fathers, and Holy Men," *Late Antiquity and the New Humanities. Marginalia Review of Books* (20 September 2015); Ellen Muehlberger, "Vast Lessons: Jacob of Edessa's *The Six Days* and the Tools of Knowledge," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 25 (2022), 9–42.

organized by Origen (d. 253) and the various activities of Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339), the method of producing catenae is unknown.[19] In the cases of Origen and Eusebius, secretaries, who were usually enslaved, were used as laborers in the various tasks of textual production including reading, compiling, and copying material.[20] There is no reason to think that catenae were produced by a single individual working alone in a library.[21] Metzler's hypothesis that Procopius participated in the production of the catena on Genesis as a *Mitkompilator*, one person who was part of a cadre of people assembling the catena makes sense in light of information about textual production in late antiquity and especially for compilation literature.[22] In this study references to catenists will be given in the plural, operating under the assumption that these anonymous compilations were not compiled individually.[23]

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[19] Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006). The Babylonian Talmud is a fitting comparative work: Moulie Vidas, *Tradition and the Formation of the Talmud* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); Monika Amsler, *The Babylonian Talmud and Late Antique Book Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023).

[20] Guglielmo Cavallo, "Écriture et pratiques intellectuelles dans le monde antique," *Genesis* 15 (2000): 97–108; Jeremiah Coogan, "Tabular Thinking in Late Ancient Palestine: Instrumentality, Work, and the Construction of Knowledge," in *Knowledge Construction in Late Antiquity*, ed. Monika Amsler, Trends in Classics - Supplementary Volumes 142 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023), 57–81; Kim Haines-Eitzen, "'Girls Trained in Beautiful Writing': Female Scribes in Roman Antiquity and Early Christianity," *JECS* 6 (1998): 629–646. On textual production and exploitation in ancient and late antique Mediterranean cultures see, Joseph Howley, "In Ancient Rome," in *Further Reading*, ed. Matthew Rubery and Leah Price, Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press; Oxford Academic, 2020), 15–27; Candida R. Moss, "Between the Lines: Looking for the Contributions of Enslaved Literate Laborers in a Second-Century Text (P. Berol. 11632)," *Studies in Late Antiquity* 5 (2021): 432–452; Candida R. Moss, "The Secretary: Enslaved Workers, Stenography, and the Production of Early Christian Literature," *JTS* 74 (2023): 20–56.

[21] Coogan recently acknowledged that for the *Commentary on Mark*, "We should not assume that an individual scholar can be isolated behind this voice" (Coogan, "Doubled Recycling," 154).

[22] Moss concluded, "Everything that we know about ancient literary production reveals a collaborative enterprise that involved a host of actors whose agency and contributions are masked by hierarchical structures of power" (Moss, "The Secretary," 46).

[23] Some catenae include prefaces explaining the catena which use the first-person singular. While this could be explained as a literary or rhetorical device, it also could be that whomever coordinated the project wrote the preface independently.

1.2 *Genre: Commentaries and Catenae*

Catenae have not been consistently defined within commentary or compilation literature which has resulted in confusion about how to classify their texts. Do sporadic scholia from named sources count as a catena? What about commentaries compiled from other sources without author attributions? What about the commentaries by named authors such as John of Damascus (d. ca. 743/754) or Theophylact of Ohrid (d. 1107), which are based on other writings such as John Chrysostom or even on catenae: are these commentaries or catenae?[24]

Catenae have been dismissed as mere compilations of other people's work, rather than as serious exegetical works in their own right. Claudio Moreschini and Enrico Norelli lamented:

> The rise of the catena, a new literary genre, testifies to the exhaustion of original exegesis. Such works were meant to be as useful as possible to students of the Scriptures. But they maximized the deficiencies of the earlier texts, for their 'commentary' was nothing but a compilation.[25]

Even Joseph Reuss, who dedicated his career to the study of catenae, considered them evidence of decline: "The result [of producing catenae] was that all original exegetical work and progress in the explanation of the Scriptures was stifled."[26] In contrast to these views, the practice of compilation is

[24] Panella draws attention to the sources of both of their commentaries on the Pauline Epistles: Theodora Panella, "The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Galatians" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2018); Theodora Panella, "Resurrection Appearances in the Pauline Catenae," in *Commentaries, Catenae, and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in Conjunction with the COMPAUL Project*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, TS 3/13 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2016), 117–140. See also Matthieu Cassin and Mathilde Aussedat, "Le prologue du *Commentaire sur les petits prophètes* de Théophylacte d'Achrida," *Revue des études byzantines* 68 (2010): 61–93; Ernest W. Saunders, "Theophylact of Bulgaria as Writer and Biblical Interpreter," *BR* 2 (1957): 31–44; Robert Volk, ed., *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos VII*, PTS 68 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).

[25] Claudio Moreschini and Enrico Norelli, *From the Council of Nicea to the Beginning of the Medieval Period*, vol. 2 of *Early Christian Greek and Latin Literature: A Literary History*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, 2 vols. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005), 709. See also Manlio Simonetti: *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*, trans. John A. Hugh (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994); "Introduction," in *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers, 451–750*, ed. Angelo di Berardino, trans. Adrian Walford (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2006; repr., 2008), 11–16.

[26] Joseph Reuss, "Evangelien-Erklärungen vom 4ten bis 9ten Jahrhundert in der griechischen Kirche," in *Neues Testament und Kirche: für Rudolf Schnackenburg*, ed. Joachim Gnilka (Freiburg: Herder, 1974), 479.

now seen as a complex and erudite literary activity which produces a work worthy of careful analysis not only for its sources, but also for ascertaining the writing technique and perspectives of the compilers.[27] Xavier Agati and his colleagues reflect this perspective with the phrase "author by compilation."[28] The development of catenae has been situated within the broad practices of excerpting and compiling in late antiquity and what Paolo Odorico calls the "Byzantine culture of sylloge" which emerged in the middle Byzantine period.[29] This approach considers catenae a vital source for Byzantine literary activity, textual analysis, and biblical interpretation.

The genre of catenae deserves additional clarification.[30] Commentary is a multivalent term that may refer to a genre of exegetical writing or to a specific kind of text. *Commentaries* (ὑπομνήματα) are works in which a single identifiable author expounds the text, context, and content of a different text. The commentary usually treats the entire work which it explains, or an

[27] Stephan Dusil, Gerald Schwedler, and Raphael Schwitter, eds., *Exzerpieren - Kompilieren - Tradieren: Transformationen des Wissens zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, Millennium Studies 64 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017); Ulrike Kenens, "'Perhaps the Scholiast was also a Drudge.' Authorial Practices in Three Middle Byzantine Sub-Literary Writings," in *The Author in Middle Byzantine Literature: Modes, Functions, and Identities*, ed. Aglae Pizzone, Byzantinisches Archiv 28 (Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 155–170; Manafis, *(Re)writing History in Byzantium*; Umberto Roberto, "Byzantine Collections of Late Antique Authors: Some Remarks on the *Excerpta historica Constantiniana*," in *Die Kestoi des Julius Africanus und ihre Überlieferung*, ed. Martin Wallraff and Laura Lecella, TU 165 (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2009), 71–84.

[28] Xavier Agati et al., "Quand la *structure* détermine le *significat*: Dion Cassius, Georges le Moine et Polybe dans le prisme du *De Legationibus Romanorum ad Gentes* de l'empereur Constantin VII Porphyrogénète," *Byzantinoslavica* 75 (2017): 221–249.

[29] Paolo Odorico, "La cultura della Συλλογή: 1) Il considdetto enciclopedismo bizantino. 2) Le tavole del sapere di Giovanni Damasceno," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83 (1990); Paolo Odorico, "Les recueils historiographiques à Byzance: un cas 'sélection de textes raffinés» (Wenxuan) ?," *Byzantinoslavica* 75 (2017): 203–220.

[30] Dorival's essay is especially informative: Gilles Dorival, "The Bible, Commentaries, Scholia, and Other Literary Forms," in *On the Fringe of Commentary: Metatextuality in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures*, ed. Sydney H. Aufrère, Philip S. Alexander, Zlatko Pleše, and Cyril Jacques Bouloux, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 232 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 163–174.

extensive and carefully selected portion, and is written in a coherent way.[31] Commentaries usually are transmitted separately from a continuous version of the primary text. Sections of the primary text might precede comments, and within the text, words and phrases may often be quoted to enable users to follow the line of argument.[32]

Catenae are a form of exegesis characterized by specific modes of composition and presentation. Catenae seem to have been recognized as distinct from commentaries in antiquity because they were assigned different titles, even if the two works functioned in a similar manner. As indicated above, catenae are commentaries comprised of *scholia*—extracts of varying lengths which are assembled into a continuous commentary. That catenae are comprised of scholia has generated questions of how they relate to scholia on classical works.[33] These are a fitting comparison,

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[31] On commentaries, especially in the classical studies, see Roy K. Gibson and Christina Shuttleworth Kraus, eds., *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory*, Mnemosyne, Supplements Series 232 (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Christina S. Kraus and Christopher Stray, eds., *Classical Commentaries: Explorations in a Scholarly Genre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé, *Le Commentaire entre tradition et innovation: Actes du Colloque International de l'Institut des Traditions Textuelles* (*Paris et Villejuif, 22–25 septembre 1999*), Bibliothèque d'histoire de la philosophie, Nouvelle série (Paris: Vrin, 2000); R.F. MacLachlan, "The Context of Commentary: Non-Biblical Commentary in the Early Christian Period," in *Commentaries, Catenae, and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in Conjunction with the COMPAUL Project*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, TS 3/13 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2016); Ineke Sluiter, "Commentaries and the Didactic Tradition," in *Commentaries – Kommentare*, ed. Glenn W. Most, Aporemata 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 173–205; Ineke Sluiter, "The Dialectics of Genre: Some Aspects of Secondary Literature and Genre in Antiquity," in *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society*, ed. Mary Depew and Dirk Obbink, Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 183–203. On Christian biblical commentary, Josef Lössl, "Commentaries," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Paul M. Blowers and Peter W. Martens (Oxford: Oxford University Press; Oxford Academic, 2019), 170–186; Peter W. Martens, *Origen and Scripture: The Contours of the Exegetical Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; Oxford Academic, 2012).

[32] Christina S. Kraus and Christopher Stray, "Form and Content," in *Classical Commentaries: Explorations in a Scholarly Genre*, ed. Christina S. Kraus and Christopher Stray (Oxford: Oxford University Press; Oxford Academic, 2015), 1–18.

[33] The paradigmatic publications are Nigel G. Wilson, "A Chapter In the History of Scholia," *The Classical Quarterly* 17, (1967): 244–256 and Günther Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965). See also Kathleen McNamee, "Missing Links in the Development of Scholia," *Greek, Roman and*

but the traditions have several distinctions.[34] The beginnings and ends of scholia are typically indicated by formatting (*ekthesis* or rubricated letters) and a final symbol which appears as a colon-dash (:-) or a plain colon (:). The constituent parts of a catena are still identifiable even though they have been integrated into a whole. Related to the scholia, catenae are characterized by the *attribution* of scholia to their source using author names. Dorival insists: "Catenae always offer authors' names (or author lemmata); a compilation without names is not a catena, but a commentary, even if its sources are patristic fragments of various authors."[35] The citation of sources distinguishes catenae from other scholia and commentaries, though Dorival's position—which is generally accepted in catena research—creates problems for the classification of compilations which are not catenae, which will be addressed next. It is important to note, however, that a catena need not attach a name to every scholium, creating a fluid boundary over how few scholia should be named to classify a work as a catena. Finally, catenae are distinguished by extensive *coverage* of the biblical text. While every unit of the biblical text may not be commented and the number and

Byzantine Studies 36 (1995): 399–414; Kathleen McNamee, "Another Chapter in the History of Scholia," *The Classical Quarterly* 48 (1998): 269–288; Fausto Montana, "The Making of Greek Scholiastic Corpora," in *From Scholars to Scholia: Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, ed. Franco Montanari and Lara Pagani, Trends in Classics Supplements 9 (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2011), 105–162; René Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Wolfgang Luppe, "Σχόλια, ὑπομνήματα und ὑποθέσεις zu griechischen Dramen auf Papyri," in *Der Kommentar in Antike und Mittelalter: Beiträge zu seiner Erforschung*, ed. Wilhelm Geerlings and Christian Scholze, Clavis Commentariorum Antiquitatis et Medii Aevi 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 55–78; Nigel Wilson, "Scholiasts and Commentators," *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 47 (2007): 39–70.

[34] Mathilde Aussedat draws attention to several distinctions between catenae and classical scholia, in their form, scope, and transmission: Mathilde Aussedat, "Une pratique érudite de lecture des textes bibliques : les chaînes exégétiques grecques," *REG* 121 (2008): 547–569. Dorival perhaps overstates the case that "the comparisons between catenae and Homeric *scholia* are of limited value" (Dorival, *The Septuagint*, 147).

[35] Dorival, "Biblical Catenae," 67. See also Gilles Dorival, "La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques," *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985): 213–215.

extent of the comments varies significantly, a catena is not intermittent. This criterion means that occasional marginal scholia and glosses should not be classified as catenae.

The three defining characteristics of catenae distinguish catenae from commentaries and scholia but create some problems for the kinds of works which Dorival refers to as a commentary comprised of "patristic fragments of various authors" without author attributions. Subsequent chapters will describe commentaries within the catena tradition according to the CPG, which are compilations of extracts from several early Christian writers without author attributions. These comments are arranged so that each scholium is not distinguishable from another; the compilers transition from sources seamlessly sometimes without signaling the transition. This type of work is not strictly a catena, but, as a compilation by an anonymous writer, it does not meet the definition of a standard commentary either.

Several studies on catenae resolve the classification of these commentaries by introducing another form of commentary called compilation commentaries (*Kettenkommentaren*). Reuss uses the term *Kettenkommentare* frequently and distinguishes it from a standard continuous commentary (*fortlaufenden Kommentare*), though at times it also is used as an inclusive term accounting for the compilation commentaries and catenae which he discusses.[36] Likewise, Luciano Bossina defines a *Kettenkommentare* as "a genre difficult to delimit in itself, which stands between

[36] Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, NTAbh 18/4–5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941), 244–256.

the commentary and the catenae."[37] The identification of a compilation commentary which is distinct from catenae is a useful category which maintains the distinct features of catenae and commentaries while also accounting for some of the late antique texts which have been classified within the catena tradition.

2 Catena Manuscripts

2.1 *The Number of Catena Manuscripts*

Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann published the first catalogue and classification of catena manuscripts for each biblical book or group of books.[38] They listed only some manuscripts for each type of catena from a handful of European libraries. Several studies in the next decade added to their inventory manuscripts for particular libraries, such as Michael Faulhaber's report from the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, or for particular books, such as Joseph Sickenberger's *Titus von Bostra* for the catenae on Luke.[39] Joseph Reuss's study of the catenae on the Gospels and Karl Staab's work on the Pauline and Catholic Epistles added numerous manuscripts from libraries in

[37] Luciano Bossina, "Autorschaft und Autorität in der Katenenliteratur," in *On Good Authority: Tradition, Compilation and the Construction of Authority in Literature from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Reinhart Ceulemans and Pieter De Leemans, Lectio 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 163: "Einer in sich schwer abzugrenzenden Gattung, die zwischen dem Kommentar und der Katene steht." It is worth noting that Christoph Markschies has recently stated that *Kettenkommentare* is another word for *Katene*: "Der Ausdruck 'Katene' und die davon abgeleitete deutsche Bezeichnung 'Kettenkommentar,'" and continued on to say, "Es gilt sich zu verdeutlichen: Was wir als 'Katenen' oder 'Kettenkommentare' bezeichnen, wurde in der Antike als 'Sammlung' oder 'Auswahl' aus der exegetischen Literatur bezeichnet" (Christoph Markschies, "Wie wurde antike christliche Bibelexegese überliefert und wie soll sie folglich ediert werden?," in *Handschriften- und Textforschung heute: Zur Überlieferung der griechischen Literatur. Festschrift für Dieter Harlfinger aus Anlass seines 70. Geburtstages*, ed. Christian Brockman, Daniel Deckers, Lutz Koch, and Stefano Valente, Serta Graeca 30 [Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2014], 149–150). Given Bossina's recent comments, his interpretation does not seem to have universal acceptance within German scholarship.

[38] Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus* (Göttingen: Lüder Horstmann, 1902).

[39] Michael Faulhaber, "Die Katenenhandschriften der spanischen Bibliotheken," *BZ* 1 (1903): 151–159, 246–255, 351–371; Joseph Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien*, TU 6.1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901).

Western Europe.[40] These lists often developed apart from the lists of Greek New Testament manuscripts by textual critics.[41] Hermann von Soden listed dozens of Greek New Testament manuscripts with commentary in their own classes, separate from manuscripts without commentary, and classified them often along similar lines as the catena types.[42] It should however be noted that von Soden's first volume, published in the same year as Karo and Lietzmann's catalogue, was cited and criticized in research on catenae.[43]

By the twenty-first century, study of catenae on the New Testament had largely stalled, and the inventory of catena manuscripts had stayed the same for decades. In the course of studying the textual tradition of the Gospel of John, David Parker was struck by the number of catena manuscripts not in the *Liste* on the earlier lists and suggested that this was a crucial avenue for further study.[44] He and H.A.G. Houghton took the first step in this direction by preparing a checklist of Greek New Testament manuscripts with commentaries. They found 526 manuscripts in the *Liste* with commentaries and 100 further unclassified manuscripts needing further investigation.[45] This

[40] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*; Karl Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1926); Karl Staab, "Die griechischen Katenenkommentare zu den katholischen Briefen," *Bib* 5 (1924): 296–353.

[41] See especially Caspar René Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900–1909) on the identification of Greek New Testament manuscripts in this period.

[42] Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments: in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt, I. Teil: Untersuchungen I. Abteilung: Die Textzeugen*, 2nd, unchanged ed., vol. 1,1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911; repr., 1911). Von Soden's list of manuscripts for the catenae on Acts was the last major study of that catena tradition.

[43] D. Hans Lietzmann, "H. von Sodens Ausgabe des Neuen Testamentes: Die drei Rezensionen," *ZNW* (1914): 323–331; Joseph Sickenberger, "Über griechische Evangelienkommentare," *BZ* 1 (1903): 182–193.

[44] D.C. Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[45] H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, "An Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries with a Preliminary Checklist of New Testament Catena Manuscripts," in *Commentaries, Catenae, and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in Conjunction with the COMPAUL Project*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, TS 3/13 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2016), 1–36.

was the impetus for the preparation of a comprehensive catalogue of Greek New Testament catena manuscripts. Georgi Parpulov published *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament: A Catalogue* which registers all known catena manuscripts on the Greek New Testament copied before the sixteenth century and classifies their texts with reference to the CPG.[46] Parpulov identifies more than 400 Greek New Testament manuscripts with catenae, plus many other manuscripts with commentaries by authors such as Theophylact and Zigabenus (d. ca. 1118) which are not catenae. Catherine Smith and Liam Carrington built the *Catena Catalogue* database which initially was populated with data from Parpulov's catalogue.[47] This database, maintained by the ITSEE at the University of Birmingham, is continuously updated as new manuscripts are discovered, the information about a manuscript changes, or the classification of the catenae is revised.[48] Future studies of catenae on the New Testament now have an invaluable resource for evaluating the catena traditions based on the most complete list of catena manuscripts ever produced which is available in a searchable and updatable form.

2.2 *The Formats of Catena Manuscripts*

Catena manuscripts are complex manuscripts because of the integration of two extensive texts in the same codex.[49] Scribes produced catena manuscripts in two primary forms which arrange

[46] Georgi Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament: A Catalogue*, TS 3/26 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2021).
[47] https://purl.org/itsee/catena-catalogue.
[48] For example, see Appendix 3 on the manuscripts which have had their catenae reclassified in the database.
[49] On the complexities and implications of arranging the main and commentary texts, see Patrick Andrist, "Toward a Definition of Paratexts and Paratextuality: The Case of Ancient Greek Manuscripts," in *Bible as Notepad: Tracing Annotations and Annotation Practices in Late Antique and Medieval Biblical Manuscripts*, ed. Liv Ingeborg Lied and Marilena Maniaci, Manuscripta Biblica 3 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 130–150; Marilena Maniaci, "Stratégies de juxtaposition du texte et du commentaire dans quelques manuscrits du Homère," in *Le Commentaire entre tradition et innovation: Actes du Colloque International de l'Institut des Traditions Textuelles* (*Paris et Villejuif, 22–25 septembre 1999*),

the biblical text and catena texts in different ways.[50] The frame layout (German *Randkatene* or *Rahmenkatene*), also called a marginal catena, places the biblical text in the center of the page with the catena arranged in the three outer margins and, occasionally, the gutter (Figure 1.1). Most descriptions of the *mises en page* of catena manuscripts also include the column layout which places the commentary in one column and the biblical text in the other.[51] Houghton and Parker contend that this arrangement falls within the frame category.[52] The biblical and catena texts occupy distinct portions of the page in frame catena manuscripts, emphasizing the separation between text and commentary. Generally, the scriptures are copied in a larger script with fewer lines than the commentary—though not necessarily in the same number of lines per page throughout the codex.

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ed. Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé, Bibliothèque d'histoire de la philosophie, Nouvelle série (Paris: Vrin, 2000), 65–78; Andrew J. Patton, "Unchaining the Scriptures," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* (2023): 131–148.

[50] On the *mises en page* of catena manuscripts, see: Mathilde Aussedat, "Les deux types de chaînes exégétiques sur le livre de Jérémie : une mise en page adaptée au contenu ?," in *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting: Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography* (*Madrid – Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008*), ed. Antonio Bravo García and Inmaculada Pérez Martin, Bibliologia 31A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 427–436; Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques 1*, 43–96; Houghton and Parker, "Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries," 8–13; Agnès Lorrain, "Autour du Vaticanus gr. 762: Notes pour l'étude des chaînes à présentation alternante," *Byzantion* 90 (2020): 67–95; Agnès Lorrain, "Éditer les chaînes exégétiques grecques : quelle place pour les mises en page ?," *Byzantion* 91 (2021): 219–263; Jacques-Hubert Sautel, "Essai du terminologie de la mise en page des manuscrits à commentaire," *Gazette du livre médiéval* 35 (1999): 17–31; Jacques-Hubert Sautel, "Aspects de la mise en page des manuscrits grecs à chaînes exégétiques," in *Le Commentaire entre tradition et innovation: Actes du Colloque International de l'Institut des Traditions Textuelles* (*Paris et Villejuif, 22–25 septembre 1999*), ed. Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé, Bibliothèque d'histoire de la philosophie, Nouvelle série (Paris: Vrin, 2000), 89–98; Jacques-Hubert Sautel, "Trois tétraévangiles jumeaux entrourés de la chaîne de Pierre de Laodicée. Étude de la mise en page et de la réglure," *Quinio* 3 (2001): 113–135; Laurence Vianès, "Aspects de la mise en page dans les manuscrits de chaîne sur Ézéchiel," in *Le Commentaire entre tradition et innovation: Actes du Colloque International de l'Institut des Traditions Textuelles* (*Paris et Villejuif, 22–25 septembre 1999*), ed. Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé, Bibliothèque d'histoire de la philosophie, Nouvelle série (Paris: Vrin, 2000), 79–88.

[51] Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques 1*, 44–47. Dorival claims this was the original layout of the catenae, which Sandro Leanza adamantly rejects: "L'esegesi biblica cristiana antica: scoli e catene," in *Esegesi, parafrasi e compilazione in età tardoantica : Atti del terzo convegno dell'Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi*, ed. Claudio Moreschini, Collectanea 9 (Naples: M. D'Auria, 1995), 209–229.

[52] Houghton and Parker, "Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries," 8 n. 21. On the two-column type Sautel, "Essai du terminologie," 19. Auwers locates the two-column catenae as a variation of the alternating format, but Houghton and Parker's argument is preferred: Auwers, "Les chaînes exégétiques," 214.

Frame catena manuscripts were fitted with a series of cross-referencing paratexts to connect the two visually distinct texts. These links usually took the form of numbers, symbols, or short excerpts of the biblical text, and manuscripts could use multiple linking systems simultaneously. These frequently are placed above or in the margin of the first word of the *lemma* with the corresponding sign at the beginning of the scholium in the commentary frame.

The alternating layout (German *Breitkatene* or *Katene*) presents both the biblical text and the scholia in a single block, alternating between biblical *lemmata* and scholia (Figure 1.2).[53] In this layout, both texts are integrated into a continuous format by segmenting them into smaller units.[54] Determining the boundaries between the *lemma* and scholia can be difficult, and alternating format manuscripts exhibit several ways of differentiating them. Some manuscripts use majuscule (or semi-majuscule) for one text and minuscule for the other, as seen in Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cim. 16 [= 2° Cod. MS 30] (GA 033; Diktyon 45102). One of the most common techniques is the use of red ink for the *lemmata* and black or brown ink for the commentary, as seen in Athens, Library of the Greek Parliament, 1 (GA 807; Diktyon 1097) shown in Figure 1.2. Other manuscripts label the two texts with κεί(μενον) for the lemma and ἑρμ(ηνεία) for the explanation, followed in Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 61 (GA 0150; Diktyon 54305). Less commonly, line breaks and

[53] The English terms *frame* and *alternating* layout were developed by Houghton and Parker: "Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries," 8–13. Parpulov uses "full-page commentary" to designate this format.

[54] There is some debate about whether alternating catena manuscripts with a complete biblical text should be understood as now being one new, combined text or that they still maintain their independence. Andrist holds that the two are now one work comprised of two elements ("Toward a Definition," 143). I argue that though partitioned, they are still separate entities (Patton, "Unchaining," 140).

wide spaces are used to distinguish scholia, such as in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 762 (GA 1915; Diktyon 67393).[55]

The layout of catena manuscripts shifted over time. The frame format typically is held to be the oldest, resulting from the gradual expansion of marginal glosses into the two-column format and then the full frame three-sided frame.[56] The oldest surviving catena manuscript, Codex Zacynthius (Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 10062; GA 040; Diktyon 73427) dating to the eighth century, is in frame format, though it should be noted that the three ninth-century manuscripts of Greek New Testament catenae are all in alternating format.[57] This is corroborated by the fact that up to the twelfth century the majority of catena manuscripts were produced in frame format, but from the twelfth century the alternating format dominates.[58] In any case, both formats circulated at the same time and within the same catena types.[59] Determining the original format of a particular type is possible by analyzing the *mise en page* of manuscripts and comparing that to other traditions.[60] This will be demonstrated especially in Chapters 2 and 5.

[55] This format and manuscript are highlighted in Lorrain, "Autour du Vaticanus gr. 762," 67–95.

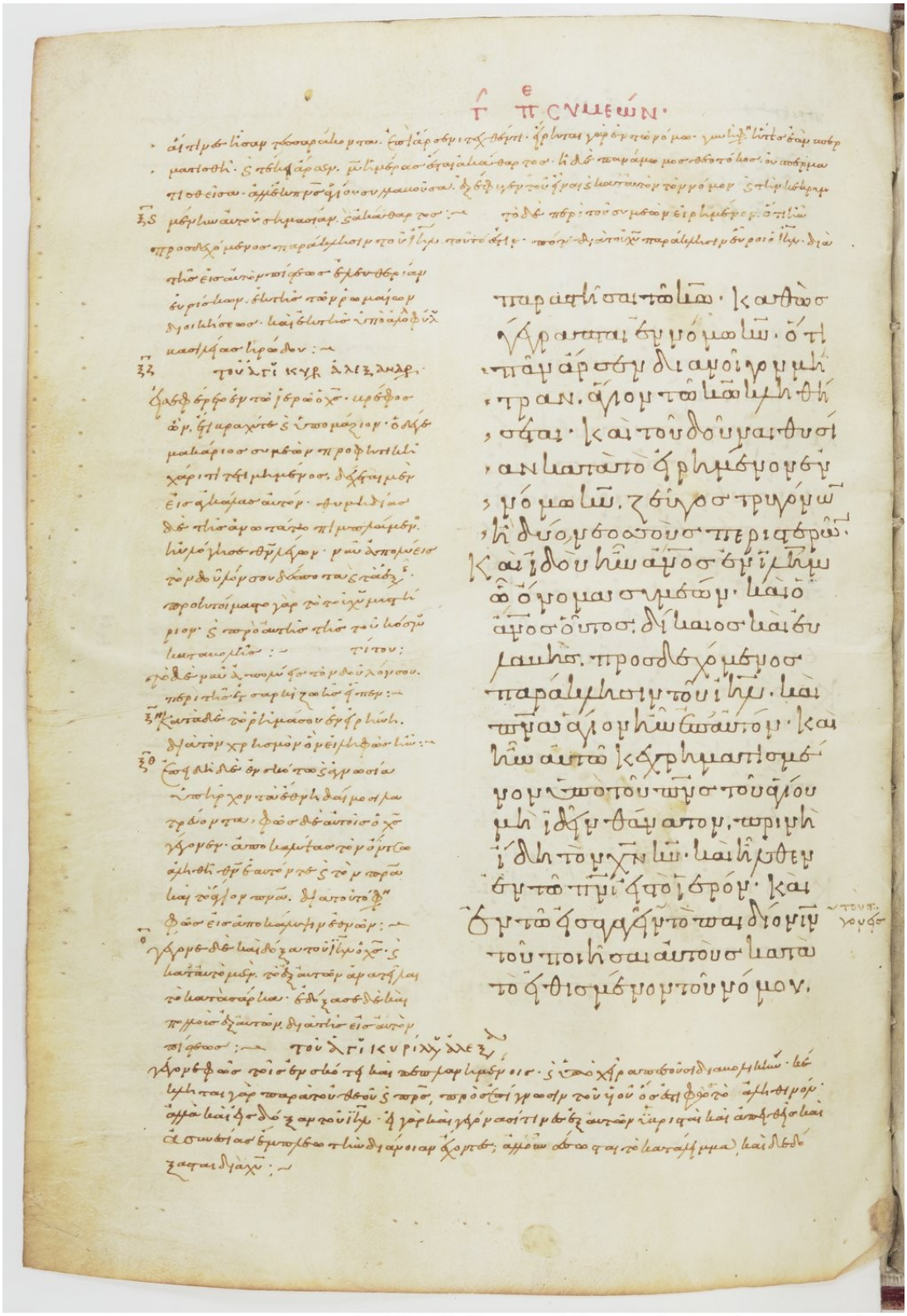
[56] Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques 1*, 44–47.

[57] Search of the *Catena Catalogue* database conducted 17 September 2023: https://purl.org/itsee/catena-catalogue.

[58] See H.A.G. Houghton, "The Layout and Structure of the Catena," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 59–61.

[59] The latter point is made by Dorival: "Une même chaîne peut être disposée soit sur une réglure à pleine page, autrement dit sur une seule colonne d'écriture, soit sur une réglure à deux colonnes, en d'autres termes sur deux colonnes d'écriture" (*Les chaînes exégétiques 1*, 44).

[60] On this point, see also: Mathilde Aussedat, "Les deux types," 427–436.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Coislin 195

Figure 1.1. Paris, BnF, Coislin 195, fol. 249v

(Image credit: BnF: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10547049c/f510.item.)

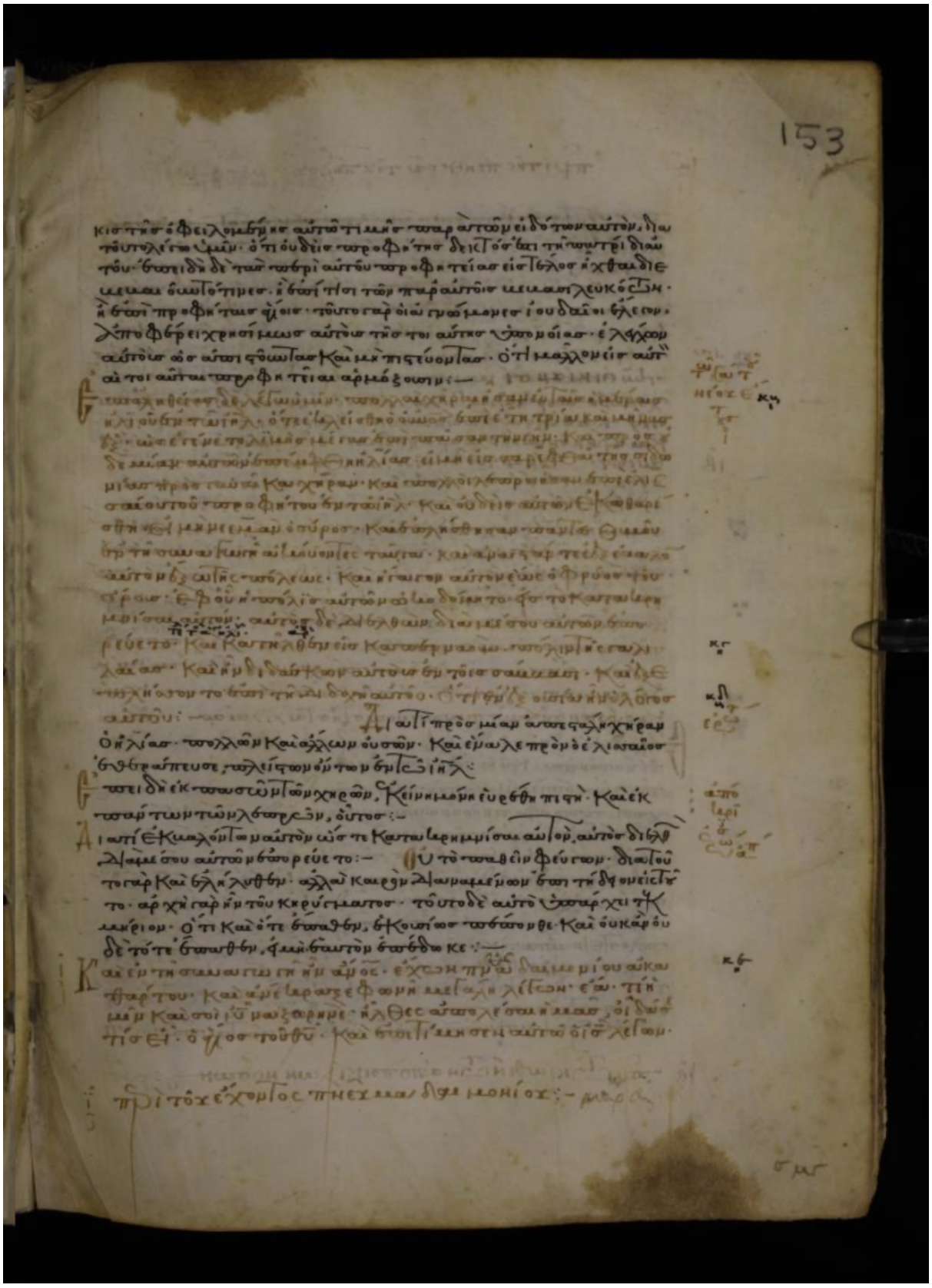


Figure 1.2. Athens, Library of the Greek Parliament, 1, fol. 154r

(Image credit: CSNTM: https://manuscripts.csntm.org/Manuscript/Group/GA_807.)

3 The Study of Catenae

3.1 *Early Modern Period*

Early modern scholarship on catenae emerged in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, primarily through the production of editions and translations of catenae.[61] Much of this work was produced by Roman Catholic theologians and scholars in response to the Protestant Reformation.[62] Many of these early editions are uncritical and sometimes unreliable—being based on a single manuscript, having inconsistent methods of editing their text, and not reporting differences if multiple manuscripts were consulted. Only a few attempted to analyze the catena tradition more broadly.[63] By the eighteenth and nineteenth century, several other editions of catenae were produced which, though imperfect by modern standards, were steps forward in the availability of the texts of catenae. For catenae on the New Testament, Christian Friederich Matthaei (1775) edited the *Commentary on Mark* in the catena tradition.[64] John Anthony Cramer (1837–1840) edited commentaries and catenae on all the New Testament books in the eight volumes of *Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*.[65] Cramer's edition has become the standard edition for

[61] The best synopses of the study of catenae prior to the twentieth century are Mühlenberg, "Katenen," 14–21; Panella, "Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena," 1-52. Several of the early editions are cited in subsequent chapters in conjunction with discussions of the catenae and the manuscripts they used.

[62] Mühlenberg, "Katenen," 16. On manuscripts and the Counter-Reformation, Massimo Ceresa, ed., *La Biblioteca Vaticana tra riforma cattolica, crescita delle collezioni e nuovo edificio* (*1535-1590*), Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 2 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2012).

[63] Richard Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1680); Richard Simon, *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament, depuis le commencement du christianisme jusqu'à notre tems* (Rotterdam: Leers, 1693); Johann August Nösselt, *De catenis Patrum Graecorum in Novum Testamentum observationes* (Halle Hendelianis, 1672).

[64] Christian Friedrich Matthaei, ed., *Βίκτωρος πρεσβυτέρου Ἀντιοχείας καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ex codicibus Mosquensibus*, 2 vols. (Moscow: Typus Universitatis Caesareo Mosquensis, 1775).

[65] John Anthony Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, 8 vols. (Oxford: University Press, 1837–1844).

study of catenae in the New Testament since its publication despite being based on only one or two manuscripts with no regard for broader tradition.

3.2 *Modern Period*

The modern field of catena research was inaugurated with Hans Lietzmann's short treatise *Catenen* (1897).[66] Lietzmann recognized that excerpts of early Christian writers had been taken indiscriminately from catenae without regard for the nature of those compilations.[67] While Lietzmann was not opposed to the use of catenae as a source for discovering lost commentaries or supplementing the direct tradition of an author, he maintained that doing such work reliably depended on first reckoning with the catena tradition. He took the first step in this direction with the 1902 publication of *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus* with Georg Karo.[68] This work identified catena manuscripts in several European collections and sorted the catenae on each biblical book—or section—into types. These classifications became the foundation for subsequent research. In 1909, Michael Faulhaber wrote an article on catena research, "Katenen und Katenenforschung," discussing the field's nascent advances and problems faced in the analysis of catenae.[69]

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[66] Hans Lietzmann, *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Überlieferung* (Freiburg-im-Bresigau: Mohr Siebeck, 1897). Lietzmann's study was preceded by a few works which also recognized the need for the systematic study of catenae: Paul de Lagarde, *Symmicta* (Göettingen: Dieterischsche, 1877); Erwin Preuschen, "Kurze Übersicht über die indirekte Überlieferung," in *Die Überlieferung und der Bestand der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, ed. Adolf von Harnack, vol. 1.1 of *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1893), 835–842; Paul Wendland, *Neu entdeckte Fragmente Philo's nebst einer Untersuchung über die ursprügliche Gestallt der Schrift de Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini* (Berlin: Druck and Reimer, 1891).

[67] This uncritical use of catenae is best reflected in the editions prepared by Migne in the PG series.

[68] Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*.

[69] Michael Faulhaber, "Katenen und Katenenforschung," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 18 (1909): 383–395. After publishing several pieces on catenae in the preceding decade, this would be Faulhaber's final publication on catenae. He left academia after being consecrated a bishop in the Roman Catholic Church.

The modern study of catenae is marked by fragmentation and contrasts. Research on catenae and the use of them tends to specialize narrowly within a biblical book or corpus. As Dorival observed: "There are no catenae specialists today; there are only specialists on the catenae on Genesis and Exodus, specialists on the catenae on the Psalms, specialists on the catenae on the Proverbs, and so on."[70] Devreesse's article, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques" remains one of the only articles which deeply engages with catenae across the entire Bible.[71] Devreesse published extensively on *Catenae on the Octateuch and Kings* and *Catenae on the Psalms* with a focus especially on the commentators on those books.[72] As Dorival explains, the number of manuscripts with catenae on each biblical book, the complex relationships of the types, and the array of sources within the texts lends itself toward expertise on only one section of the Bible. Throughout the present thesis, various studies of catenae on other books will be discussed when they inform on the phenomena in the catenae on the Gospels.

Trajectories in this field can be framed around critical approaches to studying catenae based on the intended outcome. Some studies focus on the sources of the catena, seeking to determine which early Christian writers were included in the compilations and how the indirect text of the catena tradition compares to the direct tradition of that author—if one exists. This objective

[70] Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques 1*, VIII. "Il n'existe pas aujourd'hui de spécialistes des chaînes; il existe seulement des specialistes des chaînes sur la *Genèse* et l'*Exode*, des specialistes des chaînes sur les *Psaumes*, des specialistes des chaînes sur les *Proverbes*, et ainsi de suite."

[71] Devreesse, "Chaînes," col. 1:1084–1233. Curti and Barbàra's summary article is the closest current counterpart to Devreesse, and even it does not have the same effect as the former study: "Greek Exegetical Catenae," 605–654.

[72] Robert Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs de l'Octateuque et des Rois*, Studi e Testi 201 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1959); Robert Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs des Psaumes*, Studi e Testi 264 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1970).

especially lends itself to the goal of discovering or editing writings which have not otherwise been preserved. Such studies include Reuss's editions of scholia from certain authors in the catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John.[73] While Lietzmann and Devreesse criticized the use of catenae as a mere source for extracting the sources, the modern works which do this do so only after having reckoned with the catena tradition.

Another approach considers catenae as a textual production, examining the manuscript tradition of catenae on a biblical book and describing the various forms which the text takes. The objective is to accurately trace the history of catenae on a corpus and ascertain the work of the compilers at different stages. Dorival's five-volume study of the catenae on the Psalms is an example of this kind of research.[74] The result of this line of inquiry is manifested in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum.* The CPG for catenae was first published in 1980 and organizes the catena traditions into types, akin to Karo and Lietzmann, based on the conclusions in publications on those topics.[75] The CPG has undergone revision since it was first published and is now maintained in the open-access *Clavis Clavium* database.[76]

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[73] Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 61 (Berlin: Akademie, 1957); Joseph Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 89 (Berlin: Akademie, 1966); Joseph Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 130 (Berlin: Akademie, 1984). In this progression of publications, Reuss imitated his *Doktorvater*, Karl Staab. Staab's *Pauluskommentare* does exactly the same for Paul: *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*, NTAbh 15 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1933).

[74] Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, 5 vols., Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 43–46, 54 (Leuven: Peeters, 1986–2018).

[75] Geerard, ed., *CPG IV': Catenae*.

[76] For *Clavis Clavium*: https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla. It should be noted that even though *Clavis Clavium* should be followed instead of the print edition because it is continuously updated, the print editions should still be consulted because they include bibliographic information and explanations which have not yet been integrated into the database.

A third approach to researching catenae is producing critical editions. Modern critical editions differ vastly from their early modern precursors. Editions today feature a carefully selected manuscript basis, critical apparatuses, and statements of methodology. Numerous editions of catenae on the Old Testament have been published in the late twentieth century: Marguerite Harl with Gilles Dorival on a catena on Psalm 118 (1972);[77] Sandro Leanza (1979, 1983), Santo Lucà (1983), and Antonio Labate (1992) on catenae on Ecclesiastes;[78] Françoise Petit (1977, 1986, 1992–1996, 1999–2001) and Karin Metzler (2015, 2020) on catenae on Genesis and Exodus;[79] Ursula and Dieter Hagedorn on catenae on Job (1994–2004);[80] Carmelo Curti on a catena on Psalms 120–134;[81] and Jean-Marie Auwers on a catena on the Song of Songs.[82] Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini explain the importance of the task of editing catenae: "These exegetical works are in need of reliable texts:

[77] Marguerite Harl and Gilles Dorival, *La chaîne palestinienne sur le psaume 118 :* (*Origène, Eusèbe, Didyme, Apollinaire, Athanase, Théodoret*), 2 vols., Sources chrétiennes 189–190 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1972).

[78] Leanza, ed., *Procopii Gazaei*; Sandro Leanza, ed., *Un nuovo testimone della Catena sull'Ecclesiaste di Procopio di Gaza, il cod. Vindob. Theol. Gr. 147*, CCSG 4 Suppl. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983); Santo Lucà, ed., *Anonymus in Ecclesiasten commentarius qui dicitur Catena trium Patrum*, CCSG 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983); Antonio Labate, ed., *Catena Hauniensis in Ecclesiasten, in qua saepe exegesis seruatur Dionysii Alexandrini*, CCSG 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992).

[79] For Petit: *La chaîne sur la Genèse. Edition intégrale I-IV*, Traditio exegetica graeca 1–4 (Leuven: Peeters, 1991–1996); *Catenae graecae in Genesim et in Exodum. I. Catena Sinaitica*, CCSG 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977); *Catenae graecae in Genesim et in Exodum. II. Collectio Coisliniana in Genesim*, CCSG 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986); Françoise Petit, *La Chaîne sur l'Exode*, 3 vols., Traditio Exegetica Graeca 9–11 (Louvain: Peeters, 1999–2001). See also her programmatic essay at the start of these projects: Françoise Petit, "Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur la Genèse et l'Exode. Programme d'exploration et d'édition," in *Studia Patristica XII: Papers presented to the Sixth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford, 1971*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, TU 115 (Berlin: Akademie, 1975), 46–50. For Metzler: *Prokop von Gaza, Eclogorum, Genesis*; *Prokop von Gaza, Eclogorum, Exodus*.

[80] Ursula Hagedorn and Dieter Hagedorn, eds., *Die älteren griechischen Katenen zum Buch Hiob*, 4 vols., PTS 40, 48, 53, 59 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994–2004).

[81] Carmelo Curti, ed., *La catena palestinese sui Salmi graduali: introduzione, edizione critica, traduzione, note di commento e indici* (Catania: Università di Catania, 2003).

[82] Auwers, ed., *Epitome in Canticum canticorum*. The list of editions corresponds to the one provided in Dorival, *The Septuagint*, 143. Some were omitted because they were partial editions or indices of scholia.

it goes almost without saying that the effort to provide critical editions of texts, whether unpublished or poorly edited, must remain at the core of the study of Byzantium."[83]

These three approaches to studying catenae—sources, textual history, and editions—reinforce one another rather than distract. Attempting to prioritize between what one does with catenae at the current stage of research bifurcates the discipline in unhelpful ways. Some studies emphasize a particular objective, but many projects undertake all these objectives. First, the manuscript tradition is compared and analyzed to find groups of manuscripts and adduce the stages of development in the catenae. Editors select a type to edit on the basis of multiple manuscripts, recording differences between manuscripts which sheds further light on the transmission of the text and the relationships between witnesses. Then the sources of the commentary are investigated, and the compilation technique of the compilers described. This data can then be used for studies of several types of catenae on the same corpus, for comparison to other catenae or anthological traditions, or for studies of one particular source found in the catenae. This holistic approach is exemplified in studies such as Karin Metzler's editions of Procopius of Gaza's commentaries on Genesis and Exodus;[84] Auwers's edition of Procopius of Gaza's epitome on the Song of Songs and its companion, *L'interprétation du Cantique des cantiques à travers les chaînes exégétiques grecques*;[85]

[83] Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini, "Why the Bible in Byzantium Matters," in *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and their Readers*, ed. Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 20 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2021), 17. See also Matthieu Cassin, "Où en est l'édition de textes patristiques grecs aujourd'hui ? Théories, méthodes et pratiques," *ZAC* 24 (2020): 11–59.

[84] Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza, Eclogorum, Genesis*; Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza, Eclogorum, Exodus*.

[85] Auwers, ed., *Epitome in Canticum canticorum*; Jean-Marie Auwers, *L'interprétation du Cantique des cantiques à travers les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 56 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

and Petit's work on the catenae in Genesis which included an edition with studies on the treatment of sources in those catenae and the exegetical tradition.[86]

This survey of research shows how the study of catenae has progressed from the production of unreliable editions based on one or two manuscripts to an interdisciplinary field engaging in philology, the history of biblical interpretation, and late antique and Byzantine history. Despite the complexities of the catena tradition and the manifold reasons different researchers interrogate catenae, the modern study of catenae offers reliable ways to study these texts from several perspectives.

4 Catenae on the Gospels

While the study of catenae on Old Testament books flourished since the second half of the twentieth century, with major research in the study of catenae on every section of the Old Testament, research on catenae on the New Testament has not kept pace. As will be seen in the following survey of research on the catenae on the Gospels, the last systematic studies are eighty years old; for the catenae on Acts, prior to the publication of two recent articles, little has been said since the early twentieth century;[87] for the catenae on the Catholic Epistles, the last sustained study

[86] Petit, *La chaîne sur la Genèse. Edition intégrale I-IV*; Petit, "Miroir de l'exégèse ancienne," 243–253; Françoise Petit, "La tradition de Théodoret de Cyr dans les chaînes sur la Genèse. Vues nouvelles dans le classement de ces chaînes," *Le Muséon* 92 (1979): 281–286; Françoise Petit, *Autour de Théodoret de Cyr: La 'Collectio Coisliniana' sur les derniers livres de l'Octateuque et sur les Règnes. Le 'Commentaire sur les Règnes' de Procope de Gaza*, Traditio Exegetica Graeca 13 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003); Françoise Petit and Lucas Van Rompay, *Sévère d'Antioche: Fragments grecs tirés des chaînes sur les derniers livres de l'Octateuque et sur les Règnes*, Traditio Exegetica Graeca 14 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006).

[87] Reuss's editions of catenae and articles published after 1941 did not systematically analyze catenae but edited texts or addressed specific questions or manuscripts based on the framework of the 1941 study. The two recent articles are Emanuele Scieri, "The Catena Manuscripts on Acts: A Revised Classification," *VC* (2022): 281–305; Emanuele Scieri, "Exegetical Fragments: Observations on the Catenae on Acts in Vatican, BAV, Reg. Gr. 6 (GA 886)," in *That Nothing May*

was two articles from the 1920s;[88] for the catenae on the Pauline Epistles, the most recent major publication was the work of Karl Staab in the 1920s and 1930s.[89] The study and editing of New Testament catenae is overdue, especially with the maturation in the study of catenae on the Old Testament. In what follows, the course of study of the catenae on the Gospels is traced in order to situate this thesis in the context of an ongoing, if not current, field of research.

4.1 *Karo and Lietzmann, Sickenberger, and Heinrici*

Several publications in the early twentieth century initiated the study of the catenae on the Gospels. Karo and Lietzmann's catalogue and classification provided a short list of catena manuscripts and sorted them into types according to their text in each Gospel.[90] They identified six types for Matthew, Luke, and John and none for Mark. Published a year earlier, Sickenberger's landmark book, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien,* investigated the catenae on Luke with particular attention to their usefulness as sources to recover the lost commentary of Titus of Bostra (d. ca. 363/378).[91] Sickenberger also published studies on Nicetas of Heraclea's *Catena on Luke* (1902), Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on Luke* (1909), and the catenae attributed to Peter of

Be Lost: Fragments and the New Testament Text: Papers from the Twelfth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, ed. Clark R. Bates, Jacopo Marcon, Andrew J. Patton, and Emanuele Scieri, TS 3/29 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2022), 215–239. See these publications for descriptions of earlier research on the catenae on Acts.

[88] Staab, "Die griechischen Katenenkommentare zu den katholischen Briefen," 296–353; James Hardy Ropes, "The Greek Catena to the Catholic Epistles," *HTR* 19 (1926): 383–388.

[89] Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*; Staab, *Pauluskommentare*. Theodora Panella has published recently on the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Galatians: "Re-Classifying the Pseudo-Oikoumenian Catena Types for Paul's Epistle to the Galatians," in *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and their Readers*, ed. Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 20 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2021), 387–403.

[90] Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 559–591.

[91] Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*. On Titus of Bostra's *Commentary on Luke*, see also Jean-Michel Lavoie, "Titus de Bostra, lecteur des écritures. Fragments du *Commentaire sur l'Évangile de Luc*" (MA Thesis, Université Laval, 2006).

Laodicea (1904).[92] C.F. Georg Heinrici took interest in the catenae attributed to Peter of Laodicea and published an edition of the commentary on Matthew in this tradition, *Des Petrus von Laodicea Erklärung des Matthäusevangeliums* (1908).[93] This edition was an advance compared to earlier editions because of his selection of several manuscripts and the inclusion of both an *apparatus criticus* and *apparatus fontium*. While Heinrici expressed the desire for similar work to be done on the other Gospels, he never completed it himself.

4.2 *Von Soden*

Hermann von Soden (1902–1911) is best known for his work in New Testament textual criticism in *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments*.[94] The first volume also included a study of the catenae on the Gospels in manuscripts which have a complete Greek New Testament. Von Soden is to be credited for treating manuscripts with commentaries separately from continuous-text witnesses.[95] He divided the catenae into types which had companions in Matthew, Luke, and John

[92] Joseph Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia*, TU 22.4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902); Joseph Sickenberger, *Fragmente der Homilien des Cyrill von Alexandrien zum Lukasevangelium*, TU 34.1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909); Joseph Sickenberger, "Über die dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebenen Evangelienkommentare," *TQ* 86 (1904). See also other studies of catenae and catena manuscripts: Joseph Sickenberger, "Aus römischen Handschriften über die Lukaskatene des Niketas," *Römische Quartalschrift* 12 (1898): 55–84; Sickenberger, "Über griechische Evangelienkommentare," 182–193; Joseph Sickenberger, "Eine Athoshandschrift der Lukaskatene des Niketas," *ZNW* 39 (1940): 151–161.

[93] C.F. Georg Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea Erklärung des Matthäusevangeliums*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testamentes 5 (Leipzig: Dürr, 1908). See also the preliminary study: C.F. Georg Heinrici, *Aus der Hinterlassenschaft des Petrus von Laodicea*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testamentes 3/2 (Leipzig: Dürr, 1905).

[94] Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments: in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, 2nd ed., 2 parts in 4 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902–1911), 249–281.

[95] While not directly following in von Soden's footsteps, Houghton proposed that manuscripts with commentary are prefixed with a *K* in the apparatus of Greek New Testament editions, which the editorial committees have accepted: H.A.G. Houghton, "Catena Manuscripts in the *Editio Critica Maior* of the Greek New Testament," in *Pen, Print, and Pixels: Advances in Textual Criticism in the Digital Era*, ed. Daniel B. Wallace, David Flood, Elijah Hixson, and Denis Salgado (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2023), 3–31. See also D.C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 56. Parker also advocates for making this information readily

and discussed the commentaries on Mark separately. Von Soden's conclusions have generally not influenced research into catenae on the Gospels.

4.3 *Rauer*

The next major study of catenae on the Gospels was Max Rauer's *Der dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebene Lukaskommentar* (1920).[96] Rauer, whose *Doktorvater* was Sickenberger, intended to produce an edition of Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 117 (Diktyon 71784) with an apparatus of sources and readings in other manuscripts of the type. The limited access to manuscripts due to World War 1 precluded him from doing this, and instead, he published his preliminary findings on the Type B commentaries which are attributed to Peter of Laodicea. Later, Rauer published an edition of Origen's *Homilies on Luke* with a detailed discussion of catenae as a source for fragments not preserved in direct tradition.[97] Rauer's taxonomy of the catenae on Luke received direct attention from subsequent scholars and influenced the classification of the CPG.[98]

available: "Unfortunately, the Gregory-Aland system of classification does not include any indicator that a manuscript includes a commentary, let alone what the commentary might be, but simply classes it among either the majuscules or the minuscules." This sets the user at a remove from this vital information… It is a real virtue of von Soden's much maligned and undoubtedly over-complicated system that it provides this information in quite a simple way."

[96] Max Rauer, *Der dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebene Lukaskommentar*, NTAbh 8 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1920).

[97] Max Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX: Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die griechischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars*, 1st ed., GCS33 (Berlin: Akademie, 1930); Max Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX: Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die griechischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars*, 2nd ed., GCS 49 (Berlin: Akademie, 1959). See also the study Max Rauer, *Form und Überlieferung der Lukas-Homilien des Origenes*, TU 47.3 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1932).

[98] On the role of Rauer's work in shaping the CPG classification of the catenae on Luke, see Chapter 7.

4.4 *Devreesse*

Robert Devreesse's article on catenae, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques" (1928), has been the standard introduction to biblical catenae since it was published.[99] In this piece, Devreesse described the editions of catenae on each Gospel, remarked on the main types, and provided a lengthy discussion of the sources used across all the catenae on that book. While Devreesse is credited with original research on other books, his analysis of the catenae on the Gospels only occasionally contributes new information about the development of these catenae even though the discussion of sources is a major contribution to scholarship.[100]

4.5 *Reuss*

Joseph Reuss, who completed his *Habilitationsschrift* under Karl Staab, is the preeminent authority in the study of catenae on the Gospels. Reuss's most important publication is his analysis of the catenae on Matthew, Mark, and John: *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*. This volume describes the manuscripts of the catenae on these three biblical books and analyzes each type. Reuss omitted the catenae on Luke from his study because he felt that Sickenberger's *Titus von Bostra* had already satisfactorily assessed that tradition. This book defined the study of catenae on the Gospels and remains the most important study of them. Reuss later published editions of scholia which were not transmitted in direct tradition for Matthew, John, and Luke.[101] These editions sometimes updated his conclusions about the catenae

[99] Devreesse, "Chaînes," col. 1:1084–1233.

[100] One of Devreesse's original contributions concerns the stemma of the catenae on John, which summarizes his previous article: Robert Devreesse, "Notes sur les chaînes grecques de saint Jean," *RB* 36 (1927): 197–215.

[101] Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*; Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare*; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*. *Lukas-Kommentare* was Reuss's final publication; he died in 1987.

on Matthew and John. The introduction to *Lukas-Kommentare* set out Reuss's categorization of the catenae on Luke for the first time, which countered Rauer's analysis in 1959. Aside from these books, Reuss published more than a dozen articles on catena manuscripts, the sources of catenae, and the catena tradition.[102] After the fervor of research on catenae in the first-half of the twentieth century, the study of the catenae on the Gospels largely stalled—apart from Reuss's ongoing efforts—in the second-half of the century.

4.6 *The Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing*

The catenae on the Gospels have experienced something of a renaissance in recent years, especially through research at the University of Birmingham's Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing. David Parker was struck by the number of catena manuscripts among the minuscules, the variety of forms their commentaries take, the inconsistent manner in which they were classified in the *Liste,* and the importance of several of the witnesses.[103] He proposed,

> The editor of the New Testament is therefore confronted by a weakness in the available data. In an ideal world, we should start again with studying the commentary manuscripts and draw up clearer criteria for including them. Once a more comprehensive list has been drawn up, the manuscripts should be categorized according to catena type, and the New Testament text should be tested to establish the textual groupings. For the moment, we have to acknowledge that the scholars of the late nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth went in the wrong direction with the commentary manuscripts, and it will take a while to establish a better situation. In the short term, the process of editing the New Testament will just have to continue with the materials it has available, while developing separately a research programme reassessing the catena manuscripts.[104]

[102] Two of the most important articles are Joseph Reuss, "Der exeget Ammonius und die Fragmente seines Matthäus und Johannes-Kommentars," *Bib* 22 (1941): 13–20 and Joseph Reuss, "Die Evangelienkatenen im Cod. Archivio di S. Pietro Gr. B 59," *Bib* 35 (1954): 207–216. All of Reuss's publications on catenae are cited in subsequent chapters.

[103] Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament.*

[104] Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament,* 47.

These reflections led to three major research projects which have addressed several of these objectives: COMPAUL (2011–2016) focusing on commentaries on the Pauline Epistles and the text of the New Testament, the Codex Zacynthius project (2018–2020), and the CATENA project (2018–2024).[105] Several theses at Birmingham have studied catenae, though only one explored the tradition in the Gospels, with a focus on the biblical text more than the commentary.[106] Parker has paid attention to the catenae in his work, noting the catena types for the manuscripts with catenae selected for the *Editio Critica Maior* and identifying a catena group within Family 1 of the Gospel of John.[107]

The study of the catena in Codex Zacynthius has been a watershed for research on catenae on the Gospels. The publication of the *editio princeps* of the catena and a volume of studies gave unrivaled access to this ancient catena.[108] These have already stimulated new studies on the catenae

[105] On the COMPAUL project: www.birmingham.ac.uk/compaul; on the Codex Zacynthius project: https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/research/itsee/projects/codex-zacynthius.aspx; and on the CATENA project: www.birmingham.ac.uk/catena.

[106] Michael A. Clark, "The Catena of Nicetas of Heraclea and Its Johannine Text" (University of Birmingham, 2016); Panella, "Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena,"; Chiara Coppola, "A New Analysis of the Scholia Photiana in the Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena Tradition" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2022); Jacopo Marcon, "The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Romans" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2023). In addition to these, Emanuele Scieri has submitted a thesis on the catenae on Acts: Emanuele Scieri, "The Catenae on the *Acts of the Apostles*" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2023) and Clark R. Bates currently is writing a thesis on the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Ephesians.

[107] D.C. Parker, Klaus Wachtel, Bruce Morrill, and Ulrich Schmid, "The Selection of Greek Manuscripts to be Included in the International Greek New Testament Project's Edition of John in the *Editio Critica Maior*," in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Michael W. Holmes*, ed. Daniel M. Gurtner, Juan Hernández Jr., and Paul Foster, NTTSD 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 287–328; D.C. Parker, "Family 1 in the Gospel of John: Its Members, Text and the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method," in *The New Testament in Antiquity and Byzantium: Traditional and Digital Approaches to its Texts and Editing. A Festschrift for Klaus Wachtel*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, D.C. Parker, and Holger Strutwolf, ANTF 52 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 325–341.

[108] H.A.G. Houghton, Panagiotis Manafis, and Amy Myshrall, *The Palimpsest Catena of Codex Zacynthius: Text and Translation*, TS 3/22 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020); H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, eds., *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020).

on Luke, the connection between catena format and the biblical text, and the theological orientation of the compilers.[109] Panagiotis Manafis, a member of both the Codex Zacynthius and CATENA projects, has focused his research on the *Codices Singuli* in Luke leading to the identification of multiple manuscripts which are witnesses to the type of catena in Codex Zacynthius and an edition and evaluation of several unique catena manuscripts.[110]

4.7 *Catenae on Mark*

The catenae on Mark also have featured in recent scholarship, especially since William Lamb's monograph, *The* Catena in Marcum*: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Commentary on Mark*.[111] In this book, discussed extensively in Chapter 6, Lamb offers an English translation of Cramer's edition of the *Commentary on Mark* with an accompanying study of the commentary's composition and transmission, the function of catenae in Byzantium, and the theological orientation of the commentary. Joseph Verheyden, currently writing a commentary on Mark, has published several pieces about the sources and exegesis of the *Commentary on Mark* and its place in the reception

[109] Patton, "Unchaining," 131–148; Laurence Vianès, "Affinités entre le Codex Zacynthius et les chaînes du pseudo-Droungarios," in *Ordre et désordre dans les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, ed. Jean-Marie Auwers and Agnès Lorrain, Instrumenta patristica et medievalia (Turnhout: Brepols, Forthcoming 2024). I would like to thank Laurence for generously sharing this chapter with me prior to its publication.

[110] Panagiotis Manafis, "Catenae on Luke and the Catena of Codex Zacynthius," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 137–168 Panagiotis Manafis, "A New Witness to the Catena of Codex Zacynthius," *ZAC* 26 (2022): 371–401; Panagiotis Manafis, *Exegesis on the Gospel of Luke: Codices Singuli and Catena C139.1*, TU 194 (Berlin: De Gruyter, Forthcoming 2024).

[111] William R.S. Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Commentary on Mark*, TENTS 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2012). See also Lamb's other publications: William R. S. Lamb, "Catenae and the Art of Memory," in *Commentaries, Catenae, and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in Conjunction with the COMPAUL Project*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, TS 3/13 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2016), 83–98; Lamb, "Conservation and Conversation," 277–299.

history of the second Gospel.[112] Recent studies have also taken an interest in the way that the *Commentary on Mark* explains the ending of the Gospel. Mina Monier and H.A.G. Houghton address whether certain catena manuscripts are witnesses to the Short Ending of Mark.[113] Monier and Tommy Wasserman examine distinctive scholia and readings in the Gospel text of Mark 16.[114] Anthony P. Royle and Garrick V. Allen explore the way that the scholia on Mark 16 guide the reading of the texts.[115] Most recently, Jeremiah Coogan has examined how the compilers of the *Commentary on Mark* formed the commentary from scholia on Matthew, Luke, and John, and identified several places where the compilers wrote original scholia rather than using an early Christian source.[116]

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[112] Joseph Verheyden, "Before Embarking on an Adventure: Some Preliminary Remarks on Writing the NTP Commentary on the *Gospel of Mark*," in *Papers presented at the Fifteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2007: Archaeologica, Arts, Iconographica; Tools; Historica; Biblica; Theologica, Philosophica, Ethica*, ed. J. Baun, A. Cameron, M. Edwards, and M. Vinzent, Studia Patristica 44 (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 145–156; Joseph Verheyden, "A Puzzling Chapter in the Reception History of the Gospels: Victor of Antioch and his So-Called 'Commentary on *Mark*'," in *Papers presented at the Sixteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2011: Biblica; Philosophica, Theologica, Ethica*, ed. Markus Vinzent, vol. 11, Studia Patristica 63 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 17–27; Joseph Verheyden, "The So-Called *Catena in Marcum* of Victor of Antioch: Throwing Light on *Mark* with a Not-So-Little Help from *Matthew* and *Luke*," in *Papers presented at the Seventeenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2015: Biblica; Philosophica, Theologica, Ethica; Hagiographica; Ascetica*, ed. Markus Vinzent, vol. 17, Studia Patristica 91 (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 47–62; Joseph Verheyden, "The Reception History of the Gospel of Mark in the Early Church: Adventuring in Still Largely Unexplored Territory," in *Reading the Gospel of Mark in the Twenty-First Century: Method and Meaning*, ed. Geert Van Oyen, BETL 301 (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 395–430.

[113] Mina Monier, "Mark's Ending in the Digital Age: Paratextual Evidence, New Findings and Transcription Challenges," *Postscripts* 12 (2021): 75–98; Mina Monier, "GA 304, Theophylact's Commentary and the Ending of Mark," *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 52 (2019): 94–106. Monier's position on GA 304 is refuted in H.A.G. Houghton, "Unfinished Business: The Ending of Mark in Two Catena Manuscripts," *NTS* 69 (2023): 35–42.

[114] Mina Monier, "Mark's Endings in Context: Paratexts and Codicological Remarks," *Religions* 13 (2022): 548; Mina Monier, "'According to the Egyptians': Mark 16 in GA 72," *COMSt Bulletin* 8 (2022): 365–384; Tommy Wasserman, "The Text and Paratext of Family 1 in Mark 16," *COMSt Bulletin* 8 (2022): 345–363.

[115] Anthony P. Royle and Garrick V. Allen, "Framing Mark: Reading Mark 16 in a Catena Manuscript," *COMSt Bulletin* 8 (2022): 385–400. See also Allen and Royle's other articles on reading and paratextuality in catenae on Mark: Garrick V. Allen and Anthony P. Royle, "Paratexts Seeking Understanding: Manuscripts and Aesthetic Cognitivism," *Religions* 11 (2020): 523; Garrick V. Allen, "The Possibilities of a Gospel Codex: GA 2604 (Dublin, CBL W 139), Digital Editing, and Reading in a Manuscript Culture," *JBL* 140 (2021): 409–434.

[116] Jeremiah Coogan, "Mapping the Fourfold Gospel: Textual Geography in the Eusebian Apparatus," *JECS* 25 (2017): 337–357; Coogan, *Eusebius the Evangelist*; Coogan, "Doubled Recycling," 149–165.

Research on catenae on the Gospels has proceeded intermittently throughout the last 120 years. The earliest studies especially contributed information about manuscripts not cited by Karo and Lietzmann. The description and analysis of the catena types proceeded book-by-book even though the editors held that the same compilers were responsible for catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John. The catenae on Mark were described differently to those on the other Gospels, even though they were transmitted in the same manuscripts. Up until the 1940s, the catenae on Gospels were treated periodically in studies of manuscripts, sources, and their texts. After Reuss's foundational work of 1941, research was intermittent—his subsequent work on the sources in catenae was essentially the only work about catenae on the Gospels—and stalled after his death. The recent investigation of some catenae on the Gospels, especially the *Commentary on Mark* and the *Codices Singuli* on Luke, have reinvigorated this topic.

5 Argument

The catenae on the Gospels have not been systematically studied for decades. This extended gap alone makes these texts ripe for another assessment. Several other factors positively point toward the value in concentrating on this collection. First, the strides in research into catenae on other biblical books have clarified methods in understanding catenae. These insights and strategies can be applied to the catenae on the Gospels, and the more recent publications and editions of other biblical catenae offers points of comparison for this catena tradition. The increasing number of studies concerned with catena manuscripts and scholia in the Gospels—especially studies on paratexts, the reception and interpretation of the biblical text, and on the people who made and read these documents—warrants an investigation that brings up to date the nature of these texts as a starting point for examining the dynamic interactions between them and other material and

sociological questions.[117] Catena manuscripts also are now on the radar in New Testament textual criticism as a potentially valuable, or at least distinctive, kind of witness to the text of the New Testament.[118] Catenae are the largest subcategory of continuous-text minuscule manuscripts—numbering approximately one-in-five of these witnesses—so understanding the texts which are in the same codices is worthwhile. Finally, the recent publication of Parpulov's comprehensive catalogue of Greek New Testament catena manuscripts coupled with the digitization of manuscripts and other digital tools for studying manuscripts provides access to the manuscript tradition in a way that surpasses any previous study of the catenae on the Gospels.[119]

This thesis, researched and written as part of the CATENA project in ITSEE, utilizes these developments and new resources to investigate the catenae on the Gospels. The central question of this study is: how did the catenae on the Gospels develop? At a basic level, answering this question seeks to determine whether Reuss's description of the catenae on the Gospels holds up when compared to a wider corpus of manuscripts. As Parker queried:

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[117] These three avenues of research have several connections to New Philology. On New Philology, see Hugo Lundhaug and Liv Ingeborg Lied, "Studying Snapshots: On Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology," in *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, ed. Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug, TU 175 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017); Bernard Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology*, trans. Betsy Wing (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1999); M.J. Driscoll, "The Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New," in *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature*, ed. Judy Quinn and Emily Lethbridge (Copenhagen: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2010), 87–104.

[118] Studies on catena manuscripts and New Testament textual criticism include: Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament*; H.A.G. Houghton, ed., *Commentaries, Catenae, and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in Conjunction with the COMPAUL Project*, TS 3/13 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2016); Andrew J. Patton, "Direct Copying in a Group of Gospels Manuscripts with Catenae," *NTS 69* (Forthcoming); Houghton, "Catena Manuscripts in the *Editio Critica Maior*," 3–31; H.A.G. Houghton and Amy Myshrall, "Three Direct Copies and Other Closely Related Manuscripts of the Pauline Epistles," *NovT* 65 (2023): 381–399.

[119] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*.

> I will venture to say that I suspect Reuss' classification. I have no evidence for this, except that it seems very formalised and I suspect that the catena tradition may have been looser than that. It is true that his conclusions have never been subjected to scrutiny and have thus never been verified.[120]

Determining how the catenae on the Gospels developed will contribute an updated description and analysis of these catenae, building on and refining Reuss's studies. Toward this end, this thesis examines the textual tradition and composition of the catenae on the Gospels produced before the tenth century. While previous studies organized their investigations around each Gospel, this thesis treats the catenae which were compiled by the same figure on Matthew, Luke, and John as a collection on the Gospels and describes them together rather than exclusively as a works on a single book. This decision has the advantage of usually following the codicology of the manuscripts which typically bind together the same combination of catenae.[121] The updated appraisal of the catenae on the Gospels and the deliberate examination of them as projects across the three Gospels draws attention to inconsistences in the classification of the Gospels in the CPG. It is therefore proposed that the taxonomy of the CPG on Luke should be revised to identify catenae more precisely, to reflect the development of secondary catenae, and to adopt common labels for catenae on all multiple Gospels produced by the same person.

In another respect, answering the question of how the catenae on the Gospels developed addresses an open question in research on these texts. Previous studies recognized how several of the commentaries and catenae on the Gospels were related. The earlier compilation commentaries

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[120] Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament*, 256 n. 29.

[121] On the contents of a manuscript as a codicological detail: Patrick Andrist, Paul Canart, and Marilena Maniaci, *La syntaxe du codex: Essai de codicologie structurale*, Bibliologia 34 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Patrick Andrist and Marilena Maniaci, "The Codex's Contents: Attempt at a Codicological Approach," in *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects, Methods, and Concepts*, ed. B. Quenzer Jörg, Studies in Manuscript Cultures 25 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021): 369–394.

on Matthew, Luke, and John (Type A Basic Form: C110.1, C130.1, C140.1; Type B Basic Form: C111, C132, C141.1) had been expanded with additional comments to form a catena on those Gospels (Type A Catena Form: C110.4, C130.4, C140.4; Type B Catena Form: C112.3, C133.1, C141.2). While these additional scholia were readily identifiable, their sources had not been determined. Through macrostructural and textual comparisons of these catenae, the source of the additional scholia has been identified for the first time in what is here called the Type Z catenae. This results in a reformulation of the stemma of the early catenae on the Gospels. The study also looks backward at the sources used by the first stage in the development of the catenae. This is conducted through an investigation of the scholia transmitted with the attribution to an unnamed source (ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου and ἀνεπίγραφος). These scholia belonged to an early exegetical collection of anonymous scholia which was used as a source by the compilers of all three of the early catena types. By looking forward and backward, the development of the early catenae on the Gospels is understood more completely, providing insight into the work of the compilers and the circumstances of the compilers.

6 Plan

The catenae on the Gospels developed in similar patterns between the sixth to the ninth centuries. Charting the stages in the development of the early catenae on the Gospels facilitates an understanding of each particular work and reveals new understandings of the relationships between the catenae. The next five chapters describe three traditions of catenae on the Gospels (Type A, Type B, and Type Z) produced before the ninth century and explore how they were developed from common sources. The final two chapters draw conclusions from the patterns of development traced in the preceding chapters.

The next chapter lays a foundation for the study of the early catenae on the Gospels by analyzing the four principal catena types on the Gospels compiled before the ninth century within the Type A and Type B in the CPG. This analysis updates and re-evaluates the descriptions made by Reuss in the 1940s and offers new assessments of the ways that the manuscript tradition interacts with the textual development. Both traditions began as a set of compilation commentaries on Matthew, Luke, and John. Later readers reworked these commentaries into catenae with the addition of scholia from other sources.

Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 answer questions about how these four catenae were compiled. Chapter 3 takes up the question of how the compilers of the two catenae on the Gospels expanded the earlier commentaries. It shows that both projects used the same source to gather the additional scholia for all three Gospels. In Luke, this source is the catena on Luke in Codex Zacynthius, which paved the way for identifying companion sources in the catenae on Matthew and John for the first time. This finding draws on the work of the Codex Zacynthius project, applying the resources created in that project to redefine the relationships between the early catenae on the Gospels, and reverses some of the conclusions by recognizing the distinct layers in the development of the Type A and Type B catenae.

Chapter 4 investigates the unconventional attribution of scholia to an untitled source through the attributions ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου and ἀνεπίγραφος. Scholars have been intrigued by the way this attribution is both specific and oblique, and postulated that the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia derived from an early exegetical collection. This source was used by the compilers of all the commentaries and catenae compiled in the sixth century, linking them to a common source which existed before

the earliest catenae. The transmission of scholia under the name ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου is examined in all biblical catenae to understand how other traditions might inform the interpretation of this attribution and it is further situated in the intellectual environment of late antique Christianity.

The findings in Chapters 3 and 4 indicate that several catenae on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John are related to both stages of the Type A and Type B traditions. Chapter 5 identifies these catenae as a members of a new type called Type Z. The description and analysis of the type shows that these are the first catenae on the Gospels and may have been produced by Miaphysite compilers in the sixth century. This type is characterized by several distinctive features which relate it to other catenae and reveal its enduring influence on the tradition of catenae on the Gospels.

That the early catenists did not also prepare commentaries and catenae on the Gospel of Mark is a striking omission. Chapter 6 examines the catenae on Mark to see how its development differed from the other traditions and how it intersected with them in its composition and manuscript transmission. The majority of catena manuscripts on the Gospels have a *Commentary on Mark* which has been transmitted in two recensions. The compilers of this compilation commentary formed their text by using scholia on the other Gospels—especially catenae on Matthew—to explain Mark. The catenae on Mark developed in a flat pattern compared to the other Gospels, and the catenists who rewrote the early catenae on the Gospels did not extend their editorial work to Mark.

The final two chapters bring the thesis to a close by focusing on the implications and significance of these findings. Chapter 7 proposes a major reclassification of the catenae on Luke in the CPG to bring this into alignment with the taxonomies of the catenae on Matthew and John.

These changes divide the Type A tradition into subtypes, merge the Type B types into a single category, and creates a new reference for Type Z. These changes have already been accepted by the editors of the *Clavis Clavium* database, and the newly proposed reference numbers are used throughout this thesis.[122] Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by synthesizing the results, revisiting the study of the catenae on the Gospels, and suggesting opportunities for further research.

Three appendices support the main chapters. Appendix 1 provides a table, frequently referenced in Chapters 1 and 5, comparing the formats of the catena and biblical texts in all catenae on the Gospels. Appendix 2 addresses the reclassification of the Type A catenae on Luke proposed in Chapter 7. The new Type A classification divides what formerly were types C130 and C131 into new subtypes C130.1, C130.2, C130.3, and C130.4. This required sorting the seventy-three manuscripts into the new groups. Appendix 2 makes the first description of these subtypes in Luke and lists the manuscripts belonging to each. Appendix 3 clarifies differences between the current classification of the catenae in thirteen manuscripts in this thesis compared to the classification in Parpulov's *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament.* These codices were reclassified during the research and writing of this thesis and are listed for transparency.

7 Terminology and Conventions

Several notes on terminology and conventions are worth setting out from the start. Research on catenae has not used the word *lemma* or *lemmata* consistently. The term has been used to refer

[122] Thanks are due to Bram Roosen for reading Chapter 7 and accepting the proposed changes in *Clavis Clavium*. I also thank Hugh Houghton for implementing the revisions in *Clavis Clavium* and the *Catena Catalogue* database. As of 24 Sept. 2023, the changes have not been made public in *Clavis Clavium*.

to the biblical text on which a scholium comments and to refer to the author attributions which precede many scholia. In this thesis, lemma exclusively refers to the quotation of the biblical text.[123] A lemma can have internal reference, which refers to short quotations or paraphrases of the biblical text within the scholia, or external reference, when the biblical text is presented outside the catena either in frame or alternating format.[124] The restricted use of *lemma* for biblical text means that another term is needed for author names in catenae. *Attribution* refers to the name of the author attached to a scholium. Some studies also refer to the names of the authors as the *title* of the scholium, which does somewhat precisely reflect the function of this information. The distinction between lemma and attribution followed here has precedent in recent research on catenae, as seen in the publications of Agnès Lorrain and Jean-Marie Auwers.[125]

Manuscripts are cited according to their location and shelfmark. The first citation of a manuscript will also include its Gregory-Aland number, if one has been assigned, and its Diktyon number. These cross-references facilitate the comparison of this work with New Testament textual scholarship via the *Liste* and the *Pinakes* database of Greek manuscripts.[126] After the first use, the citation takes a short form with only the manuscript's city and shelfmark. All manuscript dates follow those in Parpulov's *Catalogue* unless otherwise noted. Some of these differ from the *Liste*.

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[123] See also Auwers, "Les chaînes exégétiques," 214; Lorrain, "Éditer les chaînes exégétiques grecques," 219 n. 1. Though Lorrain cites Dorival as one who has adopted this more precise terminology, he refers to author names as *lemmata* even in recent publications.

[124] These distinctions were adopted from Lorrain who referred to them as *référence interne* and *référence externe*: Lorrain, "Autour du Vaticanus gr. 762," 81.

[125] Auwers specifically repudiates the use of *lemma* for author names but otherwise silently uses *lemma* (*lemme*) exclusively for biblical references and *attribution* (*attribution* or *sigle d'auteur*) for author names: Auwers, *L'interprétation du Cantique des cantiques à travers les chaînes exégétiques grecques*; Auwers, ed., *Epitome in Canticum canticorum.*

[126] Online *Liste*: https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste; *Pinakes* database: https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr.

The first time an ancient writer is named in each chapter the date of their death is noted. These dates are taken from Kannengeiser's *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis* if that person is featured in the volume.[127] Otherwise, some figures from Byzantium are dated according to Angelo di Berardino's *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers, 451–750*.[128] Any author not named in these volumes was dated according to studies specifically on that person.

[127] Charles Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*, 2 vols., The Bible in Ancient Christianity 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).
[128] Angelo di Berardino, ed., *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers, 451–750*, trans. Adrian Walford (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2006; reprint, 2008).

CHAPTER 2

The Early Catenae on the Gospels

> "Étudier conjointement le texte et les mises en page des chaînes, ce n'est donc pas seulement tenter de se représenter visuellement des livres disparus, mais c'est aussi chercher à mieux comprendre les chemins intellectuels empruntés par ceux qui les ont confectionnés et utilisés."[1]

1 Introduction

Multiple catenae and commentaries on the Gospels were produced from the sixth to the ninth centuries. These are categorized into three primary traditions, each with their own patterns of composition, editing techniques, and subsequent development in late antiquity. Within the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (CPG), these traditions are called the Type A, Type B, and Type Z.[2] In addition to the three primary traditions, a smaller group of other catenae may have originated before the year 900 but are either attested in very few manuscripts or cannot be securely placed in the stream of the primary traditions. The most recent systematic description of the catenae on the Gospels was Joseph Reuss's 1941 monograph, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*.[3] His analysis was based on the analysis of more manuscripts than any prior study of the catenae on the Gospels but was still limited to the investigation of

[1] Agnès Lorrain, "Autour du Vaticanus gr. 762: Notes pour l'étude des chaînes à présentation alternante," *Byzantion* 90 (2020): 89. "Studying the texts and layouts of the catenae together is not only an attempt to visually represent books that have disappeared, but also to better understand the intellectual paths taken by those who have manufactured and used them."

[2] Maurits Geerard, ed., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. IV Concilia. Catenae*, 1st ed., Corpus Christianorum: Clavis Patrum Graecorum 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1980); Jacques Noret and Maurits Geerard, eds., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. IV Concilia. Catenae*, 2nd ed., Corpus Christianorum: Clavis Patrum Graecorum 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018). Now available and updated online in the *Clavis Clavium* database: https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla/.

[3] Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, NTAbh 18/4–5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941).

manuscripts in Austria, Germany, France, Italy, and the Vatican Library.[4] The descriptions of the catenae in this chapter benefit from the comprehensive catalogue of catena manuscripts prepared by Georgi Parpulov and the ability to examine many of the codices directly through digital surrogates.[5] This chapter introduces the early catenae on the Gospels in Type A and Type B. As the identification of Type Z builds on an analysis of the development of the catenae in Type A and Type B, it will be described in a separate chapter. The descriptions of the types focus on their transmission, composition, and development into new types.

2 Type A

Type A is the earliest catena tradition on the Gospels having originated in the sixth century and being reworked into multiple new catenae by the tenth century.[6] The Type A catenae are divided into four subdivisions in the CPG representing four stages of development in the tradition. The Basic Form, called the *Grundform* by Joseph Reuss, is a collection of commentaries on Matthew, Luke, and John. These anonymous works are classified in the CPG as C110.1 for Matthew, C130.1 for Luke, and C140.1 for John.[7] This initial commentary was then adapted into three new forms during the seventh through tenth centuries. The Expanded Form (*die erweiterte Grundform*) adds comments from

[4] Reuss also cites a few manuscripts from Hungary, Israel, Russia, and Spain. These were accessed through facsimiles or editions. Conducting his research during the years leading up to and at the beginning of World War 2 affected access to manuscripts and the availability of his book in the post-war period; most of the stock was destroyed by allied bombing (D.C. Parker and J. Neville Birdsall, "The Date of Codex Zacynthius (Ξ): A New Proposal," *JTS* 55 (2004): 126).

[5] Georgi Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament: A Catalogue*, TS 3/26 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2021). Parpulov's *Catalogue* is also the foundation of the open-access *Catena Catalogue* database, programmed by Liam Carrington and Catherine Smith: https://purl.org/itsee/catena-catalogue.

[6] Full discussions on the dates of the Type A tradition are written in sections 1.2.1.5 and 1.2.2.5.

[7] The CPG number for Luke has been revised in the *Clavis Clavium* database from that in the printed editions of the CPG based on the research underlying this thesis: https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla. On the *Grundform* types: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 19–22, 154–156; Joseph Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 130 (Berlin: Akademie, 1984), XI.

additional sources especially those of the ninth-century patriarch, Photius of Constantinople (d. 893).[8] As the defining quality of this type is the addition of scholia from Photius, the expanded type cannot be dated earlier than the tenth century.[9] These works are classified in the CPG as C110.2 for Matthew, C130.2 for Luke, and C140.2 for John. The initial commentary was also reworked into an Abbreviated Form (*die gekürzte Grundform*) which was compiled by the Byzantine courtier Leo Choirosphaktes (d. ca. 919), also known as Leo the Magister or Leo Patricius.[10] The abbreviated catena dates to the ninth or tenth century and is classified as C110.3 for Matthew, C130.3 for Luke, and C140.3 for John. Finally, the initial commentary was adapted to its greatest extent in the Catena Form, dubbed the *Vollkatene* by Reuss.[11] This version added named comments from a number of sources to the initial commentary. It followed not long after the Basic Form, dating to the seventh

[8] On the life and work of Photius see: Margherita Losacco, "Photius, la Bibliothèque, et au-delà : l'état de la recherche, l'usage des classiques et les préfaces du corpus," in *Autour du Premier humanism byzantine et des Cinques études sur le Xie siècle, quarante ans après Paul Lemerle*, ed. Bernard Flusin and Jean-Claude Cheynet, Travaux et Mémoires 21/2 (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2017), 235–308. On his exegetical and theological method: Nicholas [Fr. Maximos] Constas, "Word and Image in Byzantine Iconoclasm: The Biblical Exegesis of Photius of Constantinople," in *The Contentious Triangle: Church, State, and University: A Festschrift in Honor of Professor George Huntston Williams*, ed. Rodney L. Petersen and Calvin Augustine Pater, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies 51 (Kirksville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1999), 97–111; Andrew Louth, "Photios as a Theologian," in *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization in Honour of Sir Steven Runicman*, ed. Elizabeth M. Jeffreys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 205–221. On Photius in catenae on the Gospels, see the series of articles by Joseph Reuss: "Die Matthäus-Erklärungen des Photios von Konstantinopel," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 1 (1952): 132–134; "Die Erklärung des Johannes-Evangeliums durch den Patriarchen Photius von Konstantinopel. Meinem verehrten Lehrer, Herrn Professor Dr. Karl S taab, Würzburg, zum 70. Geburtstag," *BZ* 6 (1962): 279–282; "Unbekannte Erklärungen zum Lukas-Evangelium des Patriarchen Photius von Konstantinopel," in *Beiträge zur Septuaginta*, ed. Josef Schreiner, vol. 1 of *Wort, Lied, und Gottesspruch: Festschrift für Joseph Ziegler* (Würzburg: Echter, 1972): 103–108. See also J. Neville Birdsall, "The New Testament Text Known to Photius: A Reconsideration," in *Collected Papers in Greek and Georgian Textual Criticism*, ed. J. Neville Birdsall, TS 3/3 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2006), 47–56.

[9] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 28–29, 158–160; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XI–XII, XXIX–XXXI.

[10] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 36–41, 161–162; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XII. On Leo Choirosphaktes, see Georges Kolias, ed., *Léon Choerosphactès, magistre, proconsul et patrice : biographie, correspondance* (*texte et traduction*), Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie 31 (Athens: Verlag der Byzantinisch-neugriechischen jahrbücher, 1939); Paul Magdalino, "In Search of the Byzantine Courtier: Leo Choirosphaktes and Constantine Manasses," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997), 146–161.

[11] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 46–52, 164–175; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XII.

or eighth century. The CPG classifies the Type A Catena Form as C110.4 in Matthew, C130.4 in Luke, and C140.4 in John. As the focus of this study is the early development of the catenae on the Gospels, only the Basic Form and Catena Forms compiled before the ninth century will be described in detail.

2.1 *Type A Basic Form*

The first stage in the development of the catenae on the Gospels in the Type A tradition was the composition of the Type A Basic Form on Matthew, Luke, and John. These works are late antique compilation commentaries which have been associated with and classified within the genre of catenae on the Gospels because of how they were preserved in manuscripts with the complete biblical text like catenae and were foundational for the composition of subsequent catenae.[12] This type was edited in the seventeenth century by Fronton du Duc.[13] This reliable bilingual edition prints a Greek text edited by du Duc alongside a Latin translation by Theodorus Peltanus first published in 1580.[14] The Greek manuscript used as the basis for this edition is unknown.[15] While Reuss accuses du Duc, along with other editors of catenae on Luke, of using whichever manuscript happened to be available to them, investigations of du Duc's editing technique in other editions he prepared indicates that his method was to consult multiple manuscripts in order to have the most accurate possible Greek text.[16] In this way, he has been likened to Erasmus of Rotterdam for his superb

[12] See Chapter 1 §1.2 for a discussion of compilation commentary as a genre.

[13] Fronton du Duc, *Bibliothecae Veterum Patrum Seu Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum: Tomus Secundus Graecolatinus*, vol. 2 (Paris: Compagnie de la Grand-Navire, 1624).

[14] Theodorus Antonius Peltanus, *Victoris Antiocheni in Marcum et Titi Bostrorum episcopi in evangelium Lucae commentarii* (Ingolstadt: Davidem Sartorium, 1580).

[15] Robert Devreesse simply states the text was edited from a manuscript in Paris: "Chaînes exégétiques grecques," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1928): cols. 1181–1182.

[16] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, X.

editions.[17] Thus, du Duc probably based his Greek text on multiple manuscripts in the collection of the Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris.[18]

2.1.1 Manuscripts of the Type A Basic Form

The Type A Basic Form is one of the most well attested types of catenae on the Gospels, with at least one Gospel appearing in fifty-six manuscripts dating from the second half of the ninth century to the eighteenth century.[19] The earliest witnesses, and the only manuscripts dated to the ninth century, are two codices at the SHM in Moscow: Syn. gr. 137 (Diktyon 43762) and Syn. gr. 384 (Diktyon 44009). These two manuscripts were copied by the same scribe at Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos and form a two-volume set of commentaries on the four Gospels.[20] It is unclear

[17] Laurence Brottier, "Fronton du Duc, éditeur de textes grecs," in *Science et présence jésuites entre orient et occident. Journée d'études autour de Fronton du Duc*, ed. Centre Sèvres, Patristique 127 (Paris: Mediasèvres, 2004), 89–115.

[18] On the history of the library in Paris, see: Robert Devreesse, *Le Fonds Coislin*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits grecs 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1945); Henri Omont, "Le fonds grec: de la Bibliothèque Nationale," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 44 (1883): 569–572; Paul M. Priebe, "From Bibliothèque du Roi to Bibliothèque Nationale: The Creation of a State Library, 1789–1793," *Journal of Library History* 1982 (1982): 389–408.

[19] This data was collected from the *Catena Catalogue* database on 23 May 2023. The number of results in the *Catena Catalogue* database is larger than the number of manuscripts because three codices are split between two volumes or locations: Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 137 + Syn. gr. 384; the two parts of GA 238: Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 47 (Diktyon 43672) + Russian State Archive, F. 1607, No. 3 (Diktyon 44406); and the two parts of GA 832: Florence, BML, Plut.06.05 (Diktyon 15992) + Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. G.157 (Diktyon 48369). It is worth noting that GA 832 has commentaries on the Gospels followed by catenae on the Catholic Epistles, and the six leaves in Oxford only contain the catena on Jude.

[20] Matthaei was the first to note the relationship between these two codices: Christian Friedrich Matthaei, *D. Pauli epistolae ad Thessalonicenses et ad Timotheum: Graece et Latine: varias lectiones codd. Mosqq. scholia Graeca inedita et animadversiones criticas adiecit ac denvo recensvit* (Riga: Hartknoch, 1785), 218–222. For the most recent descriptions of these manuscripts see: Elina N. Dobrynina, "Colophons and Running Titles: On New Terminology in Describing Greek Manuscripts of the Ninth–Tenth Centuries," in *Greek Manuscript Cataloguing: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Paola Degni, Paolo Eleuteri, and Marilena Maniaci, Bibliologia 48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 248–249; Elina N. Dobrynina, *Rukopisi IX-X vv. v Gosudarstvennom Istoričeskom muzee* [*Manuscripts of the 9th–10th cc. at the State Historical Museum*], Svodnyj katalog grečeskih illûiuminirovannyh rukopisej v rossijskih hraniliŝah [Corpus of Greek Illuminated Manuscripts in Russian Collections], vol. 1 (Moscow: Scanrus, 2013), 51–52; B.L. Fonkich and F.B. Polyakov, *Grecheskie rukopisi Sinodal'noj biblioteki: Paleograficheskie, kodikologicheskie i bibliograficheskie dopolneniya k katalogu arhimandrita Vladimira* (*Filantropova*) [*Greek Manuscripts of the Moscow Synodal Library: Paleographic, Codicological and Bibliographic Additions to the Catalog of Archimandrite Vladimir* (*Filanthropov*)] (Moscow: Synodal Library, 1993), 44. On the order of the Gospels in these codices, see Andrew J. Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," *NovT* 64 (2022): 115–129.

whether this manuscript was originally a single codex that was broken at a later date.[21] Most of the codices of this type were copied before the fifteenth century, with only fourteen manuscripts dating from the fifteenth century or later. The fifty-six manuscripts attesting the Basic Form of the Type A catena tradition in at least one Gospel are listed in Table 2.1.

Manuscript	**GA**	**Diktyon**	**CPG Contents**	**Date**
Athens, EBE, 95	1411	2391	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	X
Athens, EBE, 98	1412	2394	C110.1, C140.1, C130.1	X
Athens, Library of the Greek Parliament, 1	807	1097	C112.4, C125.1, C130.1, C147.6	XII
Athens, Library of the Greek Parliament, 4	2097	1100	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	X
Athos, Great Lavra, A 15	1080	26943	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	X
Athos, Great Lavra, B 113	1507	27165	C115, C125.2, C130.1, C146	X
Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, 662	2453	18806	C110.1, C126.4, C130.1, C140.1	XI
Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, O.II.23	--	8964	C125.2, C130.1	XV
Cambridge, Trinity College, B.VII.1	--	11910	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	X
Florence, BML, Plut.06.05 + Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. G.157[22]	832	15992 + 48369	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1, C176	X

[21] The most compelling evidence that they were once a single codex is that the lists of *kephalaia* and *titloi* for Matthew, John, and Luke are located at the beginning of Moscow Syn. gr. 137 which would be the first half of the manuscript. Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 47 and Moscow, RSA, F. 1607 3 provide a parallel for this circumstance. They were previously a single codex that was transferred to Moscow from the Monastery of the Great Lavra at Mount Athos in 1655 and subsequently broken into two parts. On these manuscripts, see Matthaei, *D. Pauli epistolae ad Thessalonicenses et ad Timotheum*, 200; Jean Duplacy, "Manuscrits grecs du Nouveau Testament émigrés de la Grande Laure de l'Athos," in *Studia Codicologica*, ed. Kurt Treu, TU 124 (Berlin: Akademie, 1977), 163, 167–168; Kurt Treu, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR: Eine systematische Auswertung der Texthandschriften in Leningrad, Moskau, Kiev, Odessa, Tbilisi und Erevan*, TU 91 (Berlin: Akademie, 1966), 276–277.

[22] The full codex of Florence Plut.06.05 and Oxford Rawl. G.157 also includes a catena on the Catholic Epistles (C176). Oxford Rawl. G.157 only contains 6 leaves of the catena on Jude. These were not registered in the 1994 edition of the *Liste* or known to New Testament textual critics at the time of Wasserman's edition of Jude: Kurt Aland Michael Welte Beate Köster and Klaus Junack, *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd ed., ANTF 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994); Tommy Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission*, Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series 43 (Stockholm: Amquist & Wiskell, 2006). The first identification of Oxford Rawl. G.157 as a part of the Florentine manuscript seems to be: Paul Canart and Santo Lucà, *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale* (Rome: Retablo, 2000), 52–53.

Florence, BML, Plut.08.14, fols. 21–27	--	16072	C110.1	XI
Florence, BML, Plut.08.29	--	16087	C110.1	XI
Florence, BML, San Marco 687	--	16905	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	X
London, BL, Harley 5540	114	39505	C110.1, C126.7, C130.1, C140.1	XI
Madrid, BNE, 4777, fols. 1–182	--	40252	C110.1	XVI
Milan, BA, C 255 inf., fols. 1–90	--	42494	C140.1	XV
Milan, BA, O 142 sup., fols. 1–72	--	43077	C130.1	XVI
Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 47 + RSA, F. 1607, No. 3	238	44406	C112.4, C125.1, C130.1, C147.6	XII
Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 137 + Syn. gr. 384	--	43762 + 44009	C110.1, C140.1, C130.1, C125.2	IX
Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 138	--	43763	C110.1, C125.2, C130.1, C140.1	XII
Munich, BSB, Gr. 83, fols. 1–44	--	44527	C130.1	XVI
Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, F° 30 (Cim.16)	033	45102	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	X
New Haven, CT, Beinecke Library, 235, fols. 5r–23r	--	46483	C140.1	XIII
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.4	--	47130	C110.2, C130, C140.1	XI
Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Gr. 25	--	48617	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	XII
Paris, BnF, Coislin 71	--	49215	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 191	25	49760	C110.1, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 199	--	49769	C110.1, C140.1	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 200	2964	49770	C110.1, C140.1	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 201	055	49771	C110.1, C125.2, C130.1, C140.1	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 231	--	49803	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 700	--	50281	C110.1, C140.1	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 701	--	50282	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	X

The codex is of Calabrian origin, and several of the Rawlinson manuscripts at Oxford are fragments taken from the Biblioteca del San Salvatore di Messina. While this codex cannot be established as a Messina manuscript, Richard Rawlinson likely acquired them at the same time during his travels in southern Italy and Sicily. See Donatella Bucca, "Due manoscritti dispersi della Biblioteca del S. Salvatore di Messina: l'Oxon. Bodl. Rawl. G.2 et il Vat. Bonc. B.4," *Nuovi Annali della Scuola Speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari* 31 (2017): 37–58.

Paris, BnF, Gr. 702	2110	50283	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 703	--	50284	C110.1, C125.1, C130.1, C140.1	XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 704	--	50285	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	X
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1225	1293	53889	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1, (+ C147.3)	X
Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 58	1160	54302	C112.4, C125.1, C130.1, Theophylact	XII
Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 59	--	54303	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	X
Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 60	--	54304	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	X
Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Gr. 67	--	55974	C110.1, C125.2, C130.1, C140.1	X
Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, S.A.Valle 100, fols. 1–353, 457–478	--	56149	C133, C135, C130.1	XVI
Tirana, Albanian National Archives, f. 488, dos. 15	2244	63374	C110.1, C140.2	X
Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, C.II.14	--	63852	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Barb. gr. 444	--	64987	C110.1, C140.1	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. gr. 113	--	65344	C125.1, C130.1	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. gr. 237, fols. 1–71	--	65480	C130.1, C140.1	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 136	148	65868	C110.1	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Ross. 211	1366	66421	C130.1, C140.1	XII
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 384	--	67015	C125.1, C130.1	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1472	865	68103	C140.1	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1618	377	68249	C112.4, C125.1, C130.1, C147.6	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1692	--	68321	C110.1, C126.4, C130.1, C140.1	X
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1804	--	68433	C140.1	X
Venice, BNM, Cl. I,34 (1070)	--	70130	C110.1, C125.2, C130.1, C140.1	XII
Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 251	--	71918	C110.1, C140.1	XVI

Table 2.1. Type A Basic Form Manuscripts

2.1.2 The Formats in Type A Basic Form Manuscripts

The formats of the catena and the biblical texts are distinctive traits of the Type A Basic Form manuscripts. Appendix 1 features a table (Table A1.1) showing the distribution of manuscripts by catena type in alternating format, frame format, or marginal scholia, and with a full or abridged biblical text. Forty-nine of the Type A Basic Form manuscripts are in alternating format, six are in frame format, and one only has marginal scholia sourced from this commentary.[23] This is in striking contrast to the other catena manuscripts within the Type A tradition and in the other types which more frequently adopt the frame format or a mixture of formats. The Type A Abbreviated Form commentaries (C110.3, C130.3, and C140.3) match the Basic Form with eight of the nine manuscripts adopting the alternating format. The Type A Expanded Form (C110.2, C130.2, and C140.2) is attested in a mixture of formats with eleven manuscripts in alternating format and twelve in frame format, reflecting a shift from the Basic Form.[24] The Type A Catena Form (C110.4, C130.4, and C140.4) extensively uses the frame format with twelve of the fifteen codices using the frame catena format. The Type B tradition (C111 and C112.1–.6, C132 and C133.1–.2, and C141.1 and C141.2) has a clear preference for the frame format with sixty-two of the 109 manuscripts in frame format. The *mise en page* of the Type A Basic Form manuscripts therefore suggests that this work was initially copied in alternating format.

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[23] The sole manuscript of this type in the *Catena Catalogue* database with marginal scholia is Paris, BnF, Supply. gr. 1225. The marginal scholia in this manuscript derive from the Type A Basic Form. Reuss classified the manuscript as a *Codex Singulus* in Matthew and John. He was unable to link these scholia to any of the catena types he had identified and could not identify the source of comments added to John by a later user: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 116, 219. Parpulov correctly identified that the scholia in all three Gospels derives from the Type A tradition, and subsequent investigation of these found that the additional comments in John identified these as extracts from Zigabenus's commentary on John (see Appendix 2). Whether manuscripts with marginal scholia taken from catenae should be included in lists of catena manuscripts is worth reevaluating.

[24] See Appendix 2 for a description of the Type A Abbreviated Form and Type A Expanded Form.

The fifty-six Type A Basic Form manuscripts also frequently have an abridged form of the biblical text as shown in Appendix 1. Forty-two of the manuscripts have an abridged biblical text and fourteen have the full text of the Gospels. The fourteen manuscripts with a full biblical text include some of the manuscripts which do not conform to the patterns found in the typical Type A Basic Form witnesses. All six of the frame format manuscripts have the full biblical text with the Type A Basic Form. This format is unusual for this type but naturally would include the full text of the Gospels. Four of the other manuscripts—Athens, Library of the Greek Parliament, 1; Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 47 + Russian State Archive, F. 1607, No. 3; Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 58; and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1618—only have the Type A Basic Form in Luke and form a distinct group within the tradition of catena manuscripts on the Gospels and in the textual tradition of the New Testament.[25] And one of the witnesses is Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1225 (GA 1293; Diktyon 53889) which only has marginal scholia from the Type A commentary rather than the full text. Thus, only three of the fourteen manuscripts of the Type A Basic Form are typical witnesses to this commentary tradition.

The Type A Basic Form manuscripts represent a disproportionate number both of catena manuscripts on the Gospels in alternating format and of those with an abridged form of the biblical text. There are 267 manuscripts containing catenae on Matthew, Luke, or John in the *Catena Catalogue* database and 158 of these are in alternating format.[26]

[25] Andrew J. Patton, "Direct Copying in a Group of Gospels Manuscripts with Catenae," *NTS* 69 (2023): 445–461.

[26] Based on a search of the *Catena Catalogue* database on 2 Sept 2023. This includes only those assigned a CPG number within the catena tradition, therefore excluding manuscripts in the database with commentaries attributed to single authors such as Euthymius Zigabenus or Theophylact. Search link.

The data in Appendix 1 shows the prevalence of the alternating format and abridged biblical text in Type A basic from manuscripts. In the Type A Basic Form, 88% of the fifty-six results occur in alternating format. The only types which use this format at a higher rate are the Abbreviated Form of Type A (89%) and the two related types, the catenae by Nicetas of Heraclea (d. 11th c.) and the epitomes on Matthew and Luke by Macarius Chrysocephalus (d. 1382), which exclusively use this format. The compilers of the Type A Abbreviated Form adopted this format from the Basic Form. The catenae by Nicetas also likely used this format because the extensive number of scholia he collected would be difficult to accommodate in a typical frame format. One copy of Nicetas's catena on Luke, Vatican City, Vat. gr. 1611 (GA 1821; Diktyon 68242), dated to 1116/1117, was copied within decades of the composition of the catena and is in alternating format, likely reflecting the model.[27] The epitomes on Matthew and Luke by Macarius Chrysocephalus date to the fourteenth century. These works take extracts from Nicetas of Heraclea's catena and arrange them into λόγοι around the liturgical calendar. The alternating format is a fitting *mise en page* for this purpose.[28] The use of the alternating format in the Type A Basic Form is thus more noteworthy because the same commentary could have been arranged in frame format, as some codices of the type do, and it does not depend on an earlier tradition for its format. The fifty-one manuscripts of the Type A Basic Form in alternating format comprise one-third of the 149 Gospels catena manuscripts in this format, the largest share of any type. When the four types which overwhelmingly occur in alternating format

[27] Joseph Sickenberger highlights the use of the alternating format in manuscripts of Nicetas of Heraclea's catenae: Joseph Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia*, TU 22.4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902), 30–31. On Vat. gr. 1611, see Sickenberger, *Niketas*, 32–39 and Christos Th. Krikones, *Συναγωγη Πατερων εις το κατα Λουκαν Ευανγγελιον: Υπο Νικητα Ηρακλειας* (*Κατα τον Κωδικα Ιβηρων 371*), Βυζαντινα Κειμενα Και Μελεται 9 (Thessaloniki: Kentron Byzantinon Ereunon, 1976), 35–43.

[28] On the epitome on Luke attributed to Macarius Chrysocephalus, see Joseph Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien*, TU 6.1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901), 47–50.

(Type A Basic and Abbreviated forms, the catenae by Nicetas, and the epitomes by Chrysocephalus) are taken together, they represent more than half (59%) of all the alternating format manuscripts of the Gospels. The proportion of the Type A Basic Form manuscripts in alternating format shows how distinctive this format is for the type within the tradition of catenae on the Gospels.

The results are even more striking for the biblical text. Seventy-five percent of the Type A Basic Form manuscripts only have an abridged text of the Gospels. Only two other types abridge the biblical text at a higher rate: the Type A Abbreviated Form (89%) and the epitomes of Chrysocephalus (100%). As noted above concerning their *mise en page*, the abridged biblical text in these types either is derivative from the Type A Basic Form or accommodates the purpose of the work. The forty-four manuscripts of the Type A Basic Form with an abridged biblical text represent fifty-six percent of Gospels catena manuscripts in any type which have an abridged biblical text. When the Type A Basic Form, Type A Abbreviated Form, catenae by Nicetas of Heraclea, and epitomes of Chrysocephalus are taken together, they comprise ninety-one percent of all the abridged text manuscripts in the Gospels. The characteristic form of the biblical text in the Type A Basic Form manuscripts distinguishes it from the other traditions of catenae on the Gospels.

The distinctive formatting of the Type A Basic Form manuscripts with their alternating catena format and abridged biblical text reflects the genre of the manuscripts. These manuscripts resemble ordinary commentary manuscripts more than catenae.[29] Selected excerpts of the biblical text were included in the commentary before sections of scholia to structure the work and help the

[29] Andrew J. Patton, "Unchaining the Scriptures," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* (2023).

reader understand the context of the scholia. It was assumed that a short lemma was enough for the reader to understand the comments by recalling the wider biblical text from memory or through access to a separate continuous Gospels book. Later copies of this commentary were produced with the full biblical text, either in alternating or frame format, in order to give the reader the full text of the scriptures as a reference point for using the commentary. One manuscript of this type even copied the biblical text in the margin around the Type A commentary. Paris, BnF, Gr. 200 (GA 2964; Diktyon 49770) is an alternating catena manuscript of Matthew and John. In this manuscript the text of the Gospels was written in the margins around the commentary, perhaps by a later reader.[30] It approximates the frame format except that the biblical extracts tend only to occupy the outer margin, similar to a glossed manuscript. This shows the usefulness of the full biblical text for users of this commentary. Even when the full text of the Gospels was included in the manuscript, the short *lemmata* continued to be copied within the commentary as found in the typical Type A Basic Form manuscripts which only have the abridged biblical text.[31]

2.1.3 The Contents and Order of the Type A Basic Form Manuscripts

The manuscripts of the Type A Basic Form are also distinctive because of their contents and order. Only nineteen of the fifty-six manuscripts include all four Gospels. This is a striking difference compared to most of the other traditions of catenae on the Gospels. Moreover, some of those that have the text of all four Gospels do not contain a commentary on each. Mark is the Gospel typically

[30] On Paris Gr. 200, see Caspar René Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900), 178, who focuses on the surprising placement of the biblical text; Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," 118 who draws attention to the number and order of the Gospels; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 14, 18, 150, who focuses on the texts of the catena.

[31] Patton, "Unchaining," forthcoming.

omitted from the Type A Basic Form manuscripts.[32] The most common contents of a Type A Basic Form manuscript are Matthew, Luke, and John. Reuss posited that the omission of Mark in the majority of the Type A Basic Form manuscripts reflects the decision of the compilers. These were initially compiled on only those three Gospels, and the inclusion of a commentary on Mark "served to supplement the catena to Matthew, Luke and John, in order to have a complete commentary work for the four Gospels in a single manuscript."[33] Thus, the Type A Basic Form manuscripts appear in a variety of combinations with one, two, three, or four Gospels, while nearly all other catena types consistently were transmitted in manuscripts with all four or only one of the Gospels.[34]

The Type A Basic Form manuscripts also uniquely exhibit an irregular order of the Gospels. Thirty of the forty-six manuscripts with multiple Gospels do not appear in the traditional order Matthew–Mark–Luke–John. The most frequent sequence is to place John immediately after Matthew. Seven manuscripts of this type feature the so-called 'Western' order of the Gospels: Matthew–John–Luke–Mark. This rare order of the Gospels appears in only eleven Greek New Testament manuscripts, seven of which also include this type of commentary, among them the

[32] The omission of Mark in the Type A Basic Form manuscripts fits the treatment of Mark in early Christian exegesis. Mark was viewed as the least important of the four Gospels because it had the least original material after the other three had been read, especially Matthew which ranked first among the Gospels in late antiquity. Markus Bockmuehl, "The Making of Gospel Commentaries," in *The Written Gospel*, ed. Markus Bockmuehl and Donald A. Hagner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 286–289; Joseph Verheyden, "Four Gospels Indeed, but Where Is Mark? On Irenaeus' Use of the Gospel of Mark," in *Irénée de Lyon et les débuts de la Bible chrétienne. Actes de la Journée du 1.VII.2014 à Lyon*, ed. Agnès Bastit and Joseph Verheyden, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 77 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 169–204.

[33] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 141: "diente zur Ergänzung der Katenen zu Mt, Lk und Jo, um für die 4 Evv ein abgeschlossenes Kommentarwerk in einer Hs zu besitzen." It is noteworthy that the first commentary on Mark was composed to accompany the other catenae on Mark and needed to be constructed primarily by repurposing scholia on other Gospels. On the composite nature of this commentary, see Chapter 6.

[34] Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," 123–129.

oldest witnesses to the type.[35] Rather than deriving this order from an exemplar in the 'Western' order, the irregular order of the Gospels in the majority of the Type A Basic Form manuscripts corresponds to the initial composition of this set of commentaries on the Gospels and the ways that the compilers read and understood the Gospels.

2.1.4 The Macrostructure of the Type A Basic Form

The Type A Basic Form is comprised of anonymous scholia from multiple early Christian writers. The foundation for the commentaries on Matthew (C110.1) and John (C140.1) are the homilies of John Chrysostom (d. 407).[36] The scholia on these Gospels derive nearly exclusively from John Chrysostom's homilies and were taken directly from the source with little editorial intervention. The compilers selected the exegetical comments from Chrysostom's homilies while omitting the paraenetic material.[37] Two additional scholia not from Chrysostom belong to this form in Matthew: one from Isidore of Pelusium (d. ca. 435) and one from Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444).[38]

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[35] Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," 115–129. On the Western order in Greek New Testament manuscripts, see also Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 296; Matthew Crawford, "A New Witness to the 'Western' Ordering of the Gospels: GA 073 + 084," *JTS* 69 (2018), 477–483; Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "L'ordre des Évangiles: une nouvelle mise à jour," *Babelao* 10–11 (2022), 127–144, which updates his earlier publication "Ordres anciens des évangiles et tétraévangile en un seul codex," *RTL* 30 (1999), 297–314; D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 116–118.

[36] Chrysostom delivered a series of ninety homilies on Matthew (CPG 4424) and eighty-eight homilies on John (CPG 4425).

[37] Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 61 (Berlin: Akademie, 1957), XII; Joseph Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 89 (Berlin: Akademie, 1966), XI; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 26–29.

[38] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 19–20. Reuss notes that these two comments were written in the margins or a second hand in the oldest manuscripts of this type, but in the newer copies were fully inserted into the text. Neither became part of the Type A Catena Form or were printed by Cramer (*Catenae in Evangelia S. Matthaei et S. Marci*, Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum, vol. 1 [Oxford: University Press, 1840]). This suggests that the comments may have been an early interpolation into the tradition.

The additional scholia in John are two from Hesychius of Jerusalem (d. ca. 450).[39] As these commentaries essentially only give Chrysostom's interpretation of Matthew and John, they could perhaps be seen as epitomes of Chrysostom rather than a commentary or compilation commentary.[40]

The foundation in Luke (C130.1) is Cyril of Alexandria, supplemented with comments especially from Titus of Bostra (d. 378) and Origen (d. 253).[41] The compilers of these commentaries selected a different primary source for the commentary on Luke because Chrysostom did not deliver an extensive series of homilies on Luke, as he did for Matthew and John.[42] Cyril of Alexandria's homilies served as the foundational source in most other catena traditions on Luke, with the exception of Nicetas of Heraclea's catena on Luke which names Chrysostom more than any other

[39] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 155. Unlike the additional extracts in Matthew, the two scholia from Hesychius in the C140.1 commentary on John did become part of the Catena Form and were therefore printed by Cramer (*Catenae in Acta ss. Apostolorum*, Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum, vol. 3 (Oxford: University Press, 1838), 389.23–390.28 and 390.29–391.7).

[40] William R.S. Lamb, "Conservation and Conversation: New Testament Catenae in Byzantium," in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Publishing, 2016), 281. Lamb describes this work as "an abbreviated version of John Chrysostom's homilies," which accurately defines the work found in the Type A Basic Form for Matthew and John and alludes to the idea that these may fit under the genre of epitome.

[41] Max Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX: Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die griechischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars*, 2nd ed., GCS 49 (Berlin: Akademie, 1959), XXXVI; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XI, XXV; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 30–41; Joseph Sickenberger, *Fragmente der Homilien des Cyrill von Alexandrien zum Lukasevangelium*, TU 34.1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909).

[42] On Chrysostom's treatment of Luke, see Laurence Brottier, "L'importance de l'*Évangile de Luc* dans l'oeuvre de Jean Chrysostome," in *La source sans fin. La Bible chez Jean Chrysostome*, ed. Guillaume Bady, Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 23 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 143–149; Wendy Mayer, "John Chrysostom's Use of Luke 16:19–31," *Scrinium* 4 (2008), 45–59. Cyril of Alexandria's Commentary on Luke (CPG 5207) derives from a collection of 156 sermons, which generally have been lost in the Greek tradition. The homilies are preserved in a Syriac translation: Robert Payne Smith, *The Gospel according to S. Luke by S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria. Now first translated into English from an Ancient Syriac Version* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1859).

author.[43] Even though multiple sources are used for the Type A Basic Form in Luke, the sources still are presented anonymously.[44] The source of the scholia from Cyril of Alexandria also differs from the source of Chrysostom's comments on Matthew and John. Chrysostom's comments were taken from direct tradition whereas Cyril of Alexandria's comments on Luke come indirectly from a secondary source.[45] While the scholia may derive from an indirect source, the editorial technique remains the same. The comments were taken with minimal changes to the text and focus on the exegetical parts of Cyril's homilies at the expense of the exhortations. This use of the primary source mirrors the compilers' practice in Matthew and John, substantiating that the same person compiled this set of commentaries on the Gospels as a single project.

The commentaries of the Type A Basic Form are structured around the order of the biblical text through the inclusion of short *lemmata*. As noted above, the typical form of these commentaries only includes the short *lemmata*, which infrequently include the text of an entire verse, and the manuscripts with the full text of the Gospels still feature the *lemmata* within the scholia as in the typical manuscripts of this type.[46] In frame format manuscripts, scholia usually are

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[43] Krikones, *Συναγωγη Πατερων*, 58; Panagiotis Manafis, "Catenae on Luke and the Catena of Codex Zacynthius," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 141. Drawing on Krikones's work, Jacopo Marcon highlights the reuse of Chrysostom's homilies on many other biblical books in Nicetas's catena on Luke: "Chrysostom in Chains: An Examination of the Scholia from John Chrysostom's Homilies on Romans in New Testament Catenae on Paul," (Forthcoming).

[44] Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 29–30. Sickenberger notes that some authors are named in the compilation including Athanasius of Alexandria, Basil the Great, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Isidore of Pelusium, John Chrysostom, and Dionysus the Areopagite. These references, however, are frequently the use of the name as an authority without a direct quote from that source.

[45] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XXVII–XXVIII.

[46] David C. Smith, "A Study of the Text and Paratext of the Catena on Luke in GA 1411" (ThM, Dallas Theological Seminary, 2019). Smith found that GA 1411 only included 502 of the 1200 words in Luke 1 according to the Robinson-Pierpont edition of the Greek New Testament. On the inclusion of the *lemmata* in the full text manuscripts, see Patton, "Unchaining," 131–148.

indicated by words, numbers, or symbols to link the commentary and text.[47] Since the Type A Basic Form typically occurs in alternating format manuscripts, the primary linking system is verbal through the preceding short *lemmata*. These are occasionally numbered, but the numbering is inconsistent between manuscripts. The content of the scholia frequently takes the form of *erotapokriseis*, questions-and-answers. A marginal note signals the question with the word ἐρωτήσις or an abbreviation (ἐρω) and is followed by the answer indicated by ἀποκρίσις (ἀπο).[48] While not every manuscript has these marks, they are a frequent paratextual feature alongside the commentary text, helping to structure the scholia.

Even though the full biblical text is not copied, the commentaries on Matthew and John still interpret the complete text of the Gospels. The commentary on Luke, however, does not explain the whole book. In this commentary, the compilers did not offer an interpretation of numerous passages with a parallel in Matthew. At these points, the C130.1 commentary on Luke has a scholium indicating the passages in Luke which have parallels in Matthew followed by the phrase προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.[49] Table 2.2 lists the forty προεγράφη comments and the passages on Luke they

[47] These categories are drawn from Marilena Maniaci, "Words within Words: Layout Strategies in Some Glossed Manuscripts of the Iliad," in *Trends in Statistical Codicology*, ed. Maniaci Marilena, Studies in Manuscript Cultures 19 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 575–598.

[48] On *erotapokriseis*, see Marie-Pierre Bussières, ed., *La littérature des questions et réponses dans l'Antiquité profane et chrétienne : de l'enseignement à l'exégèse : actes du séminaire sur le genre des questions eet réponses tenu à Ottawa les 27 et 28 septembre 2009*, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 64 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Yannis Papadoyannakis, "Instruction by Question and Answer: The Case of Late Antique and Byzantine *Erotapokriseis*," in *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity: Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism*, ed. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), 91–105; Pavel Ermilov, "Towards a Classification of Sources in Byzantine Question-and-Answer Literature," in *Theologica Minora: The Minor Genres of Byzantine Theological Literature*, ed. Antonio Rigo, Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 110–125; Annelie Volgers and Claudio Zamagni, eds., *Erotapokriseis: Early Christian Question-and-Answer Literature in Context*, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 37 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004).

[49] Numerous scholars have drawn attention to the comments: Devreesse, "Chaînes," col. 1:1182; Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," 123–125; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XI; Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, XXXVIII; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 24; Harold Smith, "The Sources of Victor of Antioch's Commentary on Mark," *JTS* 19 (1918), 352.

omit. As all have been printed in Cramer's edition, which is more accessible than du Duc's, and references to his text are provided. Cramer's Greek text has also been adopted but amended for errors or differences based on a consultation of Paris, BnF, Coislin 195 (GA 34; Diktyon 49334) and Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, F° 30 (Cim.16) (GA 033; Diktyon 45102).

Cramer Location	**Text of the Comment**	**Passages Omitted**	**Eusebian Section**
29.27	Τὸ "ἔλεγεν οὖν τοῖς ἐκπορευομένοις ὄχλοις" ἕως "καὶ εἰς πῦρ "βάλλεται," προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 3:7–9	§8
30.8	"ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδατι βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς," καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, ἕως "κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ." προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 3:16–17	§10–11
30.31	Τὸ δὲ ἐπαγόμενον, ὅτι "Ἡρώδης τετράρχης ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπ' "αὐτοῦ" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς ἕως "ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ" προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ βαπτισμοῦ.	Luke 3:19–22	§12–13
40.17	Περὶ τῆς πενθερᾶς πέτρου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰαθέντων ἀπὸ ποικίλων ἀσθενειῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, καὶ περὶ Πέτρου καὶ Ἀνδρέα καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Ἰωάννου. Τὸ "ὑπῆρχον ἁλιεῖς," καὶ τὸ "ἠκολούθουν τῷ Χριστῷ" προεγράφη.	Luke 4:31–41; 5:1–11	§23–27 §29–32
42.26	Περὶ τοῦ λεπροῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παραλυτικοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τελώνου ἕως περὶ τῶν ἀσκῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν νέων, προεγράφη.	Luke 5:12–39	§33–40
49.24	Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐκλογῆς, καὶ περὶ τῶν μακαρισμῶν προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 6:12–23	§43–49
51.20	Αἱ διδασκαλίαι αἱ ἐφεξῆς ἐγράφοντο εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον, ἕως "καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ ῥῆγμα τῆς οἰκίας ἐκείνης μέγα·" ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἑκατοντάρχου προεγράφη.	Luke 6:27–7:10	§52–66
57.19	Διὰ τί δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλε, προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον, ἕως "καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς."	Luke 7:18–35	§69–73

63.31	Περὶ τῆς παραβολῆς τοῦ σπόρου καὶ ἀκολούθως, περὶ τοῦ ἅπτειν λύχνον, καὶ μὴ καλύπτειν αὐτὸν σκεύει, καὶ τοῦτο προτέρως δὲ, καὶ περὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἤθελον αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἔχοντος τὸν λεγεῶνα, καὶ περὶ τῶν Γεργεσηνῶν, καὶ περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου, καὶ περὶ τῆς αἱμορροούσης, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν δώδεκα, καὶ περὶ Ἡρώδου, καὶ περὶ τῶν πέντε ἄρτων, καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐπερωτήσεως, ὅτι τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ὄχλοι εἶναι; καὶ περὶ τῆς μεταμορφώσεως καὶ περὶ τοῦ σεληνιαζομένου, καὶ περὶ τῶν διαλογιζομένων τίς μείζων ἐστιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κεφάλαιον. Εἰς τὰ μικρὰ, εἰς τὸν ἅγιον λόγον, ἕως ὧδε, προεγράφη εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ματθαῖον.	Luke 8:4–9:48	§76–102
81.11	Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπιτρεπομένου ἀκολουθεῖν προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 9:57–60	§105
82.28	Τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτων οἷον “ὁ μὲν “θερισμὸς πολὺς,” καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. καὶ “μὴ μεταβαίνετε ἐξ οἰκίας “εἰς οἰκίαν,” ὅπερ ῥεμβασμὸν δηλοῖ, καὶ μισθὸν αἰτούντων καὶ διαβολῆς ἐστι τεκμήριον. Προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀκόλουθα ἕως ὧδε· “ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ τὸν “ἀποστείλαντά με.”	Luke 10:2–16	§108–116
85.32	Τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτῳ οἷον, “αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἠγαλλιάσατο τῷ “πνεύματι ὁ Ἰησοῦς.” Καὶ “μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ βλέποντες ἃ βλέπετε.” καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐπερωτήσαντος νομικοῦ, ἕως “καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτόν·” προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 10:21–27	§118
90.22	Περὶ προσευχῆς καὶ περὶ τοῦ “πατὲρ ἡμῶν” προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 11:1–4	§123
91.29	Τὸ δὲ, “τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸν πατέρα, ἐὰν αἰτήσῃ ἄρτον,” καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἔχοντος δαιμόνιον κωφὸν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅτι ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια, καὶ “ὅταν τὸ ἀκάθαρτον “πνεῦμα ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,” καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, ἕως “καὶ ἔσονται	Luke 11:11–26	§125*–§130 Begins within §125 but not at the start (Luke 11:9)

	ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χείρονα τῶν πρώτων," προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.		
94.31	ἅπερ εἶπεν ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς, "ὅτι ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη πονηρά ἐστιν," ἕως "ἔσται φωτεινὸν ὅλον" προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον	Luke 11:29–36	§132–134
96.3	Τὰ τούτων ἀκόλουθα, οἷόν ἐστιν, εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος, "ὑμεῖς οἱ Φαρισαῖοι τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου," ἕως "τὸ "γὰρ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα διδάξει ὑμᾶς," προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 11:39–12:12	§135*–148 Begins within §135 (Luke 11:37) but not at the start
101.30	Τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτων, οἷον "μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν," προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον, ἕως "καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν."	Luke 12:22–31	§150–151
102.29	ἅπερ προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον, ἕως "ἐκεῖ καὶ ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν ἔσται."	Luke 12:33–34	§152–153
103.28	τὸ δὲ, "εἰ ᾔδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης," καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, ἕως μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει, προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 12:39–46	§156–158
105.8	Τὸ "πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν" προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἕως καὶ "τὸ ἔσχατον λεπτὸν ἀποδῷς."	Luke 12:49–59	§160–162
108.8	περὶ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς πρὸς τὸν ἀρχισυνάγωγον περὶ τοῦ σαββάτου, προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 13:14–16	§165
108.32	Τὰ δὲ ἕτερα τούτων περί τε τοῦ κόκκου τῆς σινάπεως καὶ περὶ τῆς ζύμης ἕως καὶ "εἰσὶν πρῶτοι οἳ ἔσονται ἔσχατοι," προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 13: 18–30	§167–173
111.11	Τὸ "Ἱερουσαλὴμ, Ἱερουσαλὴμ," ἕως, "ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου," προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 13:34–35	§175
117.8	τὰ ἀκόλουθα ἕως τῆς παραβολῆς τῶν ρ̄ προβάτων προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 14:34–15:7	§185–187
123.28	περὶ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος "ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται," ἕως "μοιχεύει," προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 16:16–18	§193–195
127.24	Περὶ τῶν σκανδάλων λαλῶν ἕως "ἀφήσεις αὐτῷ," προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 17:1–4	§197–199

128.5	Περὶ γὰρ κόκκου σινάπεως προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ματθαῖον.	Luke 17:5	§200
130.5	Περὶ τῆς δευτέρας αὐτοῦ παρουσίας, καὶ ὅτι “ὡς ἀστραπὴ “οὕτως ἔσται,” ἕως “μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω,” προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 17:24–31	§205–209
133.24	Περὶ τῶν βρεφῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἰπόντος διδασκάλου ἕως “καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστήσεται” προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 18:15–33	§216–222
151.31	Τὰ δὲ ἕτερα τούτων περί τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς συντελείας, ἕως “οἱ δὲ λόγοι μοὺ μὴ παρέλθωσι,” προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ζήτει.	Luke 21:5–33	§248–258
153.3	Περὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς τῶν ἀζύμων ὅτι ἤγγιζε, καὶ ὅτι ἐζήτουν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν, καὶ ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Σατανᾶς εἰς τὸν Ἰούδαν, καὶ ὅτι συνεφώνησε τοῦ παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν, καὶ ὅτι ἐζήτει ἐπὶ τοῦτο εὐκαιρίαν, ἕως “καὶ οἱ δώδεκα Ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ,” προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 22:1–14	§260–263
155.16	Περὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ὅτι “οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ φάγω ἐξ αὐτοῦ,” ἕως “οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ “ἐκείνῳ δι’ οὗ παραδίδοται,” καὶ ὅτι φιλονεικία ἐγένετο ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι μείζων ἕως “διάκονῶν,” προεγράφη.	Luke 22:16–26	§265–270
157.3	Τὸ δὲ “καθίσεσθε ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους” καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, προεγράφη	Luke 22:30	§272
158.1	Περὶ ὧν γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ Πέτρος, ὅτι ἕτοιμός εἰμι ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ ὧν ἤκουσε διὰ τοῦ τοπάρχου, προεγράφη.	Luke 22:33–34	§275
159.13	Περὶ τοῦ προσεύξασθαι αὐτὸν πρὸ τοῦ πάθους προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 22:39–43	§279–282
160.11	Περὶ τοῦ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ὅτι ἐφίλησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰούδας, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, ἕως ἤγαγον αὐτὸν πρὸς Πιλάτον, προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 22:45–23:1	§284–300
165.10	Περὶ τοῦ Βαραββᾶ, καὶ ὅτι ἠγγάρευσαν Σίμωνα τὸν Κυρηναῖον, προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 23:18–26	§310–315

167.5	Περὶ τοῦ σταυρωθῆναι τὸν δεσπότην Χριστὸν ἕως “ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων,” προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 23:32–38	§317–324
170.32	Ὅτι δὲ ἦν ὥρα ἕκτη καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο, ἕως “ἐξέπνευσε,” προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 23:44–46	§327–329
171.11	Περὶ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ, πῶς ἔθαψε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῶν μυροφόρων γυναικῶν, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ δεσπότου, προεγράφη εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.	Luke 23:50–24:12	§332–339* Ends within §339 unique to Luke, new segment begins at *Kephalaion* 83 (parallel Mark 16:12)

Table 2.2. Προεγράφη Comments in the C130.1 Commentary on Luke

Since the C130.1 commentary on Luke corresponds to the C110.1 commentary on Matthew and is typically contained in the same codex, these comments can be understood as directing the reader back to the relevant passage in Matthew. Jeremiah Coogan and William R.S. Lamb have demonstrated that the compilers of the catenae on Mark used the Eusebian apparatus to locate parallel passages in other Gospels for the purpose of retrofitting exegesis for Mark in the absence of direct commentaries on that Gospel.[50] The locations of the προεγράφη comments suggests that the compilers of the Type A Basic Form also used the Eusebian apparatus as well as the *kephalaia* and

[50] Coogan, “Doubled Recycling,” 149–165; Jeremiah Coogan, *Eusebius the Evangelist: Rewriting the Fourfold Gospel in Late Antiquity*, Cultures of Reading in the Ancient Mediterranean (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 157–158; William R.S. Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Commentary on Mark*, TENTS 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 145–149. Coogan expands on Lamb’s work while also highlighting how the compiler worked in places where the Eusebian apparatus did not indicate parallels and wrote their own comments.

titloi to identify and label parallels in Luke.[51] In nearly every case, the beginning and end of προεγράφη section corresponds to the start of a Eusebian section. The description of one example demonstrates the use of the apparatus. One omitted passage spans Luke 12:22–31 from Luke's version of the Sermon on the Mount paralleled in Matthew 6:25–33. Eusebian section §150 covers the entire passage and was placed in canon V as a similar text in Matthew and Luke. Luke 12:32 is indicated as §151 in canon X for material unique to Luke. One short comment was written for this verse at the end of the sermon in Luke (Cramer 102.14; the preceding comment from Cyril of Alexandria [101.33–102.13] is part of the Type A Catena Form only). Then the next προεγράφη comment appears indicating the omission of commentary on Luke 12:33–34, which are covered by Eusebian sections §152 and §153. These were placed in canon II and V, respectively as parallels between Matthew–Mark–Luke and Matthew–Luke. The next section of Luke, beginning at Luke 12:35 (§154), is material unique to Luke placed in canon X. This example shows the compilers' use of the Eusebian apparatus to segment the text of Luke and evidences their attentiveness to the canon tables to identify parallels in Matthew.

[51] This instance is therefore another example of a way the Eusebian apparatus was used in late antiquity. On the use of the Eusebian apparatus see Jeremiah Coogan, "Mapping the Fourfold Gospel: Textual Geography in the Eusebian Apparatus," *JECS 25* (2017), 337–357; Coogan, *Eusebius the Evangelist*, 123–171; Matthew R. Crawford, "Severus of Antioch on Gospel Reading with the Eusebian Canon Tables," in *Gospel Reading and Reception in Early Christian Literature*, ed. Andrew J. Byers, Madison N. Pierce, and Simon Gathercole (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 215–233; Matthew R. Crawford, "Ammonius of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea and the Origins of Gospels Scholarship," *NTS* 61 (2015); Heidi C. Gearhart, "From Divine Word to Human Hand: Negotiating Sacred Text in a Medieval Gospel Book," *Word & Image* 32 (2016), 430–458; Thomas O'Laughlin, "Harmonizing the Truth: Eusebius and the Problem of the Four Gospels," *Traditio* 65 (2010): 1–29. On the use of *kephalaia* and their presence in catena manuscripts, see Saskia Dirkse, "New Treasures as Well as Old: The Use and Reuse of the Gospel Kephalaia in Commentary Manuscripts," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 28 (2023): 167–182; J.R. Edwards, "The Hermeneutical Significance of Chapter Divisions in Ancient Gospel Manuscripts," *NTS* 56 (2010): 413–426.

The macrostructure of the Type A Basic Form commentaries on Matthew, Luke, and John links these works together as a set of commentaries on the Gospels. The sources and technique of editing them for the compilation aligns across the Gospels. The compilers also internally linked the commentaries by directing the reader of the commentary on Luke back to parallel passages in the commentary on Matthew rather than giving new interpretations for the repeated texts.

2.1.5 Compiler and Date of the Type A Basic Form

The names of those who compiled the Type A Basic Form are unknown. The titles of these compilations provide information about the sources used for the Type A Basic Form.[52] A typical title for the C110.1 commentary in Matthew is τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον (Paris Gr. 201, fol. 6r), which is sometimes shortened to ἑρμηνεία τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου (Florence, S. Marco 687, fol. 1r). Another version of the title adds that the interpretations of John Chrysostom are abbreviated: τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἑρμηνείας σύντομος εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον (Florence, Plut.08.29, fol. 3r). The titles for John correspond to those in Matthew, only substituting the name of the Gospel.[53] The titles in Luke within the same codices are different. One

[52] Christoph Markschies contends that the titles accompanying catenae are not actual titles as for a book but merely descriptions of the compilation process: "Schon bei den zitierten griechischen Titeln aus den Handschriften handelt es sich ja nicht um regelrechte Buchtitel, die auf ein literarisches Genre Bezug nehmen, sondern vielmehr um eine schlichte Beschreibung des Sammlungsvorangs, der der Publikation vorausging": Christoph Markschies, "Wie wurde antike christliche Bibelexegese überliefert und wie soll sie folglich ediert werden?," in *Handschriften- und Textforschung heute: Zur Überlieferung der griechischen Literatur. Festschrift für Dieter Harlfinger aus Anlass seines 70. Geburtstages*, ed. Christian Brockman, Daniel Deckers, Lutz Koch, and Stefano Valente, Serta Graeca 30 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2014), 149. This is too fine a distinction. The titles of catenae were likely later additions to the works and have a flexible text, but they consistently are copied with the work and function as a reference for them. The titles themselves are apt descriptions of the contents. Patrick Andrist stated that titles "tell the readers how the text should be read and, beyond this, how the work should be understood," which is a function of the titles in catenae: Patrick Andrist, "The Limits of Paratextuality: Old and New Questions," *Comst Bulletin* 8 (2022): 229.

[53] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 19, 154.

form associates the commentary with both Titus of Bostra and John Chrysostom: τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Τίτου ἐπισκόπου Βόστρων ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν θεῖον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου (Florence, San Marco 687, fol. 86v). This title perhaps seeks to harmonize the commentary on Luke with that of Matthew and John. The more typical form names Titus of Bostra and other fathers: τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Τίτου ἐπισκόπου Βόστρων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἐστιν ἑρμηνεία (BnF, Gr. 201, fol. 191r). This version is more common. It is noteworthy that Titus of Bostra was designated as the primary authority in this commentary on Luke even though the bulk of the scholia derive from Cyril of Alexandria.[54] Naming Titus in the inscription probably arose because the first scholium in the commentary comes from Titus of Bostra rather than Cyril of Alexandria.

The titles of these commentaries in manuscripts have shaped the scholarly analysis of the compilers. The commentaries on Matthew and John have always been understood as anonymous compilations which drawn on the work of John Chrysostom. The ascription to Titus of Bostra was taken as more credible. While the title of the commentary on Luke does not imply that Titus of Bostra compiled the catena, he became singularly linked to it from Theodorus Peltanus's Latin translation of the commentary published in 1580.[55] Modern scholarship recognized that this attribution was false and frequently referred to the work as the Pseudo-Titus commentary. Once the

[54] Joseph Sickenberger, "Über griechische Evangelienkommentare," *BZ* 1 (1903): 182–193; Joseph Reuss, "Bemerkungen zu den Lukas-Homilien des Titus von Bostra," *Bib* 57 (1976): 538–541. The use of Titus's commentary in the compilation and the title accompanying the work led von Soden to hold that the primary source behind the compilation was Titus's Commentary on Luke to which someone later added material from Cyril: Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments: in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt, I. Teil: Untersuchungen I. Abteilung: Die Textzeugen*, 2nd, unchanged ed., vol. 1,1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911; repr., 1911), 580–582.

[55] Peltanus, *Victoris Antiocheni in Marcum, et Titi Bostrorum episcopi in evangelium Lucae commentarii*.

name was attached to the text, it became difficult to anonymize it.[56] The Type A Basic Form is an anonymous exegetical collection.

Determining the date of this commentary and most other catenae is not a simple task. Michael Faulhaber crafted a five-stage grid for estimating the date of a catena.[57] Of course, the most preferable way to date the work would be through the identification of a compiler, but most catenae were transmitted anonymously requiring the use of other evidence. The next best piece of evidence is the lifetime of the authors cited in the catenae. The life of the youngest author establishes the earliest possible date for the catena.[58] Faulhaber makes the important point that in catenae which have been expanded, it is necessary to also attend to which comments belong to which layers. The third piece of evidence is the stylistic form of the author attributions. He argues that honorifics such as "holy" or "blessed" would not be added to the names of heretical authors after their

[56] On the tendency for scholarship to designate and retain author attributions for anonymous or pseudonymous works: Ellen Muehlberger, "On Authors, Fathers, and Holy Men," *Late Antiquity and the New Humanities. Marginalia Review of Books* (20 September 2015). On authorship and anonymity in antiquity and attribution in catenae, see Luciano Bossina, "Autorschaft und Autorität in der Katenenliteratur," in *On Good Authority: Tradition, Compilation and the Construction of Authority in Literature from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Reinhart Ceulemans and Pieter De Leemans, Lectio 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 157–180; Tom Geue, *Author Unknown: The Power of Anonymity in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019); William R. S. Lamb, "A Question of Attribution: The Theological Significance of the Catena in Codex Zacynthius," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 121–135; Hindy Najman, "Reading beyond authority," in *Rethinking 'Authority' in Late Antiquity: Authorship, Law, and Transmission in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. A.J. Berkovitz and Mark Letteney (London/New York: Routledge, 2018), 17–30.

[57] Michael Faulhaber, "Katenen und Katenenforschung," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 18 (1909), 385–386. Faulhaber is an important figure in twentieth-century history. A year after the publication of "Katenen and Katenenforschung," Faulhaber was consecrated as Bishop of Speyer. He subsequently was appointed as Archbishop of Munich in 1917 and a Cardinal in 1921. He was one of the most influential Roman Catholic leaders in Germany during the era of the Third Reich and played a large part in the Catholic Church's response to Nazism, including contributing to the Papal encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* (1937). He staunchly opposed the Nazi racial ideology and mistreatment of Jews, though modern historians cast his legacy in a more controversial light because he maintained working relationships with the Nazi government rather than engaging in outright opposition and his biblical and theological views could be construed as supersessionist and anti-Jewish.

[58] Faulhaber, "Katenen und Katenenforschung," 386.

condemnation.[59] However, catenae on the Gospels do not show a pattern of altering the treatment of dubious sources after their views were rejected. The most prominent example is Severus of Antioch (d. 538) who is frequently honored with the adjective "holy" in catenae on the Gospels despite having been anathemized and exiled in his own lifetime.[60] A study examining such ascriptions in catenae from different periods would add nuance to this claim, so in the meantime it should not be used without other compelling evidence about the dogmatic orientation of a particular catena. The fourth line of reasoning is the content of the scholia. If catenae refer to other authors or events which occurred outside the biblical narrative, then these can allow a potential date of composition to be triangulated. And finally, Faulhaber's last tool for determining the date of a catena is the catena type's family tree (*Stammbaum*).[61] A catena which used an earlier commentary or catena as a source must be dated after that work, and one that was incorporated into later compositions or cited in subsequent works can be dated earlier than those receptions.[62]

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[59] Faulhaber, "Katenen und Katenenforschung," 387.

[60] On the citation of Severus in the Type Z Gospel catena tradition, see Lamb, "The Theological Significance of the Catena," 121–135. See also the discussions of Severus of Antioch in catenae on the Catholic Epistles: Karl Staab, "Die griechischen Katenenkommentare zu den katholischen Briefen," *Bib* 5 (1924): 269–353; James Hardy Ropes, "The Greek Catena to the Catholic Epistles," *HTR* 19 (1926): 383–388; and in catenae on the Psalms: Marcel Richard, "Les premières chaînes sur le Psautier," *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* 5 (1956): 87–98; Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 54, vol. 5 (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), 287–291. Yonatan Moss has proposed that catenae were created by pro-Severian compilers to preserve his works by attaching them to other authorities, though this proposal is not convincing: "Saving Severus: How Severus of Antioch's Writings Survived in Greek," *GRBS* 56 (2016): 785–808. Likewise, Laurence Vianès is convinced that some catenae on the Major Prophets show signs of being compiled by Severian or Miaphysite factions: Laurence Vianès, "Chaînes de Jean le Droungaire sur les Grands Prophétes, ou chaînes pro-sévériennes?," in *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and their Readers*, ed. Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 20 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2021), 405–426; Laurence Vianès, "Affinités entre le Codex Zacynthius et les chaînes du pseudo-Droungarios," in *Ordre et désordre dans les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, ed. Jean-Marie Auwers and Agnès Lorrain, Instrumenta patristica et medievalia (Turnhout: Brepols, Forthcoming 2024). See further on Miaphysite catenae in Chapter 5.

[61] Faulhaber, "Katenen und Katenenforschung," 387.

[62] The direct use of catenae in Byzantine biblical interpretation has not been frequently described, but Adrian Pirtea demonstrates one example of an interpretation found in catenae directly passing into later commentaries and homilies,

The Type A Basic Form was probably composed in the sixth century. In the absence of a known compiler and the earliest witnesses to the Type A Basic Form dating to the ninth century, the date of this work must be established on other criteria. The *terminus post quem* consists of the authors named within the commentary on Luke. Of these, Dionysius the Areopagite who lived in the late-fifth or early-sixth century is the latest.[63] The use of these commentaries as a source in later catena projects which can be dated approximately as early as the seventh or eighth century provides another reason to date these compilations in the sixth century. This comports with the scholarly consensus that these commentaries on the Gospels date to the sixth century.[64]

A sixth-century date for the Type A Basic Form means that there is no obvious reason to date the catenae on the Old Testament as meaningfully earlier than those on the New Testament.

affecting the text of other versions of the New Testament: Adrian Pirtea, "To Pass a Rope Through the Eye of a Needle: The Influence of Byzantine Catenae and Homilaries on the Greek, Church Slavonic, and Old Romanian Readings of Matthew 19,24," in *Wort- und Formenvielfalt: Festschrift für Christoph Koch zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Anna Jouravel and Audrey Mathys, Studies on Language and Culture in Central and Eastern Europe 37 (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2021), 327–352.

[63] Dionysius the Areopagite is a pseudonym adopting the name of the convert in Athens named in Acts 17:34. Modern scholars have tended to refer to the author without the prefix "pseudo." Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 39–41. Little biographical information is known about Dionysius the Areopagite, and little of his work has been preserved in Greek, so dating the works attributed to him depends especially on their reception by other writers, translations, and internal references. On these issues, see Sarah Coakley, "Introduction—Re-Thinking Dionysius the Areopagite," *Modern Theology* 24 (2008), 531–540; John C. Lamoreaux and Paul Rorem, *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus: Annotating the Areopagite* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 8–22; Andrew Louth, "The Reception of Dionysius up to Maximus the Confessor," *Modern Theology* 24 (2008), 573–583; István Perczel, "The Earliest Syriac Reception of Dionysius," *Modern Theology* 24 (2008), 557–571. Coakley notes that Perczel's proposed dating of the mid-fifth century is earlier than the scholarly consensus.

[64] Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, XXXVI; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 20, 155; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XI; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 39–41; Sickenberger, "Über griechische Evangelienkommentare,": 182–193. Lamb erred earlier on the date of the Basic Form in Matthew with a fifth century date: "Conservation and Conversation," 218. He offers no explanation for this date and does not date the corresponding commentaries in Luke or John. It is worth noting, therefore, that he dates the C125.1 and C125.2 commentaries on Mark earlier than other scholars, giving the date as somewhere between 490 and 553 CE based on the theological aspects of the commentary: *The Catena in Marcum*, 32–58, 71–73.

The most committed advocate of this position is Gilles Dorival.[65] Dorival bases the argument that the Old Testament catenae originated prior to those of the New Testament on the grounds that the primary source in the earliest New Testament commentaries is John Chrysostom, which he does not expect to be a primary source for a work from Palestine. He then rationalizes the earlier composition of the Old Testament catenae on account of the need to explain the more difficult texts: "The compilers of the catenae began their project with the Old Testament, as it was considered to be obscure and foundational to the New Testament, whereas the New Testament was considered to be clear and explicative of the Old Testament." [66] In another recent publication Dorival finds Sickenberger and Reuss's arguments for a sixth-century date for the beginning of the New Testament catena tradition as ungrounded, he allows for a date in the late-seventh century based on the date of Codex Zacynthius (Cambridge, University Library, Add. 10062; GA 040; Diktyon 73427).[67] The use of John Chrysostom for Matthew and John and Cyril of Alexandria for Luke by the compilers of the Type A Basic Form indicates willingness to use what were considered the best available

[65] On the origins of Old Testament catenae, see Maria Antonietta Barbàra Valenti, *Estratti catenari esegetici greci. Ricerche sul Cantico dei cantici e altro*, Testi e studi di cultura classica 76 (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2019), 18; Gilles Dorival, "Aperçu sur l'histoire des chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le psautier (V-XIV siècles)," in *Studia Patristica XV. Papers Presented to the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford, 1975*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, TU 128 (Berlin: Akademie, 1984), 146–169; Gilles Dorival, "Biblical Catenae: Between Philology and History," in *Commentaries, Catenae, and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in Conjunction with the COMPAUL Project*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, TS 3/13 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2016), 65–81. Barbàra Valenti also holds that the Old Testament catenae preceded those on the new.

[66] Gilles Dorival, *The Septuagint from Alexandria to Constantinople: Canon, New Testament, Church Fathers, Catenae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 150–151. See also the statement, "il est impossible de prouver qu'il a existé dès le VI siècle des chaînes sur le Nouveau Testament, comme l'ont soutenu J. Reuss et J. Sickenberger": Gilles Dorival, "Des commentaires de l'Écriture aux chaînes," in *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible: Bible de tous les temps I*, ed. Claude Mondésert (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), 368.

[67] Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques 5*, 230–231. The progression in Dorival's position is evident when this view is compared with his discussion in volume of one of *Les chaînes exégétiques*: Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 43, vol. 1 (Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 110. Though the more recent, 2021 publication cited above indicates that Dorival still holds to the main line of argument he previously articulated.

commentaries to give an interpretation of the scriptures. These figures represent two of the most well-read and important luminaries in early Christian exegesis, and it is therefore no surprise that they would be included as the foundation for those books—even in the sixth century. The impulse to begin projects of compilation commentaries and catenae on the New Testament may indeed have happened after the start of the Old Testament tradition, but the start may also be approximately contemporaneous with those projects so that a clear order or distinction between them should be held more loosely.

This survey of the Type A Basic Form has shown that it is a set of compilation commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John compiled by an unknown person in the sixth century. This is the second most well-attested form of the catenae on the Gospels, highlighting its enduring influence as seen in the subsequent abbreviation and expansion of it in later years. The type has numerous distinctive characteristics including the order of the Gospels, the abridged form of the biblical text, and the predominant use of the alternating format.

2.2 *Type A Catena Form*

The second stage in the development of the catenae on the Gospels in the Type A tradition was the composition of the Type A Catena Form on Matthew, Luke, and John. The compilers of this set of catenae created a new version of the Basic Form through the addition of scholia from another source. This type was edited by Cramer and is the only catena on the Gospels printed in full in a somewhat reliable edition.[68] While Cramer's work on Matthew and Luke is often reliable in that it

[68] Cramer, *Cateae in Matthaei et Marci*; Cramer, *Catenae in Evangelia S. Lucae et S. Joannis*.

reflects the content and presentation of the manuscript he took as his source, his work on John is rife with errors, especially in the attribution of authors and division of the scholia.[69] The primary manuscript for Cramer's text of the catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John was Paris, BnF, Coislin 23 (GA 39; Diktyon 49165), which he supplemented with Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct.T.1.4 (Diktyon 47130).[70]

2.2.1 Manuscripts of the Type A Catena Form

The Type A Catena Form appears in twelve manuscripts dating from the tenth century to the sixteenth century. The two tenth-century witnesses are Paris, BnF, Coislin 195 (GA 34; Diktyon 49334) and Athos, Great Lavra, A 16 (GA 1078; Diktyon 26944).[71] More than half the copies of this type were produced in the eleventh century, and only three copies were made in the fifteenth century or later. The twelve manuscripts of the Type A Catena Form are listed in Table 2.3.

Manuscript	**GA**	**Diktyon**	**CPG Contents**	**Date**
Athens, EBE, 204	771	2500	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Athos, Great Lavra, A 16	1078	26944	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	X
Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (3P)	1424	13410	C110.4, C125.2, C137.10, C140.2, C150.2c, C165.3, C176	IX-X *K*: XII
Florence, BML, Plut.06.33	194	16020	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Paris, BnF, Coislin 23	39	49165	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Paris, BnF, Coislin 195	34	49334	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 187	301	49756	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 189	19	49758	C111, C125.1, C132, C140.4/C141.1	XI

[69] For reviews of Cramer in the Gospels and lists of errata, see Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 46–47, 164–165; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, X.

[70] Cramer indicates the sources of his editions on the Gospels in *Cateae in Matthaei et Marci*, XXIII–XXVI, *Catenae in Evangelia S. Lucae et S. Joannis*, VIII. The primary manuscripts selected for the *Commentary on Mark* were different and are noted in Chapter 6.

[71] This data was collected from the *Catena Catalogue* database on 1 June 2023.

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 334, fols. 17–163	--	56053	C130.4	XVI
Sofia, Ivan Duichev Centre, Gr. 177	1684	62431	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1423	373	68054	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XVI
Venice, BNM, Z.545 (410), fols. 1–140	--	70016	C130.4	XVI

Table 2.3. Type A Catena Form Manuscripts

2.2.2 The Formats in Type A Catena Form Manuscripts

The manuscripts of the Type A Catena Form exhibit greater homogeneity in format and contents than the Type A Basic Form. Ten of the twelve manuscripts adopt the frame format in contrast to the Basic Form which typically uses the alternating format, as seen in Appendix 1. In keeping with the use of the frame format, the full biblical text of the Gospels is present in ten of the codices. The two manuscripts which differ from the rest by presenting the alternating format and an abridged biblical text are Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 334, fols. 17–163 (Diktyon 56053), and Venice, BNM, Z.545 (410) (Diktyon 70016), fols. 1–140.[72] Both of these manuscripts are multi-text manuscripts produced in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.[73] Together they comprise two of the three copies of the Type A Catena Form produced after the twelfth century.[74] Thus, while they differ

[72] Parpulov concludes that Rome Casanatense 334 is a direct copy of Florence Plut.06.33: Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 79 n. 1. Sickenberger proposes that Venice Z.545 (410) was also copied from Plut.06.33: Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 57.

[73] On Greek multi-text manuscripts see Marilena Maniaci, "The Medieval Codex as a Complex Container: The Greek and Latin Traditions," in *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, ed. Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke, Studies in Manuscript Cultures 9 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 27–46; Eva Nyström, *Containing Multitudes: Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8 in Perspective* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2009). See also Patrick Andrist, Paul Canart, and Marilena Maniaci, *La syntaxe du codex: Essai de codicologie structurale*, Bibliologia 34 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Sabrina Corbellini, Giovanna Murano, and Giacomo Signore, eds., *Collecting, Organizing and Transmitting Knowledge: Miscellanies in Late Medieval Europe*, Bibliologia 49 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018); Peter J. Gumbert, "Zur Kodikologie und Katalographie der zusammengesetzten Handschrift," in *La descrizione dei manoscritti: esperienze a confronto*, ed. Edoardo Crisci, Marilena Maniaci, and Pasquale Orsini, Studi e ricerche del Dipartimento di Filologia e Storia 1 (Cassino: Università degli Studi di Cassino, 2010), 1–18.

[74] The other later copy of the type is Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1423, copied in the sixteenth century with a frame format and the full biblical text. Reuss proposes that Vat. gr. 1423 is a direct copy of Coislin 195: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 44.

from the rest, they are part of a shift in book production that was part of the late medieval milieu in which they were composed. The typical *mise en page* of the Type A Catena Form type is the frame format with the full biblical text. Therefore, in the formation of this new project, the compilers shifted the arrangement of the page from alternating to frame. The change in format accommodated their revision of the commentary into a catena.

The copies of the Type A Basic Form in frame format date to the tenth and eleventh centuries—the same period when nearly all the Type A Catena Form manuscripts were produced—so it is not clear whether the initial copy of this version was made using an alternating format manuscript as its exemplar. Houghton has demonstrated that the biblical texts of New Testament manuscripts in frame format were typically copied from other continuous-text manuscripts rather than extracted from non-continuous copies like alternating catenae.[75] It is possible, therefore, that the Type A Catena Form was produced by copying the text of a New Testament manuscript in the center of the page then adding the newly formed commentaries in the surrounding frame. On the other hand, the compilers could have taken an earlier copy of the Type A Basic Form in frame format and then added the additional material which makes this type distinct. The former seems to be the most likely scenario. The Manuscript Clusters tool developed by the INTF which aggregates data comparing every Greek New Testament manuscript which was accessible in selected test passages published in the *Text und Textwert* series does not indicate a close genealogical relationship between the biblical texts in any of the Type A Basic Form and Type A Catena Form manuscripts.[76] The Type

[75] H.A.G. Houghton, "Catena Manuscripts in the *Editio Critica Maior* of the Greek New Testament," in *Pen, Print, and Pixels: Advances in Textual Criticism in the Digital Era*, ed. Daniel B. Wallace, David A. Flood, Elijah Hixson, and Dennis Salgado (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2023).

[76] http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/. See also *Text und Textwert* for the Gospels (Aland, et. al. ANTF 26–31, 35–36).

A Catena Form cannot be linked directly to a particular point or group in the transmission of the Basic Form.

2.2.3 The Contents and Order of the Type A Catena Form Manuscripts

The contents and order of the Gospels in the Type A Catena Form also are more consistent than the Basic Form. Ten of the twelve manuscripts have all four Gospels in the traditional order. The two manuscripts without all four Gospels only contain Luke and were copied from other manuscripts of this type. Two facets of the four-Gospel contents typical of this catena type mark changes from the Type A Basic Form. Unlike the Basic Form, the Catena Form manuscripts contain the text of Mark with a commentary placed after Matthew. In all but one case, which will be explained below, the commentary on Mark is the second recension of the Pseudo-Victor of Antioch commentary on Mark (C125.2). This commentary almost always accompanies Type A manuscripts in the other Gospels, including those of the Basic Form which have a commentary on Mark.[77] Second, the contents of these manuscripts are also highly regular. While the number and order of the Gospels in the Basic Form is characterized by variety, the main witnesses to the Catena Form have identical contents. The Type A Catena Form therefore differs from the Basic Form in that it features catenae on all four Gospels and standardizes them to the traditional order of the Gospels.

Two manuscripts in Table 2.3 do not have the typical contents of a Type A Catena Form manuscript. The first is Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (3P) (GA 1424; Diktyon 13410).[78] This

[77] See Chapter 6 for a full discussion of the catenae on Mark.

[78] Drama 3 (3P) was formerly Chicago, Lutheran School of Theology, Jesuit-Krauss-McCormick Library, Gruber 152. The manuscript had been looted by Bulgarian raiders during World War 1 and was repatriated to Kosinitza in 2016. On the plundering of the monastery by Bulgarian raiders, see Basile Atsalos, *Τα Χειρόγραφα Της Ιεράς Μονής Της Κοσινίτσας (Ἡ Εικοσιφοίνισσας) Του Παγγαίου*, Ιστορικό αρχείο Δράμας 1 (Drama: Demos Drama, 1990); Georgios Papazoglou, *Τά χειρόγραφα*

manuscript was initially copied in the ninth or tenth century with marginal scholia in some biblical books—although none in the Gospels. Then a twelfth-century scribe added a complete set of catenae on the Gospels in the margins.[79] In Matthew and John, the catenae fall within Type A: the Catena Form in Matthew (C110.4) and the Expanded Form (C140.2) with Photian scholia in John. The catena in Luke, however, belongs to a different type classified as a *Codex Singulus*. The unusual combination of catenae on the Gospels in Drama 3 (3P) could relate to the stages of its production, the selection of individual catena manuscripts as the *Vorlage* for each Gospel, or the use of two different catena manuscripts—one containing Matthew and John and another with Mark and Luke—which occurs commonly in Type A but not any other catena type. The catenae in Drama 3 (3P), the only codex with catenae on every book in the entire New Testament, are a unique combination in a rather independent manuscript with an unusual production history.[80] Its unusual combination of catenae on the Gospels, therefore, does not invalidate the normal expectations for the types of catenae found in the other codices.

τῆς Εἰκοσιφοινίσσης (*Κατάλογοι καί καταγραφές*) (Athens: Σύλλογος προς Διαδοσιν Ωφελίμων Βιβλίων, 1991). For an early report with first-hand accounts of the plundering and other victim accounts collected in the wake of World War 1: Interallied Commission in Eastern Macedonia, ed., *Rapports et enquêtes de la Commission interalliée sur les violations du droit des gens commises en Macédoine orientale par les armées bulgares* (Nancy/Paris/Strasbourg: Berger-Levrault, 1919).

[79] On Kosinitza 3 (3P), see Gregory R. Lanier and Moses Han, "The Text and Paratext of Minuscule GA 1424: Initial Observations," in *Studies on the Intersection of Text, Paratext, and Reception: A Festschrift in Honor of Charles E. Hill*, ed. Gregory R. Lanier and J. Nicholas Reid, TENTS 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 30–59. Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Discovering Hidden Treasures: Cataloguing Greek Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America," in *Greek Manuscript Cataloguing: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Paola Degni, Paolo Eleuteri, and Marilena Maniaci, Bibliologia 48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 79–81; Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America, Part IX: Chicago, Illinois, The Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, The Jesuit-Krauss-McCormick Library," *Manuscripta* 59 (2015): 117–131; On multi-layered catenae, see Emanuele Scieri, "Disordered Scholia and Multiple Layers in the Catena on Acts in *Parisinus* gr. 237," in *Ordre et désordre dans les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, ed. Jean-Marie Auwers and Agnès Lorrain, Instrumenta patristica et medievalia (Turnhout: Brepols, Forthcoming 2024).

[80] Kosinitza 3 (3P) is not the only New Testament manuscript with all twenty-seven books but is the only one with a commentary on each book. Athos, Panteleimon Monastery, 770 (GA 1678; Diktyon 22909) and Durham, NC, Duke University Library, 1 (GA 1780; Diktyon 13616) contain all the New Testament books but do not have catenae on each one.

The second manuscript is Paris, BnF, Gr. 189 (GA 19; Diktyon 49758) which has the normal contents of a Type B Basic Form manuscript except that in John both types C140.4 (Type A Catena Form) and C141.1 (Type B Basic Form) are attested. Paris Gr. 189 contains an atypical order for the Gospels: John–Matthew–Luke–Mark.[81] The catena in John is the Type A Catena Form for the first thirty-seven folios, after which the text shifts to the Type B Basic Form (C141.1). This codex was therefore plausibly copied from an exemplar with the same order of the Gospels but missing leaves at the beginning of John, which, in this case, would have been at the beginning of the codex where leaves often are missing. The scribe then used a manuscript with a different type of catena on John to fill the missing pages from their *Vorlage*, and then resumed the commentary on John from the place where their exemplar was extant.[82] In any case, the inclusion of part of the C140.4 catena in this manuscript does not counter the general pattern of these catenae usually being copied with the companions by the same catenist. Both manuscripts which do not follow the expected pattern of contents for a Type A Catena Form manuscript have idiosyncrasies which explain why they include an unusual combination of catenae on the Gospels.

2.2.4 Macrostructure of the Type A Catena Form

The Type A Catena Form is comprised of scholia written in frame format around the biblical text. The catena is linked to the biblical text in the center of the page using numerals and symbols. The explanation of the biblical text is divided into sections of irregular length; some span only a few

[81] On the order of the Gospels in Greek New Testament manuscripts, see Bogaert, "L'ordre des Évangiles,": 127–144; Crawford, "A New Witness," 477–483; Metzger, *Canon*, 296–297. On the order of the Gospels in Greek New Testament catenae, see Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," 115–129.

[82] Tommy Wasserman, "Marginalized Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament in Vienna," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 28 (2023) 137–191. Wasserman discusses a similar situation where the copyist changed sources for the commentary within a Gospel in Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 209 (GA 2988; Diktyon 71876).

words and others explain a whole paragraph. For example, at the beginning of John, most verses are explained by multiple scholia. John 1:9 is marked at ἦν τὸ φῶς and τὸ ἀληθινὸν and ὁ φωτίζει πάντα. On the other hand, one division covers the conclusion to the Pharisees' discourse with a blind man Jesus healed from John 9:24–35. In Luke, the catenists unnecessarily retained the προεγράφη comments from the C130.1 commentary but filled in the gaps so that the commentary in Luke was complete. This, plus the addition of a commentary on Mark in the same manuscripts demonstrates that one of the compilers' objectives in the preparation of this work was to have a complete explanation of all four Gospels.

The commentary itself is comprised of both anonymous and named scholia explaining the biblical text. The foundation in all three Gospels is the Basic Form commentary on each Gospel. In each case, nearly the entire Basic Form has been retained in the new work. The Basic Form primarily constitutes the anonymous scholia. Reuss noted that 173 of the 182 anonymous scholia in Matthew and 37 of the 51 scholia attributed to John Chrysostom derived from the Basic Form commentary in Matthew; for John 501 of the 515 anonymous scholia are from the Basic Form and 6 of the 13 scholia attributed to John Chrysostom come from the Basic Form.[83] In Luke, 330 of the 355 unattributed scholia and 3 of the 105 scholia attributed to Cyril of Alexandria stem from the Basic Form. In each of these commentaries, the application of the author's name to the scholia which are anonymous in the Basic Form indicates that these scholia may have also been part of that source—even if each source had edited the text in a different way. The distinction between the anonymous and attributed scholia led Robert Devreesse to remark about the catena in Luke: "If in fact we remove … the explicit

[83] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 48–49, 169–170.

quotations [in Cramer], we will find the pseudo-Titus [catena] of Peltanus and Fronton Du Duc."[84] The named scholia, therefore, are that which makes the Catena Form a unique composition.

The authors included in the Type A Catena Form represent a great swath of early Christian exegesis. Tables 1.4–1.6 present the authors cited in the catena based on an analysis of Coislin 23 and Coislin 195. These manuscripts were selected because Coislin 195 is the oldest manuscript of this type, dating to the first half of the tenth century, and was available to all the major earlier researchers: Karo and Lietzmann, Sickenberger, Rauer, and Reuss.[85] Coislin 23, dating to the eleventh century, is the principal manuscript Cramer used for his edition. As will be discussed below, the compilers of this catena employed a variety of techniques to indirectly cite a source by reference to the preceding scholium using the attributions τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἄλλως, and καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα. They also used composite attributions which name multiple sources for one comment.[86] The figures in Tables 5–7 include the indirect references for the implied source, but composite attributions are treated separately. It also should be noted that the lists follow the attribution in the two manuscripts. While the attributed scholia in this catena type generally are accurate, some have been contested.[87]

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[84] "Qu'on enlève en effet—les erreurs de lemmes mises à part—les citations explicites, on retrouvera le pseudo-Titus de Peltanus et de Fronton du Duc." Devreesse, "Chaînes," col. 1:1182. See also Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 26; Erwin Preuschen, *Origenes Werke IV: Der Johanneskommentar*, GCS 10 (Berlin: Akademie, 1903), LXIV.

[85] Coislin 195 also may stand at the head of what might be a new family of New Testament manuscripts. All five of the other *tetraevangelia* manuscripts for this type (Coislin 23, Paris Gr. 187, Vat. gr. 1423, Plut.6.33, and Lavra A 16) are closely related according to the test passages used in the *Text und Textwert* series (Kurt Aland, Barbara Aland, and Klaus Wachtel, eds., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, ANTF [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998–2005]).

[86] On composite attributions, see Panayiotis Tzamalikos, *Origen: New Fragments from the Commentary on Matthew* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2020); Jean-Marie Auwers, *L'interprétation du Cantique des cantiques à travers les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 56 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 136.

[87] On the problem of misattribution in catenae generally, see Sandro Leanza, "Problemi di ecdotica catenaria," in *Metodologie della ricerca sulla tarda antichità. Atti del Primo Convegno dell'Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi*, ed. Antonio Garzya (Naples: M. D'Auria Editore, 1989), 247–266. On misattribution in the Type A Catena Form, see: M. Aubineau,

2.2.4.1 The Sources of the Type A Catena on Matthew

The thirty authors named in the C110.4 catena on Matthew are listed in Table 2.4.[88] In Matthew, the greatest number of additional scholia come from Origen.[89] John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodore of Heraclea (d. 355) also have an abundant number of scholia included in the catena.[90] Eight scholia have the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου—from an unnamed source. While this appellation functionally is similar to the unattributed scholia, the attribution distinguishes

"Les 'Catenae in Lucam' de J. Reuss et Cyrille d'Alexandrie," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 80 (1987), 29–47.; Gianmario Cattaneo, "Il Fr. 222 Rauer di Origene," *Prometheus* 47 (2021): 225–232; Emanuela Prinzivalli, "Origene e lo strano caso dell'Omelia 39 su Luca," in *Il cristianesimo antico fra tradizioni e traduzioni*, ed. Emanuela Prinzivalli (Rome: Città Nuova, 2019), 211–229; Joseph Reuss, "Origenes-Fragmente in Matthäuskatenen," *Bib* 20 (1939): 401–404; Joseph Reuss, "Der exeget Ammonius und die Fragmente seines Matthäus und Johannes-Kommentars," *Bib* 22 (1941): 13–20; Harold Smith, "Some Catenae Fragments of Origen's Commentary on Matthew," *JTS* 17 (1915): 101–103; Harold Smith, "Notes on Catenae on Matthew," *JTS* 18 (1917): 317–319; Tzamalikos, *Origen: New Fragments from the Commentary on Matthew*, LXXIV–LXXVIII.

[88] The figures in Table 2.4 differ slightly from CPG IV[2] which reproduced the number of attributions per author in *Matthäus–, Markus-, und Johannes-Katenen* (p. 48). The differences primarily stem from Geerard misreading Reuss in the preparation of CPG IV[1]. Reuss wrote that the scholia with the attribution τοῦ αὐτοῦ were included in his table: "Diese sind in obiger Liste nicht gesondert gezählt." Geerard, however, misread the sentence as saying that the scholia were counted separately. Thus, the list of *fontes* in CPG IV[1] notes "Origenes 66 (uide sub Origene) (+ 13 τοῦ αὐτοῦ)," which would equate to seventy-nine scholia for Origen. Noret retained this error in CPG IV[2]. The other discrepancies between Table 2.4 and Reuss most likely can be accounted for by indirect attributions which Reuss missed or were counted separately (such as scholia with the attribution ἄλλως).

[89] The extracts from Origen in catenae have received sustained interest, especially for their part in reconstructing his works and his reception by later readers: Erich Klostermann and Ernst Benz, *Origenes Werke XII, I. Origenes Matthäuserklärung, III. Fragmente und Indices*, GCS 41/1 (Berlin: Akademie, 1941); Erich Klostermann, *Origenes Werke III. Jeremiahomilien. Klageliederkommentar. Erklärung der Samuel- und Königsbücher*, GCS 6 (Berlin: Akademie, 1899); Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*; Preuschen, *Origenes Werke IV*. Selected studies include C. H. Turner, "The Early Greek Commentators on the Gospel According to St Matthew," *JTS* 12 (1910), 99–112; Erich Klostermann and Ernst Benz, *Zur Überlieferung der Matthäuserklärung des Origenes*, TU 47/2 (Leipzig: Heinrichs, 1931); Erich Klostermann, *Nachlese zur Überlieferung der Matthäuserklärung des Origenes*, TU 47/4 (Leipzig: Heinrichs, 1932); Reuss, "Origenes-Fragmente," 401–404; C. P. Hammond, "Some Textual Points in Origen's 'Commentary on Matthew'," *JTS* 24 (1973), 380–404; Marguerite Harl, "Origène et les interprétations patristiques grecques de l'"obscurité" biblique," *VC* 36 (1982): 334–371; Luciano Bossina, "Réduire Origène. Extraits, résumés, réélaborations d'un auteur qui a trop écrit," in *Lire en extraits: Lecture et production des textes, de l'Antiquité à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Sébastien Morlet, Cultures et civilisations médiévales 63 (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2015) ; Sandro Leanza, "La letteratura esegetica in frammenti: la tradizione catenaria," *Augustinianum* 37 (1997): 25–36.

[90] On the reception of Cyril of Alexandria and Theodore of Heraclea in catenae on Matthew, see Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*, XXVI–XXIX, XXXIV–XXXIX. The transmission of John Chrysostom in catenae on Matthew does not seem to have generated significant interest, perhaps because of the extensive transmission of his homilies on Matthew in direct tradition. On the challenge created by the abundance of Chrysostom manuscripts: Michel Aubineau, "Une enquete dans les manuscrits chrysostomiens : Opportunite, difficultes, premier bilan," *RHE* 63 (1968): 5–26.

them from the unattributed Basic Form extracts. The ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia come from multiple authors and will feature in subsequent chapters as an important component of the development of the catenae on the Gospels. In addition, there are thirteen scholia with composite attributions. Many of these have been identified as coming from one of the sources mentioned, but no explanation has been put forward for why both authors were in the attribution when the compilers or their source seem to have had access to an extensive library.[91] Tzamalikos suspects that the oldest person named is the genuine source, but this is not proven.[92] They also may relate to the reuse or quotation of earlier writers in later sources. Generally, the author attributions only include the name of the author, but for Severus of Antioch, five scholia also indicate the work from which they were excerpted.[93] The panoply of early Christian writers represents the breadth of Christian interpretation, including various interpretive approaches such as Antiochene exegetes like John Chrysostom and Theodoret and Alexandrians such as Origen and Clement of Alexandria, along with so-called heretical witnesses like Apollinarius of Laodicea (d. 392) and Severus of Antioch alongside orthodox figures like Cyril of Alexandria.[94] The latest person included among the named scholia is

[91] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 51; Smith, "Notes on Catenae on Matthew," 317–319.

[92] Tzamalikos, *Origen: New Fragments from the Commentary on Matthew*, XLIII.

[93] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 48.

[94] Devreesse characterized the catenae as having a "liberal spirit" because of the competing perspectives included within: Robert Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs de l'Octateuque et des Rois*, Studi e Testi 201 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1959), VIII. See also Clark R. Bates, "Materializing Unity: Catena Manuscripts as Vessels for Imperial and Ecclesial Reform," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 28 (2023). The dichotomy between Alexandrian and Antiochene exegesis has generated an extensive bibliography. Frances M. Young laid the groundwork for contemporary perspectives on the two exegetical schools in her pivotal monograph *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Recent work includes Miriam De Cock, *Interpreting the Gospel of John in Antioch and Alexandria*, Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplement Series 17 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2020); Jean-Noël Guinot, "La frontière entre allégorie et typologie : École alexandrine, école antiochienne," *RSR* 99 (2011): 207–228; Peter W. Martens, *Origen and Scripture: The Contours of the Exegetical Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; Oxford Academic, 2012).

Thalassius, a little-known sixth or seventh-century figure who was an acquaintance of Maximus the Confessor (d. 662).[95]

Early Christian Writer	**Attributions in C110.4**
Anastasius of Antioch (CPG 6960)	1
Apollinarius (CPG 3690)	11
Basil of Caesarea (CPG 2907.6)	2
Clement of Alexandria (CPG 1394)	5
Cyril of Alexandria (CPG 5206)	43
Epiphanius of Salamis (CPG 3761.4)	1
Eusebius of Caesarea (CPG 3469.9)	5
Gregory of Nazianzus (CPG 3052.7)	1
Gregory of Nyssa (CPG 3204)	1
Irenaeus (CPG 1315)	1
Isidore of Pelusium (CPG 5557)	7
John Chrysostom (CPG 4424)	51
Origen (CPG 1450.3)	67
Severian of Gabala (CPG 4295.4)	1
Severus of Antioch (CPG 7080.11)	16
Thalassius (CPG 7848)	1
Theodore the Monk (CPG 3840)[96]	14

[95] On Thalassius, see: M. Th. Disdier, "Le témoignage spirituel de Thalassius le Lybien," *Revue études byzantines* 2 (1944), 79–118; Michel van Parijs, "Un maître spirituel oublié : Thalassios de Libye," *Irenikon* 52 (1979), 214–240. Maximus the Confessor wrote the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* (CPG-7688) edited in: Carl Laga and Carlos Steel, eds., *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium. I: Quaestiones I-LV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugenae iuxta posita*, CCSG 7 (Turnhout-Leuven: Brepols, 1980); Carl Laga and Carlos Steel, eds., *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium. II: Quaestiones LVI-LXV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugenae iuxta posita*, CCSG 22 (Turnhout-Leuven: Brepols, 1990). On the use of *Q.Thal.* in catenae see Bram Roosen, "Maximus Confessor and the *Scholia in Iohannem in Codex Vaticanus, Bibliothecae Apostilicae Vaticanae, graecus 349* (*CPG* C 147.2)," *Journal of Eastern Christianity* 54 (2002), 185–226.

[96] The attribution of the scholia to Theodore Monk is to an unknown work, and CPG 3840 loops to Fragments in Matthew attributed to either Theodore of Heraclea or Theodore of Mopsuestia. On the ambiguity of these scholia, see: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 50; Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*, XXXII. Reuss concluded that the Theodore the Monk attribution occurred due to transcriptional error from an original Theodore of Mopsuestia because other manuscripts with the same scholia (outside the Type A Catena Form) attribute them to Theodore of Mopsuestia: "Aus

Theodore of Heraclea (CPG 3562)	39
Theodore of Mopsuestia (CPG 3840)	7
Theodoret of Cyrrhus[97]	6
Basil of Caesarea / John Chrysostom	2
Cyril of Alexandria / John Chrysostom / Isidore of Pelusium / Theodore of Heraclea	2
Cyril of Alexandria / Origen	2
Eusebius of Caesarea / Origen	2
Eusebius of Caesarea / Origen / Isidore of Pelusium	1
Isidore of Pelusium / Cyril of Alexandria / Theodore of Heraclea	1
Origen / Cyril of Alexandria	1
Theodore of Heraclea / Cyril of Alexandria	1
Theodore of Heraclea / Theodore the Monk	1
ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου	8

Table 2.4. Author Attributions in the Type C110.4 Catena on Matthew

2.2.4.2 The Sources of the Type A Catena on Luke

The thirteen authors named in the C130.4 catena on Luke are listed in Table 2.5.[98] The greatest number of additional scholia come from Cyril of Alexandria—the same source which was

diesem Sach verhalt darf man wohl mit Recht den Schluß ziehen, daß alle diese Texte mit dem Lemma Theodor Monachus dem Theodor von Mopsvestia als Eigentum zugehören, daß ein davon unabhängiger Exeget Theodor Monachus nicht existierte und daß die Schreibung Theodor Monachus jedenfalls auf einem Schreibfehler beruht, da dieses Lemma nur in den beiden voneinander abhängigen Hss. Codd. Coislin. 195 und Coislin. 23 vorkommt und an einer vereinzelten Stelle in Cod. Vat. 757."

[97] The source of the scholia attributed to Theodoret is unknown and he did not write a commentary on the Gospels. Identifying the sources of scholia attributed to Theodoret and reconstructing his works from them also is problematic in other biblical corpora: Luciano Bossina, "Teodoreto e non Teodoreto: Storia di un equivoco lungo cinque secoli," *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 2 (2005): 173–217. On Theodoret, especially in and related to catenae: Miriam De Cock, "Theodoret of Cyrus and His Exegetical Predecessors: A Study of His Biblical Commentary Prefaces," *Opth* 7 (2021), 445–460; Jean-Noël Guinot, *L'Exégèse de Théodoret de Cyr*, Théologie Historique 100 (Paris: Beuchesne, 1995); Agnès Lorrain, *Le Commentaire de Théodoret de Cyr sur l'Épître aux Romains. Études philologiques et historiques*, TU 179 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018).

[98] The figures in Table 2.5 differ from CPG IV[2] which claims to have counted the number of citations by author in the index to Cramer's edition (*Catenae in Evangelia S. Lucae et S. Joannis*, 451), which was also the method adopted by Karo and Lietzmann (Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus* (Göttingen: Lüder Horstmann, 1902), 573). In CPG IV[1], Geerard did not give a reference to the source of the list of *fontes* for the type, and the reference

the foundation of the Basic Form commentary.[99] Since the compilers of the Basic Form did not include scholia on extensive portions of Luke, there was much more material from Cyril of Alexandria to incorporate in the catena. There is also an abundant number of scholia attributed to Titus of Bostra.[100] The scholia attributed to John Chrysostom in this type primarily derive from his *Homilies on Matthew*.[101] The sixteen scholia bearing the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου are the most in any Gospel compiled by this catenist. There is only one composite attribution, significantly fewer than the corresponding catenae on Matthew and John.[102] As is the case in the other catenae, four of the scholia attributed to Severus of Antioch and one of Isidore of Pelusium have a statement specifying which letter the comment was extracted.[103] The theological breadth of the sources in this catena is narrower than that represented in Matthew and John, but controversial theologians such as Apollinarius and Severus of Antioch, whose writings were condemned, still appear in the

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to Cramer was added by Noret in CPG IV^2. Given Geerard's preference for Karo and Lietzmann for the structure of the catenae on Luke (see Chapter 7), he likely used Karo and Lietzmann for the *fontes* as well. Sickenberger wrote a short list of the sources: Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 58. The primary reason for the differences is that Cramer's index includes all references to an author in his edition, whether these were author attributions or internal references to the author within a scholium (see n. 28). The scholia attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (Cramer 418.26), Dionysius the Areopagite (Cramer 127.21), and Gregory of Nazianzus (Cramer 107.29) in CPG IV^2 are internal references to the authors not author attributions. They are not counted in Table 2.5. The total for Apollinarius in Table 2.5 is higher than in CPG IV^2 because Cramer missed the marginal author attributions for two Apollinarian scholia in his edition (Cramer 141.23 and 162.33; the attributions are present in Coislin 23 on fols. 196r and 204v, and in Coislin 195 on fols. 322v and 338v).

[99] On Cyril of Alexandria in Luke, see Sickenberger, *Cyrill von Alexandrien*; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XXV–XXIX; Adolf Rücker, *Die Lukas-Homilien des HL. Cyrill von Alexandrien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Exegese* (Breslau: Goerlich & Coch, 1911).

[100] On Titus of Bostra in catenae on Luke, see Jean-Michel Lavoie, Paul-Hubert Poirier, and Thomas S. Schmidt, "Les homélies sur l'Évangile de Luc de Titus de Bostra," in *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Montréal Colloquium in Honour of Charles Kannengiesser, 11–13 October 2006*, ed. Lorenzo DiTommaso and Lucian Turcescu, The Bible in Ancient Christianity 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 253–285; Reuss, "Bemerkungen zu den Lukas-Homilien des Titus von Bostra," 538–541; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*.

[101] Devreesse, "Chaînes," cols. 1:1189–1190.

[102] Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 38–39.

[103] On the manuscript tradition of Isidore of Pelusium's writings, see Madalina Toca, "The Greek Manuscript Reception of Isidore of Pelusium's Epistolary Corpus," *BN* 175 (2017): 133–143.

catena.[104] In comparison to the other Gospels, Luke has fewer scholia and fewer scholia added to it despite the compilers seeking to fill in the Basic Form commentary's gaps. Using Cramer's edition as a point of reference, the catena on Luke is the shortest of the compilations in the Type A Catena Form at 168 pages in the print edition; Matthew is the longest at 252 pages and John is at 235 pages. The latest person named in the catena on Luke is Maximus the Confessor.[105]

Early Christian Writer	**Attributions in C130.4**
Apollinarius (CPG 3692)	4
Cyril of Alexandria (CPG 5207.3)	105
Gregory of Nyssa (CPG 3204)	2
Irenaeus (CPG 1315)	1
Isidore of Pelusium (CPG 5557)	3
John Chrysostom (CPG 4449)	19
Maximus the Confessor (CPG 7711.7)	1
Origen (CPG 1452)	21
Severus of Antioch (CPG 7080.13)	5
Titus of Bostra (CPG 3576)	51

[104] The writings of Severus of Antioch in Greek are primarily preserved in catenae. On the use of Severus of Antioch in catenae, see: Moss, "Saving Severus," 785–808; Françoise Petit, *La Chaîne sur l'Exode. I. Fragments de Sévère d'Antioche*, Traditio Exegetica Graeca 9 (Louvain: Peeters, 1999); Lucas Van Rompay, "Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (512-538), in the Greek, Syriac, and Coptic Traditions," *Journal of Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 8 (2009): 3–22; Vianès, "Chaînes de Jean le Droungaire," 405–426; Konrad F. Zawadzki, "Neue griechische Fragmente des Cyrill von Alexandrien, (Pseudo-)Athanasius, Philoxenos, Severus von Antiochien und Ammonios: patristische Auslegungen zum 1. Korintherbrief (ediert aus dem Codex Pantokratoros 28)," *ZAC* 18 (2014), 260–282.

[105] Peter Van Deun has a forthcoming chapter on Maximus the Confessor in catenae on Luke in *Phenomena of Order and Disorder in Greek Exegetical Catenae / Ordres et désordres dans les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, ed. Agnès Lorrain and Jean-Marie Auwers, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming). This will complement his studies of Maximus the Confessor in other New Testament catena traditions: Peter Van Deun, "Les extraits de Maxime le Confesseur contenus dans les chaînes sur l'Évangile de Matthieu," in *Philohistôr: Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii*, ed. Antoon Schoors and Peter Van Deun, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 60 (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), 295–328; Peter Van Deun, "Les extraits de Maxime le Confesseur contenus dans les chaînes sur l'évangile de Marc," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 25 (1994): 169–174; Peter Van Deun, "Les extraits de Maxime le Confesseur contenus dans les chaînes sur le Nouveau Testament, abstraction faite des Évangiles," *Orientalia Lovaniensia* 23 (1992): 205–217. On the life of Maximus the Confessor, see Paul M. Blowers, *Maximus the Confessor: Jesus Christ and the Transformation of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Fr. Maximos Constas, ed., *St. Maximos the Confessor: On Difficulties in Sacred Scripture: The Responses to Thalassios*, The Fathers of the Church 136 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2018).

Victor of Antioch (CPG 6534)	3
Titus of Bostra / Origen	1
ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου	16

Table 2.5. Author Attributions in the Type C130.4 Catena on Luke

2.2.4.3 The Sources of the Type A Catena on John

The twenty-four authors named in the C140.4 catena on John are listed in Table 2.6.[106] The greatest number of additional scholia was taken from Ammonius the Presbyter (d. ca. 6th c.), who has more than double the number of named scholia than all the other authors combined.[107] The next most frequently cited author is Cyril of Alexandria.[108] As in the corresponding catenae on Matthew and Luke, there are sixteen scholia with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου which belong to multiple sources. There are seven composite scholia, some of which have been identified with one of the authors; it is not the case that the first author named is the source of the comment.[109] Ten scholia indicate the source of the comment with the author attribution: nine for Severus of Antioch and

[106] The figures in Table 2.6 differ slightly from CPG IV² which reproduced the number of attributions in *Matthäus-, Markus-, und Johannes-Katenen* (p. 169). As in the case of the catena in Matthew, the editors of the CPG inflate the number of scholia by counting the indirectly attributed τοῦ αὐτοῦ scholia separately (see n. 88). Reuss also included a series of additional scholia on John attributed to several writers including Polycrates of Ephesus (CPG 1338) and Theodore Abu Qurrah (CPG 8075) which follow the catena on John in Paris gr. 187, Florence Plut.06.33, and Vatican gr. 1423: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 163–174. These are not part of the catena and a later addition to the manuscript tradition, so they have not been included in Table 2.6.

[107] The works of Ammonius the Presbyter are only known through the extracts in catenae, see Eleuterio Elorduy, "Ammonio en las catenas," *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 44 (1969): 383–483; Reuss, "Der exeget Ammonius und die Fragmente seines Matthäus und Johannes-Kommentars," 13–20; Joseph Reuss, "Der Presbyter Ammonius von Alexandrien und sein Kommentar zum Johannes-Evangelium," *Bib* 44 (1963), 159–170; Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare*, XXVI–XXX; Theodor Zahn, "Der Exeget Ammonius und andere Ammonius," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 38 (1920), 1–22, 331–336. Little is known about Ammonius the Presbyter (sometimes Ammonius of Alexandria) who wrote the commentaries extracted into catenae on John; Elorduy contends he should be identified as Ammonius Saccas of the third century. This view is not held by Reuss and has been widely rejected. Ammonius the Presbyter is believed to have lived in the second half of the fifth to the sixth century: see Charles Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*, 2 vols., The Bible in Ancient Christianity 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2004): 2: 931.

[108] Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare*, XXV–XXVI; Joseph Reuss, "Cyrill von Alexandrien und sein Kommentar zum Johannes-Evangelium," *Bib* 25 (1944), 207–209.

[109] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 174.

one for Cyril of Alexandria.[110] The compilers included scholia from a variety of theological positions and exegetical schools. There are more named scholia for the Gospel of John (477) than for Matthew (301) or Luke (232) even though the catena on John is shorter than the one on Matthew. The latest person included among the named scholia is Anastasius of Antioch (d. 598/599).[111]

Early Christian Writer	**Attributions in C140.4**
Ammonius the Presbyter (CPG 5502)	235
Anastasius of Antioch (CPG 6961)	2
Antiochus of Ptolemais (CPG 4297)[112]	1
Apollinarius (CPG 3691)	32
Basil of Caesarea (CPG 2907.9)	1
Caesarius of Nazianzus (CPG 7482)[113]	1
Cyril of Alexandria (CPG 5208)	80
Didymus the Blind (CPG 2557)	4
Eusebius of Caesarea (CPG 3469.12)	2
Gregory of Nazianzus (CPG 3052.10)	1
Hesychius of Jerusalem (CPG 6561)	1
Isidore of Pelusium (CPG 5557)	4
John Chrysostom (CPG 4425)	12
Origen (CPG 1453)	16
Severus of Antioch (CPG 7080.14)	11
Theodore of Heraclea (CPG 3564)	26

[110] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 169–170.

[111] On Anastasius of Antioch, who is frequently confused with Anastasius of Sinai, see Stergios N. Sakkos, *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναϊτῶν* (Thessaloniki: Ἀριστοτελεῖον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης Σπουδαστήριον Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Γραμματολογίας, 1964); Günter Weiss, *Studia Anastasiana I: Studien zum Leben, zu den Schriften und zur Theologie des Patriarchen Anastasius I von Antiochien (559-598)*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 4 (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie der Universtät, 1965); Clement Kuehn, "Anastasius of Sinai: Biblical Scholar," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 103 (2010): 55–85.

[112] This scholium is actually from Severian of Gabala's *Oratio de Adamo et passione Christi* (CPG 4195): Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs de l'Octateuque et des Rois*, 178.

[113] The scholium attributed to Caesarius is to a pseudonymous work, *Quaestiones et responsiones.* See Rudolf Riedinger, *Pseudo-Kaisarios: Überlieferungsgeschichte und Verfasserfrage*, Byzantinisches Archiv 12 (Munich: Beck, 1969), 115–117; Rudolf Riedinger, "Zu den Erotapokriseis des Pseudo-Kaisarios," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 86–87 (1994): 34–39.

Theodore of Mopsuestia (CPG 3843)	21
Theodore[114]	4
Severus of Antioch / Apollinarius	1
Theodore of Heraclea / Apollinarius	1
Ammonius the Presbyter / John Chrysostom	1
Apollinarius / Theodore of Heraclea	3
Theodore of Heraclea / Apollinarius / Cyril of Alexandria	1
ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου	16

Table 2.6. Author Attributions in the Type C140.4 Catena on John

2.2.4.4 Review of the Sources of the Type A Catena Form

This survey of the author attributions in the Type A Catena Form has indicated a number of tendencies. The authors named in each Gospel are generally the same as the others, with some authors appearing less because they did not write on that Gospel. The catenists frequently credit some scholia to the preceding author using τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἄλλως, and καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα. And they sometimes attribute scholia to multiple authors in a composite scholium. This peculiar practice raises the question of whether the attribution in this form was taken from the source or was created by the compilers due to their own uncertainty about which author wrote the following interpretation. The inclusion of scholia with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου alongside named scholia is a striking practice given the compilers' choice to leave nearly half the scholia in each commentary unattributed. This attribution therefore derives from the source of the scholia rather than the compilers' own naming convention.[115]

[114] Reuss notes that three of these ambiguous attributions are the work of Theodore of Mopsuestia and one cannot be determined: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 169.

[115] It contrasts with the later catenist, Nicetas of Heraclea, who attributed nearly all of the scholia in his catenae and designated ones with unknown authors or from an unknown source with the terms ἀνωνύμου and ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου: Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia*, 100–101; Krikones, *Συναγωγη Πατερων*, 46–47.

The distribution of authors is noteworthy. First, apart from the catena on Luke where parallel passages that were not interpreted in the Basic Form were provided with scholia, the named scholia occur more predominantly in the first halves of the Gospels. In the later portions of the Gospels, longer stretches of scholia from the Basic Form appear without being interleaved with additional scholia. It also is the case that scholia in the first part of the catenae tend to be shorter than those in the later sections.[116] This perhaps reflects the interests of the catenists. The beginnings of the Gospels have Christological significance, especially the opening of John (John 1:1–14).[117] Many have linked the production of catenae to Christological controversies, whether to advocate a particular perspective or to bridge the church's factions.[118] Yet the thinning of the catena in the later part of the Gospels could equally reflect weariness in the task of compiling an extensive catena given the significance of the crucifixion and resurrection at the end of the Gospels.[119] Second, the additional attributed scholia frequently were added in blocks. This is most evident in Luke where the προεγράφη comments are followed by a section of named scholia where there is no commentary from the Basic Form. This occurs in other Gospels as well. For example, in Coislin 23, the interpretation of the Lazarus narrative in John 11 begins on fol. 253v (Cramer 307.3) with a scholium linked to John 11:3. The text from Chrysostom proceeds for the next five pages and is divided into

[116] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 170.

[117] Peter J. Williams persuasively argues that the first eighteen verses of John have been incorrectly classified as the prologue to John by modern editors and readers: "Not the Prologue of John," *JSNT* 33 (2011): 375–386 For a positive argument that John 1:1–5 was intended as a prologue to the Gospel, see: Martinus de Boer, "The Original Prologue to the Gospel of John," *NTS* 61 (2015): 448–467.

[118] Bates, "Materializing Unity," forthcoming. Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 163–198; Lamb, "The Theological Significance of the Catena," 121–135.

[119] René Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 12. Nünlist observes that "scholia peter out towards the end of the text that is commented on."

four sections using a colon-dash and a space or line break to divide the comments. On fol. 256r, a series of thirty-seven named scholia begins with a scholium attributed to Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) that explains John 11:3 even though the text of John on this page is John 11:33–41. These short scholia cover three pages. While the reading of the explanation of the biblical text is asynchronous due to the use of block mixture, the next numbered section from the Basic Form begins on the same folio as the relevant verse. This pattern shows how the compilers worked with their sources. Rather than fragmenting the scholia from the initial version into smaller pieces so that the biblical text was interpreted sequentially, they retained the divisions of the text in the initial form and inserted additional comments on the biblical text in those sections after the Basic Form scholia. Since the Type A Basic Form utilized the chapter divisions and Eusebian apparatus to organize the commentary, many of the divisions in the Catena Form also correspond to those paratextual features.

2.2.5 Compiler and Date of the Type A Catena Form

The names of those who compiled the Type A Catena Form are unknown. The anonymous compilers did not alter the titles which accompanied the Type A Basic Form manuscripts in Matthew and John, so the influence of purported authors remains the same. The titles in the Type A Catena Form manuscripts do not change, probably because there are fewer codices of this type and many of the later ones are copied from earlier manuscripts.[120] In Coislin 195 the title for Matthew is τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἑρμηνεία (Coislin 195, fol. 10r). The treatment of Luke is quite different. The titles of the catenae on Luke in C130.4 are attributed to John Chrysostom:

[120] On the titles in commentaries, see Aurélie Gribomont, "La question du titre dans la littérature byzantine: Quelques pistes de réflexion autour du terme ὑπόμνημα," *Byzantion* 82 (2012): 89–112.

τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου (Coislin 23, fol. 149r).[121] This title brings the catena on Luke into alignment with those on Matthew and John even though John Chrysostom is a minor figure within the work. Cramer formats the title τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου as the attribution for the first scholium. This misreads the manuscript, even if the scholium does come from Chrysostom. In Coislin 23 and the other manuscripts of the type with a title, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου is formatted as a title.[122] The words are placed above the text, in larger letters than the scholia text or other attributions and marked with crosses on both sides of the word. This therefore seems to be a replacement title for the Titus of Bostra title found in C130.1. In keeping with their relationship to the Type A Basic Form, scholarship has called these catenae anonymous compilations.

The Type A Catena Form was compiled in the seventh or eighth century. The earliest manuscripts of this type date to the tenth century. The *terminus post quem* is conctituted by the authors of attributed scholia who lived into the seventh century: Maximus the Confessor and his contemporary, Thalassius.[123] However, it remains possible that the two scholia attributed to Maximus the Confessor and Thalassius in this type were inserted later given that they lived well after the death of the next latest author—Severus of Antioch, and catenae by nature are a tradition open to the accretion of more sources.[124] The Type A catena on the Gospels may have been copied

[121] The title in Coislin 195 has been trimmed.

[122] Karo and Lietzmann note this is the title for this catena type: Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 573·

[123] Maximus the Confessor and Thalassius both lived in the region of Libya between 632 and 642 CE and maintained correspondence afterward: Marek Jankowiak and Phil Booth, "A New Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor," in *The Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor*, ed. Pauline Allen and Neil Bronwen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 19–83.

[124] On the openness of the catenae, commentaries, and catenae, see Ineke Sluiter, "The Dialectics of Genre: Some Aspects of Secondary Literature and Genre in Antiquity," in *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society*, ed. Mary Depew and

in the seventh century, but the eighth seems more likely because, as subsequent chapters will show, the source of the additional scholia in this type was another catena that dates to the sixth or seventh century. A later date allows more time for the transmission and integration of the two works.

The Type A Catena Form is a set of catenae on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John compiled in the eighth century by an unknown person. The impetus for this project was to integrate the earlier compilation commentary—the Type A Basic Form—with selected interpretations from another catena tradition. The production of this work adapted the foundational commentary in new ways by arranging it in frame catena format with the full biblical text and with an accompanying commentary on Mark. The catena distinctively uses a combination of attributed and anonymous scholia, which are linked to the text of the Gospels by numbers or sigla.

3 Type B

Type B is the second of the early traditions of catenae on the Gospels. This tradition began in the sixth or seventh century and the earliest form was adapted into multiple new catenae by the tenth century. The Type B catenae are divided into two subtypes in the CPG with additional classes within these types in Matthew. The CPG's system for classifying the Type B tradition in Matthew and John follows the system articulated by Joseph Reuss.[125] The structure in Luke approximates Karo and Lietzmann's structure most closely.[126] The first subdivision is the Type B Basic Form, which Reuss

Dirk Obbink, Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 183–203; Patton, "Unchaining," 131–148; Peter Van Nuffelen, "John of Antioch, Inflated and Deflated. Or: How (Not) to Collect Fragments of Early Byzantine Historians," *Byzantion* 82 (2012): 437–450. See also the discussion on the openness of the catena tradition in Chapter 6 §3.2.

[125] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 52–101, 175–189.

[126] See Chapter 7 for a detailed description of the history of taxonomies of the catenae on Luke.

called *die Grundform*. This work is a collection of commentaries on Matthew, Luke, and John which are classified in the CPG as C111 for Matthew, C132 for Luke, and C141.1 for John. These commentaries were adapted into catenae through the addition of further scholia from other sources. The second subdivision is the Type B Catena Forms, which Reuss called *die auf der Grundform aufgebaute Katene* or the *Vollkatene*.[127] The taxonomy of these types differs from Gospel to Gospel because Reuss identified more distinct catenae in Matthew than he did for John. The catenae on Luke were classified differently in Luke, but now have been brought into alignment with the corresponding catenae on Matthew and John in the CPG.[128] The Type B Catena Forms on Matthew are C112.1, C112.2, C112.3, C112.4, C112.5, and C112.6. The Type B Catena Forms on Luke are divided into two classes: C133.1 and C133.2. Only one class exists for the Type B Catena Forms on John: C141.2. The earliest of the Type B Catena Forms followed shortly after the initial composition, dating to the seventh or eighth century and others were not produced until after the tenth century with the inclusion of scholia from Photius of Constantinople. Some of these catena forms are only attested in a single manuscript. As the focus of this study is the development of the early catenae on the Gospels, only the Basic Form and one of the Catena Forms (C112.3, C133.1, C141.2) compiled before the ninth century will be described in detail.

[127] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 78–101; 184–189; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XXXII. The longer form was Reuss's term in his 1941 study on Matthew and John. The shorter, *Vollkatene*, was adopted in his 1984 volume on Luke, creating a stronger semantic parallel with the Type A Catena Form.

[128] See Chapter 7, especially §4.2.

3.1 *Type B Basic Form*

The first stage in the development of the catenae on the Gospels in the Type B or Peter of Laodicea tradition was the composition of the Type B Basic Form on Matthew, Luke, and John.[129] As in Type A, the foundation for the tradition is not strictly a catena, but rather a late antique compilation commentary. Its unmistakable place in the development of the catenae on the Gospels and its use of multiple sources led it to be classified within the genre of catenae. These commentaries have been attributed to an otherwise unknown person called Peter of Laodicea in some later manuscripts, which has vexed scholars for the past century. An edition of this type in each Gospel has not been produced, which is a major desideratum in the field of catena research on the New Testament.[130] The 1860 edition by Samuel Márkfi, *Codex graecus quatuor Euangeliorum* is nearly a complete edition of this catena on the Gospels which also includes a translation into Hungarian.[131] However, the single manuscript it is based on, Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudomány Egyetem Könyvtára, Gr. 1 (GA 100; Diktyon 73130), does not give the Type B Basic Form alone, but is an expanded form of the commentary which integrates scholia from both the Type A and Type B

[129] A result of this thesis is that the designation Type B has been applied to this catena tradition in the catenae on Luke. It previously was used to designate the Type A Catena Form. See Chapter 7 on adjustments to the CPG in light of this research.

[130] In 1920, Rauer aspired to edit the catena on Luke attributed to Peter of Laodicea but never undertook the project, in part because of limited access to the manuscript in Austria: Max Rauer, *Der dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebene Lukaskommentar*, NTAbh 8 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1920), 4. Rauer wrote: "Ich betrachtete sie in gewissem Sinne nur als den Begleittext zu dem Hauptteil der Arbeit, der Abschrift und umfangreichen Quellenkollation einer Handschrift des in Fragestehenden Lukaskommentars, des Cod. Vindob. theol. Gr. 117. Da aber die Heranziehung der ausländischen Handschriften zur Ergänzung der Kollation in absehbarer Zeit nicht möglich ist und damit auch die notwendige Grundlage für eine Edition des Kommentars nicht geschaffen werden kann, habe ich mich nach träglich (besonders auf Wunsch meines verehrten Lehrers Herrn Prof. Dr. Sickenberger) doch entschlossen, diese vorläufigen Ergebnissemeiner Untersuchung auch in Buchform zu veröffentlichen." On the need for complete, continuous editions of catenae on the Gospels based on modern editing standards, see Chapter 8 §2.

[131] Samuel Márkfi, *Codex graecus quatuor Evangeliorum e Bibliotheca Universitatis Pestinensis cum interpretatione hungarica* (Budapest: Gustav Emich, 1860), 2.

Basic Forms.[132] It therefore is not a true edition of this commentary. C.F. Georg Heinrici produced an edition of the Type B Basic Form in Matthew.[133] This edition has been well received and is useful for considering the development of the catenae because the apparatus includes manuscripts outside the Type B Basic Form which have scholia from the same source.[134] It can be called a critical edition in that the text is based on an evaluation of multiple manuscripts and has a critical apparatus. Additionally, many of the scholia from selected authors included in the Type B Basic Form have been edited in author-specific publications.[135] These sources give access to much of the text and tradition of the Type B Basic Form, but a critical edition of these commentaries on the Gospels would be a major contribution.

3.1.1 Manuscripts of the Type B Basic Form

The Type B Basic Form is the most well attested type in the tradition of catenae on the Gospels, with at least one Gospel with this type of catena appearing in seventy-three manuscripts. These manuscripts date from the first half of the tenth century to the sixteenth century.[136] The earliest witness is Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 117 (Diktyon 71784) dated to the first half of the tenth century.[137] Sickenberger and Rauer dubbed this manuscript the most important of the Peter of

[132] See Appendix II for a discussion of the classification of this manuscript in the CPG.

[133] C.F. Georg Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea Erklärung des Matthäusevangeliums*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testamentes 5 (Leipzig: Dürr, 1908).

[134] On the reception of Heinrici's edition: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 73–74.

[135] Klostermann and Benz, *Origenes Werke XII/1*; Preuschen, *Origenes Werke IV*; Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*; Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*; Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare*; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*; Sickenberger, *Cyrill von Alexandrien*.

[136] This data was collected from the *Catena Catalogue* database on 14 June 2023.

[137] Apart from the catena research below, on Theol. gr. 117, see also Christian Gastgeber, "Die Sammlung griechischer Fragmente der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," in *Fragmente: Der Umgang mit lückenhafter Quellenüberlieferung in der Mittelalterforschung: Akten des internationalen Symposiums des Zentrums Mittelalterforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 19.-21. März 2009*, ed. Christian Gastgeber, Christine Glassner,

Laodicea manuscripts because of its age and that it also includes author attributions which were added at a later date.[138] In addition to Theol. gr. 117, there are six other Type B Basic Form manuscripts dated to the tenth century. One of these, Paris, BnF, Coislin 20 (GA 36; Diktyon 49162) may rival the Vienna manuscript as the most important manuscript for the type because the codex has a slightly expanded form of the commentaries on the Gospels not found in any other manuscript.[139] Rauer interpreted this as a sign that it preserved an earlier form of the Basic Form commentaries which was truncated in subsequent copies that dominated the textual tradition.[140] Reuss rejected Rauer's proposal based on his own comparison of this and other Type B Basic Form manuscripts, including Theol. gr. 117, and held that this manuscript represents a slight expansion of the earlier form, not a unique recension.[141] Well over half of the manuscripts—forty-eight out of seventy–three—date from the tenth and eleventh centuries. Of the remaining twenty-six manuscripts copied after the twelfth century, nearly half date to the sixteenth century, so are very late witnesses to the type. The seventy-three manuscripts attesting the Type B Basic Form are listed in Table 2.7.

Manuscript	**GA**	**Diktyon**	**CPG Contents Gospels**	**Date**
Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 26	1373	698	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Athens, EBE, 65	800	2361	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XIII

Kornelia Holzner-Tobisch, and Renate Spreitzer, Denkschriften der philosophisch-historische Klasse 415 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 131–142.

[138] Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 6, 54; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 123–124. See also Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 575–576.

[139] Coislin 20 was copied either in Constantinople or at Mount Athos. It was previously housed at the Monastery of the Great Lavra from whence it came to Paris: D. Grosdidier de Matons, Paul Canart, and P. Hoffman, "L'analyse technique des reliures byzantines et la détermination de leur origine géographique (Constantinople, Crète, Chypre, Grèce)," in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del Seminario di Erice (18-25 settembre 1988), Biblioteca del 'Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Università di Perugia'*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Giuseppe De Gregorio, and Marilena Maniaci, Università di Perugia. Centro per il Collegamento degli Studi Medievali e Umanistici. Biblioteca 5 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1991), 751–768; Duplacy, "Manuscrits grecs émigrés," 159–178.

[140] Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, XXXLX–XXXXIV.

[141] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XIII.

Athens, EBE, 203	770	2499	C111, C141.1	XI
Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, 588	2458	20556	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Athos, Docheiariou Monastery, 7	964	21180	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Athos, Docheiariou Monastery, 76	978	21249	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XIV
Athos, Iviron Monastery, 2	989	23599	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Athos, Iviron Monastery, 665	1028	24260	C111	XI
Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, 39	1392	29058	C119.2, C125.1, C132, C141.1	X
Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, 247, fols. 5–325	1535	18391	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XVI
Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, 248	1437	18392	C132	XI
Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, 936	1570	19080	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Berlin, SBB, Phillipps 1422, fols. 157–219	--	9325	C125.1, C132	XVI
Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudomány Egyetem Könyvtára, Gr. 1	100	73130	C110.2, C125.1, C130.2, C141.1	XI
Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 42.152	2381	13127	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Cologny Geneva, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Bodmer 25	556	13159	C111, C125.1b, C132, C141.1	XI
Dublin, Trinity College, 31	63	13585	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Durham, NC, Duke University Library, 1	1780	13616	C111, C125.1, C130.2, C141.1	XIII
Durham, NC, Duke University Library, 60	1423	13675	C110.2, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Y.II.8	233	15476	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XII
Florence, BML, Plut.06.18	186	16005	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Florence, BML, Plut.06.34	195	16021	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Florence, BML, Plut.08.14, fols. 29–157	197	16072	C111, C125.1	XI
Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Τάφου 25	1312	35262	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Kefalonia, Kipourea Monastery, 2	2211	36795	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
London, BL, Add. 39592	549	39171	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI

Madrid, BNE, Res. 235	2812	40400	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	X
Milan, BA, M 93 sup.	353	43013	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, AF XIV.15	1814	43289	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XVI
Moscow, SHM, Syn. Gr. 44	259	43669	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Moscow, SHM, Syn. Gr. 46	239	43671	C132, C141.1	XI
Oxford, Lincoln College, Gr. 16	95	48670	C132, C141.1	X
Paris, BnF, Coislin 20	36	49162	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	X
Paris, BnF, Coislin 21	37	49163	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Paris, BnF, Coislin 22	40	49164	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 177	299	49746	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 178	24	49747	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 189	19	49758	C111, C125.1, C132, C140.4/C141.1	XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 191	25	49760	C110.1, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 193, fols. 1–143	--	49762	C111	XVI
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 611	746	53346	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 612	747	53347	C112.4, C125.1, C131Z, C141.1	XII
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1300	--	53964	C111, C132, C141.1	XII
Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 80	1164	54324	C110.2, C125.1, C130.2, C141.1	XII
Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 304	3009	54548	C111, C125.1, C132	XIV
Rhethymno, Library of the Lawyers' Association, 2	2994	73324	C111, C132	XI
Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, Gr. 193	1230	58568	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XII
Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, Gr. 303	1253	58678	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XIV
St Petersburg, RNB, Gr. 72	569	57142	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
St Petersburg, RNB, Gr. 667	2539	57739	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, C.II.4	332	63843	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI

Unknown, formerly Charles Caldwell Ryrie Collection (Dallas, TX)	2346	13198	C110.2, C125.1, C130.2, C141.1	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. gr. 432	391	65675	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 5	146	65738	C111, C125.1	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 5	885	66175	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 358	129	66989	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 724, fols. 116–216	--	67355	C111	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 756	137	67387	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 758	139	67389	C132, C142	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1090	861	67721	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1445	374	68076	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XII
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1741	--	68370	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XIV
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1909, fols. 120–140	2770	68538	C111	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2275, fols. 45–46	2981	68906	C111	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2275, fols. 47–48	--	68906	C111, C125.1	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2275, fol. 183[142]	--	68906	C111	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2348	2480	68979	C141.1	XVI
Venice, BNM, Z.27 (341)	210	69498	C112.6, C125.1, C132, C142	XI
Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 117	--	71784	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	X
Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 154	77	71821	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI

[142] Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2275 is a miscellaneous codex with several excerpts from catenae, including some from the hand of Guglielmo Sirleto, the prominent Cardinal and scholar in the Roman Catholic Church who had a large collection of manuscripts. On this codex, see: Annaclara Cataldi Palau, "Il copista Ioannes Mauromates," in *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito : Atti del 5 Colloquio internazionale di paleografia greca, Cremona, 4-10 ottobre 1998*, ed. Giancarlo Prato, Papyrologica Florentina 31 (Florence: Gonnelli, 2000), 378–379; Giuseppe De Gregorio and Domenico Surace, "Giovanni Santamaura, copista al servizio del cardinale Guglielmo Sirleto," *Νέα Ῥώμα. Rivista di Studi Bizantinistici* 5 (2018): 515–516; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 72, 128, 222, 238. Various parts of the codex are catalogued in the *Liste*. Fols. 45–46 are GA 2981, fols. 137–153 are GA 2583 (with Theophylact's *Commentary on Matthew*), fols. 155–163 are GA 2982 (with Zigabenus's *Commentary on Matthew*), and fol. 184 is GA 2983 (with Theophylact's *Commentary on John*).

Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 180	222	71847	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XIV
Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 209, fols. 1–55	--	71876	C111	XII
Zagora, Public Library, 1	2414	72487	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI

Table 2.7. Manuscripts of the Type B Basic Form

3.1.2 The Formats in Type B Basic Form Manuscripts

The manuscripts of the Type B Basic Form have a distinctive format when juxtaposed to the Type A Basic Form compiled in similar time periods. The formats of the Type B Basic Form manuscripts are displayed in Appendix 1. The primary *mise en page* of the Type B Basic Form manuscripts is the frame format with forty-eight manuscripts in that layout. In addition, twenty-four appear in alternating catena format and one has mixed formats. The mixed format manuscript, Berlin, SBB, Phillipps 1422 is a peculiar sixteenth-century manuscript which has short excerpts of the beginnings of the biblical text in numerous Old Testament books and Mark, Luke, John, Acts, and Romans for the New Testament. These are followed by extracts from catenae, many of which were copied by different hands.[143] The catena excerpts come from different exemplars, which makes sense because no codex contains all these biblical books and their commentaries in a single volume.[144] The format and contents of the book, along with its coarse handwriting and method of production, seems akin to a study book prepared for personal use.[145] The format of Berlin Phillipps 1422 in the Gospels varies with the short biblical extracts initially written in frame format, but once

[143] On Berlin Phillipps 1422, see Wilhelm Studemund, Leopold Cohn, and Carl Gotthard de Boor, *Verzeichniss der griechischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin I: Codices ex Bibliotheca Meermanniana Philippici Graeci nunc Berolinensis.* (Berlin: Asher, 1890), 5.

[144] Emanuele Scieri identified Paris, BnF, Gr. 219 (GA 91; Diktyon 49790) as the exemplar in Acts: Emanuele Scieri, "The Catena Manuscripts on Acts: A Revised Classification," *VC* (2022): 14.

[145] On detecting manuscripts made for personal use: David Durand-Guédy and Jürgen Paul, eds., *Personal Manuscripts: Copying, Drafting, Taking Notes*, Studies in Manuscript Cultures 30 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023).

the biblical text has been completed, the commentary occupies the full block of the page. The manuscript had been assigned GA 1371, but this has recently been rescinded in recognition that it is not a continuous witness to the biblical text. It is also doubtful whether it should still be considered as a witness to this catena type even if this is the source of the extracts, as in the case of Paris Suppl. gr. 1225.

The twenty-four Type B Basic Form manuscripts in alternating format are found in smaller number in the tenth and eleventh centuries with only five manuscripts (of forty-seven). However, one of these is Vienna Theol. gr. 117, the oldest manuscript of the type. This format is dominant later. Only two of the seventeen manuscripts copied in the fourteenth century or later use the frame catena layout and eleven of the twelve sixteenth-century copies are in alternating format. This shows a clear shift in the copying of the Type B Basic Form manuscripts over time.

The most frequently used layout is the frame catena format, which was particularly dominant in the tenth and eleventh centuries when the alternating format is rarer.[146] Sixty-five percent of all Type B Basic Form manuscripts are in this format, including eighty-one percent of the manuscripts surviving from the tenth to twelfth centuries. Was this *mise en page* the original format? The arrangement of the oldest manuscript, Vienna Theol. gr. 117, is alternating along with other older witnesses, even if they are not numerically more common. The example of the Type A Basic Form

[146] H.A.G. Houghton, "The Layout and Structure of the Catena," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 59–61, see especially Table 5.1. These findings were enhanced by Georgi Parpulov's presentation at the Birmingham Biblical Studies Seminar on 21 April 2021.

shows that the format of a work can be detected by the copying pattern in the tradition over time.[147] Yet, the Type A tradition also highlights the relative ease of moving the contents of a commentary in an alternating catena layout into the margins of a manuscript. The ease of this process and the inclusion of short *lemmata* as verbal links to the biblical text indicate that this may have happened here.

The form of the biblical text in these manuscripts provides concrete evidence that the Type B Basic Form manuscripts likely originated in the frame catena format. Type B Basic Form only rarely was copied with an abridged form of the biblical text. Sixty-four of the manuscripts have the full text of the Gospels with the commentaries and eight are abridged.[148] Since manuscripts with a full New Testament text in frame format rarely were copied from a manuscript copied in alternating format, this suggests that the Type B Basic Form began as a marginal commentary around the text of the Gospels. Some later copies then extracted the commentary without the Gospels.[149]

Most of the eight manuscripts in abridged format are atypical witnesses to the Type B Basic Form. First, the distribution of these manuscripts is notable. Five of the eight abridged format

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[147] Mathilde Aussedat, "Les deux types de chaînes exégétiques sur le livre de Jérémie : une mise en page adaptée au contenu ?," in *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting: Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography* (*Madrid – Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008*), ed. Antonio Bravo García and Inmaculada Pérez Martin, Bibliologia 31A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 427–436. Aussedat shows that even though catena manuscripts of the same type vary, the format of a catena manuscript was not entirely arbitrary it can sometimes be detected.

[148] Whether the biblical text is complete or not in Rhethymno, Library of the Lawyers' Association, 2 (GA 2994; Diktyon 73324) is unknown. This eleventh century manuscript only containing Matthew and Luke was recently added to the *Liste*. The manuscript more than likely has a full biblical text because only two catena manuscripts are known to have an abridged biblical text in frame format and this type of catena usually includes the full text of the Gospels. On this manuscript see: Konstantinos M. Papadakis, "Χειρόγραφα καὶ συλλογές χειρογράφων στη δυτική Κρήτη," in *Πεπράγμενα Γ' Διέθνους Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* (*Χανιά, 1-8 Οκτωβρίου 2006*), ed. M. Andrianakis and E. Kapsomenos, vol. B3 (Chania: Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Χρυσόστομος, 2011), 520.

[149] On the genealogical dependence of frame catena and alternating catena manuscripts, see Houghton, "Catena Manuscripts in the *Editio Critica Maior*," 3–31.

manuscripts were copied in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. This points toward this being a later development which served the purposes of that era and reflects a decline in the number of folios in manuscripts of that period.[150] The situation also parallels that of the Type A Catena Form described above and the Type A Expanded Form described in Appendix 1. Second, the contents of many of the manuscripts with an abridged biblical text is different from the others. As will be specified in the subsequent section, the majority of Type B Basic Form manuscripts feature all four Gospels with the corresponding catenae in the Type B tradition. Six of the abridged format manuscripts break the mold and have commentaries on only one, two, or three of the Gospels. These differences in contents set more than half of the abridged form manuscripts apart from the other Type B Basic Form manuscripts at a second point. Most of the Type B Basic Form manuscripts with only an abridged text of the Gospels are atypical witnesses of the Type B Basic Form in more ways than their biblical text. The unusual characteristics of these Type B Basic Form manuscripts corroborates that the abridged form of the biblical text was a later development in the copying of this catena tradition. The Type B Basic Form likely originated as a commentary on the Gospels in frame format with the full biblical text accompanying it.

The typical format of the Type B Basic Form is a frame format manuscript with the full biblical text of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. This likely was the original format of this work given the overwhelming number of manuscripts copied in that format. In comparison to the Type A Basic Form, which also is a late antique compilation commentary, the use of the frame format and full

[150] Marilena Maniaci, "Il codice greco 'non unitario'. Tipologia e terminologia," in *Il codice miscellaneo. Tipologie e funzioni. Atti del convegno internazionale* (*Cassion, 14–17 maggio 2003*), ed. E. Crisci and O. Pecere, Segno e Testo 2 (Cassino: Università degli studi di Cassino, 2004), 75–107.

biblical text is a major difference in their manuscript tradition. The standard format of both traditions reflects the design of the compilers.

3.1.3 The Contents and Order of the Type B Basic Form Manuscripts

The contents and order of the Type B Basic Form manuscripts follow the standard pattern of a Gospel book. Fifty-three of the seventy-three manuscripts of the type have commentaries on all four Gospels, always in the canonical order Matthew–Mark–Luke–John. As in the case of the manuscripts with an abridged biblical text, the twenty manuscripts without all four Gospels have other characteristics which further distinguish them from the other Type B Basic Form manuscripts. Nine of the twenty manuscripts were copied in the fifteenth or the sixteenth centuries long after the early form of these commentaries had been established, and eight of the manuscripts are miscellaneous codices.[151] The codices containing only Matthew–Mark or Luke–John raise the possibility of having been part of a two-volume set or missing the beginning of the manuscript. There are four such codices which are not part of miscellanies: Oxford, Lincoln College, Gr. 16 (GA 95; Diktyon 48670) containing Luke and John, dating to the tenth century; Moscow, SHM, Syn. Gr. 46 (GA 239; Diktyon 43671) containing Luke and John, dating to the eleventh century;[152] Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 5 (GA 146; Diktyon 65738) containing Matthew and Mark, dating to the eleventh century; and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 758 (GA 139; Diktyon 67389) containing Luke and John, dating to the eleventh century. None of these immediately appears to be part of a two-volume set with another.

[151] On miscellaneous codices see n. 73.

[152] This manuscript contains two leaves from Mark 16 at the beginning of the codex, which Houghton shows likely do not belong to the main contents of the manuscript, as suggested by Kurt Treu: H.A.G. Houghton, "Unfinished Business: The Ending of Mark in Two Catena Manuscripts," *NTS* 69 (2023): 35–42; Kurt Treu, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR: Eine systematische Auswertung der Texthandschriften in Leningrad, Moskau, Kiev, Odessa, Tbilisi und Erevan*, TU 91 (Berlin: Akademie, 1966): 264–265.

Given the examples of two other Type A catena manuscripts from Moscow from Athos which were split into two volumes at some point, Moscow Syn. gr. 46 seems most likely to have been part of a project on the four Gospels.[153]

The commentaries included are also consistent across the corpus of witnesses. The commentaries are nearly always the C111 commentary on Matthew, the C125.1 commentary on Mark, the C132 commentary on Luke, and the C141.1 commentary on John. Fifty-eight of the seventy-three manuscripts have a commentary on Mark and in every case, this is C125.1. This recension is the most well attested of the commentaries on Mark and is nearly always copied with the Type B tradition.[154]

Some manuscripts do not have the standard contents for the Type B Basic Form according to their classifications in the *Catena Catalogue* database. Five manuscripts are associated with the Type A catena tradition in one or more Gospels and the Type B tradition in the others. Four of these manuscripts have the Type A Expanded Form in Matthew (C110.2) or Luke (C130.2) and the Type B Basic Form in John (C141.1).[155] As indicated in Appendix 2, these manuscripts comprise Parpulov's e.6.1 group and integrated the Type A and Type B Basic Forms, and it is unclear which tradition is the foundation. The fifth manuscript, BnF, Gr. 191 (GA 25; Diktyon 49760) has the Type A Basic Form in Matthew and the Type B Basic Forms for Luke and John with the C125.1 commentary on Mark. While the use of a different type of catena in Matthew is unusual, these classifications seem to be accurate.[156] Two manuscripts attest forms of the Type B Catena Form in Matthew but have the Basic

[153] See the pairs Moscow Syn. gr. 137, Syn. gr. 384 and Moscow Syn. gr. 47 and F.1607 no. 3 above. On the manuscripts from Mount Athos: Duplacy, "Manuscrits grecs émigrés," 159–178.

[154] See Chapter 6 §3.2 for a full discussion of the recensions of the *Commentary on Mark*.

[155] Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 22–23.

[156] On the classifications of this manuscript, see Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 13–14, 121, 179, 182.

Forms in other Gospels (Venice, BNM, Z.27 [341] [GA 210; Diktyon 69498] and Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 612 [GA 747; Diktyon 53347]).[157] One manuscript contains the *catena alia* in Matthew (C119.2) but the Type B Basic Forms in the other Gospels (Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, 39 [GA 1392; Diktyon 29058]).[158] Two manuscripts have a catena on the Gospel of John (Type C142) with the Type B Basic Form on Luke (C132): Venice Z.27 and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 758 (GA 139; Diktyon 67389).[159] Finally, as described above (§2.2.3), Paris Gr. 189 has the Type A Basic Form catena for the first part of John up to 7:19, located at the beginning of the codex, and then the Type B Basic Form from John 7:19–21:25.[160] The other contents of the manuscript, apart from the order, correspond to the standard Type B Basic Form. This manuscript's *Vorlage* likely was missing the beginning of John and another codex was used for the interpretation of the beginning of the Gospel. While the types of commentaries and catenae in these eleven manuscripts does not accord with the standard form of a Type B Basic Form Manuscript, they represent a small proportion of witnesses to the type and often have multiple confounding factors that may explain the forms of the commentaries included.

[157] Both codices have unique contents not found in any other codex. Venice Z.27 (341) is the only witness to type C112.6 and the only codex with the C142 catena on John containing all four Gospels: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 101. Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 612 only has the Type B Basic Form for John. It has a Type B Catena Form in Matthew (C112.4) which is discussed below in an abbreviated version of the Type Z (C131Z) in Luke which is discussed in Chapter 5. See also Chapter 7 §4.2.

[158] On this manuscript see Sotiris Kadas, *Τα εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα του Αγίου Όρους, Κατάλογος μικρογραφιών: Εικονογραφικό ευρετήριο*, Βυζαντινα μνημεια 15 (Thessaloniki: Εκδοτικος Οργανισμος, 2008), 177, 417–419.

[159] Reuss dated Type C142 to the tenth century: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 189–195. See also Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 586–587. It is only found in three manuscripts. The third codex, Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 9 (GA 887; Diktyon 66179) only contains the Gospel of John with catena. Rauer indicates that these two codices are a middle-point between the Basic Form and the Catena Forms in Luke with some additional scholia: Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 23–24.

[160] Author attributions were written in John in Paris Gr. 189. Reuss castigates the manuscript as "völlig unzuverlässigen": Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 182. See also Preuschen, *Origenes Werke IV*, LXIV, who attributes the unreliable additional material to the splendid quality of the codex.

3.1.4 The Macrostructure of the Type B Basic Form

The Type B Basic Form commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John are comprised of anonymous scholia structured around the sequence of the biblical text. Devreesse hypothesized that these commentaries initially included author attributions which have been lost.[161] Dorival rejected this theory for the catena on the Psalms attributed to Peter of Laodicea (CPG C38), and it can be set aside for the Gospel commentaries as well.[162] The only manuscripts with author attributions are Vienna Theol. gr. 117 and Paris Coislin 20. The author attributions in these manuscripts were only added in certain Gospels and are sporadic within them. In the case of Vienna Theol gr. 117, they were a later addition. There is therefore no manuscript evidence for the inclusion of author attributions in this commentary tradition, and the use of other ways to signal the transition from one source to the next implies that this was not necessary for the reader.

The Type B Basic Form commentaries are formed as a compilation from a variety of sources. In Matthew, Chrysostom and Origen are used extensively, whereas in Luke, Cyril of Alexandria, Origen, and Titus of Bostra are predominant.[163] Other authors on Luke include Athanasius of Alexandria (d. 373), Apollinarius, Gregory of Nyssa (d. 395), Isidore of Pelusium, Victor of Antioch (d. ca. 5th century), and Severus of Antioch.[164] However, a wider sense for the range of authors included in the commentary on John can be found in the *Explanatio de catenarum redactione* in

[161] Devreesse, "Chaînes," col. 1:1183.

[162] Gilles Dorival, "La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques," *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985): 213, 216–218.

[163] Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea*, XLV; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 74–78, 182–183.

[164] Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 74; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 129–130. Joseph Sickenberger, "Über die dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebenen Evangelienkommentare," *TQ* 86 (1904): 13.

Paris Coislin 20 found on fol. 508.[165] This text is not found in any other catena manuscript according to the inventory of contents in Parpulov's *Catena Catalogue*.[166] The *Explanatio* follows the Gospel of John, demarcated by a decorative line separating it from the previous material. The text describes the work of the compilers in making the catena, their use of sources, and their prayer that reading these interpretations will be spiritually edifying. In this way, it is reminiscent of the prefaces to other commentaries and catenae such as the one preceding the text of Codex Zacynthius and the *proemium* to the *Commentary on the Octateuch* by Procopius of Gaza (d. ca. 530).[167] The text follows John and begins by addressing the one who reads this Gospel (Πάντες οἱ φιλοπόνως ἐντυγχάνοντες τῇ τοῦδε εὐαγγελίου συγγραφῇ). The singular referent τοῦδε εὐαγγελίου indicates that the note applies only to John rather than the set of commentaries. The note organizes the sources used into three categories. The first are those used extensively: John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Titus of Bostra, Eusebius of Caesarea (d. ca. 339/340), Severus of Antioch, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodore of Heraclea, Apollinarius, Origen, Victor of Antioch, Theophilus of Antioch (d. ca. late 2nd c.), Cyril of

[165] This title has been adopted from the ParaTexBib description of the contents of Coislin 20: https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org/manuscript/?diktyon=49162. The description was edited by Serguey Kim, Agnès Lorrain, and Saskia Dirkse.

[166] In Parpulov, it is item 11 for type e.2.x, which is only attested in Coislin 20: Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 70. The note is unpublished and mentioned in Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 176, 183 and Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 545.

[167] The preface to the catena in Codex Zacynthius: edited and translated in H.A.G. Houghton, Panagiotis Manafis, and Amy Myshrall, *The Palimpsest Catena of Codex Zacynthius: Text and Translation*, TS 3/22 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), fol. 1r. Analyzed in Houghton, "Codex Zacynthius," 67–68; Lamb, "The Theological Significance of the Catena," 121–13; J. Harold Greenlee, "The Catena of Codex Zacynthius," *Bib* 40 (1959): 1000; Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, *Codex Zacynthius (Ξ). Greek Palimpsest Fragments of the Gospel of Saint Luke, Obtained in the Island of Zante, by the late General Colin Macaulay, and now in the Library of The British and Foreign Bible Society* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1861). The text of this preface to the catena also appears in other catena manuscripts, including Coislin 23 of the Type A Catena Form and was printed in Cramer: *Cateae in Matthaei et Marci*, 4. On the appearance of this preface in Old Testament catenae, see Michael Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen nach Römischen Handschriften*, Biblische Studien 4.3 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1899), 192–196. The *proemium* of Procopius of Gaza's commentary on the Octateuch was recently edited in Karin Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza: Eclogarum in libros historicos Veteris Testamenti epitome. Teil 1: Der Genesiskommentar*, GCS N.F. 22 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015). Literature on the *proemium* is extensive. See Metzler's discussion and references: Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza, Eclogorum, Genesis*, XI–XXXIV.

Jerusalem (d. 386), and Athanasius of Alexandria. Next are authors used sometimes: Basil of Caesarea (d. 379), Gregory the of Nazianzus (d. 390), Gregory of Nyssa, Isidore of Pelusium, Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403), Methodius of Olympus (d. ca. 311), Anastasius of Antioch (d. 602), Didymus of Alexandria (the Blind) (d. 398). Then concludes with a generic "and many others whose names are not to be found among these" (ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐχ εὑρηνται ἐκ τούτων τοίνυν). This list of twenty-one authors matches many of those named in the Type A Catena Form on John, though the lack of author attributions in the Type B Basic Form means that the scholia which specifically extract the works of these early Christian writers remain unspecified. For all the Type B Basic Form commentaries, no study has tabulated the frequency with which any authors have been included in these commentaries, likely because they were produced without author attributions and because of the lack of a reliable critical edition.

The scholia often begin with a short biblical lemma followed by the main content of the scholia.[168] These *lemmata* introduce each scholium whether the commentary text is formatted as a frame or alternating catena. More of the scholia in the Type B Basic Form were transmitted without the short *lemmata* than in the Type A tradition, further substantiating that it first developed in frame format. The scholia are divided into sections covering portions of the biblical text of varying lengths. The sections in Matthew total 272, in Luke 268 sections, and in John there are 319.[169] Within each of these sections, there are explanations of the Gospel text from multiple sources arranged in a more-

[168] Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea*, VII; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 74.

[169] The figure for Matthew was calculated by Heinrici (*Des Petrus von Laodicea*, VIII) and the figure for John comes from Reuss (*Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 182). The sections for Luke were calculated from an index of the commentary on Luke in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 756 (GA 137; Diktyon 67387); Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 358 (GA 129; Diktyon 66989); and Paris Coislin 20.

or-less continuous format. Reuss described the sequencing of sources in the Type B Basic Form on Matthew: "Es handelt sich hier um eine Kompilation, bei der man einfach Exzerpt neben Exzerpt."[170] This way of constructing the commentary means that the Type B Basic Form is a compilation commentary, in contrast to the Type A Basic Form, at least for Matthew and John, which only abbreviate the homilies of John Chrysostom.

The method of segmenting the biblical text but not the sources within a scholium in the Type B Basic Form means that there are multiple linking systems used within the commentaries. One system links the sections to the biblical text. The other transitions between sources within a section. These are illustrated in Figure 2.1, an image of Paris Coislin 20 showing Matt 6:12–17 with catena. Since the standard page layout of a Type B Basic Form manuscript is the frame format, the compilers used numerals to link comments to the corresponding place in the biblical text. In Figure 2.1, the numerals are placed in the margin adjacent to the first full line of a scholium, and the corresponding mark stands above the line in the biblical text. Many of the sections correspond to the divisions of the Eusebian apparatus and *kephalaia*, but these were followed less closely than in the Type A Basic Form. In Figure 2.1, the first comment on fol. 34v marked by an *alpha* begins at a Eusebian section, but the following three scholia are attached to units within this section. Though many scholia in the Type B Basic Form frequently use verbal links to the scriptures through short *lemmata* within the commentary, these are not prominent on this page.[171] Still, the comments often

[170] Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*, XIII.

[171] Heinrici noted that the *lemmata* tend to follow the Byzantine text form but they were copied as quoted in the early Christian writer's commentary not the text of the Gospels within the manuscript: *Des Petrus von Laodicea*, XLI. While it may be clear that the *lemmata* do not uniformly derive from the Gospel text in these manuscripts, Peter Montoro has cautioned textual scholars against attributing a particular form of the biblical text to an early Christian writer due to

orient the reader to the text in a logical way. Scholium *gamma* on fol. 35r explains the first refrain of Matt 6:10: your kingdom come (ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου). The scholium is introduced with the phrase βασίλεα θεοῦ followed by an explanation of what the kingdom could mean: ἡ μέλλουσα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσις ὧν ἀραβὼν τὰ νῦν ἤτοι ἡ δευτέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσία.[172] Beginning the extract with "kingdom of God" explicitly links the extract to "your kingdom come" even though it is not exactly the same words found in the Gospel text. The initial Type B Basic Form generally includes extracts from multiple sources within one numbered section rather than splitting them into separate comments. The compilers frequently signaled the change in source with a transitional formula such as ἄλλως τε. These are seen in two points in Figure 2.1. On fol. 34v, line twenty-one of the commentary, the change in source is also marked by a dash in the margin. Again on fol. 35r, line thirty-eight of the commentary, the phrase ἄλλως τε splits a scholium into two parts. In this case no mark was inserted into the margin, but the transitional formula was separated with extra space on either side of the phrase.

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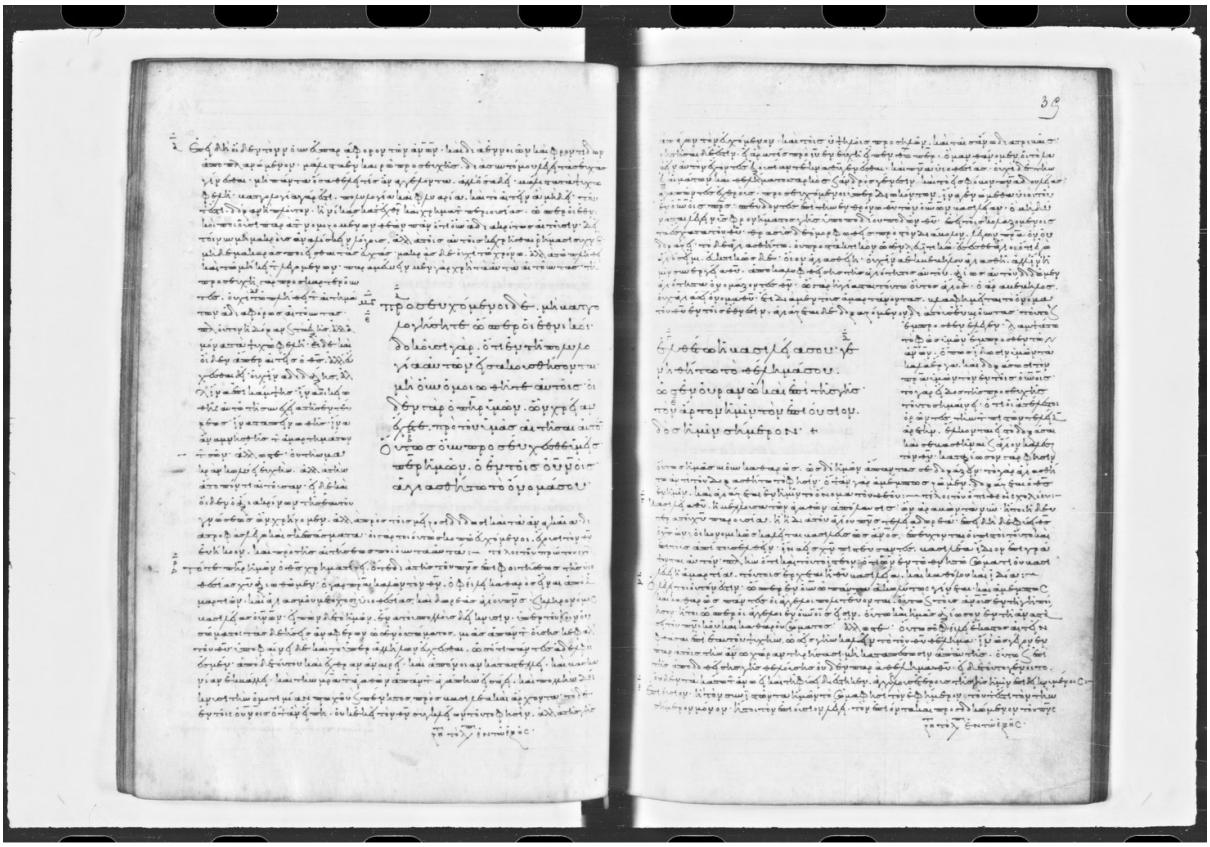
the fluidity of those extracts within the writer's own textual tradition: Peter Montoro, "The Textual Stability of Patristic Citations: Romans 8:33–35 in John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Romans* as a Test Case," in *At One Remove: The Text of the New Testament in Early Translations and Quotations: Papers from the Eleventh Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and Peter Montoro, TS 3/24 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 239–262; Peter Montoro, "'Invariablement byzantine?' Le texte de la Lettre aux Romains dans le manuscrit 20 de Saint-Sabas et la transformation textuelle de l'héritage exégétique de Chrysostome," in *La source sans fin. La Bible chez Jean Chrysostome*, ed. Guillaume Bady, Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 23 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 162–175. Dorival also highlights the flexibility between text, lemma, and commentary: Gilles Dorival, "Textes des Ecritures et exégèses patristiques : des relations complexes," in *La réception du Livre de Qohélet : I^er^–XIII^e^ s.*, ed. Laurence Mellerin (Paris: Éditions du cerf, 2016), 17–34. On the biblical text in catenae on Jeremiah, see Mathilde Aussedat, "Versions et traductions du texte biblique dans les chaînes exégétiques grecques du livre de Jérémie," in *EUKARPA Εὔκαρπα. Études sur la Bible et ses exégètes. Réunies par Mireille Loubet et Didier Pralon en hommage à Gilles Dorival*, ed. Mireille Loubet (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2011), 45–54.

[172] Printed in Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea*, 61.11–62.2. Heinrici's text differs from that of Paris Coislin 20, reading: βασιλείαν δὲ θεοῦ ἢ τὴν μέλλουσαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν φησὶν ἢ τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος δωρεὰν ἢ τὴν δευτέραν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν.

The marginal signs allowed a reader to read either the biblical text or commentary text continuously or, especially, to read them together in a non-linear pattern.[173] If one read the Gospels, they could do so without interruption until they desired to have an explanation of the text. At that point, they could use the nearest linking sign within the Gospel text, find the corresponding siglum in the commentary, and then read the explanations.[174] If one began reading the commentary, the short *lemmata* would give readers already familiar with the Gospel narratives a reference for which passage was being explained. If they desired to review more of the Gospel text, they could also use the sigla within the commentary to navigate to the appropriate point in the biblical text. The combination of linking signs and short *lemmata* permit readers to read either text in continuous or non-linear fashion.

[173] Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea*, VII. Maria Antonietta Barbàra Valenti contends that the use of marginal linking signs in frame catenae means that the texts were explicitly intended to be read asynchronously, like footnotes in a modern publication: Barbàra Valenti, *Estratti catenari esegetici greci. Ricerche sul Cantico dei cantici e altro*, 17.

[174] On non-linear reading patterns in catena manuscripts, see Garrick V. Allen, "The Possibilities of a Gospel Codex: GA 2604 (Dublin, CBL W 139), Digital Editing, and Reading in a Manuscript Culture," *JBL* 140 (2021): 409–434; Mathilde Aussedat, "Une pratique érudite de lecture des textes bibliques : les chaînes exégétiques grecques," *REG* 121 (2008): 547–569; Patton, "Unchaining," forthcoming; Laurence Vianès, "Aspects de la mise en page dans les manuscrits de chaîne sur Ézéchiel," in *Le Commentaire entre tradition et innovation: Actes du Colloque International de l'Institut des Traditions Textuelles* (*Paris et Villejuif, 22–25 septembre 1999*), ed. Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé, Bibliothèque d'histoire de la philosophie, Nouvelle série (Paris: Vrin, 2000), 79–88. On non-linear reading and cross-referencing in late antique literature, see: Jeremiah Coogan, "Gospel as Recipe Book: Nonlinear Reading and Practical Texts in Late Antiquity," *Early Christianity* 12 (2021): 40–60; Kathleen McNamee, "Sigla in Late Greek Literary Papyri," in *Signes dans les textes, textes sur les signes: Érudition, lecture et écriture dans le monde gréco-romain; Actes du colloque international* (*Liège, 6–7 septembre 2013*), ed. Gabriel NocchiMacedo and Maria Chiara Scappaticcio, Papyrologica Leodiensia 6 (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2017), 127–142.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Coislin 20

Figure 2.1. Paris, BnF, Coislin 20, fols. 34v–35r

(Image credit: BnF: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11000130h/f37.item.)

The structure of the sections smoothly alerted readers to changes in source with the use of transitional formulas in the text rather than the use of author names or the division of the scholia into smaller units. The transitional phrases in the catena are ἄλλως τε δέ, ἄλλος δε φησίν, ἤτοι, τίνες δέ, ἤ.[175] Sometimes, the scholia transitions from one source to the next without using a transitional phrase, but by introducing another word or phrase from the biblical text from within the section being covered which is followed by further comments. While Heinrici saw in these formulas a concerted effort to view the commentary as a single project "planned and executed as a self-

[175] Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea*, XXIV; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 73–74.

contained whole," Reuss saw them as the seams connecting separate scholia to a new whole.[176] The transitional phrases organize the commentary into a continuous interpretation of the biblical text while conveying that the work is a compilation built from a variety of sources.

The Type B Basic Form commentaries on Matthew, Luke, and John exhibit a commentary-like macrostructure with short *lemmata* introducing scholia in numbered sections. While the scholia within a section are presented continuously, internal transitional formulas are used to signal the changes from one source to the next. These comments are presented without author attributions, imbuing them with the resonance of having one voice. The shared compositional techniques of the Type B Basic Form commentaries link them together as a single larger project of interpreting the Gospels, corroborating their attribution in manuscripts.

3.1.5 Compiler and Date of the Type B Basic Form

The identity of the compilers of the Type B Basic Form has generated significant debate. Tradition attributes this commentary to Peter of Laodicea, who is unknown apart from the attribution of a catena on the Psalms (C38), a Commentary on the Lord's Prayer (PG 86, 3329), and later catena traditions which attribute scholia to him.[177] This attribution stems from two manuscripts: the title written above the commentary in the twelfth-century codex BAV, Vat. gr. 1445 (GA 374; Diktyon 68076) which reads ἑρμηνεία Πέτρου Λαοδικείας εἰς τοὺς ὁ ἁγίους εὐαγγελιστάς (fol. 4v). This same title is repeated in BAV, Vat. gr. 1090 (GA 861; Diktyon 67721), dating to the sixteenth

[176] Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea*, XXIV; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 74. See also Devreesse, "Chaînes," col. 1:1183, who determined the Type B Basic Form is a composite work. Er ist als eine abgeschlossene Ganzheit geplant und ausgeführt und als solche weiterverarbeitet worden.

[177] Dorival, "La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques," 216.

century. However, this attribution can be discounted on two grounds. The first is that the title and attributions in the earlier manuscript, Vat. gr. 1445, were written by a later user of the document in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.[178] This suggests the attribution to Peter of Laodicea developed in subsequent tradition which was inserted into this codex to clarify the ambiguous source. Second, Vat. gr. 1090 is, according to Reuss, a direct copy of Vat. gr. 1445.[179] Thus, this is not a second attestation of this commentary being linked to Peter of Laodicea, but a faithful repetition of an earlier tradition. The link between the name Peter of Laodicea and this commentary will be explored further in the Type B Catena Forms and subsequent chapters because it is a sign of development in the Type B tradition. At this point, it is evident that the attribution of this commentary to Peter of Laodicea is a tradition which developed centuries after the text was compiled.

Studies of the Type B Basic Form have diverged about how to treat the attribution of these commentaries to Peter of Laodicea. Heinrici was the most confident about the attribution, noting that attributing the commentary to an obscure person centuries after the composition seems unlikely. Someone as unknown as Peter of Laodicea, according to Heinrici, is more likely to drop from tradition than be added to it. The attribution to Peter of Laodicea also aligned with his position that the compilation was a well-constructed text with numerous interventions by the compilers which lent their voice to the composition.[180] Sickenberger initially was uncertain of how to

[178] For the most extensive description of this codex, especially the content added to the document: Francesco D'Aiuto and Anna Sirinian, "Un carme bizantino in onore degli evangelisti e la sua versione armena nel Vat. gr. 1445," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 36 (1999): 121–169.

[179] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 57, 70–71; Sickenberger, "Über die dem Petrus von Laodicea," 16–19.

[180] Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea*, XIII–XIV, XLIII.

understand the attribution to Peter of Laodicea, but after investigating the Type B tradition, concluded that this was pseudonymous.[181] This position was universally adopted in subsequent scholarship. Devreesse countered that Heinrici's evidence for any authorial voice was little and irrelevant after the excerpts from known sources was removed, and much of this material corresponds to other catena traditions.[182] Rauer and Reuss each found no compelling evidence for the attribution to Peter of Laodicea.[183] While in 1941, Reuss was dismissive of Heinrici's position, he later acknowledged the possibility that Byzantine tradition had retained the authorship of the tradition: "Die Autorschaft des Petrus von Laodicea für diese Kompilation kann nur einen geringen Wahrscheinlichkeitsgrad beanspruchen, aber es bleibt immerhin möglich, daß sich in diesem Namen die Erinnerung anderer Kompilator erhalten hat."[184] The consensus that the attribution to Peter of Laodicea is pseudonymous has led most studies to refer to the Type B Basic Form as the Pseudo-Peter of Laodicea commentary or catena. The absence of external evidence for Peter of Laodicea in these commentaries in late antiquity indicates that the Type B Basic Form was an anonymous compilation.

The Type B Basic Form was probably composed in the sixth century. The earliest manuscripts, dating to the tenth century, provide a *terminus ante quem* for the compilation. On internal grounds, the latest author included is Severus of Antioch. Therefore, like the Type A Basic Form commentaries, these cannot date before the sixth century. The scholarly positions on the date

[181] Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 127–128; Sickenberger, "Über die dem Petrus von Laodicea," 16–19.
[182] Devreesse, "Chaînes," cols. 1:1165–1166, 1183.
[183] Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 51–52, 74; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 78.
[184] Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*, XIII.

of these commentaries have a wide range. Heinrici gave a range of fourth- to seventh-century and preferred the earlier part of his range.[185] Such an early date range was only tenable because Heinrici was unaware of any material from Severus of Antioch in the commentary on Matthew and did not consider it in other Gospels. This position shows the importance of evaluating the set of commentaries together rather than only book-by-book. Rauer and Sickenberger preferred a later date in the seventh or eighth century.[186] While this will be explored further in subsequent chapters, Rauer's choice of a later date stems, in part, from his position that the Type B Basic Form depends on an earlier collection of scholia from the sixth century, which pushes the date of the Type B Basic Form back. Reuss, dates the commentaries to the sixth or seventh century.[187] The Type B Basic Form is therefore approximately contemporaneous with the Type A Basic Form.

Dorival has challenged the date of the Gospel commentaries composed by Pseudo-Peter of Laodicea based on evidence in the Psalms catena tradition. The commentary on the Psalms attributed to Peter of Laodicea (CPG C38) shares many features with the Gospel commentaries by the same purported person.[188] The compilers extracted scholia from numerous sources, arranged these into a commentary that rarely uses author names, and frequently used ἄλλως and other transitional phrases to move from one excerpt to the next within one section explaining a biblical

[185] Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea*, XLIII; C.F. Georg Heinrici, *Aus der Hinterlassenschaft des Petrus von Laodicea*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testamentes 3/2 (Leipzig: Dürr, 1905), 100–101.

[186] Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 69, 74; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 127.

[187] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XIII.

[188] Description of type C38 and the attribution of it to Peter of Laodicea: Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 62–63; Devreesse, "Chaînes," cols. 1:1115–1116; Robert Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs des Psaumes*, Studi e Testi 264 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1970), XV–XVII; Gilles Dorival, "L'apport des chaînes exégétiques grecques à une réédition des Hexaples d'Origène (À propos du psaume 118)," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 4 (1974): 45–74; Dorival, "La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques," 209–226; Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques 5*, 254–267.

lemma.[189] The attribution to Peter of Laodicea in this tradition is found in a single eleventh-century manuscript: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 412 (Diktyon 67043).[190] The inscription to this codex has been erased, but the reconstruction of its text reads Πέτρου Λαοδικειοῦ ἑρμηνεία εἰς τοὺς Ψαλμούς (fol. 1r).

Dorival ostensibly dates this commentary on the Psalms to the tenth century, centuries later than the other works attributed to Peter of Laodicea, because it uses Arethas of Caesarea (d. 939) and Metrophanes of Smyrna (d. ca. 9th/10th c.).[191] In both cases, the scholia are anonymous like the majority of scholia in the Pseudo-Peter of Laodicea tradition. Arethas of Caesarea is not known for writing on the Psalms; among his extant works are two homilies on Psalms 1 and 35, and the compilers of C38 used the former.[192] However, Dorival did note that extracts from Arethas's homily on Psalm 1 have been attributed to Origen and Athanasius in other traditions.[193] The exegesis of Metrophanes of Smyrna on the Psalms is only known in fragments. The compilers of the

[189] Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques 5*, 5:265–266; Dorival, "La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques," 216–217.

[190] Description and history of Vat. gr. 412: Robert Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci, II: Codices 330–603*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana codices manu scripti recensiti (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1937), 119; Giuseppe De Gregorio, "Manoscritti greci patristici fra ultima età bizantina e umanesimo italiano," in *Tradizioni patristiche nell'umanesimo : atti del Convegno, Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze, 6-8 febbraio 1997*, ed. Mariarosa Cortesi and Claudio Leonardi, Millenio Medievale 17 (Florence: SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000), 317–396.

[191] On Arethas of Caesarea: Socrates B. Kougeas, *Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς πρώτης ἀναγεννήσεως τῶν ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων ἐν Βυζαντίῳ*, Επίλεκτα 1 (Athens: βιβλιοπωλείων Ελευθερουδάκη, 1913); Adrian C. Pirtea, "Manuscripts, Paratexts and the New Testament Canon: Arethas of Caesarea and the Reception of St John's *Apocalypse* in Byzantium (Ninth–Eleventh Centuries)," in *Religious Rhetoric of Power in Byzantium and South-Eastern Europe: Proceedings of the session held at the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies* (*Bucharest, 2-6 September, 2019*), ed. Ivan Biliarsky, Mihail Mitrea, and Andrei Timotin, Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes 15 (Brăila: Editura Istros, 2021): 37–61, especially 49–50; Nigel W. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, Revised Edition ed. (London: Duckworth; Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1996), 120–135.

[192] The homilies have been edited in Leendert Westerink, G., ed., *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora*, 2 vols., Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: Teubner, 1968), 19–46. On the use in C38: Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques 5*, 315.

[193] Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques 5*, 5:315.

commentary on the Psalms (C38) used Metrophanes at least in Psalm 11, 35, and 51.[194] It is worth noting that Dorival identified two recensions of the C38 commentary. The longer recension is found in two manuscripts: Paris, BnF, Gr. 143 (Diktyon 49711) and Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 1908 (Diktyon 56099). Ten manuscripts form the shorter recension group. More extracts from Metrophanes were preserved in the longer recension.[195]

Even if the name Peter of Laodicea is a false attribution for the Psalms as in the Gospel commentaries, the characteristics of the compilations match one another, suggesting that these projects were undertaken by the same person. Dorival's evidence that the Commentary on the Psalms uses scholia from ninth century exegetes is problematic for the dating of the Type B Basic Form commentaries on the Gospels which, as noted, are not known to cite anyone after the sixth century. It is possible that the comments from Arethas and Metrophanes were added to the commentary at a later date. This would somewhat mirror the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition in the Pauline Epistles which includes scholia from Arethas of Caesarea in the *Corpus Extravagantium*—an expansion of the so-called Normal Typus. The comments by Arethas within the *Extravagantes* are only found in an eleventh-century frame catena manuscript, Venice, BNM, Z.33 (423) (GA 1923; Diktyon 69504).[196] Thus, in this case, they are easy to identify as an addition to the catena. It is also

[194] Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques 5*, 260–267; Jean-Marie Olivier, "Les fragments 'Métrophane' des chaînes exégétiques grecques du psautier," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 6 (1976): 45–50.

[195] Olivier, "Les fragments 'Métrophane' des chaînes exégétiques grecques du psautier," 49.

[196] I am indebted to Jacopo Marcon for discussing the situation of Arethas of Caesarea in the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition with me. On the *Corpus Extravagantium* see: Jacopo Marcon, "The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Romans" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2023); Laurence Vianès, "La chaîne monophysite sur Ézéchiel 36–48. Présentation, texte critiqque, traduction française, commentaire" (PhD Thesis, L'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Université Paris Sciences et Lettres, 1997); Karl Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1926).

possible that Arethas of Caesarea commissioned and owned the catena manuscript, Paris, BnF, Gr. 216 (GA 605; Diktyon 49787).[197] This tenth-century codex contains a unique catena on Acts (C155.1), the Expanded Type Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on the Pauline Epistles (C165.3), and the *Commentarius primigenius* on the Catholic Epistles.[198] It is an unusual codex which Karl Staab classified as a miscellaneous manuscript. Equally, the small amount of evidence outside catenae for both Arethas of Caesarea and Metrophanes of Smyrna on the Psalms indicates that there could be many more scholia from these authors within the tradition, complicating the argument that they are isolated interpolations, though this could also suggest that these attributions be held cautiously.[199] Therefore, based on the evidence currently available, there is no compelling reason to push the date of the Type B Basic Form commentaries on the Gospels to the tenth century as proposed by Dorival.

Moreover, this conclusion does not align with the pattern of development in the Type B Tradition. The Type B Catena Form described in subsection 3.2 is dated to the seventh- or eighth-century, with no authors later than Severus of Antioch is included in the catena. The apparent date of the catenae built on the Type B Basic Form contributes to a more likely date of the sixth century for the compilation of the Type B Basic Form.

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[197] Alessia Adriana Aletta, "Su Stefano, copista di Areta," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 41 (2004): 74–93; Pirtea, "Manuscripts, Paratexts and the New Testament Canon: Arethas of Caesarea and the Reception of St John's *Apocalypse* in Byzantium (Ninth–Eleventh Centuries)," 50.

[198] On C155.1: Scieri, "The Catena Manuscripts on Acts: A Revised Classification," 302. On C165.3: Theodora Panella, "Re-Classifying the Pseudo-Oikoumenian Catena Types for Paul's Epistle to the Galatians," in *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and their Readers*, ed. Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 20 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2021), 387–403; Marcon, "Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena," 99–215. On C175: Staab, "Die griechischen Katenenkommentare zu den katholischen Briefen,": 339.

[199] See also Olivier's word of caution regarding the scholia from Metrophanes of Smyrna: Olivier, "Les fragments," 45–50.

The Type B Basic Form commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John were produced by an anonymous compiler and later ascribed to an otherwise unknown person, Peter of Laodicea in the sixth century. This commentary is the most well-attested form within the tradition of the catenae on the Gospels. The project features many distinctive qualities including the use of numerous early Christian writers as sources for the compilation, transitioning between sources with phrases such as ἄλλως, and arranging the commentary in frame catena format with a complete copy of the biblical text.

3.2 *Type B Catena Forms*

The second stage in the development of the catenae on the Gospels in the Type B tradition was the Type B Catena Forms. This phase encompasses multiple projects from the seventh through tenth centuries which formed catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John built on Type B Basic Form through the addition of scholia from other sources. The Type B Catena Forms have been classified with varying degrees of specificity in different Gospels. The CPG for Catenae in Matthew arranges the Type B Catena Forms into six subclasses: C112.1, C112.2, C112.3, C112.4, C112.5, and C112.6. The taxonomy of the catenae on Luke divides the Type B Catena Forms into C133.1 and C133.2.[200] And the catenae on John has two types with a Type B Catena Form, split between Catena Typus B (C141.2) and the *Codices Singuli* (C147.4).[201] Many of these types are parts of larger projects of catenae on the

[200] This structure for the CPG in Luke was adopted by the editors of *Clavis Clavium* based on a draft of Chapter 7. Thanks are due to Bram Roosen and colleagues for considering this proposal.

[201] Type C147.4 is classified within the *Codices Singuli* category because Reuss only was aware of Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1229 [GA 143; Diktyon 67860]. According to Parpulov, seven manuscripts to the type are known (Parpulov groups e.5.i. and e.5.ii: Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 89–91). The type belongs within the Type B tradition due to its transmission in multiple manuscripts and that type's connection to the Type B Basic Form. Except in one manuscript which only contains John (St Petersburg, RNB, Gr. 326 [GA 951; Diktyon 57398]), every manuscript of the type contains the four

Gospels and bound together in the same manuscripts. Reuss's Group 1 in Matthew (C112.1) is always bound with C125.1 in Mark, C133.1 (formerly C139.2) in Luke, and C147.4 in John.[202] Reuss's Group 3 in Matthew (C112.3) is copied alongside C133.1 (formerly C133) in Luke, and C141.2 in John.[203] And Reuss's Group 4 (C112.4) is often bound with C125.1 in Mark, C130 in Luke, and C147.6 in John, though more variation exists in the contents of manuscripts with C112.4 than the other two examples.[204] The other Type B Catena Forms (C112.2, C112.5, and C112.6) are only attested in a single manuscript each, so it is not possible to determine whether they were part of a set of catenae on the Gospels or not.[205] The earliest Type B Catena Form, and the only one dated before the ninth century, are the catenae on the Gospels comprising the C112.3 Catena in Matthew, C133.1 Catena in Luke, and C141.2 Catena in John. This form will be described within this chapter and its patterns of development within the Type B tradition and its place within the wider development of the catenae on the Gospels will be explored in subsequent chapters. It will be referred to in the singular as the Type B Catena Form. Short analyses of the contents of the Type B Catena Forms are provided in Chapter 7. No edition of these types has been produced, but many of the scholia were edited in Heinrici's edition on Matthew and in various author-specific collections.[206] A critical edition of this Type B Catena Form would be

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Gospels with C112.1, C125.1, and C133.2. In his description of Vat. gr. 1229, Reuss noted that the catena brought together scholia from Types A and B, and that at points at the end of John the sole source is the Type B Basic Form (Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 219). Even without author attributions, the expansion of the Type B Basic Form with other scholia establishes this as a Type B Catena Form, as the corresponding catenae on Matthew (C112.1/C112.2) and Luke (C133.2) have been designated.

[202] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 78–79, 219. See also Allen, "The Possibilities of a Gospel Codex: GA 2604 (Dublin, CBL W 139), Digital Editing, and Reading in a Manuscript Culture," 409–434.

[203] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 80–87, 184–189.

[204] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 87–96, 220. See also Patton, "Direct Copying," 445–461,

[205] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 79–80, 97–101.

[206] See n. 133. In addition, some named scholia in the Type B Catena Forms are also preserved in the recently created *Catenae Aliae* (C119.1, C119.2, C139.1): Panagiotis Manafis and Georgi Parpulov, "A Chapter from the History of Catenae: CPG C111–C112 and Their Previously Unknown Ancestor," *Parekbolai* 11 (2021): 159–170.

a natural supplement to one on the Type B Basic Form, establishing clearly how this compiler worked with their foundational source and the additional sources.[207]

3.2.1 Manuscripts of the Type B Catena Form

The Type B Catena Form is found in thirteen manuscripts dating from the second-half of the tenth century to the seventeenth century.[208] The oldest manuscript and the only one from the tenth century is Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1076 (GA 754; Diktyon 53740).[209] In addition to this manuscript, the most important manuscripts according to Reuss are Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 757 (GA 138; Diktyon 67388), Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, A 3 (GA 2575; Diktyon 42273), and Venice, BNM, Z.28 (364) (GA 357; Diktyon 69499).[210] Eight of the thirteen manuscripts date to the tenth and eleventh centuries. The other five are much later: two from the fourteenth century and two from the sixteenth century, and one from the seventeenth century. The thirteen manuscripts of the Type B Catena Form are listed in Table 2.8.

Manuscript	**GA**	**Diktyon**	**CPG Contents Gospels**	**Date**
Athos, Iviron Monastery, 19[211]	994	23616	C112.3, C141.2	XI

[207] On the ambiguity of how the Type B Basic Form and the Type B Catena Forms relate to one another and to the source of the additional material see: Manafis and Parpulov, "A Chapter from the History of Catenae,"159–170. A continuous edition of this type would help make sense of the tradition.

[208] Based on a search of the *Catena Catalogue* database on 30 June 2023.

[209] On Paris Suppl. gr. 1076: R. Browning and C. Constantinides, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 30 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1993), 25 n. 50, 245 n.5; Devreesse, *Le Fonds Coislin*, 15; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 82-83, 125, 184; Tommy Wasserman, "The Greek New Testament Manuscripts in Sweden with an Excursus on the Jerusalem Colophon," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 75 (2010): 86.

[210] Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*, XV; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XVII; Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare*, XV.

[211] Parpulov treats Athos, Iviron Monastery, 19 as a codex with two distinct production units which are separated into two entries in his catalogue of manuscripts: one for Matthew (fols. 1–117) and the other for John (fols. 118–246): Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 71. While it does seem that John was copied by a different scribe than Matthew and is its own production unit, I believe these were intended as units within a common project intended to be paired together. Therefore, I have grouped these as a single entry and discuss them as one witness to the Type B Catena Form. On this manuscript, see: Panagiotis Soteroudes, *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ἰβήρων. Κατάλογος Ἑλληνικῶν Χειρογράφων, Α'* (*1-100*) (Athos: Hiera Mone Iveron, 1998).

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.III.51	2986	74393	C141.2	XIV
Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, A 3	2482	9680	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	XIV
Milan, BA, A 184 sup.	2575	42273	C141.2	XVI
Milan, BA, D. 161 inf. + D. 466 inf. + D. 298 inf. + D. 282 inf.[212]	2579	42596 + 6621 + 42619 + 42611	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	XVII
Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 41	237	43666	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	XI
Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ex Vind. 3*	108	45959	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	XI
Paris, BnF, Coislin 19	329	49161	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	XI
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1076	754	53740	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	X
Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, S.A.Valle 100, fols. 1–354, 457–478	--	56149	C133.1/C135/C130.1	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 3	884	66173	C133.1, C141.2	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 757	138	67388	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	XI
Venice, BNM, Z.28 (364)	357	69499	C133.1, C141.2	XI

Table 2.8. Type B Catena Form Manuscripts

[212] Milan, BA, D. 161 inf. + D. 466 inf. + D. 298 inf. + D. 282 inf. is a multivolume set of catena manuscripts on the Gospels. The four shelfmarks and Diktyon numbers have been grouped together as a single entry in Table 2.9. Evidence that they should be taken as a set rather than four independent copies is that the scribe who wrote them included a colophon pertaining to the whole unit at the end of the codex on John. These were copied by Giovanni Santamaura in the seventeenth century from a manuscript at the Vatican Library, now known to be Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 757. For descriptions of the manuscript and the identification of it as an *Abschrift* of Vat. gr. 757: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 83, 129, 186; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 70–71. On Giovanni Santamaura: C. Pasini, "Giovanni Santa Maura e la Biblioteca Ambrosiana," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 42 (2005): 203–281; De Gregorio and Surace, "Giovanni Santamura,": 499–531. The colophon reads: Ἰωάννης ὁ Σάγκταμαύρας, Κύπριος, ὁ ἑτερόφθαλμος, ἑβδομηκοντούτης τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἐπὶ τέσσαρσιν, ἀπέγραψε τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐξ ἑτέρου τῆς Βατικανῆς Βιβλιοθήκης ἀντιγράφου παλαιοῦ, οὐκ ἂν μεγάλου πόνου καὶ ὀφθαλμικῆς βλάβης. ἐν Ῥόμῃ τῇ θ΄μηνὸς ἰουνίου τοῦ κοσμοσωτηρίου ἔτους αχιβ΄ σαββάτῳ τῆς ἁγίας Πεντηκοστῆς (D 282 inf. [GA 2579], fol. 231v). Santamaura completed the manuscript when he was seventy-four years old. At this point in his life, he had a vision impairment, referring to himself as ὁ ἑτερόφθαλμος. Pasini notes that portraits of the copyist reflect the potential loss of sight in one eye (Pasini, "Giovanni Santa Maura," 264–265). This is corroborated by the fact that when Santamaura describes the travails of copying the manuscript he uses singular nouns and adjectives about his eye: οὐκ ἂν μεγάλου πόνου καὶ ὀφθαλμικῆς βλάβης. Thus, the four codices comprising GA 2579 were copied, with great effort and in less than a year based on letters from the scribe analyzed in Pasini's article, by a person with only one fully functioning eye which may also may have begun to fail.

3.2.2 The Formats in Type B Basic Form Manuscripts

The Type B Catena Form manuscripts were laid out in multiple formats. Six of the thirteen manuscripts were copied with the frame catena format and the other seven were copied in alternating catena format.[213] The balance in the distribution of the *mise en page* stands out from the other catena types which tend to favor one type over the other. While other catena types frequently have a disproportionate number of manuscripts in alternating format from more recent centuries, the early distribution is more balanced for the Type B Catena Forms; half of the eight tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts are in alternating format and half are in frame format. The earliest manuscript, Paris Suppl. gr. 1076 was copied in frame format. As one would expect based on the evidence in the first three types described in this chapter, the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century copies are all alternating format manuscripts.

As will be explored further, the Type B Catena Form manuscripts can be categorized into two groups based on their biblical text, and the formatting mirrors their textual clusters: one cluster comprises all the frame format manuscripts and another all the alternating format manuscripts. That the earliest known manuscript was copied in frame format and that the alternating manuscripts all descend from a common ancestor suggests that this project was originally copied in frame format. This arrangement would also correspond to the likelihood that the Type B Basic Form began as a frame catena manuscript and Houghton's finding that alternating catenae with full

[213] Bologna A 3 is classified as a mixed format manuscript in the *Catena Catalogue* database. It is the only member of the group to have biblical books other than the Gospels, also containing the Pauline Epistles with Theophylact's commentary (C167). The format in the Gospels is frame format, while alternating format was used for the Pauline Epistles.

biblical texts rarely are reorganized into continuous text frame manuscripts.[214] Given that the vast majority of those manuscripts were in frame format, it is likely that this production was undertaken from a frame catena manuscript.

The format of the biblical text in the Type B Catena Form follows a standard pattern. Twelve of the thirteen manuscripts of this type include the full biblical text. Thus, the presence of the biblical text in this catena type is not influenced by the *mise en page* of the document as in the other catena types where alternating catenae are much more likely to not feature the text of the Gospels. The only manuscript with an abridged form of the biblical text is Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, S.A.Valle 100, fols. 1–354, 457–478 (Diktyon 56149). This codex is a peculiar sixteenth-century manuscript containing only the Gospel of Luke drawn from multiple catena types copied by several hands and an assortment of other theological and exegetical works by early Christian writers.[215] The manuscript is organized in three codicological units. The first unit is divided into two sections based on contents. Folios 1–118 bear the C133.1 catena up to Luke 12:30 copied first by Giovanni Santamaura (fols. 1–48) and then by Acacius Casnesius (fols. 49–118).[216] Folios 119–350 carry

[214] Houghton, "Catena Manuscripts in the *Editio Critica Maior*," 3–31.

[215] See studies and descriptions of this manuscript in Domenico Surace, "Copisti greci in tre codici sconosciuti della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma (S. A. Valle 100, 102–103)," *Νέα Ῥώμα. Rivista di Studi Bizantinistici* 8 (2011): 219–303; Domenico Surace, ed., *Catalogo dei manoscritti greci della Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2016).

[216] On Santamaura: Marco D'Agostino, *Giovanni Santamaura: gli ultimi bagliori dell'attività scrittoria dei Greci in Occidente*, Fonti e sussidi (Cremona: Biblioteca statale di Cremona, 2013); De Gregorio and Surace, "Giovanni Santamura," 495–531. On Casnesius Domenico Surace, "La produzione manoscritta greca a Roma tra la fine del XVI e la prima metà del XVII secolo. Qualche esempio," in *Le livre manuscrit grec: écritures, matériaux, histoire. Actes du IXe Colloque international de Paléographie grecque. Paris, 10-15 septembre 2018*, ed. Marie Cronier and Brigitte Mondrain, Travaux et mémoires 24/1 (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2020), 521–543. Surace does not propose the *apograph* for fols. 1–118. Since Vat. gr. 757 was part of the Vatican Library at this time and the other Type B Catena Form manuscript in the BAV, Vat. Reg. gr. 3 did not enter the library until the mid-eighteenth century with the rest of the *Reginensi greci* collection first amassed by Queen Christiana of Sweden (1626–1689), it seems

on from Luke 12:32 to Luke 24:51 with C135, copied by Casnesius.[217] The second unit of the manuscript contains an assortment of texts from early Christian writers (fols. 354–456). This is followed by the third codicological unit at the end of the manuscript. Folios 457–478 has a portion of the C130 commentary on Luke copied by Malachias Cyriacus.[218] All three copyists were affiliated with the Vatican Library or the St Athanasius Greek College in Rome.[219] This composite codex belonged to Vincenzo Riccardi (died 1662), who was a priest of the Theatine order at Sant'Andrea della Valle in Rome where he held the position of librarian. Riccardi was deeply interested in early Christian exegesis and theology. He repeatedly requested access to the Vatican Library's magnificent manuscript of Nicetas of Heraclea's catena on Luke (C135)—Vat. gr. 1611 (GA 1821; Diktyon 68242)—and compiled an unpublished catena of his own: *Catena Veterum Graecorum Patrum, cum Nicetae, tum aliorum in Evangelium Lucae*.[220] Thus, S.A. Valle 100 seems to have been a manuscript produced

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likely that Vat. gr. 757 was the exemplar for the first 118 folios of S.A. Valle 100, but this deserves further investigation. It is worth noting that Giovanni Santamaura also copied Ambrosiana, D. 161 inf. + D. 466 inf. + D. 298 inf. + D. 282 inf. from Vat. gr. 757 indicating that he had access to the codex. See n. 213.

[217] This portion of the codex was likely copied from Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 759 (GA 859; Diktyon 67390): Surace, "Copisti greci in tre codici,": 221 n. 3, 283.

[218] Surace proposes that the *Vorlage* for this portion was Vatican City, BAV, Archivio di S. Pietro B 59 (Diktyon 64536): Surace, "Copisti greci in tre codici," 233 n. 22, 283. On Malachias Cyriacus: Zacharias Tsirpanles, *Το Ελληνικό Κολλέγιο της Ρώμης και οι μαθητές του (1576-1700): Συμβολή στη μελέτη της μορφωτικής πολιτικής του Βατικανού / Ζαχαρία Ν. Τσιρπανλή.*, Ανάλεκτα Βλατάδων 32 (Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1980).

[219] The St Athanasius Greek College in Rome, founded in 1577 by Pope Gregory XIII, was a "center of transcription and collection of Greek books in late Renaissance Rome" (Giuseppe De Gregorio, "Spigolature dai codici greci della Biblioteca Nazionale dei Roma: un volume della fine del XVI secolo fra Collegio Greco e Collegio Romano, Fondo Greci 13," in *Sit liber gratus, quem servulus est operatus. Studi in onore di Alessandro Pratesi per il suo 90°compleanno*, ed. Paolo Cherubini and Giovanna Nicolaj, Littera antiqua 19 [Vatican City: Scuola vaticana di paleografia, diplomaticae archivistica, 2012], 1065 n. 22. "Un importante centro di trascrizione e di raccolta di libri greci nella Roma tardorinascimentale"). Literature on the Greek College and its students is vast, see especially: Vittorio Peri, "Inizi e finalità ecumeniche del Collegio Greco in Roma," *Aevum* 44 (1970); Antonis Fyrigos, ed., *Il Collegio greco di Roma. Ricerche sugli allunni, la direzione, l'attività*, Analecta Collegii Graecorum 1 (Rome: Pontificio Collegio greco S. Atanasio, 1983): 1–71; Salvatore Lilla, *I manoscritti Vaticani greci lineamenti di una storia del fondo*, Studi e Testi 415 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2004); Tsirpanles, *Το Ελληνικό Κολλέγιο της Ρώμης και οι μαθητές του (1576-1700): Συμβολή στη μελέτη της μορφωτικής πολιτικής του Βατικανού / Ζαχαρία Ν. Τσιρπανλή.*

[220] Surace, "Copisti greci in tre codici," 265–278.

for personal use in Riccardi's own research and activities in the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation. The biblical text which was likely present in the *Vorlage* of fols. 1–118 was not necessary for the owner's purpose and was therefore not copied.

While the format of the biblical text of the manuscripts in the Type B Catena Form does not correspond to the page layout, the text form of the biblical text does. The six alternating catena manuscripts with a full biblical text are Iviron 19; Ambrosiana A 184 sup. (GA 2575; Diktyon 42273); Ambrosiana D. 161 inf. + D. 466 inf. + D. 298 inf. + D. 282 inf; Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 3 (GA 884; Diktyon 66173); Vatican gr. 757; and Venice Z.28 (364). All six of these manuscripts are members of Family 1 and form what David Parker calls the "catena group."[221] In the history of Family 1, the catena group has only recently been recognized. The first member of the group to be identified as a member of Family 1 was Vatican Reg. gr. 3.[222] Alison Welsby did not add a new catena manuscript to Family 1, but she did observe that Athos Iviron 19 "has a clear and close textual relationship with Vatican Reg. gr. 3 in John."[223] When Parker established the catena group, he added the other five manuscripts to Family 1 for the first time. Then Tommy Wasserman and Conrad Thorup Elmelund built on Parker's work to establish the first stemma of Family 1 in John taking into account the catena manuscripts,

[221] D.C. Parker, "Family 1 in the Gospel of John: Its Members, Text and the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method," in *The New Testament in Antiquity and Byzantium: Traditional and Digital Approaches to its Texts and Editing. A Festschrift for Klaus Wachtel*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, D.C. Parker, and Holger Strutwolf, ANTF 52 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 330. On Family 1, see Amy S. Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew*, NTTSD 32 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Kirsopp Lake, *Codex 1 of the Gospels and its Allies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902); Kirsopp Lake, Robert P. Blake, and Silva New, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark," *HTR* 21 (1928): 207–404; Paul R. McReynolds, "Two New Members of Family One of the New Testament Text: 884 and 2542," in *Texte und Textkritik: eine Aufsatzsammlung*, ed. Jürgen Dummer, Johannes Irmscher, Franz Paschke, and Kurt Treu, TU 133 (Berlin: Akademie, 1987), 397–402; Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments: in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt, I. Teil: Untersuchungen II. Abteilung: Die Textformen, A. Die Evangelien*, 2nd, unchanged ed., vol. 1,2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911; repr., 1911), 1047–1060; Alison Welsby, *A Textual Study of Family 1 in the Gospel of John*, ANTF 45 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).
[222] McReynolds, "Two New Members of Family One of the New Testament Text: 884 and 2542," 397–402.
[223] Welsby, *A Textual Study of Family 1 in the Gospel of John*, 69.

reproduced in Figure 2.[224] This connects these six manuscripts to the archetype of Family 1 through two hypothetical witnesses (cat and F). It is worth noting that the single manuscript descending from *F* is Craiova, Muzeul Olteniei, 22 (GA 2954; Diktyon 13186), a tenth-century frame catena manuscript of the Gospels with types C119.2 (Matthew), C126.3 (Mark), C139.1 (Luke), and C147.5 (John).[225] That some manuscripts of the Type B Catena Form do not have the form of the biblical text characteristic of Family 1 and within Family 1 another catena type accompanies the biblical text signals that this catena type is not linked to that form of the text.[226]

[224] Tommy Wasserman and Conrad Thorup Elmelund, "New Light on the Marginalia of Family 1 in John," *The Thirteenth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (17 May 2023): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mzt2jjl6aH4&list=PLrH9vTHivLKgRTfFIdag_j3lBYkV1tDp&index=15.

[225] Wasserman was the first to identify Craiova 22 as a witness to Family 1: Tommy Wasserman, "The Text and Paratext of Family 1 in Mark 16," *COMSt Bulletin* 8 (2022): 345–363. On Craiova 22: I. Reșceanu C. Bălțăceanu M. Ciurea and I Bora, *Studii despre Tetraevanghelul grecesc de la Muzeul Olteniei din Craiova* (*sec. al XII-lea*) / *Studies on the Greek Tetraevangelion from the Museum of Oltenia in Craiova* (*12th Century*) (Craiova: Editura Mitropolia Olteniei, 2020).

[226] A conclusion also reached by Parker: "Family 1 in the Gospel of John," 326. Wasserman raises the intriguing possibility that the archetype A-1 is a catena manuscript which would explain the marginalia frequently found in group members: Wasserman, "The Text and Paratext of Family 1 in Mark 16," 357. If this was the case, A-1 would be one of the earliest catena manuscripts based on Anderson's view that the archetype dated to 600–800 CE (Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew*, 45). However, the discontinuous nature of the marginalia in Family 1 and particular focus on text critical questions suggests that it may reflect the erudite milieu of Caesarea, where some catenae are believed to have been composed and Family 1 has been linked, rather than a catena manuscript: Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza, Eclogorum, Genesis*, XXV–XXVII; Françoise Petit, "La chaîne grecque sur la Genèse, miroir de l'exégèse ancienne," in *Stimuli. Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann*, ed. Georg Schöllgen and Clemens Scholten, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband 23 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996), 243–254; Bas ter Haar Romeny, "Procopius of Gaza and his Library," in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*, ed. Hagit Amirav and Bas ter Haar Romeny, Late Antique History and Religion 1 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 173–190. On Family 1 and Caesarea, see Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew*, 70–73; Lake, Blake, and New, "The Caesarean Text," 209–212, 269–277.

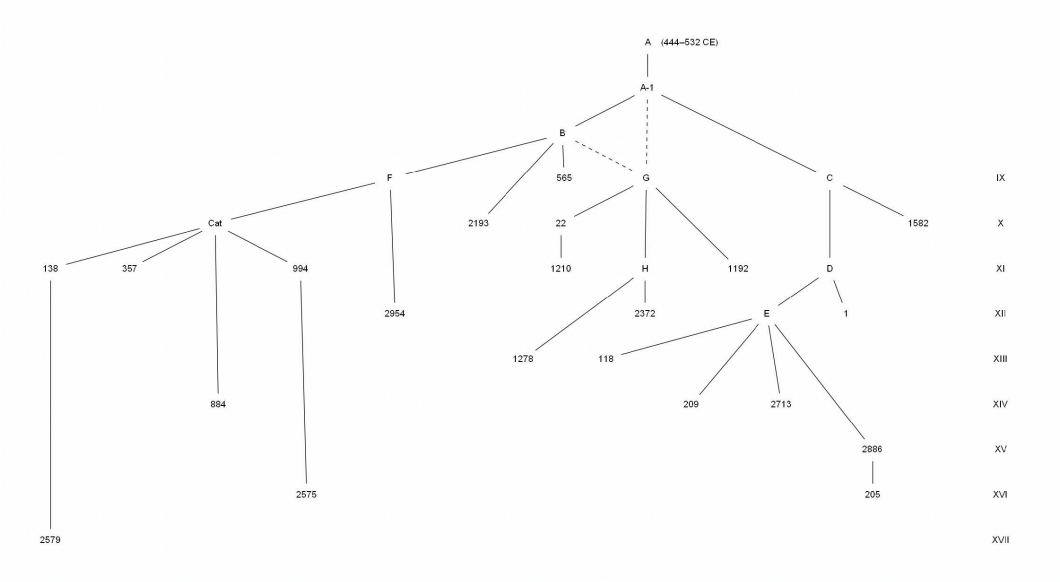


Figure 2.2. Wasserman and Elmelund Stemma of Family 1 in John[227]

The six manuscripts of the Type B Catena Form in frame format are not members of Family 1: Paris Suppl. gr. 1076; Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 41 (GA 237; Diktyon 43666); Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ex Vind. 3 (GA 108; Diktyon 45959); Paris Coislin 19; Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.III.51 (GA 2986; Diktyon 74393); and Bologna A 3.[228] This group includes the oldest manuscript of the group, Paris Suppl. gr. 1076. In contrast to the Type B Basic Form alternating catena manuscripts in Family 1, the codices in frame catena format are mostly independent from one another based on the data on their biblical texts. Naples ex Vind. 3 and Paris Coislin 19 are the only manuscripts which are closely related according to the data in the INTF's Manuscript Cluster's tool.[229] The Type B Catena Form was first compiled in frame catena format. This point is confirmed by the oldest manuscript

[227] Note that GA 884 in Figure 2 was accidentally placed as a fourteenth century witness in Wasserman and Elmelund's stemma. It belongs in the eleventh century with GA 138, 357, and 994.

[228] Parker, "Family 1 in the Gospel of John," 326–327.

[229] http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/. Naples Ex Vind. 3 and Paris Coislin 19 are each other's top relative in Mark, where they agree in 97.9% of *Teststellen*, and fourth or fifth ranked relative in John, where they agree in 96% of *Teststellen*. In Matthew they agree in 95.2% of *Teststellen*. They do not appear on lists of nearest relatives in Luke, but both manuscripts agree with the Majority Text at 94.4%.

being in frame catena format and that the alternating catena manuscripts all descend from a common ancestor or one another. The transmission history of the Type B Catena Form is likely that in the tenth century or earlier a copyist produced a manuscript with the text of Family 1 in the center of the page with space for a commentary. Using a second manuscript as a source, they copied the Type B Catena form into the margins. This ancestor, labelled Cat by Wasserman and Elmelund, was likely in frame format because the division of the scholia is identical in the frame and alternating catena manuscripts, which would not be expected if a Family 1 manuscript was segmented to accommodate the commentary unless it was done so with constant comparison to a frame catena manuscript of the Type B Catena Form. Then, in the eleventh century, four copies were made in alternating format using this witness: Vat. gr. 757, Venice Z.28, Vatican Reg. gr. 3, and Iviron 19. In this way, the page layouts in the Type B Catena Form manuscripts correspond to the history of the biblical text in the manuscripts.

3.2.3 The Contents and Order of the Type B Catena Form Manuscripts

The contents of the Type B Catena Form are less consistent than the Type B Basic Form, though the order always follows the traditional order of the Gospels when multiple Gospels are present. Seven of the thirteen manuscripts contain the four Gospels. Only two of these are in alternating format: Vatican gr. 757 and the combined Ambrosiana manuscript: D. 161 inf. + D. 466 inf. + D. 298 inf. + D. 282 inf. The other six codices only have two or fewer Gospels in varying combinations. Iviron 19 only has Matthew–John; Vatican Reg. gr. 3 and Venice Z.28 have Luke–John; as described above, S.A.Valle 100 only has Luke; Basel A.III.51 and Ambrosiana A 184 sup. only have John. It is noteworthy that four of these six manuscripts are related to one another as part of the Family 1 catena group and another is a personal manuscript with an incomplete biblical text. The

other, Basel A.III.51 is a fragmentary manuscript of only thirty-nine leaves which could have been part of a standard book of the four Gospels.[230] Only one of the five manuscripts copied in the fourteenth century or later is a *tetraevangelion* (Bologna A 3 [GA 2482]). The date, format, and genealogical relationships between the Type B Catena Form manuscripts without all four Gospels demonstrates that they are later developments within this type's tradition. The earliest order of contents of the Type B Catena Form is, therefore, a codex of the four Gospels in the order Matthew–Mark–Luke–John.

The catenae in Type B Catena Form manuscripts are consistent across all thirteen manuscripts. The only types included in these codices, with the exception of the additional catenae on Luke also in S.A.Valle 100, are C112.3 for Matthew, C125.1 for Mark, C133.1 for Luke, and C141.2 for John. The uniformity of the catena types found in these manuscripts proves that their composition was as a single project of expanding the Type B Basic Form.

3.2.4 The Macrostructure of the Type B Catena Form

The Type B Catena Form is comprised of scholia written around the structure of the biblical text. The scholia are linked to the biblical text using numerals and symbols as linking signs.[231] In addition, many scholia begin with a verbal link to the scriptures in the form of a short lemma. The biblical text has been segmented into sections of varying lengths. There are 350 sections in Matthew

[230] Basel A.III.51 was not known to catena or New Testament textual scholars until it was identified by Georgi Parpulov and added to the *Liste*. On the manuscripts added to the *Liste* through the CATENA project: www.birmingham.ac.uk/catena. On Basel A.III.51, see Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 74; Martin Steinmann, *Handschriften im Mittelalter: Eine Quellensammlung* (Basel: Scwabe, 2013).

[231] On linking signs, see Basile Atsalos, "Les signes de renvoi dans les manuscrits grecs," in *Paleografia e codicologia greca. Atti del II Colloquio internazionale* (*Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17–21 ottobre 1983*), ed. Dieter Harlfinger and Giancarlo Prato, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Alexandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1991).

with 875 scholia, 274 sections in Luke containing 588 scholia, and 301 sections in John with 831 scholia.

The compilation brings together the Type B Basic Form with additional scholia from numerous early Christian writers. The number of anonymous scholia varies widely by Gospel. Only twenty-four scholia are anonymous in Matthew, whereas there are 208 in Luke and 114 in John. However, most scholia in the catena are given the non-specific ascriptions ἀνεπίγραφος or ἐκ διαφόρων, which distinguishes them from those with a proper name.[232] The foundation in all three Gospels is the Type B Basic Form, which are given the designation ἀνεπίγραφος or are the anonymous scholia.[233] The additional scholia have attributions to specific authors. The compilers therefore sought to expand the already existing Type B Basic Form commentary with additional scholia from another source.

As in the Type A Catena Form, the authors in the Type B Catena Form held a variety of doctrinal positions, lived in different areas of the eastern late Roman or Byzantine empires, and took different exegetical approaches to interpreting the Scriptures. Tables 2.9–11 present the authors cited in the catenae. For Matthew and John, the figures are adopted from Reuss who seems to have primarily used Vatican gr. 757, Bologna A 3, and Paris Suppl. gr. 1076.[234] No study has produced a list

[232] See Chapter 4 on the ἀνεπίγραφος scholia.

[233] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 85, 87, 187.

[234] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 41. A separate list of scholia in the type was published by Heinrici, but it is unreliable and based on a study of catena manuscripts from two different types: Moscow Syn. gr. 47 which has type C112.4 in Matthew and Vatican gr. 757 which has type C112.3 in Matthew (Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea*, XV–XVI). As in the Type A Catena Form, the CPG mistakenly indicates that the indirectly attributed scholia were counted separately, leading to differences in the total number of scholia even though the same source is used. On the attribution and sources of these scholia, see also Devreesse, "Chaînes," cols. 1:1168–1175. An incomplete list was presented by Karo and Lietzmann (Type II): *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 562. It also does not fully disambiguate between the different catena types now recognized in Matthew.

of the frequency of author attributions in the C133.1 catena on Luke.[235] CPG IV[2] simply summarizes the results of other studies noting that the sources were the Type B Basic Form with other scholia which also are found in C130.4 and C134.[236] The list of author attributions for the Type B Catena Form in Luke is presented for the first time based on an examination of Paris Suppl. gr. 1076. Only two other manuscripts of the type, Venice Z.28 and Moscow Syn. gr. 41, have author names. As before, the authors listed below are taken from the catena tradition, and though Reuss and Rauer found them generally reliable, some have been contested.[237]

3.2.4.1 The Sources of the Type B Catena on Matthew

The twenty authors attributed in the C112.3 catena on Matthew are listed in Table 2.9. The greatest number of additional scholia come from Origen, the only person included more than seventy times. After him, the next most frequently used sources are Apollinarius, Severus of Antioch, Cyril of Alexandria, and John Chrysostom.[238] The scholia with the attribution ἀνεπίγραφος are reminiscent of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in Type A and will be investigated in detail in Chapter 4. In the Type B Catena Form, this designation was used to refer to the scholia from the Type B Basic Form. Unlike the Type A Catena Form, no scholia in Matthew include a specific designation of

[235] The list of author attributions for Karo and Lietzmann type II does not give a total for authors cited more than ten times: *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 574–576.

[236] Noret and Geerard, eds., *CPG IV[2]: Catenae*, 364.

[237] The availability of the Type A Catena Form via Cramer's edition has led to many more investigations on the attribution of its named scholia compared to the Type B Catena Form. Even Reuss treats them less thoroughly than in the Type A tradition. Some instances of misattribution in named scholia are observed in Manafis and Parpulov, "A Chapter from the History of Catenae," 159–170.

[238] On the reception of Apollinarius in catenae, see especially Reuss's three editions: *Matthäus-Kommentare*, XXIII–XXVI; *Lukas-Kommentare*, XXI; *Johannes-Kommentare*, XVIII–XX. See also Hans Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule*, TU 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1904); Henri de Riedmatten, "Le texte des fragments exégétiques d'Apollinaire de Laodicée," *RSR* 44 (1956): 560–566; Joseph Reuss, "Ist Apollinaris von Laodicea Verfasser eines Lukas-Kommentars?," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 26 (1977): 28–34. On the other authors, see notes above.

source (for Severus or Isidore, particularly) and no scholia were given multiple attributions. However, the catenists continued to use the same indirect attributions as the other catena form, τοῦ αὐτοῦ and ἄλλως. Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this collection of authors is the extensive use of so-called heretical theologians such as Apollinarius and Severus of Antioch who were included in greater number than mainstream orthodox authors such as Cyril of Alexandria and John Chrysostom. However, this also could relate to the sources used in the Type B Basic Form. The large amount of material from those sources may have led the compilers to choose other people to include in their new work. The latest author included in this commentary is Severus of Antioch.

Early Christian Writer	**Attributions C112.3**
Apollinarius (CPG 3690)	66
Basil of Caesarea (CPG 2907.6)	4
Cyril of Alexandria (CPG 5206)	42
Eusebius of Caesarea (CPG 3469.9)	9
Gregory of Nyssa (CPG 3204)	4
Gregory Thaumaturgus (CPG 1794.6)[239]	2
Hesychius of Jerusalem (CPG 6561)[240]	1
Irenaeus (CPG 1315)	2
Isidore of Pelusium (CPG 5557)	1
John Chrysostom (CPG 4424)	42
Origen (CPG 1450.3)	227
Severus of Antioch (CPG 7080.11)	46

[239] Fragments of a homily on Matthew 22 attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus were printed in PG 10, cols. 1189–1190 which are only known in catenae. These are now deemed spurious. On the life and reception of Gregory Thaumaturgus: Francesco Celia, *Preaching the Gospel to the Hellenes: The Life and Works of Gregory the Wonderworker*, Late Antique History and Religion 20 (Leuven: Peeters, 2019).

[240] These extracts, categorized in the CPG under *Collectio difficultatum et solutionum* are from a lost work, Εὐαγγελικὴ συμφωνία, only extant in catenae: Klaudius Jüssen, *Die dogmatischen Anschauungen des Hesychius von Jerusalem. I: Theologische Erkenntnislehre und Christologie*, Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie 17 (Münster: Aschendorf, 1931): 34–37.

Theodore[241]	14
Theodore of Heraclea (CPG 3562)	38
Theodore the Monk (CPG 3840)	1
Theodore of Mopsuestia (CPG 3840)	13
Theodoret of Cyrrhus[242]	1
Theophilus of Alexandria (CPG 2681)	3
Titus of Bostra (CPG 3576)[243]	1
ἀνεπίγραφος	335

Table 2.9. Author Attributions in the Type C112.3 Catena on Matthew

3.2.4.2 The Sources of the Type B Catena on Luke

The thirteen authors attributed in the C133.1 catena on Luke are listed in Table 2.9. The greatest number of additional scholia come from Cyril of Alexandria, with Titus of Bostra following as the next most frequently used source. The 212 scholia attributed with ἀνεπίγραφος make up approximately half the scholia, which as in Matthew designate scholia from the Type B Basic Form. The 42 scholia with the attribution ἐκ διαφόρων are unique to this catena type in Luke and John. This moniker is another way that the catenists referred to scholia from the Type B Catena Form. No study has investigated the use of this appellation. It is interesting that this referent does not appear until Luke 14:26, and all the uses occur in the final 168 scholia on Luke. Perhaps they refer to scholia which are found in multiple sources consulted by the compilers. One scholium to Severus of Antioch includes a reference to the specific work from which the comment comes. Two scholia were

[241] Reuss notes that this attribution does not specify a particular Theodore (Heraclea or Mopsuestia) and most of the extracts cannot be linked to a specific author in the known works available to him. He identified one as a scholium of Theodoret based on its presence in the Type A Catena Form and one to the Theodore of Mopsuestia: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 86–87.

[242] As in the Type A Catena Form, the source of this scholium is unknown.

[243] This comment is taken from Titus of Bostra's *Commentary on Luke* and is therefore an instance of what Jeremiah Coogan calls "double recycling": "Doubled Recycling," forthcoming. On the source of the scholium: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 87.

attributed to multiple authors. The catenists used the indirect attribution τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Many scholia from the Type B Basic Form begin with ἄλλως or ἄλλως τε, indicating a change in source, but these terms are not formatted like the other attributions in this catena type. The most noteworthy aspect of this list of author attributions is how short the list is, especially in comparison to the other Type B Catena Form works on Matthew and John. In those Gospels, more than twenty authors each were cited, with a long list of persons used one or two times. Luke was expanded considerably less than the other Gospels. Still, the catena includes sources from differing theological approaches and regions. The latest author included in this commentary is Severus of Antioch.

Early Christian Writer	**Attributions C133.1**
Athanasius of Alexandria (CPG 2141.9)	1
Cyril of Alexandria (CPG 5207.3)	59
Gregory of Nyssa (CPG 3204)	1
Isidore of Pelusium (CPG 5557)	2
John Chrysostom (CPG 4449)	6
Origen (CPG 1452)	13
Severus of Antioch (CPG 7080.13)	14
Titus of Bostra (CPG 3576)	27
Victor of Antioch (CPG 6534)	1
Origen / Cyril of Alexandria	1
Severus of Antioch / Cyril of Alexandria / Victor of Antioch	1
ἀνεπίγραφος	212
ἐκ διαφόρων	42

Table 2.10. Author Attributions in the C133.1 Catena on Luke

3.2.4.3 The Sources of the Type B Catena on John

The twenty-six authors attributed in the C141.2 catena on John are listed in Table 2.11. The greatest number of additional scholia come from Ammonius the Presbyter. The next most frequently cited persons are Cyril of Alexandria and Origen, with Apollinarius, Theodore of

Heraclea, and Severus of Antioch also appearing often. The catena uses the appellation ἀνεπίγραφος frequently in the same way that it does in Matthew and Luke. As seen in the corresponding catena on Luke, the Type B Catena Form on John uses the attribution ἐκ διαφόρων ("from various"). This time, the attribution appears throughout the Gospel. Like the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia, these scholia also come from the Type B Basic Form.[244] The use of the term beginning in the later parts of Luke and carrying on through John suggests that for some reason, the compilers felt the need to have a different attribution while the project was underway and then continued to use it afterward. This catena also uses multiple attributions, like the Type A Catena Form does in John. Of the twenty-three scholia attributed to Severus of Antioch in this catena type, eighteen include a reference to the source of the comment.[245] The theological and geographical mix of authors follows the patterns seen in that of the other catenae on Matthew and Luke in the Type B Catena Form. Again, Severus of Antioch of the fifth–sixth century is the latest person in the catena.

Early Christian Writer	**Attributions C141.2**
Ammonius the Presbyter (CPG 5502)	161
Amphilochius of Iconium (CPG 3248.2 / 3245.19)	1
Antiochus of Ptolemais (CPG 4297)[246]	1
Apollinarius (CPG 3691)	32
Athanasius of Alexandria (CPG 2141.10)	2
Basil of Caesarea (CPG 2907.9)	1
Cyril of Alexandria (CPG 5208)	92
Didymus the Blind (CPG 2557)	3

[244] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 187.

[245] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 188.

[246] This scholium, shared with the Type A Catena Form and other catena traditions on John, belongs to Severian of Gabala as noted above.

Diodore of Tarsus[247]	1
Eusebius of Caesarea (CPG 3469.12)	1
Isidore of Pelusium (CPG 5557)	5
John Chrysostom (CPG 4425)	3
Pope Julius I (CPG 3647)[248]	1
Methodius of Olympus (CPG 1812)	1
Origen (CPG 1453)	52
Proclus of Constantinople (CPG 5897)[249]	1
Severus of Antioch (CPG 7080.14)	23
Theodore[250]	5
Theodore of Heraclea (CPG 3564)	24
Theodore of Mopsuestia (CPG 3843)	19
Theophilus of Alexandria (CPG 2681)	1
Theodore of Heraclea / Apollinarius	2
John Chrysostom / Ammonius the Presbyter	2
John Chrysostom / Ammonius the Presbyter / Cyril of Alexandria	1
ἀνεπίγραφος	194
ἐκ διαφόρων	89

Table 2.8. Author Attributions in the Type C141.2 Catena on John

[247] This excerpt is, according to Reuss, the property of Didymus the Blind. It has been printed in Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare,* 179, frag. 5.

[248] This spurious scholium belongs to Apollinarius: Johannes Flemming and Hans Lietzmann, *Apollinaristische Schriften syrisch: mit den griechischen Texten und einem syrisch-griechischen Wortregister*, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 7/4 (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1904); Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule*. Many of Apollinarius's writings were pseudonymously attributed to Pope Julius I. On the spurious letter collection of Pope Julius I and the letter *De fide et incarnatione* from which the scholium on John 1:14 derives, see: Glen L. Thompson, ed., *The Correspondence of Pope Julius I: Greek and Latin text and English translation with introduction and commentary*, Library of Early Christianity 3 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2015): XXXVI–XL, 176.

[249] Lucas Van Rompay, "Proclus of Constantinople's 'Tomus ad Armenios' in the Post-Chalcedonian Tradition," in *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History Offered to Professor Albert Van Roey for his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Carl Laga and Joseph A. Munitiz, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 18 (Leuven: Peeters, 1985), 425–449.

[250] While Reuss does not remark on the five scholia attributed generically to Theodore in his analysis of C141.2, they are likely references to Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Theodore of Heraclea, or Theodore of Mopsuestia, as in the other Gospels.

3.2.4.4 Review of the Sources of the Type B Catena Form

This survey of the author attributions in the Type B Catena Form has indicated a number of tendencies. The primary authors in each catena are the same, especially Apollinarius, Origen, and Cyril of Alexandria. Some authors such as Ammonius the Presbyter are used heavily in only one Gospel because they did not write on the others. The catenists also drew on an extensive list of theologians with less frequency throughout the commentary. The catenists frequently credited scholia to the previous author using τοῦ αὐτοῦ. The term ἄλλως is never used as an ascription, but scholia frequently begin with the term. Scholia with composite author attributions do occur in this catena type, though less frequently than in the Type A Catena Form. Many scholia in all three Gospels were given the attribution ἀνεπίγραφος or ἐκ διαφόρων. These titles nearly always refer to scholia taken from the foundational source.

There is not a consistent pattern in the order of authors or distribution of scholia. More named scholia were added to the Basic Form in the beginning of the Gospels than at the end when there are longer stretches of either anonymous scholia or ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia without additional comments. The order of the comments also does not follow a reliable pattern. After a lemma has been introduced, the first comment can be either a named comment or a scholium from the Basic Form. Some sections even have only comments from a named author.[251] The compilers also divided comments from the Basic Form into shorter sections. Many of these were split at transitional formulas indicating a change in source such as ἄλλως τε or καὶ ἄλλως so that the second part of the scholium begins with the new source. In other places, a named scholium has the same *incipit* as in

[251] These observations were also made by Reuss: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 187.

the Basic Form. In these cases, the compilers arranged the material to retain both versions, if edited differently, or if they were similar enough, attached the name to the comment as found in the Type B Basic Form.[252] This editorial work will be featured in the next chapter. These tendencies show how the compilers worked with their sources to form a new catena on the Gospels from existing sources.

3.2.5 Compiler and Date of the Type B Catena Form

The compilers of the Type B Catena Form are unknown. In this catena type, the commentaries are not given a title as frequently seen in the other catena types. The codices simply begin with a standard Gospel title. The link to the Peter of Laodicea tradition of the Type B Basic Form is made specific in two manuscripts. The eleventh-century manuscript, Vatican gr. 757 has a sixteenth-century paratextual note copied on a flyleaf (fol. 1r) which reads ὁ ἀνεπίγραφος οὗτος ἔστιν ὁ Πέτρος ὁ τής Λαοδικείας, ὅστις προηγεῖται τῶν ἄλλων ἐξηγητῶν ἐνταῦθα.[253] Then in the fourteenth-century codex Bologna A 3 (GA 2482), the compilers replaced the attribution ἀνεπίγραφος with Πέτρου Λαοδικείας. These attributions reflect the later development of the Peter of Laodicea tradition found in the Type B Basic Form. The compilers of the Type B Catena Form remain anonymous.

The Type B Catena Form was compiled in the seventh or eighth century. The earliest manuscripts of this type date to the tenth century. The *terminus post quem* based on authors cited is Severus of Antioch, so this compilation could not have been prepared until after the sixth century.

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[252] Also briefly hinted at in a discussion of duplicated scholia: Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, XLIV.

[253] Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci, II: Codices 604–866*, 274–275. This paratextual note is frequently cited in discussions of the catena type: Devreesse, "Chaînes," col. 1:1165; Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea*, XIV; Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 49; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 81.

Reuss favored an early date in the seventh century, but Rauer gave a wider range of seventh or eighth.[254] As subsequent chapters will show that the source of the additional scholia is another catena type dating to the sixth or seventh century, a later date in the eighth century is favored even though the seventh remains possible.

The Type B Catena Form is a set of catenae on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John with an accompanying commentary on Mark compiled in the eighth century by an unknown person. The impetus for this project was to combine two exegetical collections: the unattributed scholia of the Type B Basic Form commentary with selected attributed extracts from another catena. The compilers created a new work out of their sources by editing and rearranging material, especially the division of scholia into smaller parts. While the editor chose to adapt the commentaries on Matthew, Luke, and John with new material, the form of the commentary on Mark (C125.1) was not changed in the new project.

4 Chapter Summary

The early catenae on the Gospels developed dynamically in the sixth to the eighth centuries. The Type A and Type B traditions each developed in a similar pattern. The earliest stage, found in the Type A and Type B Basic Forms, was a set of compilation commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John compiled in the sixth century by anonymous compilers. These works gathered scholia on the Gospels from several early Christian writers and wove them together to form a continuous explanation of each *lemma* of the biblical text. The compilers of these types did not

[254] Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 69; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 87.

record the names of the authors. In the seventh or the eighth century, the early commentaries were transformed into catenae by new compilers. These catenae are found in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms. In both of these expansions, the compilers retained nearly all the earlier form and supplemented the text with named comments from numerous exegetical and theological works. Although the Type A and Type B projects were produced independently, several connections exist between them. The compilers drew on a similar cohort of early Christian writers, and the layers of newer scholia have several features in common, such as the use of indirect citation techniques, the inclusion of composite attributions, the identification of specific sources for certain authors, and the attribution of some scholia to an unattributed source with the term ἀνεπίγραφος or ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου.

Though the descriptions of the early catenae on the Gospels in this chapter are based on a much larger documentary foundation than Reuss's, the findings generally demonstrate the accuracy of his analysis. The present study took a wider scope than Reuss by analyzing each type as a collection of catenae on the Gospels rather than only book-by-book. It also queried the contents of the manuscripts, their *mise en page*, and whether the biblical text was complete.[255] Attention to these details has shown that, while none of them are consistent in every manuscript, they often are characteristic features of the type which potentially provides information about how the compilation was initially structured and the preferences of readers in later periods.

[255] Reuss should be credited for having noted many of these details in his descriptions of individual manuscripts, but they did not generally factor into his analysis of the types.

The transmission of the early catenae on the Gospels shows that they were received as an authoritative exegetical source on the Bible in late antique and medieval Byzantium. Though they were repositories of early exegesis and guided the interpretation of the Gospels, they were not static. Both the biblical text and the commentary itself had "an excess of vitality" which led to new compilation projects.[256] The description of these four works provides a basis for understanding how the compilers of both the basic and catena forms produced their compilations and situating that within the full tradition of the catenae on the Gospels.

[256] Hindy Najman, "The Vitality of Scripture Within and Beyond the 'Canon'," *JSJ* 43 (2012): 516.

CHAPTER 3

Gathering Authoritative Words: The Expansion of the Basic Forms

> "Avant de tirer parti d'une chaîne, il faut donc l'étudier pour elle-même, chercher à comprendre son origine, ainsi que les méthodes de travail des caténistes."[1]

1 Introduction

The catena traditions on the Gospels developed in similar patterns in the sixth through ninth centuries. A simple compilation commentary without author names was composed for Matthew, Luke, and John. This commentary was subsequently expanded by a later editor with hundreds of additional scholia from named authors.[2] The new works were a monumental feat of textual curation involving reading, collecting, writing, and rewriting.[3] Yet how the compilers of these traditions produced the Catena Forms has not been demonstrated. From where did all the

[1] Jean-Marie Auwers, "Les chaînes exégétiques comme modèle de lecture polysémique. L'exemple de l'Épitomé sur le Cantique des cantiques," *RTL* 40 (2009): 218. "Before taking advantage of a catena, it is necessary to study it for itself, to understand its origins, as well as the working methods of the catenists."

[2] The Type A Catena Form and Type B Catena Form are therefore "secondary catenae" in Dorival's terminology: Gilles Dorival, "La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques," *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985): 212–213.

[3] The term textual curation was taken from Jeremiah Coogan, who adopted it from Krista Kennedy. Also note Coogan's broader discussion of what editors or compilers do when curating texts for new purposes: Jeremiah Coogan, *Eusebius the Evangelist: Rewriting the Fourfold Gospel in Late Antiquity*, Cultures of Reading in the Ancient Mediterranean (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 62–66; Krista Kennedy, *Textual Curation: Authorship, Agency, and Technology in Wikipedia and the Chambers' Cyclopedia*, Studies in Rhetoric/Communication (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2016); Krista Kennedy, "Textual Curation," *Computers and Composition* 40 (2016): 175–189. On these themes in late antiquity and Byzantium, see also: Monika Amsler, *The Babylonian Talmud and Late Antique Book Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 56–93; Juan Signes Codoñer and Inmaculada Pérez Martín, eds., *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: Between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung*, Lectio 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014); Saskia Dirkse, "Books in the Systematic Collection of the Apophthegmata Patrum," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte* 114 (2020): 193–204; Catherine Michael Chin and Moulie Vidas, eds., *Late Ancient Knowing: Explorations in Intellectual History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015); Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

supplementary scholia come which were not adopted from the earlier compilation commentaries found in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms? Were they taken directly from the purported author's writings or were they grafted in from other late antique exegetical collections? Joseph Reuss expressed uncertainty about the source of these added scholia: "Whether all these added excerpts are taken from the original writings of the authors or already from collections of scholia is a matter to be examined in the case of the individual authors and is often difficult to decide."[4] In the case of Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), Reuss held that most of the scholia came from an intermediate source rather than the direct tradition.[5] Max Rauer reached a similar position on the extracts from Origen (d. 253) in Luke.[6] The loss of an author's works in direct tradition and the apparent lack of a collection of scholia from which they came made it impossible to answer the question fully for the entire corpus. What is immediately apparent from the descriptions of the types in the preceding chapter is that there is significant overlap in the authors included, attribution of sources, and editorial technique in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms. Ascertaining the source of the additional scholia is an essential piece of information for charting the development of the early catenae on the Gospels, the reception of the authors included, and situating the histories of these catena types. This chapter will examine the source of the scholia added to the Catena Forms (C110.4, C130.4, C140.4 and C112.3, C133.1, and C141.2) in the formation of the enlarged collections. The source

[4] Joseph Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 130 (Berlin: Akademie, 1984), XII. "Ob alle diese hinzugefügten Excerpte aus den Originalschriften der Autoren oder bereits aus Sammlungen von Scholien entnommen sind, ist bei den einzelnen Autoren zu untersuchen und oft schwer zu entscheiden."

[5] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XXVII–XXVIII.

[6] Max Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX: Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die griechischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars*, 2nd ed., GCS 49 (Berlin: Akademie, 1959), XXXVIII.

of this material was another catena tradition, now only preserved in a handful of manuscripts, which here is designated as Type Z (C116.5, C131z, C145).

2 History of Development

In response to the uncritical use in the nineteenth century of extracts found in catenae to reconstruct the works of early Christian writers, major studies of Greek exegetical catenae in the twentieth century sought to organize the extant manuscripts into types according to the text of the catena found in each biblical book.[7] The identification and description of the catena types on the Gospels has naturally led to attempts at tracing their relations and histories. Jean-Marie Auwers explained how this is one of the principal goals of modern research on catenae:

> To write the history of the catenae is first and foremost to identify the relationships between them. For there are mother catenae and daughter catenae (or derivative catenae), which can in turn give rise to other catenae. A catena can be reduced of part of its content, or on the contrary enriched with new material.[8]

While this may be the starting point for current research, it has not been the defining goal of earlier studies on catenae. Rather, catenae were most often seen as mines to recover lost works of early

[7] The need for this work was first advocated by Hans Lietzmann in *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Überlieferung* (Freiburg-im-Bresigau: Mohr Siebeck, 1897). The initial organization of catenae into types was produced by Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann: *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus* (Göttingen: Lüder Horstmann, 1902).

[8] Auwers, "Les chaînes exégétiques," 219. "Écrire l'histoire des chaînes, c'est d'abord chercher à repérer les rapports de filiation entre elles. Car il y a des chaînes-mères et des chaînes-filles (ou chaînes dérivées), qui peuvent à leur tour donner naissance à d'autres chaînes. Une chaîne peut être allégée d'une partie de son contenu, ou au contraire enrichie de matériaux nouveaux." This is perhaps best exemplified in the magisterial work of Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, 5 vols., Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 43–46, 54 (Leuven: Peeters, 1986–2018). On the work, technique, and impact of Dorival, see Ceulemans's review of the final volume: Reinhart Ceulemans, "The Firestarter in the Now Completed Analysis of the Psalter Catenae by Gilles Dorival," *RHE* 116 (2021): 371–377.

Christian writers and the compilations themselves could be ignored as the dross of decline in Byzantine exegesis and theology.[9]

Histories of the development of the catenae on the Gospels progressed in fragmented fashion Gospel-by-Gospel, with more attention initially given to the catenae on Luke than Matthew or John. Since it is recognized that the catenae on the Gospels typically had the same compilers, the histories of development charted for one Gospel generally applies to the other two.[10] In what follows, the *stemmata* of the catenae on Luke by Joseph Sickenberger, Max Rauer, and Joseph Reuss will be described and compared.

2.1 *Joseph Sickenberger*

The stemma of the catenae on Luke from Sickenberger's 1901 *Titus of Bostra* edition is shown in Figure 3.1.[11] Here "Pseud" refers to Pseudo-Titus for the Type A Basic Form (C130.1), Petr refers to Peter of Laodicea for the Type B Basic Form (C132), *c* refers to Cramer for the Type A Catena Form

[9] This was the conclusion of one person who reviewed Devreesse's influential article on biblical catenae even though Devreesse himself advocated for the study of catenae as a work: M. Jugie, "Une mine de découvertes patristiques," *Byzantion* 5 (1929): 688–690. This sentiment has a long history, dating at least to Richard Simon's 1680 volume of *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1680). Simon, quoted and translated in Gilles Dorival, "Biblical Catenae: Between Philology and History," in *Commentaries, Catenae, and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in Conjunction with the COMPAUL Project*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, TS 3/13 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2016), 65–66. The critical attitude toward catenae is especially seen in recent decades in the work of Manlio Simonetti: *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*, trans. John A. Hugh (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994); "Introduction," in *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers, 451–750*, ed. Angelo di Berardino, trans. Adrian Walford (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2006; repr., 2008), 11–16. Christoph Markschies notes that in Berlin in the early twentieth century, catenae were not viewed as a particularly important source: Christoph Markschies, "Wie wurde antike christliche Bibelexegese überliefert und wie soll sie folglich ediert werden?," in *Handschriften- und Textforschung heute: Zur Überlieferung der griechischen Literatur. Festschrift für Dieter Harlfinger aus Anlass seines 70. Geburtstages*, ed. Christian Brockman, Daniel Deckers, Lutz Koch, and Stefano Valente, Serta Graeca 30 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2014), 147–159.

[10] This excludes Mark which developed in its own tradition in ways different than occurred for Matthew, Luke, and John. See Chapter 6.

[11] Joseph Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien*, TU 6.1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901), 76.

(C130.4), *p* refers to the catena found in the twelfth-century manuscript Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 20 (GA 381; Diktyon 65753) with Type E (C134), which will be briefly described below, and *r* refers to the Peter of Laodicea catenae C133.1. The five catena traditions included in this stemma does not mean that Sickenberger was unaware of the others—his volume on the catena on Luke by Nicetas of Heraclea was published only one year later—rather they focus on how these early traditions developed.[12]

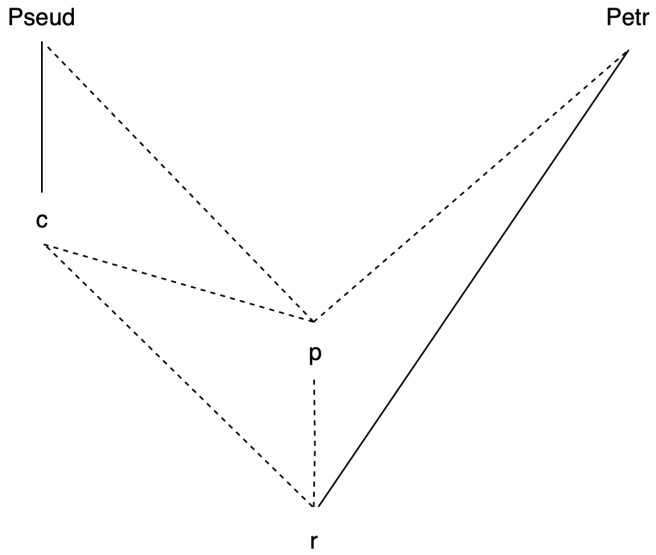


Figure 3.1 Sickenberger's Stemma of Catenae on Luke

Since Type E (C134) stands at the intersection of the four early catenae examined in this study, a brief description of it is warranted. The type is dated to the tenth century because it includes scholia from Photius of Constantinople.[13] The type is only found in three manuscripts according to

[12] Joseph Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia*, TU 22.4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902).

[13] On type C134, see Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 576; Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, LIII–LIV; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XV; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 59–69.

Parpulov which are all in his e.15 group.[14] The three manuscripts are Pal. gr. 20, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1933 (GA 868; Diktyon 68652), a seventeenth-century *Abschrift* of Pal. gr. 20, and a series of replacement leaves in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 3, fols. 10–15 and 112–119 (GA 884; Diktyon 66173), which also were copied from Pal. gr. 20.[15] Therefore, Pal. gr. 20 is the primary manuscript of this tradition. The two direct copies, however, are useful witnesses due to the damage sustained by Pal. gr. 20. The catena itself is composed of anonymous and attributed scholia. The plentiful attributed scholia come from Ammonius the Presbyter (1), Amphilochius of Iconium (1), Apollinarius of Laodicea (5), Arsenius the Anchorite (23), Asterius of Amasea (4), Athanasius of Alexandria (4), Basil of Caesarea (6), Caesarius of Nazianzus, Clement of Alexandria (1), Cyril of Alexandria (155), Dorotheus of Gaza (1), Ephrem the Syrian (1), Epiphanius of Salamis (1), Eulogius of Alexandria (3), Eusebius of Caesarea (25), Gregory of Nazianzus (3), Gregory of Nyssa (10), Gregory Thaumaturgus (2), Irenaeus (1), Isidore of Pelusium (13), Jobius the Monk (5), John Chrysostom (38), John of Damascus (1), Maximus the Confessor (8), Methodius of Olympus (2), Modestus of Jerusalem (2), Nilus of Ancyra (1), Origen (39), Photius of Constantinople (12), Severus of Antioch (17), Theodoret (4), Theodore of Mopsuestia (4), Titus of Bostra (48), Victor of Antioch (3), and ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου (6).[16] The catenists introduce many scholia with indirect attributions such as τοῦ αὐτοῦ and ἄλλως. William Lamb describes it as an "amplified version" of the Peter of Laodicea catena, but this does not match the descriptions in Rauer, Reuss, or Sickenberger who consider it an independent construction

[14] Georgi Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament: A Catalogue*, TS 3/26 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2021), 125.

[15] The identification of the direct copies was made by Sickenberger: *Titus von Bostra*, 60.

[16] These are drawn from CPG IV², which reproduced the results of Sickenberger's examination of Vatican gr. 1933: Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 60–62.

drawing on similar sources.[17] It has not yet been identified as a specific expansion of either the Type A or Type B Basic Forms though the compilers seem to have used them and other catena sources for the attributed scholia. Type C134 still provides opportunities for further research.

Sickenberger situates the two Basic Forms at the head of the stemma with the secondary catenae variously related. The Type A Basic Form (Pseud) is the source for the Type A Catena Form (c) as indicated by the solid line, and likewise, the Type B Basic Form (Petr) is a direct source for the Type B Catena Form (r). The C134 catena drew on the three earlier catenae as sources, including the Type A Catena Form. The early catena tradition culminates with the Type B Catena Form drawing its collection of named scholia from the Type A Catena Form and Type E (C134).

2.2 *Max Rauer*

Max Rauer published two *stemmata* of the catenae on Luke. The first appeared in his 1920 monograph on Peter of Laodicea and is reproduced in Figure 3.2.[18] The second stemma builds on the first and was included in his 1959 edition of Origen's *Homilies on Luke* in the GCS series of Origen's works.[19] This stemma is shown in Figure 3.3.

[17] William R.S. Lamb, "Conservation and Conversation: New Testament Catenae in Byzantium," in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Publishing, 2016), 284.

[18] Max Rauer, *Der dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebene Lukaskommentar*, NTAbh 8 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1920), 69.

[19] Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, 57.

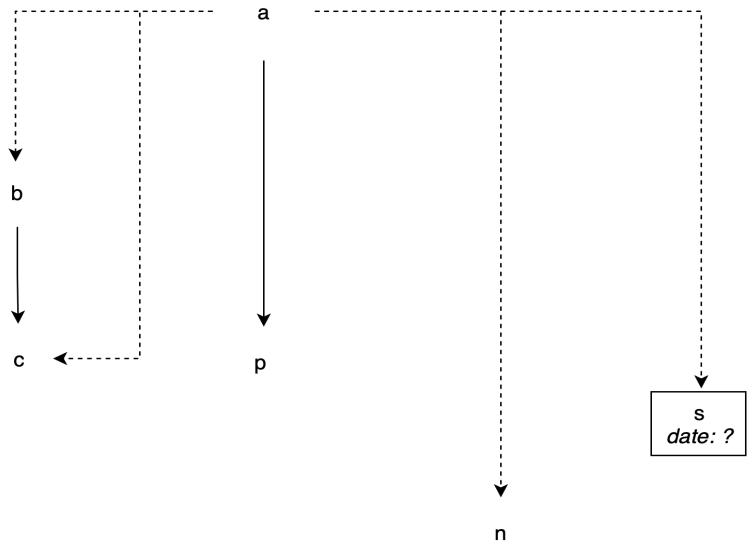


Figure 3.2. Max Rauer's Stemma of the Catenae on Luke (1920)

In Figure 3.2, Rauer labels the *Urkatene* as *a* because he held that it was the ἀνεπίγραφον. The siglum *b* refers to the so-called Pseudo-Titus of Bostra catena, the Type A Basic Form; *c* refers to the Type A Catena Form as edited by Cramer. The label *p* stands for the Peter of Laodicea type, encompassing both the Type B Basic and Catena Form. The other two catenae, outside the scope of this study, are *n* for the Nicetas catena (C135) and *s* for the scholia vetera found in the tenth-century codex, Munich, BSB, Gr. 208, fols. 235-248 (GA 053, Diktyon 44654); which has been assigned to the *Codices Singuli* category in the CPG under C137.2.[20]

[20] In its current form, Munich, BSB, Gr. 208 is a composite codex with two production units. Fols. 1–234 contain the texts of Matthew and John with catenae (C110.2 and C147.1) in alternating format with minuscule script for both the Gospels and commentary. This part was completed in Constantinople in 978 CE, as indicated by the copyist (fol. 234r). This part of the codex has been assigned GA 2768. The second unit (fols. 235–248) contains Luke in majuscule script with a catena in minuscule script (C137.2) dated palaeographically to the tenth century. The end of the manuscript has been lost, so

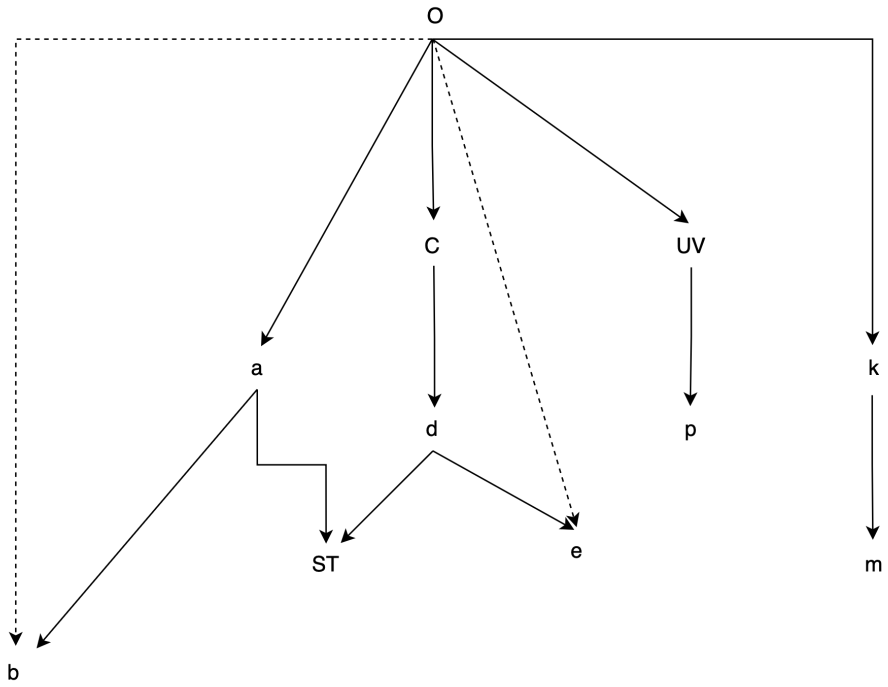


Figure 3.3. Max Rauer's Stemma of the Catenae on Luke (1959)

In Figure 3.3, Rauer adjusted the labels for many of his types and added others not covered in his Peter of Laodicea volume. The *Urkatene* is *O*. The siglum *a* refers to the Type A Basic Form; *b* refers to the Type A Catena Form. C refers to the Type B Basic Form as it is found in Paris, BnF, Coislin

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the text of Luke is truncated at Luke 2:40. Interestingly, while the catenae on Mathew and John were copied in alternating format in two columns, Luke has been copied in alternating format in three columns—a format which may be unique to this codex. On Munich Gr. 208, see the recent description in Kerstin Hajdú, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Bd. 4: Codices graeci Monacenses 181–265*, Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis 2/4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 170–174. The catena on Luke in Munich Gr. 208 is given fresh analysis in Panagiotis Manafis, *Exegesis on the Gospel of Luke: Codices Singuli and Catena C139.1*, TU 194 (Berlin: De Gruyter, Forthcoming 2024). See also Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 29–31, 60–62, 66; Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, NTAbh 18/4–5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941), 22–23, 28–29, 217; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 25, 71-72, 74.

20 (GA 36; Diktyon 49162), which, according to Rauer, represents an earlier stage of the Type B tradition than is found in any other manuscript;[21] *d* is the rest of the Type B Basic Form tradition, which is an abbreviation of *C* in this stemma; *e* represents the Type B Catena Form. The other sigla cover two main types: the Nicetas catena (*k*) (C135) and the epitome of it compiled by Macarius Chrysocephalus (*m*) (C136). The other capital-letter sigla *S*, *T*, *U*, and *V* are *Codices Singuli*. The pair *ST* represents Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1229 (GA 143, Diktyon 67860) and Paris, BnF, Gr. 230 (GA 12, Diktyon 49802), respectively.[22] These are now recognized as part of the Type B Catena Forms with type C133.2 in Luke. The other pair, *UV*, stands for Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 273 (Diktyon 66005) and Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 612 (GA 747, Diktyon 53347). These two manuscripts had been classified within the *Codices Singuli* on Luke as C137.5 and C137.7 in CPG IV[2] but are now recognized as witnesses to the Type Z catena tradition and reclassified to the new type C131z in Luke.[23] The remaining class in Rauer's *stemma* is *p*, for the Catena to the Psalms. This catena was included because fragments from Origen on Luke are included in multiple Psalms catenae, and the purpose of Rauer's publication was the reconstruction of Origen's *Homilies on Luke*.[24] In contrast to the 1920 stemma, Münich Gr. 208

[21] Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, XXXIX.

[22] On the catenae in Vat. gr. 1229: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 78-79, 124, 219. On the catenae in Paris Gr. 230: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 79–80, 122, 179. Paris Gr. 230 has been situated as a manuscript from Constantinople: Paola Degni, "Nuovi codici del copista del cosidetto Menologio di Basilio II," *Medioevo greco* 18 (2018): 111–126.

[23] Type C131z was introduced to *Clavis Clavium* based on the research in this thesis. At the same time, Vatican Pal. gr. 273 and Paris Suppl. gr. 612 were reclassified to the new type from C137.3 and C137.7 (Vatican Pal. gr. 273 had already been moved from C137.5, its classification in CPG IV[2], to C137.3).

[24] Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, LI. The principal manuscript for *p* is Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 754 (Diktyon 76385). The catena in this manuscript has been classified as the *Catena Athanasia* (C32): Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 44, vol. 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 237–281. On Origen in these catenae, see: Gilles Dorival, "Origène dans les chaînes sur les Psaumes : deux séries inédites de fragments," in *Origeniana. Premier colloque international des études origéniennes* (*Montserrat, 18–21 septembre 1973*), ed. Henri Crouzel, Gennaro Lomiento, and Josep Rius-Camps, Quaderni di "Vetera Christianorum" 12 (Bari: Università

was not included in this diagram because Rauer argues that the scholia attributed to Origen in it were drawn from the author's direct tradition, in contrast to the other catena types.[25]

One of the distinctive features of Rauer's work is his position that there is an *Urkatene*, composed in the sixth century, which was a shared source for the Type A and Type B Basic Forms, as well as many other later catenae. The Basic Forms were compiled both from direct tradition for some early Christian writers and by incorporating scholia from this lost exegetical collection.[26] The two Catena Forms each directly descend from their parent commentaries and are connected to the *Urkatene*, which is where Rauer believes their named scholia derived.[27] Rauer's explanation of the diagram diverges from Sickenberger in the sources of the supplementary material in the Catena Forms. Sickenberger did not specify the source of the additional scholia in the Type A Catena Form (*C* in Figure 3.1) but did hold that this catena was used by the compilers of the Type B Catena Form—along with scholia in the catena C134. Rauer's stemma in Figure 3.3 recognizes what Sickenberger observed—that many of the additional scholia in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms are identical—but instead of asserting that one used the other, Rauer argues that they have a shared source.

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di Bari, Istituto di Letterature critiana antica, 1975), 199–213; Luciano Bossina, "Réduire Origène. Extraits, résumés, réélaborations d'un auteur qui a trop écrit," in *Lire en extraits: Lecture et production des textes, de l'Antiquité à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Sébastien Morlet, Cultures et civilisations médiévales 63 (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2015), 199–216. It should be noted that the other manuscripts Rauer cites for *p* have other types of catenae on the Psalms. He grouped different types together which included scholia on Luke due to his interest in Origen's *Homilies on Luke* even though it imprecisely reflects the Psalms catena tradition.

[25] Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, LVIII.

[26] Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 66–67; Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, LVII.

[27] Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 64–67.

The other significant change from Sickenberger is the inclusion of the other catena types which expands the understanding of the relationships between the catenae on Luke—and therefore the all the catenae on the Gospels. The most important of these types for this study are the two Type Z manuscripts, Vatican Pal. gr. 273 (*U*) and Paris Suppl. gr. 612 (*V*). Sickenberger was aware of the Vatican manuscript at the time of his 1901 edition of *Titus of Bostra* but did not discuss Paris Suppl. gr. 612.[28] He observed that scholia in Vatican Pal. gr. 273 were similar to those found in Munich Gr. 208, but he did not think they were of the same type.[29] In his 1909 volume on Cyril of Alexandria, he claimed it was related to the Peter of Laodicea tradition.[30] Rauer links the two catena manuscripts together as representatives of an individual catena type ("Einen eigenen Katenentyp") and suggested that they were probably related to Codex Zacynthius (Cambridge, University Library, Add. 10062; GA 040; Diktyon 73427).[31] The latter manuscript likely does not appear in Rauer's stemma because he did not have access to the complete text of the palimpsest manuscript. Panagiotis Manafis has confirmed the relationship between the three manuscripts, demonstrating that Vatican Pal. gr. 273 aligns with Zacynthius and that Paris Suppl. gr. 612 is a later reworking of the type.[32] Rauer

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[28] Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 72. Sickenberger never cites Paris Suppl. gr. 612 even though he examined manuscripts in the BnF even after the publication of *Titus von Bostra*: Joseph Sickenberger, "Über die dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebenen Evangelienkommentare," *TQ* 86 (1904): 15–18.

[29] Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 72; Manafis also contends that Munich Gr. 208 is not directly related to any known catenae: Manafis, *Exegesis on the Gospel of Luke*, forthcoming. I would like to thank Panagiotis for sharing a summary of his findings on Munich, Gr. 208 with me.

[30] Joseph Sickenberger, *Fragmente der Homilien des Cyrill von Alexandrien zum Lukasevangelium*, TU 34.1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), 66.

[31] Rauer: *Origenes Werke IX*, LIII.

[32] Panagiotis Manafis, "Catenae on Luke and the Catena of Codex Zacynthius," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 137–168; Panagiotis Manafis, "A New Witness to the Catena of Codex Zacynthius," *ZAC* 26 (2022): 371–401; Panagiotis Manafis, "Βυζαντινά χειρόγραφα με σειρές εξηγητικών σχολίων στην Καινή Διαθήκη," in *Έκφρασις. Αφιέρωμα στον καθηγητή Βασίλη Κατσαρό*, ed. Dimitris P. Drakoulis and Paschalis Androudis (Thessaloniki: Stamoulis, 2022), 117–124. Note that Harold J. Greenlee credits the

links the two Type Z catena manuscripts directly to the *Urkatene* and noted that the scholia from Origen's *Homilies on Luke* in Psalms catenae came from this source.

2.3 *Joseph Reuss*

While Joseph Reuss produced more studies of catenae on the Gospels than any other person, he never offered a stemma of the types in any publication. His views can still be charted based on his descriptions of the various catenae and their dates. Figure 3.4 shows a reconstructed stemma of the catenae on Luke according to the descriptions in his 1984 volume, *Lukas-Kommentare*.

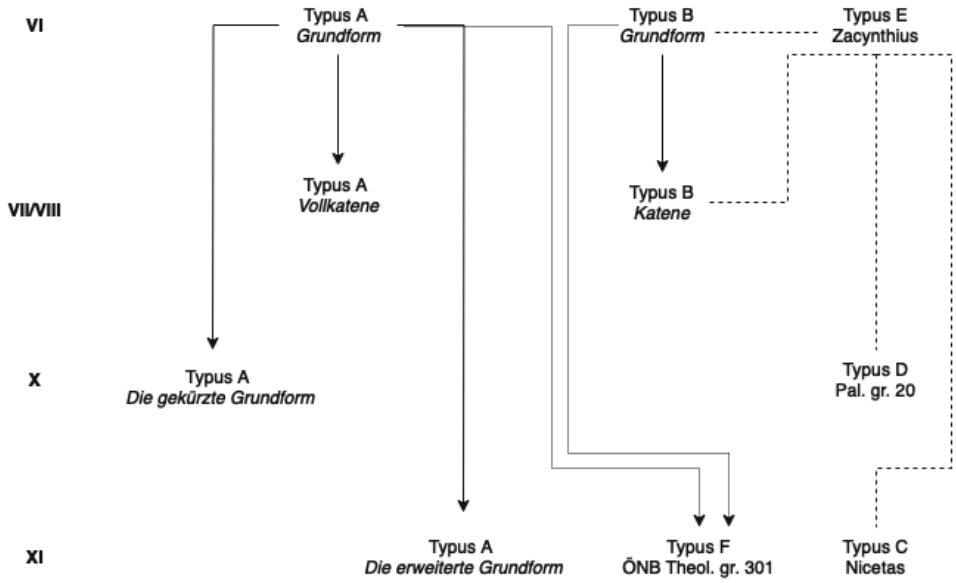


Figure 3.4. Reconstruction of Joseph Reuss's Stemma of the Catenae on Luke (1984)

initial observation of the similarity between Codex Zacynthius and Paris Suppl. gr. 612 to a "Miss E. Bickersteth, then of Oxford": J. Harold Greenlee, "The Catena of Codex Zacynthius," *Bib* 40 (1959), 1000 n. 3. Bickersteth could not be identified more precisely, though she may be a relative of the Bickersteth family with a long tradition in Oxford including a family papers archive at the Bodleian Library (Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MSS. Eng. b. 2082-2093, c. 6397-6452, d. 3007-3188, e. 3127-3252; Photogr. a. 9-10, b. 16-23, c. 80-4, d. 16-23).

One of Reuss's primary contributions on the development of the catenae on the Gospels is the identification of subgroups in Type A: the Type A Basic Form (*Grundform*, C130.1), Type A Expanded Form (*erweiterte,* C130.2) the Type A Abbreviated Form (*gekürzte,* C130.3), and the Type A Catena Form (*Vollkatene*, C130.4). These later developments are dated by the inclusion of scholia from Photius for the Expanded Form and by the lifetime of the compiler, Leo Choirosphaktes, for the Abbreviated Form. The direct relationships between these types are shown by a solid line.[33]

When compared to Rauer, Reuss simplifies Type B by rejecting the distinction Rauer made between Coislin 20 and the rest of the Type B Basic Form. In Reuss's appraisal, the Type B Basic Form is a single entity registered as *Typus B Grundform* (C132). Reuss describes the Type B Catena Form (*Katene*, C133.1) as a development of the Basic Form. He does not specifically link the Catena Form in Luke (C133.1) to the Type A Catena Form on Luke (C130.4) via shared material. Nor does he postulate specific sources for the additional scholia in either catena tradition. Thus, the catena form is the only direct line stemming from the Type B Basic Form.

Reuss recognizes the similarity of scholia from both the Type A and Type B Basic Forms in the *Codex Singulus* Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 301 (Diktyon 71968), his Type F. However, he concludes that it is impossible to determine whether any scholia come from one tradition, the other, or another source since they are so abbreviated compared to the main types. These are therefore shown with a different type of dotted line than the other types.

[33] See Appendix 2 for descriptions of these catena types and manuscripts of them.

Reuss does describe the catena found in Codex Zacynthius, which he had access to through a copy of Harold Greenlee's unpublished transcription of the manuscript, provided to him by G.D. Kilpatrick.[34] Reuss labelled the catena as Type E and did not suggest when it may have been composed.[35] Since he dates the manuscript to the seventh/eighth century, the type has been placed in the sixth century in Figure 3.4, along with the Type A and Type B Basic Forms. Reuss recognizes this catena as an important source for the text of the writers included because of its antiquity and that some of the scholia overlap with those found in Type B (Reuss does not specify whether he means the Basic Form or Catena Form), the Nicetas catena (Reuss's Type C, C135), and the catena in Vatican Pal. gr. 20 (Reuss's Type D, C134).[36] While these types share scholia, he does not imply that any of the other forms used this type as a source.

2.4 *Summary*

These four stemmata present a generally consistent portrait of the catenae on Luke, which extends to the broader tradition of catenae on the Gospels. The primary catenae are the two Type A and Type B Basic Forms. Later catenists adapted these commentaries into new editions having edited, to varying degrees, the foundational source, and inserting new material from other sources. The early secondary catena are the Type A and Type B Catena Forms. Sickenberger, Rauer, and Reuss usually are aware of and consider other catenae on Luke such as the catena in Codex Zacynthius,

[34] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XV n. 26. Greenlee's transcription was never published, but an unpublished article on Codex Zacynthius was posthumously published by the Codex Zacynthius project: J. Harold Greenlee, "Codex Zacynthius: The Catena and the Text of Luke," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 281–299.

[35] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XV.

[36] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XV–XVI.

but these do not often factor into their *stemmata*. While Rauer and Reuss recognized the antiquity of the Type Z catena on Luke, this was primarily a consequence of the age of the manuscript—Zacynthius is the oldest New Testament catena manuscript—they did not situate it among the other witnesses. Thus, while many scholia are found in multiple catenae on the Gospels, how these might indicate a relationship between two types has not been demonstrated.

3 Patterns of Expansion

The unclear relationship between catenae on the Gospels with the same scholia presents an opportunity to reassess the relationships between the types and remap the development of the early catenae on the Gospels. The descriptions of the early catenae on the Gospels in Chapter 1 laid a foundation upon which the various types can be compared. This section will explore the corpus of added scholia in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms to show that the compilers of both types independently used the same source in their scholarly project.

One of the striking aspects of the descriptions of the Type A and Type B Catena Forms is the addition of named scholia to a pre-existing compilation commentary. The compilers used similar practices of attributing scholia to authors, with a common list of cited authors. The two Catena Forms both have some scholia in common and also selected scholia from different authors based on their own interests. The Type A Catena Form on Matthew (C110.1) and the Type B Catena Form on Matthew (C112.3) both attribute scholia to fourteen early Christian writers: Apollinarius of Laodicea (d. 392), Basil of Caesarea (d. 379), Cyril of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea (d. ca. 339/340), Gregory of Nyssa (d. 395), Irenaeus (d. ca. late-2nd c.), Isidore of Pelusium (d. ca. 435), John Chrysostom (d. 407), Origen, Severus of Antioch (d. 538), Theodore the Monk, Theodore of Heraclea (d. 355),

Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. 458). In general, these authors are named a similar number of times, with the exception of Apollinarius and Origen who are cited much more frequently in the Type B Catena Form, at fifty-five more citations and 160 more citations, respectively. Six authors uniquely included in Type C110.4 are Anastasius of Antioch (d. 598/599), Clement of Alexandria (d. 215), Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403), Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 390), Severian of Gabala (d. ca. 425/431), and Thalassius (d. ca. 6th/7th c.). There are five authors only named in Type C112.3: Gregory Thaumaturgus (d. ca. 270/275), Hesychius of Jerusalem (d. ca. 450), Theodore, Theophilus of Alexandria (d. 412), and Titus of Bostra (d. 378). None of these authors appears more than five times in either commentary, so they are minor figures in the scope of the full collection.

The authors cited in the Type A Catena Form on Luke (C130.4) mirror those in the Type B Catena Form on Luke (C133.1). Eight of the twelve authors are held in common: Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Isidore of Pelusium, John Chrysostom, Origen, Severus of Antioch, Titus of Bostra, and Victor of Antioch (d. ca. 5th century). Many of these authors are cited a similar number of times, with the Type A form having more named scholia overall. Cyril of Alexandria (+46 citations) and Titus of Bostra (+24 citations) are cited much more frequently in the Type A tradition. Since the Type A Basic Form commentary had gaps in the text for parallel passages in Matthew, the compilers had more material from favored sources such as Cyril and Titus which could be included in these sections, along with other named authors, than was needed to supplement the Type B Basic Form. The Type A Catena Form uses several authors not among the named authors in the Type B tradition: Apollinarius, Irenaeus, and Maximus the Confessor (d. 662). Athanasius of Alexandria (d. 373) is the

only writer named in the Type B Catena Form not found in the Type A parallel.[37] The authors found exclusively in one of the catenae were not major sources selected by the compilers.

The author attributions in the Type A Catena Form on John (C140.4) are similar to those in the Type B Catena Form (C141.2). Fourteen of the twenty-five authors named in either commentary are found in both: Ammonius the Presbyter (d. ca. 6th c.), Antiochus of Ptolemais (d. ca. 408), Apollinarius, Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Didymus the Blind (d. 398), Eusebius of Caesarea, Isidore of Pelusium, John Chrysostom, Origen, Severus of Antioch, Theodore (generically), Theodore of Heraclea, and Theodore of Mopsuestia.[38] As in the other two Gospels, the number of attributions is quite similar between the two works. Ammonius the Presbyter is cited seventy-four more times in C140.4 and Origen is found thirty-six more times in C141.2. The Type A Catena Form has four unique authors: Anastasius of Antioch, Caesarius of Nazianzus (d. ca. 368), Gregory of Nazianzus, and Hesychius of Jerusalem. The Type B Catena Form has seven writers only found in it: Amphilochius of Iconium (d. ca. 403), Athanasius of Alexandria, Diodore of Tarsus (d. before 394), Pope Julius I (d. 352), Methodius of Olympus (d. ca. 311), Proclus of Constantinople (d. 446), and Theophilus of Alexandria. These are minor figures in the catenae, being named only one or two times.

[37] On Athanasius in catenae: Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia*, 87; Gilles Dorival, "Athanase ou Pseudo-Athanase?," *Revista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 16 (1980): 80–89.

[38] As noted in the sources of the catenae in Chapter 2, the compilers attributed some scholia to a generic Theodore. Some of these have been shown to belong to Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret, while some remain unidentified: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 86–87, 173. The generic Theodore is likely pointing to any one of Theodore of Heraclea, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, or Theodore the Monk—who also sometimes may refer to Theodore of Heraclea or Mopsuestia.

In each of the early catenae on the Gospels, the Type A and Type B traditions, more than half the authors featured in the catenae, including all the prominent sources, are used extensively. Some of the early Christian writers which were included in only one catena type in one Gospel are also used by that source exclusively in another Gospel. This occurs for Anastasius of Antioch and Gregory of Nazianzus in the Type A Catena Forms of Matthew and John and for Athanasius of Alexandria in the Type B Catena Forms of Luke and John and for Theophilus of Alexandria in the Type B Catena Forms of Matthew and John. Such practices may reflect the interest or preferences of either compiler.

In addition to having drawn on a similar corpus of authors, the compilers also engaged in similar practices of naming scholia.[39] The named authors are typically cited in the genitive form, e.g. Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας. The authors are sometimes given expanded titles designating them as a saint, such as Τοῦ Ἁγίου Τίτου Βοστρῶν, or with their position in the church, as in Τίτου Ἐπισκόπου Βοστρῶν. While the name alone is the most common way of identifying a scholium's source, both catena types have longer epithets for some scholia from Isidore of Pelusium and Severus of Antioch which designates the specific letter or homily from which the excerpt originated. They also both used the same patterns of indirect and composite citations throughout the works, except that the Type B Catena Form exclusively used ἐκ διαφόρων in Luke and John. The catenists also used ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in their catenae, albeit with different techniques. These shared practices highlight the

[39] General observations about the methods used to identify authors in catenae are made in: Maria Antonietta Barbàra Valenti, *Estratti catenari esegetici greci. Ricerche sul Cantico dei cantici e altro*, Testi e studi di cultura classica 76 (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2019), 33–35; Robert Devreesse, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1928), col. 1090–1092.

similar pattern of expansion from the Basic to the Catena Form in the two early catena traditions on the Gospels.

The alignment in sources used and the techniques of identifying named scholia suggests that the two compilers drew on a similar pool of material, which could either be due to tradition having crystallized a cadre of authoritative interpreters or having used the same material sources for their projects. The former may be ruled out by the fact that several of the authors included—Apollinarius, Severus of Antioch, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and even sometimes Origen—were anathematized or of dubious status within the Byzantine church by the seventh and eighth centuries.[40] Thus, it seems most likely that the two compilers had access to the same material as sources for expanding their commentaries.

Macrostructural comparisons of the Type A and Type B Basic and Catena Forms provide the data to understand their development and relationship. As earlier studies had only described these traditions in summary form and critical editions were not available for all of them, I created an index of the catenae using selected manuscripts and critical editions, where available. The manuscripts consulted are the principal manuscripts of their type based on Reuss's studies—facilitating comparison with his results—and my own survey of the codices using digital images. In the Type A Basic Form, these are Paris, BnF, Gr. 188 (GA 20; Diktyon 49757) and Munich, Universitätsbibliothek,

[40] On the reading or treatment of so-called heretics in Byzantium and the role of exegesis in doctrinal disputes, see Averil Cameron, "How to Read Heresiology," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33 (2003): 471–492; Claudia Raap, "The Origins of Hagiography and the Literature of Early Monasticism: Purpose and Genre between Tradition and Innovation," in *Unclassical Traditions: Alternatives to the Classical Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. Christopher Kelly, Richard Flower, and Michael Stuart Williams, Cambridge Classical Journal Supplement 34 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

F° 30 (Cim.16) (GA 033; Diktyon 45102), and Fronton du Duc's edition.[41] For the Type A Catena Form, the representatives are Paris, BnF, Coislin 195 (GA 34; Diktyon 49334) and Paris, BnF, Coislin 23 (GA 39; Diktyon 49165), and Cramer's editions.[42] The selected representatives for the Type B Basic Form are Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 756 (GA 137; Diktyon 67387) and Paris, BnF, Coislin 20 (GA 36; Diktyon 49162). The Catena Form are Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 757 (GA 138; Diktyon 67388) and Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, A 3 (GA 2482; Diktyon 9680). These indices noted the order of the scholia, reference of the biblical *lemmata*, method of linking to the biblical text, and author attribution. This structural data afforded a global comparison of the catenae showing how the compilers constructed the catenae and pointing to places of overalp.

The macrostructural comparisons first allow the layers of the catenae to be isolated, showing specifically which scholia came from the Basic Form and which were added in the composition of the Catena Forms. Evidence that the compilers drew on the same sources for the added scholia can be found in places where they have the same extracts, with exactly the same text or edited in approximately the same way. Table 3.1 compares one series of added scholia on Matt. 8:32–34) in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms. The example provided is representative as there are many other parallels between the two catena types.[43] Fragments of Origen are edited in

[41] Fronton du Duc, *Bibliothecae Veterum Patrum Seu Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum: Tomus Secundus Graecolatinus*, vol. 2 (Paris: Compagnie de la Grand-Navire, 1624).

[42] John Anthony Cramer, *Catenae in Evangelia S. Matthaei et S. Marci*, Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum, vol. 1 (Oxford: University Press, 1840); John Anthony Cramer, *Catenae in Evangelia S. Lucae et S. Joannis*, Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum, vol. 2 (Oxford: University Press, 1844).

[43] Many of these can be identified in author-specific collections of fragments in catenae. These four manuscripts are included in the apparatuses of fragments of Origen's homilies on Matthew and Luke: Erich Klostermann and Ernst Benz, *Origenes Werke XII, I. Origenes Matthäuserklärung, III. Fragmente und Indices*, GCS 41/1 (Berlin: Akademie, 1941); Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*. Reuss includes at least one of the manuscripts for each type and sometimes both for the writers he

Klostermann and Benz's *Origenes Werke XII/1* and fragments of Apollinarius, Theodore of Heraclea, and Theodore of Mopsuestia are edited in Reuss's *Matthäus-Kommentare*.[44] Reference is made to Cramer's edition for the Type A Catena Form.[45]

Type A Catena Form	**Type B Catena Form**
Origen (Frag. 168; Cramer 1:64.31–34)	Origen (Frag. 168; Cramer 1:64.31–34)
Theodore of Heraclea (Frag. 55; Cramer 1:65.3–5)	
Theodore of Mopsuestia (Frag. 44; Cramer 1:65.6–8)	
	Origen/Apollinarius (Reuss, Frag. 39; Klostermann and Benz, Frag. 167)
Origen (Frag. 170; Cramer 1:65:9–10)	Origen (Frag. 170; Cramer 1:65:9–10)
Origen (τοῦ αὐτοῦ) (Frag. 171; Cramer 1:65.11)	
Apollinarius (Frag. 40; Cramer 1:65.12–14)	

Table 3.1. Comparison of the Series of Attributed Scholia on Matt 8:32–34

In both Catena Forms the compilers began the series with a scholium attributed to Origen: **Ὠριγένους.** Εἰ μὴ οἱ χοῖροι κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὥρμησαν καὶ ἀπεπνίγησαν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν, οὐκ ἂν οἱ βόσκοντες τοὺς χοίρους ἔφυγον τοῦ βόσκειν χοίρους καὶ κήρυκες τῶν θαυμάτων τῆς ἀληθείας ἐγένοντο. This comment is identical in both the Type A and Type B Catena Forms, and according to the apparatus in Klostermann and Benz's edition of Origen's works, it also is included in the same way in other Type B Catena Forms C112.4 and C112.5. A different catena tradition, Matthew Type D

edits in Matthew, Luke, and John: *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 61 (Berlin: Akademie, 1957); *Lukas-Kommentare*; *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 89 (Berlin: Akademie, 1966).

[44] Klostermann and Benz, *Origenes Werke XII/1*; Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*.

[45] Cramer, *Catenae in Evangelia S. Matthaei et S. Marci*.

(C114), which is only attested in Paris, BnF, Gr. 194 (GA 304; Diktyon 49763), has a shorter and differently edited form of the text.[46]

After this comment, the two traditions diverge. In the Type A Catena Form, there are short scholia attributed to Theodore of Heraclea and Theodore of Mopsuestia. In the Type B Catena Form, there is one short scholium attributed in some manuscripts to Origen and to Apollinarius—in Vatican gr. 757 and Bologna A 3 the scholium is attributed to Origen, but in Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1076 (GA 754; Diktyon 53740) it is attributed to Apollinarius. Reuss reckons that that the scholium truly came from Apollinarius rather than Origen.[47]

The next scholium is another of the shared comments attributed to Origen, which reads **Ὠριγένους** Ὡς ἀναίσθητοι τοῦτο εἶπον καὶ ἄγαν ἄπιστοι οἱ Γεργεσηνοί. As in the first example, this scholium appears in another catena tradition in a different form. Codex Athos, Monastery of the Great Lavra, B 113 (GA 1507, Diktyon 27165) is a tenth-century Gospels book with catenae on all four Gospels.[48] Its catena in Matthew has been classified as C115, and Athos B 113 is the only known manuscript with this text.[49] In this catena, the text has been edited differently being combined with Klostermann and Benz's extracts 167 and 171 with attribution to Apollinarius. After this second shared scholium from Origen, the Type A Catena Form has one more scholium from Apollinarius

[46] On Type C114, see Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 108–112. The type was edited in Petrus Possinus, ed., *Symbolarum in Matthaeum tomus prior exhibens catenam graecorum Patrum unius et uiginti* (Toulouse: Boude, 1646).

[47] Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*, 39. According to Reuss, the text of Klostermann and Benz frags. 167, 170, and 171 are part of a single scholium belonging to Apollinarius.

[48] On Athos B 113, see Joseph Reuss, "Die Evangelienkatenen im Cod. Athon. gr. Lawra B 113," *ZNW* 42 (1949): 217–228; Vít Hušek, "Excerpts from Clement of Alexandria in Codex Athos Lavra B 113," *Folia philologica* 142 (2019): 185–198. The manuscript was brought to Reuss's attention by Erich Klostermann: "Review of Reuss, Matthäus-, Markus-, und Johannes-Kommentare 1941," *TLZ* 68 (1943): 91.

[49] On C115, see Reuss, "Cod. Athon. gr. Lawra B 113," 217–228; Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*, XIV–XV.

before the text of the Type A Basic Form resumes. The Type B Catena Form returns to the Basic Form immediately after the Origen scholium.

The two identical scholia attributed to Origen in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms on Matt 8:32–34 points toward the compilers independently incorporating these scholia into their catenae from the same source. The presence of the two extracts in other catena traditions shows what one would expect: that independent catenists would produce a different text than another compiler. The separate transmission of these scholia with a different version of the text and even a different attribution for the second comment further supports the likelihood that the compilers of the Type A and Type B Catena Forms drew their version of the scholia from the same source. Since this pattern exists throughout the catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John, it appears that the source for the additional material in each Gospel comes from a single source.

4 The Source of the Additional Material

While the question of where the additional material used by the compilers of the Type A and Type B Catena Forms came from has never been answered, the common pattern of naming scholia and numerous identical comments in these catenae provides a foundation to search for the source. Given that these projects are dated to the seventh or eighth century, the source must also date to the earliest period in the development of catenae on the Gospels. In this earliest stage, one catena noted in earlier studies stands out as a potential candidate as the source for the Gospel of Luke: the catena on Luke in Codex Zacynthius.

4.1 *A Catena in Common*

Codex Zacynthius and other manuscripts related to it are described in Chapter 5, but a concise description here sets the stage for comparing the catenae in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms to the catena in Zacynthius. Codex Zacynthius, a fragmentary eighth-century palimpsest manuscript of the Gospel of Luke with a catena, holds a singular place among biblical manuscripts.[50] Its biblical text has been described as one of the top three witnesses to the earliest form of Luke and it is the oldest New Testament catena manuscript, preserving a unique compilation of exegetical extracts.[51] Recent research on Codex Zacynthius by the members of the Codex Zacynthius and CATENA projects, especially the publication of the *editio princeps* of the catena, has provided greater access to this late antique catena on Luke than has been available since it was scraped off the parchment in the thirteenth century.[52] Based on the preliminary information about the catena from Greenlee's studies and unpublished transcription, it was classified as an independent manuscript by Rauer and as the sole witness to Type E by Reuss.[53] The catena on Luke in Codex Zacynthius was finally added to the CPG in 2018 as a *Codex Singulus* with the identification number C137.3. Based on the analysis of the catena by Panagiotis Manafis and the investigations of this thesis, the catena in Codex Zacynthius has been shown to be the principal witness to a type found

[50] See the discussion of the date of Codex Zacynthius in Chapter 5.

[51] For a comprehensive analysis of the biblical and catena texts in Codex Zacynthius, see the various articles in H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, eds., *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020).

[52] The edition of the catena is published as H.A.G. Houghton, Panagiotis Manafis, and Amy Myshrall, *The Palimpsest Catena of Codex Zacynthius: Text and Translation*, TS 3/22 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020). The transcription and translation is also available as an open access dataset: Panagiotis, Manafis, Rachel Kevern, Amy Myshrall, H.A.G. Houghton, and Catherine Smith, *A Transcription of the Palimpsest Undertext of Codex Zacynthius* (2020): https://doi.org/10.25500/edata.bham.00000429.

[53] Greenlee, "The Catena of Codex Zacynthius," 992–1001; Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, LIII; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XV.

in other manuscripts which influenced other catena traditions. It has therefore been reclassified to the new Type Z Catena (C131z) in the *Clavis Clavium*.[54]

One of Manafis's most significant findings has been the identification of additional witnesses to the catena in Codex Zacynthius. As described above, Vatican Pal. gr. 273, is a fragmentary witness to the direct tradition of the catena, including some leaves where Codex Zacynthius is lacunose.[55] Paris Suppl. gr. 612 has been identified as having an abridged form of the catena on Luke supplemented with additional scholia from John Chrysostom.[56] To these can be added a further manuscript from the first half of the tenth century: Prague, Národní Knihovna České republiky, XXV B 7 (GA 1422; Diktyon 55549).[57] This codex also has an abridged version of the catena on Luke in Codex Zacynthius.[58] One further witness can be added to the list: Alexandria, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, 122 fols. 1–42 (GA 2937; Diktyon 33009).[59] Parpulov designated this codex as

[54] On the reclassification of the catenae on Luke, see Chapter 7.

[55] The scholia not found in Codex Zacynthius are published in: Manafis, "A New Witness," 384–401.

[56] Manafis, "Catenae on Luke," 153–168. As noted above, it was Greenlee, following the inclination of Bickerseth, who first proposed Paris Suppl. gr. 612 as having the catena related to Codex Zacynthius, see n. 32.

[57] Prague XXV B 7 is a scholarly manuscript classified as the only witness in Parpulov's e.10.i category (Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 106–108). See the description in Jean-Marie Olivier and Marie Aude Monégier du Sorbier, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Tchécoslovakie*, Documents, études, et répertoires (Paris: Cenre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1983), 75–76. The catenae on the four Gospels are classified as C119.1 (Matthew), C125.1 (Mark), C131z [C131.8] (Luke), and C147.9 (John). Along with the Gospels and catenae, the codex contains a number of other interpretive texts (listed in Parpulov) and the rare Jerusalem colophon: Agnès Lorrain, "Der Fall Jerusalem, Timiou Staurou 104 (12. Jh.): Eine Untersuchung zur Herkunft patristischer Exzerpte in den Tetraevangelien," *ZAC* 24 (2020): 355–388; Tommy Wasserman, "The Greek New Testament Manuscripts in Sweden with an Excursus on the Jerusalem Colophon," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 75 (2010): 77–107. The classification of the catena on Luke in Prague XXV B 7 was initially to the *Codices Singuli* type as C131.8. Based on the research for this thesis, which follows the suggestions made by Manafis, it has been reclassified to the newly formed type C131z as a witness to the catena of Codex Zacynthius.

[58] Manafis, "Βυζαντινά χειρόγραφα με σειρές εξηγητικών σχολίων στην Καινή Διαθήκη," 117–124. Manafis surmised the revised classification of its catena type in Manafis, *Exegesis on the Gospel of Luke*, forthcoming.

[59] The manuscript was added to the *Liste* following the examination of it by H.A.G. Houghton and Mina Monier: "Greek Manuscripts in Alexandria," *JTS* 71 (2020): 126–129. See the manuscript's description in Theodoros D. Moschonas, *Πατριαρχεῖον Ἀλεξανδρείας. Κατάλογοι τῆς πατριαρχικῆς βιβλιοθήκης. Τόμος Α'. Χειρόγραφα* (Alexandria: n.p., 1945).

the sole member of group e.10.ii and classified the catena on Luke in the manuscript as a copy of the Type B Basic Form (C132).[60] A re-evaluation of its catena on Luke for this thesis confirmed that it has the same type of catena as Prague XXV B 7. These four additional witnesses are important for the comparison of the Type Z catena because they are witnesses to the catena on Luke in places where Codex Zacynthius is lacunose and can be used to corroborate the sources of the Type A and Type B Catena Forms in those places.

The catena on Luke in Codex Zacynthius (C131z) has many similarities to the attributed scholia in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms. The early Christian writers named in the Type Z catena on Luke are Apollinarius, Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea, Isidore of Pelusium, John Chrysostom, Origen, Severus of Antioch, Titus of Bostra, and Victor of Antioch.[61] The additional witnesses to the type, Paris Suppl. gr. 612 and Prague XXV B 7, also attribute scholia to Gregory of Nyssa and Athanasius in addition to those named above. The authors named in these catenae cover all those named in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms except for Irenaeus and Maximus the Confessor, who are each cited once in the Type A Catena Form. The compilers also engaged in a similar technique of naming scholia, using the genitive form of the person's name, occasionally with an honorific title. The writings of Isidore of Pelusium are transmitted with an indication of a specific letter in his corpus in all but one case.[62] Likewise, Severus of Antioch's

[60] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 109.

[61] H.A.G. Houghton, "The Layout and Structure of the Catena," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 64; Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius and Their Treatment," 99.

[62] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 106. The collection and numbering of Isidore's letters emerged within a century of his lifetime: Pierre Évieux, "Isodore de Péluse. La numérotation des lettres dans la tradition manuscrite,"

writings are tied to a specific work.[63] The catenists also frequently used indirect citations such as τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἄλλως, καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγα, and πάλιν to indicate that the source of a scholium was the same as the one which preceded it.[64] And finally, the Type Z catena on Luke has a number of scholia with the appellation ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου. In Codex Zacynthius, there are forty-two scholia with this attribution, and the other witnesses each have many other scholia designated with this title.[65] Each of these aspects is paralleled in the additional material in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms.

4.2 *The Catena on Luke in Type A, Type, B, and Type Z*

A comparison of the additional scholia in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms to the Type Z Catena Form using the macrostructural indices described above confirms that the latter was the source used by the compilers of the two secondary catenae. The relationship between these catena types must be articulated in two ways because of the nature of the material witnesses in Type Z. The most extensive complete witness to the Type Z catena on Luke is Codex Zacynthius. This manuscript, however, is only extant to Luke 11:33, and has several missing leaves. The other witnesses serve as alternative sources for the text of the catena where there are gaps in Codex Zacynthius and for the entire text of the final twelve chapters of Luke. Since these sources are either fragmentary or

Revue d'histoire des textes 5 (1977), 45–72; Kirsopp Lake, "Further Notes on the Mss of Isidore of Pelusium," *JTS* 6 (1905), 270–273.

[63] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 114–116.

[64] Houghton, "Codex Zacynthius," 64.

[65] On the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφοθ scholia in Codex Zacynthius, see Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 100. Also note that Manafis identifies a tendency in Paris Suppl. gr. 612 to suppress the title ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου or to not use these scholia: Manafis, "Catenae on Luke," 155. The same pattern does not appear in Prague XXV B 7 which uses the title copiously throughout the Gospel of Luke.

abridgments of this catena, they therefore do not offer a complete picture of the contents of Type Z in those places where Codex Zacynthius and Vatican Pal. gr. 273 are not extant.

The Type A Catena Form has 131 scholia which were not part of the Basic Form in Luke 1:1–11:33. Of these, 118 are found in Type Z. The other thirteen scholia occur at gaps in Codex Zacynthius or Vatican Pal. gr. 273 and were not included in the abridged manuscripts. The 118 scholia in both types have nearly identical versions of the text apart from minor variants and are placed in the same order. Where the texts differ in some ways, the Type A Catena Form has abbreviated the text compared to the form found in Type Z. The attributions also match in every case. After Zacynthius gives out from Luke 11:34, there are 112 scholia in the corpus of additional scholia in the Type A Catena Form. Eighty-five of the 112 scholia are recorded in the abridged witnesses to the Type Z catena on Luke, preserving the text of more than three-quarters of the scholia. The texts of these scholia are also either equivalent or abbreviated in the Type A Catena Form compared to the Type Z text. The author attributions are nearly always the same, including the title ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου, and the order is nearly always the same. The fact that almost all the scholia added to the Type A Catena Form are present in essentially the same form with the same attributions as found in the Type Z catena on Luke establishes that this was the source of the added material used in the production of the Type A Catena Form.

The Type B Catena Form has sixty-seven attributed scholia which were not part of the Basic Form from Luke 1:1–11:33.[66] Sixty-one can be found in the Type Z Catena Form. The six which could not be found occurred at gaps in Codex Zacynthius and were not included in the other manuscripts of the type. The text of these comments was transmitted nearly identically as found in the Type Z catena and in the same order. Where the texts differ more substantially, the Type B Catena Form is abbreviated in comparison to the Type Z Form. After Luke 11:33, forty-one of fifty-nine attributed scholia are found in the abridged witnesses to the Type Z catena on Luke. The form of these scholia mirrors that of Type Z in both text and attribution. The alignment of text and attribution between the Type B Catena Form and the Type Z catena on Luke proves that this was the source for the named scholia in the Type B tradition.

The overall agreement of the scholia in the two types establishes the direct relationship between the Type A and Type B catenae and Type Z. This picture is verified by the details of the sequence between the foundational commentaries and the additional scholia in the two secondary catenae and by the consistency of author attributions in these types against other catena traditions. Table 3.2 shows the sequence of scholia at Luke 10:1–10 in the Type Z (C131z), Type A (C130.4), and Type B (C133.1) catenae. The Type Z scholia are numbered according to Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall's edition, and references to Cramer's edition are provided for the Type A catenae. Since no edition exists for the Type B catenae, reference is made to the folio in Paris Suppl. gr. 1076.

[66] This analysis uses as its basis the attributed scholia. The attribution of scholia is less consistent in many of the Type B Catena Form manuscripts. Paris Suppl. gr. 1076 has no author attributions for the first seven folios even though by the division of scholia and comparison to the Type B Basic Form, the use of different sources can still be determined. Thus, many of the anonymous scholia from C133.1 also may derive from Type Z.

	C131z	C130.4	C133.1
1			**Ἀνεπίγραφος.** τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν εὐδομή κοντα ἡ αἰτία … κύριος τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (Paris Suppl. gr. 1076 fol. 266r).
2	**Titus of Bostra.** Τούτου ὁ τύπος ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως … ἀνέδειξε τοίνυν Κύριος ἕτερους ἑβδομήκοντα (CZ 276-1).	**Titus of Bostra.** Τούτου ὁ τύπος ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως … ἡμων μαθητῶν παντὸς εἴδησιν ἀγαθοῦ (Cramer 2:82.9–23).	**Titus of Bostra.** Τούτου ὁ τύπος ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως … ἡμων μαθητῶν παντὸς εἴδησιν ἀγαθοῦ (Paris Suppl. gr. 1076 fol. 266r).
3	**Cyril of Alexandria**. Τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἡ αἰτία … καὶ δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες ἑβδομήκοντα (CZ 276-2).	**Cyril of Alexandria.** Καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολλή τις ἔμελλεν … καὶ δέκα καὶ ἕτεροι ἑβδομήκοντα (Cramer 2:82.24–28).	
4		**Προεγράφη.** Τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτων οἷον … ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ τὸν “ἀποστείλαντά με” (Cramer 2:82.28–33).	
5	**Titus of Bostra.** Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀγροὶ κομῶντες πλουσίως … ἃ μή ἐστι καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ (CZ 277-1).	**Titus of Bostra**. Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀγροὶ κομῶντες πλουσίως … ἃ μή ἐστι καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ (Cramer 2:83.3–18).	
6	**Cyril of Alexandria.** Καὶ πῶς ἂν πρόβατον κατισχύσειε λύκου … καὶ προβάτου γέγονεν ἡμερώτερος (CZ 278-1).		**Titus of Bostra.** Καὶ πῶς ἂν πρόβατον κατισχύσειε λύκου … καὶ προβάτου γέγονεν ἡμερώτερος (Paris Suppl. gr. 1076 fol. 266r).
7			**Ἀνεπίγραφος.** Οὐ πάντως τὰ σκεύη ὧν ονομασμέν … ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν (Paris Suppl. gr. 1076 fol. 266v).
8	**Titus of Bostra.** Προλέγει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν διωγμὸν … τις διαβολικὴ κακουργία ὑμᾶς ἀποσπάσῃ (CZ 279-1).	**Titus of Bostra.** Προλέγει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν διωγμὸν … τις διαβολικὴ κακουργία ὑμᾶς ἀποσπάσῃ (Cramer 2:83.19–26).	**Titus of Bostra.** Προλέγει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν διωγμὸν … τις διαβολικὴ κακουργία ὑμᾶς ἀποσπάσῃ (Paris Suppl. gr. 1076 fol. 266v).

9	**Cyril of Alexandria.** Ὥστε οὐδὲ τὴν περὶ τοῦ σώματος ... χαρίζεσθαι φιλίαις τὸν ἀνωφελῆ μελλησμόν (CZ 279-2).		
10	**Titus of Bostra.** Ἔχει τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ὄνομα ... προσείπῃ μικρούς τε καὶ μεγάλους (CZ 280-1).		
11	**Titus of Bostra.** Οὐ γὰρ κατ᾽ ἀποκλήρωσιν δώσετε ... ἀλλὰ κρίσει τῇ ἐμῇ βάλλεται (CZ 281-1)	**Titus of Bostra.** Οὐ γὰρ κατ᾽ ἀποκλήρωσιν δώσετε ... ἀλλὰ κρίσει τῇ ἐμῇ βάλλεται (Cramer 2:83.26–30)	
12	**Titus of Bostra.** Ἐάν τις μὴ ἡ ἄξιος ... ἐγὼ γὰρ κριτὴς ἔσομαι (CZ 281-2).		
13	**Titus of Bostra.** Τοῦτο γὰρ ῥεμβομένων καὶ μισθὸν αἰτούντων ... γίνεσθε καὶ ἀμετακίνητοι τὸν νοῦν (CZ 282-1).	**Titus of Bostra.** Τοῦτο γὰρ ῥεμβομένων καὶ μισθὸν αἰτούντων ... γίνεσθε καὶ ἀμετακίνητοι τὸν νοῦν (Cramer 2:83.32–35).	
14	**Origen.** Ὥσπερ τοίνυν εὐεργετεῖτε σώματα ... φυλακῆς καὶ φρουρᾶς ἄξιον πόλις (CZ 283-1)		**Origen.** Ὥσπερ τοίνυν εὐεργετεῖτε σώματα ... φυλακῆς καὶ φρουρᾶς ἄξιον πόλις (Paris Suppl. gr. 1076 fol. 267r)
15	**Origen.** Τῶν γὰρ ἁμαρτημάτων ὑμῶν ὁ κονιορτὸς ... πολλοί εἰσιν οἱ διερχόμενοι δι᾽αὐτῆς (CZ 284-1)	**Origen.** Τῶν γὰρ ἁμαρτημάτων ὑμῶν ὁ κονιορτὸς ... πολλοί εἰσιν οἱ διερχόμενοι δι᾽αὐτῆς (Cramer 2:84.3–7)	**Ἀνεπίγραφος.** Παρατηρητέον ὅτι αἱ μὴ παραδεχόμεναι ... ἡ πρόσκαιρος τι μωρία (Paris Suppl. gr. 1076 fol. 267r)

Table 3.2. Comparison of the Scholia on Luke 10:1–10 in the Type A, Type B, and Type Z Catenae

The sequence in the Type A Catena Form begins with two scholia on Luke 10:1 from Titus of Bostra and Cyril of Alexandria which were sourced from the Type Z Catena but shortened. Then there is a προεγράφη comment from the Type A Basic Form indicating that Luke 10:2–16 were

explained in Matthew.[67] The gap in the Type A commentary and the tendency for the compilers of the catena to insert additional scholia in blocks is illustrated here. In the absence of commentary, the compilers drew five scholia from the Type Z catena to explain Luke 10:2–10. These five comments are identical in title and text to the Type Z tradition.

The sequence in the Type B tradition interleaves scholia from its two sources. There are three scholia marked with the title ἀνεπίγραφος which come from the Type B Basic Form and frame the four titled scholia. The first scholium (row 2) attributed to a person is from Titus of Bostra and abbreviated, as also seen in the Type A Catena Form.[68] One scholium attributed to Titus of Bostra (row 6) is attributed to Cyril of Alexandria in the Type Z Catena Form.[69] Apart from this difference in attribution, the scholia assigned to an individual matches the attribution in the source. The Type B and Type Z traditions intersect at the final scholium on Luke 10:8–10 (row 15). The scholium in Type B begins with a quotation from Origen which has also been excerpted in Type Z with a different incipit and version of the text. The text as found in Type Z was copied verbatim in the Type A Catena Form. The text in the Type B catena follows the Type B Basic Form and continues on with explanations from other sources which are not divided into separate scholia.

[67] See Chapter 2, Table 2.4.

[68] That the two traditions both abbreviate this scholium to the same extent raises the possibility that they used as a source a Type Z manuscript which was already abridged. The comment is present in Paris Suppl. gr. 612 in the same form that it is in Codex Zacynthius without attribution, but not in Prague XXV B 7. These witnesses, therefore, do not corroborate that hypothesis.

[69] It is perhaps worth noting that in Paris Suppl. gr. 1076 the scholium has an indirect τοῦ αὐτοῦ attribution, which immediately follows a specific attribution to Titus of Bostra. The scholium is attributed specifically to Cyril of Alexandria in Codex Zacynthius and Prague XXV B 7 fol. 233v. In Paris Suppl. gr. 612 it has no attribution.

Table 3.2. shows how the compilers of the two catenae structured their projects using the two sources. The Type A Catena filled in the gaps in its primary source with a selection of comments from Type Z, whereas the Type B Catena interspersed comments between the extracts from its foundational commentary. That these sources used the Type Z Catena and not one another is shown by the fact that only two scholia on Luke 10:1–10 are shared by both catenae, and all of the named scholia can be found in Type Z.

The direct connection is also demonstrated in the preservation of an unusual attribution found only in the Type A and Type Z catenae which differs from other catena traditions. At Luke 11:17 there is an unexpected attribution to Aquila (Ἀκύλα) (Cramer 2:92.26; Paris, BnF, Coislin 23, fol. 177r [GA 39; Diktyon 49165]).[70] The incipit to this scholium is also found in Migne's volume of Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on Luke* (PG 72, 701.21). Migne does not list the manuscript source for the text of his edition, which is a reprint of Mai's 1838 edition of Cyril of Alexandria and Severus of Antioch's works in *Classicorum Auctorum*.[71] Mai's source for this text was a manuscript of the catena on Luke by Nicetas of Heraclea (C135), Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1611 (GA 1821; Diktyon 68242).[72] In the Nicetas tradition, the scholium has a different form of the text and ascribes it to both Cyril of

[70] The citation of Aquila is unexpected because he is not known to have produced any exegetical writings on the Gospels. The scholium occurs at a gap in Codex Zacynthius, so there is no evidence from the direct Type Z tradition. The extract is transmitted indirectly under the name of Aquila in Prague XXV B 7 (fol. 239r) (as τοῦ αὐτοῦ) with the preceding scholium explicitly citing Aquila as the source. Thus, it may, despite its inaccuracy, derive from a reading in a Type Z manuscript. The technique of abbreviating Aquila in Greek, ακυλ, could be a misreading of an abbreviated form of Cyril (κυριλλου) as $\kappa_{\lambda}^{\upsilon}$. When the letters are stacked and the word Ἀλεχανδρείας is nearby, one could reasonably make the mistake of writing ακυλ for the scholium, which was subsequently written more clearly in later manuscripts and eventually reproduced in the Type A Catena Form.

[71] Angelo Mai, ed., *Classicorum auctorum e Vaticanis codicibus editorum. Tomus X: S. Cyrilli Alexandrini Commentarius in Lucae evangelium. Item aliorum patrum fragmenta.* (Rome: Vatican, 1838).

[72] Sickenberger, *Cyrill von Alexandrien*, 67.

Alexandria and John Chrysostom. The source in the Type A Catena Form, however, matches the text found in Type Z. Codex Zacynthius is missing several pages at this point, but the comment is included in Prague XXV B 7 (fol. 239r). It bears the attribution τοῦ αὐτοῦ with reference to the preceding scholium from Aquila. Since this extract from Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on Luke* has been transmitted in a different form and with a different attribution by different catenists, with one of the traditions crediting the text to the wrong source, the version in the Type A Catena Form can be linked concretely to the Type Z tradition. These comparanda show that the compilers of the Type A Catena Form depended on the Type Z catena on Luke as the source for the attributed scholia in their project of expanding the Basic Form.

The compilers of the Type A and Type B Catena Forms sourced the attributed scholia in their catenae on Luke from the Type Z catena on Luke. This finding is supported by a macrolevel and microlevel comparison of the catenae. In the places where Codex Zacynthius is extant before Luke 11:33, every additional scholium in both Type A and Type B is accounted for. Where Zacynthius is missing leaves, the majority of scholia are still found in the other fragmentary and abridged manuscripts of the type. At a microlevel, the sequence and attribution of scholia demonstrates the use of the Type Z catena on Luke in the projects of making new catenae. The consanguinity of the scholia in the two catena traditions establishes the direct relationship between them. This finding resolves the question posed by Reuss about how the catenae developed and accords with his and Rauer's theories that the scholia from Cyril of Alexandria and Origen were not taken from direct tradition.

4.3 *Manafis on Type A and Type Z*

Panagiotis Manafis reached a different conclusion about the relationship between the Type A catena on Luke and Type Z catena on Luke. He observed the high degree of similarity between the two catenae from a comparison of nearly all the catenae on Luke at Luke 10:1–6 (rows 1–11 in Table 3.2).[73] Manafis operated under the assumption that the C130.4 catena was potentially a source for the catena in Codex Zacynthius, writing that Type Z "resembles that of type [C130.4], but has been augmented with additional scholia."[74] In this comparison the differences in the two compilations are explained by Zacynthius being supplemented with scholia from another source rather than an appraisal of the sources of the Type A catena. This perspective drives his conclusion that the compilers of the two catenae used a common source rather than directly depending on the other: "Despite their similarity in the test passage, the catena type [C130.4] cannot be the source for the catena of Codex Zacynthius. The source for the extracts marked as unattributed [ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου] must have been a sylloge of exegetical passages used by both compilers."[75] His primary evidence for reaching this conclusion is an investigation of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia. He observes that eighteen of the forty-two scholia with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου are also found in the Type A Catena Form, but only six scholia have the unattributed designation. His examples convincingly show that in these six scholia, the two catenae have a common source. But the key to his argument about the two catenae not having a direct relationship is focused on incidences where the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου

[73] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 142–147.

[74] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 147.

[75] Manafis, "Catenae on Luke," 153.

scholia in Codex Zacynthius have a different attribution in the Type A Catena Form with a text that has been edited differently.

Manafis's first three examples are three ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia which have been transmitted with an attribution to Origen in the Type A Catena Form. In the numbering of Zacynthian scholia in *The Palimpsest Catena of Codex Zacynthius* these are scholia 023-1 (Cramer 9.34), 044-1 (Cramer 14.5), and 045-1 (Cramer 14.15).[76] None of these, however, are transmitted with the attribution to Origen in Cramer's edition or the two Type A Catena Form manuscripts cited by Manafis, Paris Coislin 23 and Paris Coislin 195. The first scholium is marked with the marginal siglum ωρ in Paris Coislin 95, though not in Paris Coislin 23. One of the noted difficulties in the attribution of scholia in catenae is the potential for confusion between the abbreviation for Ὠριγένους (ωρ) and the ὡραῖον siglum (ωρ). The ὡραῖον is intended to "call forth admiration" but is frequently mistaken as an indication for material from Origen.[77] As there is no other indication that this scholium is from Origen, this perhaps influenced Manafis and led to the inclusion of the heading Ὠριγένους in his transcription of the scholium, which he notes is actually from Eusebius of Caesarea.[78] The second example (044-1) is an extract from Origen's *Homilies on Luke*, but the marginal siglum in both Paris

[76] Manafis, "Catenae on Luke," 149–151.

[77] Angelo di Berardino, "John Drungarius, Catenist," in *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers, 451–750*, ed. Angelo di Berardino, trans. Adrian Walford (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2006; repr., 2008), 608. On the difficulties of the ὡραῖον, see also Sandro Leanza, "Problemi di ecdotica catenaria," in *Metodologie della ricerca sulla tarda antichità. Atti del Primo Convegno dell'Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi*, ed. Antonio Garzya (Naples: M. D'Auria Editore, 1989), 253–255. Rauer mistakenly included fragments of Origen in *Origenes Werke* due to this misreading: Gianmario Cattaneo, "Un moderno falso origeniano: sull'attribuzione e sui testimoni di Or. *fr*. 241-242 Rauer (90-91 Crouzel-Fournier-Périchon) *in Lc*.," *Commentaria Classica* 7 (2020), 149–167; Emanuela Prinzivalli, "Origene e lo strano caso dell'Omelia 39 su Luca," in *Il cristianesimo antico fra tradizioni e traduzioni*, ed. Emanuela Prinzivalli (Rome: Città Nuova, 2019), 211–229. Heine also cautions on trusting the attribution of fragments of Origen in catenae on John, without making recourse to the ὡραῖον: Ronald E. Heine, "Can the Catena Fragments of Origen's Commentary on John Be Trusted?," *VC* 40 (1986): 118–134.

[78] Manafis, "Catenae on Luke," 149.

Coislin 23 and Coislin 195 ought to be interpreted as an ὡραῖον rather than an abbreviation of Ὠριγένους. Cramer interpreted the text as being unattributed, and the comment is anonymous in the Type A Basic Form. The third example (045-1) is not marked as a scholium from Origen in any way in either codex. There is therefore no basis for Manafis's contention that these three scholia have been transmitted under the name of Origen in the Type A Catena Form. All three scholia are anonymous numbered scholia which derive from the Type A Basic Form. Thus, they do have a different source, as Manafis shows, and this explains why each one is edited differently in the two catena traditions.

Manafis then turns to the eight ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in Codex Zacynthius which are present in the Type A Catena Form without a title. Through two representative examples (Zacynthius scholia 011-1 [Cramer 2:7.19–25] and 076-1 [Cramer 2:19.28–32]), Manafis shows that though the two catenae have clearly incorporated text from the same author, the two used different sources for the material. This is correct. The Type A Catena Form inherited these scholia from the foundational commentary, and they came from a different exegetical collection in the Zacynthian catena.[79] Assessing the sources of the scholia in the Type A Catena Form and its relationship to the Type Z tradition depends on first clarifying whether or not the Type A scholium came from the Basic Form because the link between the two catenae is in the additional scholia not found in the earlier stage in the Type A tradition. Attending to the sources of the Type A Catena Form facilitates a more complete understanding of the compilation of this catena.

[79] On the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia as part of early exegetical collection, see further Chapter 4. Chapter 4 shows that this exegetical collection was also used by the compilers of the Type A and Type B Basic Form commentaries.

While Manafis contended that the Type A Catena Form and the Type Z Catena Form had no direct relationship, this argument was built on the misattribution of scholia and did not consider the role of the Type A Basic Form in the formation of the Type A catena. When this is taken into account, it becomes clear that the scholia from the Type A Basic Form in the later catena which also are in Type Z have a different edition of that text. These may have been edited from the direct tradition of the early Christian author independently by the compilers of either tradition or drawn and edited from another exegetical collection. As shown above, the scholia which the compilers of the Type A Catena Form incorporated from Type Z are virtually identical to their source, evidencing the direct relationship between the two catena types. The description of the catenae and its development are crucial for assessing its connection to other catenae on the Gospels.

4.4 *The Additional Scholia in the Catenae on Matthew and John*

The identification of the Type Z catena on Luke as the single source for the added scholia in the Type A and Type B catenae means that a similar comparison could identify the source of the added scholia in the catenae on Matthew and John in the same traditions. Since the catenae on the Gospels developed in similar ways and most compilers conducted their projects of making catenae on multiple Gospels, the first place to look would be for corresponding catenae on Matthew and Luke. Codex Zacynthius, however, is a manuscript of only the Gospel of Luke and therefore the identification of other witnesses to its catena only applies to the catena on Luke. Houghton and Parker contend that because Codex Zacynthius begins with a preface and other prefatory material, it likely would have only contained the Gospel of Luke in a large volume of approximately 240 folios.

Though they speculate that it potentially "may have been part of a set treating all four Gospels."[80] The manuscript does have built in links to the other Gospels. Codex Zacynthius has a unique table containing the list of chapter numbers and titles for Luke (fols. 1–2) which are accompanied by a cross-reference table indicating the parallel chapters in the other Gospels.[81] This table is shown in Figure 3.5. In the table, the *kephalaia* and *titloi* proceed down the left column. In the next four columns, the chapter numbers are given for each Gospel if a parallel to the chapter in Luke was identified by the makers of this table.[82] The columns are sequenced in the order Luke–John–Matthew–Mark.[83] The placement of Luke first suggests that the orientation of the list was both for navigating in Luke and making direct comparison from that Gospel to the text of another Gospel. The use of a source like the catena in Codex Zacynthius to produce the Type A and Type B catenae

[80] H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, "The Gospel of Luke in the Palimpsest," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 33.

[81] Houghton and Parker, "The Gospel of Luke in Palimpsest," 36–39. The cross-reference table was a powerful invention of late antiquity intellectual technology used extensively in the study of Christian literature. On tables in late antiquity, see Andrew M. Riggsby, *Mosaics of Knowledge: Representing Information in the Roman World*, Classical Culture and Society (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 42–82. On the use of tables by Christian scholars, see Coogan, *Eusebius the Evangelist*, 28–58; Jeremiah Coogan, "Tabular Thinking in Late Ancient Palestine: Instrumentality, Work, and the Construction of Knowledge," in *Knowledge Construction in Late Antiquity*, ed. Monika Amsler, Trends in Classics - Supplementary Volumes 142 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023), 57–81; Jeremiah Coogan, "Transforming Textuality: Porphyry, Eusebius, and Late Ancient Tables," *Studies in Late Antiquity* 5 (2021): 6–27; Matthew R. Crawford, *The Eusebian Canon Tables: Ordering Textual Knowledge in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*, 86–232.

[82] As Houghton and Parker note, it is noteworthy that the *kephalaia* were used to facilitate textual comparison in this manner when the Eusebian apparatus was a commonplace technology purpose fit for this use: Houghton and Parker, "The Gospel of Luke in Palimpsest," 36. On the *kephalaia* in catena manuscripts, see Saskia Dirkse, "New Treasures as Well as Old: The Use and Reuse of the Gospel Kephalaia in Commentary Manuscripts," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 28 (2023): 167–182.

[83] Patton draws attention to this table as an example of catenae operating outside the canonical order of the Gospels: Andrew J. Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," *NovT* 64 (2022): 117 n. 6. The synoptic cross-reference table in another fragmentary sixth-century manuscript Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Harris 7 (GA 073; Diktyon 58330) + St Petersburg, RNB, Gr. 277 (GA 084; Diktyon 57349) is similar to the one in Zacynthius but appears in the lower margin of the page and reports parallels in the text of that page only: Matthew Crawford, "A New Witness to the 'Western' Ordering of the Gospels: GA 073 + 084," *JTS* 69 (2018): 477–483.

plus the evidence of this table suggests that Codex Zacynthius as part of a set of catenae on the Gospels is not merely speculative, but likely.

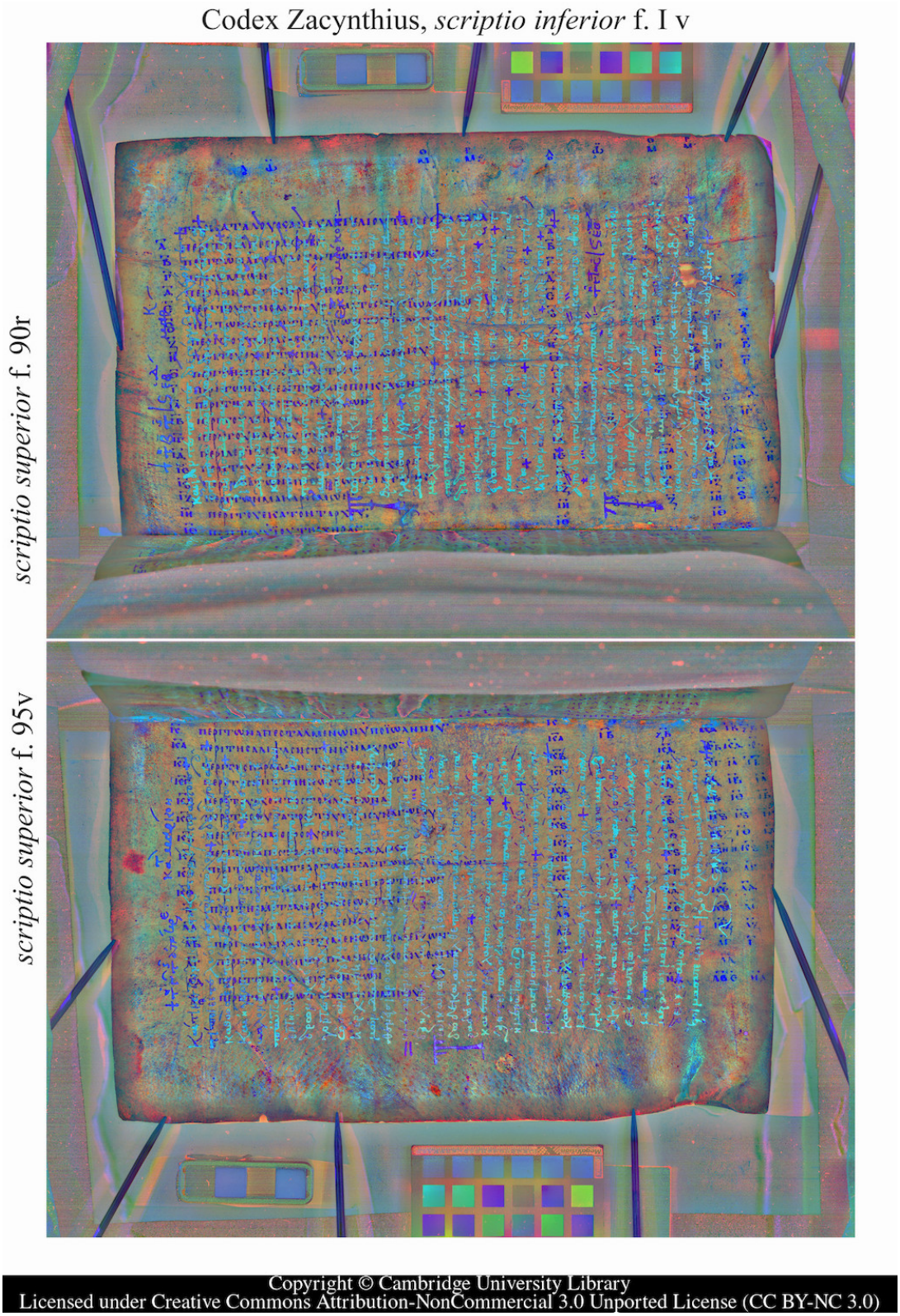
The Type F catena on John (C145) bears a number of similarities to the Type Z catena on Luke and the additional scholia in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms, making it the most likely potential source in John.[84] This catena type was identified by Karo and Lietzmann (Type V), described by Reuss, and printed in Balthasar Corderius's 1630 edition *Catena Patrum Graecorum in Sanctum Ioannem*.[85] Parpulov identified six manuscripts of the type in his e.11.i.α and e.11.i.β categories.[86] The early Christian writers named in the C145 catena on John are Ammonius the Presbyter, Amphilochius of Iconium, Antiochus of Ptolemais, Apollinarius, Athanasius of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Didymus the Blind, Diodore of Tarsus, Epiphanius of Salamis, Eusebius of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Isidore of Pelusium, John Chrysostom, Pope Julius I, Origen, Proclus of Constantinople, Severus of Antioch, Theodore, Theodore of Heraclea, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Theophilus of Alexandria, and ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου.

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[84] On type C145 see the full description in Chapter 4. See also, Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 210–215; Robert Devreesse, "Notes sur les chaînes grecques de saint Jean," *RB* 36 (1927): 192–215; Albert Heitlinger, "Der "Codex Cusanus 18" die Vorlagenhandschrift der "Corderius-Katene" zum Johannesevangelium," *Bib* 42 (1961): 443–454; Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 589–591.

[85] Balthasar Corderius, *Catena Patrum Graecorum in Sanctum Ioannem* (Antwerp: Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1630).

[86] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 110–111. The six manuscripts are as follows. Group e.2.i.α comprises: Bernkastel-Kues, Bibliothek des St. Nikolaus-Hospitals, 18 (GA 87; Diktyon 9588) and the fragmentary manuscript GA 050 held in four locations: Moscow, GHM, Syn. gr. 119, fols. 1–4, 383–385 (Diktyon 43744) + Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, 71, fols. 358–365 (Diktyon 20039) + Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 2, fols. 1 and 238–239 (Diktyon 48524) + Athens, EBE, 1371, fols. 392r–393v (Diktyon 3667). The e.2.ii.β group has four manuscripts: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1420 (GA 1370; Diktyon 9323); Madrid, BNE, 4673 (GA 821; Diktyon 40150); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 225, (GA 2103; Diktyon 47513); Paris, BnF, Gr. 209 (GA 0141; Diktyon 49779). For more information on these manuscripts and this type, see Chapter 5.



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Figure 3.5. The Chapter List and Cross-Reference Table in Codex Zacynthius (fol. 1v)

(Image credit: Cambridge University Library)

This list of authors covers all those in the Type A Catena Form except for Anastasius of Antioch, Caesarius of Nazianzus, and Hesychius of Jerusalem. It also names every person cited in the Type B Catena Form except for Methodius of Olympus. The catena has several scholia with composite attributions and uses the indirect attributions found in Type Z. Also like Type Z, the compilers included attestations of the sources of many scholia attributed to Isidore of Pelusium and Severus of Antioch. These features suggest the catena aligns with the Type Z catena on Luke and are therefore consistent with its being the source for the scholia in the secondary catena traditions.

The data in Reuss's *Johannes-Kommentare* edition of scholia on John from Apollinarius, Theodore of Heraclea, Didymus the Blind, Theophilus of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Ammonius of Alexandria, and Photius of Constantinople, demonstrates that the C145 catena was the source for the additional scholia on John.[87] There are 291 citations in Reuss's apparatus of the three manuscripts from the Type A Catena Form.[88] In all but one of these scholia, which are all part of the expanded group of scholia, the scholium is also found in the two manuscripts of C145 used for the edition.[89] The pattern also holds for the Type B Catena Form. The three manuscripts of this type are cited 167 times by Reuss, and 160 of the 167 scholia are shared with the two C145 manuscripts.[90] According to Reuss, five of the seven scholia not found in the Type B Catena Form

[87] Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare*.

[88] The three manuscripts used by Reuss for the Type A Catena Form were Paris Coislin 23, Paris, BnF, Gr. 187 (GA 301; Diktyon 49756), and Florence, BML, Plut.06.33 (GA 194; Diktyon 16020).

[89] The two manuscripts used by Reuss for Type F (C145) were Bernkastel-Kues, Bibliothek des St. Nikolaus-Hospitals, 18 (GA 87; Diktyon 9588) and Paris, BnF, Gr. 209 (GA 0141; Diktyon 49779).

[90] Reuss's three manuscripts for the Type B Catena Form were Paris Suppl. gr. 1076, Venice, BNM, Z.28 (364) (GA 357; Diktyon 69499), and Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, A 3 (GA 2482; Diktyon 9680).

are only found in this catena type. Beyond the attestation of sources, the details in the text and attribution of the sources supports a direct link between the Type F catena on John and the Type A and Type B Catena Forms. Many of the scholia from the sources edited by Reuss were also transmitted in other catena traditions. When the traditions in different types diverge, the Type A and Type B manuscripts follow the form of the text found in Type F. This also applies to scholia with different attributions in different catenae. The Type A, Type B, and Type F catenae agree with one another against other traditions. While the comparison of these catena types is based on a large sample via an edition rather than a direct comparison of the manuscripts, the level of agreement between these three catenae is striking. It supports the position that the C145 catena on John is the source of the additional scholia in both traditions and was a companion project to the Type Z catena on Luke.[91]

The source of the additional scholia for the Type A and Type B Catena Forms on Matthew is in a codex classified with the designation C116.5. The was only witness to the type is the fragmentary ninth-century catena manuscript Zavorda, Monastery of St Nikanor, 5, fols. 307–312 (Diktyon 72287).[92] Manafis and Parpulov published an analysis of a catena with an index of its scholia which resulted in the identification of it as a *Codex Singulus*.[93] The first part of this manuscript contains a Gospels lectionary GA L2095. The final six folios were inserted from a different codex and have a catena on Matthew in alternating format covering verses Matt 1:17–2:9 and 3:5–15. Manafis and

[91] A description of Type Z will be advanced in Chapter 5.

[92] See the description in Linos Politis, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ζάβορδας* (Thessaloniki: Ἑλληνικὴ Παλαιογραφικὴ Ἑταιρεία, 2012), 6.

[93] Panagiotis Manafis and Georgi Parpulov, "A Chapter from the History of Catenae: CPG C111–C112 and Their Previously Unknown Ancestor," *Parekbolai* 11 (2021): 159–170.

Parpulov found that the majority of the scholia in the catena in Zavorda 5 were also found in the Type B catenae on Matthew (C112.1–6).[94] The alignment between these catenae led them to conclude that "the compilers of C112.1, C112.2, C112.3, C112.4, and C112.5 all had as their source the catena of which Z [Zavorda 5] contains a fragment."[95] This is the first time that any claim has been made about the source of the additional scholia in the Type B Catena Forms.

The six leaves of Zavorda 5 preserve sixty-eight scholia on the Gospels from nine authors: Apollinarius of Laodicea, John Chrysostom (all unattributed), Cyril of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Origen, Severus of Antioch, Theodore, Theodore of Heraclea, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The catenists used the characteristic indirect attributions techniques found in the catena on Luke in Codex Zacynthius, marking scholia with τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἄλλως, καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγα, and καὶ πάλιν. Though four scholia belong to Severus of Antioch, none includes a reference to the specific source of the comment. Based on the date of the manuscript and the presence of scholia from Severus of Antioch, Manafis and Parpulov date this catena as having been compiled sometime between the sixth and ninth centuries.[96]

The connection to the Type B Catena Form (C112.3) is apparent. Thirty-eight of the scholia in Zavorda 5 are included in the two codices used for the macrostructural indices, Paris Suppl. gr. 1076 or Bologna A 3.[97] As in the case of the Type B Catena Form on Luke, these are interleaved

[94] Manafis and Parpulov, "A Chapter from the History of Catenae," 166.
[95] Manafis and Parpulov, "A Chapter from the History of Catenae," 166.
[96] Manafis and Parpulov, "A Chapter from the History of Catenae," 168.
[97] Manafis and Parpulov's apparatus only used Paris Suppl. gr. 1076 for the comparison, but some of the scholia from Zavorda 5 not found in this manuscript are present in Bologna A 3.

between scholia copied from the Type B Basic Form, and Manafis and Parpulov note that some of the scholia skipped in Zavorda 5 were probably not selected to avoid duplication because they are paraphrased differently in the commentary scholia.[98] In addition to these points of overlap, the Type B manuscripts also include several attributed scholia not found in Zavorda 5. These are from Diodore of Tarsus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Isidore of Pelusium, John Chrysostom, Severus of Antioch, Theodore of Heraclea, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Even so, Manafis and Parpulov's study of the catena in Zavorda 5 proves a direct connection between this catena and the additional scholia in the Type B catena.

The connection between Zavorda 5 and the Type A Catena Form is less clear. In the short section where Zavorda 5 is extant, the Type A Catena Form only has seventeen named scholia from Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, Origen, Theodore the Monk, and Theodore of Heraclea. Only one of these scholia matches the text in Zavorda 5, though others are part of the Type B Catena Form. This makes it difficult to establish a firm connection between the catena in Zavorda 5 and the Type A Catena Form. However, since the sources of the additional ascribed material in the Type A and Type B catenae has been shown to be the same in the other catenae, the link between these sources probably would be confirmed if a greater portion of the catena on Matthew in Zavorda 5 was preserved.

The following conclusions may be drawn from the identification of the type of catena seen in Zavorda 5 as the source for the additional scholia in the catenae on Matthew in Type A and Type

[98] Manafis and Parpulov, "A Chapter from the History of Catenae," 166–168.

B. First, the date of composition for this project proposed by Manafis and Parpulov can be narrowed from the sixth–ninth centuries to the sixth–seventh centuries on account of its use as a source in catenae which date to the seventh–eighth centuries. Moreover, since the two catenae which used this source also have several other extracts with named sources which are not from their foundational commentary, the catena in Zavorda 5 should be understood to be an abridged version of the type, akin to Prague XXV B 7 and Paris Suppl. gr. 612 for the Type Z Catena in Luke.[99] Finally, and perhaps most significantly, this study has shown that the catena on Matthew (C116.5) in Zavorda 5 is a witness to the Type Z catena tradition. While the full form of this catena on Matthew no longer exists, the identification of an abridged witness to it along with the pattern of expansion identified in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms suggest that it did indeed exist as an independent volume alongside the catena found in Codex Zacynthius.

5 Chapter Summary

The similarities in the sources and editorial conventions of the attributed scholia in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms suggests that the two types have a common source. This source has been shown to be the Type Z catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John. The recent publication of the catena on Luke in Codex Zacynthius facilitated the identification of it as the source for both compilations. Two catenae on Matthew (C116.5) and John (C145) have several similarities to the Type Z catena on

[99] Manafis and Parpulov suggest that the catena on Matthew (C119.1) in Prague XXV B 7 was supplemented with named scholia from another source like the Type B Catena Forms: Manafis and Parpulov, "A Chapter from the History of Catenae," 159. Elsewhere, Parpulov suggests that it is not clear whether the scholia in this type came from direct tradition or another source: Georgi Parpulov, "Some New Patristic *Scholia on the Gospel of Matthew*," *Adamantius* (2021): 392–395. None of the scholia in Zavorda 5 were transmitted in Prague XXV B 7. Since this manuscript contained an abridged version of the Type Z catena on Luke, the relationship between the catenae on Matthew and John in this manuscript with Type Z will be taken up in Chapter 5.

Luke. The C145 catena on John proves to be the source of the additional scholia in the Type A and B Catena Forms and can now be recognized as part of the Type Z tradition. While no witness to the full Type Z catena on Matthew exists, the catena in the fragmentary manuscript Zavorda 5 seems to be an abridged version of this work.

These findings complement earlier research on the catenae on the Gospels. On the one hand, they verify the connection between the Type A and Type B Catena Forms which was noted in several of the *stemmata* presented in this chapter. On the other hand, the discovery that the compilers of these catenae used the Type Z catena as a source means that the *stemmata* of the early catenae on the Gospels can be redrawn. A new stemma is presented in Figure 3.6.

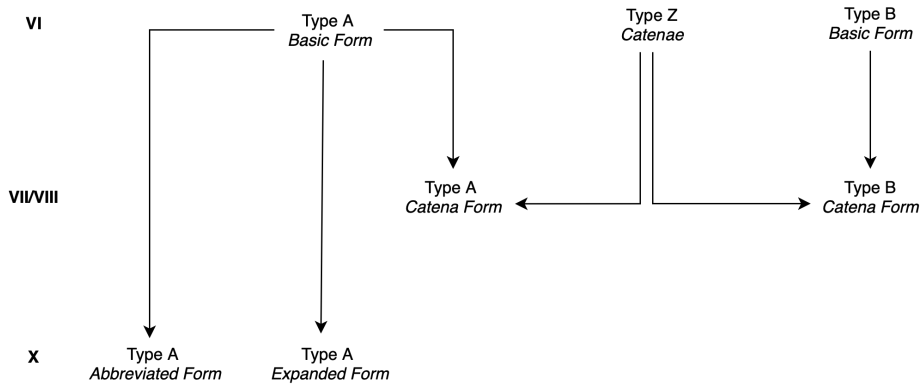


Figure 3.6. Stemma of the Early Catenae on the Gospels

The new stemma situates the Type Z catenae as one of the primary catenae produced in the sixth century based on the fact that they were used in seventh- or eighth-century compilations.[100] Solid

[100] In addition to the *stemmata* presented above, it also revises one formulated by Devreesse for the catenae on John: Devreesse, "Notes sur les chaînes," 192–215.

lines connect this catena to the Type A and Type B Catena Forms compiled later. This resolves one of the unknown stages in the development of the catenae on the Gospels and connects late antique works which were not previously known to be related to one another. The identification of the sources used by the compilers of the Type A and Type B Catena Forms paves the way for further investigation of their selection principles, textual practices, and use of these scholia.[101]

[101] Mathilde Aussedat, "Les chaînes exégétiques : Une forme littéraire et une pratique d'érudition florissantes dans le domaine de l'exégése de la langue grecque," in *Le païen, le chrétien, le profane : Recherches sur l'Antiquité tardive*, ed. Benjamin Goldlust and François Ploton-Nicollet, Religions dans l'Histoire (Sorbonne : Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2009), 169–179 explores the selection and editing principles of the compilers of catenae on Jeremiah. Aaron Butts's concept of manuscripts as reception history can be applied to scholia as well. The selection of certain scholia from a source reflects the reception of those authors and attitudes about them: Aaron Michael Butts, "Manuscript Transmission as Reception History: The Case of Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373)," *JECS* 25 (2017): 281–306.

CHAPTER 4

Between Attribution and Anonymity: The ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου Scholia in Greek Gospels Catenae

> "Our structures of doing research *and* our results cluster around the author. It serves us, but that clustering also creates a deficit of attention: an inability to see things that are not represented by or through an author."[1]

> "There is a curious precision about the phrase ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in attributing material to an unattributed source."[2]

1 Introduction

One of the defining features of catenae which sets it apart from other forms of biblical commentary is the attribution of scholia to individual authors. In the publication which inaugurated the academic study of catenae, Hans Lietzmann asserted that the author names are of the utmost importance in catenae: "The most important and significant external feature for the catenae is the addition of the author's name."[3] The use of author attributions hence became entrenched as part of the *sine qua non* of a catena. More than a century after Lietzmann, Gilles Dorival reiterated this point:

[1] Ellen Muehlberger, "On Authors, Fathers, and Holy Men," *Late Antiquity and the New Humanities. Marginalia Review of Books* (20 September 2015).

[2] William R. S. Lamb, "A Question of Attribution: The Theological Significance of the Catena in Codex Zacynthius," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 128.

[3] Hans Lietzmann, *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Überlieferung* (Freiburg-im-Bresigau: Mohr Siebeck, 1897), 13. "Die wichtigste und für die catenen bedeutsamste äusserlichkeit ist das anbringen der verfassernamen" [capitalization 199 fit199199t he source].

> Catenae always offer authors' names (or author lemmata); a compilation without names is not a catena, but a commentary, even if its sources are patristic fragments of various authors. For instance, Oecumenius, Peter of Laodicea, Procopius of Gaza, Theophylact and others are not authors of catenae, but of commentaries totally or partially made from catenae.[4]

The attribution of scholia to their sources is a normative citational practice in catenae. However, at the same time and in the same catenae, other scholia remain anonymous with no attribution.[5] Thus,

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[4] Gilles Dorival, "Biblical Catenae: Between Philology and History," in *Commentaries, Catenae, and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in Conjunction with the COMPAUL Project*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, TS 3/13 (Piscataway, NJ : Gorgias Press, 2016), 67. See also Gilles Dorival, "La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques," *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985), 213–215.

[5] Authorship and anonymity are prevalent themes in literature on ancient and late antique works. Roger Chartier set the stage for recent explorations of authorship in *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity, 1994). **On these themes in catenae see**, Luciano Bossina, "Autorschaft und Autorität in der Katenenliteratur," in *On Good Authority: Tradition, Compilation and the Construction of Authority in Literature from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Reinhart Ceulemans and Pieter De Leemans, Lectio 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 157–180; Averil Cameron, "Christian Literature and Christian History," in *Markion und der Biblische Kanon / Christian Literature and Christian History*, ed. Enrico Norelli and Averil Cameron, Hans-Lietzmann-Vorlesungen 11/15 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 29–53; Lamb, "The Theological Significance of the Catena," 121–135; **in ancient and late ancient poetry**: Tom Geue, *Juvenal and the Poetics of Anonymity*, Cambridge Classical Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Tom Geue, *Author Unknown: The Power of Anonymity in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019); Fotini Hadjittofi, "The Poet and the Evangelist in Nonnus' *Paraphrase of the Gospel According to John*," *Cambridge Classical Journal* 66 (2020); **in classical commentaries**: Roy K. Gibson and Christina Shuttleworth Kraus, eds., *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory*, Mnemosyne, Supplements Series 232 (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Fausto Montana, "The Making of Greek Scholiastic Corpora," in *From Scholars to Scholia: Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, ed. Franco Montanari and Lara Pagani, Trends in Classics Supplements 9 (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2011), 105–162; Ineke Sluiter, "The Dialectics of Genre: Some Aspects of Secondary Literature and Genre in Antiquity," in *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society*, ed. Mary Depew and Dirk Obbink, Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 183–203; **in Christian corpora and Jewish pseudepigraphy**: Dan Batovici, "Apostolic by Proxy: Corpora, *editiones minores*, and Networks of Texts," *ETL* 98 (2022): 503–524; A.J. Berkovitz and Mark Letteney, eds., *Rethinking 'Authority' in Late Antiquity: Authorship, Law, and Transmission in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies (London/New York: Routledge, 2018); Marc G. Hirshman, "The Greek Fathers and the Aggada on Ecclesiastes: Formats of Exegesis in Late Antiquity," *HUCA* 59 (1988): 137–165; Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), especially chapters 2–3; **in the Babylonian Talmud**: Monika Amsler, *The Babylonian Talmud and Late Antique Book Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023); Sacha Stern, "Attribution and Authorship in the Babylonian Talmud," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 45 (1994): 28–51; Moulie Vidas, *Tradition and the Formation of the Talmud* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); **in Byzantine literature**: András Németh, *The Excerpta Constantiniana and the Byzantine Appropriation of the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Aglae Pizzone, ed., *The Author in Middle Byzantine Literature: Modes, Functions, and Identities*, Byzantinisches Archiv 28 (Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014); Umberto Roberto, "Byzantine Collections of Late Antique Authors: Some Remarks on the *Excerpta historica Constantiniana*," in *Die Kestoi des Julius Africanus und ihre Überlieferung*, ed. Martin Wallraff and Laura Lecella, TU 165 (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2009); Derek Krueger, *Writing and Holiness: The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East*, Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Peter Van Nuffelen, "John of Antioch, Inflated and Deflated. Or: How (Not) to Collect Fragments of Early Byzantine Historians," *Byzantion* 82 (2012): 437–450.

the attribution of scholia does not have to be universal for a compilation project to fit in the genre of catenae.[6] Another group of scholia straddle the boundary between attribution and anonymity, being given the enigmatic title ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου (from an unattributed source). This peculiar attribution appears in multiple catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John composed between the sixth and eleventh centuries, as observed in the discussion of the sources of the early catenae on the Gospels in Chapter 2. Despite their conspicuous place among named scholia and the ambiguity of what the appellation means, they have rarely featured in research on New Testament catenae. In the earliest phase of research on catenae, they were treated in two studies dealing primarily with the Type B Basic Form in Matthew and Luke: Georg Heinrici's 1909 edition, *Des Petrus von Laodicea Erklärung des Matthäusevangeliums*, and Max Rauer's 1920 monograph, *Der dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebene Lukaskommentar*.[7] After this little was said about the phenomenon of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia until the catena of Codex Zacynthius (Cambridge, University Library, Add. 10062; GA 040; Diktyon 73427) was studied by researchers at the University of Birmingham.[8] Panagiotis Manafis and Will Lamb questioned the meaning, source, and significance of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in Codex Zacynthius and extrapolated conclusions about the corpus from there.[9] Rauer and Manafis proposed that these scholia derive from an early exegetical collection on the Gospels that was used by multiple catenists but has now been lost. Based on the assessment of

[6] See the discussion of genre in Chapter 1.

[7] C.F. Georg Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea Erklärung des Matthäusevangeliums*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testamentes 5 (Leipzig: Dürr, 1908); Max Rauer, *Der dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebene Lukaskommentar*, NTAbh 8 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1920).

[8] See Chapter 5 on the Type Z catenae.

[9] Panagiotis Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius and Their Treatment," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 97–120; Manafis, "Catenae on Luke and the Catena of Codex Zacynthius," 137–168; Lamb, "The Theological Significance of the Catena," 121–135.

the development of the earliest catenae, composed in the sixth and seventh century, this chapter offers a comprehensive examination of whether the scholia with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου are witnesses to a lost compilation and proposes that the use of that term in the catenae on the Gospels originated in the Type Z catena tradition. The chapter also makes the first ever survey the use of the term in catenae on every biblical corpus and explores its meaning in early commentaries on the Psalms.

2 Research on the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in the Gospels Catenae

Despite their presence in the most well-established and consistently studied catena traditions, the scholia with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in Gospels catenae have received limited attention in the admittedly small field of research on New Testament catenae. One reason for this may be the focus on using catenae to recover the lost works of early Christian writers. The ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia are not immediately useful for that enterprise because a writer's works must be available elsewhere to confirm the source of an unattributed scholium. This probably rendered them of limited importance.[10] Since the appellation ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου is not specific, analyzing these scholia begins with determining which sources were given this attribution and whether it bears any significance. Lamb and Manafis addressed these questions most recently in their studies of Codex Zacynthius. They identified the source for most of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in the manuscript. The authors of these scholia are Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), Eusebius of Caesarea (d. ca. 339/340),

[10] Robert Devreesse, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément* (Paris : Letouzey & Ané, 1928), cols. 1097–1098; Dorival, "Biblical Catenae," 65–68; William R.S. Lamb, "Conservation and Conversation: New Testament Catenae in Byzantium," in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Publishing, 2016), 278.

Origen (d. 253), Severus of Antioch (d. 538), and Titus of Bostra (d. 378). All of these authors are well represented in the explicitly attributed scholia.[11] In terms of content, Lamb found that the scholia themselves were "neither controversial … nor remarkable" in terms of theological argument.[12] Moreover, persons condemned for heterodox beliefs such as Apollinarius of Laodicea (d. 392), Origen, and Severus of Antioch are named in the catena; a fact noted and justified in the catena's prologue which quotes from Cyril of Alexandria's *Letter to Eulogius*:

> χρή δὲ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐκ πολλῶν πονημάτων ἁγίων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων πατέρων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδοκίμων ἐξηγητῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν μοίρας τυγχανόντων … οὐ πάντα ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ, φεύγειν καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι χρή. πολλὰ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν.
>
> The person who encounters this book ought to know that sections are inserted not just from many works of holy and orthodox fathers, but also from exegetes who were discredited and met the fate of heretics … One ought not to avoid and refuse everything which heretics say. For they confess many things which we also confess.[13]

While this preface does not accompany all catenae with ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia, it demonstrates a logic prevalent throughout most catenae which shows what has been called a "liberal spirit" toward figures outside the dominant theological group in eastern Christianity.[14] Where their exegesis was unproblematic, it was worthy to be read alongside the standard group of authoritative writers. The

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[11] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 100.

[12] Lamb, "The Theological Significance of the Catena," 127. On the mixture of early Christian writers with competing theological perspectives in Codex Zacynthius, see Laurence Vianès : "Affinités entre le Codex Zacynthius et les chaînes du pseudo-Droungarios," in *Ordre et désordre dans les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, ed. Jean-Marie Auwers and Agnès Lorrain, Instrumenta patristica et medievalia (Turnhout: Brepols, Forthcoming 2024) forthcoming.

[13] Text and translation from Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall, *Palimpsest Catena*, Fol. Ir. Translation slightly modified.

[14] Robert Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs de l'Octateuque et des Rois*, Studi e Testi 201 (Vatican City : Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1959), VIII. Cited by Yonatan Moss, who also discusses this topic in great detail: Yonatan Moss, "Saving Severus: How Severus of Antioch's Writings Survived in Greek," *GRBS* 56 (2016): 785–808. On this, see also William R.S. Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Commentary on Mark*, TENTS 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 108–110; Clark R. Bates, "Materializing Unity: Catena Manuscripts as Vessels for Imperial and Ecclesial Reform," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 28 (2023); Laurence Vianès, "Chaînes de Jean le Droungaire sur les Grands Prophétes, ou chaînes pro-sévériennes?," in *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and their Readers*, ed. Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 20 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2021), 405–426; Vianès, "Affinités," forthcoming.

attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου was not a means to conceal the identity of dubious sources or mitigate the authority of questionable exegesis or theological positions.

The use of ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου as an attribution for scholia from multiple writers and the use of the term throughout several catenae gave rise to the idea that this term points toward an early exegetical collection from which the compilers extracted. The nature of this document and its place in the compilation of catenae is the subject of a variety of proposals. C.F. Georg Heinrici, writing about the Type B Basic Form in Matthew, concluded that the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia throughout the catena tradition referred to the Type B Basic Form commentary, establishing it as the early exegetical collection.[15] In support of his argument is the fact that the Type B Basic Form is an anonymous compilation commentary. Moreover, the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in the Type A Catena Form all appear in the Type B Basic Form.[16] As an anonymous compilation, it makes sense that later compilers would refer to that anonymous commentary as an unnamed source by later users, as it was within the catenae composed in the Type B tradition. Heinrici's hypothesis, however, does not explain the evidence in other catenae on the Gospels, especially Luke, where the Type B Basic Form does not record all the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia found in other traditions.

[15] Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea,* XXIII n.1, XXIV. It is not clear whether Devreesse also takes this position. He identifies four primary sources used by the compilers of catenae on John. Within the first source is a set of anonymous scholia and then another source is the Type B Basic Form, which he notes is called ἀνεπίγραφος or ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in other catenae. While he does not specify that the Type B Basic Form was used in the formation of later catenae, it is the only one which he specifies is ever treated with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου: Robert Devreesse, "Notes sur les chaînes grecques de saint Jean," *RB* 36 (1927): 192–215; summarized in Devreesse, "Chaînes," 1195–1196.

[16] Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, NTAbh 18/4–5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941), 151.

Max Rauer completed the most extensive investigation of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in his study of Peter of Laodicea in Luke and concluded that these scholia were copied from an early exegetical collection because they were used independently in the Type A catenae (C130.1 and C130.4), the Type B Basic Form (C132), and Nicetas of Heraclea's catena (C135).[17] This observation can be nuanced with the findings of Chapter 2 which showed that the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in C130.4 were taken from the catena on Luke in Type Z. It would be more accurate now to state that they were used in the Type A, Type B, Type Z, and Nicetas catena.[18] Since it was used as a source by all the earliest catenists in Luke and contained scholia from several early Christian writers, Rauer dubbed the *anepigraphon* collection the *Urkatene*.[19] Then he proceeded to describe this document as a frame catena featuring a set of scholia with author attributions for most early Christian writers and a smaller corpus of anonymous scholia interspersed among the named comments.[20] Rauer revised his description of the exegetical collection in his 1959 edition of Origen's *Commentary on Luke* (CPG 1452):

[17] Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 53–68.

[18] The use of ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου as an attribution in Nicetas of Heraclea's catenae will be discussed later in this chapter.

[19] Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 64–67. Rauer's use of the term *Urkatene* is more source critical than philological. It should not be mistaken as meaning that he held that this was the initial version of a singular catena which could be reconstructed or explain textual variation. This simplistic position is critiqued by Lamb in *The Catena in Marcum*. Rather, Rauer means that this work is an earlier compilation source used by the other catenists; he expresses no intent to reconstruct this source, does not lament its fragmentation in later catenae, nor does he confer additional authority on it. Rauer expresses no qualms with the fluidity in catena manuscripts or the various ways that different compilers edited their sources.

[20] "Zwischen die benannten waren anonyme Scholien eingestreut": Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 65.

> Probably at the beginning of this abundance of catena types is an anonymous collection of scholia, a kind of "Urkatene," whose material was a treasure trove for most of the later interpretations. The recurring lemma ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου points back to it.[21]

These unattributed scholia were labelled ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου when inserted into subsequent catenae. Then later catenists re-used the appellation to identify other anonymous scholia, which explains why the catenae built on the Peter of Laodicea commentary use the attribution ἀνεπίγραφος. Rauer's proposal shifts the collection from one known source proposed by Heinrici to an exegetical collection used by all the major compilers of catenae in late antiquity.

Panagiotis Manafis proposed a similar solution based on his study of the catena on Luke found in Codex Zacynthius. The ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia come from a sylloge—an exegetical collection—"in which extracts were not attributed to any patristic authority, given that they derive from a variety of authors and yet are all identified in this similar way."[22] He shows that this work was used by multiple catenists by comparing the text of the same scholium in different catenae.[23] The differences between the various editions reveal that while some ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia were likely taken from already existing catenae by later compilers, the catenists still must have had a source which they consulted independently. He maintained that this collection was entirely composed of anonymous scholia.[24] Manafis's concept generally fits with Rauer's, without making the step of

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[21] Max Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX: Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die griechischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars*, 2nd ed., GCS 49 (Berlin: Akademie, 1959), LVII. "Wahrscheinlich steht am Anfang dieser Fülle von Katenentypen eine anonyme Scholiensammlung, eine Art 'Urkatene,' deren Materiel für den Großteil der späteren Hermenien Fundgrube war. Auf sie zurück weist das immer wiederkehrende Lemma ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου."

[22] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 100. On Manafis's preference for the term sylloge, see (*Re*)*writing History in Byzantium: A Critical Study of Collections of Historical Excerpts* (London/New York: Routledge, 2020), 1–25.

[23] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 102–103. As in Chapter 3, some of Manafis's conclusions which are based on the comparison of scholia in Codex Zacynthius to the Type A Catena Form are weak because he was not sensitive to whether the scholium stemmed from the Type A Basic Form or from the added scholia.

[24] Manafis, "Catenae on Luke," 153, 158. See also Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 100, 102–103, 119.

calling the source of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia the *Urkatene*, using the more neutral collection or sylloge. It also differs from Rauer in the earlier form of his argument that the source of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia had both named and unnamed extracts. The consensus of studies of catenae on the Gospels, which have thus far been persuasive in their argumentation, is that the origin of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia is an early exegetical collection that had, at least, unnamed extracts.

3 ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in Catenae on the Gospels

The attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου appears frequently in catenae on the Gospels. Previous chapters have shown that the term is used to designate scholia in the Type A, Type B, and Type Z catenae. The use of this term to designate scholia in separate traditions contributed to the argument that these catenae are related to one another. The comments also may aid in looking beyond the catenae to ascertain the sources used by the catenists. The first step in determining whether these scholia stem from an earlier exegetical collection is assessing the number and distribution of ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in catenae on the Gospels. Table 4.1 lists the number of ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia cited in each catena type on the Gospels in Matthew, Luke, and John. Mark is omitted from the table because most catenae on Mark do not use author attributions and its commentary tradition developed in unique ways compared to the other Gospels.[25] Most of these figures follow the data available in the CPG. In certain cases, however, the catena type has here been evaluated for the first time based on a selected manuscript. The format of the table aligns catenae related to one another within types, and in most cases across rows when the types are typically bound together in manuscripts.

[25] According to the CPG, there are no ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in Mark.

	Matt CPG	Anep.	Luke CPG	Anep.	John CPG	Anep.
Type A	C110.1	0	C130.1	0	C140.1	0
	C110.2	0	C130.2	0	C140.2	0
	C110.3	0	C130.3	0	C140.3	0
	C110.4	8	C130.4	14	C140.4	4
Type B	C111	0	C132	0	C141.1	0
	C112.1	0	C133.2	0	C147.4[26]	0
	C112.2	0	--	--	--	--
	C112.3	335	C133.1	212	C141.2	194
	C112.4	275	--	--	C147.6[27]	0
	C112.5[28]	285	--	--	--	--
	C112.6[29]	0	--	--	--	--
Type Z	C116.5	0[30]	C131z	42[31]	C145	7
	C119.1[32]	0	--	--	C147.9	1
Nicetas	C113	3	C135	47	C144	0

[26] Type C147.4 is not in Type B in the CPG. Reuss only knew one manuscript for this type, but Parpulov identifies seven. All of these have identical contents in Mark, Luke, and John; in Matthew six of the seven attest C112.1, and the other codex has C112.2. According to Reuss, the catena is related to Type B by merging anonymous extracts from Type A and Type B. Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 219; Georgi Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament: A Catalogue*, TS 3/26 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2021), 89–91.

[27] Type C147.6 is not in Type B in the CPG and is listed here to pair it with the catena on Matthew with which it always is transmitted; the catena on Luke in this type is C130.1 The type is known in three manuscripts. Reuss only knew of Vat. gr. 1618 (GA 377; Diktyon 68249) and said that it could not be connected to any existing type but perhaps was closest to Type A. On the C112.4 catena, see the discussion in Chapter 7. Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 220; Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 114–115. The manuscripts with C147.6 are part of a distinct group in their text of the Gospels: Andrew J. Patton, "Direct Copying in a Group of Gospels Manuscripts with Catenae," *NTS* 69 (2023): 445–461.

[28] There is only one manuscript of C112.5, which only contains Matthew with a catena: Florence, BML, Conv. soppr. 171, (GA 366; Diktyon 15873).

[29] Type C112.6 is attested in a single manuscript of this type: Venice, BNM, Z.27 (GA 210; Diktyon 69498). The codex has C125.1 in Mark, C132 in Luke and C142 in John; it is the only manuscript with C142 that contains a catena on Matthew and Mark, so the catena on John is placed elsewhere in the table.

[30] Only attested in Zavorda, Monastery of St Nikanor, 5, fols. 307–312 (Diktyon 72287), so only partially extant.

[31] This number is only based on the catena in Codex Zacynthius, covering the parts of Luke 1–11.

[32] This row is attested in two abridged witnesses to Type Z: Prague, Národní Knihovna České republiky, XXV B 7 (GA 1422; Diktyon 55549) and Alexandria, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, 122 (GA 2937; Diktyon 33009). The catena on Luke in these manuscripts has been reclassified within Type Z.

Macarius Chrysocephalus	C113a[33]	0	C136	0		
Assorted Types	C114[34]	0	--	--	--	--
	C115[35]	0	--	--	C146	0
	--	--	C134	6	--	--
	--	--	--	--	C142[36]	0
	--	--	--	--	C143[37]	6
Codices Singuli	C116.1	0	C137.4	0	C147.2	0
	C116.2	0	C137.6	0	C147.7	0
	C116.3	0	--	--	--	--
	C116.4	0	C137.9	0	C147.8	0
	--	--	C137.2	8	C147.1	0
	--	--	C137.1	18	--	--
	--	--	C137.10	0	--	--
Catenae aliae	C119.2	0	C139.1	0	C147.5	0

Table 4.1. The Number of ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in each Gospel by CPG Type

[33] C113a is not a type listed in the *Clavis Clavium* database, but it is in CPG IV². Two witnesses to this type are registered in the *Catena Catalogue* database: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 156 (Diktyon 47443) and Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 381 (Diktyon 54625). This type is an *epitome* of Nicetas of Heraclea's catena on Matthew (C113) composed by Macarius Chrysocephalus, a Metropolitan of Philadelphia in the fourteenth century. Chrysocephalus organized selected extracts into *logoi* according to readings of the liturgical calendar: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*: 112–114.

[34] Only attested in Paris, BnF, Gr. 194 (GA 304; Diktyon 49763).

[35] Only attested in Athos, Great Lavra, B 113 (GA 1507; Diktyon 27165). There are three short catenae on Luke in this manuscript, all classified as C130.1: Joseph Reuss, "Die Evangelienkatenen im Cod. Athon. gr. Lawra B 113," *ZNW* 42 (1949): 217–228.

[36] There are three manuscripts of C142. One manuscript of Luke only, one of Luke–John, and the other a *tetraevangelion*. The types in other Gospels do not align with C142.

[37] Only attested in a single manuscript of John: Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, E.40 (C143; Diktyon 56326).

The data presented in Table 4.1 shows a substantial number of ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia concentrated in a few catenae on each Gospel. Most of the attributions occur in the Type B Catena Forms. In these catenae, the compilers used the nominative form, ἀνεπίγραφος or the abbreviation ανεπ to designate these scholia instead of the phrase ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου common to every other type. As described in Chapter 2, the attribution ἀνεπίγραφος in this catena refers to the anonymous scholia taken from the Type B Basic Form. The connection between ἀνεπίγραφος and the purported compiler, Peter of Laodicea, was made explicit in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 757 (GA 138; Diktyon 67388) in a paratextual note written on the first flyleaf in the codex: it reads ὁ ἀνεπίγραφος οὗτος ἔστιν ὁ Πέτρος ὁ τής Λαοδικείας, ὅστις προηγεῖται τῶν ἄλλων ἐξηγητῶν ἐνταῦθα (fol. 1r).[38] As discussed in Chapter 2, this note was added centuries after the making of the codex and therefore reflects a later tradition that the Type B Basic Form was compiled by a man named Peter of Laodicea.[39] This tradition led to a change of attribution in the fourteenth-century manuscript Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, A 3 (GA 2482; Diktyon 9680). This codex uniquely uses the attribution Πέτρου Λαοδικείας, or an abbreviation of it, where ἀνεπίγραφος is used in Vat. gr. 757 and other manuscripts of the type.[40] The

[38] Robert Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci, II: Codices 604–866*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana codices manu scripti recensiti (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1937), 274–275. This paratextual note is frequently cited in discussions of the catena type: Devreesse, "Chaînes," 1165; Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea*, XIV; Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 49; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 81.

[39] Giovanni Santamaura who made a copy of the codex in the early seventeenth century referred to it as the Peter of Laodicea manuscript in several letters to his associates cited in C. Pasini, "Giovanni Santa Maura e la Biblioteca Ambrosiana," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 42 (2005), 237, 252, 258, 260, 263–264.

[40] While the types of catenae in Bologna A 3 is a close match to that of Vatican gr. 757 and they both are members of Family 1 for their text of the Gospels, they are not likely to be direct copies of one another. First, they do not appear as close relatives when compared using the INTF's Manuscript Cluster's tool. Second, the older manuscript, Vatican gr. 757, is in alternating format and the later, Bologna A 3 is in frame format. Hugh Houghton has demonstrated that it is not typical for a frame format manuscript to be modeled on an alternating format codex, and the mechanics of producing a codex in this manner would be quite complicated due to the segmentation of the two texts: H. A. G. Houghton, "Catena Manuscripts in the *Editio Critica Maior* of the Greek New Testament," in *Pen, Print, and Pixels: Advances in Textual*

ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in the Type B catenae generally identify scholia from a specific work comprised of scholia from various authors without attribution.

Type Z is the next most abundant source of scholia with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου. In this tradition, as previewed in Chapter 3, the scholia are designated with the full prepositional phrase that is common throughout the rest of the catena tradition. The catena on Luke in that type has significantly more ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia than the corresponding catena on John in Type Z even though the primary source for those scholia is not extant for half the Gospel of Luke. Laurence Vianès observed that when multiple scholia are given for a single lemma, those attributed with ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου are positioned before any other authors, except for the rare occurrences of an attribution to John Chrysostom (d. 407) in this catena. She suggests that this means the source of these comments was the foundation for the catena which was supplemented with the other named scholia—unless those scholia were also part of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia collection with their attribution.[41] Since it has been shown in Chapter 3 that the Type Z catenae were used by the Type B catenists and those in all the other types, this makes them the first instances of the use of ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in the catena tradition—and potentially the source for the use of this designation in all subsequent catenae.

Criticism in the Digital Era, ed. Daniel B. Wallace, David Flood, Elijah Hixson, and Denis Salgado (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2023). Still, it is noteworthy that the tradition that Peter of Laodicea was the source of the scholia emerges in both codices in the fourteenth century.

[41] Vianès, "Affinités," forthcoming. Manafis also holds that the source of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia "precedes the rest of the compilation of Codex Zacynthius" (Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 100).

The Type A, assorted catenae, and *Codices Singuli* which use the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου either have recycled scholia from Type Z or have too little information to reach a verdict about their relationship to an earlier exegetical collection.[42] The Type A Catena Form used Type Z as its source, so all the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in the catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John in that tradition are indirect witnesses to the text of Type Z. The catena C134, primarily attested in Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 20 (GA 381; Diktyon 65753), seems to be linked to Type Z in its attribution and assortment of sources, with later additions such as scholia from Photius of Constantinople (d. 893).[43] The C143 catena on John is only attested in one manuscript, Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, E.40 (GA 397; Diktyon 56326).[44] Reuss dated this project to the ninth century and concluded that the compilers used John Chrysostom's *Commentary on John* (CPG 4425) and either the Type Z catena on John

[42] The term "recycling" has been adopted from Jeremiah Coogan, "Doubled Recycling: The Gospel according to Mark in Late Ancient Catena Commentary," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 28 (2023): 149–165.

[43] See Chapter 3. Joseph Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien*, TU 6.1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901), 59–69; Joseph Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 130 (Berlin: Akademie, 1984), XV.

[44] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 112, 207; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 196–198; E. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane II. Mailand*, vol. 2/3 (Milan: Hoepli, 1902), 116–118. Parpulov treats Vallicelliana E.40 as a composite codex. The first part spanning fols. 1–22 is dated to the tenth century and has three prefaces to John followed by a selection of scholia on John 1:1–5 which were unclassified by Parpulov. They have some resemblance to C145 and deserve further examination. The second part of the codex, fols. 23–391, appears to have been written by a different scribe and dates to the eleventh century. It is the sole witness to C143 and lacks its beginning and end. Notably, the most dramatic shift in the codex occurs at fol. 26 where it shifts from an alternating catena to a frame cataena layout. Reuss treated the entire manuscript as a single work, but he saw a shift in the type of catena after fol. 7; from fols. 3–4, the catena aligns closely with C145 and after fol. 7 is related but much more independent. In defense of his interpretation is that the numbering of the scholia is continuous between the two sections Identified by Parpulov, the biblical text is not lost, and the quires are continuously numbered according to Martini's description of the codex (he and Reuss each date the whole codex to the eleventh century). These textual and codicological details suggest that even if a separate scribe wrote the first section it was part of a single project.

(C145) or a source it used.[45] In either case, the use of Type Z or a common source suggests the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia derive from the same collection.

Two of the *Codices Singuli* in Luke have ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia. The codex Munich, BSB, Gr. 208, fols. 235-248 (GA 053/GA 2768; Diktyon 44654) has eight scholia with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in its catena on Luke.[46] The content differs from other catena types according to Manafis, suggesting that it may use a source available to the other catenists. Further results are awaited in the publication of his forthcoming edition and study of this and other *Codices Singuli* in Luke.[47] The other *Codex Singulus* with ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia is C1371.1, the catena on Luke found in Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 301 (Diktyon 71968). Sickenberger found no model for the catena in the other known types, and Reuss described it as a collection of highly abbreviated scholia.[48] Most of the scholia were taken from indirect sources, probably other catenae. Thus, their sources may overlap with the other catenae, and Vienna Theol. gr. 301 likely does not attest more ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia which are not available in other sources.

The ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in these catenae do not provide new fragments of an early exegetical collection. Where the source can be determined, they are recycled fragments from a source that accessed them directly. The majority seem to have a connection to the Type Z catena on

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[45] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 200. A connection between C143 and C145 is highlighted throughout Reuss's volume in the discussions of other catenae on John: 155, 171–174, 188, 192, 195–198, 203, 209, 215. Karo and Lietzmann listed both C143 and C145 as type V, noting the discrepancies in the Chrysostom scholia: Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus* (Göttingen: Lüder Horstmann, 1902), 589–591. Devreesse followed Karo and Lietzmann, seeing these as a single type: Devreesse, "Chaînes," cols. 1194–1197.

[46] See the discussion of this codex in Chapter 3.

[47] Panagiotis Manafis, *Exegesis on the Gospel of Luke: Codices Singuli and Catena C139.1*, TU 194 (Berlin: De Gruyter, Forthcoming 2024). I am grateful to Panagiotis for sharing a summary of his findings on Munich Gr. 208.

[48] Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 76–78; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XVI.

Luke or used a common source.[49] Therefore, most of these are additional witnesses to the same scholia found in that tradition, though the primary access to the catena on Luke in Type Z is only demonstrable for most of the text up to Luke 11:33.

The final catena tradition which uses ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου are the catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John by Nicetas of Heraclea (d. 11th c.).[50] These catenae were compiled in Constantinople at the end of the eleventh and start of the twelfth century.[51] It is doubtful whether the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in Nicetas's catena offer additional information about a possible lost exegetical work. This catena, and particularly the volume on Luke, represents the maximal stage in the development of catenae and a high point in the "Byzantine culture of sylloge" just before single-author commentaries gained in popularity.[52] Nicetas and his compilers extracted scholia from earlier catenae.[53] Therefore, many

[49] Manafis, *Exegesis on the Gospel of Luke*.

[50] On Nicetas of Heraclea, see: Robert Browning, "The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century," *Byzantion* 32 (1962): 167–202; Jean Darrouzès, "Notes de littérature et de critique. I. Niétas d'Héraclée ὁ τοῦ Σερρῶν," *Revue des études byzantines* 18 (1960): 179–8 4; Gilles Dorival, "Des commentaires de l'Écriture aux chaînes," in *Le monde grec ancien et la Bibl e: Bible de tous les temps I*, ed. Claude Mondésert (Pari s: Beauchesne, 1984), 376–380. On Nicetas's catenae on the Gospels, see Christos Th. Krikones, *Συναγωγη Πατερων εις το κατα Λουκαν Ευανγγελιο ν: Υπο Νικητα Ηρακλειας (Κατα τον Κωδικα Ιβηρων 371)*, Βυζαντινα Κειμενα Και Μελεται 9 (Thessalonik i: Kentron Byzantinon Ereunon, 1976); Rauer, *Origenes Werke I X*; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katene n*; Joseph Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia*, TU 22.4 (Leipzi g: Hinrichs, 1902). Michael A. Clark wrote a thesis on the text of John in Nicetas's catena on John: "The Catena of Nicetas of Heraclea and Its Johannine Text" (University of Birmingham, 2016). Nicetas of Heraclea also compiled catenae on Job (C51), Psalms (C21), and Hebrews (C163); none of these have the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου. On Nicetas's Job catena, see Ursula Hagedorn and Dieter Hagedorn, eds., *Die älteren griechischen Katenen zum Buch Hiob*, 4 vols., PTS 40, 48, 53, 59 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994–2004); on Nicetas's Psalms catena: Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à "étude "une forme littéraire*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 45, vol. 3 (Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 492–565; on Nicetas's Hebrews catena: Karl Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1926), 71–91.

[51] For a narrative survey of Nicetas of Heraclea's oeuvre, see Bram Roosen, "The Works of Nicetas Heracleensis (ὁ) τοῦ Σερρῶν," *Byzantion* 69 (1999): 119–144.

[52] The term was coined by Paolo Odorico, "La cultura della Συλλογή: 1) Il considdetto enciclopedismo bizantino. 2) Le tavole del sapere di Giovanni Damasceno," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83 (1990); Paolo Odorico, "Les recueils historiographiques à Byzanc e: un cas 'sélection de textes raffinés' (Wenxuan ?," *Byzantinoslavica* 75 (2017): 203–220. See also chapter 1 of Manafis, *(Re)writing History in Byzantium*.

[53] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XIV; Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia*, 73–80.

of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia may be indirect witnesses to earlier comments. Most of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in the Nicetas catena on Luke, however, occur after Codex Zacynthius ends and do not have a match in the other abbreviated witnesses to the type. It is possible that the use of ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου as a technical term for attributing an unnamed source was so well established by the late eleventh century that he and his team applied this citation to scholia which were not given it in the source text. In any case, they are a later and secondary source in an analysis of a potential early exegetical collection.

One further note on the distribution of the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in catenae on the Gospels must be made. Apart from the Type B tradition which uses the term in a different way than other types, the catenae on Luke have many more ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia than other catena types on Matthew and John. This is true for all the sources using Type Z and even in Nicetas of Heraclea's catenae which drew on an immense number of sources. It is possible that the available commentaries on Luke, or a perceived lack of them, led to this exegetical collection being used more frequently than in other Gospels.

4 The Unattributed Exegetical Collection

The frequency and distribution of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in catenae on the Gospels supports the argument that these were part of an exegetical collection. The catenae on Luke provide the most evidence that this collection existed because they have more ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia than any other Gospel, so this section will examine the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia especially in Luke. The anonymous compilers of the Type A Basic Form, the Type B Basic Form, and the Type Z catena—each at work in the sixth to seventh century—used this exegetical collection as a source for their

project. Of these early compilations, only the Type Z catena attributed most of its scholia to named sources, though as noted above, the Type B Basic Form was called the ἀνεπίγραφος by later compilers who expanded it into catenae. A comparison of the scholia demonstrates the use of a common source. Table 4.2 compares the scholia on Luke 1:5 in the Type A Basic Form (C130.1), the Type B Basic Form (C132), and Type Z (C131z). The text for C130 is drawn from Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, F° 30 (Cim.16) (GA 033; Diktyon 45102) fol. 59v and Paris, BnF, Gr. 702 (GA 2110; Diktyon 50283) fol. 208v, two of the oldest accessible witnesses to the type, both in alternating format.[54] The text of these manuscripts was read against Fronton du Duc's 1624 bilingual edition of the Type A Basic Form.[55] The Type B Basic Form is represented by the tenth-century codex Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 117 (Diktyon 71784) fol. 125v with an alternating catena and the eleventh-century frame catena manuscript, Vatican City, BnF, Vat. gr. 358 (GA 129; Diktyon 66989) fol. 176v; no continuous printed edition exists for this catena type. These two manuscripts were selected by Reuss as witnesses of the Type B Basic Form in his edition of selected scholia from catenae on Luke.[56] The text for the Type Z catena is from Codex Zacynthius, an eighth-century frame catena, using the text printed in Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall's edition (IVv–Vr).[57] Table 4.2 divides the text into discrete sections by row to facilitate the comparison of text, but these divisions do not reflect the individual manuscripts. In C130.1, this is the first part of a longer scholium on Luke 1:5–17. A medial dot follows

[54] As indicated in Chapter 2, the oldest manuscript of the Type A Basic Form is the ninth-century codex (now divided into two parts) Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 137 (Diktyon 43762) + Syn. gr. 384 (Diktyon 44009). No images of this document are available.

[55] Fronton du Duc, *Bibliothecae Veterum Patrum Seu Scriptorum Ecclesiasticoru m: Tomus Secundus Graecolatinus*, vol. 2 (Pari s: Compagnie de la Grand-Navire, 1624).

[56] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XXXII.

[57] Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall, *Palimpsest Catena*, IVv–Vr.

the end of the text which immediately carries on. In C132, this is a complete scholium. In the alternating catena, Vienna Theol. gr. 117, the next comment is marked by *ekthesis* and in the frame catena Vatican gr. 358, the text is concluded with a colon-dash with a new number and *ekthesis* for the next comment. In Type Z, the text is divided into several short scholia, each of which is accompanied by a heading for the source: ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου or, for one fragment, Victor.

The text in Table 4.2 is color-coded to facilitate the comparison of the text in each tradition. Words in blue are shared between all three catenae; words in green are shared between Type A and Type B, C130.1 and C132; text in red is shared between C130.1 and C131z; text in orange is shared between C132 and C131z. Text in black is unique to the catena type in a particular column.

C130.1	**C132**	**C131z**
Μνημονεύει δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἡρώδου, ἵνα μὴ διαφύγῃ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν πραγμάτων ἡ ἱστορία· βασιλέα δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καλεῖ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις γενόμενα γραφῇ παρεδίδου.	Λαμβάνει πρῶτον τὸν χρόνον, ἵνα μὴ διαφύγῃ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ καιρὸς· ἐγέγραπται γὰρ ἤξειν τὸν κύριον, ὅτε ἐκλίπῃ ἄρχων ἐξ ἰοῦδα· οὗτος δὲ ὁ ἡρώδης πρῶτος ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐμβασιλευσεν φησι δὲ βασιλέως τῆς ἰουδάιος ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ παρὰ ἰουδαίοις ἐδίδασκε συνήθαι τοῖς προφήταις, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν ἰουδαίων φέρει χρόνον· καὶ οὗτος στηρίζει τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ χριστοῦ τὸν γνῶσιν·	**Ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου.** Λαμβάνει πρῶτον τὸν χρόνον, ἵνα μὴ διαφύγῃ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ καιρὸς· καί φησι, βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἐπειδὴ τὰ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἐδίδαξε, συνήθως τοῖς προφήταις τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἰουδαίων φέρει τὸν χρόνον, καὶ οὕτως στηρίζει τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὴν γνῶσιν.
Ὀνομάζει δὲ τὸν πατέρα Ἰωάννου τοῦ προδρόμου, ἵνα τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν ἱστορίαν ἀρξάμενος ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, οὕτως εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν παραγένηται, διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ εἶπεν ἄνωθεν ἵνα μηδὲν παραλίπῃ τῶν ἑξῆς γεγενημένων· ὅθεν καὶ πρώτην ἱστορίαν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην ποιεῖται, ἵνα τὸν πρόδρομον παραστήσας σαφηνίσῃ τὸν κηρυττόμενον.	πρῶτον δὲ ἐξηγεῖται τὰ κατὰ τὸν πρόδρομον. ἵν᾽ οὕτως σαφῶς δείξῃ τὸν κηρυττόμενον·	**Ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου.** Τὸν πατέρα Ἰωάννου τοῦ προδρόμου ὀνομάζων, ἵνα ἀπό τοῦ προδρόμου ἄρξηται τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς ἱστορίας, καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν παραγένηται·
	ὑπέσχετο γὰρ διηγήσασθαι τὰ ἄνωθεν γεγονότα· ἔδει γὰρ	ἔδει γὰρ προαποσταλῆναι τὸν κήρυκα τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ

	προαποσταλῆναι τὸν κήρυκα τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ δὲσπότου· ἵνα προτοῦ ἑτοιμαστοῦ, τὸ μέγεθος δειχθῆ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας· διὸ τὴν γέννησιν αὐτοῦ πρῶτην ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἐξηγεῖται, θαυματούργημα οὐσαν Θεοῦ·	δὲσπότου· διόπερ τοιοῦτος ἀποστέλλεται οἷον ἔπρεπεν εἶναι τον προετοιμαστὴν τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας· διὸ καὶ τὴν γέννησιν αὐτοῦ πρῶτην ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἐξηγεῖται, θαυματούργημα οὐσαν Θεοῦ· ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ πρόφασιν πίστεως εἶχεν ἀγαθῆ.
Δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἐφημερίας ἀβιᾶ, ὅτι περ δύο ἦσαν ἱερεῖς ἐκ διαδοχῆς τὴν λειτουργίαν ποιοῦντες, ὁ Ἀβιὰ οὕτω λεγόμενος, καὶ ὁ Ζαχαρίας. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἱεράτευσεν ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ ὁ Ἀβιά, μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἐφημερίαν ἐλειτούργει ὁ Ζαχαρίας. ἐφημερίαν δὲ χρὴ νοεῖν οὐ τὸ πρὸς ἡμέραν παραμένειν καὶ λειτουργεῖν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρὸς ἑβδομάδα·	τὸν δὲ ἀβιᾶ τοῦτον. ὄγδοον ἡ τοῦ παραλειπομένου ἔταξε βίβλος ἐφημερίας ὀνομάσασα· οὐ τὸ πρὸς ἡμέραν παραμένειν καὶ λειτουργεῖν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρὸς ἑβδομάδα·	**Βίκτορος.** τοῦτον τὸν ἀβιᾶ ὄγδοον ἡ τῶν παραλειπομένων ἔταξε βίβλος ἐφημερίας ὀνομάσασα· οὐτὸ πρὸς ἡμέραν παραμένειν καὶ λειτουργεῖν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρὸς ἑβδομάδα
δεῖξαι δὲ θέλων ὅτι ἑκατέρωθεν νομίμως ἐτύγχανεν ἱερεὺς ὁ Ζαχαρίας, φησὶ, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων Ἀαρών.	εἰπὼν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θυγατέρων ἀαρὼν. ἑκατέρωθεν ἔδειξεν ὅτι νομίμως ἐτύγχανεν ἱερεὺς ἔκ τε τοῦ πατρώου καὶ μητρῴου γένους Ἀαρωνίτης ὑπάρχων.	**Ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου.** ἑκατέρωθεν φησὶν νομίμως ἐτύγχανεν ἱερεὺς. ἔκ τε τοῦ πατρώου καὶ μητρῴου γένους Ἀαρών τι ὑπάρχων.

Table 4.2. Scholia on Luke 1:5 in C130.1, C132, and C131z

It is clear from both the high degree of similarity and the meaningful differences in these scholia that each of the catenists accessed the same source independently. Each type records some text unique to its catena, each type shares some material with only one of the other types, and some of the text is identical in all three types. Even within the shared text, the catenists each made editorial changes to the scholia, most often small changes in word order or grammar, that distinguish one type from another. What is more, the members of the Codex Zacynthius project did not identify the source of these scholia, suggesting that these catenae are the only witness to this material. The presence of three differently edited versions of the same source in three different compilations

produced in approximately the same time period suggests that the compilers of each tradition used a common source.

Rauer completed similar comparisons of all the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in C130.4 using Cramer's edition with types C130.1 and C132. As all the scholia in C130.4 were taken from Type Z, as described in Chapter 2, his comparison effectively compares the same three traditions juxtaposed in Table 4.2. The results of Rauer's analysis were:

> In *c* [C130.4] there are 12 scholia with the lemma ἐξ ἀνεπίγραφου, the first two of which are already in the b commentary [C130.1], the first of which is found in its entirety, the second half in *p* [C132]. The remaining ten are distributed as follows: two are completely contained in *p* [C132], three in the first half, one in the second half, four not at all. In the case of two scholia, *c* [C130.4] offers more, so that it becomes clear that *p* [C132] is not the source of these scholia.[58]

The detailed comparison of the catena text in the scholia on Luke 1:5 and the general pattern established by Rauer shows that the three primary catenae on the Gospels composed in the sixth or seventh centuries each used excerpts from an exegetical collection of unattributed scholia when compiling their catenae. The different versions of the same scholia and the absence of some ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in Type Z from the two commentaries shows that they did not use one another as a source.

This exegetical collection was likely comprised entirely of anonymous scholia. Since the Type A and Type B commentaries do not use author attributions, they do not provide information about its sources. Type Z can provide this information through the accuracy of its attributions and

[58] Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 55. Note that Rauer made a mistake here as there are fourteen scholia with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in Cramer's edition of C131z. These are found at 7.8, 7.14, 39.27, 55.6, 59.14, 59.20 (using ἄλλος), 71.3, 71.17, 71.32, 104.8, 105.10, 116.26, 117.17, 164.33. Rauer is correct that only the first two of these scholia, featured in Table 4.2, appear in the Type A Basic Form (C130.1).

its relationship to the direct tradition of the writers included. The compilers of Type Z were assiduous in their citation of sources. Nearly all the author attributions are accurate according to the sources available.[59] Moreover, in the instances where Manafis provided examples, it seems that the compilers of Type Z drew on an author's works directly rather than an intermediate source.[60] Together, these facts suggest that the attributed scholia probably did not come from the exegetical collection. Since the Type A and Type B traditions used the *anepigraphon* source without attribution and seem to have selected extracts directly from the works of other early Christian writers without naming a source, the lack of named scholia in any tradition which can securely be determined as part of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia exegetical collection suggests that this source was entirely anonymous. The use of the phrase ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου was an intentional term to refer to an anonymous exegetical collection.

The comparison of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in Type Z with the Type A and Type B Basic Forms has shown that the three compilations each independently used the same source for this material. These findings corroborate the comparisons in earlier studies, especially by Manafis and Rauer. The analysis of sources in Type Z using the new edition of this text shows that this exegetical collection was likely only comprised of anonymous extracts. Since Severus of Antioch is a source in the Type Z ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia the *terminus post quem* for the collection entering the catena

[59] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 99.

[60] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 101–120. Manafis does not explicitly state whether the sources of the scholia in Codex Zacynthius are from direct tradition or not. Table 6.1 in his chapter uses the term "direct tradition" not to indicate whether the compilers used a source directly but to indicate whether the text of that comment is preserved in direct tradition or catenae. He does provide examples comparing the direct tradition of a scholium for Cyril of Alexandria, Isidore of Pelusium, and Origen, and in these cases, it seems that the compilers of this catena adapted the extract from direct tradition.

tradition is the mid-sixth century, or perhaps earlier into the later years of his life, and the latest possible date is the early seventh century, which is the latest date proposed for the Type A, Type B, and Type Z compilations which used it.[61]

5 Reading ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in Type B and Type Z

Determining that the earliest compilers of catenae and compilation commentaries on the Gospels used an anonymous exegetical collection as a source does not explain the subsequent use of the term ἀνεπίγραφος in the Type B Catena Form (C112.3, C133.1, C141.2) to refer to comments from the Type B Basic Form. The pattern of development in the Type B catena provides the basis for which this practice can be explained, illuminating the way the compilers read their sources. This chapter has shown that the compilers of the Type B commentary and the Type Z catena each used the anonymous exegetical collection as a source, among others, in the formation of their projects. The previous chapter showed that the Type B catena expanded the Type B commentary with scholia from Type Z. The attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου was already present in the Type Z catena form when it was selected as the source for an expanded version of the Type B Basic Form. It is possible that the catenists simply appropriated this means of referring to anonymous scholia and applied it to the anonymous scholia in the Type B commentary. The parallels between the first scholium in C132, the

[61] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 100, 115. There are two scholia attributed to Severus of Antioch among the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia. Manafis calls the attribution of these comments to Severus "nominal" and finds them "surprising" because they are much later than the other sources named as ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου. He notes that the identifications were made using older editions which may have created their texts uncritically. These important caveats warrant caution, but in lieu of evidence to the contrary Severus marks the *terminus post quem* for the formation of the anonymous exegetical collection.

beginning of C137.3, and their presentation in C133, however, signal a more complex explanation for the decision to use the attribution ἀνεπίγραφος.

Table 4.3 shows the sequence of the first ten scholia in the Type B Catena Form (C133.1). The attributions are based on Venice, BNM, Z.28 (Marc. 364) (GA 357; Diktyon 69499). This is the only manuscript of this type extant at the beginning of Luke which consistently gives author attributions. Within these ten scholia, the catenists incorporated the first two scholia from C132 in separate parts along with extracts sourced from Type Z. The following columns indicate whether a scholium in C133.1 occurs in C132, C131z, or both. In cases where both types have text from the same scholium, in whole or part, it is indicated in brackets which catena type the text in C133.1 follows. C132 is represented here by Vatican gr. 358. Type Z is principally represented by Codex Zacynthius.

Scholium	**Type B Catena (C133.1)**	**Type B Commentary (C132)**	**Type Z (C131z)**
001 Fol. 4r	**[C132] Origen.** Ἐπειδὴ ὑπέρογκον ἦν τὸ ἐπιχείρημα … οὔ τισι τῶν εἰρημένων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν	Vat. gr. 358 fol. 176r, α	Zacynthius fol. 3r Origen (003-1) *Shares fragment only*
002 Fol. 4r	**[C131z] τοῦ αὐτοῦ.** Τὴν διάθεσιν ἑαυτοῦ ἐμφαίνει … πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐνήργησε τὰ πράγματα	Vat. gr. 358 fol. 176r, α *Shares incipit only*	Zacynthius fol. 3v τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Origen) (004-1a + 004-1b)
003 Fol. 4v	**[C131z] ἀνεπίγραφος.** Ὅτι μὲν οὖν παρὰ τῶν αὐτωψίᾳ … ἀθεώρητος ὢν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτόν	Vat. gr. 358 fol. 176r, α *Shares incipit only*	Zacynthius fol. 3v ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου (005-1a + 005-1b)
004 Fol. 4v	**[C131z] τοῦ αὐτοῦ.** Ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ γέγραπται … ὡς καὶ ἐξ υπηρετήσαντο παρόντες οἱ μαθηταί	Vat. gr. 358 fol. 176r, α *Shares fragment only*	Zacynthius fol. 4r Origen (005-2a + 005-2b)

005 Fol. 5r	**[C131z] Severus.** Αὐτόπτας τοῦ θεοῦ λογοῦ καὶ ὑπηρέτας … καὶ ὤφθαι ἀγγέλοις φησίν	--	Zacynthius fol. 4r Severus of Antioch (005-3)
006 Fol. 5r	**[C132] Origen.** Εἰκὸς ὑπολαμβάνειν τινὰς ὅτι θεοφίλῳ … ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ νῦν γραφόμενα	Vat. gr. 358 fol. 176r, α	Zacynthius fol. 4v τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Origen) (007-1a) *Shares incipit only*
007 Fol. 5r	**[C131z] ἀνεπίγραφος.** Πάντες ἐὰν τοιοῦτοι ὦμεν … ἀσφαλέστερον κατέχῃ τὴν πίστιν διατηρεῖ	Vat. gr. 358 fol. 176r, α[62] *Shares fragment only*	Zacynthius fol. 4v τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Origen) (007-1a + 007-1b) *Resumes where C132 diverges*
008 Fol. 5r	**[C132] τοῦ αὐτοῦ.** Λαμβάνει πρῶτον τὸν χρόνον ἵνα … μητρώου γένους ἀαρωνί τῆς ὑπάρχων	Vat. gr. 358 fol. 176v, β	Zacynthius fols. 4v-5r ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου, 3 scholia (008-1, 009-1, 011-1) *Shares many parts*
009 Fol. 5v	**[C131z] Origen.** Τὸ εἶναι δίκαιον ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ … τὸν ἔπαινον αξίως ποῖησαι	Vat. gr. 358 fol. 176v, γ *Shares first half only*	Zacynthius fol. 5r Origen (012-1)
010 Fol. 5v	**[C132] ἀνεπίγραφος.** Πρόσκειται τούτοις τὸ ἄμεμπτον … τῶν καὶ ἐγένοντο μεγάλοι τὲ καὶ πολυχρόνιοι	Vat. gr. 358 fol. 176v, γ *Resumes where C137.3 diverges*	GA 040 fol. 5v Origen (013-1) *Shares fragments only, verbatim as C133 011*

Table 4.3. Sources of First Ten Scholia in C133

The evidence presented in Table 4.3 shows the striking number of parallels between the two sources of C133.1. Only one scholium (005) is the exclusive property of Type Z. The rest share some common text. The first three scholia in C132 are incorporated in these ten scholia. In two cases, a single

[62] The additional text in C131z is also in C132 manuscript Paris, BnF, Coislin 20 (GA 36; Diktyon 49162) fol. 224v. The two sources edited the text in slightly different ways, with C133.1 closely following that of C131z. As noted in Chapter 2, according to Rauer, the text of the Type B commentary on Luke in Paris Coislin 20 is nearly half longer than the text of nearly all other manuscripts of the type.

scholium in the Type B commentary is divided into two parts (001 + 006 and 009 + 010). In the first example, the first three intervening scholia come from C131z and a small portion of the text is also found in C132. The fragments of shared text in these three scholia are all part of the Type B catena scholium 001 and indicate that each catenist drew this material from an independent source—whether that was Origen or the *anepigraphon* source. The Type B compilers' close reading of these two sources becomes particularly apparent at scholium 004 + 006 and 009 + 010 where the beginning of a Zacynthian scholium is also found in the Type B commentary but the subsequent texts diverge. The compilers responded to this shared material by giving one of the comments in full. Then in the next extract sourced from the other catena, they began from the point where its text diverged, thereby preserving both the full C132 scholium and the full comment found in C131z. The snapshot provided by these ten scholia containing many points of agreement between the Type B Basic Form commentary and the Type Z catena is reflected throughout the Type B Catena Form. Thus, it seems that the Type B catenists did not merely borrow the term ἀνεπίγραφος. Rather, recognizing the frequent use of common sources and shared text, they conjectured that the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in C131z were taken from the Type B Basic Form.

Further evidence that the compilers of the Type B Catena Form catenist equated the foundational commentary with the source of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia comes from the attributions. The ten scholia shown in Table 4.3 do not reflect the general pattern of the catena. In most cases, the witnesses of this type that consistently use author attributions (at various points of the Gospel), Vatican gr. 358, Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1076 (GA 754; Diktyon 53740), and Bologna A 3 nearly always use the attribution ἀνεπίγραφος or τοῦ αὐτοῦ for scholia whose text is taken from the Type B Basic Form and use other names for those taken from Type Z. The many parallels at the

beginning of the catena may have interrupted the typical pattern which was followed in scholia 008 and 010. At other places in the manuscript, the catenists break the pattern by using the ἀνεπίγραφος or τοῦ αὐτοῦ attributions for scholia labelled ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in Type Z that are not found in the Type B commentary. One example of this pattern appears in Vatican gr. 358 at fol. 14r with a scholium attributed τοῦ αὐτοῦ—the preceding two scholia are from C132 and happen to also incorporate other Zacynthian ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia—which is not in the Type B commentary. In Codex Zacynthius, the scholium is found on fol. 15v attributed to ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου (073-1). This variation in attribution which conflates the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in Type Z with the Type B Basic Form indicates that the compilers of the Type B Catena Form equated the commentary with the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia cited in the Zacynthian catena.

The pattern of compilation and attribution in the Type B Catena Form elucidates the catenists' assessment of the relationship between their sources. The amount of common material between the Type B Basic Form and Type Z, as well as the attribution of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia which were included in C133, show that when this compiler read the two sources, they perceived that the Type B Basic Form was the source or from the same source as the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in the Zacynthian catena. This interpretation of the development of the catenae in Luke led the compilers to give the attribution ἀνεπίγραφος in the nominative for the Basic Form commentary, indicating that it not only comprised unattributed scholia but was the source of the genitive prepositional phrase ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου found in other catenae. While these two catenae do share numerous scholia, in whole or part, the editing of the shared scholia and the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia unique to C131z demonstrates that the compilers independently used a common source and are not dependent on one another. Therefore, the catenists who compiled the Type Z coined the attribution

ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in catenae on the Gospels as a way of referring to the anonymous exegetical collection which was used directly by them and other early catenists on the Gospels. This term was retained in the catenae which recycled extracts from Type Z and adapted by later compilers creating new catenae on the Gospels leading to some ambiguities in what did or did not come from the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia source but revealing their own theory of the relationship between catenae on the Gospels.

6 ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in Other Catenae

Did other catena traditions use the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in the same way as the compilers of the catenae on the Gospels and do these inform the use in the Gospels? The data for the attribution of sources in other catenae on the Old Testament and New Testament sections can be found in the *Clavis Clavium* database which continuously updates the information in CPG IV² and, at minimum, has the information registered in Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann's initial index of catena types and their contents.[63] In some cases, studies offer additional information about the nature of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in these traditions.

[63] *Clavis Clavium*: https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla. The print editions of the CPG should always be consulted because *Clavis Clavium* has not incorporated all the information from the books. For example, the sources of the Andreas catena on Acts are listed in CPG IV² but are not published in *Clavis Clavium*. For Karo and Lietzmann: *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*.

6.1 *Catenae on the Octateuch and Kingdoms*

The catenae on the Octateuch and Kingdoms covers the eight canonical books from Genesis to Kings. There are currently six types within the catenae on the Octateuch in *Clavis Clavium*.[64] Only one type within the catenae on the Octateuch uses the attribution ἀνεπίγραφος. Catena *Typus III* (CPG C2) is a secondary catena initially compiled perhaps in the eighth or ninth century which reached its final stage of expansion in the eleventh century.[65] According to Karo and Lietzmann, *Typus III* attributes scholia using ἀνεπίγραφος in catenae on most books of the Octateuch. *Clavis Clavium*, however, does not list the term in the sources of the catena.[66] Karo and Lietzmann based their list of sources in the catena on the eighteenth-century edition by Nikephoros Hieromonachos Theotokis.[67] Françoise Petit produced modern critical editions of this type on Genesis and Exodus which do not name any scholia with ἀνεπίγραφος, nor does the term appear in her discussion of the

[64] The initial division of these catenae into types was completed by Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 2–20, and further described in Devreesse, "Chaînes," cols. 1083–1094. Françoise Petit wrote several seminal studies on the catenae on the Octateuch in the process of creating editions of catenae on Genesis and Exodus which are cited below: Françoise Petit, "Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur la Genèse et "Exode. Programme "exploration et "édition," in *Studia Patristica XII: Papers presented to the Sixth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford, 1971*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, TU 115 (Berli n: Akademie, 1975), 46–5 0; Françoise Petit, "La chaîne grecque sur la Genèse, miroir de l'exégèse ancienne," in *Stimuli. Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann*, ed. Georg Schöllgen and Clemens Scholten, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband 23 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996), 243–253; Françoise Petit, "La tradition de Théodoret de Cyr dans les chaînes sur la Genèse. Vues nouvelles dans le classement de ces chaînes," *Le Muséon* 92 (1979): 281–286. Procopius of Gaza's *Commentary on the Octateuch* (CPG 7430 / CPG-[C3]) traditionally falls within this type. The literature on Procopius and this work is extensive. See the recent studies and editions in Karin Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza: Eclogarum in libros historicos Veteris Testamenti epitome. Teil 1: Der Genesiskommentar*, GCS N.F. 22 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); Karin Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza: Eclogarum in libros historicos Veteris Testamenti epitome. Teil 2: Der Exoduskommentar*, GCS N.F. 27 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020).

[65] Françoise Petit, ed., *Catenae graecae in Genesim et in Exodum. I. Catena Sinaitica*, CCSG 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), XXXI–XXXVIII.

[66] Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 7–17.

[67] Nikephoros Hieromonachos Theotokis, ed., *Σειρὰ ἑνὸς καὶ πεντήκοντα ὑπομνηματιστῶν εἰς τὴν Ὀκτάτευχον καὶ τὰ τῶν Βασιλειῶν*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1772–1773).

sources.[68] She also notes that Nikephoros's edition is deeply flawed. Its foundation is Athens, EBE, 43 (Diktyon 2339), which Petit castigates as one of the worst witnesses to the type; this codex was compared with London, Lambeth Palace, 1214 (Diktyon 39890) from Leviticus through Ruth. Nikephoros also combined the edited text of the catena with scholia from Procopius of Gaza's *Commentary on the Octateuch* (CPG 7430) from Munich, BSB, Gr. 358 (Diktyon 44806), and inserted further scholia from printed sources.[69] Thus, Metzler considers it something like "a modern catena."[70] Unfortunately, due to Nikephoros's amalgamation of sources, it is the attribution of scholia in his edition which is most unreliable and renders the work "of no use for scientific exploration of the catenae."[71] Until further modern study of the *Typus III* catena in the other six books of the Octateuch is completed, this catena type cannot be counted as a catena using the attribution ἀνεπίγραφος and it cannot shape the understanding or history of this indication of sources in catenae generally.

6.2 *Catenae on the Psalms*

The tradition of the catenae on the Psalms is the most robust of all catenae both in the number of late antique and Byzantine compilations produced and in the modern efforts to study and classify it. Due to the large size of the Psalter and the extent of the catenae on it—many were copied in three or more volumes—complete editions of Psalms catenae are not available, and

[68] Petit, ed., *Catena Sinaitica*; Françoise Petit, ed., *Catenae graecae in Genesim et in Exodum. II. Collectio Coisliniana in Genesim*, CCSG 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986).

[69] Petit, ed., *Catena Sinaitica*, XXX. The manuscript Nikephoros had available as a source for Procopius happened to be one of the most important manuscripts for Procopius's *Commentary on the Octateuch:* Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza, Eclogorum, Genesis*, XLII.

[70] Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza, Eclogorum, Genesis*, XXXV.

[71] Petit, ed., *Catena Sinaitica*, XXXI.

studies tend to use test passages to profile the contents.[72] Karo and Lietzmann identified twenty-seven types in their 1902 catalogue.[73] In the late twentieth century, Gilles Dorival and Ekkehard Mühlenberg studied these further. In the latter study, Mühlenberg divided the catenae into nine types, but this structure has not been widely adopted.[74] Dorival's monumental five-volume work, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes* identifies thirty-five catenae on the Psalms.[75] Despite the breadth of the tradition and number of investigations of catenae on the Psalms, only one type has been noted to use the attribution ἀνεπίγραφος frequently. The Psalms catena *Typus II* (C15) is a secondary catena preserved in one manuscript, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2057 (Diktyon 68686).[76] The compilers of this catena, working in Constantinople in the tenth century, used as many as seven sources to collect scholia for the work. The type uses the *Catena Theodoretiana paulum diffusa* (C10a.i.4) as its foundation and supplements it with versions of the Palestinian catena on the Psalms (C12), Hesychius of Jerusalem's *Commentary on the Psalms* (CPG 6554), and other sources.[77] Dorival found more than forty scholia with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in the psalms he sampled, corroborating the description of the sources in Karo and Lietzmann.[78] According to Dorival, the

[72] Balthasar Corderius edited catenae on the Psalms in three volumes and Marguerite Harl, with Gilles Dorival, edited the catena on Psalm 118: Balthasar Corderius, ed., *Expositio Patrum Graecorum in psalmos*, 3 vols. (Antwer p: Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1643–1646); Marguerite Harl, ed., *La chaîne palestinienne sur le psaume ɪ ɪ : Origène, Eusèbe, Didyme, Apollinaire, Athanase, Théodoret*, 2 vols., Sources chrétiennes 189–190 (Pari s: Editions du Cerf, 1972).

[73] Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 20–66. See also Devreesse, "Chaînes," cols. 1114-1140.

[74] Ekkehard Mühlenberg, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung. Band III: Untersuchungen zu den Psalmenkatenen*, PTS 19 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978).

[75] Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à "étude "une forme littéraire*, 5 vols., Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 43–46, 54 (Leuve n: Peeters, 1986–2018).

[76] Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 24–25.

[77] Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à "étude "une forme littéraire*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 54, vol. 5 (Leuve n: Peeters, 2018), 37–83.

[78] Dorival examined the source of each scholium on nineteen psalms (1, 11, 21, 31, 41, 50, 51, 61, 75, 76, 77, 78, 91, 100, 101, 118, 131, 141, and 150). Mühlenberg did not mention ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in his assessment of the type, but this may be due to the passages he selected: *Psalmenkatenen*, 22–24, 58–60.

term ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου "signifies that the fragment which it precedes was anonymous in the source from which it was taken."[79] Dorival's thorough analysis of the sources of the *Typus II* catena enabled him to see behind the work of the compilers and explain with evidence how the designation was used. The example of this catena on the Psalms is informative for the use of the attribution in catenae on the Gospels because Dorival has both the source work—the earlier catena—and the catena with the attribution to explain what the term meant to the compilers. However, since the *Typus II* catena is centuries later than earliest occurrences in catenae on the Gospels, the practice of using this term as a designation may have already been established and informed by other catena traditions.

6.3 *Catenae on the Major Prophets*

The catenae on the Major Prophets are divided into separate sections for each prophet in the CPG. While there are a few catenae only attested for one prophet, the main catenae in this section of the Old Testament were pseudonymously attributed to a compiler named John Drungarius in the seventh or eighth century.[80] Pseudo-Drungarius is responsible for a catena on each of the Major Prophets and the deuterocanonical works associated with them in the Septuagint: Isaiah (CPG C60), Jeremiah (CPG C66), Baruch (CPG C67), Lamentations (CPG C68), Ezekiel (CPG C70), Susanna (CPG C75.2), Daniel (CPG C75.3), and Bel and the Dragon (CPG C75.4).[81] Drungarius

[79] Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques 5*, 79.

[80] Vianès, "Chaînes de Jean le Droungaire," 418–419. Vianès proposes that John Drungarius should be dated earlier to the late sixth century, immediately after the death of Severus of Antioch, because the catena reflect an anti-Chalcedonian, pro-Monophysite orientation in their use and praise of Severus.

[81] Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 334–350. The principal study on catenae on the prophets is more than a century old: Michael Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen nach Römischen Handschriften*, Biblische Studien

is only known through the inscriptions and prologues to these catenae, so no biographical information about him as been preserved.[82] No modern edition exists for the entire corpus. Michael Ghisleri produced an edition of the catenae on Jeremiah, Baruch, and Lamentations in 1623.[83] Mathilde Aussedat produced for her doctoral thesis an unpublished critical edition of the catenae on Jeremiah chapters 1–4.[84] Likewise, the catena on Ezekiel 36–48 was edited in Laurence Vianès's unpublished doctoral thesis.[85] Angelo Mai and I.B. Pitra partially edited the catenae on Daniel and the catena on Susanna by taking extracts from them.[86]

The Pseudo-John Drungarius catenae on Jeremiah, Baruch, and Lamentations, make extensive use of the designation ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου.[87] These compositions on the Jeremiah corpus are secondary catenae which feature extensive scholia from Olympiodorus the Deacon (d. 6th c.) and

4.3 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1899). See also Devreesse, "Chaînes," cols. 1147–1158; Michael Faulhaber, "Die Katenenhandschriften der spanischen Bibliotheken," *BZ* 1 (1903): 361–367; Angelo di Berardino, "John Drungarius, Catenist," in *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers, 451–750*, ed. Angelo di Berardino, trans. Adrian Walford (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2006; repr., 2008), 639–644.

[82] di Berardino, "Drungarius," 221. It is noteworthy that these are some of the few catenae attributed to a specific individual; the only earlier named catenist is Procopius of Gaza and the others, such as Nicetas of Heraclea, are later.

[83] M. Ghisleri, *In Ieremiam Prophetam Commentarii*, 3 vols. (Lyo n: Lavrenti Durand, 1623).

[84] Mathilde [Sutterlin-Aussedat] Aussedat, "Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le livre de Jérémie (chap 1-4 : Présentation, édition critique, traduction française, commentaire" (PhD Thesis, Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2006).

[85] Laurence Vianès, "La chaîne monophysite sur Ézéchiel 36–48. Présentation, texte critiqque, traduction française, commentaire" (PhD Thesis, "École Pratique des Hautes Études, Université Paris Sciences et Lettres, 1997).Thanks are due to Laurence for sharing a copy of her thesis with me.

[86] Angelo Mai, ed., *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita* (Rom e: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1825), 161–22 1; Angelo Mai, ed., *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita* (Rom e: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1825, 1831), 27–5 6; Jean Baptiste Pitra, ed., *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata* (Frascati/Pari s: Tusculanis, 1884), 253–268.

[87] The catena on Isaiah (CPG C62) compiled in the twelfth-century by Nicholas IV Mouzalon, a Patriarch of Constantinople from 1147–1151 CE, also has one ἀνεπίγραφος comment. The catena is only extant for chapters 1–16. Since the catena is fragmentary, late, and does not use ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου frequently, it is not discussed in this chapter. See Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 341–342; Devreesse, "Chaînes," cols. 1149–1151.

several other early Christian writers.[88] The term ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου was applied to 107 scholia in the catena on Jeremiah, 46 in the catena on Baruch, and eighteen in the catena on Lamentations.[89] Faulhaber discussed these at length because they play an important part in his reconstruction of the history and sources of the catenae. He argued that the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in the catena on Jeremiah and the catena on Lamentations were all from Polychronius of Apamea (d. c. 430)—despite the fact that he acknowledges some may be from Origen, Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. 458), Cyril of Alexandria, and Didymus the Blind (d. 398)—and the forty-six ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in the catena on Baruch derived from Theodoret (d. 458).[90] From this, he develops the hypothesis that the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia stem from an *Urkatene* which included anonymous scholia. Faulhaber's primary argument for this is John Drungarius's prologue to the catena on Ezekiel (C70) which specifies that he selected some comments from a source with anonymous comments and that these were given the attribution ἄλλος in that catena; there are 233 scholia with the attribution ἄλλος in that catena.[91] The compilers chose a comparable practice for the catena on Jeremiah, using ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου instead of ἄλλος.[92]

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[88] Olympiodorus the Deacon's *Commentary on Jeremiah* (CPG 7455), *Commentary on Baruch* (CPG 7457), and *Commentary on Lamentations* (CPG 7456). Interestingly, in this catena the scholia from Cyril of Alexandria give an indication of the source: Carmelo Curti and Maria Antonietta Barbàra, "Greek Exegetical Catenae," in *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers, 451–750*, ed. Angelo di Berardino, trans. Adrian Walford (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2006; repr., 2008), 640.

[89] Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen*, 118–135. On the scholia in Jeremiah, see also Aussedat, "Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le livre de Jérémie," 133–136.

[90] Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen*, 118–129. For the scholia which are extracts of Origen, he cites the comparisons in Erich Klostermann, *Die Überlieferung der Jeremiahomilien des Origenes*, TU 16/3 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897).

[91] The figure given is from CPG IV² Vianès's thesis: "La chaîne monophysite," 1:64–77, which significantly reduces the number identified by Faulhaber: *Die Propheten-Catenen*, 148–153.

[92] Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen*, 128–129. On the prologue to the John Drungarius catena on Ezekiel, see: Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen*, 192–196 (text), 196–200 (analysis); Klostermann, *Der Jeremiahomilien des Origenes*, 36.

Faulhaber's hypothesis about the source of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia was dismantled by L. Dieu.[93] Dieu's primary interest was in the *Commentary on Jeremiah* by John Chrysostom which has not been preserved in direct tradition.[94] The two-author catena on Jeremiah (C65) incorporates scholia from Pseudo-John Chrysostom and Theodoret of Cyrrhus in chapters 1–4 and only Theodoret thereafter.[95] As Faulhaber noted, the John Drungarius catena on Jeremiah tends to have identical or similar scholia from Theodoret but a very different text of John Chrysostom compared to the two-author catena. Since Chrysostom's *Commentary on Jeremiah* has been lost, and in the early twentieth century was thought possibly never to have existed, Dieu asserts that it is unlikely for the two catenae on Jeremiah to have been produced from a double tradition of Chrysostom on Jeremiah.[96] He concludes that the text of Pseudo-Chrysostom in the two-author catena does not fit the exegetical technique and use of sources in Chrysostom but is much closer to that of Polychronius. This raises a problem because Faulhaber had attributed over one hundred other scholia under the heading ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου to Polychronius which also do not correspond to the pseudo-Chrysostom material. Dieu argues that the style of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia does not fit Polychronius, despite Faulhaber's attempts to force the issue, and that the comments should be taken individually rather than as a corpus; after all, some had already been positively matched to

[93] L. Dieu, "Le commentaire sur Jérémie du Pseudo-Chrysostome serait-il lœuvree de Polychronius d'Apamée," *RHE* 14 (1913): 685–701.

[94] On John Chrysostom on Jeremiah, see Aussedat, "Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le livre de Jérémie," 111–120.

[95] On this catena, see Aussedat, "Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le livre de Jérémie," 176–345.

[96] Dieu, "Le commentaire sur Jérémie," 685–87. As a point of comparison, John Chrysostom wrote multiple works on Genesis, creating the possibility of a double tradition in which later commentators and compilers might use both or only one of them in their own writings. On this point, see Aussedat, "Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le livre de Jérémie," 114–115. A fragment of Chrysostom's Commentary on Jeremiah was discovered on a flyleaf in Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Ms. Gr. 27 (Diktyon 12314); its text aligns with the Pseudo-John Drungarius catena rather than the shorter catena: Dana R. Miller, "Found: A Folio of the Lost Full Commentary of John Chrysostom on Jeremiah," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 94 (1992): 379–385.

the authentic writings of several other figures.[97] Dieu's argument about the origin of the Pseudo-Chrysostom scholia in the two-author Jeremiah catena does not bear on the question of the unattributed scholia. [98] His findings sufficiently undermine Faulhaber's conclusion about Polychronius, leaving the sources of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in Pseudo-John Drungarius's catena on Jeremiah open-ended. Faulhaber's proposal that they derive from an early exegetical collection stands and is more compelling when the comments come from a variety of sources instead of only one.

While there are no scholia attributed with ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in Pseudo-John Drungarius's catena on Ezekiel, it has a large collection of anonymous scholia attributed in a specific way and several connections to Type Z identified by Laurence Vianès.[99] The Drungarius catena on Ezekiel features 233 scholia which were given the attribution ἄλλος. The use of this attribution throughout the catena on Ezekiel suggests that they stem from the same source which systematically explained the biblical text. The catenae on the Major Prophets were transmitted with prologues which have many similarities to the ones in Type Z noted above, including statements on the use of heretical authors.[100] The compilers of the catena on Ezekiel remarks on the source of the ἄλλος scholia:

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[97] Dieu, "Le commentaire sur Jérémie," 700–701.

[98] Dana Miller's discovery of a fragment of John Chrysostom's *Commentary on Jeremiah* supports that the Chrysostom material in Pseudo-John Drungarius's catena is authentically from Chrysostom, calling into question the source in the two-author catena, as argued by Dieu: Miller, "Found: A folio," 379–385. Mathilde Aussedat agrees with this, but after a deeper investigation cannot confirm or completely rule out that the Pseudo-Chrysostom fragments in the two-author catena are genuine. She leans toward them belonging to someone else, perhaps Polychronius as Dieu proposed: Aussedat, "Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le livre de Jérémie," 111–120.

[99] Vianès: "Affinités," forthcoming.

[100] The prologues on the catenae on the Major Prophets were edited by Faulhaber: *Die Propheten-Catenen*, 192–196; reprinted in Aussedat, "Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le livre de Jérémie," 161–163. Dorival published a French translation of the prologues and analysed them in Dorival, "Des commentaires," 368–375. A new study and translation

> Εὗρον δὲ καὶ ἑτέρας παραγραφὰς μηδαμῶς φερούσας τοῦ συγγραψαμένου τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, ἃς καὶ παρέθηκα ἐπιθήσας ταῖς αὐταῖς παραγραφαῖς τὸ ἄλλος.[101]
>
> I have found also other scholia that did not bear any attribution of authorship; these also, I included, preceding these scholia with the title, "another."

These have remarkable similarity to the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia because they refer to scholia which the catenists state are from an unattributed source. While they selected a different term—which Vianès argues was updated by the same catenist to ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in the Jeremiah catena—this shows both the use of a collection of anonymous scholia like the one attested by the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia and the programmatic use of a specific term to cite that source in a catena.[102]

The catenae on the Major Prophets by Pseudo-John Drungarius are a chronological parallel to the use of ἀνεπίγραφος as a term to designate scholia in the earliest catenae on the Gospels. While the exact source of these scholia in an earlier catena tradition has not been identified as in the Psalms catenae, they reflect what seems to be a common practice of naming unattributed scholia in an earlier exegetical collection as ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in catenae. While it cannot be confirmed that this early exegetical collection was an *Urkatene* on which the later projects were based or that it was simply one source among many which were consulted, the attribution is a sign of exegetical collections being consulted in the production of catena projects.

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is provided by Vianès: "Affinités," forthcoming. See Chapter 5 §2.3 for a comparison of the prologue in Codex Zacynthius to the prologue to the Pseudo-John Drungarius catena on Daniel.

[101] Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen*, 192–193.

[102] Vianès, "Affinités," forthcoming.

6.4 *Catenae on Acts*

The largest number of ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in catenae on the New Testament outside the Gospels is in the so-called Andreas catena on Acts (C150), dated to the seventh or eighth century.[103] The catenae on Acts are arranged into three main types, the Andreas catena (C150), the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena (C151), and the Theophylact commentary (C152), plus a *Codices Singuli* (C155) and a *Catena Abbreuiata* (C156) category.[104] These are further divided into several subtypes as proposed by Emanuele Scieri.[105] The Andreas catena on Acts contains fifty-four scholia attributed as ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου according to the text in Cramer's edition.[106] Timothy Brookins, Peter Reynolds, and Mikeal Parsons recently translated four of the scholia based on Cramer's edition, but they did not

[103] The attribution of the catena on Acts to Andreas of Caesarea seems to be a later tradition which entered modern scholarship through Cramer's edition. He found the attribution in a subscript to the catena in Paris, BnF, Coislin 25 (GA 307; Diktyon 49167) and used it despite the anonymous title found at the beginning of the catena in his manuscript. On this attribution in Acts, see Emanuele Scieri, "The Catena Manuscripts on Acts: A Revised Classification," *VC* (2022): 288. For the corresponding situation in catenae on the Catholic Epistles: James Hardy Ropes, "The Greek Catena to the Catholic Epistles," *HTR* 19 (1926): 387. The anonymous compiler is, therefore, not the same Andreas of Caesarea who wrote the Commentary on Revelation (CPG 7478), which has been investigated in: Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes. I. Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, Münchener Theologische Studien (Munich: Karl Zink, 1955); Eugenia Scarvelis Constantinou, *Guiding to a Blessed End: Andrew of Caesarea and His Apocalypse CommIntary in the Ancient Church* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2013).

[104] As with the ascription of the Andreas catena, the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Acts likely was not compiled by Oecumenius who compiled a *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (CPG 7470). Scieri, "The Catena Manuscripts on Acts: A Revised Classification," 294.

[105] Scieri, "The Catena Manuscripts on Acts: A Revised Classification," 281–305. See also his discussion in "Exegetical Fragments: Observations on the Catenae on Acts in Vatican, BAV, Reg. Gr. 6 (GA 886)," in *That Nothing May Be Lost: Fragments and the New Testament Text: Papers from the Twelfth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. Clark R. Bates, Jacopo Marcon, Andrew J. Patton, and Emanuele Scieri, TS 3/29 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2022), 215–239. I would like to express my gratitude to Emanuele for discussing his taxonomy of the catenae on Acts with me and what had previously been written about the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia in this tradition.

[106] John Anthony Cramer, *Catenae in Acta ss. Apostolorum*, Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum, vol. 3 (Oxford: University Press, 1838). *Clavis Clavium* and CPG IV$^{1-2}$ do not list the sources of the catenae on Acts. The principal study of catenae on Acts remains Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments: in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt, I. Teil: Untersuchungen I. Abteilung: Die Textzeugen*, 2nd, unchanged ed., vol. 1,1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911; repr., 1911). Catenae on Acts occasionally were discussed in studies of catenae on the Catholic Epistles and the Pauline corpus because they were in the same codex: Karl Staab, "Die griechischen Katenenkommentare zu den katholischen Briefen," *Bib* 5 (1924): 296–353; Ropes, "The Greek Catena to the Catholic Epistles," 383–388.

attempt to identify the sources.[107] No study has systematically investigated these scholia or their sources.[108]

The paucity of research on the catenae on Acts means that no further information can be gleaned from them apart from the general observations about the sources of the Andreas catena. The Andreas catena includes scholia from thirty named sources as well as numerous anonymous scholia.[109] Scieri proposes that the foundation of the catena may have been John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Acts* (CPG 4426) which were extensively excerpted and then supplemented with scholia from other sources.[110] Thus, the Andreas catena meets the definition of a secondary catena. Scieri does not indicate whether the anonymous scholia are completely or disproportionately from Chrysostom, but this would align with the Gospels and the titles of these catenae which attributes the work to Chrysostom by name along with other early Christian writers: Ἑρμηνεία τῶν Πράξεων τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου καὶ ἑτέρων διαφόρων.[111] There seems to be a similarity in the development of the catenae on Acts and the Catholic Epistles, and the latter catena developed from a shorter form of mostly

[107] Timothy Brookins, Peter Reynolds, and Mikeal Parsons, "In Defense of Peter and Paul: The Contribution o' Cramer's Catena to the Early Reception of Canonical Acts," *Journal of Early Christian History* 1 (2011): 22–39. This article was reprinted in a slightly different and shorter form: Timothy Brookins, Peter Reynolds, and Mikeal Parsons, "In Defense of Peter and Paul: The Contribution of Cramer's Catena to the Early Reception of Canonical Acts," in *Paul and the Heritage of Israel: Paul's Claim upon Israel's Legacy in Luke and Acts in the Light of the Pauline Letters*, ed. David P. Moessner, Daniel Marguerat, Mikeal C. Parsons, and Michael Wolter, vol. 1 of *Luke the Interpreter of Israel*, LNTS 452 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2012), 180–192.

[108] Scieri's forthcoming thesis will make the first ever discussion of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia on Acts: Emanuele Scieri, "The Catenae on the *Acts of the Apostles*" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2023).

[109] Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 592. Karo and Lietzmann do not specify that any scholia were transmitted under the heading ἀνεπίγραφος as they do in the Gospels. However, they do indicate that numerous scholia are attributed anonymously. The term still points toward the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia. They adopted the term "anonyma" for the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia from Cramer who used it in the index of sources in his edition on Acts: Cramer, *Catenae in Acts*, 452–456.

[110] Scieri, "The Catena Manuscripts on Acts: A Revised Classification," 288.

[111] Scieri, "The Catena Manuscripts on Acts: A Revised Classification," 288. According to Scieri this title is used in six of the witness to type C150.1, the primary form of the Andreas catena.

anonymous scholia (CPG C175) to a fuller catena that added named scholia which was also falsely attributed to Andreas of Caesarea (CPG C176).[112] While more work is needed to adduce the stages of development and sources in the Andreas catena on Acts, Scieri's proposal about how the catena may have been formed is intriguing in its implications for the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia. The fifty-four scholia attributed with the heading ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in the Andreas catena may have developed in a way that parallels the formation of the catenae on the Gospels at approximately the same time.

6.5 *Catenae on Romans*

Only one scholium has been transmitted with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in the corpus of catenae on the Pauline Epistles. The Greek catenae on the Pauline Epistles have been divided into nine types in *Clavis Clavium*, and recent studies on the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena (C165) have proposed further subdivisions within it which have not yet been incorporated into the database.[113] The lone *anepigraphon* in the Pauline catena tradition is in the catena on Romans in *Typus Vaticanus* (C160). The catena type is named after its principal manuscript, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 762 (GA

[112] This pattern was first proposed by Staab, "Die griechischen Katenenkommentare zu den katholischen Briefen," 339. His findings were repeated or developed further in Devreesse, "Chaînes," col. 1225; Ropes, "The Greek Catena to the Catholic Epistles," 386.

[113] The foundational work on the catenae on the Pauline Epistles is Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*. See also the initial division of types and sources in Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 597–610, and the summary by Devreesse, "Chaînes," cols. 1209–1224. Staab also wrote a more general volume on the interpretation of Paul's letters in catenae: Karl Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*, NTAbh 15 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1933). Recent work on these catenae, especially the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena (C165) includes: Theodora Panella, "Re-Classifying the Pseudo-Oikoumenian Catena Types for Paul's Epistle to the Galatians," in *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and their Readers*, ed. Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 20 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2021), 387–403. The unpublished theses of Jacopo Marcon and Theodora Panella are vital sources on these catenae: Jacopo Marcon, "The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Romans" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2023); Theodora Panella, "The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Galatians" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2018). Clark R. Bates is currently writing a thesis on the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Ephesians. Thanks are due to Jacopo Marcon for sharing a copy of thesis before it was made public in the Birmingham thesis archive.

1915; Diktyon 67393), which is only extant for Romans, 1 Corinthians, and part of 2 Corinthians.[114] The text of the catena on Romans was edited by Cramer based on Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E.2.20 (Diktyon 47015) with additional readings taken from Paris, BnF, Gr. 227 (GA 1937; Diktyon 49799).[115] The initial composition of this catena dates to the seventh or eighth century, but it has been expanded in its current form in the tenth century with the inclusion of scholia from Photius of Constantinople. Marcon has shown that the *Typus Vaticanus* is a secondary catena which has as one of its sources extracts from the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Romans.[116] In this book, the lone scholium with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου comments on Romans 5:18–19. The scholium is not shared with the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena.[117] Little can be deduced about the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in the Pauline catena based on this one example.

6.6 *The Use of ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in Other Catenae*

This section surveyed the use of ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου as an attribution in all biblical catenae for the first time. It has shown that the term was not widely used, only appearing in five catena traditions. All five of the catenae with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου are secondary catenae, and

[114] This manuscript is the leading witness to its catena type and was copied in a unique form of the alternating format wherein the *lemmata* are set apart from the scholia by a wide space so that they are more distinct. In this way, it blurs the line between frame and alternating formats. Studies of this codex apart from those cited in the note above include: Agnès Lorrain, "Autour du Vaticanus gr. 762: Note' pour l'étude des chaînes à présentation alternante," *Byzantion* 90 (2020): 67–95; Otto Lang, *Die Catene des Vaticanus gr. 762 zum ersten Korintherbrief*, Catenenstudien 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909); Konrad F. Zawadzki, "Der verlorene Schluss des Codex Vaticanus Graecus 762: Eine Rekonstruktion anhand der Codices Pantokratoros 28 und Vaticanus Graecus 692," *Museum Helveticum* 77 (2020).

[115] John Anthony Cramer, *Catena in Sancti Pauli Epistolam ad Romanos*, Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum, vol. 3 (Oxford: University Press, 1844).

[116] Marcon, "Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena," 316–336.

[117] Marcon, "Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena," 336.

four have been dated to the seventh or eighth centuries.[118] The scholia with this appellation come from a variety of sources, so it is not a term concealing the use of less credible sources in late antique Byzantium. Rather, the term appears to have been used to refer to a source which was anonymous in the work from which it was taken, as demonstrated in the tenth-century psalms catena, *Typus II*. Several of these catenae bear resemblance to the catena traditions on the Gospels which use the term ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in their patterns of development and other compositional techniques.[119] They therefore offer further evidence on the meaning of this term and demonstrate that it was a citational practice which likely emerged in a specific time period after the first catenae and other early exegetical collections had been compiled. The use of the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in other catenae is in keeping with both the principal findings of this chapter: the identification of an anonymous collection of exegetical extracts on the Gospels and the initial adoption of this term at a specific editorial stage in the history of catenae on the Gospels, the formation of Type Z.

7 ἀνεπίγραφοι and Eusebius of Caesarea's *Commentary on the Psalms*

Eusebius of Caesarea was one of the most prolific biblical scholars of late antiquity, who also was known for his inventive use of textual technologies and overseeing the production of

[118] The *Typus III* catena on the Octateuch has been excluded because of the uncertainty regarding the use of ἀνεπίγραφος as an attribution in that tradition. If it were shown to use the attribution, this would be another seventh/eighth-century work employing this convention.

[119] Vianès, "Chaînes de Jean le Droungaire," 405–426. Laurence Vianès addresses some points of comparison in her research on the so-called Miaphysite catenae which name Severus of Antioch with the honorific title "saint." Many of the catenae which use the title ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου also include scholia which attribute scholia to Saint Severus. A Miaphysite catena was also proposed by Marcel Richard: "Les premières chaînes sur le Psautier," *Bu'letin d'informat'on de l'Institut de Recher'he et d'Histoire des Textes* 5 (1956): 87–98.

manuscripts.[120] One of his less-heralded works is the *Canones psalmorum,* a *pinax* on the Psalms which has been equated to a canon table for the Psalms. It has only been preserved in a single codex: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D. 4. 1. (Diktyon 46972) which dates to 951 CE.[121] Giovanni Mercati first published on this text, and it was recently described and analyzed by Martin Wallraff.[122] The *Canones psalmorum* consists of a table in landscape orientation which spans an opening (fols. 24v–25r) shown in Figure 4.1 and 4.2.[123] At the top of the table is the title Πίναξ ἐκτεθεὶς ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου. The table organizes the individual Psalms into seven canons, each of which is represented by a single column. Each canon represents the author ascribed to the psalms by Christian tradition: canon one for the psalms of David, canon two for the psalms of Solomon, canon three for the unattributed psalms (ἀνεπίγραφοι ψαλμοί), canon four for the psalms of the Sons of Korah, canon

[120] On Eusebius of Caesarea, see Aaron P. Johnson, *Eusebius*, Understanding Classics (London/New York: Tauris, 2014). Some of the extensive literature on Eusebius's textual technologies and biblical scholarship includes: Jeremiah Coogan, *Eusebius the Evangelist: Rewriting the Fourfold Gospel in Late Antiquity*, Cultures of Reading in the Ancient Mediterranean (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023); Matthew R. Crawford, *The Eusebian Canon Tables: Ordering Textual Knowledge in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Sabrina Inowlocki and Claudio Zamagni, eds., *Reconsidering Eusebius: Collected Papers on Literary, Historical, and Theological Issues*, Vigiliae Christianae, Supplements Series 107 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011); Aaron Johnson and Jeremy Schott, eds., *Eusebius of Caesarea: Tradition and Innovations*, Hellenic Studies Series 60 (Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2013).

[121] For a description of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D. 4. 1, see: Henry O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library. Quarto Catalogues, Vol. 1: Greek Manuscripts* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1969, repr. and corr. ed. of 1853), 621–624; Michael Faulhaber, "Eine wertvolle Oxforder Handschrift," *TQ* 83 (1901): 218–232. The codex is a Psalms catena ma nuscript: Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribu'ion à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 44, vol. 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 84–126. Other liturgical texts in the catena are extensively treated in: Georgi R. Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters ca. 850–1350 AD* (Plovdiv, 2014).

[122] Giovanni Mercati, *Osservazioni a proemi del Salterio di Origene, Ippolito, Eusebio, Cirillo Alessandrino e alteri con frammenti inediti*, Studi e Testi 142 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948); Martin Wallraff, "The Canon Tables of the Psalms: An Unknown Work of Eusebius of Caesarea," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 67 (2013): 1–14; repr. and trans. in "Eusebius, *Canones psalmorum*," in *Die Prologtexte zu den Psalmen von Origenes und Eusebius*, ed. Cordula Bandt, Franz Xaver Risch, and Barbara Villani, TU 183 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 143–161.

[123] The codex is not usually available for *in situ* examination, so I am grateful to the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts for securing permission for me to examine the codex and agreeing to have it digitized in full as part of their project with the Bodleian Library.

five for the psalms of Asaph, canon six for the anonymous psalms, and canon seven for the alleluia psalms. The psalms attributed to Ethan the Israelite and Moses are treated separately in rows not placed within a particular canon, perhaps because only one psalm has been ascribed to each. Within each column the numbers of each psalm according to the order of the Septuagint are written in rows.[124] The design of the work and its placement before other explanatory texts suggests that it originally belonged in the preface to Eusebius's *Commentary on the Psalms* (CPG 3467).[125] While the *Canones psalmorum* did not gain as widespread acceptance as Eusebius's canon tables for the Gospels, this table is an innovative and useful way of organizing information about the authorship of the individual Psalms.[126]

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[124] Wallraff draws attention to the fact that using numerals to refer to different texts in a collection was not a common practice at the time this was composed: Wallraff, "Canon Tables of the Psalms," 14. This is described by Eusebius in *De ordine psalmorum*: Ἐν τῇ ἑβραϊκῇ βίβλῳ τῶν Ψαλμῶν ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ προσθήκης ἀνεγράφησαν οἱ πάντες καὶ διαφόρως· οἱ μέν εἰσι συνημμένοι, οἱ δὲ διῃρημένοι (Cordula Bandt, "Eusebius, *De ordine psalmorum*," in *Die Prologtexte zu den Psalmen von Origenes und Eusebius*, ed. Cordula Bandt, Franz Xaver Risch, and Barbara Villani, TU 183 [Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019], 194.1–2).

[125] The current complete edition of Eusebius's *Commentary on the Psalms.* is PG 23, which reprinted Bernard de Montfaucon's 1707 edition: *Collectio Nova Patrum et Scriptorum Graecorum, Eusebii Caesariensis, Athanasii, & Cosmae Aegyptii* (Paris: Claudii Rigaud, 1707). A new three-volume critical edition is underway by researchers at the Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, of which one volume has now been published on Psalms 101–150: Franz Xaver Risch, ed., *Band III Eusebius Werke: Band X/3 Kommentar zu Psalm 101-150. Die Fragmente*, GCS 32 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022). Only Eusebius's commentary on Psalms 51–95:3 has been preserved in direct tradition, and this only survives in manuscript Paris, BnF, Coislin 44 (Diktyon 49186); the rest of the commentary is extant in catenae: Carmelo Curti, "I 'Commentarii in Psalmos' di Eusebio di Cesarea. Tradizione diretta (Coislin 44) e tradizione catenaria," in *Eusebiana I. Commentarii in Psalmos*, 2nd ed., ed. Carmelo Curti, Saggi e testi classici, cristiani e medievali 1 (Catania: Università, Centro di Studi sull'Antico Cristianesim o, 1989); Gilles Dorival, "La reconstitution du Commentaire sur les Psaumes d'Eusèbe de Césarée grâce aux chaînes exégétiques grecques, en particulier la chaîne de Nicétas," in *Studia Patristica XV. Papers Presented to the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford, 1975*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, TU 128 (Berlin: Akademie, 1984), 170–176. On Eusebius's *Commentary on the Psalms* see: Carmelo Curti, *Eusebiana I. Commentarii in Psalmos*, 2nd ed., Saggi e Testi Classici, Cristiana e Medievali 1 (Catania: Università, Centro di Studi sull'Antico Cristianesimo, 1989); Michael J. Hollerich, "Eusebius' Commentary on the Psalms and Its Place in the Origins of Christian Biblical Scholarship," in *Eusebius of Caesarea: Tradition and Innovations*, ed. Aaron Johnson and Jeremy Schott, Hellenic Studies Series 60 (Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2013); Alice Whealey, "Prologues on the Psalms. Origen, Hippolytus, Eusebius," *RBén* 106 (1996): 234–245.

[126] Eusebius was a pioneer in the use of tables to organize textual information: Coogan, *Eusebius the Evangelist*, 28–58; Jeremiah Coogan, "Tabular Thinking in Late Ancient Palestine: Instrumentality, Work, and the Construction of

In the *Pinax*, Eusebius distinguishes between psalms which are untitled (ἀνεπίγραφοι; canon three) and those which are anonymous (ἀνώνυμοι; canon six). What differentiates these terms is specified in the hypothesis immediately following the table (fols. 26r–28v).[127] This introduction is a combination of three prefatory texts on the Psalms written by Eusebius, according to the division of them in the edition by Cordula Bandt, Franz Xaver Risch, and Barbara Villani.[128] The first text is *De divisione psalterii et psalmorum*, which explains the authorship of individual psalms.[129] The second, *De ordine psalmorum*, discusses the structure and order of the Psalter.[130] And the last, entitled *Periochae*, features a topical chapter list, akin to the *kephalaia* on the Gospels.[131] Eusebius clarifies in *De Divisione* that the anonymous psalms are those which have an inscription that does not name an author (εἰσὶ δὲ ἀνώνυμοι, ὅσοι ἐπιγραφὰς μὲν ἔχουσιν, οὐ μὴν δηλοῦσι, τίνος εἰσίν).[132] Whereas the ἀνεπίγραφοι are psalms without any inscription (Ἀνεπίγραφοι δὲ εἰσὶ ψαλμοὶ ιθ′, ἐπιγεγραμμένοι ρλα′).[133] In Eusebius's *Pinax* and *Commentary on the Psalms*, ἀνεπίγραφοι means untitled.

Knowledge," in *Knowledge Construction in Late Antiquity*, ed. Monika Amsler, Trends in C–assics - Supplementary Volumes 142 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023), 57–81; Jeremiah Coogan, "Transforming Textuality: Porphyry, Eusebius, and Late Ancient Tables," *Studies in Late Antiquity* 5 (2021): 6–27; Crawford, *The Eusebian Canon Tables*, 56–95; Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*, 86–232.

[127] While it cannot be conclusively proven, Wallraff makes a compelling case that the table and preface were designed to accompany one another and that the table may have been produced first because it explains details in Eusebius's description of the authorship of the psalms which are otherwise unusual: Wallraff, "Canon Tables of the Psalms," 10–14.

[128] Cordula Bandt, Franz Xaver Risch, and Barbara Villani, eds., *Die Prologtexte zu den Psalmen von Origenes und Eusebius*, TU 183 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019). This edition replaces the text of PG 23.

[129] Bandt, "Eusebius, *De divisione psalterii et psalmorum*," 162–173.

[130] Bandt, "Eusebius, *De ordine psalmorum*," 180–217.

[131] Bandt, "Eusebius, *Periochae*," 122–141. Wallraff also makes the connection between the contents list and the *kephalaia*: Wallraff, "Canon Tables of the Psalms," 9–10. The oldest witness to *Periochae* is Codex Alexandrinus (London, BL, Royal MS 1. D. V-VIII [The Book of Psalms is written in VII]; GA 02; Diktyon 39763) which transmits them with the title Περιοχαὶ εἰς τοὺς ψαλμούς.

[132] Bandt, "Eusebius, *De divisione psalterii et psalmorum*," 172.22.

[133] Bandt, "Eusebius, *De divisione psalterii et psalmorum*," 172.12. On the use of ἐπίγραμμα and the verb ἐπιγράφω for titling or inscribing works in poetic literature, see Andreas Rhoby, "Labeling Poetry in the Middle and Late Byzantine Period," *Byzantion* 85 (2015): 271–276.



Figure 4.1. Canones psalmorum in Oxford Auct. D. 4. 1., fol. 24v

(Image credit: Bandt, Xaver, and Villani, 2019)
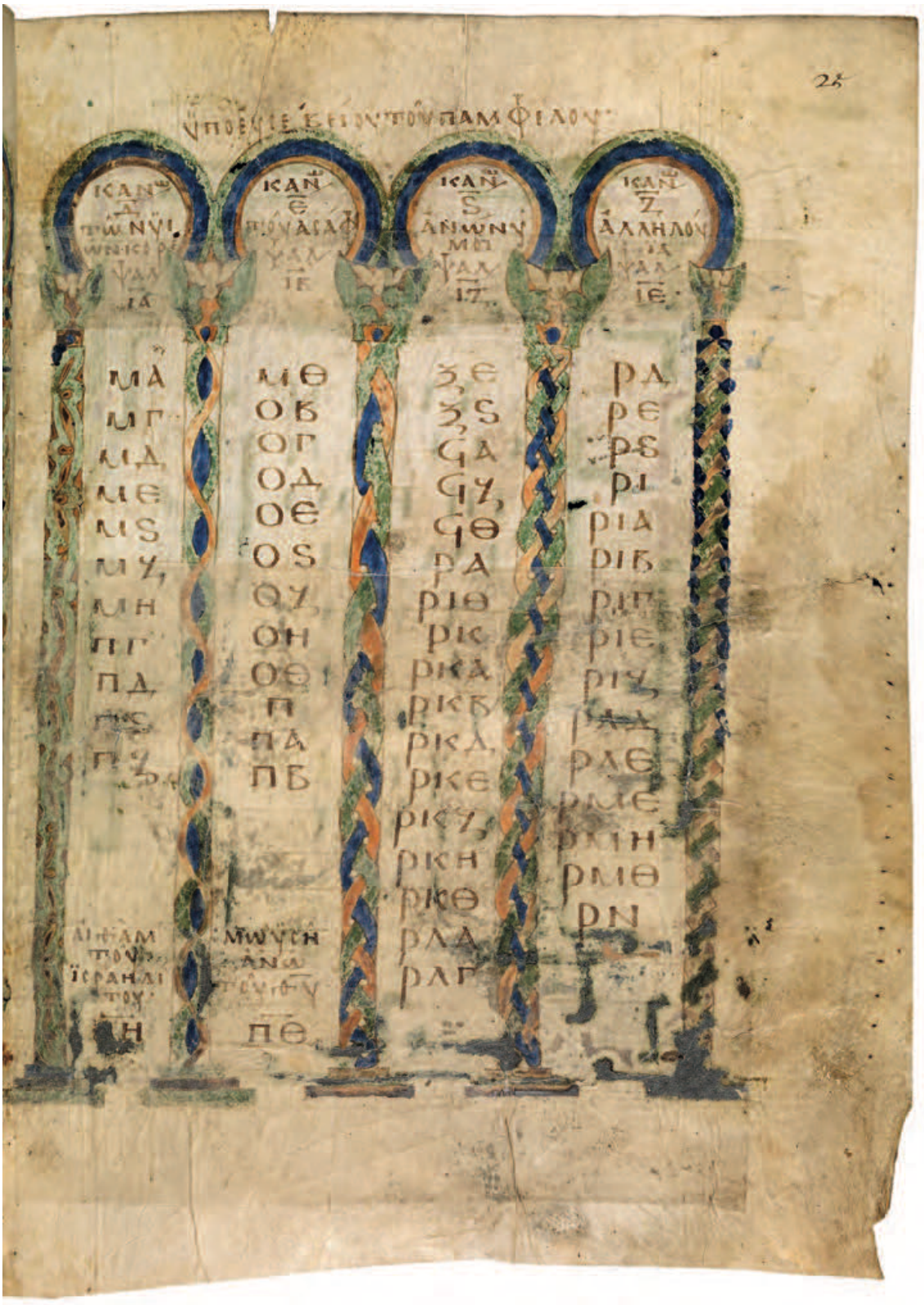


Figure 4.2. ***Canones psalmorum*** **in Oxford Auct. D. 4. 1, fol. 25r**

(Image credit: Bandt, Xaver, and Villani, 2019)

According to Eusebius, there are nineteen psalms without ascriptions: Psalms 1, 2, 32, 42, 70, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 103, 114, 116, 118, 136, 146, and 147. Even though Eusebius's numbering of the Psalms corresponds to the Septuagint, his list of untitled psalms does not align with Septuagint tradition. In that Greek version of the Old Testament, all but the first two psalms have an attribution. Instead, it seems that Eusebius drew on Origen's Hexapla or Hexaplaric tradition concerning the titles.[134] Many of the Psalms in canon three are attributed to David in the Septuagint but not in Hebrew tradition.[135] One of these is Psalm 43 (LXX Psalm 42). In *Commentary on the Psalms.,* Eusebius remarks on the disputed attribution with the refrain: "the psalm is untitled according to the Hebrews" (Ἀνεπίγραφος παρ᾽ Ἑβραίοις ὁ ψαλμός) (PG 23.379.55). Eusebius borrowed the line at the beginning of this text which states that the psalm is untitled according to the Hebrews (Ἀνεπίγραφος παρ᾽ Ἑβραίοις ὁ ψαλμός) from the Hexapla, which marked the ascription to David as dubious with an *obelos*.[136] This example elaborates on Eusebius's use of the term ἀνεπίγραφος to refer to a work as untitled.

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[134] Frederick Field's edition of the Hexapla remains the standard text for the Hexapla on the Psalms: *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875). The Hexapla project is in the process of producing new critical editions: Alison G. Salvesen, "A New 'Field' for the Twenty-First Century? Rationale for the Hexapla Project, and a Report on its Progress," in *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions: Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot*, ed. A. Piquero Otero and P. Torijano Morales, Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 286–309. On the Hexapla, see Coogan, "Tabular Thinking," 63–67; Peter J. Gentry, "Origen's Hexapla," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*, ed. Alison G. Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021); Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*, 86–132; Pierre Nautin, *Origène: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, Christianisme Antique 1 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977); Bernhard Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe*, Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 18 (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1987).

[135] On the differences between the inscriptions to the Psalms in Greek and He brew see: Gilles Dorival, "Les divisions anciennes du Psautier de la Septant," in *Les délimitations éditoriales des Écritures des bibles anciennes aux lectures modernes*, ed. Guillaume Bady and Marjo Korpel, Pericope 11 (Leuven: Peeter s, 2020); Gilles Dorival, "Septante et texte massorétique. Le cas des psaumes," in *Congress Volume Basel 2001*, ed. A Lemaire, Vetus Testamentum, Supplements 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[136] Wallraff, "Canon Tables of the Psalms," 12–13. See Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, 2:156. On the use of *obeloi* in the Hexapla, see Peter J. Gentry, "Did Origen Use the Aristarchian Signs in the Hexapla?," in *XV Congress of the*

Eusebius is not the first late ancient Christian scholar to use the term ἀνεπίγραφος in connection to the inscriptions in the Psalms. His predecessor, Origen of Alexandria, also referred to Psalms without a title as ἀνεπίγραφοι and explored the tradition of authorship within the Psalter.[137] In *De psalmis Moysi*, on the psalms attributed to Moses, Origen reports that a Jewish interlocutor named Jullus explained to him why some psalms were transmitted without a title. The account is as follows:

> "I learned that throughout the whole book of Psalms, after the first and second, those which are without a title (ἀνεπίγραφοι) by the Hebrews or have a title but not also an author's name (οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ὄνομα), are from him whose name is given with a title in the psalm before."
>
> ὅτι δι' ὅλης τῆς Βίβλου τῶν ψαλμῶν μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον οἱ παρ' Ἑβραίοις ἀνεπίγραφοι ἢ ἐπιγραφὴν μὲν ἔχοντες, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ὄνομα τοῦ γράψαντος, ἐκείνου εἰσίν, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα φέρεται ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτων ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντι ψαλμῷ.[138]

This statement takes up the distinction between untitled and anonymous psalms.[139] As with Eusebius, Origen notes that there is a difference between a psalm without any title and one which has a title but does not specify the name. He expands on this in a way that Eusebius does not by instructing readers on how to reconcile the Hebrew and Greek traditions and deduce the person implied to be the author of the psalm. The ascription is to be understood as a continuation of the previously named psalmist, except for the first and second psalms for which this method would be

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International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Munich 2013, ed. Wolfgang Kraus, Michaël N. van der Meer, and Martin Meiser, Septuagint and Cognate Studies 64 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 133–148; Francesca Schironi, "The Ambiguity of Signs: Critical σημεῖα from Zenodotus to Origen," in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, ed. M.R. Niehoff, Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 100–109.

[137] Bandt, "Origenes(?), *De divisione psalmorum*," 32–49. On Origen, Ronald E. Heine, *Origen: Scholarship in the Service of the Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*.

[138] Franz Xaver Risch, "Origenes, *De psalmis Moysis*," in *Die Prologtexte zu den Psalmen von Origenes und Eusebius*, ed. Cordula Bandt, Franz Xaver Risch, and Barbara Villani, TU 183 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 52.4–7. English translation adapted from Risch's German translation (p. 53).

[139] The term used by Origen is more literal: "without a name" (οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ὄνομα). It seems that Eusebius was the first to call these ἀνώνυμοι: Bandt, "Origenes(?), *De divisione psalmorum*," 34.

impossible.[140] Following this rationale, the ἀνεπίγραφοι may be transmitted without a title, and therefore without an attributed author, but tradition and an implied reading logic guide readers on how to appropriately read the unattributed texts and infer the identity of the psalmist.

The examples of Eusebius and Origen on the unattributed psalms are instructive about the use of this term. They highlight the use of the word ἀνεπίγραφος as a way to designate uninscribed texts within an ancient work of compilation literature.[141] Though the term does not appear as a heading within codices of the Greek Psalter—the Septuagint attributes to an author most of the psalms identified as being without an attribution—this way of discussing the tradition influenced subsequent commentaries in late antiquity. Nearly all the occurrences of the word ἀνεπίγραφος in the TLG are in exegetical works on the Psalms in the context of a discussion of or reference to the inscriptions in the Psalms.[142]

The descriptions of Psalms without titles as ἀνεπίγραφοι in commentaries on the Psalms may have influenced the attributions ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου and ἀνεπίγραφος in New Testament catenae. The

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[140] Gregory of Nyssa also held this interpretation of the titles to the Psalms, perhaps through the influence of Origen whose works he used. He extended the explanation by adding a teleological argument for omitting the title in Hebrew tradition based on their "ecclesiastical and mystical" message which the Jews could not accept due to their lack of faith: Ronald E. Heine, ed., *Gregory of Nyssa's Treatise on the Inscriptions of the Psalms: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 17–18; II.72–113. On the influence of Origen in Gregory of Nyssa's exegesis: Isidoros C. Katsos, "A Letter that Killeth: Gregory of Nyssa on How (Not) to Read Scripture, Platonically," *Modern Theology* (Forthcoming 2023); Heine, ed., *Nyssa Inscriptions*, 25–29.

[141] Late ancient biblical scholars debated whether the inscriptions were original to the Psalms. For example, Didore of Tarsus argued that these were the work of a later editor while Jerome treated them as an inspired part of biblical tradition: Heine, ed., *Nyssa Inscriptions*, 3–4.

[142] The authors of non-spurious works are Apollinarius (CPG 3681), Athanasius of Alexandria (CPG 2140), Cyril of Alexandria (CPG 5202), Didymus the Blind (CPG 2551), Diodore of Tarsus (CPG 3818), Hesychius of Jerusalem (CPG 6552), and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (CPG 6202). On these commentaries on the Psalms, see Robert Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs des Psaumes*, Studi e Testi 264 (Vati can City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vatican a, 1970); Marie-Josèphe Rondeau, *Les Commentaires patristiques du Psautier* (*IIIe–Ve siècles*), 2 vols., Orientalia Christiana analecta 219–2 20 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1982–1985). Ἀνεπίγραφος is also used as a heading in collections of epistles.

library resources and scholastic capacities required to produce catenae would have given the compilers access to commentaries on other books of the Bible and an awareness of how these texts were interpreted by the same writers they excerpted in the catenae on the Gospels. The genre of catenae was invented in Palestine, and scholars now argue that the oldest catena on the Octateuch (C1) was compiled in Caesarea, perhaps within a century of Eusebius's lifetime.[143] It is probable that the catenists on the Gospels were exposed to the use of ἀνεπίγραφος as a term for categorizing an unattributed text through the exegetical tradition on the Psalms by scholars such as Eusebius and Origen. There are at least two catenists on the Gospels who are known to also have compiled catenae on the Psalms: the compilers of the Type B Catena known as Pseudo-Peter of Laodicea compiled the catena on the Psalms C38.[144] The other compilation is attributed to the eleventh-century bishop Nicetas of Heraclea for the catena on the Psalms C21.[145] While it cannot be determined whether the anonymous compilers of the other catenae on the Gospels and Psalms ever produced compilations, these two figures working in different centuries show that it was possible. The analysis of inscriptions of the Psalms by early Christian exegetes was part of the intellectual milieu of the

[143] On Caesarea as the origin of catenae: Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza, Eclogorum, Genesis*, XXV–XXVI. Metzler's theory was accepted by Reinhart Ceulemans, "The Transmission, Sources and Reception of Procopius' Exegesis of Genesis: Observations in the Wake of the New Edition," *VC* 71 (2017): 214. See also René Cadiou, "La biblithèque de Césarée et la formation des chaînes," *RevScRel* 16 (1936): 474–483. Previously, Gaza was proposed as the place were catenae were invented because of Procopius of Gaza: Bas ter Haar Romeny, "Procopius of Gaza and his Library," in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*, ed. Hagit Amirav and Bas ter Haar Romeny, Late Antique History and Religion 1 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007). On the library in Caesarea: Andrew James Carriker, *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea*, Vigiliae Christianae, Supplements 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2003) Joseph Patrich, "Caesarea in the Time of Eusebius," in *Reconsidering Eusebius: Collected Papers on Literary, Historical, and Theological Issues*, ed. Sabrina Inowlocki and Claudio Zamagni, Vigiliae Christianae, Supplements Series 107 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), 1–24.

[144] See the discussion and bibliography on this catena in Chapter 2.

[145] On Psalms catena C21, see Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques 3*, 492–565; Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogu s*, 32–35; Marcel Richard, "Quelques manuscrits peu connus des chaînes exégétiques et des commentaires grecs sur le Psautier," *Bu'letin d'informat'on de l'Institut de Recher'he et d'Histoire des Textes* 3 (1955): 87–106. On Nicetas of Heraclea: Roosen, "The Works of Nicetas," 119–144.

compilers of catenae on the Gospels and offers a compelling background for the use of ἀνεπίγραφος as a technical term in catenae.

8 Chapter Summary

The compilers of catenae credited hundreds of scholia in their compositions to a non-specific source with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου. These scholia stem from an influential early exegetical collection that no longer survives but was used by all the earliest compilers of catenae on the Gospels in the sixth and seventh century. The catena in Type Z played the most influential role in the development of catenae on the Gospels because it was used to expand both the earlier Type A and Type B commentaries and perhaps several other traditions. This chapter has shown that in the process of utilizing the Type Z catena, the Type A and B compilers each added more material from this collection, sometimes even repeating ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia anonymously found in the commentaries. In the case of the Type B Catena Form, the Type Z attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου induced the false identification of the Type B commentary as the source of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia; a proposal which was resurrected by Heinrici in the early twentieth century. The scholia included in these catenae and their attribution demonstrates that not every scholium given the name ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου belongs to that lost source and that it was the Type Z catenist who first used the attribution to refer to the exegetical collection. The use of the phrase ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου occurred in other catenae, and its adoption may have been inspired by the work of Eusebius of Caesarea and Origen who called Psalms without a title ἀνεπίγραφοι. The scholia with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου, though given little attention in catena research, play an instrumental role in understanding the development of the catenae on the Gospels. They provide a view one step prior

to the formation of these works and an understanding of the sources used by the compilers of these projects.

CHAPTER 5

Type Z on the Gospels

> "All modern studies in the history and development of Greek N.T. catenae have apparently lacked adequate acquaintance with the oldest extant example of such a catena, Cod. Zacynthius."[1]

1 Introduction

The discovery of Codex Zacynthius (Cambridge, University Library, Add. 10062; GA 040; Diktyon 73427) was heralded with grand statements about the importance of its biblical text for New Testament textual criticism. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, who prepared the *editio princeps* of the manuscript pronounced, "I do not think that there is any ancient [manuscript], of which the text has *yet* been published, which exhibits more important readings."[2] Nicholas Pocock concurred, comparing the importance of Codex Zacynthius to two of the most important pandects, Codex Vaticanus (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1209, pgs. 1235–2528; GA 03; Diktyon 67840) and Codex Sinaiticus (London, BL, Add. 43725; GA 01; Diktyon 39225): "The MS. may be said to be more correct than the Sinaitic and Vatican MSS… It may indeed be said, and with some truth, that the value of this MS. is almost superseded by the publication of the Vatican, and still more by the discovery of the Sinaitic MS."[3] While the members of the Codex Zacynthius project eschewed Tregelles's hyperbole in their *editio princeps* of the text of the catena, they similarly recognized its significance for the study of catenae on the Gospels. Panagiotis Manafis summarized an aspect of its importance: "This has been shown to be a distinctive form of catena which stands apart from the main catena

[1] J. Harold Greenlee, "The Catena of Codex Zacynthius," *Bib* 40 (1959): 992.

[2] Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, *Codex Zacynthius (Ξ). Greek Palimpsest Fragments of the Gospel of Saint Luke, Obtained in the Island of Zante, by the late General Colin Macaulay, and now in the Library of The British and Foreign Bible Society* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1861), XVIII.

[3] Nicholas Pocock, "The Codex Zacynthius," *The Academy* 19 (1881): 137.

types identified by previous scholarship. The age of the manuscript indicates that this tradition is of considerable importance for the early history of catenae."[4] The study of the development of the catenae on the Gospels in Chapters 2 and 3 has illuminated the influential place of the catena in Codex Zacynthius in the formation of subsequent catenae in the seventh and eighth centuries. The identification of it as a source for the additional scholia in both the Type A and Type B Catena Forms on Luke led to the discovery of companion catenae on Matthew (C116.5 and C119.1) and John (C145 and C147.9) which were sources for the Type A and Type B catenae on those Gospels. Then the analysis of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia showed that the compilers of this catena tradition had independent access to an earlier exegetical collection of anonymous scholia which was also used by the sixth-century compilers of the Type A and Type B Basic Form commentaries. These findings have led to the identification of a new type of catena in the catenae on the Gospels which is called Type Z, after Codex Zacynthius. While the catena on Luke in Codex Zacynthius and the others on Matthew and John have all been classified in the CPG or *Clavis Clavium*, they now can be treated as companions to one another within a single tradition rather than independent compilations. These findings warrant discussing them as members of a single type rather than maintaining the existing nomenclature which disambiguates their connection. This chapter introduces the Type Z catenae on the Gospels. The description, as in Chapter 1, focuses on the transmission, composition, and development of these catenae.

[4] Panagiotis Manafis, "Catenae on Luke and the Catena of Codex Zacynthius," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 158.

2 The Type Z Catenae

Type Z consists of one of the earliest and most influential of the catenae on the Gospels. This type likely began in the sixth century, being compiled in its current form prior to the formation of the Type A and Type B Catena Forms which used it as a source.[5] The text of the Type Z catenae exists in both a full form and in an abridged form. This pattern of development within the type mirrors in a way the tradition in Type A which also has an Abbreviated Form (C110.3, C130.3, C140.3), though the Type Z abridged version is much more extensive than the Type A Abbreviated Form. As a new type in the catenae on the Gospels, the Type Z catenae do not have a unified history of classification in the CPG. The catenae are now spread between a variety of types in Matthew, Luke, and John. As shown in Chapter 2, *Typus* F (C145) is the Type Z catena on John. This was the only Type Z catena known to Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann in the first classification of catenae.[6] The type's namesake, the catena on Luke in Codex Zacynthius was known to Max Rauer prior to 1920, but the codex was not added to the CPG until the publication of the second edition in 2018.[7] It has now been reclassified to C131z in the *Clavis Clavium* database based on the reclassification of the catenae on Luke proposed in Chapter 6.[8] The last of the Type Z catenae to be included in the CPG is the Type Z catena on Matthew, preserved in abridged form in C116.5. The single manuscript attesting this type was only discovered in 2021 and introduced to the CPG by Panagiotis Manafis and Georgi

[5] See the discussion of the dating in §2.5.

[6] Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus* (Göttingen: Lüder Horstmann, 1902), 589–591 [Type V]. See also, Erwin Preuschen, *Origenes Werke IV: Der Johanneskommentar*, GCS10 (Berlin: Akademie, 1903).

[7] CPG IV²: 369–370. Max Rauer, *Der dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebene Lukaskommentar*, NTAbh 8 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1920). On the history of classifying Codex Zacynthius in catena traditions, see Chapter 7.

[8] https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla.

Parpulov.[9] While Manafis and Parpulov classified it as a *Codex Singulus* and compared it to other catenae, this study identified it as an abridged form of Type Z. The identification of the Type Z catenae as a type across the Gospels presents the opportunity now to recognize and describe a particular stage in the development of catenae on the Gospels rather than examining each of these types as independent productions on one Gospel.

Unlike many catena traditions in the New Testament, there are several editions of the Type Z catenae. However, the fragmentary nature of the witnesses on Matthew and Luke means that the editions represent the type incompletely. Manafis and Parpulov provide an index and partial edition of the text of C116.5, and several of the scholia in their edition have been printed in author-specific works which provide access to the text of the scholia.[10] The Type Z catena on Luke has been principally edited by Hugh Houghton, Amy Myshrall, and Manafis in their text and translation of Codex Zacynthius.[11] Some of the gaps in Codex Zacynthius are filled by the edited scholia in Manafis's article on the fragmentary witness to the type, Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 273 (Diktyon 66005). Finally, the catena on John was edited in the seventeenth century by Balthasar Corderius based on the text of Bernkastel-Kues, Bibliothek des St. Nikolaus-Hospitals, 18 (GA 87; Diktyon

[9] Panagiotis Manafis and Georgi Parpulov, "A Chapter from the History of Catenae: CPG C111–C112 and Their Previously Unknown Ancestor," *Parekbolai* 11 (2021): 159–170.

[10] Manafis and Parpulov, "A Chapter from the History of Catenae," 159–170.

[11] H.A.G. Houghton, Panagiotis Manafis, and Amy Myshrall, *The Palimpsest Catena of Codex Zacynthius: Text and Translation*, TS 3/22 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020). The transcription and translation is also available as an open access dataset: Panagiotis Manafis, Rachel Kevern, Amy Myshrall, H.A.G. Houghton, and Catherine Smith, *A Transcription of the Palimpsest Undertext of Codex Zacynthius* (2020): https://edata.bham.ac.uk/496/.

9588).[12] These editions provide access to the tradition of Type Z and establish links to other catenae on the Gospels.

2.1 *Manuscripts of Type Z Catenae*

The Type Z catenae appear in thirteen manuscripts from the eighth through the sixteenth centuries.[13] The earliest witnesses to Type Z are fragmentary manuscripts. The oldest is Codex Zacynthius, which contains part of the catena on Luke from Luke 1:1–11:33 and is dated to the eighth century by David Parker, though Georgi Parpulov prefers a date in the first half of the ninth century.[14] There are two other fragmentary ninth-century witnesses. One is a codex of twenty extant leaves of the Gospel of John with a catena, which are preserved in manuscripts divided between four institutions: Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, 71, (Diktyon 20039; 8 fols.), Moscow, SHM, Syn gr. 119 (Diktyon 43744; 7 fols.), Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 2 (Diktyon 48524; 3 fols.), and Athens, EBE, 1371

[12] Balthasar Corderius, *Catena Patrum Graecorum in Sanctum Ioannem* (Antwerp: Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1630). On the identification of Corderius's source: Albert Heitlinger, "Der "Codex Cusanus 18" die Vorlagenhandschrift der "Corderius-Katene" zum Johannesevangelium," *Bib* 42 (1961): 443–454.

[13] This data was collected from the *Catena Catalogue* database on 12 August 2023.

[14] The date of Codex Zacynthius has been vigorously debated with some early proposals reaching as early as the sixth century and one proposal as late as the first half of the tenth century. Pocock, "The Codex Zacynthius," 136–137 (sixth century); W.H.P. Hatch, "A Redating of Two Important Uncial Manuscripts of the Gospels—Codex Zacynthius and Codex Cyprius," in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake*, ed. Robert P. Casey, Silva Lake, and Agnes K. Lake (London: Christophers, 1937), 333–338 (sixth century); D.C. Parker and J. Neville Birdsall, "The Date of Codex Zacynthius (Ξ): A New Proposal," *JTS* 55 (2004): 117–131 (eighth century); D.C. Parker, "The Undertext Writing," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 19–32 (eighth century); Georgi Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament: A Catalogue*, TS 3/26 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2021), 205 (first half of the ninth century); Elisabeth Goeke-Mayr and Georgios Makris, "Dating the Codex *Patmiacus* 171: Iconoclastic Remarks on the Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts of the Book of Job and on the Supposed Origins of the Catenas in the 6th Century," in *Griechisch-byzantinische Handschriftenforschung: Traditionen, Entwicklungen, neue Wege*, ed. Christian Brockman, Daniel Deckers, Dieter Harlfinger, and Stefano Valente, Greek and Byzantine Manuscript Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 437–460 (first half of the tenth century). Parker's conclusion is followed here, though the conclusions about the date and characteristics of the catena are not affected by Parpulov's dating.

(Diktyon 3667; 2 fols.) (together, these comprise GA 050).[15] This thesis will describe these as Codex Athonensis because the two most extensive fragments were at Athos in the sixteenth century.[16] The other is the six leaves of a catena on Matthew in Zavorda, Monastery of St Nikanor, 5, fols. 307–312 (Diktyon 72287). The thirteen manuscripts of Type Z are listed in Table 5.1.

Manuscript	GA	Diktyon	CPG Contents	Date
Alexandria, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, 122	2937	33009	C119.1, C125.1, C131z, C147.9	XI
Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, 71 + Moscow, SHM, Syn Gr. 119 + Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 2, + Athens, EBE, 1371	050	20039 + 43744 + 48524 + 3667	C145	IX
Berlin, SBB, Phillipps 1420	1370	9323	C145	XVI

[15] None of these codices principally contains Codex Athonensis. Rather each manuscript uses leaves of the manuscript as flyleaves at the beginning and/or end of the book. The main texts in all four manuscripts have been dated to the eleventh or twelfth centuries and contain liturgical or interpretive texts. Unfortunately, those who captured the microfilm for these manuscripts only imaged the flyleaves, so the handwriting of these manuscripts cannot be compared, with the exception of Oxford Wake 2 which shows one verso of the main text. The digital images of Athens 1371 show the whole manuscript, and the main text of the manuscript was copied by a different scribe than the Oxford manuscript. The availability of this material reflects a shift in focus from capturing texts with images or preserving artefacts with images.

[16] Both Dionysiou 71 (fol. 358r) and Moscow Syn. gr. 119 (fol. 383v) have ownership notes, palaeographically dated to the second half of the sixteenth century, indicating that they were dedicated to the Monastery of Dionysius at Mount Athos by Maximus the Monk. Christ Church gr. 2 is a synaxarion manuscript with several ownership notes, some which predate those of the two manuscripts from Athos. The leaves of the catena manuscript at the beginning and end of the codex (fols. 1v and 238v) each have a note from the second-half of the sixteenth century stating that the codex previously belonged to the Peribleptos Monastery and had moved to the Pammakaristos Monastery, both in Constantinople (τὸ παρ[ὸν] περικαλὲς βιβλί[ον] ἤτοι τοῦ συναξαρίου ὑπῆρχε [μὲν] πρότερον τῆς μονῆς τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς ἐπονομαξομένης Περιβλέπτου· νῦν δε ἐστι τῆς μονῆς τῆς Παμμακαρίστου [fol. 1v]). An earlier note on a blank leaf between the synaxarion and catena flyleaves, fol. 237v, from the fourteenth century, puts the codex at Paribleptos Monastery: αὕτη ὑ βήβλος πεφηκε τῆς Περιβλέπτου τῆς κημένης ἐγγηστα τῆς Παμαθίου ἣν ἐκ βάθρον ἤγηρεν Ρωμανὸς ἄναξ. Irmgard Hutter proposes that the blank leaf, fol. 237, was the original flyleaf at the end of the synaxarion at Paribleptos Monastery. Then the catena leaves were added when the manuscript was rebound at Pammakaristos Monastery (Irmgard Hutter, *Oxford Christ Church*, vol. 4.1 of *Corpus der Byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, Denkmäler der Buchkunst 9/1 [Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1993], 129–132). This, however, does not adequately explain the same codex being dismantled and recycled into flyleaves in other eleventh- and twelfth-century codices, unless these, too, were linked to the monastery in Constantinople. A simpler solution is that at some point all these codices were prepared in Constantinople and then scattered to various locations in the sixteenth century. The ownership of Athens 1371 is unknown prior to the nineteenth century when it moved from Monastery of Saint Vissarion Dousikou in Trikala to the EBE.

Bernkastel-Kues, Bibliothek des St. Nikolaus-Hospitals, 18	87	9588	C145	X
Cambridge, University Library, Add. 10062	040	73427	C131z [C137.3]	VIII
Madrid, BNE, 4673, fols. 262–542	821	40150	C145	XVI
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 225	2103	47513	C145	XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 209	0141	49779	C145	X
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 612	747	53347	C112.4, C125.1, C131z [C137.7], C141.1	XII
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1248	2111	53912	C131z [C137.7]	XIII
Prague, Národní Knihovna České republiky, XXV B 7	1422	55549	C119.1, C125.1, C131z [C137.8], C147.9	X
Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 273, fols. 1–4, 271–274	--	66005	C131z [C137.5]	XII
Zavorda, Monastery of St Nikanor, 5, fols. 307–312	--	72287	C116.5	IX

Table 5.1. Manuscripts of Type Z

2.2 *The Formats in Type Z Manuscripts*

The Type Z catenae manuscripts were copied equally in both frame and alternating format. A similarly balanced distribution of page layouts only occurs in the Type B Catena Form. In Type Z, six of the codices have a frame catena layout, and these date from the eighth through the twelfth centuries. They are Codex Athonensis, Codex Zacynthius, Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1248, fols. 12–23 (GA 2111; Diktyon 53912); Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 612 (GA 747; Diktyon 53347); Prague, Národní Knihovna České republiky, XXV B 7 (GA 1422; Diktyon 55549); and Vatican Pal. gr. 273. The six alternating catena manuscripts date from the ninth through the sixteenth centuries. These are Alexandria, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, 122 (GA 2937; Diktyon 33009); Berlin, SBB, Phillipps 1420 (GA 1370; Diktyon

9323); Madrid, BNE, 4673 fols. 262–542 (GA 821; Diktyon 40150);[17] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 225 (GA 2103; Diktyon 47513); Paris, BnF, Gr. 209 (GA 0141; Diktyon 49779); and Zavorda 5. The distribution of these formats is relatively balanced with no significant trend of the older codices being copied in one particular format, though the only two sixteenth-century Type Z manuscripts are in alternating format. Still, the use of the frame format in the oldest manuscripts of the full Type Z catenae, Codex Zacynthius and Codex Athonensis, suggests this was the earliest form of the Type Z catenae.

One codex, Bernkastel-Kues 18, has a mixed format according to the *Catena Catalogue* database.[18] This tenth-century manuscript has an unusual format that usually presents the biblical lemma as an alternating comment with a wide space above and below the text, shown in Figure 5.1. Many leaves do adopt the appearance of a frame catena layout. In some cases, the text is surrounded on all four sides by commentary, and in other cases the text in the side of the frame simply concludes the above scholium above the lemma with a new comment beginning on the first line beneath the lemma. While numerous leaves do frame the biblical text, the plan of the manuscript seems to more

[17] Madrid 4673 contains a catena on Genesis (fols. 1–261) and a catena on John (fols. 262–542): Andres de Gregorio, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultur a, 1987): 214–215. The codex dates to the sixteenth century and was copied by Camillus Venetus: Mark L. Sosower, "Some Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional Correctly and Incorrectly Attributed to Camillus Venetus," in *The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting: Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography* (*Madrid – Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008*), ed. Antonio Bravo García and Inmaculada Pérez Martin, Bibliologia 31A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 226. Camillus used two tenth-century manuscripts as exemplars for this codex. The catena on the Genesis was copied from Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 385 (Diktyon 44010) and the catena on John was copied from Paris Gr. 209: Gregorio, *Catálogo*, 214; Alan Taylor Farnes, *Simply Come Copying: Direct Copies as Test Cases in the Quest for Scribal Habits*, WUNT 2/481 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 166–184. On the two Genesis manuscripts, see also Françoise Petit, *La chaîne sur la Genèse. Edition intégrale I-IV*, Traditio exegetica graeca 1–4 (Leuven: Peeters, 19 91– 1996): 1:XXVII–XXVIII, XXX.

[18] It is classified as a frame catena manuscript in Parpulov's c atalogue: Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 110.

frequently adopt an alternating orientation. This is corroborated by the fact that the position of the biblical lemma on the page changes based on the length of the preceding scholium, indicating that the ruling pattern did not account for two distinct blocks of text. The biblical *lemmata* in the pages with an alternating format use a stratigraphic gloss with differentiated extension, meaning that new paragraphs begin before and after the *lemmata* and that the lemma has narrower margins on both sides than the typical full-length lines of the commentary.[19] This technique uses elements of visual hierarchy to distinguish the biblical text from the commentary. Yet, even though the format is alternating catena, the effect approximates that of the frame catena, as Agnès Lorrain demonstrated in her study of Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 762 (GA 1915; Diktyon 67393).[20]

The biblical text in Type Z manuscripts is usually complete, and often hyper-complete with text repeated in characteristic patterns. Ten of the thirteen manuscripts have a complete biblical text, while three of the codices use an abridged form. The three abridged manuscripts are Alexandria 122, Vatican Pal. gr. 273, and Zavorda 5. Remarkably, Vatican Pal. gr. 273 is one of two frame catena manuscripts with an abridged form of the biblical text.[21] The other two manuscripts, Alexandria 122 and Zavorda 5, are abridged witnesses to the text of Type Z, so it seems likely that the full biblical text was the earliest form used in Type Z catenae.

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[19] Jacques-Hubert Sautel, "Essai du terminologie de la mise en page des manuscrits à commentaire," *Gazette du livre médiéval* 35 (1999): 22. On this technique in Bernkastel-Kues 18, see: Agnès Lorrain, "Éditer les chaînes exégétiques recques : quelle place pour les mises en page ?," *Byzantion* 91 (2021): 321–232.

[20] Agnès Lorrain, "Autour du Vaticanus gr. 762: Note' pour l'étude des chaînes à présentation alternante," *Byzantion* 90 (2020): 67–95.

[21] The other is Milan, BA, N 272 sup. (Diktyon 43050), a sixteenth century manuscript with catenae on the Pauline Epistles.

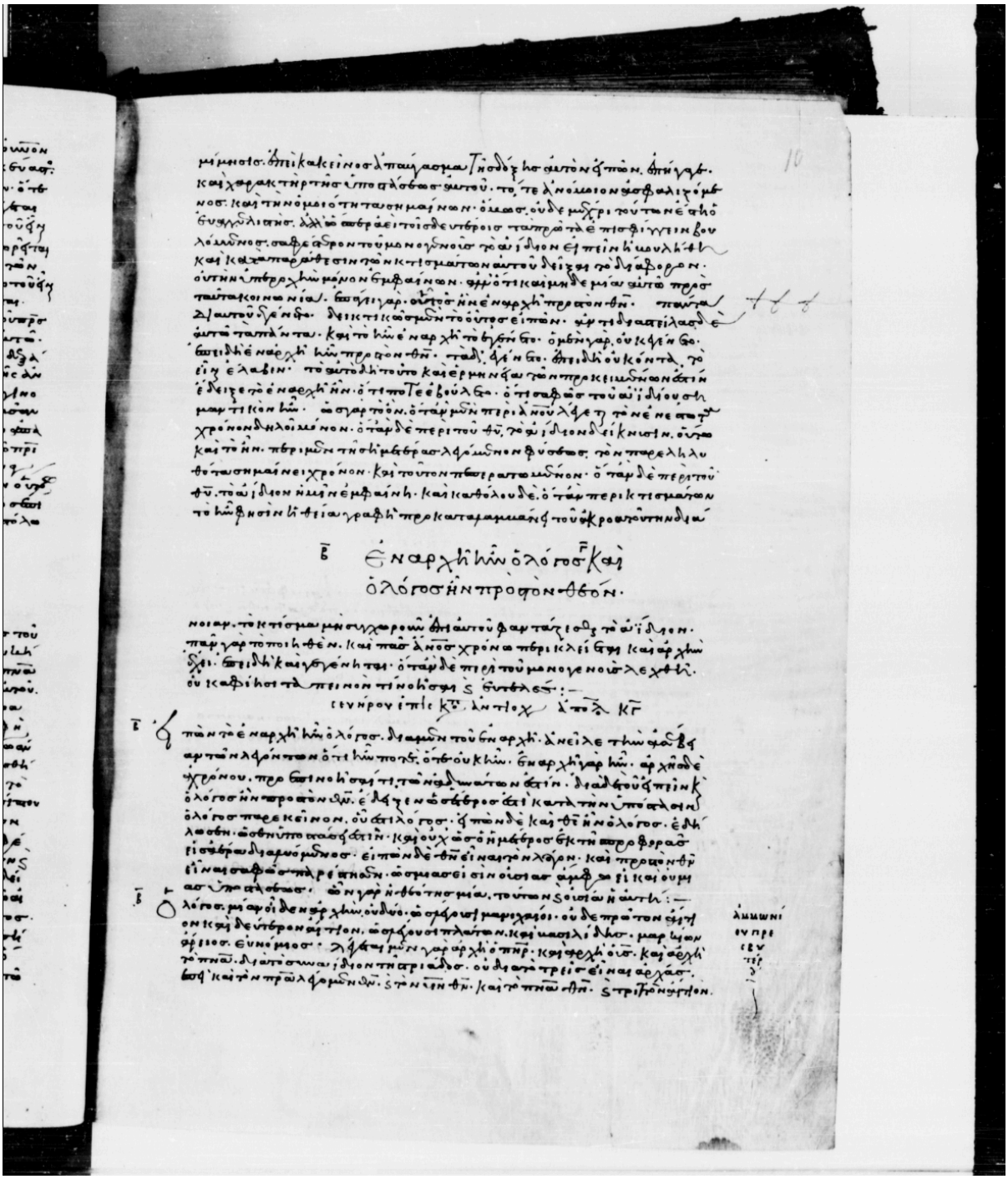


Figure 5.1. Bernkastel-Kues 18, fol. 10r.

(Image credit: INTF: https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace?docID=30087&pageID=200.)

The biblical text of Type Z catenae has several distinctive characteristics. The first concerns the use of majuscule script. Type Z boasts three manuscripts in which the biblical text is copied in majuscule form: Codex Zacynthius, Codex Athonensis, and BnF Gr. 209. There are only thirteen Greek New Testament manuscripts with a majuscule Gregory-Aland number that have a catena according to the *Catena Catalogue* database.[22] Of these, two have commentaries which are not actually catenae, one likely does not belong in the *Liste* at all because its text is abbreviated, and only seven have a commentary on the Gospels.[23] Thus, the three Type Z manuscripts account for nearly half the surviving instances of majuscule script for the biblical *lemmata* in catena manuscripts of the Gospels. While arguments about the significance of a particular form of script can be overstated, the use of it in several Type Z catenae likely reflects the antiquity of the catena tradition.

[22] Search completed 31 August 2023. The thirteen manuscripts are, by order of GA number, Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 97 (GA 018; Diktyon 43722); Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 354 (GA 028; Diktyon 66985); Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, F° 30 (Cim.16) (GA 033; Diktyon 45102); Cambridge, University Library, Add. 10062 (GA 040; Diktyon 73427); Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, 71 + Moscow, SHM, Syn Gr. 119 + Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 2, + Athens, EBE, 1371 (GA 050; Diktyon 20039 + 43744 + 48524 + 3667); Munich, BSB, Gr. 208, fols. 235–248 (GA 053; Diktyon 44654); Paris, BnF, Gr. 201 (GA 055; Diktyon 49771); Paris, BnF, Coislin 26 (GA 056; Diktyon 49168); Athens, EBE, 100, fols. 46–378 (GA 075; Diktyon 2396); Paris, BnF, Gr. 209 (GA 0141; Diktyon 49779); Munich, BSB, Gr. 375 (GA 0142; Diktyon 44823); Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 61 (GA 0150; Diktyon 54305); Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 62 (GA 0151; Diktyon 54306).

[23] The two codices without catenae are Patmos 61 (GA 0150) and Patmos 62 (GA 0152) which have the John of Damascus *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles* (CPG 8079). On the John of Damascus commentary, see Robert Volk, ed., *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos VII*, PTS 68 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013). The codex which does not belong in the *Liste* is Paris Gr. 201 (GA 055). Kurt and Barbara Aland recognized that the text of this codex was incomplete and "should be deleted" (Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, 2nd rev. ed., trans. Erroll F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 106, 119). The seven codices with a commentary on the Gospels are Vatican gr. 354 (GA 028); Munich F° 30 (Cim.16) (GA 033); Cambridge Add. 10062 (GA 040); Athos Dionysiou 71 + Moscow Syn gr. 119 + Oxford Wake 2, + Athens 1371 (GA 050); Munich Gr. 208, fols. 235–248 (GA 053); Paris Gr. 201 (GA 055); Paris Gr. 209 (GA 0141).

Two of the earliest Type Z manuscripts, Codex Zacynthius and Codex Athonensis also have a biblical text that corresponds closely with the earliest forms of Luke and John, respectively.[24] Tregelles first advocated that the quality of the biblical text in these codices was of tremendous value for textual scholarship because they preserved an ancient text of the Gospels in an era where the Majority Text would have been more typical:

> In these three oldest documents of the kind [catena manuscripts], is found that class of text which Comparative Criticism proves to be the oldest; and in Ξ [Codex Zacynthius] and the Moscow Fragments [Codex Athonensis] its purity is such that it may be compared to the extant Codices of the fourth century, B and א (Tischendorf's Codex Sinaiticus). Thus, as far as facts and Codices are now known, we may form what might be termed a provisional conclusion, that the oldest MSS. with Catenae or Scholia (and those of three successive centuries) are monuments of the older text.[25]

As previewed in Chapter 2, subsequent scholarship on the biblical text of Codex Zacynthius has found that it does attest one of the oldest forms of Luke. Houghton and Parker described it as one

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[24] The biblical text of both manuscripts has been edited. The *editio princeps* of Codex Zacynthius is Tregelles, *Codex Zacynthius*. Several corrections to Tregelles were proposed by Greenlee: J. Harold Greenlee, "A Corrected Collation of Codex Zacynthius (Cod. Ξ)," *JBL* 76 (1957): 237–241. The current edition edited by Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall is based on multi-spectral images which clearly reveals the undertext of Zacynthius in nearly every place: Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall, *Palimpsest Catena*. The transcription is also available as an open access dataset: Panagiotis Manafis, Rachel Kevern, Amy Myshrall, H.A.G. Houghton, and Catherine Smith, *A Transcription of the Palimpsest Undertext of Codex Zacynthius* (2020): https://doi.org/10.25500/edata.bham.00000429. The *editio princeps* of the Moscow fragments of Codex Athonensis was published by Matthaei: Christian Friedrich Matthaei, *D. Pauli epistolae ad Thessalonicenses et ad Timotheum: Graece et Latine: varias lectiones codd. Mosqq. scholia Graeca inedita et animadversiones criticas adiecit ac denvo recensvit* (Riga: Hartknoch, 1785): 257–263 and reprinted by Tregelles in an Appendix to his edition of Zacynthius: Tregelles, *Codex Zacynthius*, 105–112. Barbara Ehlers edited t264 fit264t of the fragments in all four locations: Barbara Ehlers, "Eine Katene zum Johannes-Evangelium in Moskau, auf dem Athos (Dionysiu), in Athen und in Oxford (050)," in *Materialien zur Neutestamentlichen Handschriftenkunde*, ed. Kurt Aland, ANTF 3 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969), 96–133. The codex has been selected for the *ECM* of John and included in the apparatus of the majuscules edition: D.C. Parker, Klaus Wachtel, Bruce Morrill, and Ulrich Schmid, "The Selection of Greek Manuscripts to be Included in the International Greek New Testament Project's Edition of John in the *Editio Critica Maior*," in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Michael W. Holmes*, ed. Daniel M. Gurtner, Juan Hernández Jr., and Paul Foster, NTTSD 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 287–328; Ulrich Schmid, J.K. Elliott, and D.C. Parker, eds., *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel According to John. Volume II: The Majuscules*, NTTSD 37 (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

[25] Tregelles, *Codex Zacynthius*, IV. The other codex of the three mentioned is Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, F° 30 (Cim.16) (GA 033; Diktyon 45102). The text of this manuscript has been found to align more closely with the Majority Text than the *Ausgangstext,* though it sometimes preserves older readings: Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 113; Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 81.

of the top three witnesses to the earliest form of Luke.[26] Likewise, following Tregelles's lead, Barbara Ehlers evaluated the text of John in Codex Athonensis—in an admittedly small amount of text but one that at least covers several parts of John—and concluded that it is a witness to the early form of John but of a later variety due to the influence of the Majority Text.[27] Ehlers extended her investigation of the textual character of Codex Athonensis by comparing it to what was previously known as the oldest manuscript of the same catena type, the tenth-century codex, Paris Gr. 209. She concluded that this manuscript also belonged in the so-called Alexandrian text type as a late witness to an early text form.[28] While every witness to Type Z does not preserve an early form of the Gospel text, several of the oldest witnesses to this type do.[29] It is therefore an exceptional characteristic of this catena type.

One other distinctive feature of the biblical text in Type Z manuscripts is that it tends to be repetitious at places where the scholia extend over more than a single page.[30] Houghton and Parker observe that "when the sections of commentary in frame catenae are particularly extensive, a single

[26] H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, "The Gospel of Luke in the Palimpsest," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 42–45.

[27] Ehlers, "Eine Katene zum Johannes-Evangelium," 96–133. "Der neutestamentliche Text von 050 gehört zum alexandrinischen Texttyp, er stellt eine Spielart dieses Textes aus dem 9. Jh. dar" (p. 129). This is confirmed by the data in *Text und Textwert* which shows 265 fit265265t helows the Majority Text265 fit265% of the readings for John 1–10: Barbara Aland and Klaus Wachtel, eds., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, V. Das Johannesevangelium: Band 1, Teststellenkollation der Kapitel 1-10: Part 1 Handschriftenliste und vergleichende Beschreibung*, ANTF 35 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005).

[28] Ehlers, "Eine Katene zum Johannes-Evangelium," 132.

[29] For example, for Type Z in Luke, Manafis demonstrated that the biblical text in Vatican Pal. gr. 273 was closer to the Majority Text: Panagiotis Manafis, "A New Witness to the Catena of Codex Zacynthius," *ZAC* 26 (2022): 382–333;. For Type Z in John, Ehlers ruled that Bernkastel-Kues 18 has a standard Byzantine text: Ehlers, "Eine Katene zum Johannes-Evangelium," 130.

[30] The repetitious nature of these catena manuscripts may indicate the direction of paratextuality in some catena manuscripts: Andrew J. Patton, "Unchaining the Scriptures," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* (2023).

verse may be repeated several times in the space for biblical text on each page rather than strict continuity being maintained."[31] In Codex Zacynthius, there are seventeen occasions where the biblical text was repeated on subsequent pages because the commentary on those verses extended beyond the initial page; Luke 2:21 and Luke 9:1 were written three times because of the extensive exegetical scholia.[32] Likewise, Codex Athonensis frequently repeats biblical text at the point where the commentary extends over multiple folios. The scribe copied John 1:1 four times, John 3:5 three times, John 4:12 twice, John 20:15 twice, and John 20:17 three times—and that in only twenty extant folios.[33] The same pattern exists in alternating catena manuscripts of Type Z, suggesting that they may have been copied from an exemplar in frame format. Paris Gr. 209 contains extensive blocks of scholia broken up with the repetition of the same lemma.[34] As noted by Alan Taylor Farnes, codex Madrid 4673, which is a direct copy of Paris, Gr. 209, has the same repeated *lemmata* found in its parent manuscript.[35] The repetition of verses in Type Z catenae follows the internal logic of the commentary manuscript even if they are anomalous concerning the text of the New Testament. This

[31] H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, "An Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries with a Preliminary Checklist of New Testament Catena Manuscripts," in *Commentaries, Catenae, and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in Conjunction with the COMPAUL Project*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, TS 3/13 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2016), 8.

[32] Houghton and Parker, "The Gospel of Luke in Palimpsest," 33–34. Eberhard Nestle, who only had access to the biblical text of Zacynthius via Tregelles's edition and therefore could not account for the scholia, attempted to rationalize the repetition in Luke 9:1: "This verse is written three times over in Codex Ξ. This cannot be a mistake. It might have been written twice by inadvertence, but not three times. The reason lies in the fact related—viz., the conferring of the power over evil spirits" (*Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament*, trans. William Edie [London: Williams and Norgate; New York: Putnam, 1901], 274). This error emphasises how important the presence of the catena is for correctly analysing the text of the New Testament in catena manuscripts.

[33] This pattern was observed in Ehlers, "Eine Katene zum Johannes-Evangelium," 100; Kurt Treu, Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR: Eine systematische Auswertung der Texthandschriften in Leningrad, Moskau, Kiev, Odessa, Tbilisi und Erevan, TU 91 (Berlin: Akademie, 1966), 263.

[34] The repetition of verses in Paris, Gr. 209 is discussed in Farnes, *Simply Come Copying*: 173–176. Farnes also makes the same argument that the scribe of Paris, Gr. 209 may have used a frame catena manuscript as an exemplar.

[35] Farnes, *Simply Come Copying*, 176.

practice has also not been recorded in other catenae on the New Testament, indicating that it is a unique feature of the biblical *lemmata* in Type Z catena manuscripts.

2.3 *The Contents and Order of the Type Z Manuscripts*

The contents of Type Z catenae differ based on the form of the catena in each codex. As indicated above, Type Z is represented directly by full witnesses to the type and by others which offer an abridgment of the catena. The form of the Type Z in each manuscript is shown in Table 5.2.

	Matthew	**Luke**	**John**
Full	--	Codex Zacynthius (C131z) Vatican Pal. gr. 273 (C131z)	Codex Athonensis (C145) Paris Gr. 209 (C145) Bernkastel-Kues 18 (C145) Oxford Barocci 225 (C145) Berlin Phillipps 1420 (C145) Madrid 4673 (C145)
Abridged A	Prague XXV B 7 (C119.1) Alexandria 122 (C119.1)	Prague XXV B 7 (C131z) Alexandria 122 (C131z)	Prague XXV B 7 (C147.9) Alexandria 122 (C147.9)
Abridged B	Zavorda 5 (C116.5)	Paris Suppl. gr. 612 (C131z) Paris Suppl. gr. 1248 (C131z)	--

Table 5.2. Distribution of Manuscripts by Form of the Type Z Catenae

Every witness to the full form of a Type Z catena contains only one Gospel. The number of witnesses to the full Type Z catenae on each Gospel are shown in row one. The Type Z catena on Matthew has no known witnesses; the Type Z catena on Luke is preserved in two fragmentary manuscripts: Codex Zacynthius and Vatican Pal. gr. 273; the Type Z catena on John has the largest tradition in six codices: Codex Athonensis, Berlin Phillipps 1420, Bernkastel-Kues 18, Madrid 4673, Oxford Barocci 225, and Paris Gr. 209. That these witnesses only contain a single Gospel per codex

differs from the other early catenae on the Gospels which typically contain multiple Gospels within each manuscript—even if the collection does not include all four Gospels. Apart from several of the *Codices Singuli*, only the catenae by Nicetas of Heraclea (d. 11th c.) and the derivative work by Macarius Chrysocephalus (d. 1382) also consistently appear with only one Gospel per manuscript.[36] While each codex of the full Type Z catena on a Gospel likely only contained a single Gospel, these initially were probably part of a set of catenae on the Gospels, as demonstrated in Chapter 3. This explains how these catenae were used as sources for later compositions on several Gospels. The tradition of the C145 Type Z catena on John reflects this tendency. All but one manuscript of this type, which is the complete form of the catena, only contains John.[37]

In contrast to the full form, most abridged Type Z catenae on the Gospels appear in codices containing multiple Gospels. The two primary witnesses to the abridged form of the Type Z catenae are Prague XXV B 7 and Alexandria 122. These codices have an identical set of catenae on the Gospels: C119.1 on Matthew, C125.1 on Mark, C131z on Luke, and C147.9 on John. In addition to an identical set of catenae, both manuscripts are also witnesses to the rare Jerusalem colophon.[38] The catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John have been shown to be an abridged form of the Type Z catenae

[36] On the frequency of catenae on Luke with only one Gospel, see Andrew J. Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," *NovT* 64 (2022): 128. The same pattern holds for catenae on Matthew and John as well.

[37] The only codex with more than John is Madrid 4673, which as described above, also contains a catena on Genesis.

[38] Alexandria 122 is the thirty-ninth manuscript known to have the Jerusalem colophon. Houghton and Monier identify Alexandria 122 as a witness to the Jerusalem colophon: H.A.G. Houghton and Mina Monier, "Greek Manuscripts in Alexandria," *JTS* 71 (2020): 126–127. On the number of Greek New Testament manuscripts with this colophon: Tommy Wasserman, "The Greek New Testament Manuscripts in Sweden with an Excursus on the Jerusalem Colophon," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 75 (2010): 86–92.

on those Gospels.[39] Prague XXV B 7 is a manuscript from the first half of the tenth century in frame format with the biblical text in minuscule script and the scholia copied in majuscule, whereas Alexandria 122, copied in the eleventh century, is an alternating catena manuscript which demarcates the *lemmata* with red ink and the scholia in black ink. The differences in format, therefore, indicate that the desired format of the catenae was not a motivation for abridging the text of the catena. Instead, the reason for abridging the full form of the Type Z catenae may have been the desire to bring together the multivolume catenae into a single codex with a commentary on Mark. This would mirror, in a different way, the production of some Type A Basic Form manuscripts that added Mark so that all four Gospels were explained in a single document.[40]

The Type Z catenae on Matthew and Luke each have a second abridged version which differs from the abridgement found in Prague XXV B 7 and Alexandria 122. The abridged version in Matthew is found in Zavorda 5 and in Luke in Paris Suppl. gr. 612. These two abridged manuscripts require some disclaimers and discussing them together should not be taken to imply a relationship between the two projects to abridge the text of the Type Z catenae of their Gospels. Paris Suppl. gr. 612 contains commentaries on all four Gospels. These are C112.4 on Matthew (a Type B Catena Form), C125.1 on Mark (typically associated with Type B), C131Z on Luke (an abridged Type Z form), and

[39] Parpulov identified these as having the same catena types, though they are classified in different groups because one is in frame format and the other in alternating (Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 107–109; see also Georgi Parpulov, "Some New Patristic *Scholia on the Gospel of Matthew*," *Adamantius* [2021]: 392–395). See the discussion in Chapter 3 for the identification of this as a part of the Type Z tradition.

[40] See the discussion in Chapter 6 and Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," 115–129.

C141.1 on John (Type B Basic Form).[41] No other manuscript has the same combination of catenae in a single document. These idiosyncratic contents may have been selected as a result of the compilers' choice of a catena on Matthew. As will be discussed further in Chapter 7, the C112.4 catena on Matthew usually is transmitted on its own or with C125.1.[42] If the model used for Matthew did not contain the other Gospels, the scribe would have needed another source for Luke and John, and potentially Mark. In this case, they selected an abridged Type Z catena on Luke and a Type B Basic Form catena on John. Even though the abridged form of the Type Z catena on Luke in Paris Suppl. gr. 612 was transmitted in a codex with other Gospels, it does not reflect the broader tradition of abridging the Type Z catenae. Zavorda 5 contains an abridged form of the Type Z catena on Matthew, but since it has only been preserved on six leaves at the end of a codex of a different text, there is not enough data to determine what texts may or may not have been bound with it. The abridged version of this catena differs from the abridgment in Prague XXV B 7 and Alexandria 122 (as does the catena on Luke in Paris Suppl. gr. 612), so their contents cannot reliably set expectations for what its original codex likely contained.

In addition to the catenae and biblical text in Type Z manuscripts, many also include a preface to the catena which is identified in the *Pinakes* database as *Explanatio de catenarum*

[41] On the classif270 fit270n of the catenae in Paris Suppl. gr. 612, see Manafis, "Catenae on Luke," 153–168; Max Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX: Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die griechischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars*, 2nd ed., GCS 49 (Berlin: Akademie, 1959), LIII; Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, NTAbh 18/4–5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941), 89, 125, 180.

[42] The other four manuscripts of this type which contain all four Gospels have a different set of catenae on Luke and John and may have been copied from the same exemplar: Andrew J. Patton, "Direct Copying in a Group of Gospels Manuscripts with Catenae," *NTS* 69 (2023): 445–461.

redactione.[43] Its text was edited and translated in Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall's edition of Zacynthius.[44] This composition has two purposes: rationalizing the use of so-called "heretical" sources and offering advice on how to read the texts. In the first part, as cited in previous chapters, the author warns the reader: χρή δὲ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐκ πολλῶν πονημάτων ἁγίων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων πατέρων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδοκίμων ἐξηγητῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν μοίρας τυγχανόντων ("The person who encounters this book ought to know that sections are inserted not just from many works of holy and orthodox fathers, but also from exegetes who were discredited and met the fate of heretics").[45] They justified the selection of sources by indicating that this practice imitated the practice of Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) and quoted Cyril's *Letter to Eulogius*: οὐ πάντα ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ, φεύγειν καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι χρή. πολλὰ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν ("'One ought not to avoid and refuse everything which heretics say. For they confess many things which we also grant'").[46] The use of sources who were otherwise not to be trusted was permitted so long as the exegesis agreed with the voice of the Church. Citation in the catenae was not an all-or-nothing enterprise; one could reliably interpret a text in one work but make what were perceived as theological errors in others. The purpose of the second part of the preface is to explain how to read the biblical and catena texts together. The compiler instructed:

[43] https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/16587/. Accessed 4 September 2023.

[44] Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall, *Palimpsest Catena*, fol. 1r. It also was published in Cramer's edition of Matthew and Mark: John Anthony Cramer, *Catenae in Evangelia S. Matthaei et S. Marci*, Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum, vol. 1 (Oxford: University Press, 1840), 4 and in Corderius's edition of a catena on John: Corderius, *Catena Patrum Graecorum in Sanctum Ioannem*, XX–XXI.

[45] Translated by Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall, *Palimpsest Catena*, fol. 1r.

[46] I slightly modified the translation of Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall, *Palimpsest Catena*, fol. 1r.

καὶ τοῦτο δὲ προσθῆναι ἀναγκαῖον ᾠήθην τῷδε τῷ προοιμίῳ, πρὸς φανέρωσιν καὶ σαφήνειαν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν· ἴστωσαν γὰρ, ὡς οὐ μόνον διαφόρως ἠνέχθησαν ἐν τοῖς νοήμασι τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς οἱ ταύτην ἡρμηνευκότες, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ῥητὰ τῆς αὐτῆς θείας γραφῆς οὐκ ἴσως διεστείλαντο, καὶ οὕτως τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἐπιθείκασι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλείους, ὁ δὲ ἥττους ῥήσεις προθέμενος τὴν ἐξήγησιν ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐκ τούτου δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀριθμοὶ οἱ τοῖς κεφαλαίοις ἐπικείμενοι ἀναχετίζειν τοὺς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀναγινώσκοντας εἰς τὸ πρόσω φαίνειν. χρὴ οὖν ἕνα καὶ δεύτερον ἢ καὶ τρίτον κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἐδάφους τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἀναγινώσκειν, καὶ οὕτω τὰς ἐγκειμένας ἑρμηνείας, ἵν' εὐσύνοπτα ἔσται τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τὰ νοήματα.

I thought that it was indispensable to add this to the present introduction as a clarification and explanation for those who encounter it. For they should know that those who have interpreted this divinely-inspired scripture have not only been carried in different ways in their ideas but, indeed, have not divided the very words of the same divine scripture identically, and have laid out their interpretation accordingly. For one of them made their exposition setting out more words and another fewer. Because of this, the numbers which are assigned to the chapters seem to provoke those who read the text to go further forwards. So one ought to read the first and second or even the third chapter of the text of the divine scripture, and the accompanying interpretations in this manner so that the ideas may be easily comparable for those who encounter them.[47]

Recognizing that the various interpreters explained the biblical text in ways that draw on varying amounts of the text, the compilers advised the readers to read larger sections of the biblical text and then return to the scholia which were marked with section headings that were also placed in the biblical text.[48] The catena was intended for non-linear reading.[49]

[47] Translated by Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall, *Palimpsest Catena*, fol. 1r.

[48] On the implication of this reading technique on the relationship between the biblical and catena texts, see: Patton, "Unchaining," 131–148. See also Mathilde Aussedat, "Une pratique érudite de lecture des textes b bliques : les chaînes exégétiques grecques," *REG* 12 1 (2008): 547–569.

[49] On reading practices in catenae: Garrick V. Allen, "The Possibilities of a Gosp el Codex: GA 2604 (Dublin, CBL W 139), Digital Editing, and Reading in a Manuscript Culture," *JBL* 14 0 (2021): 409–434; Aussedat, "Une pratique érudite de lecture des textes bibliques," 547–569; Mathilde Aussedat, "Les deux types de chaînes exégétiques sur le livre de Jérémie : une mise en page adaptée au contenu ?," in *The Legacy of Bernard de Mo ntfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Han dwriting: Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography* (*Madrid – Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008*), ed. Antonio Bravo García and Inmaculada Pérez Martin, Bibliologia 31A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 427–436; Laurence Vianès, "Aspects de la mise en page dans les manuscrits de chaîne sur Ézéchiel," in *Le Commentaire entre tradition et in novation: Actes du Colloque Internatio'al de l'Institut des Traditions Textuelles* (*Paris et Villejuif, 22–25 septembre 1999*), ed. Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé, Bibliot'èque d'histoire de la philosophie, Nouvelle séri e (Paris: Vrin, 2000), 79–88. On non-linear reading in late antiquity: Jeremiah Coogan, "Gospel as Recipe Book: Nonlinear Reading and Practical Texts in Late Antiquity," *Early Christianity* 12 (2021): 40–60; Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

The preface to the catena in Codex Zacynthius seems to have been written to accompany this type of catena. Houghton wrote, "This preface seems perfectly fitted to the context of the catena of Codex Zacynthius."[50] The two purposes of the preface—addressing the assortment of authors cited and the description of the optimal reading technique—align with details specific to Codex Zacynthius and other Type Z catenae. Moreover, this codex is the earliest example of the preface. Yet, Houghton raises a problem with ascribing it to this specific catena, namely that it is copied verbatim in several other catena manuscripts, including a catena on Daniel.[51] On account of this, he leaves the connection between the preface and Codex Zacynthius open: "Further research is therefore required on the nature of this preface, whether it was originally composed for the catena found in Codex Zacynthius and how it became attached to so many works."[52] Laurence Vianès takes up the argument from here by agreeing that the preface in Zacynthius was prepared to accompany this catena: "In certain manuscripts that reproduce particularly early models, such as the Codex Zacynthius, it is found in its authentic environment."[53] She argues, however, that it was modeled after the prologue to the Pseudo-John Drungarius catena on Daniel (CPG C75). A comparison of the prologue texts demonstrates their striking similarity. Table 5.3 compares the text of the two texts.[54]

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[50] H.A.G. Houghton, "The Layout and Structure of the Catena," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 67.

[51] The text is also highly similar identical to the preface to the catena in the Pseudo-John Drungarius catena on Jeremiah, which Vianès argues was a source for the preface on Daniel: Laurence Vianès, "Affinités entre le Codex Zacynthius et les chaînes du pseudo-Droungarios," in *Ordre et désordre dans les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, ed. Jean-Marie Auwers and Agnès Lorrain, Instrumenta patristica et medievalia (Turnhout: Brepols, Forthcoming 2024).

[52] Houghton, "Codex Zacynthius," 67–68. Laurence Vianès addresses the similarity of the preface to the catena in Codex Zacynthius and the prefaces to the catenae on the Major Prophets: Vianès, "Affinités," forthcoming.

[53] Vianès, "Affinités," forthcoming. "Néanmoins, selon moi, au sein de certains manuscrits qui reproduisent des modèles particulièrement anciens comme le Codex Zacynthius, elle se trouve dans son environnement authentique."

[54] The text of the prologue to Daniel is adapted from Vianès who transcribed Vatican City, BAV, Otto. gr. 452, fol. 191v ("Affinités," forthcoming). See also the 273 fiton of it in Michael Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen nach Römischen*

Pseudo-John Drungarius Prologue to Daniel	Preface to the Catena in Codex Zacynthius
τῇ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου καὶ παντοδυνάμου θεοῦ χάριτι θαῤῥῶν τῇ καὶ τοὺς κατ᾽ ἐμὲ ἀσθενεῖς ἐνδυναμούσῃ ἀρχὴν ποιοῦμαι τῆς προκειμένης βίβλου τοῦ θεσπεσίου Δανιὴλ προφητείας τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ταῖς προτέραις τῶν προφητῶν βίβλοις καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ φυλάττων καὶ διά τῶν παραγραφῶν τὸν νοῦν ἐκκαλύπτων τῶν ταύτην ἐξηγησαμένων.	
χρὴ δὲ, καθὰ καὶ τῶν προτέρων τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς βίβλων ἀρχόμενος εἶπον, τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐκ πολλῶν πονημάτων ἁγίων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων πατέρων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδοκίμων ἐξηγητῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν μοίρας τυγχανόντων, αἱ παραγραφαὶ ἔγκεινται, ἐκφεύγουσαι τὰ ἀπάδοντα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς παραδόσεως δόγματα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν αἱρετικῶν εἰρημένα.	χρή δὲ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐκ πολλῶν πονημάτων ἁγίων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων πατέρων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδοκίμων ἐξηγητῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν μοίρας τυγχανόντων, αἱ παραγραφαὶ ἔγκεινται, ἐκφυγοῦσαι ὡς ἔνεστι τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς παραδόσεως ἀπάδοντα δόγματα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν αἱρετικῶν εἰρημένα.
καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ αὐτονόμως πεποίηκα, ἀλλὰ ἀκολουθήσας τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ ἡμῶν πατρὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φιλοχρίστου μεγαλοπόλεως ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Κυρίλλῳ, φήσαντι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Εὐλόγιον ἐπιστολῇ· οὐ πάντα ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ, φεύγειν καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι χρή. πολλὰ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν.	καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ αὐτονόμως ἐποίησα[55] ἀλλ᾽ ἀκολουθησας τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ ἡμῶν πατρὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φιλοχρίστου μεγαλοπόλεως ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Κυρίλλῳ, φήσαντι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Εὐλόγιον ἐπιστολῇ· οὐ πάντα ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ, φεύγειν καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι χρή. πολλὰ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν.
ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ᾠήθην καὶ τοῦτο προσθεῖναι τῷδε τῷ προοιμίῳ, πρὸς φανέρωσιν καὶ σαφήνειαν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν· ἴστωσαν γὰρ, ὡς οὐ μόνον διαφόρως ἠνέχθησαν ἐν τοῖς νοήμασι τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς οἱ ταύτην ἡρμηνευκότες, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ῥητὰ τῆς αὐτῆς θείας γραφῆς οὐκ ἴσως διεστείλαντο, καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἐπέθηκαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλείους, ὁ δὲ ἥττους στίχους	καὶ τοῦτο δὲ προσθῆναι ἀναγκαῖον ᾠήθην τῷδε τῷ προοιμίῳ, πρὸς φανέρωσιν καὶ σαφήνειαν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν· ἴστωσαν γὰρ, ὡς οὐ μόνον διαφόρως ἠνέχθησαν ἐν τοῖς νοήμασι τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς οἱ ταύτην ἡρμηνευκότες, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ῥητὰ τῆς αὐτῆς θείας γραφῆς οὐκ ἴσως διεστείλαντο, καὶ οὕτως τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ἐπιθείκασι.[56] ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλείους, ὁ δὲ ἥττους ῥήσεις

Handschriften, Biblische Studien 4.3 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1899), 192–196. The preface of Codex Zacynthius, text was edited in Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall, *Palimpsest Catena*, fol. 1r. The text was also published in Cramer (Cramer, *Cateae in Matthaei et Marci*, 1:4.1–26).

[55] Cramer, *Cateae in Matthaei et Marci*, 1:4.9 reads πεποίηκα with a note that Corderius reads ἐποίησα (*Catena Patrum Graecorum in Sanctum Ioannem*).

[56] Cramer, *Cateae in Matthaei et Marci*, 1:4.19–20 reads ἐπιθείκασι with a note that Corderius reads ἐπέθηκαν (*Catena Patrum Graecorum in Sanctum Ioannem*).

προθέμενος τὴν ἐξήγησιν ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ ἐκ τούτου δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀριθμοὶ οἱ τοῖς κεφαλαίοις ἐπικείμενοι ἀναχαιτίζειν τοὺς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀναγινώσκοντας εἰς τὸ πρόσω φαίνειν. χρὴ οὖν ἓν καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἐδάφους τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἀναγινώσκειν, καὶ οὕτω τὰς ἐγκειμένας ἑρμηνείας, ἵν' εὐσύνοπτα ἔσται τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τὰ νοήματα.	προθέμενος τὴν ἐξήγησιν ἐποιήσατο[57] καὶ ἐκ τούτου δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀριθμοὶ οἱ τοῖς κεφαλαίοις ἐπικείμενοι ἀναχετίζειν τοὺς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀναγινώσκοντας εἰς τὸ πρόσω φαίνειν. χρὴ οὖν ἕνα καὶ δεύτερον ἢ καὶ[58] τρίτον κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἐδάφους τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἀναγινώσκειν, καὶ οὕτω τὰς ἐγκειμένας ἑρμηνείας, ἵν' εὐσύνοπτα ἔσται τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τὰ νοήματα.

Table 5.3. Comparison of the Prologue to the Pseudo-John Drungarius Catena on Daniel and the Preface to Codex Zacynthius

The prologue to the catena of Codex Zacynthius is essentially a verbatim copy of the prologue to the catena on Daniel with the exception of the biographical note at the head of the preface. Vianès characterizes the development of the prologues in the Pseudo-John Drungarius catenae on the Major Prophets as a standardization so that the final prologue, on Daniel, the contents have become minimal and formulaic in comparison to the prefaces on the other catenae on the prophets.[59] The similarities of the preface in Codex Zacynthius and the prologues to catena on Daniel reflects the work of a catenist in the same milieu who intentionally rewrote a text which had become standardized.[60] Vianès notes that the transmission of the preface before Matthew or John in other manuscripts shows that it does not reflect anything particular about the catena on Luke and could serve as a preface for multiple Gospels.

[57] Cramer, *Cateae in Matthaei et Marci*, 1:4.21 reads ἐποιήσαντο with a note that Corderius reads ἐποιήσατο (*Catena Patrum Graecorum in Sanctum Ioannem*).

[58] Cramer, *Cateae in Matthaei et Marci*, 1:4.24 reads καὶ with a note that Corderius reads ἢ καὶ (*Catena Patrum Graecorum in Sanctum Ioannem*).

[59] Vianès, "Affinités," forthcoming. For a comparison of all the prologues to the Psuedo-John Drungarius catenae on the Major Prophets, see Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen*, 196–200. On the standardization of the prologues, see also Mathilde [Sutterlin-Aussedat] Aussedat, "Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le livre de Jérémie (c ap 1-4) : Présentation, édition critique, traduction française, commentaire" (PhD Thesis, Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2006), 281–283; Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen*, 196–200.

[60] Vianès, "Affinités," forthcoming.

The transmission of the preface in other manuscripts of Type Z corroborates that it was composed for the Type Z catenae and the pattern of development in the catenae on the Gospels described in Chapter 2 explains how it entered the wider catena tradition. The preface to the catena is transmitted in nine catena manuscripts listed in Table 5.4.[61] In addition to these, *Pinakes* lists several Gospels manuscripts without commentaries which also transmit the preface.[62] These other manuscripts, which likely do not exhaust the list of manuscripts with this text, include it between the Gospels—usually before Luke—along with several other prefaces to the Gospels. This reflects Vianès's observation that the text became a generic prologue, in this case, even outside the catena tradition. The selection of it as a preface to a Gospel outside the context of a commentary manuscript does not seem to make sense because its explanation of the authors included and reading technique are tailored to the dynamics of a multi-text manuscript. Still, it became an established part of the corpus of texts introducing Luke in Byzantine manuscripts.[63]

[61] The preface is cited as one of the contents in Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*.

[62] These manuscripts were identified by Paratexts of the Bible (ParaTexBib) team. On the ParaTextBib project https://paratexbib.eu. See also the publications about the project's aims and its results: Martin Wallraff and Patrick Andrist, "Paratexts of the Bible: A New Research Project on the Greek Textual Transmission," *Early Christianity* 6 (2015): 237–243; Patrick Andrist, "Asymmetrical Descriptions of Biblical Manuscripts: A key to the success of the'Paratexts of the Bible (ParaTexBib)' project and its database," in *Faszination (Buch-)Handschriften im Jahr 2022: Tradition und Zukunft ihrer Erschließung in Bibliothek und Wissenschaft*, ed. Claudia Fabian, Bibliothek und Wissenschaft 55 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2022), 63–78.

[63] On the transmission of introductory texts from catena manuscripts into non-catena manuscripts, see: Agnès Lorrain, "Der Fall Jerusalem, Timiou Staurou 104 (12. Jh.): Eine Untersuchung zur Herkunft patristischer Exzerpte in den Tetraevangelien," *ZAC* 24 (2020): 355–388, this prologue referenced on p. 361. The Gospels manuscripts cited in *Pinakes* are: Athos, Great Lavra, A 37 (GA 1468; Diktyon 26965); Athos, Iviron Monastery, 56 (GA 1996; Diktyon 23653); Birmingham, University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Braithwaite gr. 3 (GA 236; Diktyon 9653); Cambridge, University Library, Nn. II, 36 (2598) (GA 443; Diktyon 12238); Dublin, Trinity College, 30 (GA 61; Diktyon 13584); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cromwell 15 (GA 527; Diktyon 47805); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden Supra 29 (GA 54; Diktyon 48467).

Shelfmark	GA	Diktyon	Folios	CPG Contents	Placement
Athens, EBE, 490	254	2786	Pgs. 3–4	C152 (C152.2), C167, C176, C177	Beginning
Athos, Great Lavra, A 16	1078	26944	Fol. 4v	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	Beginning
Bernkastel-Kues, Bibliothek des St. Nikolaus-Hospitals, 18	87	9588	Fol. 2r	C145	Beginning
Cambridge, University Library, Add. 10062	040	73427	Fol. 1r	C131z [C137.3]	Beginning
Paris, BnF, Coislin 23	39	49165	Fol. 2v	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	Beginning
Paris, Suppl. gr. 1300	--	53964	282v–383r	C111, C132, C141.1	After catenae
Prague, Národní Knihovna České republiky, XXV B 7	1422	55549	Fol. 180r–181r	C119.1, C125.1, C131z [C137.8], C147.9	Between Mark/Luke
Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, E.40, fols. 1–22	397	56326	Fol. 5r	C143	Scholium
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 756	137	67387	Fol. 154v	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	Between Mark/Luke

Table 5.4. Manuscripts with the Type Z Preface to the Catena

The catena types and placement of the preface are relevant for establishing the preface's connection to the Type Z catenae. Three of the manuscripts in Table 5.4 are Type Z catena manuscripts: Codex Zacynthius, Bernkastel-Kues 18, and Prague XXV B 7.[64] In the first two manuscripts, it is placed before the catena—which admittedly only comprises one Gospel. Prague XXV B 7 differs from the others by placing it between Mark and Luke among several other introductory texts for Luke. In this way, it mirrors the later practice of using the text as a preface to

[64] The presence of the preface in Bernkastel-Kues 18 was the source for its inclusion in Corderius's edition.

Luke rather than as a preface to the catena.[65] One of the other manuscripts, Rome Biblioteca Vallicelliana, E.40, fols. 1–22 (GA 397; Diktyon 56326), contains the C143 catena on John which is related to the Type Z catena on John. The placement of the text in this catena is unusual. It is marked as a scholium introducing the catena on John. As indicated in Chapter 3, further research is needed to understand this kind of catena and its place in the history of the catenae. Two of the manuscripts, Athos, Great Lavra, A 16 (GA 1078; Diktyon 26944) and Paris, BnF, Coislin 23 (GA 39; Diktyon 49165) are witnesses to the Type A Catena Form.[66] Both codices place the preface at the beginning of the codex such that it applies to the catenae on all the Gospels. Since the compilers of the Type A Catena Form used the Type Z catenae as a source for their catenae on the Gospels, they may have also taken the preface to the catena from a Type Z source and incorporated it into the new work at the head of the compilation. This was then transmitted into two surviving manuscripts. Two of the other manuscripts are witnesses to the Type B Basic Form: Paris, Suppl. gr. 1300 (Diktyon 53964) and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 756 (GA 137; Diktyon 67387). These manuscripts place the preface in different positions. Paris Suppl. gr. 1300 places it after the catenae, but in this codex all the introductory texts come at the end of the manuscript, and it appears in a sequence of prefaces to Luke. Vatican gr. 756 places it between Mark and Luke as a preface to Luke. In both cases, the inclusion of the preface and its position reflects the afterlife of the preface as a generic introduction

[65] Lorrain, "Der Fall Jerusalem," 355–388. Lorrain proposes that Prague XXV B 7 or perhaps a manuscript from the same *Vorlage*, was the exemplar for the prologues to the Gospels in Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Stavrou 104 (GA 1355; Diktyon 36000).

[66] The presence of the preface in Paris Coislin 23 was the source for its inclusion in Cramer's edition.

to Luke rather than a specific explanation of the catenae.[67] Finally, Athens, EBE, 490 (GA 254; Diktyon 2786) is an outlier. This manuscript puts the preface at the beginning of the codex, but the contents are Theophylact's commentaries on Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the Pauline Epistles, and Andreas of Caesarea's commentary on Revelation. While the preface may explain these catena traditions as well, its lone appearance outside of a manuscript of catenae on the Gospels can be explained as a text by the scribe of this particular codex who had access to it from another source. In this instance, the transmission of the preface reflects a later usage of the text outside of its initial purpose, but in a different manner to its transmission as a generic preface to Luke in manuscripts of the Gospels.

The transmission of the preface suggests that the Type Z manuscripts containing it have done so within the authentic environment of its composition. Its appearance in all other manuscripts can be shown either to have been influenced by the Type Z catena form through its use in the composition of later catenae or through the reuse of the preface text as an introduction to the Gospel of Luke or for another commentary manuscript. This preface is therefore an important aspect of the Type Z catena tradition which can lend insight into the composition of the catena, how it was used, and into its reception as a source for later compilation projects.

[67] The preface does not adequately explain the catenae in these codices. As described in Chapter 2, the Type B Basic Form does not use author attributions, rendering the explanation of the sources irrelevant even though the commentary does include scholia from both orthodox and heterodox sources, and the reading technique is less germane because the Type B Basic Form arranges scholia from different sources into a more continuous commentary with little segmentation.

2.4 *The Macrostructure of the Type Z Catenae*

The Type Z catenae are comprised of named scholia structured around the biblical text—copied in frame format in its earliest form. The scholia were linked to the biblical text using numerals placed next to each scholium and at the appropriate point in the biblical text. The catena is structured around the biblical text, though the repetitious nature of the *lemmata* even in frame format suggests interplay between the two texts not present in other catena types. The sections of the catena do not map onto systems for dividing the biblical text such as the Eusebian apparatus, *kephalaia*, or so-called Vatican paragraphs even though many sections of the catena happen to correspond with one or more of these systems of dividing the Gospels.[68] As in the other catenae, the scholia explain sections of varying length, ranging from small parts of a single verse to portions of a pericope. Generally, most of each book is explained. There are not any προεγράφη statements in the catenae on Luke, though some sections have no commentary—both in the full and abridged forms.[69] It is noteworthy that the full catenae on John within Type Z do not have the *Pericope Adulterae*, and

[68] Codex Zacynthius is only the second witness in the Gospel of Luke to a rare ancient paragraph system known through Codex Vaticanus. On the Vatican paragraphs in Codex Zacynthius and the chapter system more broadly, see: Houghton and Parker, "The Gospel of Luke in Palimpsest," 34–39; Charles E. Hill, *The First Chapters: Dividing the Text of Scripture in Codex Vaticanus and Its Predecessors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022). It is worth noting that neither Codex Zacynthius nor Codex Athonensis have the Eusebian apparatus.

[69] On the προεγράφη comments, see Chapter 2. Manafis, "Catenae on Luke," 153–154. Codex Zacynthius contains no scholia on the folios containing Luke 4:39–43 and Luke 9:7–11. The abridged form manuscript Paris Suppl. gr. 612 has twenty-two leaves without any scholia, including the only two which overlap in Zacynthius. The other extensive abridged frame catena manuscript of Type Z in Luke, Prague XXV B 7 has no leaves without any scholia in any Gospel, but several leaves in Luke have fewer scholia or greater space between comments at places where Zacynthius or Paris Suppl. gr. 612 have pages of biblical text without scholia.

the abridged form in Prague XXV B 7 marks the verses with large asterisks and adds a single scholium which is not present in the other manuscripts of the type.[70]

The two oldest Type Z manuscripts, Codex Zacynthius and Athonensis, use the same distinctive numbering system to link the biblical text and scholia. In these manuscripts, the sections of the biblical text are numbered from one to one hundred and each scholium within that unit is assigned the same numeral.[71] Thus, when several scholia explain a single unit of the biblical text, each of those comments has the same numeral.[72] This convention differs from most other catena traditions which use a continuous numbering system or restart the numbering after each page or bifolio. Laurence Vianès notes that the same practice of enumerating the scholia by their section number is used in the Pseudo-John Drungarius catenae on the Major Prophets.[73] The use of linking numbers likely derives from the initial composition, as proposed by Houghton, and serves as an important indicator that the compilers of the Type Z catenae may have been aware of or part of the community where the Pseudo-John Drungarius catenae were compiled.[74] It should be noted that this numbering practice is only evident in Zacynthius and Athonensis. The only other frame catena manuscript of the full type, Vatican Pal. gr. 273, numbers the scholia sequentially and restarts the

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[70] Prague XXV B 7, fol. 329v: https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace?docID=31422&pageID=6630. On the *Pericope Adulterae* and commentaries, see Jennifer Knust and Tommy Wasserman, *To Cast the First Stone: The Transmission of a Gospel Story* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

[71] The range of numbering for Codex Athonensis must be determined through internal evidence since the manuscript is preserved in fragments. The evidence suggests it has the same system found in Zacynthius. What would have been fol. 69v of the codex before it was dismembered contains John 4:13–14 with two sections of the commentary numbered 38 and 39. The final extant portion of the codex contains leaves 267–270 with John 20:10–17. The biblical text is divided into sections 47–51, for scholia on John 20:17. The only way to account for the numbers of the scholia sections at the beginning and end of the manuscript is that it restarted at some point.

[72] Houghton, "Codex Zacynthius,"62–63.

[73] Vianès, "Affinités," forthcoming.

[74] Houghton, "Codex Zacynthius," 63. See further on the compilers of the Type Z catenae below.

numbering on each page.[75] The abridged form manuscripts in frame catena format either number scholia sequentially (Prague XXV B 7 and Paris Suppl. gr. 1248, fols. 12–23) or use symbols (Paris Suppl. gr. 612).

The Type Z catenae draw on an extensive list of sources which are typically cited by using the name of the author in the genitive case. One of the sources used is the anonymous early exegetical collection whose scholia were designated with the name ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου. According to Vianès, the catena in Codex Zacynthius exhibits some internal order to the scholia wherein the ἐξ ἀνεπίγραφου scholia always are the first source cited within a section, except in the rare cases where John Chrysostom (d. 407) is cited.[76] This, she suggests, means that the source of these scholia was the foundation for the catena on Luke. The other sources in the catena, as previewed in previous chapters, are scholia from named authors. These authors come from a variety of exegetical schools and include sources who were deemed to be heterodox by ecumenical councils. As described in Chapter 3, most of the author attributions in the Type Z catena on Luke are accurate when the source of the scholium is extant.[77] According to Joseph Reuss, the Type Z catena on John also reliably reports the sources of the scholia.[78] No study has determined whether the scholia in any of these catenae were taken directly from the source's works. The preliminary evidence suggests that many of the scholia were extracted directly from their original context. [79] This practice fits the

[75] Manafis, "A New Witness," 376.

[76] Vianès, "Affinités," forthcoming.

[77] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius and Their Treatment," 99.

[78] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 215.

[79] See Chapter 4 n. 61. Reuss did not make an argument that the scholia were taken from direct tradition but did note that the scholia from Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, and Origen had been edited extensively (*Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 215). This suggests the compilers had access to the texts of their homilies.

identification of the Type Z catenae as primary catenae, and one would expect the oldest catena to work with sources directly.

2.4.1 Sources of the Type Z Catena on Matthew

The sources in the Type Z catena on Matthew can only be listed for the abridged form because no manuscript remains for the full Type Z catena on Matthew. The list in Table 5.5 is based on Prague XXV B 7 because that is one of two codices of the abridged form which covers all of Matthew.[80] This catena type is classified as C119.1. As explained in Chapter 3, the abridged form of this catena differs from the abridged form preserved in the other Type Z witness, Zavorda 5. The catena on Matthew in these leaves has been classified as C116.5. Therefore, the list of sources in that codex are also given separately in Table 5.6 based on the presentation of the manuscript by Manafis and Parpulov.[81] It should also be noted that the abridged form might also contain additional scholia not present in the full form.

Early Christian Writer	**Attributions in C119.1**
Apollinarius (CPG 3690)	10
Cyril of Alexandria (CPG 5206)	3
Dionysius the Areopagite[82]	2
Gregory of Nazianzus (CPG 3052.7)	1
Gregory of Nyssa (CPG 3204)	1
Isidore of Pelusium (CPG 5557)	1
John Chrysostom (CPG 4424)	660
Origen (CPG 1450.3)	18

[80] The other is Alexandria 122 which is missing the beginning of Matthew up to verse 21:28. Houghton and Monier established that the text aligns with Prague XXV B 7: Houghton and Monier, "Greek Manuscripts in Alexandria," 126.

[81] Manafis and Parpulov, "A Chapter from the History of Catenae," 159–170.

[82] The work from which these scholia derive has not been identified, and Dionysius the Areopagite is not cited in other catenae on Matthew.

Severian of Gabala (CPG 4295.4)	1
Severus of Antioch (CPG 7080.11)	2
Theodore[83]	2
Theodore of Heraclea (CPG 3562)	6
Theodore of Mopsuestia (CPG 3840)	1
Anonymous	13

Table 5.5. Author Attributions in the Abridged Type Z Catena on Matthew in Prague XXV B 7

The abridged Type Z catena on Matthew in Prague XXV B 7 has 721 scholia attributed to thirteen named authors; thirteen of the scholia have no author attribution. The catena largely presents the text of John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew* (CPG 4424) which accounts for 660 of the scholia. No other author can be said to be used extensively in comparison to the amount of material from Chrysostom, but Origen (d. 253) has the next most citations at eighteen. This accords with the Type A and Type B Catena Forms in which Origen is the most used source after John Chrysostom (whether in the named or anonymous scholia in those catenae). The catena frequently uses the attribution ἄλλος as an indirect citation but only uses τοῦ αὐτοῦ one time. There are no scholia with the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου or composite attributions. While the catena does make use of early Christian writers from differing theological perspectives, the overwhelming use of Chrysostom gives the impression that his work is the focal point of the explanations. The latest person named in the catena is Severus of Antioch (d. 538).

[83] The two Theodore scholia have no other modifier to specify whether the attribution refers to Theodore the Mink, Theodore of Heraclea, or Theodore of Mopsuestia who are cited specifically in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms. The generic name Theodore is also cited in the Type B Catena Form.

Early Christian Writer	Attributions in C116.5
Apollinarius (CPG 3690)	2
Cyril of Alexandria (CPG 5206)	11
Irenaeus (CPG 1315)	1
John Chrysostom (CPG 4424)[84]	4
Origen (CPG 1450.3)	24
Severus of Antioch (CPG 7080.11)	3
Theodore	3
Theodore of Heraclea (CPG 3562)	13
Theodore of Mopsuestia (CPG 3840)[85]	4
Anonymous	3

Table 5.6. Author Attributions in the Abridged Type Z Catena on Matthew in Zavorda 5

The abridged catena in Zavorda 5, preserved in only six leaves, only contains sixty-eight scholia. While the information about this catena is limited, it still presents an important collection of scholia that supplements the complete abridged catena in Prague XXV B 7. The most frequently cited source in Zavorda 5 is Origen. The next most frequently used authors are Theodore of Heraclea (d. 355) and Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444). The compilers employed the indirect attributions τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἄλλως, καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγα, and καὶ πάλιν. These are found in the full Type Z catenae on Luke and John. None of the scholia include a reference to the specific source of the comment. As in the case of Prague XXV B 7, Severus of Antioch is the latest person cited.

[84] The John Chrysostom scholia in this manuscript are all unattributed: Manafis and Parpulov, "A Chapter from the History of Catenae," 166.

[85] One scholium counted for Theodore of Mopsuestia is missing its incipit because of a gap of two leaves in the fragments. The attribution of this text to Theodore of Mopsuestia follows the Type B Catena Form which attributes it to Theodore of Mopsuestia in Bologna, Bibliot'ca dell'Archiginnasio, A 3 (GA 2482; Diktyon 9680), fol. 16r.

The relationship between the two abridged forms of a Type Z catena on Matthew is difficult to determine. None of the scholia in Zavorda 5 are included in Prague XXV B 7, so the editors of both abridged versions made their own selection of scholia from the Type Z source. Several of the scholia from authors other than John Chrysostom found in Prague XXV B 7 and Zavorda 5 are part of the named scholia in the Type A and Type B Catena Forms. Therefore, both catenae in Prague XXV B 7 and Zavorda 5 seem to be abridged versions of the same full collection. It should be noted that the abridged Type Z catenae on Luke in Paris Suppl. gr. 612 and Prague XXV B 7 are not identical but can be shown to be shorter versions of the same source, which matches the comparison of the two abridged forms in Matthew. Additional leaves of the Zavorda manuscript would help clarify its relationship to the full Type Z catena on Matthew.

2.4.2 Sources of the Type Z Catena on Luke

The sources of the full Type Z catena on Luke are only known through the fragmentary manuscripts Codex Zacynthius and Vatican Pal. gr. 273.[86] The majority of scholia are transmitted in the leaves of Codex Zacynthius, and Vatican Pal. gr. 273 provides an additional thirty-four scholia which are either missing the attribution or incomplete in Codex Zacynthius or at places where Zacynthius is missing leaves. The sources mentioned in these two manuscripts are listed in Table 5.7.

[86] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 97–120; Manafis, "A New Witness," 384–385.

Early Christian Writer	Attributions in full C131z
Apollinarius (CPG 3692)	1
Basil of Caesarea (CPG 2907.8)[87]	3
Cyril of Alexandria (CPG 5207.3)	113
Eusebius of Caesarea (CPG 3469.11)[88]	8
Isidore of Pelusium (CPG 5557)	4
John Chrysostom (CPG 4449)	6
Origen (CPG 1452)	48
Severus of Antioch (CPG 7080.13)	38
Titus of Bostra (CPG 3576)	52
Victor the Presbyter (CPG 6534)	9
ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου	43
Anonymous	14
Missing Title	22

Table 5.7. Author Attributions in the Full Type Z Catena on Luke in Codex Zacynthius and Pal. gr. 273

The full Type Z catena on Luke attributes scholia to eleven sources, while there are several scholia which have no title or a missing title due to the fragmentary nature of the witnesses. The catena uses Cyril of Alexandria as the primary source, and the most frequently cited sources after Cyril are Titus of Bostra (d. 378), Origen, and Severus of Antioch.[89] As mentioned in Chapter 2, the compilers occasionally add an honorific title such as ἅγιος or an ecclesial title such as ἐπισκόπου or ἀρχιεπισκόπου. The compilers generally cited the number of the specific letter they used for Isidore

[87] The CPG number given here is for excerpts of Basil's works in catenae on Luke. Manafis identified the specific source of these scholia as Basil's Letter 260 addressed to Optimus the Bishop of Antioch (CPG 2900): Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 104.

[88] CPG 3469.11 accounts for excerpts of Eusebius of Caesarea's works in catenae on Luke. It is not clear that Eusebius wrote a commentary on Luke and some of the scholia on Luke attributed to him have been demonstrated to belong to other writers: A. Whealey, "The Commentary on Luke Attributed to Eusebius of Caesarea," *VC* 67 (2013): 169–183. See also Wallace-Hadrill, "Eusebius of Caesarea's Commentary on Luke, its Origin and Early History," *HTR* 67 (1974): 55–63.

[89] On these authors in Codex Zacynthius, see Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 101–104, 107–1116.

of Pelusium (d. ca. 435), and named the work from which Severus of Antioch's scholia derive.[90] The catenists also frequently used indirect attributions such as τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἄλλως, καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγα, and πάλιν to indicate that the source of a scholium was the same as the one which preceded it.[91] The Type Z catena on Luke has a large number of ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia, as described in Chapter 3.[92] As noted in Chapter 3, the abridged witnesses of the Type Z catena on Luke attribute scholia to all the authors cited in the full witnesses and only add to these Gregory of Nyssa (d. 395) and Athanasius of Alexandria (d. 373). The latest figure is Severus of Antioch, corresponding to the Type Z catena on Matthew.

2.4.3 Sources of the Type Z Catena on John

The Type Z catena on John is the only one which is preserved completely in its full form. The figures given in Table 5.8 are adopted from Reuss who based his figures on the oldest complete manuscript of the type, Paris Gr. 209 and the sixteenth-century codex Berlin Phillipps 1420, which he reckons is a direct copy of Paris Gr. 209.[93]

[90] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 106, 114–116.
[91] Houghton, "Codex Zacynthius," 64.
[92] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius," 100. Manafis, "A New Witness," 385.
[93] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 211.

Early Christian Writer	Attributions in C145
Ammonius the Presbyter (CPG 5502)	550
Amphilochius of Iconium (CPG 3248.2)	1
Antiochus of Ptolemais (CPG 4297)	1
Apollinarius (CPG 3691)	96
Athanasius of Alexandria (CPG 2141.10)	2
Basil of Caesarea (CPG 2907.9)	5
Cyril of Alexandria (CPG 5208)	268
Didymus the Blind (CPG 2557)	10
Diodore of Tarsus[94]	1
Epiphanius of Salamis (CPG 3761.7)	1
Eusebius of Caesarea (CPG 3469.12)	6
Gregory of Nazianzus (CPG 3052.10)	1
Gregory of Nyssa (CPG 3204)	1
Isidore of Pelusium (CPG 5557)	10
John Chrysostom (CPG 4425)	530
Pope Julius I (CPG 3646)	2
Origen (CPG 1453)	71
Proclus of Constantinople (CPG 5897)	1
Severus of Antioch (CPG 7080.14)	56
Theodoret of Cyrrhus[95]	1
Theodore[96]	23
Theodore of Heraclea (CPG 3564)	66
Theodore of Mopsuestia (CPG 3843)	66

[94] The work from which the scholium attributed to Diodore of Tarsus derives is unidentified.

[95] The attribution to Theodoret of Cyrrhus is found on Paris Gr. 209, fol. 159r, which Corderius records as Theodore of Heraclea (Corderius, *Catena Patrum Graecorum in Sanctum Ioannem*, 251). The manuscript used by Corderius, Bernkastel-Kues 18, fol. 113v, attributes the scholium to Theodore of Heraclea. Reuss takes the attribution to Theodore of Heraclea as accurate and edited the scholium as one from him: *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 89 (Berlin: Akademie, 1966), 85 (Fragment 74). See also Robert Devreesse, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplémen t* (Paris: Letouzey & An é, 1928) : col. 1:1203.

[96] These citations are to a generic Theodore though some can be identified as Theodore of Heraclea or Mopsuestia.

Theophilus of Alexandria (CPG 2681)	1
ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου	7
John Chrysostom / Ammonius the Presbyter	11
Basil of Caesarea / Theodore of Mopsuestia	1
Apollinarius / Theodore of Heraclea	4
Theodore of Mopsuestia / Apollinarius	1
Apollinarius / Cyril of Alexandria	1
John Chrysostom / Theodore Mopsuestia	1

Table 5.8. Author Attributions in the Full Type Z Catena on John

The Type Z catena on John attributes scholia to twenty-four named authors with additional scholia attributed to ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου and some anonymous scholia.[97] The most frequently cited sources are Ammonius the Presbyter (ca. 6th c.) and John Chrysostom, who each are cited more than 500 times. Cyril of Alexandria was the only other person cited more than 100 times. As in the other Type Z catenae, some authors are identified with honorifics or titles. Many of the scholia indicate the specific writing from which the comments are taken. While catenae on other Gospels reserve this practice for Isidore of Pelusium and Severus of Antioch, this catena also uses the practice for some scholia attributed to Cyril of Alexandria (when they are not from his *Homilies on John*), Pope Julius I (d. 352), and Ammonius the Presbyter. The catena also uses indirect attributions typical of the other Type Z catenae: τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἄλλως, καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγα, and πάλιν. Nineteen of the scholia in the catena have composite attributions. The latest person cited in the Type Z catena on

[97] There are seventy-seven anonymous scholia in the catena according to Reuss: *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 212.

John is Severus of Antioch, though Ammonius the Presbyter was a contemporary who names Severus in his writings.[98]

2.4.4 Review of the Sources of the Type Z Catenae

Several conclusions can be drawn from this survey of the authors used in the Type Z catenae even though a comprehensive analysis of each catena is impossible due to the lack of complete witnesses to the full catenae on each book. The main sources used in the catenae on Matthew and John are the same as those seen in the Type A and Type B traditions: John Chrysostom for Matthew and a combination of John Chrysostom and Ammonius the Presbyter in John. The catena on Luke parallels the other catena traditions as well in the extensive use of Cyril of Alexandria, Titus of Bostra, and Origen. In all three catenae, a core group of authors are cited frequently throughout, and several others are used often or sparingly. The compilers of the Type Z catenae used indirect attributions and specified the source of some scholia. The distinctive attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου has been used in the Type Z catenae on Luke and John, but not in the abridged forms of the Type Z catena on Matthew. As discussed in Chapter 3, this attribution appears more often in Luke than any other Gospel, perhaps because the anonymous exegetical collection was a more valuable source in the formation of that catena. The Type Z catenae on the Gospels demonstrate a commitment to the attribution of sources that was not present in the Type A and Type B commentaries composed at approximately the same time.

[98] Charles Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*, 2 vols., The Bible in Ancient Christianity 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 2:931.

2.5 *Compiler and Date of the Type Z Catenae*

The compilers of the Type Z catenae are unknown. The catenae are untitled in the manuscripts. While nothing about the compilers is known by ascription or inscriptions, the parallels between the Type Z catenae and the Pseudo-John Drungarius catenae on the Major Prophets have led Vianès to conclude that the Type Z catena was compiled by Miaphysites who were aware of the Drungarius catenae.[99] The similarities Vianès notes are the cross-reference technique of counting scholia by section rather than scholium, the references to specific works in the attributions of certain scholia, the preface to the catena, the use of the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου, and the designation of Severus of Antioch as a saint. Most of these have been discussed in this and previous chapters, and so are not recapitulated here. These similarities are remarkable and convey that these catenae likely were composed in the same place. That the Type Z catenae on the Gospels and the Pseudo-John Drungarius catenae were compiled in the same place stands whether or not that community is also construed as Miaphysite, which certainly is possible. Based on the fact that the preface of Codex Zacynthius seems to depend on the prefaces to Pseudo-John Drungarius catenae on Jeremiah and Daniel, the Type Z Gospel catenae likely were compiled after those works were produced.

Aside from the formal aspects linking the catenae on the Prophets and Gospels, the content of the scholia provides some evidence of its theological orientation. Lamb concluded that the catena on Luke in Codex Zacynthius "contains a number of comments sympathetic to the *miaphysite* position" and ultimately takes a mediating approach to the Christological controversies

[99] Vianès, "Affinités," forthcoming.

of the fifth and sixth centuries.[100] Regarding the argument that the Type Z catenae were projects undertaken in a Miaphysite community, Yonatan Moss argued that Severus of Antioch's writings were inserted into existing catenae by his followers as a covert way of preserving his writings after an anathema was promulgated against him and copies of his books were ordered to be burned by the Emperor Justinian I (r. 527–564) in 536 CE.[101] This explains what Moss called the "liberal spirit" of the catenae toward controversial figures such as Severus.[102]

Clark R. Bates and Vianès have also sought to explain this ecumenical spirit of catenae without resorting to mere encyclopedism or the desire to preserve texts. Bates finds its locus in the consolidation of political, civil, and ecclesial authority beginning with the reign of Justinian I. Catenae served as a bridge which helped mediate theological disputes by promoting a neo-Chalcedonian explanation of the Scriptures which united around Cyril of Alexandria, whose theological formulations could be shared by multiple theological camps.[103] Vianès reformulates Moss's proposal by asserting that rather than Severus having been inserted into already existing

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[100] William R. S. Lamb, "A Question of Attribution: The Theological Significance of the Catena in Codex Zacynthius," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 135. Italics in the source.

[101] Yonatan Moss, "Saving Severus: How Severus of Antioch's Writings Survived in Greek," *GRBS* 56 (2016): 785–808. On the life of Severus of Antioch: Pauline Allen, "The Life and Thought of a Heretic: The Case of Severus of Antioch," *Patristica: Proceedings of the Colloquia of the Japanese Society for Patristic Studies* 9 (2005): 5–37; Lucas Van Rompay, "Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (512-538), in the Greek, Syriac, and Coptic Traditions," *Journal of Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 8 (2009): 3–22; Youhanna Youssef, *The Life and Works of Severus of Antioch in the Coptic and Copto-Arabic Tradition: Texts and Commentaries*, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 28 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2014).

[102] Yonatan Moss, who also discusses this topic in great detail: Moss, "Saving Severus," 793. Moss is citing Robert Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs de l'Octateuque et des Rois*, Studi e Testi 201 (Vati can City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1959), VIII.

[103] Clark R. Bates, "Materializing Unity: Catena Manuscripts as Vessels for Imperial and Ecclesial Reform," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 28 (2023). See also Clark R. Bates, "Fundamentally Cyrillian: The Ps. Oecumenian Catena as Neo- Chalcedonian Propaganda," *The Thirteenth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (16 May 2023):
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=166Z4gY3hIU&list=PLrH9vTHivLKgRTfFIdag_j3lBYkV11tDp&index=5.

catenae, the compilers themselves were followers of Severus.[104] Following on from Lamb's work on the catena in Codex Zacynthius, Vianès concludes that "the party to which it most clearly seems to be reaching out is the Miaphysite party. There is no particular openness to other theological trends."[105] The works are conciliatory between the divergent theological camps, but instead of being directed by imperial acts, the move toward ecumenism seen in catenae was steered by those on the margins who had more to gain by finding a *via media.*[106] Aspects of their arguments and studies of what occurs in catenae are compatible even if the compilers stem from different circles. Vianès's analysis of several catena traditions offers a compelling explanation for the production of these late ancient projects, even if it does not explain the origins of the entire catena tradition as Bates seeks to do. The further analysis of the Type Z catenae on Matthew and John as exegetical works produced in a Miaphysite milieu is an avenue for further research which would complement Vianès's work on the Type Z catena on Luke.

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[104] Laurence Vianès, "Chaînes de Jean le Droungaire sur les Grands Prophétes, ou chaînes pro-sév ériennes?," in *Receptions of the Bible in B yzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and their Readers*, ed. Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 20 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2021), 405–426.; Vianès, "Affinités," forthcoming. Marcel Richard first proposed that certain catenae might have been Mi aphysite: Marcel Richard, "Les premières chaînes sur le Psautier," *Bu'letin d'informat'on de l'Institut de Recher'he et d'Histoire des Textes* 5 (1956): 87–98. It is worth noting that the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on the Pauline Epistles has also been linked to Miaphysitism through the ascription to Oecumenius, who also wrote a *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (C PG 7470): Franz Diekamp, "Mitteilungen über den neuaufgefundenen Kommentar des Oekumenius zur Apocalypse," *itzungsberichte der Preußischen Academie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (*Phil.-Hist. Klasse*) 43 (1901): 1046–1056; Jacopo Marcon, "The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Romans" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2023), 7–9; Theodora Panella, "The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Galatians" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2018), 7–9. Severus of Antioch is known to have corresponded with a person named Oecumenius: John C. Lamoreaux, "The Provenance of Ecumenius' Commentary on the Apocalypse," *VC* 52 (1998): 88–108; Sophrone Pétridès, "Œcumenius de Tricca, ses œuvres, son culte,"'*Échos d'Orient* 6 (1903): 307–310. While Oecuemnius cannot be proven to be the compiler of the catenae, some scholia attributed to him are included in the compilations.

[105] Vianès, "Affinités," forthcoming. "Cependant le parti auquel elle semble le plus clairement tendre la main est le parti miaphysite. On n'y décèle aucune ouverture particulière envers les autres tendances théologiques."

[106] Vianès, "Chaînes de Jean le Droungaire," 405–426.

The Type Z catenae were probably composed in the sixth century. The earliest manuscripts date to the eighth and ninth centuries, providing material evidence for the *terminus ante quem* for the compilation.[107] Houghton and Parker note several details in the production of Codex Zacynthius which show that it was not the archetype of the catena, but rather a copy of an earlier codex.[108] The latest author included in all three Type Z catenae is Severus of Antioch, meaning that the earliest these catenae could have been composed was the sixth century. This also aligns with their use of the exegetical collection from which the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia were taken. This collection must date no later than the sixth century because it includes material from Severus of Antioch and was used by the compilers of the Type A and Type B Basic Form commentaries, which also date to the sixth century. Vianès's research on the links between the Pseudo-John Drungarius catenae on the Major Prophets adds another point of reference. She argues that these compilations should be dated to the late sixth century.[109] Since the Type Z catenae seem to have been produced after these, though how long a gap existed between them is impossible to determine, they may also be seen as a late

[107] Recently, Elisabeth Goeke-Mayr and Georgios Makris argued that Codex Zacynthius was produced in the mid-tenth century in Constantinople and that it was copied by the same scribe as a catena manuscript of Job: Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian 171 (Diktyon 171), and potentially two others Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 749 (Diktyon 67380); and Venice, BNM, Gr. Z. 538 (Diktyon 70009) (Goeke-Mayr and Makris, "Dating the Codex *Patmiacus* 171," 437–460). They advance the position, previously formulated by Günther Zuntz, that the first catenae were not composed until the tenth century. The article, which engages in sweeping overstatements, makes a poor argument based on the preservation of manuscripts, the layout of the catenae, and the absence of references to catenae in Photius's *Bibliotheca* and early translations of catenae. Moreover, the authors use as evidence for their position that Procopius of Gaza did not invent catenae even though current catena research does not hold this position, and they ignore Parker and Birdsall's research on the date of Codex Zacynthius in their assessment of its date. Finally, they attribute some of the work of preparing catenae to Leo Choirosphaktes, who, as discussed in Appendix 2, condensed existing commentaries rather than forming their own. Goeke-Mayr and Makris' conclusions about the date of the entire catena tradition and Codex Zacynthius are untenable. For Zuntz on the origins of catenae: Günther Zuntz, *Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri* (Berlin: Seitz, 1975).

[108] Houghton and Parker, "The Gospel of Luke in Palimpsest," 53. See also J. Harold Greenlee, "Codex Zacynthius: The Catena and the Text of Luke," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 289.

[109] Vianès, "Chaînes de Jean le Droungaire," 418–419.

sixth-century composition. Vianès also notes that the Miaphysite writers shifted from writing in Greek to Syriac in the early seventh century, providing another boundary for the composition of these catenae.[110] Moreover, in the seventh- or eighth-century, the compilers of the Type A and Type B Catena Forms used the Type Z catenae in the formation of their works. These comparanda provide a fairly narrow date for the composition of the Type Z catenae on the Gospels. The sources used by the compilers and their connection to the Pseudo-John Drungarius catenae project restricts the catena to no earlier than the sixth century. As the reuse of scholia in later catenae on the Gospels and the shift in language by Miaphysite authors puts the *terminus ante quem* in the seventh century, dating this project to the late sixth century is plausible.

3 Chapter Summary

The Type Z catenae are a set of catenae on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John compiled in the late sixth century by an unknown group of compilers, perhaps from a Miaphysite community. These catenae were the first catenae on the Gospels to be compiled which are still extant in their original form, and no other references to an earlier catena on the Gospels exist.[111] The Type Z catenae are currently attested in only a handful of manuscripts for each Gospel, sometimes in abridged form, and often in fragmentary witnesses. Even though they are not well-preserved, the Type Z compilations had an enduring influence on subsequent catena traditions. They were used as the source for expanding the Type A and Type B commentaries into a full catena, have relationships to

[110] Vianès, "Affinités," forthcoming.

[111] The Type A and Type B Basic Form commentaries also produced in the sixth-century were commentaries rather than catenae, and the evidence of the ἀνεπίγραφος collection suggests that it was either an exegetical collection or an earlier compilation commentary rather than a catena.

several other catena traditions on the Gospels, and were used as a source in the eleventh-century catenae by Nicetas of Heraclea. The catena has a distinctive character of its own with some witnesses having an older form of the biblical text that repeats *lemmata* and is sometimes written in majuscule script. In their original full form, the catena on each Gospel was copied as a single volume. The catenae cite more than ten authors for each Gospel, with the catena on John drawing on the writings of two dozen early Christian writers. In the earliest form of this type, the scholia were linked to the biblical text through numerals which counted scholia by a section number rather than continuously numbering each excerpt. The compilers assiduously cited the sources of the scholia and used an uncommon attribution, ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου, for scholia from an anonymous source. Traces of the techniques used to cite their sources by the compilers of the Type Z catenae are left in the scholia taken from Type Z and used in later catenae. The Type Z catenae played a central role in the development of the catenae on the Gospels, and it was the analysis of the catenae on the Gospels which led to the identification of these catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John to be understood as a type in the catena tradition rather than as separate compilations.

CHAPTER 6

The Neglected Gospel: The Development of the Catenae on Mark

> "When it comes to commenting on his gospel, or citing and using it for other purposes, Mark seems to be the big absentee."[1]

1 Introduction

The prominence of the Gospel of Mark in biblical interpretation has been one of the most dramatic reversals in modern scholarship. Today, Mark is lauded as the earliest among the Gospels, and it is crucial for understanding the history of Gospel writing and early Christianity.[2] The importance of Mark is such that Mark Goodacre recently explored how biblical scholarship would differ if Mark had not survived in antiquity or had never been written. He opined, "The prioritizing of Mark's gospel is a jewel in the crown of biblical scholarship. In historical Jesus study, in reconstructing early Christian history, in appreciating its literary genius, Mark is preeminent in the scholar's canon."[3] The picture was quite different in late antiquity. While Mark's place in the canon as part of the fourfold Gospel was secure, its reception indicates that it was perceived as the least important for biblical interpretation.[4] The Gospel of Mark was the least cited of the Gospels in early

[1] Joseph Verheyden, "The Reception History of the Gospel of Mark in the Early Church: Adventuring in Still Largely Unexplored Territory," in *Reading the Gospel of Mark in the Twenty-First Century: Method and Meaning*, ed. Geert Van Oyen, BETL 301 (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 405.

[2] On the importance of Mark in modern scholarship, see Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary on the Gospel of Mark*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 103–117. On the history of interpreting Mark, see: Sean P. Kealy, *A History of the Interpretation of the Gospel of Mark*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 2007); Verheyden, "Reception History," 395–430.

[3] Mark Goodacre, "A World without Mark: an Experiment in Erasure History," *BibInt* 31 (2023): 127.

[4] On the fourfold Gospel and the place of Mark in early Christianity, see Martin Hengel, *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Collection and Origin of the Canonical Gospels*, 1st North American ed., trans. John Bowden (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000); Annette Yoshiko Reed, "ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ: Orality, Textuality, and the Christian Truth in 'renaeus' *Adversus Haereses*," *VC* 56 (2002): 11–46; Joseph Verheyden, "Four Gospels

Christianity and it was the last to be interpreted with a commentary.[5] In fact, the first commentary on Mark is the so-called *Catena in Marcum* attributed pseudonymously to Victor of Antioch (d. ca. 5th century).[6] This commentary stands within the tradition of catenae on the Gospels along with a few other catenae preserved in only a few manuscripts. As will be explored in this chapter, these works were both copied in catena manuscripts of the Gospels and their compilers used commentaries within the catena tradition as sources. Though the commentaries and catenae on Mark are part of the tradition of the catenae on the Gospels, their origins and development followed a different trajectory to that of the commentaries and catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John which have been discussed in this thesis. This chapter will survey the origins and development of the

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Indeed, but Where Is Mark? On Irenaeus' Use of the Gospel of Mark," in *Irénée de Lyon et les débuts de la Bible chrétienne. Actes de la Journée du 1.VII.2014 à Lyon*, ed. Agnès Bastit and Joseph Verheyden, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 77 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 169–204.

[5] Markus Bockmuehl, "The Making of Gospel Commentaries," in *The Written Gospel*, ed. Markus Bockmuehl and Donald A. Hagner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 274–295; Hengel, *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ*; Brenda Deen Schildgen, *Power and Prejudice: The Reception of the Gospel of Mark* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999). Mark also is the least attested of the Gospels in Greek New Testament manuscripts: Peter M. Head, "The Early Text of Mark," in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013): 108–120. The only manuscripts earlier than the fourth century are Dublin, Chester Beatty, BP I (Diktyon 75880) + Vienna, ÖNB, Pap. G. 31974 (Diktyon 74134) (GA P45; LDAB 2980) and Oxford, Bodleian Art, Archaeology and Ancient World Library, P.Oxy. 5345 (GA P137; no Diktyon or LDAB number has been assigned). According to Jacob W. Peterson, only twenty-two percent of the verses in Mark are extant in even a single letter prior to the fourth century: "Math Myths: How Many Manuscripts We Have and Why More Isn't Always Better," in *Myths and Mistakes in New Testament Textual Criticism*, ed. Peter J. Gurry and Elijah Hixson (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2019), 65–67.

[6] On the Victor of Antioch commentary as the earliest commentary on Mark, see Bockmuehl, "The Making of Gospel Commentaries," 286–289; Collins, *Mark*, 107; Thomas C. Oden and Christopher A. Hall, eds., *Mark*, 2nd ed., Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1998), XXXI; Joseph Verheyden, "A Puzzling Chapter in the Reception History of the Gospels: Victor of Antioch and his So-Called 'Commentary on *Mark*'," in *Papers presented at the Sixteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2011: Biblica; Philosophica, Theologica, Ethica*, ed. Markus Vinzent, vol. 11, Studia Patristica 63 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 17–27. Michael Cahill acknowledges that the first commentary on Mark, broadly defined, is attributed to Victor of Antioch, but since this is a compilation rather than a single-author commentary, he argues that the commentary on Mark by Pseudo-Jerome ought to be acknowledged as the first commentary on Mark: Michael Cahill, "The Identification of the First Markan Commentary," *RB* 101 (1994): 258–268; Michael Cahill, ed., *The First Commentary on Mark: An Annotated Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

commentaries and catenae on Mark and situate them within the patterns of development in the catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John described in previous chapters.

2 The Catenae on Mark

The catenae on Mark developed as their own late antique project for the interpretation of Mark to accompany the commentaries and catenae on the other three Gospels. The catenae on Mark are divided into two sections in the CPG: the *Commentary on Mark* (C125) attributed to Victor of Antioch and the *Codices Singuli* (C126). The organization of the catenae on Mark into these types structure follows the work of Joseph Reuss.[7] Compared to the other catenae on the Gospels, the catenae on Mark has a remarkably flat tradition. As will be seen, the two recensions in C125 are highly similar and several of the *Codices Singuli* are not fully-fledged catenae. The structure of the CPG shows that the catenae on Mark developed in a different pattern than the other catenae on the Gospels.

A surprising number of editions have been produced for the catenae on Mark compared to the catenae on the other Gospels. For the first recension of the *Commentary on Mark* (C125.1), there are three editions printed between the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The first edition was Theodore Peltanus's Latin translation, *Victoris Antiocheni in Marcum et Titi Bostrorum episcopi in evangelium Lucae commentarii,* published in 1580.[8] The basis for this edition was Munich, BSB, Gr.

[7] Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, NTAbh 18/4–5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941), 118–147.

[8] Theodorus Antonius Peltanus, *Victoris Antiocheni in Marcum et Titi Bostrorum episcopi in evangelium Lucae commentarii* (Ingolstadt: Davidem Sartorium, 1580).

99, fols. 217–277 (Diktyon 44543), a miscellaneous codex from the sixteenth century.[9] Peltanus's text is unreliable, having been based on a late manuscript with a poorly copied text. Reuss notes that Peltanus indicated in the preface to the edition that he had to freely edit or add material to complete or make sense of the text.[10] The first Greek edition of C125.1 was Christian Friedrich Matthaei's two-volume text, *Βίκτωρος πρεσβυτέρου Ἀντιοχείας καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ex codicibus Mosquensibus*, published in 1775.[11] Matthaei based his text on four manuscripts currently housed at the State Historical Museum in Moscow: Syn. gr. 41 (GA 237; Diktyon 43666); Syn. gr. 47 (GA 238; Diktyon 43672); Syn. gr. 44 (GA 259; Diktyon 43669); and Syn. gr. 138 (Diktyon 43763).[12] Reuss considered it the most reliable of all the editions of the *Commentary on Mark*.[13] The next edition of C125.1 was produced by Samuel Márkfi in 1860 as part of his single-volume edition of a catena on the Gospels with the scholia translated into Hungarian, *Codex graecus*

[9] On Peltanus's source for the edition, Robert Devreesse, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplémen t* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 192 8) co l 1:1176; Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 133.

[10] On Reuss's criticism of Peltanus's edition: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 133–134; 136–137.

[11] Christian Friedrich Matthaei, ed., *Βίκτωρος πρεσβυτέρου Ἀντιοχείας καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ex codicibus Mosquensibus*, 2 vols. (Moscow: Typus Universitatis Caesareo Mosquensis, 1775).

[12] Matthaei, ed., *Βίκτωρος πρεσβυτέρου Ἀντιοχείας*, 2:123–144. See also Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 137. Reuss lists all four manuscripts as sources for Matthaei's edition. On the contrary, Lamb states that Matthaei used Syn. gr. 44 and "a manuscript now lost" (William R.S. Lamb, "Conservation and Conversation: New Testament Catenae in Byzantium," in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia [Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Publishing, 2016], 284). In the 2012 monograph, Lamb specifies that the lost manuscript is GA 253 formerly owned by Nikephoros Hieromonachos Theotokis (William R.S. Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Commentary on Mark*, TENTS 6 [Leiden: Brill, 2012], 53 n. 113). According to Treu, the manuscript was given to Nikephoros by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and he lent it to Matthaei: Kurt Treu, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR: Eine systematische Auswertung der Texthandschriften in Leningrad, Moskau, Kiev, Odessa, Tbilisi und Erevan*, TU 91 (Berlin: Akademie, 1966), 359–360. The source of Lamb's information on the manuscripts selected by Matthaei for the edition is unknown, but his list of manuscripts can be treated as an error because Matthaei's own edition specifies the four codices used. Matthaei did publish a description of the Nikephoros codex: Christian Friedrich Matthaei, *D. Pauli epistolae ad Thessalonicenses et ad Timotheum: Graece et Latine: varias lectiones codd. Mosqq. scholia Graeca inedita et animadversiones criticas adiecit ac denvo recensvit* (Riga: Hartknoch, 1785), 234–237.

[13] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 137.

quatuor Euangeliorum.[14] The manuscript behind this edition is Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudomány Egyetem Könyvtára, Gr. 1 (GA 100; Diktyon 73130). The text is somewhat idiosyncratic in Mark and in the other Gospels because it is based on a single manuscript.[15]

The second recension has been edited twice. The first, *Catena graecorum Patrum in euangelium secundum Marcum*, was edited by Petrus Possinus in 1672.[16] This edition was based on three manuscripts: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1692 (Diktyon 68321), Munich Gr. 99, and Paris, BnF, Gr. 194 (GA 304; Diktyon 49763). Among the editions on Mark, this has received severe criticism for its mixture of sources from different forms of commentaries on Mark and editing them poorly.[17] The second edition of the type is John Anthony Cramer's, *Catenae in Evangelia S. Matthaei et S. Marci*, printed in 1840, which is part of his eight-volume set of catenae on the New Testament.[18] The primary manuscript used by Cramer was Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. gr. 33 (GA 50; Diktyon 48255) and Paris, BnF, Coislin 23 (GA 39; Diktyon 49165). In addition, Cramer used Paris, Gr. 178 (GA 24; Diktyon 49747) at two places where Oxford Laud. gr. 33 has extensive gaps in the commentary.[19] Cramer's

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[14] Samuel Márkfi, *Codex graecus quatuor Evangeliorum e Bibliotheca Universitatis Pestinensis cum interpretatione hungarica* (Budapest: Gustav Emich, 1860).

[15] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 129.

[16] Petrus Possinus, ed., *Catena graecorum Patrum in euangelium secundum Marcum* (Rome: Typus Barberinis, 1672).

[17] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 133–134, 136–137; Devreesse, "Chaînes," col. 1:1176.

[18] John Anthony Cramer, *Catenae in Evangelia S. Matthaei et S. Marci*, Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum, vol. 1 (Oxford: University Press, 1840). Lamb produced an English translation of Cramer's edition: Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*.

[19] Cramer, *Cateae in Matthaei et Marci*, XXVIII–XXIX. Again, Lamb gives an incorrect list of the manuscripts used by Cramer: *The Catena in Marcum*, 27, 34–35; see also, "Conservation and Conversation," 284. Lamb cites six codices and specifically claims that the CPG reports an incorrect list. In addition to Oxford Laud. gr. 33, Paris Coislin 23, and Paris Gr. 178, he cites Paris, BnF, Gr. 188 (GA 20; Diktyon 49757), Paris, BnF, Gr. 186 (GA 300; Diktyon 49755), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 156 (Diktyon 47443). Ceulemans notes this error in his review of Lamb's monograph and suggests it could have emerged from John Burgon: Reinhart Ceulemans, "Review of The *Catena in Marcum*: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Commentary on Mark," *ETL* 94 (2015): 712. While Lamb's close reading of Burgon may have influenced his interpretation of Cramer's preface, the error may have been a misreading of Cramer's preface and annotations. Cramer

edition has also received extensive criticism. John Burgon criticized the quality of editing in his characteristically sharp manner: "Only it is to be regretted that the work should have suffered to come abroad disfigured in every page with errors so gross as to be even scandalous, and with traces of slovenly editorship which are simply unintelligible."[20] Reuss concurred with Burgon that Cramer's edition was plagued by numerous "distortions" which impeded its usefulness; these were primarily due to having selected codices from both recensions even though the text ultimately reflects C125.2 more closely. He therefore considered Possinus's edition as the better of a bad lot for the second recension.[21] Lamb countered that Reuss's criticism of Cramer's edition was too harsh and reflected that he did not have access to Cramer's primary codex, Oxford Laud. gr. 33. In Lamb's estimation, a close examination of this codex shows that many of the perceived errors and abnormalities of the edition are instances where he followed his principal manuscript or at the gaps in the *Commentary*

cites Paris Gr. 188 and Gr. 186 (with the older shelfmarks 1882 [Gr. 186] and 1883 [Gr. 188]) as having attributed the *Commentary on Mark* to Cyril of Alexandria rather than Victor of Antioch (Cramer 1:XXVII) by citing the attributions of the commentary in Paris. Gr. 188 and Gr. 186 printed by Richard Simon in *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament, depuis le commencement du christianis'e jusqu'à notre tems* (R otterdam: Leers, 1693), 497–498. In no way does Cramer indicate that these were selected for the edition. Cramer does specify that he selected as his primary manuscript Oxford Laud. gr. 33 ("adhibui primum," with the siglum *L* in his edition, Cramer 1:XXVIII), which also attributes the commentary to Cyril of Alexandria (see the *Hypothesis* to the commentary on fol. 83r). This verifies that the basis for Cramer's ascription of the work to Cyril rather than Victor is based on his primary manuscript rather than Paris Gr. 188 and Gr. 186. Cramer continues to name Paris Coislin 23 as the second manuscript (siglum *P* in his edition, XXVIII) and Paris 178 as a supplement in the gaps in Oxford Laud. gr. 33 (without a siglum listed, XXIX). The third manuscript Lamb adds, Oxford Barocci 156 is not named in the preface. Cramer does cite it at the end of the hypothesis as also having the text of the scholium attributed to Justin of Rome (d. ca. 162/168) included in the edition: "Ap. Macar. Chrysoceph. Cod. Barocc. 156. F. 131. Vers." (Cramer 1:265.21–22). The text attributed to Justin is not in the other three codices, so Lamb is warranted for specifying that Cramer used the manuscript, but as he indicates, it was only for this portion and was not a source for the *Commentary on Mark* (*The Catena in Marcum*, 55).

[20] John W. Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel According to S. Mark: Vindicated Against Recent Critical Objectors and Established* (Oxford/London: Parker, 1871), 271.

[21] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 136–137.

on Mark in the manuscript where Cramer relied on other sources.[22] Cramer's edition has become the standard edition used by scholars studying the *Commentary on Mark*.[23]

2.1 *C125: Recensions of the Commentary on Mark*

The manuscript tradition of the *Commentary on Mark* is divided into two recensions: the first recension has been assigned the CPG reference number C125.1 and the second recension is C125.2. The use of the word recensions rather than types to designate these works is an important distinction. As will be elaborated further in the description of these works, it is commonly held that these recensions are distinct stages in the transmission of a single commentary which had their own subsequent development apart from the other recension. Neither depends on the other as its source.

Reuss described forty-five manuscripts with the first recension (C125.1) and fifteen for the second recension.[24] Georgi Parpulov has significantly increased the number of manuscripts for both types. Type C125.1 is now known in eighty-seven manuscripts.[25] The earliest manuscripts are two dated to the first half of the tenth century: Prague, Národní Knihovna České republiky, XXV B 7 (GA 1422; Diktyon 55549) and Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 117 (Diktyon 71784).[26] As indicated by Reuss, this recension largely was transmitted alongside the Type B manuscripts in the other Gospels.[27] Seventy-four of the eighty-seven manuscripts are transmitted alongside the Type B commentaries or

[22] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 55.

[23] Cahill notes that "the reprint [published in 1967] has made this edition more easily available and it is also regarded as the most extensive and inclusive in regard to text" (Cahill, "The First Markan Commentary," 265. n. 22).

[24] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 118–133. See also Lamb's table of the manuscripts as categorized by Reuss: Lamb, "Conservation and Conversation," 285.

[25] https://purl.org/itsee/catena-catalogue. Search conducted 1 September 2023.

[26] For bibliography on these manuscripts, see Chapter 4 for Prague XXV B 7 and Chapter 1 for Vienna Theol. gr. 117.

[27] On the Type B catenae and the place of Mark in this tradition, see Chapter 2 §3.1.3 and §3.2.3.

catenae. Of the remaining thirteen manuscripts, nine have a Type A form, two are transmitted with Type Z, and only two manuscripts—both from the sixteenth century—have this commentary with no other Gospels.[28] The eighty-seven manuscripts of the first recension are listed in Table 6.1.

Manuscript	GA	Diktyon	CPG Contents	Date
Alexandria, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, 122	2937	33009	C119.1, C125.1, C131Z, C147.9	XI
Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 26	1373	698	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Athens, EBE, 65	800	2361	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XIII
Athens, Library of the Greek Parliament, 1	807	1097	C112.4, C125.1, C130.1, C147.6	XII
Athens, Spyros Loverdos Library, 63	2637	2272	C112.1, C125.1, C133.2, C147.4	XI
Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, 80	951	20048	C112.1, C125.1, C133.2, C147.4	XIV
Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, 588	2458	20556	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Athos, Docheiariou Monastery, 7	964	21180	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Athos, Docheiariou Monastery, 76	978	21249	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XIV
Athos, Iviron Monastery, 2	989	23599	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, 39	1392	29058	C119.2, C125.1, C132, C141.1	X
Athos, St Panteleimon Monastery, 217	1677	22356	C112.1, C125.1, C133.2, C147.4	XIII
Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, 247, fols. 5–325	1535	18391	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XVI
Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, 936	1570	19080	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Berlin, SBB, Phillipps 1422, fols. 157–219	--	9325	C125.1, C132, C151a	XVI
Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, A 3	2482	9680	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2, C167	XIV
Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudomány Egyetem Könyvtára, Gr. 1	100	73130	C110.2, C125.1, C130.2, C141.1	XI

[28] Five of the nine Type A manuscripts with the C125.1 commentary on Mark are part of the Type A Expanded Form. Four of these form a subgroup within the tradition (Parpulov's group e.6.i) which has integrated scholia from the Type A and Type B tradition, and may have used the Type B manuscript as its basis. See Appendix 2 for a discussion of this group.

Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 42.152	2381	13127	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Cologny Geneva, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Bodmer 25	556	13159	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Dublin, Chester Beatty, W 139	2604	13571	C112.1, C125.1, C133.2, C147.4	XI
Dublin, Trinity College, 31	63	13585	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Durham, NC, Duke University Library, 1	1780	13616	C111, C125.1, C130.2, C141.1, C165.5, C175	XIII
Durham, NC, Duke University Library, 60	1423	13675	C110.2, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Y.II.8	233	15476	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XII
Florence, BML, Plut.06.18	186	16005	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Florence, BML, Plut.06.34	195	16021	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Florence, BML, Plut.08.14, fols. 29–157	197	16072	C111, C125.1	XI
Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Τάφου 25	1312	35262	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Kefalonia, Kipourea Monastery, 2	2211	36795	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
London, BL, Add. 39592	549	39171	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Madrid, BNE, Res. 235	2812	40400	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	X
Milan, BA, D. 161 inf. + D. 466 inf. + D. 298 inf. + D. 282 inf.[29]	2579	42596 + 6621 + 42619 + 42611	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	XVII
Milan, BA, M 93 sup.	353	43013	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, AF XIV.15	1814	43289	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XVI
Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 41	237	43666	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	XI
Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 44	259	43669	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 47	238	43672	C112.4, C125.1	XII

[29] Milan, BA, D. 161 inf. + D. 466 inf. + D. 298 inf. + D. 282 inf. is a multivolume set of catena manuscripts on the Gospels completed as a single project. The four shelfmarks and Diktyon numbers have been grouped together as a single entry in Table 6.1. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of these codices.

Münster, Bibelmuseum, 9	2755	45113	C112.4, C125.1	XI
Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ex Vind. 3*	108	45959	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	XI
Paris, BnF, Coislin 19	329	49161	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	XI
Paris, BnF, Coislin 20	36	49162	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	X
Paris, BnF, Coislin 21	37	49163	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Paris, BnF, Coislin 22	40	49164	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Paris, BnF, Coislin 24	41	49166	C112.4, C125.1	XI
Paris, BnF, Coislin 206	1266	49346	C110.2, C125.1, C130.2, C140.2	X/XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 177	299	49746	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 178	24	49747	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 189	19	49758	C111, C125.1, C132, C140.4/C141.1	XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 191	25	49760	C110.1, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 230	12	49802	C112.2, C125.1, C133.2, C147.4	XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 703	--	50284	C110.1, C125.1, C130.1, C140.1	XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 939	--	50528	C125.1	XVI
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 611	746	53346	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 612	747	53347	C112.4, C125.1, C131Z, C141.1	XII
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1076	754	53740	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	X
Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 58	1160	54302	C112.4, C125.1, C130.1, Theophylact	XII
Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 80	1164	54324	C110.2, C125.1, C130.2, C141.1	XII
Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 304	3009	54548	C111, C125.1, C132	XIV
Prague, Národní Knihovna České republiky, XXV B 7	1422	55549	C119.1, C125.1, C131Z, C147.9	X
Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Gr. 36	847	55943	C112.4, C125.1	XI
Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, Gr. 193	1230	58568	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XII
Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, Gr. 303	1253	58678	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XIV
St Petersburg, RNB, Gr. 72	569	57142	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI

St Petersburg, RNB, Gr. 667	2539	57739	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, C.II.4	332	63843	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Unknown, formerly Charles Caldwell Ryrie Collection (Dallas), s.n.	2346	13198	C110.2, C125.1, C130.2, C141.1	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. gr. 113	--	65344	C125.1, C130.1	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. gr. 432	391	65675	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 5	146	65738	C111, C125.1	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 5	885	66175	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 358	129	66989	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 384	--	67015	C125.1, C130.1	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 756	137	67387	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 757	138	67388	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1090	861	67721	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1229	143	67860	C112.1, C125.1, C133.2, C147.4	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1445	374	68076	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XII
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1532	--	68163	C110.2, C125.1, C140.2	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1618	377	68249	C112.4, C125.1, C130.1, C147.6	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1741		68370	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XIV
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2275, fols. 47–48	--	68906	C111, C125.1	XVI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2350	--	68981	C125.1	XVI
Venice, BNM, Z.27 (341)	210	69498	C112.6, C125.1, C132, C142	XI
Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 117	--	71784	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	X
Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 154	77	71821	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI
Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 180	222	71847	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XIV
Zagora, Public Library, 1	2414	72487	C111, C125.1, C132, C141.1	XI

Table 6.1. Manuscripts of C125.1

Type C125.2 is much less attested than the first recension, being found in twenty-eight manuscripts.[30] The oldest manuscripts of this type date to the ninth and tenth centuries. The sole ninth-century codex is Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 137 (Diktyon 43762) and Syn. gr. 384 (Diktyon 44009), of which Mark is part of Syn. gr. 384.[31] Two of the tenth-century codices have been dated to the first half of the century. These are Paris, BnF, Gr. 201 (GA 055; Diktyon 49771) and Paris, BnF, Coislin 195 (GA 34; Diktyon 49334).[32] This recension is transmitted most frequently with the Type A manuscripts in the other Gospels. Twenty-one of the twenty-eight manuscripts are transmitted alongside the Type A tradition.[33] The remaining seven manuscripts either are part of a unique tradition (two) or have no other commentaries on the Gospels (five).[34] These twenty-eight manuscripts of the second recension are listed in Table 6.2.

[30] https://purl.org/itsee/catena-catalogue. Search conducted 1 September 2023.

[31] This codex is one of the catenae in the "Western" order of the Gospels: Andrew J. Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," *NovT* 64 (2022) 121. See Chapter 1 for a description of the two codices being treated as a single entity.

[32] Paris Gr. 201 is another of the catenae with the "Western" order of the Gospels: Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," 121. The manuscript was assigned its Gregory-Aland number based on the text of Mark, which is written in majuscule. However, the text of Mark is abridged, as in the other three Gospels, so it would not have been granted a number in the *Liste* based on the current cataloguing principles. Houghton draws attention to this manuscript's abridged text of Mark in H. A. G. Houghton, "Catena Manuscripts in the *Editio Critica Maior* of the Greek New Testament," in *Pen, Print, and Pixels: Advances in Textual Criticism in the Digital Era*, ed. Daniel B. Wallace, David Flood, Elijah Hixson, and Denis Salgado (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2023). As cited in Chapter 5, Kurt and Barbara Aland held that it technically ought not be in the *Liste*: Kurt and Barbara Aland: Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, 2nd rev. ed., trans. Erroll F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 119. I mistakenly wrote that the text of Mark in this manuscript was complete; the erratum is noted at https://andrewjpatton.com/corrigenda. I am grateful to Hugh Houghton for bringing this error to my attention.

[33] On the Type A catenae and the place of Mark in this tradition, see Chapter 2 §2.1.3 and §2.2.3.

[34] The tern unique tradition is used instead of *Codex Singulus* because one of the codices, Athos, Great Lavra, B 113, is not classified as a *Codex Singulus* in all the Gospels even though it is the only known witness to its type. Athos Lavra B 113 is the sole witness to its catena in Matthew, which has been labelled Type E (C115), and its catena in John, which has been labelled Type G (C146). Its catena on Luke uniquely gives three different versions of C130.1 in varying lengths. On this codex, see Joseph Reuss, "Die Evangelienkatenen im Cod. Athon. gr. Lawra B 113," *ZNW* 42 (1949): 217–228.

Manuscript	GA	Diktyon	CPG Contents	Date
Athens, EBE, 56	773	2352	C110.2, C125.2, C130.2, C140.2	X
Athens, EBE, 204	771	2500	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Athos, Great Lavra, A 16	1078	26944	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	X
Athos, Great Lavra, B 113	1507	27165	C115, C125.2, C130.1, C146	X
Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, O.II.23	--	8964	C125.2, C130.1	XV
Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, O.II.27	92	8966	C125.2, C176	X
Bucharest, Biblioteca Academiei Române, 360	2316	10433	C125.2	XIII
Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (3P)	1424	13410	C110.4, C125.2, C137.10, C140.2, C150.2c, C165.3, C176	IX-X K: XII
Florence, BML, Plut.06.33	194	16020	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 137 + Syn. gr. 384	--	43762 + 44009	C110.1, C140.1, C130.1, C125.2	IX
Moscow, State Historical Museum, Syn. gr. 138	--	43763	C110.1, C125.2, C130.1, C140.1	XII
Munich, BSB, Gr. 99, fols. 217–277	--	44543	C125.2	XVI
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.17	48	46969	C110.2, C125.2, C130.2, C140.2	XI
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. gr. 33	50	48255	C110.2, C125.2, C130.2, C140.2	XI
Paris, BnF, Coislin 23	39	49165	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Paris, BnF, Coislin 195	34	49334	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 186	300	49755	C110.2, C125.2, C130.2	XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 187	301	49756	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 188	20	49757	C110.2, C125.2, C130.2, C140.2	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 201	55	49771	C110.1, C125.2, C130.1, C140.1	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 206	--	49776	C125.2	XIV
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 94	--	52864	C125.2	XVIII
Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Gr. 67	--	55974	C110.1, C125.2, C130.1, C140.1	X
Sofia, Ivan Duichev Centre, Gr. 177	1684	62431	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1423	373	68054	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XVI
Venice, BNM, Cl. I,34 (1070)	--	70130	C110.1, C125.2, C130.1, C140.1	XII
Venice, BNM, Z.495 (1048)	599	69966	C116.4, C125.2, C137.9, C147.8	XV

Venice, BNM, Z.544 (591)	215	70015	C110.2, C125.2, C130.2, C140.2	X

Table 6.2. Manuscripts of C125.2

2.2 *C126: The Codices Singuli of the Catenae on Mark*

The *Codices Singuli* category is subdivided into eight sections: C126.1, C126.2, C126.3, C126.4, C126.5, C126.6, C126.7, and C126.8. The first five *Codices Singuli* were described by Reuss, and at the time were only attested by a single witness.[35] The sixth *Codex* Singulus (C126.6) was added to the index by Noret in CPG IV².[36] The two other *Codices Singuli* (C126.7 and C126.8) were added to the *Clavis Clavium* database by the CATENA project following the research of Georgi Parpulov.[37] Since the following discussion will primarily discuss the more widely circulated *Commentary on Mark*, these compilations will be briefly described here.

The first *Codex Singulus*, Type C126.1, is found in Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 220 (GA 151; Diktyon 65952). The text of Mark in this codex is only explained by seventeen scholia, some of which were added after the initial production of the codex.[38] The isolated nature of these scholia and the fact that they do not explain even half the text of Mark suggests that it should be re-evaluated

[35] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 141–147.

[36] Noret and Geerard, eds., *CPG IV²: Catenae*, 361. Noret cites Filippo Di Benedetto, "Un nuovo frammento delle *Ipotiposi* di Clemente Alessandrino," *Sileno* 9 (1983): 75–82.

[37] Georgi Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament: A Catalogue*, TS 3/26 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2021), 86, 204.

[38] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 141–142. This codex was also identified as having a distinct text in Devreesse, "Chaînes," col. 1:1178. The text of Vatican Pal. gr. 220 has been edited by Louis Thomas, *Les collections anonymes de scolies grecques aux evangiles*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1912). See also Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 98. It is the lone witness to Parpulov's e.8.i.α category.

whether this text should be classified within the catena tradition.[39] They would be better defined as a collection of scholia.

Type C126.2 is found in the eleventh-century codex, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 349 (GA 127; Diktyon 66980), which also has catenae on Matthew (C116.1), Luke (C137.4), and John (C147.2) which are classified within the *Codices Singuli* on those Gospels. This type only contains thirty scholia and makes extensive use of Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 390) and Maximus the Confessor (d. 662).[40] As in the case of C126.1, the isolated nature of these scholia and the fact that they explain so little of Mark suggests that the text is not a catena but rather a collection of scholia.[41]

Type C126.3 was initially identified by Reuss based on the text of Rome, Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 41.G.16 (GA 591; Diktyon 56114).[42] This twelfth-century codex also contains *catenae aliae* on Matthew (C119.2) and Luke (C139.1), and a commentary on John registered as a *Codex Singulus* (C147.5).[43] Parpulov identified five additional witnesses to C126.3. Three of the new witnesses date to the tenth century: Athens, EBE, 2364 (GA 809; Diktyon 4396); Craiova, Muzeul

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[39] The classification of this manuscript's commentaries on the other three Gospels is discussed in Appendix 2. It is the only manuscript of the Type A Abbreviated Form (C110.3, C130.3, C140.3) with a commentary on Mark, reflecting the production of these epitomes from the Type A Basic Form which did not have a text explaining Mark.

[40] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 142. See also Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 202. The codex is the lone witness to Parpulov's e.32 category. On Maximus the Confessor in Mark, Peter Van Deun, "Les extraits de Maxime le Confesseur contenus dans les chaîn's sur l'évangile de Marc," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 2 5 (1994): 169–174.

[41] This view is also held by Van Deun who wrote, "Il ne s'agit ici pas, on le sait, d'une chaîne proprement dite, mais d'une compilation de scholies disperses" ("Les extraits de Maxime le Confesseur de Marc," 170 n. 9).

[42] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 142.

[43] CPG IV2 notes that "Le même manuscript contient les chaînes sur Matthieu, Luc et Jean signalées respectivement en C116, C137, et C 147.5" even though in that edition the texts on Matthew and Luke were not formally classified in the CPG (Noret and Geerard, eds., *CPG IV²: Catenae*, 360. On the texts in Matthew and John see: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 116–117 (Matt.), 219 (John). On Luke, Max Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX: Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die griechischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars*, 2nd ed., GCS 49 (Berlin: Akademie, 1959), LII.

Olteniei, 22 (GA 2954; Diktyon 13186);[44] and Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Τάφου 28 (GA 1313; Diktyon 35265). Two more date to the eleventh century: London, BL, Harley 5647 (GA 72; Diktyon 39607); and Athens, Ch. G. Sarros Collection, 1 (GA 2517; Diktyon 1864).

All these codices are classified in Parpulov's e.7.i and e.7.ii groups and have identical contents in Matthew, Luke, and John.[45] It is noteworthy that all five of the additional codices predate Rome Corsiniana 41.G.16. This compilation should no longer be considered a *Codex Singulus* since it occurs in several manuscripts. Reuss describes the text on Mark as only a few anonymous scholia.[46] It therefore does not fit the genre of a commentary or catena on Mark, though the transmission of the same scholia in several other manuscripts suggests that these cannot be dismissed as a haphazard collection. Several of the scholia correspond to those which have been transmitted alongside other members of Family 1 on Mark—though only Craiova 22 has been classified as a member of Family 1 in Mark—showing that they reflect a specific tradition of commenting on the text of Mark apart from catenae.[47] Further research could confirm whether all the scholia on Mark in C126.3 are transmitted in other members of Family 1 such as Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, 949 (GA 1582; Diktyon 19093).[48]

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[44] Craiova 22 was recently studied in I. Reșceanu C. Băltăceanu M. Ciurea and I Bora, *Studii despre Tetraevanghelul grecesc de la Muzeul Olteniei din Craiova* (*sec. al XII-lea*) */ Studies on the Greek Tetraevangelion from the Museum of Oltenia in Craiova* (*12th Century*) (Craiova: Editura Mitropolia Olteniei, 2020).

[45] See Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 95–97.

[46] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 142.

[47] Tommy Wasserman, "The Text and Paratext of Family 1 in Mark 16," *COMSt Bulletin* 8 (2022): 345–363, especially 356.

[48] On Family 1 in Mark, see Kirsopp Lake, *Codex 1 of the Gospels and its Allies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902); Kirsopp Lake, Robert P. Blake, and Silva New, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark," *HTR* 21 (1928): 207–404. Though not focused on Mark, Amy Andersons's work on Family 1 in Matthew and Alison Welsby's work on Family 1 in John are vital for understanding this family on the Gospels: Amy S. Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew*, NTTSD 32 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Alison Welsby, *A Textual Study of Family 1 in the Gospel of John*, ANTF 45 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

Likewise, type C126.4 is now known to have been transmitted in multiple witnesses. Reuss knew the type through the tenth-century manuscript, Vatican gr. 1692.[49] Parpulov identified one more witness to the type: Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, 662 (GA 2453; Diktyon 18806).[50] Both of these codices have the Type A Basic Form in Matthew, Luke, and John, and the codices sequence the Gospels in rare orders. Vatican gr. 1692 has the Gospels in the so-called "Western" order (Matthew–John–Luke–Mark), and Vatopedi 662 has the sequence Matthew–John–Mark–Luke.[51] The C126.4 text has been characterized as a complete catena on Mark because it explains much of the Gospels in 150 sections. The scholia tend to be short, and the biblical text is abridged; the entire work occupies only twenty folios in Vatican gr. 1692 and thirteen folios in Vatopedi 662. The compilers included attributions to several authors: Ambrose of Milan (d. 397), Athanasius of Alexandria (d. 373), Augustine of Hippo (d. 430), Clement of Alexandria (d. ca. 215), Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403), Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339), Flavius Josephus (ca. 100), Gregory of

[49] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 143–146. The catena was also recognized as having a distinct form by Devreesse: "Chaînes," col. 1:1178.

[50] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 29–30.

[51] On the "Western" order of the Gospels in catenae, including Vatican gr. 1692, see Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels,": 115–129. On the order Matthew–John–Mark–Luke: Pierre-Maurice Bogaert classifies it as order *E4,* and notes that it can be found in a few Greek, Latin, and Syriac manuscripts. Bruce M. Metzger labeled it aIrder (*c*) and cited a single Greek New Testament manuscript: Venice, BNM, Z.26 (340) (GA 888; Diktyon 69497), which is a late thirteenth-century manuscript of the Gospels with Theophylact's commentaries: Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "Ordres anciens des évangiles et tétraévangile en un seul codex," *RTL* 30 (1999): 297–314; Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "L'ordre des Évangiles: une nouvelle mise à jour," *Babelao* 10–11 (2022): 127–144; Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 296–297. In addition to Vatopedi 662 and Venice Z. 26 (340), two other Gospel books with commentaries were produced in this order: Paris, BnF, Coislin 206 (GA 1266; Diktyon 49346) which dates to the tenth/eleventh century, and Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 138 (Diktyon 43763). Moscow Syn. gr. 138 was previously proposed as a witness to the "Western" order of the Gospels by D. C. Parker, but Patton demonstrates that this document was in the order Matthew–John–Mark–Luke: D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 116; Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," 118.

Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom (d. 407).[52] Reuss dates the C126.4 catena to the sixth century based on its use of the Type A Basic Form as a source. The text may have been expanded with some interpolations in the following centuries. Notably, even though the compilers used the Type A Basic Form as a source, which was the same practice as the compilers of the *Commentary on Mark*, the text shows no sign of knowing the other text. Reuss therefore concludes that the compilers "must have compiled his catena before or at the same time as this commentary."[53]

The fifth *Codex Singulus* is type C126.5, which is attested in one twelfth-century codex, Paris Gr. 194.[54] The catena on Mark in this manuscript was also recognized as a unique compilation by Karo and Lietzmann and Devreesse.[55] Paris Gr. 194 is also the sole witness to its catena on Matthew (C114).[56] The type C126.5 catena contains 181 scholia, thirty-one of which have an author attribution. The named authors include Apollinarius (d. ca. 392), Athanasius of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea, Origen (d. 253), Gregory of Nyssa (d. 395), Photius of Constantinople (d. 893), Severus of Antioch (d. 538), Theodore of Heraclea (d. 355), and Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428). According to Reuss, one of the sources used for this compilation was the second recension of the

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[52] The use of two Latin writers, Ambrose and Augustine, is particularly noteworthy, and Reuss proposes that they may have been interpolations (Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 146). See also Maria Antonietta Barbàra, "I frammenti attribuiti ad Ambrogio e Agostino nella tradizione catenaria bizantina," *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 15 (1998): 275–280. Repr. Maria Antonietta Barbàra Valenti, "I frammenti attribuiti ad Ambrogio e Agostino nella tradizione catenaria bizantina," in *Estratti catenari esegetici greci. Ricerche sul Cantico dei cantici e altro*, Testi e studi di cultura classica 76 (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2019), 43–47.

[53] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 145. "Er wird daher seine Katene vor oder gleichzeitig mit diesem Kommentar zussamengestellt haben."

[54] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 146–147.

[55] Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus* (Göttingen: Lüder Horstmann, 1902), 572; Devreesse, "Chaînes," col 1:1178.

[56] On C114, Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 107–112. The manuscript served as the basis for an edition on Matthew: Petrus Possinus, ed., *Symbolarum in Matthaeum tomus prior exhibens catenam graecorum Patrum unius et uiginti* (Toulouse: Boude, 1646).

Commentary on Mark.[57] Reuss does not propose a date for C126.5, but the citation of Photius of Constantinople puts the date no earlier than the tenth century.

Type C126.6 is attested in one eleventh-century manuscript, Florence, BML, Conv. Soppr. 159 (GA 200; Diktyon 15865).[58] This manuscript has also been identified as a *Codex Singulus* in Matthew (C116.2), Luke (C137.6), and John (C147.7). The catena on Mark contains seven scholia for the entire Gospel, one attributed to Cyril of Alexandria and six without attribution. The scholia on Mark in this manuscript should not be considered as part of the catena tradition, but rather as scattered scholia or a scholia collection.[59]

Type C126.7 is attested in one eleventh-century codex, London, BL Harley 5540 (GA 114; Diktyon 39505).[60] The codex contains the Type A Basic Form commentaries on Matthew (C110.1), Luke (C130.1), and John (C140.1). No publication has described the type in detail, but *Clavis Clavium* includes one note concerning its contents: "There are a few scholia added to Mark in a manuscript which has full catenae for the other three gospels."[61] A review of the images of London Harley 5540 confirms that the scholia on Mark in this manuscript should not have been classified as a catena and would be better characterized as isolated scholia or a scholia collection.[62]

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[57] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 147.

[58] Noret cites Di Benedetto, "Un nuovo frammento,": 75–82.

[59] Panagiotis Manafis rejects the classification of the scholia on Luke in Florence Conv. Soppr. 159 as a catena on Luke: Panagiotis Manafis, *Exegesis on the Gospel of Luke: Codices Singuli and Catena C139.1*, TU 194 (Berlin: De Gruyter, Forthcoming 2024).

[60] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 86.

[61] *Clavis Clavium* database: https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla. Accessed 11 September 2023. The ParaTexBib description of the codex states, "the catena is intermittent": Description ParaTexBib by Saskia Dirkse (2016), https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org/manuscript/?diktyon=39505, access date: 11 September 2023.

[62] For images of London Harley 5540: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_5540.

The final type within the *Codices Singuli* is C126.8, which is attested in one fragmentary eleventh-century manuscript of Mark which is preserved in five folios divided between two codices. Four of the leaves containing Mark 14:62–15:46 are preserved in Venice, BNM, Cl. II, 144, fols. 1–4 (GA 894; Diktyon 70307), and one leaf found in Oslo, Martin Schøyen Collection, 583/2 (GA 894; Diktyon 46865) covers Mark 10:25–35. The only record of the contents of these fragments are that "the scholia applied to the Gospel according to Mark are taken from comments originally made on the Gospel according to John."[63] The *Catena Catalogue* database classifies the layout of these scholia as marginal scholia rather than as a frame catena, suggesting that the text is not a catena.[64] Though only a few fragments remain, the fact that scholia are preserved on only two folios suggests that this is another example of isolated scholia or a scholia collection rather than a complete catena or commentary on Mark.

This survey of the *Codices Singuli* on Mark has indicated that most of the manuscripts classified as *Codices Singuli* within the catenae on Mark do not have complete commentaries or catenae on Mark, but rather seem to have isolated scholia or a collection of scholia. The classification of C126.1, C126.2, C126.3, C126.6, C126.7, and C126.8 within the CPG should be reconsidered. Two of the *Codices Singuli*, C126.4 and C126.5, do preserve catenae on Mark. It is noteworthy that in several cases (C126.1, C126.4, and C126.7) the catenae on Mark have one of the commentary forms within the Type A catenae on the Gospels. This fits with the place of Mark in Type A described in Chapter 1. The Type A tradition is transmitted without Mark or with the text of

[63] *Clavis Clavium* database: https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla. Accessed 11 September 2023. Parpulov notes that only two folios contain scholia (3r and 4r): *Catena Manuscripts*, 204 n. 1.
[64] https://purl.org/itsee/catena-catalogue. Search conducted 11 September 2023.

Mark without a catena more often than the other catenae on the Gospels. In this context, the inclusion of isolated scholia or a unique catena, in the case of C126.4, makes sense as an attempt to explain Mark as a complement to the more comprehensive commentaries on the other Gospels.[65]

3 The Commentary on Mark

After Reuss's study of the catenae on Mark in 1941, detailed study of the *Commentary on Mark* found among the catenae lay dormant for seventy years.[66] The study of this commentary has been revitalized in recent years, especially through the publication of Lamb's *The Catena in Marcum* in 2012.[67] In the years since, several studies have engaged with the authorship, compilation technique, sources, and content of the *Commentary on Mark*.[68] These studies have contributed significantly to the awareness and understanding of this late antique commentary project and its transmission. The recent work, however, has not unraveled all the questions surrounding the

[65] A conclusion which Reuss made as well: The commentary on Mark "served to supplement the catena to Matthew, Luke and John, in order to have a complete commentary work for the four Gospels in a single manuscript" (Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 141: "diente zur Ergänzung der Katenen zu Mt, Lk und Jo, um für die 4 Evv ein abgeschlossenes Kommentarwerk in einer Hs zu besitzen").

[66] Joseph Verheyden, "Before Embarking on an Adventure: Some Preliminary Remarks on Writing the NTP Commentary on the *Gospel of Mark*," in *Papers presented at the Fifteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2007: Archaeologica, Arts, Iconographica; Tools; Historica; Biblica; Theologica, Philosophica, Ethica*, ed. J. Baun, A. Cameron, M. Edwards, and M. Vinzent, Studia Patristica 44 (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 151. Verheyden made the same observation: "nothing substantial seems to have been done on it since Joseph Reuss's monumental work on the catenae of 1941."

[67] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum.* See also Lamb's concise description of the catenae on the New Testament: Lamb, "Conservation and Conversation," 284–285. Lamb's *The Catena in Marcum* has not been well received within research on catenae: Ceulemans, "Review of The Catena in Marcum,": 711–715; Joseph Verheyden, "The So-Called *Catena in Marcum* of Victor of Antioch: Throwing Light on *Mark* with a Not-So-Little Help from *Matthew* and *Luke*," in *Papers presented at the Seventeenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2015: Biblica; Philosophica, Theologica, Ethica; Hagiographica; Ascetica*, ed. Markus Vinzent, vol. 17, Studia Patristica 91 (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 47–62. Lamb's classification of manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catenae on Paul is critiqued by Marcon: Jacopo Marcon, "The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Romans" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2023), 57.

[68] For references to these publications, see the citations in the ensuing discussion.

Commentary on Mark. At the conclusion of a 2013 article, Joseph Verheyden put forward several problems concerning the *Commentary on Mark* which remain unresolved:

> Its author is otherwise unknown, its genre disputed (A commentary or, more probably, rather a catena after all?), and its contents something of a puzzle. A critical edition is still lacking; the editions of Possinus and Cramer are muddled and confusing; the one by Matthaei is better but represents one recension only. Finally, there is the problem of how to assess a work that claims to be a 'commentary' on *Mark* but is made almost completely of excerpts taken from commentaries on *Matth.* and on *Luke*... But why then even care and try to compile a catena on *Mark*? The mystery continues to exist.[69]

The following discussion will adopt several of these topics—the genre, transmission, sources, and compilers—in providing a survey of the *status quaestionis* of the *Commentary on Mark*. Then the recensions of the *Commentary on Mark* will be connected to the development of the catenae on the Gospels.

3.1 *Genre: Commentary or Catena?*

The debate about the genre of the *Commentary on Mark* is whether it should be classified as a commentary or a catena. This question animated scholarship in the late nineteenth century. Burgon queried, "Whether Victor's Commentary can in strictness be called a 'Catena,' or not, must remain uncertain."[70] Burgon struck at the heart of research on catenae because the question of genre is a foundational issue in the field. As discussed in Chapter 1 and indicated in the description of the various commentaries and catenae throughout this thesis, catenae are a form of commentary—so existing within the genre, broadly speaking—which is characterized by being a compilation of extracts systematically explaining the biblical text which makes use of author attributions or other

[69] Verheyden, "A Puzzling Chapter," 26–27. Italics original. See also his earlier statement along the same lines: "Everything about this work remains a mystery: its author, date, genre, and sources" (Verheyden, "Before Embarking on an Adventure," 151).

[70] Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, 277.

schemes of segmenting scholia; often, but not always, the compilers of catenae remain anonymous. Commentaries, on the other hand, are a continuous exposition of the biblical text by a single author. A further category can be recognized within the genre of commentary for compilation commentaries which straddle the line between commentaries and catenae. In such a text, the author-compiler gathers extracts from several sources, as in catenae, but these are woven together into a continuous exposition without dividing the text by source.[71]

Burgon's assessment of the *Commentary on Mark* considers the primary issues in determining the genre of this work. The work is a compilation: "He [Victor of Antioch] comes before us rather in the light of a compiler than of an Author: his work is rather a 'Catena' than a Commentary… *Victor is here nothing else but a copyist*."[72] Following the compilation-nature of the work leads to the classification of it as a catena. Yet, Burgon also presciently recognized that "the Author of a compilation is an Author still" and identified several places where the compilers wrote their own scholia.[73] Burgon also recognized the way the scholia had been edited together into a continuous text which did not normally include the identification of the author.[74] These aspects suggest the text is more a commentary than a catena. Having considered these aspects of the text, Burgon concluded that the text is best identified as a commentary rather than a catena.[75]

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[71] See Chapter 1 §1.2 for the full discussion. Gilles Dorival's article surveying the various kinds of interpretive literature and how they relate to the biblical text is worth citing again: "The Bible, Commentaries, Scholia, and Other Literary Forms," in *On the Fringe of Commentary: Metatextuality in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures*, ed. Sydney H. Aufrère, Philip S. Alexander, Zlatko Pleše, and Cyril Jacques Bouloux, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 232 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 163–174.

[72] Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, 61–63. Italics original.

[73] Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, 269.

[74] Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, 269–287.

[75] Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, 277.

In their classification of the biblical catenae, Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann dedicate less than one page to the catenae on Mark and classify the works as commentaries rather than genuine catenae: "There are almost no catenae on Mark, except that in very few codices we find anonymous commentaries, in which here and there the rarest fragments of certain authors are inserted with the names attributed to them."[76] As in their treatment of the Basic Forms of the Type A and Type B tradition, Karo and Lietzmann do not analyze these for their catalogue. For the catenae on Mark, Karo and Lietzmann only list two codices. They contend that Paris Gr. 194 has a catena on Mark—which is now classified as C126.5 in the CPG. They also cite Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 154 (GA 77; Diktyon 71821) but note that it has a commentary on Mark with several named scholia, which likely validates its inclusion according to their cataloguing principles.[77]

Reuss agreed with Karo and Lietzmann that the text of the *Commentary on Mark* in catena manuscripts was a compilation commentary rather than a catena.[78] He wrote, "That it is not a unified commentary, but a nameless catena or a compilation of such a one."[79] His work highlighted that the text of the two recensions was a commentary which had been compiled from other sources, and the original composition of the compilers was minimal: "The compiler's personal contribution, if any, can be very small."[80] However, since the commentary was transmitted in manuscripts with catenae, he elected to analyze its text and history within the catena tradition. Reuss's perspective

[76] Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 571.

[77] Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 571.

[78] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 118.

[79] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 138: "daß es sich nicht um einen einheitlichen Kommentar, sondern um eine namenlose Katene oder um eine Kompilation aus einer solchen handelt."

[80] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 140: "Der persönliche Beitrag des Kompilators kann, wenn überhaupt ein solcher vorliegt, nur sehr gering sein."

set the standard for research on catenae, and in the first edition of the CPG, the recensions were called *Victoris Antiocheni commentarii in Marcum*.[81]

The commentary position has been adopted in several studies that simply refer to the *Commentary on Mark* as a commentary without making a distinction between commentary or catenae. Joseph Sickenberger refers to the work as a commentary and describes its production as a compilation, along the lines of other catenae.[82] Harold Smith also refers to the work as a commentary in his study of its sources.[83] Following Reuss, Joseph Verheyden typically refers to the work as a commentary on Mark in a recent series of articles.[84]

Despite a contingent of scholars classifying the *Commentary on Mark* as a commentary rather than a catena, its place within the tradition of catenae on the Gospels led several scholars to directly or indirectly refer to it as a catena. Cramer's influential edition titled the work as the *Catena in Evangelium S. Marci*, positioning it as the companion catena alongside the catenae on other books of the New Testament. In his seminal study of biblical catenae, Devreesse made no remark about the genre of the commentary, and he consistently referred to it as a catena.[85] Michael Cahill made the most sustained discussion of the work's genre in an article seeking to validate that the Pseudo-Jerome's commentary on Mark, *Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Marcum*, was actually the

[81] Geerard, ed., *CPG IV': Catenae*, 235.

[82] Joseph Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien*, TU 6.1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901), 128–129.

[83] Harold Smith, "The Sources of Victor of Antioch's Commentary on Mark," *JTS* 19 (1918): 350–370.

[84] Verheyden, "Before Embarking on an Adventure," 151–153; Verheyden, "A Puzzling Chapter," 17–27; Verheyden, "Reception History," 395–430. It is worth noting that in a 2017 article, Verheyden says that the *Commentary on Mark* "actually is a catena," though within the piece he sometimes uses catena and commentary interchangeably (Verheyden, "The So-Called Catena in Marcum," 47–62).

[85] Devreesse, "Chaînes," col. 1:1175–1181.

first commentary on Mark.[86] He concluded that "Victor cannot be said to have authored a commentary on Mark, the normal sense of the term, i.e. a formal full-length continuous commentary by the same author."[87] And in the abstract, Cahill specifies that "Victor of Antioch's work is only a 'catena.'"[88] The primary evidence he marshals for this classification of the work's genre is that the commentary is a compilation from several sources with minimal intervention of his own comments. Finally, Lamb makes no evaluation of the genre of the *Commentary on Mark*, but he refers to it as *the Catena in Marcum* throughout his studies.[89]

The older position that the *Commentary on Mark* is a commentary should be maintained. This view more strictly follows the definition of a catena, attending to the aspects of sources, compilation, and the relationship to the biblical text. The *Commentary* does not match the defining criteria of a catena described in Chapter 1. The form of exegetical writing exhibited in the *Commentary on Mark* is best classified as a compilation commentary (*Kettenkommentare*).[90] This form accounts for the compilation nature of the *Commentary on Mark* and its systematic explanation of the Gospel, as it does for the Type A and Type B Basic Forms, while maintaining the distinctive difference in the arrangement of the scholia and citational practices of catenae.

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[86] See Cahill's subsequent translation of Pseudo-Jerome's commentary: Cahill, ed., *The First Commentary on Mark*.

[87] Cahill, "The First Markan Commentary," 266.

[88] Cahill, "The First Markan Commentary," 258.

[89] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, see especially 27–73 on "The Catena in Marcum"; Lamb, "Conservation and Conversation," 284–285.

[90] See the explanation of compilation commentary vis-à-vis catenae in Chapter 1 §1.2.

3.2 *The Recensions of the Commentary on Mark*

The textual history of the *Commentary on Mark* has been difficult to elucidate. Examining manuscripts of the commentary in Paris drove Burgon to exasperation: "Never I think in my life have I been more hopelessly confused than in the *Bibliothèque* while attempting to collate certain copies of Victor of Antioch."[91] Burgon's frustrating experience likely stemmed from the assumption that the textual tradition of the commentary was unified, so he was unable to predict or account for differences between manuscripts. As previewed in the discussion of the CPG, the *Commentary on Mark* is now known to have been transmitted in recensions, which help bring order to the manuscript tradition of the commentary.

In the course of his studies on the text of the Greek New Testament, Hermann von Soden analyzed the tradition of the catenae on Mark. Von Soden sorted the commentary, as he did all the early catenae on the Gospels, into three recensions, labeled A^a, A^b, and A^c.[92] He identified the A^a recension with Cramer's edition and listed two manuscripts, which Cramer used: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. gr. 33 (GA 50; Diktyon 48255; von Soden A^{152}) and Paris, BnF, Coislin 23 (GA 39; Diktyon 49165; von Soden A^{140}).[93] The A^b recension was not linked to a particular edition and the only manuscript listed in the discussion of Mark is Paris, BnF, Gr. 187 (GA 301; Diktyon 49756; von Soden A^{156}). The third recension, A^c, was associated with an edition by Matthaei, and von Soden cited two of the manuscripts used in the making of that edition: Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 41 (GA 237; Diktyon

[91] Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, 274.

[92] Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments: in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt, I. Teil: Untersuchungen I. Abteilung: Die Textzeugen*, 2nd, unchanged ed., vol. 1,1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911; repr., 1911), 574–578.

[93] Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 574.

43666; von Soden A^{13}) and Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 47 (GA 238; Diktyon 43672; von Soden ^{A145}).[94] As von Soden used the same classification system throughout his discussion of the commentaries on the four Gospels, other codices within each grouping are specified outside the description of the commentary on Mark.[95] He concluded that there was a single archetype for the commentary on Mark which had been transmitted in three recensions. The first recension, A^a, was deemed the oldest, followed by A^b and A^c.[96]

Robert Devreesse did not articulate specific recensions of the commentary on Mark. Rather he described the various editions of catenae on Mark and then summarized the patterns of development he observed.[97] The first stage in the compilation of the commentary was a mostly anonymous collection of scholia which he believes corresponds best to Possinus's edition.[98] The second stage in the development entailed the addition of several other quotations, many with author attributions. Devreesse links this stage to the text of Cramer's edition and the Peter of Laodicea tradition.[99] Despite the lack of terminology about specific recensions, Devreesse's summary of the commentaries parallels von Soden in that the tradition originates in a single collection of scholia.

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[94] Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 574.

[95] On the commentaries on the four Gospels: Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 1,1: 535–593. For von Soden's list of codices with these commentaries and catenae, all with the siglum A, 1:1, 249–257.

[96] Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 578.

[97] Devreesse, "Chaînes ,": cols. 1:1175–1181.

[98] Devreesse, "Chaîn es," col. 1:1178.

[99] Devreesse, "Chaînes," col. 1:1178. The remark about Peter of Laodicea is peculiar since the Type B tradition generally is transmitted with the first recension (C125.1), which is not the type associated with Cramer's edition.

The seminal study of the manuscripts and text of the *Commentary on Mark* is Reuss's 1941 monograph. Though aware of von Soden's work, Reuss does not specifically refute any of the former scholar's conclusions about the catenae on Mark. He divided the tradition into two recensions, which are now known as C125.1 and C125.2. Within these types, Reuss acknowledged that some manuscripts differed from the others with either additional scholia or attributions.[100] Reuss's first recension (C125.1) corresponds to von Soden's A^c and the second recension (C125.2) corresponds to von Soden's A^a and A^b. As in the earlier studies, Reuss held that these texts derived from the same foundation, hence the use of the term recensions rather than types, and both recensions underwent their own development apart from the other tradition.

The first recension is shorter than the second. It divides the text of Mark into 114 sections with one scholium per section, while the second has 160 sections and some have multiple scholia.[101] The second recension also differs with several scholia with author attributions that are not found in the first recension.[102] The editors in both types frequently used phrases with ἄλλως to transition between authors.[103] While the text of both recensions was similar, the primary difference between them lies in the arrangement of the material: "The majority of scholia are identical but arranged in a different way."[104] Reuss accounted for these differences by proposing that the earliest form of this commentary was an anonymous collection of scholia which is found in the shared material.

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[100] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 134–138.

[101] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 134–135.

[102] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 134–135.

[103] On the use of ἄλλως in scholia see, René Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 12.

[104] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 135. "Der größte Teil der Scholien ist identisch, aber in anderer Weise eingeteilt und angeordnet."

Subsequently, the texts were expanded or slightly rearranged in the two primary recensions.[105] Reuss also made the important observation that the manuscripts of the first recension typically have the forms of Type B in the other Gospels, and the second recension normally is transmitted in manuscripts of Type A in the other Gospels.[106] Curiously, even as the Type A and Type B Basic Forms were expanded into the Catena Forms, the compilers chose not to also revise the *Commentary on Mark*. In Reuss's estimation, the first recension was earlier, and the second recension emerged slightly later.[107]

The most recent evaluation of the transmission of the *Commentary on Mark* was Lamb's *The Catena in Marcum.*[108] Though Lamb claims to "offer an assessment of the manuscript tradition of the *Catena in Marcum* with particular reference to the edition published by John Cramer in 1840," his study focuses more on the compiler, origins, and theological orientation of the commentary rather than on manuscripts.[109] The only details of manuscripts containing the commentary are taken from Burgon and Reuss according to their assessments, and the direct comparison of manuscript texts only occurs for a few codices which Cramer used for his edition.[110] Lamb generally accepts that Reuss's division of the tradition into two recensions is a coherent explanation for the transmission

[105] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 136.

[106] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 134–135.

[107] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 140–141.

[108] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*. See also Lamb's concise description: Lamb, "Conservation and Conversation," 284–285.

[109] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 27. The analysis of the entire manuscript tradition with reference to Cramer's edition might make some sense for a project such as this which centers around a new translation of Cramer's edition, but it ultimately reaches the some problem that confounded Burgon in the nineteenth century: Cramer's edition does not reflect the scope of the Pseudo-Victor of Antioch *Commentary on Mark* and therefore obscures the development of the commentary and its transmission.

[110] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 37–39 (list of manuscripts cited by Burgon) and 53–54 (list of manuscripts cited by Reuss). The author's primary interests are perhaps revealed in the absence of an index of manuscripts for the volume.

of the *Commentary on Mark* in that he uses them as a framework to discuss the dates of the works.[111] Though he reverses the order of composition, arguing that the second recension (C125.2) was "a basic form that emerged at the beginning of the sixth century," and the first recession (C125.1) was, in fact, "a later epitome."[112]

Lamb is generally critical of the classification of catenae into types. The problem of the fluidity in the textual tradition leads him to propose that the concept of recensions and types for catenae is too rigid a classification system for texts like catenae. He applies the concept of the "open book" developed in other literary traditions in which texts are not fixed to explain the development of the *Commentary on Mark*.[113] By the open book, Lamb means that the text of the catenae "grew and developed over a period of time."[114] A composition of this nature creates problems for sorting manuscripts into types and ascertaining genealogical relationships: "The fluidity of the manuscript tradition suggests that attempts to establish an original *Urtext* (like Burgon) or to identify two clear recensions (like Reuss) run the risk of oversimplifying the transmission of the *Catena in Marcum*."[115] The open book model of the history of catenae makes an important contribution in the repudiation of a single *Urtext* behind the whole catena tradition and seeking to account for the development in catena tradition over time.

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[111] Lamb, "Conservation and Conversation," 284–285.

[112] Lamb, "Conservation and Conversation," 284–285.

[113] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 58–64. On the open book model of transmission, see Umberto Eco, *The Open Work*, trans. Anna Cancogni (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Israel M. Ta-Shma, "The 'Open' Book in Medieval Hebrew Literature: The Problem of Authorized Editions," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 75 (1993): 17–24. Though the term "open book" is not used, see also Peter Van Nuffelen, "John of Antioch, Inflated and Deflated. Or: How (Not) to Collect Fragments of Early Byzantine Historians," *Byzantion* 82 (2012): 437–450.

[114] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 60.

[115] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 64.

Lamb's open book theory does not adequately account for the textual history of catenae because it neglects the similarity of manuscripts within a type or recension.[116] Reinhart Ceulemans notes that the terminology is more novel than the concept because Dorival—whom Lamb cites—articulates something similar for the catenae on the Psalms, and others have similarly characterized catenae as an evolving tradition.[117] Ineke Sluiter expresses that fluidity is typical of commentaries, "Although commentaries generally rely on the unchangeability of their source-texts, they themselves form a much more 'open' genre, particularly if they take the form of scholia or of anonymous annotations."[118] Moreover, the stages of development described by Devreesse and Reuss, which have been described above, already accounted for the fluidity of the *Commentary on Mark* in manuscripts.[119] Ceulemans adds that "their studies even have an advantage over Lamb's in that they attempted to unravel particular steps (i.e., multiple recensions) in this subsequent transmission."[120]

The identification of specific stages in the development of catenae, which are then codified as types or recensions, is a crucial step in reckoning with the evolution of compilation

[116] For a detailed response to the open book theory using the Type A tradition as an example, see Andrew J. Patton, "Unchaining the Scriptures," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* (2023): 131–148. On the implications for editing catenae, see Andrew J. Patton, "The Multiplicity of Catenae and Critical Editions," in *Catenae as Databases: The Challenge of Using, Interpreting, and Editing Catenae Manuscripts*, ed. Uta Heil and Sebastiano Panteghini, Manuscripta Biblica (Berlin: De Gruyter, Forthcoming).

[117] Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contr'bution ' l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 43, vol . 1 (Leuven: Pee ters, 1986): 1–98. This point is also noted by Verheyden, "The So-Called Catena in Marcum," 49. It is worth noting that Verheyden responds favorably to the open book theory: "To some this may look like introducing plain chaos into research, but it actually probably better reflects the complexities of the manuscript tradition" (49).

[118] Ineke Sluiter, "The Dialectics of Genre: Some Aspects of Secondary Literature and Genre in Antiquity," in *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society*, ed. Mary Depew and Dirk Obbink, Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 101.

[119] Ceulemans, "Review of The Catena in Marcum," 713; Verheyden, "The So-Called Catena in Marcum,"

[120] Ceulemans, "Review of The Catena in Marcum," 713.

commentaries and catenae in Byzantium. When each distinct stage is identified, patterns of development can be ascertained within each tradition without applying those findings universally to all catenae. As seen throughout this examination of the development of the catenae on the Gospels, most types of catenae can be identified because they generally have the same contents in the same order. Mathilde Aussedat reaches a similar verdict concerning the catenae on Jeremiah, "Even if there are some losses and alterations in the course of their manuscript transmission, [the exegetical catenae] can be treated as a fixed corpus."[121] The two recensions of the *Commentary on Mark* make sense of the manuscript tradition while also not ignoring the differences between some copies of the same recension.

Accounting for distinct stages in a tradition without glossing over differences between codices is an important problem for classifying and editing catenae. Patrick Andrist and Marilena Maniaci express the difficulty of making such distinctions: "Fluid traditions, where one finds radically reworked copies of a work, are an even more difficult challenge… How large must the difference between two avatars of a single textual tradition be before we go from considering them witnesses of the same work to seeing them as two independent works? There is probably no definitive answer to this question."[122] While earlier efforts to edit catenae assumed that their text was *the* text of that tradition, modern catena research first seeks to evaluate and group similar

[121] Mathilde Aussedat, "Une pratique érudite de lecture des texte bibliques : les chaînes exégétiques grecques," *REG* 121 (2008): 549. "Les chaînes exégétiques, en revance, même si l'on observe quelques pertes et alterations au cours de leur tradition manuscrite, peuvent être traitées comme un corpus fixe."

[122] Patrick Andrist and Marilena Maniaci, "The Codex's Contents: Attempt at a Codicological Approach," in *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects, Methods, and Concepts*, ed. B. Quenzer Jörg, Studies in Manuscript Cultures 25 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 378.

manuscripts so that they can edit particular stages as part of an evolving tradition.[123] In this way, the open book model both does not account for the textual tradition of the *Commentary on Mark* or the catenae on the Gospels. It primarily offers a response to interpreting the textual tradition which is no longer held by catena researchers or those editing the texts of catena manuscripts. Perhaps it was the fact that Lamb's work oriented the catenae on Mark around Cramer's text rather than the manuscript tradition and that the *Commentary on Mark* has been transmitted in a flat tradition—divided into only two recensions built on a common source—that the open book theory was put forward as a key to interpreting the commentary's textual transmission. The open book model of the transmission of catenae does not explain the development of catenae on Mark or the other Gospels. This thesis has shown that specific stages attested in multiple witnesses can be identified and that these can be related to one another in a stemma.

The preceding review of the recensions left open the fact that von Soden, Reuss, and Lamb differ over which came first and how they relate. Von Soden's theory of three recensions has been superseded by Reuss. As indicated above, Reuss held that the *Commentary on Mark* originated independently from the two current recensions and that the text of the two recensions is based on independent adaptations of this basic form. He dates the shorter recension, C125.1, first and the longer recension with some author names, C125.2, second. Lamb disputes Reuss's appraisal. He prefers a direct relationship between the two recensions:

[123] For a description of these processes, see Jean-Marie Auwers, "Les chaînes exégétiques comme modèle de lecture poly'émique. L'e'emple de l'Épitomé sur le Cantique des cantiques," *RTL* 40 (2009): 213–235. For considerations of how to create editions of catenae which account for their fluidity: Matthieu Cassin, "Où en est l'édition de textes patristiques grecs aujourd'hui ? Théories, méthodes et pratiques," *ZAC* 24 (2020): 11–59.

> Reuss's 'second' recension is not simply an amplified version of his 'first' recension. There is evidence to suggest that manuscripts of his 'first' recension are in fact abridged versions of the 'second' recension. A more dynamic and fluid account of the manuscript tradition would suggest that there was a basic form that emerged at the beginning of the sixth century (Reuss's 'second' recension) and a later epitome of the basic form (Reuss's 'first' recension). Both were subject to later additions and amendments.[124]

Lamb differs from Reuss both in the stages of development in the *Commentary on Mark* and the order. He specifies that C125.2 was the first iteration of the *Commentary on Mark* and that C125.1 abbreviated it. Reuss's argument is more persuasive. Reuss argues that the points of similarity and rearrangement of the scholia suggests a common source rather than dependence. In addition, the other catenae on the Gospels most often expand through the addition of named scholia, so the specific omission of named scholia in the supposed epitomized version would be unexpected.

The ways that Mark is transmitted in manuscripts of the Type A and Type B Basic Forms has not previously been considered as evidence for the order of the recensions. Chapter 2 showed that manuscripts of the Type A and Type B Basic Forms treated Mark in distinctive ways. The Type A Basic Form uniquely omits Mark in the majority of manuscripts and frequently moves it from its standard place after Matthew in the fourfold Gospel.[125] This established that the Type A compilers did not assemble the *Commentary on Mark* and that it was added to the tradition after the commentaries were already in circulation without it. It was never an integral part of the Type A

[124] Lamb, "Conservation and Conversation," 284–285. See also the less detailed conclusion: "there was a basic form (Reuss' second recension) and an epitome of the basic form (Reuss' first recension)" (Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 63).
[125] See Chapter 2 §2.1.3; Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," 115–129. It is worth recalling that some Type A Basic Form manuscripts, such as Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, F° 30 (Cim.16) (GA 033; Diktyon 45102) have the text of Mark without commentary. On this manuscript, see Eleni D. Kakoulidi, "Die griechischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 63 (1970): 4–6; Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 81.

Basic Form tradition and therefore was composed later. The Type B Basic Form manuscripts treat Mark differently. In this tradition, the vast majority of manuscripts have all four Gospels with commentaries in the canonical order.[126] Since the Type B Basic Form hardly ever is transmitted without the first recension of the *Commentary on Mark*, this text was added to the Type B tradition from a very early stage in its history suggesting an early date of composition. The codicology of these manuscripts supplies new evidence to corroborate that the first recension (C125.1) preceded the second (C125.2).

3.3 *The Sources of the Commentary on Mark*

One of the most intriguing aspects of the *Commentary on Mark* is its sources. As a form of compilation literature, biblical catenae are primarily composed of extracts from commentaries and homilies on that biblical book. In this regard, the formation of a commentary on Mark presented a problem for the compilers. The author of the *hypothesis* to the commentary elaborated on the dilemma they faced:[127]

> Πολλῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον καὶ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην τὸν υἱὸν τῆς βροντῆς, συνταξάντων ὑπομνήματα, ὀλίγων δὲ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν, οὐδενὸς δὲ ὅλως, ὡς οἶμαι, εἰς τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον Εὐαγγέλιον ἐξηγησαμένου (ἐπεὶ μηδὲ μέχρι τήμερον ἀκήκοα, καὶ τοῦτο πολυπραγμονήσας παρὰ τῶν σπουδὴν ποιουμένων τὰ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων συνάγειν πονήματα) συνεῖδον τὰ κατὰ μέρος καὶ σποράδην εἰς αὐτὸ εἰρημένα παρὰ τῶν διδασκάλων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, συναγαγεῖν, καὶ σύντομον ἑρμηνείαν συντάξαι. Ὅπως μὴ μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης βιβλίων δόξῃ παρεωρᾶσθαι, ἢ ὡς μηδὲ μιᾶς ἐπιστάσεως δεομένου, ἢ ὡς δυναμένων ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν ἑρμηνείας καὶ τούτου τὴν διάνοιαν ἀνεξευρίσκειν. Μηδεὶς δὲ προπετείας ἢ θράσους γραφὴν ποιείσθω τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ταῖς εὐχαῖς συνεργείτω ἄξιον τῆς προθέσεως ἐπιθεῖναι τὸ πέρας.[128]
>
> Since many people have composed commentaries on the Gospel according to Matthew and on the Gospel according to John, the son of Thunder, and since a few people [have done so] on the Gospel

[126] See Chapter 2 §3.1.3.

[127] The *hypothesis* has been discussed in several studies, most recently in Jeremiah Coogan, "Doubled Recycling: The Gospel according to Mark in Late Ancient Catena Commentary," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 28 (2023). See also Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, 274–275; Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 65.

[128] Cramer 1:263.3–17

> of Luke, whereas no one at all, so far as I am aware, has interpreted the Gospel according to Mark (given that I have heard of none until now, even though I have inquired from those who have made it their business to gather together the books of more ancient writers), I have determined to draw together the fragmented and scattered sayings of the teachers of the Church and create a concise commentary so that [Mark] should not appear alone to be neglected among the writings of the New Testament, or as though it did not need any attention, or as though it were possible from the interpretation of the others to work out the meaning of this [gospel] as well. But no-one should undertake this writing with reckless haste or over-confidence. Rather they should labour with prayers to achieve an end worthy of the task.[129]

The writer sets out that many commentaries had been written on Matthew and John, and some on Luke—a situation which might reflect the citation of more sources on Matthew and John than Luke in catenae. The problem was that commentaries had not been produced on Mark. They therefore turned to these sources on the other Gospels, "the fragmented and scattered sayings of the teachers of the Church," to form a commentary on Mark. Jeremiah Coogan calls this practice of repurposing extracts from commentaries on other Gospels to explain Mark "doubled recycling."[130]

Harold Smith produced the first analysis of the sources gathered by the compilers of the *Commentary on Mark*.[131] Lamb provided further information about the sources of the commentary in the annotations to his translation of Cramer's text and an index of the sources.[132] The primary sources are John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew* (CPG 4424), Origen's *Commentaries on Matthew* (CPG 1450) and *Commentaries on John* (CPG 1453), Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on Matthew* (CPG 5206) and *Commentary on Luke* (CPG 5207), and Titus of Bostra's on *Homilies on Luke* (CPG

[129] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 215.

[130] Coogan, "Doubled Recycling," 149–165.

[131] Smith, "The Sources of Victor of Antioch's Commentary on Mark," 350–370. Reuss notes some errors in Smith's work due to his use of Cramer and Possinus's editions: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 138 n. 20.

[132] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 65–71, 461–478 (index). See also Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 138–141. Verheyden suggests some of Lamb's source attributions should be modified: Verheyden, "The So-Called Catena in Marcum," 49–61.

3576). In addition, the compilers selected material from Apollinarius of Laodicea, Basil of Caesarea, Eusebius of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Isidore of Pelusium, Photius of Constantinople, Theodore of Heraclea, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus.[133] In addition, the compilers added their own scholia, especially at places where there were not parallels in the other Gospels.[134]

Reuss also discussed the sources of the commentary. His primary contribution was that the source of many of these comments—especially those from John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew*—was not the direct tradition of the writers. Instead, the compilers used the writings as edited in other collections. They especially used the Type A Basic Form commentaries on Matthew, Luke, and John.[135] The use of an earlier commentary tradition is important for thinking about the compilation of the *Commentary on Mark* because it links the tradition of both recensions to the other catenae on the Gospels, even though both forms are usually transmitted in a codex with one of the types. Coogan demonstrated that the compilers of the *Commentary on March* utilized the Eusebian apparatus to gather these sources from existing commentaries.[136] This corresponds to the use of the Eusebian apparatus by the compilers of the Type A Basic Form to identify parallels

[133] Smith doubts that the commentary originally had Photius and suggests that perhaps Photius was aware of it. In any case, the addition of Photian material to the commentary after it was initially produced would not be unusual.

[134] Coogan, "Doubled Recycling," 157–159. Burgon highlights the compiler's composition at Mark 16:9 (*Last Twelve Verses*, 62–65).

[135] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 140–141.

[136] Coogan, "Doubled Recycling," 156–161. See also Jeremiah Coogan, "Mapping the Fourfold Gospel: Textual Geography in the Eusebian Apparatus," *JECS* 25 (2017): 337–357; Jeremiah Coogan, *Eusebius the Evangelist: Rewriting the Fourfold Gospel in Late Antiquity*, Cultures of Reading in the Ancient Mediterranean (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 157–158. That the compilers of the *Commentary on Mark* used the Eusebian apparatus was first proposed by Lamb but not proven (*The Catena in Marcum*, 147–149).

between Matthew and Luke which were omitted with the formulaic προεγράφη comments.[137] The use of the Eusebian apparatus to produce the *Commentary on Mark* is consistent with the use of a manuscript from the catena tradition. Catena manuscripts frequently have the biblical *lemmata*, the scholia, and cross-referencing paratexts such as the Eusebian apparatus. All three of these elements would facilitate the production of a compilation commentary on Mark from recycled scholia originally written for other Gospels. It should be noted, however, that the full *lemmata* are not required for such a project—the Type A Basic Form itself typically does not include a complete biblical text—because the Eusebian sections are sometimes either included in commentaries or became the framing structure for the commentary itself.[138]

The *Commentary on Mark* is a composite work, drawing on a variety of sources. As Coogan's term doubled recycling eloquently captures, the production of the commentary entailed two acts of recycling. The compilers undertook the typical process of compiling by sifting through existing literature for their project. Due to the lack of available material on Mark, they chose to select extracts written on other Gospels and apply them to Mark, a process which was only possible because the

[137] While both groups of compilers used the Eusebian apparatus to identify Gospel parallels, Patton draws attention to the different purposes for which they used the apparatus. One sought parallels in order to forgo the explanation of parallels and another to ensure parallels were explained: Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," 125. See Chapter 2 §2.1.4 on the προεγράφη comments in the Type A catena.

[138] Coogan, *Eusebius the Evangelist*, 154–157. See also Elizabeth Mullins, "The Eusebian Canon Tables and Hiberno-Latin Exegesis: The Case of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 94," *Sacris Erudiri* 53 (2014): 323–343; Cahill, ed., *The First Commentary on Mark*. In contrast to framing commentaries around the sections of the Eusebian apparatus, commentaries also might structure the explanations around chapter divisions, either adopting those which became standard in the biblical text or developing their own structures: Saskia Dirkse, "New Treasures as Well as Old: The Use and Reuse of the Gospel Kephalaia in Commentary Manuscripts," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 28 (2023): 167–182; Charles E. Hill, *The First Chapters: Dividing the Text of Scripture in Codex Vaticanus and Its Predecessors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 429–436; H.A.G. Houghton, *Fortunatianus of Aquileia, Commentary on the Gospels. English translation and introduction, in association with Lukas J. Dorfbauer*, CSEL (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), XIV–XVII; H.A.G. Houghton, "Chapter Divisions, *Capitula* Lists, and the Old Latin Versions of John," *RBén* 121 (2011): 316–356.

majority of Mark is reproduced in the other Synoptic Gospels.[139] The analysis of the sources shows that not only was the *Commentary on Mark* in the corpus of catenae on the Gospels crafted from the interpretations on Matthew, Luke, and John, but that it was largely developed from the earliest compilation commentaries on the Gospels.

3.4 *The Compilation of the Commentary on Mark*

The compilers of the *Commentary on Mark* are unknown. What is apparent is that the compilers were not the same persons who compiled the Type A, Type B, or Type Z commentaries and catenae.[140] The Type A commentaries were a source for the *Commentary on Mark*, which could explain the use of the Type A Basic Form as a source, but does not make sense of the transmission of the Type A tradition which often comes without Mark. Additionally, the omission of commentary on the parallel passages in Luke as indicated by the προεγράφη comments is a remarkably different procedure than was taken for Mark where not only are most parallel passages explained, but they are done so through comments on the other Gospels.[141] Manuscripts of the Type B tradition nearly always have commentaries on all four Gospels, and the compilers of the Type B commentaries extensively used phrases with ἄλλως to separate individual scholia, suggesting a stronger potential connection between the two than for Type A. However, the use of the Type A commentaries as a source for the *Commentary on Mark* but not for the Type B Basic Form tells against these being the work of the same compilers. The compilation technique of the Type Z catenist differs so vastly from

[139] The compilers of catenae on other Gospels also engaged in doubled recycling, especially in the use of John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew* in catenae on Luke. The occasional use of a scholium or author's work on another Gospel or biblical text pales in comparison to the systematic recycling of material on other Gospels to explain Mark.

[140] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 140–141; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 128–129.

[141] Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," 125–126.

the *Commentary on Mark* that no connection between them could be sustained. This is corroborated by the abridged versions of the Type Z tradition which have all four Gospels being transmitted with different recensions of the *Commentary on Mark*.

The manuscript tradition presents the author most often as Victor of Antioch, about whom little is known apart from the attribution to this commentary and several scholia on Luke.[142] A few other codices attribute the work to Cyril of Alexandria, Leontius of Byzantium (d. 543), and Origen.[143] The attribution to Cyril occurs in five manuscripts: Paris Gr. 188, Paris Gr. 186, Oxford Laud. gr. 33, Athens, EBE, 56 (GA 773; Diktyon 2352), and Venice, BNM, Z.544 (591) (GA 215; Diktyon 70015).[144] The attribution of the commentary on Mark in these codices to Cyril of Alexandria is another unique feature which identifies them as a family within the textual tradition of the Greek New Testament

[142] See the ascription indications in Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*. See also Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 118–134; Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, 278–287. Lamb reproduces Burgon's descriptions in table format: Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 37–39.

[143] On Leontius of Byzantium, see Marcel Richard, "Léonce de Jérusalem et Léonce de Byzance," *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 1 (1944): 35–88; Silas Rees, "The Literary Activity of Leontius of Byzantium," *JTS* 19 (1968): 229–242. In addition to these names, Burgon cites two codices as attributing the commentary on Mark to Peter of Laodicea, which he disavows as a gross error (Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, 284, 286). The two codices are Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 757 (GA 138; Diktyon 67388) and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1445 (GA 374; Diktyon 68076). Both are discussed in Chapter 1 for a later reader adding the note attributing the Type B commentaries to Peter of Laodicea. Burgon erroneously takes this ascription, placed on or before the title to the commentaries on Matthew, as applied to all the Gospels. There is no actual indication in the codices that these function as a title for Mark.

[144] As indicated in the discussion of Cramer's sources, Simon notes the unusual attribution to Cyril in the Paris manuscripts: Simon, *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, 427. According to Lamb's table, Burgon lists one further manuscript with an attribution to Cyril, Munich, BSB, Gr. 381 (GA 428; Diktyon 44829) (*Last Twelve Verses*, 286). This attribution is erroneous on several accounts. First, the commentary in the manuscript is Theophylact's *Commentary on Mark*. Second, it has no attribution to Cyril of Alexandria—which is not actually stated in Burgon's description; Burgon notes that it is "said to be a duplicate of [GA] 300," which perhaps led Lamb to count it for Cyril of Alexandria. This remark now can be shown to be an error. Burgon likely drew this information from J.M.A. Scholz, who collated both codices and concluded that Munich Gr. 381 must have been copied from Paris. Gr. 186 or from the same *antegraph* (J.M.A. Scholz, *Novum Testamentum Graece: Textum ad fidem testium criticorum*, vol. 1 [Leipzig, 1830], XCIV). Using the INTF's *Manuscripts Clusters* tool, neither codex seems to be a near relative based on the *Teststellen* (http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP).

and a discrete group within catenae on the Gospels.[145] While Lamb holds that Cramer's choice to attribute the work to Cyril of Alexandria in his edition reflects that "he chose to believe" the attribution was genuine, it is more likely that Cramer simply adopted the title from Oxford Laud. gr. 33 apart from his own evaluation of the title's authenticity.[146] The attribution to Origen occurs in four manuscripts: Paris, BnF, Gr. 703 (Diktyon 50284); Paris, BnF, Gr. 939 (Diktyon 50528); Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 384 (Diktyon 67015); and Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. gr. 113 (Diktyon 65344).[147] Only one manuscript attributes the commentary to Leontius of Byzantium: a later reader added to Vatican gr. 384 an ascription to Leontius instead of Origen.[148] It was the attribution to Victor of Antioch, especially through the use of Munich Gr. 99 in Peltanus's and Possinus's editions, that cemented Victor as the purported author of the *Commentary on Mark*.

Modern scholars have generally considered the attribution to Victor of Antioch as a later development. Devreesse was the first to refer to the compiler as "Pseudo-Victor."[149] Reuss, however, suggested that, in spite of the paucity of historical information about any Victor of Antioch outside

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[145] I have determined that these manuscripts constitute a small family of New Testament manuscripts based on a study of their unique variation in Jesus's genealogy in Luke 3 and other textual and codicological features: Andrew J. Patton, "A Disordered Genealogy and a New Family of Greek New Testament Manuscripts," *Novum Testamentum* (forthcoming).

[146] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 33.

[147] In the table listing the manuscripts Burgon cited with their attribution of the *Commentary on Mark*, Lamb accidentally assigned the single codex for Origen as San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, HM. 1081 (GA 703; Diktyon 56705). He mistakenly read Burgon's reference *Reg.* 703 as a Gregory-Aland number rather than as a shelfmark at the BnF. The manuscript is listed between two other manuscripts referenced by their *Evan.* number (Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 39; Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, 282). According to Reuss, Paris Gr. 939, Vatican gr. 384, and Vatican Ottob. gr. 113 are sixteenth-century *Abschriften* of Paris Gr. 703 (Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 127–128). While Reuss's proposal has not yet been evaluated, it is worth noting that the supposed copies of Paris Gr. 703 have a different order of the Gospels. Paris Gr. 703 adopts the "Western" order of the Gospels, but none of the copies have more than two Gospels, none of which have an atypical order; Paris Gr. 939 has Mark-only, Vatican gr. 384 and Vatican Ottob. gr. 113 have the order Mark–Luke.

[148] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 128.

[149] Devreesse, "Chaînes," col. 1:1177.

of catenae, the attribution might be authentic because of the consistent attribution of the *Commentary on Mark* to him from the oldest manuscripts forward.[150] Many discussions of the *Commentary on Mark* outside of catena research at least tacitly accept the ascription of the work to Victor of Antioch and refer to him as the author.[151] Lamb doubts the accuracy of the attribution and considers identifying the compiler of the commentary as "basically a blind alley."[152] Coogan identifies the attribution of the commentary to Victor of Antioch as "a bibliographic label" which "provides a quasi-authorial coherence to this catena."[153] Rather than sticking with the Victor of Antioch appellation, he refers to the compiler generically as "the catenist." This perspective is preferred because it most accurately reflects the commentary's anonymous composition and does not fossilize Victor of Antioch as the author, although in the present chapter the figure has been referred to as "the compilers" in keeping with the perspective that the *Commentary on Mark* is a compilation commentary rather than a catena.[154]

The *Commentary on Mark* was compiled in the sixth century. Several authors have suggested a date as early as the fifth century. Burgon, whose argument about the long ending of Mark benefitted from an early date, accepted Victor of Antioch as the author and aligned the date of the

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[150] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 140.

[151] For "Victor": Cahill, "The First Markan Commentary," 258–268; Collins, *Mark*, 107. For "Pseudo-Victor": Bockmuehl, "The Making of Gospel Commentaries," 289; Oden and Hall, eds., *Mark*, XXXI. ("wrongly identified as the author").

[152] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 33. See also "the question of authorship does little to advance our knowledge of the origin and genealogy of the Catena in Marcum" (73).

[153] Coogan, "Doubled Recycling," 153–154.

[154] Verheyden takes a similar approach in "The So-Called Catena in Marcum," 47–62. The progression in Verheyden's thinking on this topic is evident when the 2017 chapter is compared to his 2010 publication which exclusively refers to the compiler as Victor even though he acknowledges the compiler is anonymous ("Before Embarking on an Adventure," 151). On the problem of the long-term association of spurious works with a purported author in studies of early Christianity and late antiquity, see Ellen Muehlberger, "On Authors, Fathers, and Holy Men," *Late Antiquity and the New Humanities. Marginalia Review of Books* (20 September 2015).

commentary with his lifetime and the death of Cyril of Alexandria in the mid-fifth century.[155] Over a century later, Verheyden rather casually finds a fifth-century date for the commentary on Mark plausible: "Overall, the evidence from the excerpts suggest a date for Victor some time in the second quarter of the fifth century, maybe in Antioch, why not?"[156] Such a date is feasible based on the authors included in the commentary, as Isidore of Pelusium is the latest source to be cited having died six years after Cyril of Alexandria. The problem with this proposal is that it does not account for the composition of the commentaries. Since many of the sources were taken from the Type A Basic Form commentaries rather than the directly from the early Christian writers' texts, the earliest possible date is the sixth century, when these commentaries were likely formed.[157] Reuss based his proposed date of the sixth century on the use of early commentaries.[158] Lamb evaluated the internal evidence of the scholia and proposed a date between 490 and 553 CE.[159] He especially uses the theological orientation of the scholia to draw this conclusion: "The Christological perspective and its pronounced anti-Nestorian tone, provides some evidence to substantiate the hypothesis that the compilation of this text began in the early sixth century."[160] These conclusions provide a *terminus post quem* but do not restrict the latest date it could have been compiled. A date into the seventh century is possible because no manuscripts of the *Commentary on Mark* date prior to the ninth century. The commentary quickly became attached to the transmission of the Type B Basic Form and to the Type A Catena Form in the seventh or eighth century, which points toward an earlier

[155] Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, 278.
[156] Verheyden, "A Puzzling Chapter," 21.2
[157] On the dating of the Type A Basic Form, see Chapter 2 §2.1.5.
[158] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 141.
[159] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 73.
[160] Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 71.

composition. In the case of the *Commentary on Mark*, the date of its primary source, the internal evidence, and its place alongside other catena traditions point toward being composed in the sixth century.

4 Chapter Summary

The catenae on Mark were compiled by different compilers and developed in a separate tradition from the catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John. This tradition has a flat pattern of development with two major recensions of the *Commentary on Mark* accounting for the largest differences between the manuscripts—which absorb some variation within each type—and several *Codices Singuli*. The chapter has shown that the *Commentary on Mark* was a sixth-century compilation produced by unknown compilers, which has been widely transmitted under the name Victor of Antioch. The work is a compilation commentary formed by recycling extracts on Matthew, Luke, and John to explain the parallel passages in Mark. The primary source used for this project was the Type A Basic Form commentaries, especially utilizing the text of John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew* from the Type A tradition. The compilers utilized the Eusebian apparatus to gather scholia on Gospel parallels and then supplemented the text with their own original comments primarily in places where Eusebius did not identify parallels.

The text of the *Commentary on Mark* has been transmitted in two recensions. One of these (C125.1) is more widely attested and accompanies the Type B tradition on Matthew, Luke, and John. The other recension (C125.2) has been preserved in fewer manuscripts and travels with the Type A tradition. The *Codices Singuli* generally are known through only one or two manuscripts, but most of these types should not be classified as catenae because of the intermittent nature of the scholia.

The contents of manuscripts of these traditions show that the catenae on Mark were produced not only to provide an explanation for Mark—which the *hypothesis* to the *Commentary on Mark* states is something it deserves—but also to complete the catenae on the Gospels. Reuss's conclusion to his discussion of the *Commentary on Mark* still stands: The commentary on Mark "served to supplement the catena to Matthew, Luke and John, in order to have a complete commentary work for the four Gospels in a single manuscript."[161] The interpretation of the Gospels was viewed as incomplete without Mark, so shortly after the first projects of compilation commentaries on the Gospels was completed, the *Commentary on Mark* was formed (along with the *Codex Singulus* C126.4).

[161] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 141: "Diente zur Ergänzung der Katenen zu Mt, Lk und Jo, um für die 4 Evv ein abgeschlossenes Kommentarwerk in einer Hs zu besitzen."

CHAPTER 7

Revisions to the Classification of the Catenae on Luke in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*

1 Introduction

In the late nineteenth century, European scholars realized the potential of using Greek exegetical catenae to discover the lost works of early Christian writers. Yet because these were second-hand and selective witnesses to those sources, Hans Lietzmann urged them to seek first to understand and publish the catenae from which they derived.[1] Thus, modern studies on catenae were born even though most subsequent research would eschew the call to study catenae themselves in favor of extracts by particular authors.[2] The foundational task in the endeavor to study catenae is identifying them; sifting through the morass of catena manuscripts to determine how many different catenae were composed. Today, the standard reference system for catenae is the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (CPG).[3] This resource divides catenae on each biblical book or corpus into types wherein each type approximately represents a unique catena. In an ideal taxonomy of literary works, the overall structure and partitioning of individual units specifies both the composition itself and its relationship to the rest of the textual tradition, allowing researchers rapidly to identify texts

[1] Hans Lietzmann, *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Überlieferung* (Freiburg-im-Bresigau: Mohr Siebeck, 1897), 26: "Die zahlreichen anderweitig nicht oder nur unvollkommen überlieferten fragmente griechischer kirchenschriftsteller können ohne vorherige herausgabe der in betracht kommenden catenen nicht in wissenschaftlich brauchbarer weise gesichtet und gesammelt warden" [capitalization from the source] ("The numerous fragments of Greek ecclesiastical writers that have not been handed down elsewhere, or have been handed down only imperfectly, cannot be sifted and collected in a scientifically useful way without first publishing the catena under consideration").

[2] See Chapter 1 §3.

[3] Maurits Geerard, ed., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. IV Concilia. Catenae*, 1st ed., Corpus Christianorum: Clavis Patrum Graecorum 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1980); Jacques Noret and Maurits Geerard, eds., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. IV Concilia. Catenae*, 2nd ed., Corpus Christianorum: Clavis Patrum Graecorum 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018). Now updated online in open access in the *Clavis Clavium* database: https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla.

and situate them contextually.[4] Within the catenae on the Gospels different structures have been used to describe the tradition of each biblical book, reflecting the research available when the CPG volume on catenae was first published in 1980. This is most evident for the Gospel of Luke, which has resulted in less precise identifications for the contents of catena manuscripts in Luke and obscured the relationship between catenae with similar textual histories within the tradition of the catenae on Luke and across the four-Gospel canon. Therefore, this chapter proposes a revision of the classification of the catenae on Luke in order to bring it into alignment with the CPG for Matthew and John and to reflect better the development of these catenae in the first millennium of the Common Era.[5]

2 Classifications of the Catenae on Luke

The twentieth century saw several attempts to classify systematically the various catenae on Luke. These schemes consistently identify three principal catenae on Luke: the catena attributed pseudonymously to Titus of Bostra (d. 378) (C130 and C131; the Type A Basic and Catena Forms), the catena attributed to Peter of Laodicea (C132 and C133; the Type B Basic and Catena Forms), and the catena compiled by Nicetas of Heraclea (C135). Beyond these core works, differences emerged in how to classify development within a catena tradition, and the extent of a system tended to depend on the aims of the publication and the author's access to manuscripts. Table 7.1, appended to the

[4] See Peter Martens and Ellen Muehlberger on the ways a reference system's structure, with the CPG specifically in mind, advances or limits the study of a work in particular ways: Peter Martens, "Classifying Early Christian Writings: Boundaries, Arrangements, and Latent Dynamics," *Early Christianity* 12 (2021): 431–446; Ellen Muehlberger, "On Authors, Fathers, and Holy Men," *Late Antiquity and the New Humanities. Marginalia Review of Books* (20 September 2015).

[5] This time boundary is deliberately later than the focus on the catenae compiled before the ninth century in earlier chapters because the revision to the CPG entails changes in other commentaries and catenae produced after the ninth century.

end of this chapter, shows the current classification of the catenae on Luke in the *Clavis Clavium* database and provides a concordance between the major published classifications.[6] The sources included are Joseph Sickenberger's *Titus von Bostra*, Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann's *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus*, Max Rauer's *Der dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebene Lukaskommentar* and his later delineation in an edition of Origen's homilies on Luke as part of the GCS complete edition of Origen's works, *Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die griechischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars*, and Joseph Reuss's *Lukas-Kommentare*.[7] Editions of these catenae, of varying quality, are also noted.[8] Those marked with an asterisk are partial editions or only give the *incipit* and *desinit* for each scholium. In the columns for the two CPG editions, a check mark is used to note whether the type for a particular row was included in that volume which indicates the accretion of types within the current system.

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[6] See the similar table in Panagiotis Manafis, "Catenae on Luke and the Catena of Codex Zacynthius," in *Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, TS 3/21 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020), 139.

[7] Joseph Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien*, TU 6.1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901); Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus* (Göttingen: Lüder Horstmann, 1902), which was preceded by a preliminary survey in Lietzmann, *Catenen*; Max Rauer, *Der dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebene Lukaskommentar*, NTAbh 8 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1920); Max Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX: Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die griechischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars*, 2nd ed., GCS 49 (Berlin: Akademie, 1959); Joseph Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 130 (Berlin: Akademie, 1984).

[8] Fronton du Duc, *Bibliothecae Veterum Patrum Seu Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum: Tomus Secundus Graecolatinus*, vol. 2 (Paris: Compagnie de la Grand-Navire, 1624); John Anthony Cramer, *Catenae in Evangelia S. Lucae et S. Joannis*, Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum, vol. 2 (Oxford: University Press, 1844); Samuel Márkfi, *Codex graecus quatuor Evangeliorum e Bibliotheca Universitatis Pestinensis cum interpretatione hungarica* (Budapest: Gustav Emich, 1860); Angelo Mai, "Συναγωγη Εξηγησεων εις το κατα Λουκαν Αγιον Ευαγγελιον: Εκ Διαφορων Ερμηνευτων παρα Νικητα Διακονου της του Θεου Μεγαλης Εκκλησιας Διδασκαλου," in *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio: E Vaticanis Codicibus Edita: Tomus IX*, ed. Angelo Mai 9 (Rome: Typis Collegii Urbani, 1837); Christos Th. Krikones, *Συναγωγη Πατερων εις το κατα Λουκαν Ευανγγελιον: Υπο Νικητα Ηρακλειας* (*Κατα τον Κωδικα Ιβηρων 371*), Βυζαντινα Κειμενα Και Μελεται 9 (Thessaloniki: Kentron Byzantinon Ereunon, 1976); H.A.G. Houghton, Panagiotis Manafis, and Amy Myshrall, *The Palimpsest Catena of Codex Zacynthius: Text and Translation*, TS 3.22 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020); Panagiotis Manafis, "A New Witness to the Catena of Codex Zacynthius," *ZAC* 26 (2022): 371–401; Panagiotis Manafis, *Exegesis on the Gospel of Luke: Codices Singuli and Catena C139.1*, TU 194 (Berlin: De Gruyter, Forthcoming 2024).

While Sickenberger identified a handful of distinct catenae and gave the first stemma of the earliest catenae on Luke, it was Karo and Lietzmann who published the first systematic division of the catenae in Luke.[9] The aim of their work was to identify catena manuscripts and sort them based on their contents. Distinctions between types of catenae were made using Luke 8:43–46 as a test passage. Their work generally maps the current contours of the CPG, including the beginnings of the *Codices Singuli* category with the ascription of Type VI for Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 301 (Diktyon 71968). They also suggested Munich, BSB, Gr. 208 (GA 2768; Diktyon 44654) and Cambridge, University Library, Add. 10062 (GA 040; Codex Zacynthius; Diktyon 73427) as potential witnesses to Type B based on the limited data available to them. These are now part of the *Codices Singuli*. The most significant difference between Karo and Lietzmann's classification and the others is that the former treat the catenae in the Type A (C130 and C131) and Type B (C132 and C133) branches simplistically. In both catena traditions the Basic Form (C130 and C132) was subsequently expanded with additional scholia by different compilers in order to produce the Catena Forms (C131 and C133). Yet, Karo and Lietzmann only designate the later forms as a type of catena. While no explanation is offered and the authors were certainly aware of the history of these types, having cited Sickenberger's work published the year before, this likely reflects that they did not think the earlier forms were *bona fide* catenae. Rather, they saw them as a commentary or compilation commentary

[9] Sickenberger's *Titus of Bostra* was not intended to give an exhaustive classification of the catenae on Luke and the absence of some types does not reflect unawareness on his part; he followed this study with a work on the Nicetas catena one year later: Joseph Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia*, TU 22.4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902).

which was expanded into a catena by the later compilers with the addition of scholia from named sources.[10]

After Karo and Lietzmann, the subsequent descriptions of catenae invariably assigned a label to the Basic Forms and their later adaptations. The most important of the subsequent attempts at classifying catenae are Max Rauer's comprehensive list produced in 1959 and Joseph Reuss's published in 1984. These two publications are intertwined with broader scholarship on catenae in the twentieth century. In 1941, Reuss published his *Habilitationsschrift*, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*.[11] This work surveyed the various catenae on Matthew, Mark, and John, with descriptions of numerous codices for each type and an analysis of the composition and characteristics of the catenae. Luke was omitted because, in Reuss's estimation, Sickenberger's *Titus von Bostra* and *Niketas von Herakleia* had already set out the information on that Gospel.[12] Reuss's conclusions formed the basis for subsequent work on the catenae on Matthew, Mark, and John, and were further explained in concise forms in his later editions of selected scholia in Matthew and John.[13] In the absence of another recent presentation of the catenae on Luke, Rauer, whose *Doktorvater* was Sickenberger, constructed his own framework

[10] Lietzmann, *Catenen*, 13. Lietzmann states that the author names are of the utmost importance in catenae—"die wichtigste und für die catenen bedeutsamste äusserlichkeit ist das anbringen der verfassernamen" (the most important and significant external feature for the catenae is the addition of the author's name) [capitalization follows the source]—and each catena type is distinguished by the order, content, and attribution of the scholia in the test passage. See also Chapter 1 §1.2 on the discussion of the genre of catenae.

[11] Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, NTAbh 18/4–5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941).

[12] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, III; Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia*; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*.

[13] Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 61 (Berlin: Akademie, 1957); Joseph Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 89 (Berlin: Akademie, 1966).

using the same alphabetic nomenclature. As the data in Table 7.1 shows, Rauer's taxonomy provides the most detailed portrait of the catenae on Luke. It identifies the main types with Roman numerals and subdivisions within them using lowercase letters. Type VI corresponds to the current *Codices Singuli* category. In accordance with the sigla for his critical apparatus, these individual codices are designated by uppercase letters. In 1984, Reuss published an edition of scholia from catenae on Luke and established his own division of the manuscripts into types in the introduction to the work.[14] Naturally, these generally corresponded to the nomenclature he developed in the other Gospels, which is an important aspect of his system that will be discussed below. However, since the concise introduction to *Lukas-Kommentare* only intended to explain the sources used for his edition, it does not offer detailed lists of codices for each type or extensive analysis of them as are found in his earlier work on Matthew, Mark, and John.

The first edition of the CPG volume on catenae (CPG[1]) was published in 1980, four years before Reuss's *Lukas-Kommentare*, forcing Maurits Geerard to use another framework for Luke even though Reuss was the basis in the other Gospels.[15] Drawing on Karo and Lietzmann, Sickenberger, and Rauer's work, six main types were identified (C130–C136) with alphabetic designations for the first five. C136 was likely not assigned a letter because it is dependent on the Nicetas catena (C135). Geerard's edition listed the same two *Codices Singuli* that were noted by Karo and Lietzmann but

[14] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*.

[15] Geerard, ed., *CPG IV*: *Catenae*; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*. While Manafis contends that Geerard depended primarily on Rauer for the initial CPG on Luke, this is not immediately obvious. The first six types represent an amalgamation of Karo and Lietzmann, Sickenberger, and Rauer's work. The alphabetic labels for the types in the CPG do not neatly align with Rauer and ignore the larger classes he designated in Roman numerals. Geerard also only designates two *Codices Singuli*, C137.1 and C137.2, which are both identified in Karo and Lietzmann, whereas Rauer gives a total of nine independent manuscripts. See Manafis, "Catenae on Luke," 138. Karo and Lietzmann's taxonomy seems to have been more influential in the shape of the catenae on Luke in CPG IV[1].

none of the additional ones in Rauer's category VI. In 2018, Jacques Noret published an updated edition of the CPG on catenae (CPG IV²) which incorporated information from Reuss into the notes sections and added four manuscripts to the *Codices Singuli* category: C137.3, C137.4, C137.5, and C137.6. These additions were taken from a variety of sources. He cites Reuss for C137.3 and Rauer for C137.5.[16] The other two manuscripts, C137.4 and C137.6, were taken from descriptions in other publications.[17] The additions to the CPG at this point did not make any fundamental changes to the initial categorization even though Reuss's system did not map exactly onto the one created by Geerard. Moreover, it did not fully account for most of the *Codices Singuli* found in Rauer's category VI. The updates to the catenae on the Gospels were more bibliographic than structural or comprehensive.[18]

Recently, several catenae have been added to the *Codices Singuli* in Luke (C137.7, C137.8, C137.9, and C137.10) and a new category called the *Catenae Aliae* which are catenae attested in multiple manuscripts but not part of the other types. Two different *Catenae Aliae* have been identified: C139.1 and C139.2. The *catena alia*, C139.1 is attested in four manuscripts according to Parpulov. Based on their similar contents in the other Gospels, these were designated as category e.7.i.[19] The *Catena Alia*, C139.2, is attested in six manuscripts which were assigned to Parpulov

[16] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XV–XVI; Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, LIII.

[17] Robert Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci, II: Codices 604–866*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana codices manu scripti recensiti (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1937); Filippo Di Benedetto, "Un nuovo frammento delle *Ipotiposi* di Clemente Alessandrino," *Sileno* 9 (1983): 75–82.

[18] This contrasts with more extensive changes for catenae on Old Testament books which were introduced in a supplement to the initial CPG prior to Noret's second edition: Jacques Noret and Maurits Geerard, eds., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum*, 2nd ed., Corpus Christianorum: Clavis Patrum Graecorum 3A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

[19] Georgi Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament: A Catalogue*, TS 3.26 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2021).

categories e.5.i. and e.5.ii.[20] Three of the C139.2 codices were treated as independent catenae by Rauer—the only other presentation of catenae on Luke to have considered them.[21]

This survey has shown how the classification of the catenae on Luke developed from the initial frameworks established by Sickenberger and Karo and Lietzmann to the current online version of the CPG within the *Clavis Clavium*. The taxonomies in every era identified the core catenae on Luke and progressively increased in detail with the formation of umbrella categories or types to account for related catenae and the identification of independent or small catena types. However, research on the catenae on Luke advanced on a separate track from those on Matthew, Mark, and John, due to Joseph Reuss's decision not to include Luke in his 1941 monograph and the appearance of his later publication on Luke after the first edition of the CPG. The identification of more New Testament catena manuscripts and the investigation of the *Codices Singuli* has resulted in the addition of new types.

3 Weaknesses of the Current CPG Catenae on Luke

A number of weaknesses in the current CPG for the catenae on Luke stem from differences in the classification of catenae in Rauer's *Origenes Werke* and Reuss's *Lukas-Kommentare*. The use of different sources for the classification of the catenae on the Gospels, especially pertaining to the use of Reuss as the basis in Matthew and John and a combination of other sources in Luke, resulted in discontinuities between the structure and terminology in the CPG. These discrepancies also present

[20] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 89–92.

[21] Some of the codices were treated as *Codices Singuli* in Matthew and John by Reuss: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 78, 219. Figures taken from the *Catena Catalogue* database on 23 Feb 2023.

an apparently flat development for the catenae on Luke compared to the other Gospels which has fostered a limited understanding of how the catenae on Luke relate to one another and led to inconsistencies in the classification of newly identified catenae.

Rauer and Reuss adopted the same alphabetic nomenclature for their classifications, but unfortunately do not use the same letter to refer to the same catenae.[22] Moreover, the two scholars differed in how they identified subtypes and the classification of secondary catenae which, in most cases, adopted nearly all of an earlier catena and expanded it with other scholia from different sources.[23] Rauer often took a more general approach that included manuscripts with greater differences within a type than Reuss. For example, Rauer's Type A (C130) corresponds to Reuss's Type A. Reuss, however, introduced subclasses within this type. The four subclasses included those codices of the foundational commentary which Reuss dubbed the *Grundform*, an Expanded Form of the commentary called the *erweiterte Grundform*, an abbreviated version called the *gekürzte Grundform*, and a form he considers the Catena Form of Type A called the *Vollkatene*.[24] The final subclass, the Catena Form of Type A, is Rauer's Type B—identified as C131 in the CPG. Reuss's structure of Type A in Luke with four subclasses is also adopted in his work on Matthew and John and reflected in the CPG for those Gospels. Type A in Matthew is divided into C110.1 through C110.4, and Type A in John is divided into C140.1 through C140.4. These were even given the same titles: C110.1 and C140.1 are the *Grundform*, C110.2 and C140.2 are the *erweiterte Grundform*, C110.3 and

[22] See the summary above and the description of the classification of the catenae in Luke in Manafis, "Catenae on Luke," 137–142.

[23] Dorival coined the terms primary and secondary catena: Gilles Dorival, "La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques," *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985): 212.

[24] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XI–XII and summarized in his list of sources on XXXII.

C140.3 are the *gekürzte Grundform*, and C110.4 and C140.4 are the *Vollkatene*. As may be expected from the alignment between the structure and titles for these types, Reuss concluded that the same catenist compiled each of these works on Matthew and John, and manuscripts containing them usually have the corresponding catenae on each Gospel.[25] Perhaps to maintain consistency within the CPG, when Jacques Noret published CPG IV[2] in 2018, he inserted some of Reuss's findings into the notes and bibliography on the types but did not revise the overarching structure. Basing the classification of the catenae on Luke on a different source makes it appear that these catenae, like the catenae on Mark, developed differently from those on Matthew and John.[26] This is not the case. The main compilers of the catenae on the Gospels composed catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John.[27] Thus, the current structure of the CPG for the catenae on Luke obscures the composition history of these works by utilizing a different set of classification numbers, group labels, and catena titles to those used for the corresponding catenae on Matthew and John.

The taxonomy of the catenae on Luke also does not reflect the contents of the manuscripts from which these texts are known. As noted above, it is well established that the catenists working on the Gospels generally compiled catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John. Manuscripts with Gospel catenae generally reflect their common composition. Codices containing multiple Gospel catenae usually, though not invariably, give the catenae on each Gospel which was compiled by the same catenist. Table 7.2 shows the manuscripts of Reuss's *Vollkatene* (Type A Catena Form) for Matthew

[25] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 20; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XII. See Chapter 2.

[26] See Chapter 6 on the catenae on Mark.

[27] On the omission of Mark by the primary catenists see Andrew J. Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," *NovT* 64 (2022): 125–126. See also Chapter 6.

(C110.4), Luke (C130.4/C131), and John (C140.4), which contain multiple Gospels according to the classifications in the *Catena Catalogue* database.[28] The ten manuscripts date from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries, but primarily from the tenth and eleventh centuries—the zenith of the popularity of catenae in Byzantium.[29]

Manuscript	GA	Diktyon	CPG Contents	Date
Athens, EBE, 204	771	2500	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Athos, Great Lavra, A 16	1078	26944	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	X
Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (3P)	1424	13410	C110.4, C125.2, C137.10, C140.2, C150.2c, C165.3, C176	IX-X K: XII
Florence, BML, Plut.06.33	194	16020	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Paris, BnF, Coislin 23	39	49165	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Paris, BnF, Coislin 195	34	49334	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	X
Paris, BnF, Gr. 187	301	49756	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Paris, BnF, Gr. 189	19	49758	C111, C125.1, C132, C140.4/C141.1	XI
Sofia, Ivan Duichev Centre, Gr. 177	1684	62431	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1423	373	68054	C110.4, C125.2, C130.4, C140.4	XVI

Table 7.2. Manuscripts of the Type A Catena Form with Multiple Gospels

It is clear from Table 7.2 that catena manuscripts of these types normally contain the catenae by the same compiler in Matthew, Luke, and John. While this type happens to also have the same catena on Mark (C125.2) in most manuscripts, this catena was compiled separately from those on the other Gospels and developed within its own textual tradition.[30]

[28] https://purl.org/itsee/catena-catalogue. Search conducted 13 January 2022. Two sixteenth-century manuscripts of C131 contain no other Gospels. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 334, fols. 17–163 (Diktyon 56053) is a miscellaneous codex with the catena directly copied from Florence Plut. 06.33. The other, Venice, BNM, Z.545 (410), fols. 1–140 (Diktyon 70016) is incomplete: Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 83.

[29] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 1.

[30] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 134–141. See Chapter 6 on the relationship of the catenae on Mark to the rest of the catenae on the Gospels.

Moreover, the manuscripts in this dataset which do not follow the expected pattern have idiosyncrasies which may explain why they include an unusual combination of catenae on the Gospels. Paris, BnF, Gr. 189 (GA 19; Diktyon 49758) contains an atypical order for the Gospels: John–Matthew–Luke–Mark.[31] The manuscript gives the Type B Basic Form in Matthew, Luke, and in John after fol. 37v. Folios 1–37v have the Type A Catena Form on John (C140.4). This codex was therefore plausibly copied from an exemplar with the same order of the Gospels but missing leaves at the beginning of John, which, in this case, would have been at the beginning of the codex where leaves often are missing. The scribe then used a different catena manuscript with a different type of catena on John to fill the missing pages from their *Vorlage*, and then resumed the Type B Basic Form on John from the place where their exemplar was extant. In any case, the inclusion of part of the C140.4 catena in this manuscript does not counter the general pattern of these catenae usually being copied with the companions by the same catenist.

Drama 3 (3P) was initially copied in the ninth or tenth century with marginal scholia in some biblical books—although none in the Gospels. Then a twelfth-century scribe added a complete set of commentaries and catenae on the Gospels in the margins.[32] In Matthew and John, the catenae are the Type A Catena Form in Matthew and the Expanded Form in John. The

[31] On the order of the Gospels in Greek New Testament manuscripts, see Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "L'ordre des Évangiles: une nouvelle mise à jour," *Babelao* 10–11 (2022): 127–144; Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 296–297. On the order of the Gospels in Greek New Testament catenae, see Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," 115–129.

[32] On GA 1424, see Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Discovering Hidden Treasures: Cataloguing Greek Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America," in *Greek Manuscript Cataloguing: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Paola Degni, Paolo Eleuteri, and Marilena Maniaci, Bibliologia 48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 79–81. On multi-layered catenae, see Emanuele Scieri, "Disordered Scholia and Multiple Layers in the Catena on Acts in *Parisinus* gr. 237," in *Ordre et désordre dans les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, ed. Jean-Marie Auwers and Agnès Lorrain, Instrumenta patristica et medievalia (Turnhout: Brepols, Forthcoming 2024).

commentary in Luke, however, has been classified as a *Codex Singulus*.[33] As described in Chapter 2, the combination of catenae on the Gospels in Drama 3 (3P) are unusual because of the mixture of types. The discontinuities in the codex's contents likely stem from the fact that the commentaries were added after the production of the manuscript, perhaps using different exemplars for each Gospel.[34] The codex is a singular manuscript in several regards and therefore does not make a strong argument against the normal expectation to find the corresponding catenae within the same document.

The normative pattern in New Testament catenae on the Gospels is that the catenae compiled by the same persons in Matthew, Luke, and John are bound in the same manuscripts. The CPG classification system does not reflect this pattern for the catenae on Luke because it follows a different foundation for Luke than it does in Matthew and John. This is particularly noticeable in the example of Type A Catena Form on the Gospels because Matthew and John each are assigned a subclass number within Type A, reflecting the fact that they are secondary catenae built on the Basic Form of that type, whereas in Luke, the companion catena is assigned in its own class, C131, and dubbed Type B. The CPG for the catenae on Luke, therefore, has created distance between the classification of the texts and the documents from which those texts are known.

A further problem in the current configuration of the catenae on Luke is that the taxonomy is too generic in some types. As described above, Rauer's Type A catena, attributed to Pseudo-Titus of Bostra, is identified as C130 in the CPG, and Reuss identified subclasses within this type to reflect

[33] On the Catena on Luke, see Manafis, *Exegesis on the Gospel of Luke*.

[34] See also Chapter 2 §2.2.1.

later developments from the Basic Form. The Pseudo-Titus of Bostra tradition appears in Basic, Abbreviated, Expanded, and in Catena Forms.[35] This pattern parallels the situations in Matthew and John. In the CPG on those Gospels, Type A is divided into four subclasses reflecting each of these developments in the textual tradition of this catena. As noted above, Reuss's Type A *Vollkatene* on Luke was designated as Type B in Rauer and classified as C131 in the CPG. Accordingly, Type C130 currently includes all these forms despite the later reworkings being undertaken by different catenists, having their own textual history, and being treated as more independent compilations in Matthew and John. Splitting Type C131 from C130 gives the impression that this type is independent when it, in fact, adopts nearly the entire Basic Form of C130 and adds to it hundreds of scholia from another source.[36] As Reuss's volume on Luke only sought to explain the sources which were most valuable for his edition of selected scholia on Luke, he does not exhaustively name or describe all the codices that which belong in each of these types. In the case of the Basic Form of C130 or the Abbreviated Form, he lists no manuscripts because none were considered for the edition. Reuss used three manuscripts from the Expanded Form: Vatican City, BAV, Archivio di San Pietro B 59 (Diktyon 64536); Vatican City, BAV, Barb. gr. 562 (Diktyon 65102); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.4 (Diktyon 47130).[37] The Type A Catena Form (*Vollkatene*; now C131) was represented by three codices as well: Paris, BnF, Coislin 195 (GA 34; Diktyon 49334); Paris, BnF, Coislin 23 (GA 39; Diktyon 49165); and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1423 (GA 373; Diktyon 68054).

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[35] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XI–XII.

[36] See Chapter 3 on the expansion of the initial commentaries into catenae.

[37] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XI–XII. See also Joseph Reuss, "Die Evangelienkatenen im Cod. Archivio di S. Pietro Gr. B 59," *Bib* 35 (1954): 207–216; Joseph Reuss, "Unbekannte Erklärungen zum Lukas-Evangelium des Patriarchen Photius von Konstantinopel," in *Beiträge zur Septuaginta*, ed. Josef Schreiner, vol. 1 of *Wort, Lied, und Gottesspruch: Festschrift für Joseph Ziegler* (Würzburg: Echter, 1972), 103–108.

The contents of the manuscripts with the corresponding abbreviated and expanded types in Matthew and John indicate that the C130 manuscripts may be further divided along the lines that Reuss proposed. The contents of the catena manuscripts containing the abbreviated or Expanded Forms of Type A in Matthew are listed in Table 7.3.

Contents	Number of Manuscripts	Description
C110.2 + C140.2	8	Type A Expanded Form
C110.2 + C141.1	4	Type A Expanded Form + Type B Basic Form
C110.2 + C140.1	1	Type A Expanded Form + Type A Basic Form
C110.2 + C147.1	1	Type A Expanded Form + *Codex Singulus*
C110.3 + C140.3	8	Type A Abbreviated Forms

Table 7.3. Contents of Expanded and Abbreviated Type Manuscripts in Matthew

There are fourteen codices containing the Expanded Form in Matthew (C110.2) and a catena on John. Eight of these manuscripts have the Expanded Form on John (C140.2), four have the Type B Basic Form (141.1), one has the Type A Basic Form (C140.1), and the other have a *Codex Singulus* type (C147.1). Likewise, there are eight codices containing the Abbreviated Form in Matthew (C110.3) and a catena on John. All eight of these manuscripts give the corresponding Abbreviated Form of Type A in John (C140.3). Across the twenty-two manuscripts in this sample, twenty also have a catena on Luke. Eleven are classified as a C130 manuscript and nine as type C132.[38] It is worth noting that there are more than twenty-two manuscripts which give these forms of the catena in Matthew and John, but since copies of the Type A catenae frequently do not include all the Gospels, some

[38] All figures in this example gathered from the *Catena Catalogue* database on 16 January 2023.

were excluded from this comparison.[39] The pattern of combination, however, suggests that many of these codices will have the abbreviated or expanded catenae on Luke which Reuss identified but did not specify and are aggregated into C130.

There are fifty C130 codices which also include catenae on at least Matthew or John. Table 7.4 indicates which catenae on Matthew and/or John are present in the same manuscript.

Contents	**Number of Manuscripts**	**Description**
C130 + C110.1 and/or C140.1	28	Type A Basic Form
C130 + C110.2 and/or C140.2	14	Type A Expanded Form
C130 + C110.3 and/or C140.3	3	Type A Abbreviated Form
C130 + any other type	5	Other

Table 7.4. C130 Catenae and their Catenae on Matthew and John

Most of these codices (twenty-eight) fall into the Basic Form category. Fourteen are bound with one or both expanded types and three are bound with the abbreviated types. Five are bound with other types in Matthew or John, usually one of the Peter of Laodicea or *Codices Singuli* types. The C130 codices bound with these types form the starting point for determining which C130 manuscripts witness the subtypes in Luke described by Reuss.

This examination has shown that the CPG classification of the catenae on Luke has weaknesses due to the foundation used for establishing it. The current structure is less precise at delineating stages in the development of catenae on Luke than in the other Gospels and obscures the relationship between catenae on Luke which relate to one another and their companions on

[39] On the flexibility of Gospel orders and combinations in Type A manuscripts, see Chapter 2 §2.1.3 and Chapter 2 2.2.3. See also, Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," 121–129.

Matthew and John. Moreover, these flaws cause the taxonomy to not reflect the contents of manuscripts with a catena on Luke because these typically have corresponding catenae on multiple Gospels.

4 Proposed Reclassifications

The deficiencies in the foundation of the current classification of the CPG for catenae on Luke and further research into catena manuscripts warrant reclassifications of some types of catenae to bring the structure in Luke into alignment with that on Matthew and John where they follow one another and to reflect the development of catenae on the Gospels.

Other recent studies have called for changes to the CPG on catenae on other New Testament books. Theodora Panella proposed changes to the Pseudo-Oecumenian catenae on Galatians (C165).[40] The standard reference work on this tradition is Karl Staab's *Die Pauluskatenen* published in 1926, which identifies five types within the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition: the normal type, the special type, the expanded type, the secondary expanded type, and the miscellaneous type.[41] Panella refines Staab's subgroups, especially within the normal type, based on the transmission and presentation of additional extracts inserted by later editors.[42] She also shows that Staab's special type, which was only attested in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1430 (GA 622; Diktyon 68061), was

[40] Theodora Panella, "Re-Classifying the Pseudo-Oikoumenian Catena Types for Paul's Epistle to the Galatians," in *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and their Readers*, ed. Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 20 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2021) 387–403; Theodora Panella, "The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Galatians" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2018). Many of Panella's findings are also born out in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Romans: Jacopo Marcon, "The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Romans" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2023).

[41] Karl Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1926), 100–183.

[42] Panella, "Re-Classifying the Pseudo-Oikoumenian Catena," 387–394.

incorrectly designated as a subtype. The unique contents of this catena were not the intentional choice of a compiler, rather they align with different forms of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena tradition in places where leaves were replaced. Thus, this type does not exist.[43] The revised classification reflects the manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Galatians and the tradition's stages of development.

Emanuele Scieri proposed changes to the CPG on the catenae on Acts.[44] The catenae on this book were divided into only three main types according to the person associated with the work: the Andreas catena (C150), the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena (C151), and the Pseudo-Theophylact commentary (C152). Unlike the other books of the New Testament, none of these types were divided into subtypes to reflect stages of development within a catena tradition.[45] Scieri added detail to these classifications by identifying subtypes based on differences in their contents or editing techniques of the same extract in test passages. In some cases, these aligned with previously published findings such as those by Karo and Lietzmann which were not incorporated in the CPG by Geerard and Noret.[46] Together with Parpulov, Scieri also introduced a *Codices Singuli* category for manuscripts which do not align with the other types.[47] In both cases of recent reclassifications of the CPG on New Testament catenae, the proposals recognized places where the existing taxonomy needed to be refined in order to reflect the forms of the catenae found in manuscripts and recognized that the new categories corresponded to the development of the catenae on that book.

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[43] Panella, "Re-Classifying the Pseudo-Oikoumenian Catena," 396–399.

[44] Emanuele Scieri, "The Catena Manuscripts on Acts: A Revised Classification," *VC* (2022): 281–305.

[45] Scieri, "The Catena Manuscripts on Acts: A Revised Classification," 284.

[46] Karo and Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 593–595.

[47] Scieri, "The Catena Manuscripts on Acts: A Revised Classification," 305; Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 134, 163, 167.

These examples therefore offer models for the types of changes proposed for the catenae on Luke in this chapter.

4.1 *Type A*

Type A (C130) and Type B (C131) require consolidation and partitioning into subclasses in order to match the parallel situations in Matthew and John, following the pattern established by Reuss. C130 should be expanded into a single Type A with four subclasses: C130.1, C130.2, C130.3, and. C130.4. As in the other Gospels, C130.1 represents the Basic Form, called the *Grundform* by Reuss, attributed to Pseudo-Titus of Bostra found in manuscripts such as Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, F° 30 (Cim.16) (GA 033; Diktyon 45102), Paris, BnF, Gr. 201 (GA 055; Diktyon 49771), and Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 384 (Diktyon 44009)[48]. This form of the catena was edited by Fronton du Duc in 1624.[49] C130.2 represents the Expanded Form of the earlier commentary, the *Erweiterte Grundform*, with additional scholia, especially from Photius of Constantinople. Among the manuscripts of this type are two manuscripts in the Vatican: Vatican S. Pietro B 59 and Vatican Barb. gr. 562. C130.3 represents the Type A Abbreviated Form (*die gekürzte Grundform*) compiled by Leo Choirosphaktes in the tenth century. Codices with this type include Milan A 62, Vatican gr. 1767, and Vienna Theol. gr. 324. The final subclass, C130.4, comprises the current Type B (C131), with the result that C131 should no longer be actively used. The catena in C130.4 is the Catena Form built on the initial Pseudo-Titus commentary (*die auf der Grundform aufgebaute volle Katene*) as found in the manuscripts listed in Table 7.2, including Paris Coislin 195 and Paris Coislin 23. This type was edited by J.A. Cramer in

[48] See Chapter 2 §2.

[49] du Duc, *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*.

1844.[50] Restructuring the classification of the catenae on Luke along these lines brings it into alignment with the corresponding catenae compiled by the same person in Matthew and John, reflects that all the subtypes—including the current C131—have a shared connection to the Type A Basic Form, and imitates the normal contents of manuscripts containing one of these types. Furthermore, by introducing the expanded and abbreviated types, the C130 class gains greater specificity in the identification of works which were formerly not distinguished from one another within the CPG system as well as the accurate classification of their witnesses. Appendix 2 lists the C130 manuscripts in the *Catena Catalogue* database and sorts them into these newly formed classes.

4.2 *Type B*

In conjunction with the changes for Type A, including the reclassification and labelling of C131 (currently Type B), Type B should be redefined following Reuss's structure of the catenae on Luke which matches the parallel situations in Matthew and John. The current Type C (C132), the commentary attributed to Peter of Laodicea, shares a connection to current Type D (C133) which is a Catena Form built on the Type B Basic Form by inserting additional named scholia from another source.[51] As described above, the same person produced these catenae on Luke and on Matthew and John. In the other two Gospels, the entire Type B tradition is gathered into a single category and subdivided into two types. One type represents the Type B Basic Form, C111 in Matthew and C141.1 in John. The second classifies the expansion of that work into the Type B Catena Form, C112 in

[50] Cramer, *Catenae in Lucae et Joannis.*

[51] See Chapter 2 §3. See also Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, XXXIX–XLIV; Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*; and Joseph Sickenberger, "Über die dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebenen Evangelienkommentare," *TQ* 86 (1904): 10–19.

Matthew and C141.2 in John. As is apparent in the CPG numbers for the Type B catenae, slight differences occur in the classification structure for the Type B Catena Forms. In Matthew, these are assigned the designation C112 and divided into six subclasses: C112.1 to C112.6, representing various adaptations of the Basic Form or further revisions of the catenae. In John, all the later catenae are classified as a single subclass of Type B, C141.2. In order to bring the structure and labelling of the catenae on Luke in alignment with the companion catenae on Matthew and John, C132 and C133 should be relabeled as Type B so that all the Pseudo-Peter of Laodicea catenae on these three Gospels fall under one alphabetic designation. No further changes should be made to C132 as the category for the Type B Basic Form. The *Clavis Clavium* entry, however, can be updated to note that the authors named for this type, which were drawn from Rauer's description of the type in *Petrus von Laodicea*, are not original to the type.[52] As described in Chapter 2, the Type B Basic Form was initially copied without any author names, a fact acknowledged by Rauer. Later copyists inserted attributions of sources into some manuscripts of this type—perhaps drawing on the existence of the C133 catenae to identify the variety of sources.

In the revised structure of the catenae on Luke, Type C133 will continue to hold the Type B Catena Forms The type should be subdivided to incorporate other catena types which are also adaptations of C132. Table 7.5 lists the six manuscripts currently classified as witnesses to type C133.

[52] Noret and Geerard, eds., *CPG IV²: Catenae*, 364. The CPG lists authors for the C132 type citing Rauer's discussion. This list, however, better describes the situation in many C133 manuscripts rather than C132.

Manuscript	GA	Diktyon	CPG Contents Gospels	Date
Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, A 3	2482	9680	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	XIV
Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 41	237	43666	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	XI
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1076	754	53740	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	X
Vatican City, BAV, Reg. gr. 3	884	66173	C133.1, C141.2	XI
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 757	138	67388	C112.3, C125.1, C133.1, C141.2	XI
Venice, BNM, Z.28 (364)	357	69499	C133.1, C141.2	XI

Table 7.5. List of Current C133 Manuscripts

The contents of these six manuscripts are consistent across the Gospels, giving the catenae C112.3 in Matthew, C125.1 in Mark, C133 in Luke, and C141.2 in John. Vatican Reg. gr. 3 and Venice Z.28 (364) only contain Luke and John. The types in Matthew, Luke, and John are all recognized as witnesses to the Type B Catena Form. This combination of contents across the three Gospels suggests that they belong together, as they currently are, as a unit compiled by the same person.

Since the catenae on Matthew (C112) have the most granular division it is the starting point for further investigation of any other catenae on Luke which might be better classified within the newly proposed Type B. Twenty-six manuscripts have been classified as a witness to the Type B Catena Forms catena in Matthew across all six C112 subclasses. Table 7.6 lists the number of documents witnessing to that work in Matthew and the contents of those codices in the other Gospels. If multiple catena types are found in another Gospel, the number of manuscripts containing that type is listed in parentheses next to that type. None indicates that either no catena is present for that Gospel or that the codex does not contain the text of that Gospel.

CPG Mt	Total Manuscripts	CPG Mk	CPG Lk	CPG Jn
C112.1	5	C125.1	C139.2	C147.4
C112.2	1	C125.1	C139.2	C147.4
C112.3	7	C125.1 (6) None (1)	C133 (6) None (1)	C141.2 (6) None (1)
C112.4	11	C125.1 (8) None (3)	C130 (5) C137.7 (1) None (6)	C147.6 (3) C141.1 (1) Theophylact (1) None (6)
C112.5	1	None	None	None
C112.6	1	C125.1	C132	C142

Table 7.6. Contents of Catenae on the Gospels in C112 Manuscripts

The C112-class manuscripts display noteworthy consistency in their contents in the other Gospels, when these books are present. The C112.1 and C112.2 codices have identical contents across all four Gospels. The close parallels may indicate relationships between these two catenae on Matthew which have not been previously identified, especially because the catenae on Luke (C139.2) and John (C147.4) are exclusively represented by the six codices witnessing these two types on Matthew.[53] The C139.2 codices should be reclassified as part of the Type B Catena Forms in Luke.[54]

The contents of C112.3 also correspond across the Gospels in the six *tetraevangelion* manuscripts of this type. They have type C133 in Luke and C141.2 in John. As in the first two subclasses, these six codices are the only witnesses to the types they contain in all three Gospels. These codices already are classified as the Type B Catena Form as shown in Table 7.5.

The C112.4 class, attested in the most manuscripts, has less consistency and a few unusual factors. Unlike the other C112 groups, more than half of the codices in this type do not contain all

[53] The *Catena Catalogue* database lists seven witnesses for C147.4, but GA 951 is entered twice as a manuscript in two locations: Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, 80 (Diktyon 20048) and St Petersburg, RNB, Gr. 236 (Diktyon 57398).

[54] *Clavis Clavium* notes that "this catena offers a partial match with C132 and C133": https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla/OA/Details.aspx?id=B9ADDBF6A45D6447837C5E3089CD3D93.

four Gospels. Two manuscripts contain only Matthew, three contain only Matthew and Mark, one contains only Matthew and Luke, and five contain all four Gospels.[55] Luke and John appear less frequently in these codices. The most frequently occurring type in Luke is the Type A *Grundform* (C130), but one manuscript, Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 612 (GA 747; Diktyon 53347), is a *Codex Singulus* with an irregular combination of Gospels.[56] In John, one manuscript has the Type B Basic Form (C141.1), three attest C147.6—categorized within the *Codices Singuli* group—and these are the only witnesses to that type, and one that has a Theophylact commentary.[57] There are therefore no obvious companion catenae on Luke and John composed by the compilers of C112.4. The frequency with which type C112.4 appears on its own or only with Mark (5/11) and the variegated combinations of catenae that occur with it suggests that it was composed as a single work on Matthew to which catenae on other Gospels were added in later copies. It also could be that the earliest form was a volume of Matthew–Mark. It does not add any codices which belong within the Type B subdivisions in Luke.[58]

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[55] Moscow, SHM Syn. gr. 47 (Diktyon 43672) and Moscow, Russian State Archive, F. 1607, № 3 (Diktyon 44406) together comprise GA 238. Originally a single codex, they are now divided. See Kurt Treu, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR: Eine systematische Auswertung der Texthandschriften in Leningrad, Moskau, Kiev, Odessa, Tbilisi und Erevan*, TU 91 (Berlin: Akademie, 1966), 276–277. One of these codices, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1618 (GA 377; Diktyon 68249) is a direct copy of another member of the class, Athens, Library of the Greek Parliament, 1 (GA 807; Diktyon 1097): Andrew J. Patton, "Direct Copying in a Group of Gospels Manuscripts with Catenae," *NTS* 69 (2023): 445–461.

[56] The contents of Paris Suppl. Grec. 612 are C112.4 (Matthew), C125.1 (Mark), C137.7 (Luke), and C141.1 (John). See Manafis's study on the catena in Luke in this manuscript: Manafis, "Catenae on Luke," 153–157.

[57] I explore the group of C147.6 and the Theophylact commentary in Patton, "Direct Copying," 445–461.

[58] A cursory review found a few differences between the scholia in the commentary on Luke in Parpulov's e.12.ii group comprising Athens Parliament 1, Moscow F. 1607 No. 3, Patmos 58, and Vatican gr. 1618, in comparison to the Type A Basic Form in primary witnesses such as Munich F° 30 (Cim.16). A comprehensive study could determine whether these were minor variations or if this group of manuscripts also has a commentary on Luke which differs from other manuscripts.

The lone witness to C112.5 is a manuscript only containing Matthew. C112.6 is also attested in a single manuscript, Venice, BNM, Z.27 (341) (GA 210; Diktyon 69498. The catena expands the Type B Basic Form commentary with thirty-four additional scholia, many of which are also found in C112.3. The relatively small number of additions led Reuss not to classify it as a C111.1 manuscript, but he did not see enough correspondence to consider it an abbreviated version of C112.3. Thus, it received its own classification.[59] The type in Luke is the Type B Basic Form and the type in John is a rare type which Reuss could not identify as an expansion of either Type A or Type B despite many similarities.[60] The catena in Luke in the only C112.6 manuscript already falls into Type B.

The revised Type B for the catenae on Luke constitutes all the catenae associated with Pseudo-Peter of Laodicea. This includes C132, the type already designating the Type B Basic Form, and C133, the type for the Catena Form. Using the C112 classification in Matthew as a guide, the C133 type can be partitioned in subclasses for different compilations following the same method of expanding C132 with additional comments. The current C133 witnesses should be designated as C133.1. Then the current *Catena Alia* C139.2 can be reclassified within Type B as C133.2. These changes bring all the known Type B Catena Forms into one type which is readily identified as corresponding to Type B in Matthew and John.[61] The new classification more accurately represents the development of these catenae.

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[59] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 101.

[60] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 191–192.

[61] C139.1 is also noted to have resemblance to types C132 and C133. It therefore may also belong within Type B. The contents of these manuscripts, however, is peculiar. All five witnesses contain a *catena alia* in Matthew (C119.2), a *codex singulus* in Mark (C126.3), a *catena alia* in Luke (C139.1), and a *codex singulus* in John (C147.5). Further examination is required to understand how these catenae relate to the rest of the catenae on Luke.

4.3 *Type Z*

A new type should be added to the CPG catenae on Luke to identify the witnesses to the Zacynthian catena as a single group.[62] Recent research on Codex Zacynthius and New Testament catenae conducted by the members of the Codex Zacynthius and CATENA projects demonstrated that the catena found in Zacynthius is not a unique work but is attested in whole or part in other manuscripts.[63] The catena on Luke found in Codex Zacynthius, identified as type C137.3 in the CPG, is classified within the *Codices Singuli* category because Zacynthius was then the only known witness to its text.[64] Panagiotis Manafis has determined that Vatican City Pal. gr. 273 (Diktyon 66005), classified as *Codex Singulus* C137.5 based on Rauer's work, is a copy of the Zacynthian catena type.[65] The Vatican manuscript has now been reclassified as a member of C137.3 with Codex Zacynthius. The same catena type is also attested in an Abbreviated Form in three other manuscripts. One is Paris Suppl. grec. 612; Diktyon 53347). This frame catena manuscript contains an abridgment of the Zacynthian catena, including 197 of the 335 scholia found in Codex Zacynthius with some additional extracts from Chrysostom not in Zacynthius.[66] Paris Suppl. grec. 612 has also

[62] On this type and the catenae related to it, see Chapter 5 and Manafis, *Exegesis on the Gospel of Luke*.

[63] The Codex Zacynthius project: https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/research/itsee/projects/codex-zacynthius.

[64] Reuss had access to Greenlee's unpublished transcription of the catena in Codex Zacynthius, but the first published edition was not available until 2020 (Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XV n. 26): Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall, *Palimpsest Catena*. This edition surpasses Greenlee's especially due to the use of multispectral images to see portions of the text which were not visible to the naked eye.

[65] Manafis, "A New Witness," 376–381; Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, LIII.

[66] E. Bickersteth and Harold Greenlee suspected Paris Suppl. grec. 612 shared the same form of catena as Zacynthius: J. Harold Greenlee, "The Catena of Codex Zacynthius," *Bib* 40 (1959): 1000.
Manafis confirmed this and studied which scholia were present in both manuscripts: Manafis, "Catenae on Luke," 153–168.

been classified within the *Codices Singuli* category as C137.7.[67] Paris, BnF, Suppl. grec. 1248 (GA 2111; Diktyon 53912) also has been identified as a witness to the abridged version of the Zacynthian type in C137.7.[68] The third manuscript is Prague, Národní Knihovna České republiky, XXV B 7 (GA 1422; Diktyon 55549). This codex is also a frame catena manuscript with an Abbreviated Form of the Type Z catena. It was also designated a *codex singulus* in *Clavis Clavium* in conjunction with the production of Parpulov's catalogue and given the siglum C137.8. The recent identification of so many manuscripts related to the Zacynthian catena type and the presentation of them as part of a set of catenae on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John in Chapter 5 suggests that their position within the *Codices Singuli* type should be reevaluated.

As the current CPG has already used every integer in the 130s and C131 has been made vacant in the above proposal, the designation C131z is proposed for the Type Z catenae. This type could be subdivided to separate the full witnesses from the abridged versions, but this is not absolutely necessary at this stage of understanding in the development of the type. Transferring the Type Z catena manuscripts to their own type outside the *Codices Singuli* category reflects that they attest a catena which parallels the other early catenae in date and composition and restores the *Codices Singuli* to truly independent witnesses. Chapter 5 proposed a sixth-century date for the composition of this catena. This situates it at approximately the same time as the Type A and Type B Basic

[67] This addition was a contribution of the Codex Zacynthius project to *Clavis Clavium*, see Manafis, "Catenae on Luke," 137–168. Though Rauer classified Paris Suppl. grec. 612 within his individual manuscripts section and noted its affiliation to Vatican Pal. gr. 273, Geerard and Noret did not follow Rauer by adding the manuscript to the list of *Codices Singuli*: Rauer, *Origenes Werke*, LIII and LVI.

[68] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 13.

Forms.[69] Thus, these catenae were formed and circulated in the earliest era of New Testament catenae. Types C130 and C132 also stand out as primary catenae—works which seem to have been compiled by drawing on the direct tradition of their sources rather than from already-existing catenae. The Zacynthian type is also a primary catena.[70] Every other catena on Luke outside the *Codices Singuli* type is a secondary catena and the independence of the *Codices Singuli* has not been demonstrated. The date and composition technique of the Zacynthian type warrants it forming an independent group. Moreover, when the five manuscripts attesting a form of the catena found in Codex Zacynthius are removed from the *Codices Singuli* type, the remaining witnesses are truly singular manuscripts.[71] This transfer then restores the category to its intended parameters.

An alternative treatment of the Zacynthian-type manuscripts could be a new category (or two) within the *Catenae Aliae*, C139.3 and so on. A disadvantage to this proposal is that the Zacynthian catena is a primary catena while the C139 catenae have been shown to be members of the Type B tradition. Such a move would obfuscate their position within the textual history of catenae. Additionally, this thesis has shown that the secondary catenae in the Type A and Type B traditions expanded the initial works exclusively from the Type Z catena on Luke. The catena in Codex Zacynthius had an influential role in the development of the catenae on Luke as a source for the major productions of catenae in subsequent eras and representing it with its own type number at the main level reflects its importance among the catenae on Luke.

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[69] See the discussion of dates for these works in Chapter 2 §2.1.5 and §3.1.5. See also: Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 40; Rauer, *Origenes Werke IX*, XXXVIII; Rauer, *Petrus von Laodicea*, 68–69; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XII–XIII.

[70] Manafis, "The Sources of Codex Zacynthius and Their Treatment," 120.

[71] See Manafis, *Exegesis on the Gospel of Luke*.

5 Conclusion

The current classification of the catenae on Luke in the CPG does not adequately distinguish between different catenae on the Gospels or reflect the development of these catenae in the textual tradition. This study proposes several revisions to the taxonomy of the catenae on Luke in the CPG which rectify discrepancies between the systems used in Luke and those for Matthew and John, specify stages in the development of catenae on Luke that were not treated in the current system, and clarify the position of some catenae as primary or secondary parts of the textual tradition. A summary of the proposed changes is shown in Table 7.7.

This entails the subdivision of some types, such as C130 and C133, to distinguish more precisely the different reworkings of a foundational commentary and the consolidation of other types, such as C131 and the Type Z witnesses, to bring together sources with other parts of their textual tradition. In each case, the change creates greater uniformity between the catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John for those catenae composed by the same figures in different Gospels and reflects the development of the catenae on Luke.

Type Label	Revised Classification of the Catenae on Luke	Current CPG Number(s)
Type A	C130.1	C130
	C130.2	C130
	C130.3	C130
	C130.4	C131
Type Z	C131z	C137.3, C137.5, C137.7, C137.8
Type B	C132	C132
	C133.1	C133
	C133.2	C139.2
Type E	C134	C134
Type F	C135	C135
Catena *Macarius Chrysocephalus*	C136	C136
Codices Singuli	C137.1	C137.1
	C137.2	C137.2
	C137.4	C137.4
	C137.6	C137.6
	C137.9	C137.9
	C137.10	C137.10
Catenae Aliae	C139.1	C139.1

Table 7.7. Revised Classification of the Catenae on Luke

While the formation of a new main level category built on an earlier number (C131z), the designation of the Peter of Laodicea branch as Type B, and the migration of multiple types or witnesses to new domains creates the possibility of confusion, the *Clavis Clavium* database mitigates the problems of nomenclature and references. In no case is an existing CPG number given to something new, and though Type B is being reused for a different catena this increases clarity across the catenae on the Gospels. The changes made to each unit can be added as a note at the heading of the type, which has already occurred for Vatican Pal. gr. 273 (previously assigned type C137.5) and the catenae in type C119.2 on Matthew (previously were among the *Codices Singuli* [C116] in

Matthew).[72] The ability to hyperlink allows a researcher to navigate immediately from the earlier identification to the new category or vice versa. In addition, the Revision History panel documents the changes which have been made with an indication of their source. These interventions in the database create clarity for subsequent research. Finally, the proposed revision to the catenae on Luke establishes a stronger foundation for the identification of future catenae on Luke and discussion of the already known works by tidying up what had been adopted out of necessity or added progressively without being reconciled to the other catenae on Luke. This advantage will aid future research on the catenae on Luke and the catenae on the Gospels. Other minor changes to the taxonomy and labelling of the catenae on Matthew and John should be made after the larger changes in Luke have been incorporated.

[72] The entries for C137.5: https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla/OA/Details.aspx?id=69B11CBE3199DB40BA687B3D15555B3F and C119.2: https://clavis.brepols.net/clacla/OA/Details.aspx?id=BF64685533AB15428478 7F4D017DD6CA.

	CPG	Attribution	Edition	Sickenberger (1901)	Karo & Lietzmann (1902)	Rauer (1920)	Rauer (1959)	Reuss (1984)	Geerard CPG (1980)	Noret CPG (2018)
C130	Type A	Pseudo-Titus of Bostra	du Duc (1624)	b	—	b	I.a	A. *Grundform* A. *Erweiterte Grundform* A. *Gekürzte Grundform*	√	√
C131	Type B	Expansion of Pseudo-Titus of Bostra	Cramer (1844)	c	I	c	I.b	A. *Vollkatene*	√	√
C132	Type C	Pseudo-Peter of Laodicea	Márkfi (1860)	p	—	p	II.c/d	B. *Grundform*	√	√
C133	Type D	Expansion of Pseudo-Peter of Laodicea	—	r	II	p	II.e	B. *Vollkatene*	√	√
C134	Type E	—	--—	pal.	III		VI.W	D	√	√
C135	Type F	Nicetas of Heraclea	Mai (1837)* Krikones (1976)*	—	IV	n	III.k	C	√	√
C136	*Catena Macarii Chrysocephali*	Macarius Chrysocephalus	—	—	V	—	IV.m	—	√	√
C137.1	*Codex Singulus*	Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 301	—	—	VI	—	VI.Y	F	√	√
C137.2	*Codex Singulus*	Munich, BSB, gr. 208	Manafis 2024	—	(II)	s	VI.X	—	√	√
C137.3	*Codex Singulus*	Cambridge, University	Houghton, Manafis, and	—	(II?)	—	VI.Ξ	E	—	√

		Library, Add. 10062	Myshrall (2020)							
C137.4	*Codex Singulus*	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 349	Manafis 2024	—	—	—	—	—	—	√
C137.5	*Codex Singulus*	Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 273	Manafis (2022)*	—	—	—	VI.U	—	—	√
C137.6	*Codex Singulus*	Florence, BML, Conv. Soppr. 159	Manafis 2024	—	—	—	—	—	—	√
C137.7	*Codex Singulus*	Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 612	—	—	—	—	VI.V	—	—	—
C137.8	*Codex Singulus*	Prague, Národní Knihovna České republiky, XXV B 7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
C137.9	*Codex Singulus*	Venice, BNM, Z.495 (1048)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
C137.10	*Codex Singulus*	Drama, Kosinitza Monastery 3 (3P)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
C138	*Coptic Catena*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
C139.1	*Catena Alia*	—	Manafis 2024	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
C139.2	*Catena Alia*	—	—	—	—	—	VI.R, S, T	—	—	—

Table 7.1. Current Structure of the Catenae on Luke and Cross-References to Earlier Classifications

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

> "Katenenstudien können nur dann einen Ertrag bringen, wenn sie auf die Hss selbst aufbauen."[1]
>
> "Immature poets imitate; mature poets steal; bad poets deface what they take, and good poets make it into something better, or at least something different."[2]

1 Development in a Dynamic Tradition

The catena was a dynamic form of Byzantine exegesis in late antiquity which afforded readers several ways of interacting with the texts on the manuscript page and the interpretation of the scriptures.[3] This examination of the catenae on the Gospels has encountered these texts to understand their composition and transmission. The thesis presents several significant findings. The first aim of the study was to evaluate the early catenae on the Gospels compiled before the ninth century. The description of the Type A Basic Form, Type A Catena Form, Type B Basic Form, and Type B Catena Forms affirmed the contours of Reuss's study of the catenae while adding new information about each catena. The beginnings of the catenae on the Gospels were the production of compilation commentaries on Matthew, Luke, and John in the sixth century. In the following centuries, new catenists reworked these earlier commentaries, especially by supplementing them with named scholia.

The descriptions of the Type A and Type B traditions build upon Reuss's work and add a more robust documentary foundation, making full use of Parpulov's catalogue of catena

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[1] Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, NTAbh 18/4–5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941), 6: "Catena studies can only yield a return if they build on the manuscripts themselves."

[2] T.S. Eliot, *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism* (London: Methuen, 1920), 114.

[3] On affordances, see Caroline Levine, *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

manuscripts. Attentiveness to the tautology and the contents of the manuscripts yielded fresh insight into the composition and reading of commentaries and catenae. Particular catena types were copied with specific *mises en page*, with a full or abridged biblical text, and with certain orders of the Gospels and other catena types. These findings lend evidence to the shape of those works at the time when they were compiled. Manuscripts which deviate from the typical codicology and contents of their type often do so for specific reasons which highlight aspects of their production and use or, sometimes, patterns in the making of manuscripts in certain periods. The presentation of catenae in manuscripts elicits reflections on how these were compiled and read.

The second aim was to determine how the early catenae were related. One of the most salient results of this thesis is the identification of Type Z as a new catena type on the Gospels. The catena on Luke in Codex Zacynthius (Cambridge, University Library, Add. 10062; GA 040; Diktyon 73427) and the C145 catena on John had been recognized as early catenae on their respective Gospels in previous research, while the C116.5 and C119.1 catenae on Matthew were only recently discovered. This thesis establishes new relationships between these types and the catena tradition. The discovery that the Zacynthian catena was the source for the additional scholia in both the Type A and Type B Catena Forms is a breakthrough for determining the development of the catenae on the Gospels. It provides a methodology and profile for seeking the sources in Matthew and John. Type C145 proves to be the source of the scholia in John, and two abridged versions of the lost Type Z catena on Matthew could be identified. The Type Z catenae were the first catenae on the Gospels and influenced the development of nearly every other catena tradition.

The Type Z catenae also afforded the opportunity to explore the compilation of all three of the sixth-century compilations in the catena tradition. The Type B Catena Form and Type Z catenae

attributed some scholia to an unattributed source with the term ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου and ἀνεπίγραφος. Many of these scholia correspond to places where the Type A and Type B Basic Forms and the Type Z catenae overlap. It had been postulated that this attribution referred to an early exegetical collection of anonymous scholia. The comparison of the three catena traditions here corroborates this hypothesis because it is evident that the compilers of all three of the sixth-century compilations used the same source independently. This argument is supported by the first ever comparison of the attribution ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in catenae in every book of the Old and New Testament.

These findings about the development of the catenae on the Gospels reinforce the idea that the Type Z catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John are companions produced by the same compilers which constitute a formal type. This allowed them to be described for the first time as a type together. The Type Z tradition evolved in both a full form and an abridged form; for Matthew, only the abridged form remains and in Luke, the abridged form is the only one available after Luke 11 where Codex Zacynthius is no longer extant. Seeing these as a collection teases out similarities in the compositional technique, the form of their biblical texts, the prefaces to the catenae, and the codicology of the manuscripts. Unlike the other types, the earliest Type Z catenae were individual volumes on Matthew, Luke, and John. The abridged form may have originated to bring these extensive catenae together into a single volume, with a commentary on Mark added to round off the collection.

The catenae on Mark developed separately from the catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John. The compilers of commentaries and catenae on the other Gospels did not explain Mark, so different compilers prepared a *Commentary on Mark* to accompany the others. This was accomplished in a novel way, by assembling quotations from the commentaries and catenae on other Gospels and

repurposing them into an explanation of Mark. The text of the *Commentary on Mark* has been transmitted in two recensions which correspond to the catena tradition in the other Gospels. The first recension usually is found alongside Type A and the second with Type B. The inclusion or exclusion of the *Commentary on Mark* in manuscripts informs the patterns of development for the catena traditions in the other Gospels and for the catenae on Mark. It is also noteworthy that while the two recensions of the *Commentary on Mark* accommodate variation within the type, the tradition developed in a relatively flat pattern. When later editors rewrote the catenae on the Gospels, they did not extend that work to Mark.

The findings of this thesis have direct impacts on the classification of the catenae on the Gospels in the CPG. The catenae on Luke in particular were structured in a way that obscured the fact that the same compilers produced the commentaries and catenae on Matthew, Luke, and John, and merged different compilations into single categories. The proposed revision rectifies these problems by bringing the classification of the catenae on Luke into alignment with those in Matthew and John for both Type A and Type B. It also consolidated the Type Z catenae from several types into one new type. Though Chapter 7 does not touch on the catenae on Matthew and John in the same way, several smaller revisions could be made for those taxonomies as well.

Tracing the development of the catenae on the Gospels offers a foundation for future research. The updated descriptions of the Type A, Type B, and Type Z catena types and the reclassification of the CPG facilitates more expedient assessment and use of these catenae. It enhances the understanding of catenae in general, the study of compilations in late antiquity and Byzantium, and the history of biblical interpretation. These findings also will expedite the identification of catena types in newly discovered manuscripts and shed light on exegesis and the

authority of tradition in Byzantine writers. As the first systematic study of catenae on the Gospels in decades, this thesis opens the tradition to fresh questions from biblical and Byzantine studies.

2 Avenues for Further Research

A single thesis can merely scratch the surface of viable topics and important projects in the study of the catenae on the Gospels. Manuscripts continue to be an area for further inquiry. Throughout the thesis, several manuscripts or groups of manuscripts have been flagged as worthy of future study. One such group is Parpulov's e.6.i. group, comprising five manuscripts which receive the most extended treatment in Appendix 2. This group has been called part of the Type A Expanded Form in Matthew and Luke, but the Type B Basic Form in John, with the first recension in Mark which normally accompanies Type B. The mixture of types in the Gospels stems from the fact that the text merges scholia from both the Type A and Type B Basic Forms. It would be useful to determine how these commentaries were produced, whether their text started with or aligned more closely with a Type A or Type B, and whether their classifications in the CPG should be reconsidered.

The next stage of my own research will be to examine direct copies of catena manuscripts which these studies have brought to light. Sickenberger and Reuss each suggested that many manuscripts were directly copied from one another which New Testament textual scholars have either not recognized or ignored or investigated but quietly rejected. A surprisingly small number of New Testament *Abschriften* are known but a disproportionate number of these are catenae.[4] Two recent publications have further added to the number of catena manuscripts which are direct copies

[4] Alan Taylor Farnes, *Simply Come Copying: Direct Copies as Test Cases in the Quest for Scribal Habits*, WUNT 2/481 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019). Farnes draws attention to this and offers some preliminary reasons for the phenomenon.

by utilizing the tools of the *Editio Critica Maior* and phylogenetic techniques.[5] This study will aim to validate, as far as possible, the direct copies proposed in earlier research on catenae and others which I have flagged during the writing of this thesis. It will then revisit the broader phenomenon of direct copying in Greek New Testament manuscripts in which several proposed *Abschriften* have not been proven and build on Alan Farnes's explanation for why more direct copies of catenae have been detected.

Another intriguing area of research would be the receptions of catenae, especially in the first millennium. What evidence is there for the use or influence of catenae on Byzantine biblical interpretation or theology? Dorival uses the term "postérité littéraire" to describe the relationships between earlier and later catenae and their use in later commentary and homiletic projects.[6] Adrian Pirtea investigated how the term κάμηλος in Jesus's refrain about a camel passing through the eye of the needle in Matt. 19:24 was interpreted to mean a piece of nautical rope rather than a camel.[7] This interpretation became dominant in some versions and even later Greek Byzantine interpretation through scholia in catenae. Agnès Lorrain has demonstrated that some of the *hypotheses* and shorter

[5] H.A.G. Houghton and Amy Myshrall, "Three Direct Copies and Other Closely Related Manuscripts of the Pauline Epistles," *NovT* 65 (2023): 381–399; Andrew J. Patton, "Direct Copying in a Group of Gospels Manuscripts with Catenae," *NTS* 69 (2023): 445–461.

[6] Gilles Dorival, "La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques," *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985): 209–226. See also the recapitulation of this theme in the conclusion of the final volume of *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes*: Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 54, vol. 5 (Leuven: Peeters, 2018).

[7] Adrian Pirtea, "To Pass a Rope Through the Eye of a Needle: The Influence of Byzantine Catenae and Homilaries on the Greek, Church Slavonic, and Old Romanian Readings of Matthew 19,24," in *Wort- und Formenvielfalt: Festschrift für Christoph Koch zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Anna Jouravel and Audrey Mathys, Studies on Language and Culture in Central and Eastern Europe 37 (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2021), 327–352. See also the reflections on catenae and exegesis in Tia M. Kolbaba, "Byzantine Orthodox Exegesis," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 2: From 600 to 1450*, ed. Ann E. Matter and Richard Marsden, vol. 2 of New Cambridge History of the Bible (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 485–504.

exegetical texts included between the Gospels in catenae have been transmitted in Greek New Testament manuscripts *without* catenae.[8] Additional studies showing the use or reception of catenae outside the development within the catena tradition would deepen our understanding of how people used catenae and how they shaped exegetical and theological reflections. They may also contribute to an understanding the context for catenae. Were they envisioned as educational texts for universities or other centers of learning? Did they play a part in monastic life? Did the homiletic and liturgical traditions turn to catenae as a source for material?

The study of the biblical text in catenae is brimming with possibilities in New Testament textual criticism. Indeed, this was the impetus for Parker and Houghton's pursuit of research on catenae. This thesis highlighted some relationships between features and forms of the biblical text and particular catenae. The Type Z catenae often have a repetitive biblical text with older readings. The Type B Catena Form has a subgroup which is part of Family 1 in John and potentially other Gospels. Recent studies by Houghton and Patton have shown that catenae often form discrete groups within the textual history of the Greek New Testament.[9] In the case of my own work, the small families or groups of manuscripts belong to the same groups constructed by Parpulov. These analyses bring together codicology with textual approaches. Further studies could identify groups

[8] Agnès Lorrain, "Der Fall Jerusalem, Timiou Staurou 104 (12. Jh.): Eine Untersuchung zur Herkunft patristischer Exzerpte in den Tetraevangelien," *ZAC* 24 (2020): 355–388.

[9] H. A. G. Houghton, "Catena Manuscripts in the *Editio Critica Maior* of the Greek New Testament," in *Pen, Print, and Pixels: Advances in Textual Criticism in the Digital Era*, ed. Daniel B. Wallace, David Flood, Elijah Hixson, and Denis Salgado (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2023); Patton, "Direct Copying," 445–461. To this could be added Wasserman and Elmelund's unpublished research on the catena group in Family 1. Catena groups were also identified by Andrew Edmondson and Michael Clark: Andrew Charles Edmondson, "An Analysis of the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method Using Phylogenetics" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2019); Michael A. Clark, "The Catena of Nicetas of Heraclea and Its Johannine Text" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2016); Michael A. Clark, "Nicetas of Heraclea's Catena on John's Gospel: How Many Manuscripts are There," in *Authoritative Texts and Reception History*, ed. Dan Batovici and Kristen De Troyer, Biblical Interpretation Series 151 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 216–224.

or families of catena manuscripts. Since these codices usually have a later form of the text of the Gospels, such research would bring fresh insight into the development and diversity of the Byzantine text. Several catenae also have older or special readings. Are there distinct readings or fossils of older readings embedded in the text of the Gospels in catena manuscripts or in the internal references within the scholia themselves? Situating commentary and catena manuscripts within the textual tradition of the Greek New Testament is a promising task which would yield fruit for the field's textual and historical goals.[10]

The final avenue for further research is the most important and the most daunting of the *desiderata*. New editions and, in some cases, the *editio princeps* of the catenae on the Gospels need to be produced. Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini's declaration cited in Chapter 1 bears repeating: "These exegetical works are in need of reliable texts: it goes almost without saying that the effort to provide critical editions of texts, whether unpublished or poorly edited, must remain at the core of the study of Byzantium."[11] The study of the catenae on the Old Testament has been enriched by modern critical editions in nearly every corpus, while catenae on the Gospels still largely depend on Cramer's sometimes unreliable editions or other editions which do not meet modern standards. The only modern edition is that of Codex Zacynthius, which, while expertly done, is still the edition of a single manuscript. Several recent publications have addressed the need

[10] On the goals of New Testament textual criticism: Michael W. Holmes, "New Testament Textual Criticism in 2020: A (Selective) Survey of the *Status Quaestionis*," *Early Christianity* 11 (2020): 3–20.

[11] Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini, "Why the Bible in Byzantium Matters," in *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and their Readers*, ed. Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 20 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2021), 17. My forthcoming chapter expresses this desideratum specifically for catenae on the Gospels: Andrew J. Patton, "The Multiplicity of Catenae and Critical Editions," in *Catenae as Databases: The Challenge of Using, Interpreting, and Editing Catenae Manuscripts*, ed. Uta Heil and Sebastiano Panteghini, Manuscripta Biblica (Berlin: De Gruyter, Forthcoming).

for editions of catenae, reflected on techniques for handling the challenges presented by the textual tradition, and remarked on aspects of presentation that respect the unique formats of catena manuscripts and the complex interactions between the biblical text and the commentary.[12] The use of digital approaches to preparing and publishing editions of catenae and other late antique works has become standard, with particular benefits for those preserved only as scholia.[13] This is seen in the edition of Codex Zacynthius produced using ITSEE's Workspace for Collaborative Editing, the *Expositiones in Psalmos* project at the University of Vienna, and the Patristic Text Archive produced by the Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.[14] These provide models for projects to edit the catenae on the Gospels and the rest of the New Testament.

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[12] Alessandra Bucossi, "The Use of an *Apparatus Collationum Fontium* in the Critical Edition of a Patristic Anthology," in *The Arts of Editing Medieval Greek and Latin: A Casebook*, ed. Elisabet Göransson et al., Studies and Texts 203 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2016), 36–61; Matthieu Cassin, "Où en est l'édition de textes patristiques grecs aujourd'hui ? Théories, méthodes et pratiques," *ZAC* 24 (2020): 11–59; Barbara Crostini, "Editing a Greek Catena to the Psalter from a Single Illuminated Manuscript: Vaticanus graecus 752," in *The Arts of Editing Medieval Greek and Latin: A Casebook*, ed. Elisabet Göransson et al., Studies and Texts 203 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2016), 54–71; Agnès Lorrain, "Éditer les chaînes exégétiques grecques : quelle place pour les mises en page ?," *Byzantion* 91 (2021): 219–263; Christoph Markschies, "Wie wurde antike christliche Bibelexegese überliefert und wie soll sie folglich ediert werden?," in *Handschriften- und Textforschung heute: Zur Überlieferung der griechischen Literatur. Festschrift für Dieter Harlfinger aus Anlass seines 70. Geburtstages*, ed. Christian Brockman, Daniel Deckers, Lutz Koch, and Stefano Valente, Serta Graeca 30 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2014), 147–159.

[13] See especially the collection of articles in the thematic issue: Annette von Stockhausen, "Themenheft: Patristische Editionen im digitalen Zeitalter — Theorie und Praxis Gastherausgeberin," *ZAC* 24 (2020).

[14] *Workspace for Collaborative Editing*: www.birmingham.ac.uk/workspace. On the Workspace for Collaborative editing: H.A.G. Houghton, Catherine Smith, and Martin Sievers, "The Workspace for Collaborative Editing," in *Digital Humanities 2014 Conference Abstracts, EPFL–UNIL, Lausanne, Switzerland, 8–12 July 2014* (2014), 210–211; H.A.G. Houghton and Catherine Smith, "Digital Editing and the Greek New Testament," in *Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture*, ed. Claire Clivaz, Paul Dilley, and David Hamidović, Digital Biblical Studies 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 110–127; Catherine Smith, "Old Wine, New Wineskins: Digital Tools for Editing the New Testament," in *The Future of New Testament Textual Scholarship*, ed. Garrick V. Allen, WUNT 417 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 407–434. The *Expositiones in Psalmos* project, edition, and technical documentation: https://psalmcatenae.acdh-dev.oeaw.ac.at/html/index.html. Further description of the editor will be published in the forthcoming conference proceedings volume sponsored by the project: Uta Heil and Sebastiano Panteghini, eds., *Catenae as Databases: The Challenge of Using, Interpreting, and Editing Catenae Manuscripts*, Manuscripta Biblica (Berlin: De Gruyter, Forthcoming). The *Patristic Text Archive*: https://pta.bbaw.de/en/. On the Patristic Text Archive: Annette von Stockhausen, "Die Modellierung kritischer Editionen im digitalen Zeitalter," *ZAC* 24 (2020): 123–160; Annette von Stockhausen, "Die Edition der Konzilsakten und das Problem der Sammlungen. Editionsphilologische Überlegungen anhand der Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum III," in *Crux interpretum: Ein*

Editions of catenae on the Gospels offer several benefits for research on catenae and other fields.[15] First, the process of producing an edition will improve the understanding of the manuscript tradition. It will clarify whether the affinities in codicology which shaped Parpulov's groupings are reflected in the texts of the catenae. It will also produce a *stemma codicum* for particular types or stages in the catena tradition to complement the stemma of the types produced in this thesis. Second, editions will give concrete evidence for the fluidity and openness of the catena tradition, leading to more accurate descriptions of how individual catena types developed. This will also yield insight into the sources of the catenae and the compilation techniques used by particular compilers. Third, the detailed engagement with particular manuscripts required in the process of making an edition will bring to light more information about their production and use, contributing not only to an understanding of their text but also their role and contexts of use.

Producing an edition of a text is a generative act. If anonymous works go unstudied, unedited texts do all the more. Editions make texts accessible for further studies and invite new insights into the text of a particular work and new connections to others; the benefits of a new edition are amplified when the Greek text is also translated, such as in the recent editions by Metzler and Houghton, Manafis, and Myshrall.[16] For example, the edition of the catena in Codex Zacynthius

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kritischer Rückblick auf das Werk von Eduard Schwartz, ed. Uta Heil and Annette von Stockhausen, TU 176 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 129–142.

[15] These benefits correspond to those described in greater detail in Patton, "The Multiplicity of Catenae and Critical Editions," forthcoming.

[16] Karin Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza: Der Genesiskommentar. Aus den "Eclogarum in libros historicos Veteris Testamenti epitome"*, GCS N.F. 23 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016); Karin Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza: Der Exoduskommentar. Aus der "Eclogarum in libros historicos Veteris Testamenti epitome"*, GCS N.F. 28 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020); H.A.G. Houghton, Panagiotis Manafis, and Amy Myshrall, *The Palimpsest Catena of Codex Zacynthius: Text and Translation*, TS 3/22 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2020).

has been instrumental for discerning the development of the catenae on the Gospels and attracted comparisons to other catena traditions.[17] Editions of catenae on the Gospels will foreground a significant form of biblical hermeneutics so that colleagues in fields such as biblical and Byzantine studies can wrestle with the text and tradition of catenae and apply them to the vital questions of how the Bible has been interpreted, how authoritative voices mediated the meaning of the scriptures, and how past writings were rewritten in collections and compilations in late antiquity.

3 Concluding Remarks

My hope is that this thesis shall revitalize the study of the catenae on the Gospels and position them as an indispensable part of a dynamic exegetical tradition built on reading, writing, and compiling. Dorival contends that the catenae on the Psalms are paradigmatic for catena research: "Catenae on the Psalms are a particularly good way of studying the history of catenae in general… It is to be expected, therefore, that the analysis proposed here is likely to be valid for the other books of the Bible."[18] The catenae on the Psalms appear to have been copied in more manuscripts than other catenae and have been organized by scholars into more types than any other tradition. Dorival's own research has illuminated the complex history of development in the catenae on the Psalms. The Psalms catenae may indeed be the catenae *par excellence*, but at the very least, the catenae on the Gospels are not far behind. The catenae on the Gospels too have an abundant manuscript tradition and have been divided into more than a dozen types between the four Gospels.

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[17] Laurence Vianès, "Affinités entre le Codex Zacynthius et les chaînes du pseudo-Droungarios," in *Ordre et désordre dans les chaînes exégétiques grecques*, ed. Jean-Marie Auwers and Agnès Lorrain, Instrumenta patristica et medievalia (Turnhout: Brepols, Forthcoming 2024).

[18] Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 54, vol. 5 (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), 223. See also the earlier attestation of this sentiment: Gilles Dorival, "La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques," *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985): 210.

The findings of this thesis are therefore significant for the study of any catena tradition. The Gospels have the added component of being produced on a canon within the canon; the production of catenae on the Gospels as a single project on three of the Gospels, and the peculiar addition of a compilation commentary on Mark, resulted in a voluminous text with internal connections between the commentaries, copied into hundreds of manuscripts. The development of the catenae on the Gospels and the description of each type offers new points of comparison for the study of catenae.

APPENDIX 1

Formats of the Biblical and Catena Texts by Type

Table A1.1 shows the distribution of catena manuscripts of the Gospels in the formats of their biblical and catena texts.[1] Two clarifications of the data are necessary. First, the *Catena Catalogue* database includes multiple entries for parts of the same manuscript which are held in separate institutions such as Florence, BML, Plut.06.05 (Diktyon 15992) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. G.157 (Diktyon 48369) which comprise GA 832 or the four entries for each library owning part of GA 050. A few manuscripts, discussed within thesis chapters, are understood as a single volume and counted once even though they are in multiple parts, such as the volume for each Gospel in Milan, BA, D. 161 inf. + D. 466 inf. + D. 298 inf. + D. 282 inf. (GA 2579; Diktyon 42596 + 6621 + 42619 + 42611). These have been consolidated to a single entry for the figures in Table A1.1, resulting in some differences from the search results in the *Catena Catalogue* database. Second, the total number of results exceeds the number of entries in the *Catena Catalogue* database because some manuscripts have mixed contents, such as Athens, Library of the Greek Parliament, 1 (GA 807; Diktyon 1097), which is included as a result for Type A Basic Form because of its commentary on Luke (C130.1), for the Type B Catena Forms because of its catena on Matthew (C112.4), and for the *Codices Singuli* because its catena on John (C147.6).

[1] These figures were last calculated from the *Catena Catalogue* database on 31 August 2023.

Type	CPG Numbers	Total Manuscripts	Frame Format	Alternating Format	Other Format	Full Biblical Text	Abridged Biblical Text
Type A Basic Form	C110.1, C130.1, C140.1	56	6	49	1	14	42
Type A Expanded Form	C110.2, C130.2, C140.2	24	13	11	0	16	8
Type A Abbreviated Form	C110.3, C130.3, C140.3	9	1	8	0	1	8
Type A Catena Form	C110.4, C130.4, C140.4	15	12	3	0	12	3
Type B Basic Form	C111, C132, C141.1	74	48	25	1	65	9
Type B Catena Forms	C112.1, C112.2, C112.3, C112.4, C112.5, C112.6, C133.1, C133.2, C141.2	33	15	18	0	32	1
Type C Catena (Nicetas)	C113, C135, C144	40	0	40	0	33	7
Type Z Catena Forms	C116.5, C119.1, C131Z, C145, C147.9	13	6	6	1	13	3
Macarius Chrysocephalus	C113a, C136	12	0	12	0	0	12
Other Types	C114, C115, C119.2, C134, C139.1, C142, C143, C146	16	12	4	0	15	1
Codices Singuli	C116.1, C116.2, C116.3, C116.4, C137.1, C137.2, C137.4, C137.6, C137.9, C137.10, C147.1, C147.2, C147.3, C147.4, C147.5, C147.6, C147.7, C147.8	24	15	8	1	22	2

Table A1.1. Formats of the Biblical and Catena Texts by Type

APPENDIX 2

Reclassification of the C130 Manuscripts

1 Introduction

Chapter 7 proposed a new structure for the catenae on Luke in the CPG which was accepted by the editors of the *Clavis Clavium* database and implemented in a subsequent update.[1] One of the most significant changes described in Chapter 7 is the division and expansion of type C130—the Type A catena on Luke attributed pseudonymously to Titus of Bostra (d. 378). Instead of a single type C130 which includes both the Basic Form of this commentary and later abbreviations and expansions of it, this is now divided into four subtypes. Collectively, these belong to the Type A tradition of the catenae on Luke. The first subtype, C130.1, is the Basic Form of the commentary compiled by Pseudo-Titus of Bostra. The second subtype, C130.2, is the Expanded Form of the basic commentary. The third subtype, C130.3, is the Abbreviated Form of the basic commentary. Finally, the final subtype, C130.4, is the Catena Form of the basic commentary. This subtype was formerly identified as C131 but now has been transferred to this new classification as part of the Type A tradition.

The formation of these new subtypes within C130 necessitated that the fifty-seven manuscripts classified as witnesses to C130 in the *Catena Catalogue* database be allocated into the new groups.[2] This Appendix lists the manuscripts according to their new types. In some cases, manuscripts which were previously classified as witnesses to type C130 have been shown to belong

[1] Thanks are due to Hugh Houghton for entering these changes into *Clavis Clavium* on my behalf. As of 25 September 2023, they have not been made public in the database.

[2] https://purl.org/itsee/catena-catalogue. Search conducted 22 May 2023.

to a different type, and in other cases manuscripts classified in a different type have been shown to attest one of the forms of Type A. Thus, seventy-three manuscripts have been identified as a witness to one of the C130 subtypes. Types C130.1 and C130.4 both fall within the scope of this thesis and receive a full description in Chapter 2. Therefore, their manuscripts are listed here without description. Types C130.2 and C130.3, however, are later compilations outside the chronological boundaries of this thesis. Additionally, less has been written about these forms of the Type A catenae on Luke. Therefore, this Appendix offers a brief description and analysis of these subtypes. This is the most extensive analysis of the Expanded Form in Luke (C130.2) and the first ever detailed study of the Abbreviated Form in Luke (C130.3).

2 C130.1: The Basic Form

The Basic Form of the Type A commentary on Luke has been recognized since Joseph Sickenberger's *Titus von Bostra* in 1901.[3] Joseph Reuss labelled it as the *Grundform* in *Lukas-Kommentare* and affirmed that it corresponded to commentaries on Matthew (C110.1) and John (C140.1) compiled by the same person.[4] Since this commentary was transmitted without author attributions, Reuss did not use any manuscripts of this type for his edition of scholia from catenae on Luke and did not identify any witnesses to it. Sickenberger and Rauer each cited numerous manuscripts of the type from European collections, though some of these are recognized in this Appendix as witnesses to other subtypes within the Type A tradition. Based on Parpulov's classification of the catenae on Luke and examining the types of catenae present in other Gospels

[3] Joseph Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien*, TU 6.1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901).

[4] Joseph Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, TU 130 (Berlin: Akademie, 1984), X–XI.

when they are present, forty manuscripts of the new C130.1 type have been identified. These are listed in Table A2.1. Since this commentary receives a full description and analysis in Chapter 2, the codices are listed without description.[5]

Manuscript	Diktyon	GA	Date	Parpulov	CPG IV[2]
Athens, EBE, 95	2391	1411	X	e.1.i	C130
Athens, EBE, 98	2394	1412	X	e.1.i	C130
Athens, Library of the Greek Parliament, 1	1097	807	XII	e.12.ii	C130
Athens, Library of the Greek Parliament, 4	1100	2097	X	e.1.vi.β	C130
Athos, Great Lavra, A 15	26943	1080	X	e.1.vi.β	C130
Athos, Great Lavra, B 113	27165	1507	X	e.1.xiv	C130
Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, 662	18806	2453	XII	e.1.xi	C130
Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, O.II.23	8964	--	XV	e.1.xv.β	C130
Cambridge, Trinity College, B.VII.1	11910	--	X	e.1.i	C130
Florence, BML, Plut.06.05 + Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. G.157[6]	15992 + 48369	832	X	ecp.1.iv	C130
Florence, BML, San Marco 687	16905	--	X	e.1.i	C130
London, BL, Harley 5540	39505	114	XI (marg.)	e.4.ii	C130
Milan, BA, O 142 sup., fols. 1–72	43077	--	XVI	e.1.i	C130
Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 47 (Mt–Mk) + Moscow, Russian State Archive, F. 1607, No. 3 (Lk–Jn)[7]	44406	238	XII	e.12.ii	C130

[5] Note that there are more manuscripts listed for the Type A Basic Form in Table 2.1 than Table A2.1 because several of the Type A Basic Form manuscripts do not have Luke. See Chapter 2 §2.1.3 on the contents of Type A Basic Form manuscripts.

[6] The full codex of Florence Plut.06.05 and Oxford Rawl. G.157 also includes a catena on the Catholic Epistles (C176). Oxford Rawl. G.157 only contains 6 leaves of the catena on Jude.

[7] These codices originally were originally a single document which was split in the eighteenth century: Kurt Treu, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR: Eine systematische Auswertung der Texthandschriften in Leningrad, Moskau, Kiev, Odessa, Tbilisi und Erevan*, TU 91 (Berlin: Akademie, 1966), 276–277. See also Elina N. Dobrynina, "O proishozhdenii miniatjury s evangelistom Lukoj v grecheskom Tolkovom Evangelii tret'ej chetverti XII v. (RGADA, f.

Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 137 + Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 384	44009	--	IX	e.1.i	C130
Moscow, SHM, Syn. gr. 138	43763	--	XII	e.1.xv.α	C130
Munich, BSB, Gr. 83, fols. 1–44	44527	--	XVI	e.1.xv.β	C130
Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, F° 30 (Cim.16)	45102	033	X	e.1.ii	C130
Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Gr. 25	48617	--	XII	e.1.i	C130
Paris, BnF, Coislin 71	49215	--	X	e.1.i	C130
Paris, BnF, Gr. 201	49771	055	X	e.1.i	C130
Paris, BnF, Gr. 231	49803	--	X	e.1.i	C130
Paris, BnF, Gr. 701	50282	--	X	e.1.i	C130
Paris, BnF, Gr. 702	50283	2110	X	ecp.1.iv	C130
Paris, BnF, Gr. 703	50284	--	XI	e.1.vii	C130
Paris, BnF, Gr. 704	50285	--	X	e.1.i	C130
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1225	53889	1293	X	e.1.vi.γ	C130
Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 58	54302	1160	XII	e.12.ii	C130
Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 59	54303	--	X	e.1.i	C130
Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 60	54304	--	X	e.1.i	C130
Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Gr. 67	55974	--	X	e.1.i	C130
Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, S.A.Valle 100, fols. 1–353, 457–478	56149	--	XVI		C130
Turin, BNU, C.II.14	63852	--	XVI	e.1.viii	C130
Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. gr. 113	65344	--	XVI	e.1.vii	C130
Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. gr. 237, fols. 1–71	65480	--	XVI	e.1.i	C130
Vatican City, BAV, Ross. 211	66421	1366	XII	e.1.i	C130

1607, op. 1, № 3) [The Origin of the Miniature with St Luke in the 12th c. Greek Gospels at the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts]," in *Obraz Vizantii : sbornik statej v chest' O.S. Popovoj* [*The Image of Byzantium : A Collection of Articles in Honor of O.S. Popova*], ed. A.V. Zakharova (Moscow: Severny Polomnik, 2008), 151–161; I.P. Mokretsova et al., *Materialy i tekhnika vizantiĭskoĭ rukopisnoĭ knigi* [*Materials and Techniques of Byzantine Manuscripts*] (Moscow: Indric, 2003), 143–144.

Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 384	67015	--	XVI	e.1.vii	C130
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1618	68249	377	XVI	e.12.ii	C130
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1692	68321	--	X	e.1.xi	C130
Venice, BNM, Cl. I,34 (1070)	70130	--	XII	e.1.i	C130

Table A2.1. Manuscripts of C130.1

3 C130.2: The Expanded Form

Reuss noted the existence of the Expanded Form of the Type A commentary on Luke in his edition of scholia from catenae on Luke.[8] He showed particular interest in this form because the additional material primarily derives from Photius of Constantinople (d. 893).[9] Reuss described three manuscripts for the type: Vatican City, BAV, Archivio di San Pietro B 59 (Diktyon 64536); Vatican City, BAV, Barb. gr. 562 (Diktyon 65102); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.4 (Diktyon 47130). Using the expanded types in Matthew (C110.2) and John (C140.2) as a guide, fourteen manuscripts with an Expanded Form of the basic Type A commentary on Luke have been identified.[10] These manuscripts now have been assigned the new CPG number C130.2 and are listed in Table A2.2.

Manuscript	**Diktyon**	**GA**	**Date**	**Parpulov**	**Former CPG**
Athens, EBE, 56	2352	773	X	e.1.x	C130
Berlin, SBB, Phillipps 1419	9322	--	XVI	e.1.ix.β	C130
Florence, BML, Plut.08.24	16082	--	XV	e.1.ix.β	C130
London, BL, Add. 19386	38962	1268	XIII	e.4.iii.β	C130
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.17	46969	48	XI	e.4.iii.α	C130

[8] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*. Reuss previewed some of his findings in "Unbekannte Erklärungen zum Lukas-Evangelium des Patriarchen Photius von Konstantinopel," in *Beiträge zur Septuaginta*, ed. Josef Schreiner, vol. 1 of *Wort, Lied, und Gottesspruch: Festschrift für Joseph Ziegler* (Würzburg: Echter, 1972), 103–108.

[9] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XI–XII, XXIX–XXXI.

[10] Search of the *Catena Catalogue* database on 7 April 2023.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.4	47130	--	XI	e.1.ix.α	C130
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. gr. 33	48255	50	XI	e.1.x	C130
Paris, BnF, Coislin 206	49346	1266	X/XI	e.1.xii	C130
Paris, BnF, Gr. 186	49755	300	XI	e.1.x	C130
Paris, BnF, Gr. 188	49757	20	X	e.1.x	C130
Vatican City, BAV, Archivio di S. Pietro B 59	64536	--	X	e.1.ix.α	C130
Vatican City, BAV, Barb. gr. 562	65102	--	X	e.1.ix.α	C130
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 547	67178	--	XVI	e.1.ix.β	C130
Venice, BNM, Z.544 (591)	70015	215	X	e.1.x	C130

Table A2.2. Manuscripts of C130.2

Reuss divided the codices of the expanded type in Matthew into three groups based on the pattern of expansion within the manuscripts. The first group primarily expanded the Type A commentary with the addition of scholia from the Type B Basic Form (C132). In his opinion, one of the manuscripts in Table A2.2 belonged to this category: Paris, BnF, Coislin 206 (GA 1266; Diktyon 49346).[11] The second group expanded the initial commentary by inserting scholia from Photius, Isidore of Pelusium (d. ca. 435) and a few others. Two codices from Table A2.2 fit this subgroup in Matthew: Paris, BnF, Gr. 188 (GA 20; Diktyon 49757) and Paris, BnF, Gr. 186 (GA 300; Diktyon 49755).[12] The third group is the most important to Reuss and represents the codices cited in his edition of scholia from Luke because they expand the Type A commentary with extracts from Photius. The

[11] Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, NTAbh 18/4–5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941), 28. The other member of this group noted by Reuss, Paris, BnF, Gr. 203 (GA 311; Diktyon 49773), only contains Matthew.

[12] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 28–29. The similarities between these two codices are striking. Sickenberger declared: "Die Hs [Paris, BnF, Gr. 188] ist mit der vorgenannten [Paris, BnF, Gr. 186] sehr verwandt, wahrscheinlich ihre Vorlage" (Joseph Sickenberger, "Über griechische Evangelienkommentare," *BZ* 1 (1903), 192). Reuss countered that this was not the case but offered no evidence (Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 26 n. 4). Sickenberger's proposal should be reevaluated.

two codices from Table A2.2 belonging to this group according to Reuss are Vatican City, BAV, Barb. gr. 562 (Diktyon 65102) and Venice, BNM, Z.544 (GA 215; Diktyon 70015).[13] Reuss did not define similar subgroups in John; instead he compared the scholia attributed to Photius in manuscripts and identified Paris Coislin 206 as having a different form of expansion to the others.[14] Reuss's assessment of the Expanded Form of the Type A commentary shows that there is no single pattern of adapting the C130.1 commentary into a new work by expansion. Instead, various compilers expanded the initial commentary in new ways. While scholia from other early Christian writers were sometimes inserted into the commentary, the addition of extracts from Photius was the primary way that the basic commentary was supplemented.

The fourteen manuscripts cited in Table A2.2 each expand the C130.1 catena on Luke with the addition of scholia from other sources. Reuss's subgroups have not been incorporated in the structure of the taxonomy, but the three groups Reuss identified in Matthew correspond to different groupings in Luke.[15] Paris Coislin 206 integrates the Type A and Type B commentaries. This codex contains all four Gospels in alternating format with the Gospels in the order Matthew–John–Mark–Luke. The irregular order of the Gospels and alternating format are characteristic of Type A. The *Commentary on Mark*, C125.1, however, more frequently accompanies Type B manuscripts.[16] This

[13] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 29.

[14] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 158–160.

[15] Reuss's subdivisions in Matthew were not implemented in the CPG.

[16] See Chapter 6 §3.2.

combination of features reflects that this document brings together separate commentary traditions in a single codex.[17]

The second group inserts fourteen scholia from Photius, Basil of Caesarea (d. 379), and other unknown authors into the Basic Form of the Type A commentary. Eleven of the added scholia belong to Photius, one to Basil, and two have unknown authors. The only added scholium with an author attribution in the codices is Basil. Five manuscripts belong to this group: Athens, EBE 56 (GA 773; Diktyon 2352); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. gr. 33 (GA 50; Diktyon 48255); Paris Gr. 186; Paris, BnF, Gr. 188; and Venice Z.544.[18] These five manuscripts comprise the five members of Parpulov's e.1.x group.[19] All five are in frame format with the full biblical text; the Gospels are in the traditional order: Matthew–Mark–Luke–John (though John is missing from Paris Gr. 186). The added scholia have been integrated into the commentary and, except for the first, are numbered. The numbers also serve as linking signs to the verse being commented in the biblical text. This group of manuscripts has a smaller number of additions than the third, but the new version made the most significant formatting changes of all the expanded group by adding the full text of the Gospels, reordering the Gospels, and utilizing a different page layout.

[17] The Type A (C130.1) and Type B (C132) Basic Forms and the Type Z catena (C131z) drew on similar sources but edited them in different ways (See Chapter 4). In the C133.1 catena, the compilers sometimes repeated text found in both the C132 and C131z sources and in other places integrated the two forms together. Future studies could analyze how the compilers of Coislin 206 integrated their sources.

[18] In Matthew, Reuss classified GA 215 with Venice Z.544 with Vatican Barb. 562. The two overlap extensively in the Photian scholia added to the addition according to the data in Reuss's edition, but each has some that the other does not. Venice Z.544 aligns with the other members of its group in the other scholia added to the initial commentary, its form of the biblical text, formatting, and other paratextual features, which validate placing it in a different group within C130.2.

[19] They also constitute a family of Greek New Testament manuscripts dubbed Family 20: Andrew J. Patton, "A Disordered Genealogy and a New Family of Greek New Testament Manuscripts," *Novum Testamentum* (forthcoming).

The third group expands the C130.1 commentary with scholia from Photius. Three manuscripts belong to this group: Vatican City, BAV, Archivio di S. Pietro B 59 (Diktyon 64536); Vatican City, BAV, Barb. gr. 562; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.4 (Diktyon 47130). Together they comprise Parpulov's e.1.ix.α group.[20] As noted above, these three manuscripts were also the ones selected by Reuss as representatives of the Type A Expanded Form in *Lukas-Kommentare*. In fact, Reuss only cites these codices in the critical apparatus of his edition for their Photian scholia, never for another author. This signifies that the mode of expansion in these codices is exclusively focused on Photius. The commentaries in these three manuscripts are copied in the alternating format and arrange the Gospels in the order Matthew–John–Luke as is typical of the Basic Form.[21]

Reuss's three subgroups of the Expanded Form of Type A in Matthew comprise nine of the fourteen manuscripts in Table A2.2. The other five belong to their own distinct subgroups based on their different ways of expanding the Type A commentary. These subgroups map onto Parpulov's categories. The first group comprises three manuscripts belonging to Parpulov's e.1.ix.β group.[22] The codices are Berlin, SBB, Phillipps 1419 (Diktyon 9322); Florence, BML, Plut.08.24 (Diktyon 16082); and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 547 (Diktyon 67178). These three manuscripts only contain John and Luke; Berlin Phillipps 1419 and Vatican gr. 547 order the Gospels with John coming before Luke while Florence Plut.08.24 has the traditional order Luke–John. These codices have the C130.1 commentary

[20] Two other manuscripts belong to the group according to Parpulov but do not have a commentary on Luke: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1532 (Diktyon 68163) and Paris, BnF, Gr. 203 (GA 311; Diktyon 49773). Reuss categorized Paris Gr. 203 in the first subgroup as a manuscript which merges the Type A and Type B commentaries (Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 24).

[21] Only one of the e.1.ix.α manuscripts includes Mark: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1532, which does not have Luke.

[22] Georgi Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament: A Catalogue*, TS 3/26 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2021), 92–93.

written in alternating format with an abridged biblical text. This formatting and the irregular order and number of Gospels are characteristic of the Type A tradition. All three include additional scholia from another source in the margins. Unlike many other catena manuscripts which have new comments and annotations added into the margins or other blank spaces by later hands, these were copied by the same copyist as the main block of text. Therefore, they are an intentional expansion of the earlier commentary with a clear distinction between sources. Joseph Sickenberger indicated that the marginal comments in Vatican gr. 547 stem from Photius.[23] While he did not remark on marginal additions in Berlin Phillipps 1419, Sickenberger did link it to Venice Z.544 because of the extracts from Photius, indicating that this codex also has a Photian expansion.[24] Reuss also drew parallels between all three codices, noting similarities in marginal content in their catenae on John.[25] Parpulov made a more precise indication of the source content for the marginal scholia for Plut.08.24, indicating that they derive from the catena by Nicetas of Heraclea (d. 11th c.) (C135).[26] The intriguing format of these manuscripts which approximates the frame format except that the center

[23] Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 18.

[24] Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 19. These codices both can be connected to Venice. Berlin Phillipps 1419 was acquired in Venice in the mid-sixteenth century by a French ambassador, Guillaume Pellicier. It passed through multiple French owners until it was aquired by Gérard Meerman in the eighteenth century. Numerous Meerman manuscripts were purchased by the British manuscript collector extraordinaire Sir Thomas Phillipps. The late collector's heirs gradually sold the collection, and numerous of these were acquired by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. See Annaclara Cataldi Palau, "Les vicissitudes de la collection de manuscrits grecs de Guillaume Pellicier," *Scriptorium* 40 (1986): 32–53; Wilhelm Studemund, Leopold Cohn, and Carl Gotthard de Boor, *Verzeichniss der griechischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin I: Codices ex Bibliotheca Meermanniana Philippici Graeci nunc Berolinensis.* (Berlin: Asher, 1890); A.N.L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the Year 1840*, Phillipps Studies 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954); A.N.L. Munby, *The Dispersal of the Phillipps Library*, Phillipps Studies 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

[25] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 157–159.

[26] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 25.

of the frame is a commentary text, and the marginal scholia are further comments taken from another source, is ripe for further study.[27]

All three of these manuscripts date to the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. Florence Plut.08.24 dates to the fifteenth century, and the other two to the sixteenth. Reuss claimed that Vatican gr. 547 is an *Abschrift* of Florence Plut.08.24, and though he recognized the similarity between the manuscripts, believed Berlin Phillipps 1419 was copied separately.[28] All the codices have ties to Rome. In this period, there was a renewed interest in early Christian exegesis in Italy, stimulated, in part, by the Protestant Reformation.[29] This explains why there are so many catena manuscripts in the Vatican libraries which date to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[30] There also are historical examples of Italian theologians gathering exegetical texts from multiple Greek sources and amalgamating them in a new manuscript.[31] One such manuscript is Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D. 25 inf., dating to the sixteenth century. It contains selections from the epitome of

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[27] Presently, Plut.08.24 is the only codex in this group with images available online, making it the only one in the group which can be evaluated for its contents.

[28] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 158.

[29] Massimo Ceresa, ed., *La Biblioteca Vaticana tra riforma cattolica, crescita delle collezioni e nuovo edificio (1535-1590)*, Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 2 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2012). See also Giuseppe De Gregorio and Domenico Surace, "Giovanni Santamaura, copista al servizio del cardinale Guglielmo Sirleto," *Νέα Ῥώμα. Rivista di Studi Bizantinistici* 5 (2018), 495–531.; Gerhard Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453–1821). Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens* (Munich: Beck, 1988).

[30] One quarter (32/127) of the catena manuscripts located in the Vatican City date to the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. This is just under one third of all the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century entries in the *Catena Catalogue* database (32/97); sixty-one percent (59/97) of the sixteenth- or seventeenth-century entries are currently held in Italian libraries. These figures demonstrate a clear interest in early Christian exegesis in the Renaissance without considering manuscripts like Berlin Phillipps 1419, which moved out of Italy. Figures calculated from a search of the *Catena Catalogue* database on 30 April 2023.

[31] Giuseppe De Gregorio, "Spigolature dai codici greci della Biblioteca Nazionale dei Roma: un volume della fine del XVI secolo fra Collegio Greco e Collegio Romano (Fondo Greci 13)," in *Sit liber gratus, quem servulus est operatus. Studi in onore di Alessandro Pratesi per il suo 90°compleanno*, ed. Paolo Cherubini and Giovanna Nicolaj, Littera antiqua 19 (Vatican City: Scuola vaticana di paleografia, diplomaticae archivistica, 2012), 1059–1090; Domenico Surace, "Copisti greci in tre codici sconosciuti della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma (S. A. Valle 100, 102–103)," *Νέα Ῥώμα. Rivista di Studi Bizantinistici* 8 (2011): 219–303.

Nicetas of Heraclea's catena compiled by Macarius Chrysocephalus (d. 1382) (C136). The Greek commentary text occupies the first 110 folios, which numerous annotations and interventions. Folios 112–209 of the codex are a Latin translation of the Greek text in the first part of the manuscript which Sickenberger suggests may have been copied for printing.[32] The codices in this group fit into this stream of later catena manuscripts.

The other two manuscripts are the sole witnesses to their groups in Parpulov's catalogue. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.17 (GA 48; Diktyon 46969) is e.4.iii.α. This eleventh-century codex has catenae on the four Gospels in frame format; the Gospels are arranged in the traditional order. According to Parpulov, the four catena types are C110.2 in Matthew, C125.2 in Mark, C130 in Luke, and C140.2 in John.[33] The commentaries in this manuscript integrate scholia from the Basic Forms of Type A and Type B. The first ten folios of Luke follow the form of the scholia in C132, with multiple scholia skipped entirely. The commentary on the test passage used by Karo and Lietzmann (Luke 8:43–46) is skipped in this manuscript, with the extensive comments before and after it occurring consecutively as found in C132. This bears some resemblance to the format of C130.1 which does not comment on this passage because it has a parallel in Matthew (Matt 9:20–22). Then the text of the commentary in the final ten folios of Luke generally follows the text found in C130.1. While the microfilm of this manuscript obscures marginalia, it appears that there is no distinction between scholia from different sources by any symbol or textual indicator. This codex can be

[32] Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 47–50. I would like to thank Hugh Houghton for drawing this manuscript to my attention and sharing his notes from examining it in 2016.

[33] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 87. Parpulov classified the catena type in Matthew in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.17 as C110.4, the full Catena Form of Type A. A reevaluation of this designation showed that the form was C110.2. The commentary omits the named scholia characteristic of the Catena Form of Type A and the text integrates scholia from both the basic commentary forms of Type A (C110.1) and Type B (C111).

classified as witness to the Expanded Form of the Type A tradition through the integration of scholia from Type A and Type B. The connection to Type B may explain the use of the frame format with the full biblical text that is less common within Type A.

London, BL, Add. 19386 (GA 1268; Diktyon 38962) is a mixed-type manuscript from the thirteenth century in alternating format with the full biblical text in the traditional order. Parpulov classified it in category e.4.iii.β and identified the contents of the commentaries as Theophylact of Ohrid (d. 1107) in Matthew and Mark, C130 in Luke, and C140.2 in John.[34] The commentary in Luke is an Expanded Form of the Type A commentary, corresponding to the commentary on John in this manuscript. As in Oxford Auct. D.2.17, the commentary includes scholia from both C130.1 and C132. The use of the alternating format and a different pair of commentaries for Matthew and Mark corresponds to the frequent occurrence of Type A manuscripts with only two Gospels in alternating format. The scribe who copied London Add. 19386 may have used two exemplars, one manuscript with Theophylact's commentaries for Matthew and Mark, and a manuscript with only the Expanded Form commentaries on Luke and John. Further research on the commentaries in Luke and John in this manuscript could clarify the ways the source commentaries were integrated in this manuscript and how that compares the other Type A commentaries which were expanded with scholia from the Type B commentary.

In addition, to the fourteen manuscripts listed in Table A2.2 which are described above, four manuscripts with the Expanded Form in Matthew (C110.2) have a commentary on Luke classified as

[34] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 88.

C132. Since catena manuscripts on the Gospels typically have corresponding commentaries in Matthew, Luke, and John, the presence of the C110.2 commentary in Matthew calls into question either the accuracy of that designation or the classification of the catena in Luke as a witness to C132. The four manuscripts are listed in Table A2.3.

Manuscript	Diktyon	GA	Date	Parpulov	CPG
Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudomány Egyetem Könyvtára, Gr. 1	73130	100	XI	e.6.i	C132
Durham, NC, Duke University Library, 60	13675	1423	XI	e.6.i	C132
Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 80	54324	1164	XII	e.6.i	C132
Unknown Location, formerly Dallas, Charles C. Ryrie	13198	2346	XI	e.6.i	C132

Table A2.3. Manuscripts of Parpulov group e.6.1.

These four manuscripts date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries and contain all four Gospels in the traditional order. The complete biblical text is presented alongside the catenae in frame format. Together, they comprise Parpulov's e.6.1 group.[35] He identified the contents of the commentary as C110.2 in Matthew, C125.1 in Mark, C132 in Luke, and C141.1 in John. The latter two commentaries (C132 and C141.1) belong to the Type B and the commentary on Mark (C125.1) usually accompanies the Type B commentaries on the other Gospels. The designation C110.2 is therefore unusual and warrants further investigation.

Parpulov's designation of the commentary in Matthew as the Expanded Form of Type A (C110.2) agrees with the earlier work of Reuss, who only had access to Budapest, Eötvös Loránd

[35] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 92–93.

Tudomány Egyetem Könyvtára, Gr. 1 (GA 100; Diktyon 73130) through Márkfi's edition.[36] In his explanation of this commentary form in Matthew, Reuss noted that the text appeared to merge both the Type A and Type B Basic Forms, but the starting point appeared to be Type A. Thus, he recognized the Matthew commentary as Type A expanded by Type B. This mirrors the pattern of expansion found in Paris Coislin 206.[37]

The classifications of the commentaries in Mark and John align with the C132 classification in Luke. The *Commentary* in Mark has been classified as the first recension (C125.1), which frequently accompanying the commentary manuscripts of the Type B tradition, and the commentary in John is C141.1, the Type B Basic Form. These designations also agree with Reuss's conclusions. In Mark, Reuss classified the Budapest manuscript as an ordinary witness to C125.1.[38] In John, Reuss classified its catena as part of the Type B Basic Form. Reuss added that the form of the text found in these manuscripts is an Expanded Form of the Type B commentary with selected comments taken from Type A.[39] Thus, the catena in John has similar characteristics to that of Matthew: the integration of the Type A and Type B commentaries into a new work. In the case of the commentary on John, however, Reuss maintained that the Basic Form was Type B expanded with Type A—the inverse of the situation in Matthew. This subgroup, according to Parpulov and Reuss's designations for the

[36] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 29–31. "Cod. gr. VIII c der Univ.-Bibliothek von Budapest bietet uns somit in seinem Mt-Kommentar einen Kommentar der erweiterten Grundform, wie wir ihn bereits ähnlich im Cod. Paris. 203 und Coisl. 206 feststellen konnten. Nur verteilen sich die eingeschobenen Scholien der Grundform B in der Budapester Hs sehr unregelmäßigüber den Kommentar, bis sie im Kap. 28 allein die Erklärung bilden" (p. 31). Samuel Márkfi, *Codex graecus quatuor Evangeliorum e Bibliotheca Universitatis Pestinensis cum interpretatione hungarica* (Budapest: Gustav Emich, 1860).

[37] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 30–31.

[38] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 129.

[39] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 183. Reuss did not create an Expanded Form type for the Type B tradition. The only other type within Type B is C141.2, the Type B Catena Form.

commentaries on Matthew, Mark, and John, attests a mixed combination of commentaries from different traditions of catenae on the Gospels.

Reuss did not discuss the form of the commentary in Luke in Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudomány Egyetem Könyvtára, Gr. 1. A review of the commentary in this manuscript, Paris Coislin 206, and the standard witnesses to C132 indicates that the commentary in this Gospels manuscript is also a combination of both the C130.1 and C132 commentaries. While a complete study would fully confirm the order of dependence, it appears to use the C132 commentary as the starting point which is then expanded with selected scholia from C130. This mirrors Reuss's conclusions about the commentary on John and aligns with the inclusion of the C125.1 commentary on Mark in the codices. The integration of C130.1 into C132 also fits the general codicological pattern of the Type B manuscripts which adopt the traditional order of the Gospels and use the frame format, in contrast to the variety of orders and frequent use of alternating format in the manuscripts of Type A catenae. Therefore, the four manuscripts in this subgroup do not represent the Expanded Form of the Type A catenae. Future research may reconsider Reuss's conclusion that the commentary on Matthew in this subgroup is an expansion of the Type A commentary rather than of Type B as in Luke and John, and could also determine the extent to which Paris Coislin 206 aligns with this subtype.

This analysis of the potential witnesses to Type C130.2 based on the types of catenae found in other Gospels has resulted in the identification of fourteen witnesses to this type from an initial list of eighteen. They can be further organized into subgroups based on the pattern of expansion and other formatting characteristics. Many of the Expanded Forms supplement the Type A commentary with scholia attributed to Photius and, occasionally, other authors. None of these works likely was produced before the tenth century because of the inclusion of scholia from Photius.

The manuscripts of C130.2 which merge extracts from C130.1 and C132 may date earlier than the tenth century as the oldest extant copies date to the tenth century, but none developed into a widespread tradition.

4 C130.3: The Abbreviated Form

Reuss noted the existence of the Abbreviated Form of the Type A commentary on Luke in his edition of scholia from catenae on Luke. However, since he deemed this form as useless for reconstructing the texts he was editing, he did not note any manuscripts belonging to the type.[40] In his earlier work on Matthew, Mark, and John, on the other hand, Reuss did note and describe the corresponding Abbreviated Forms of the Type A commentaries on Matthew and John, assigning them the label "die gekürzte Grundform."[41] Since Reuss generally described the catenae on Luke as having the same structure as in the other Gospels, he likely envisaged the Abbreviated Form in Luke as having the same shape as the other Abbreviated Forms of Type A commentaries. Reuss's analysis of the defining characteristics of the Abbreviated Form of Type A in the other Gospels likely applies in Luke as well.

The manuscripts containing the Abbreviated Form of the Type A commentary in Matthew and John are a useful starting point for locating witnesses to the corresponding catena in Luke. Based on the data in the *Catena Catalogue* database, only three manuscripts contain either the abbreviated Type A commentary on Matthew (C110.3) or John (C140.3) and the Type A commentary on Luke (C130). However, there are five other manuscripts containing either of these commentaries

[40] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XI. "Er [Dieser anonyme Kompilations-Kommentar A] wurde auf der einen Seite zu einer knappen Erklärung verkürzt und zusammengestrichen."
[41] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 31–41, 161–162.

on Matthew and John that also contain a commentary on Luke classified as a witness to Type C132.[42] Together, these eight manuscripts comprise eight of the nine witnesses to the Abbreviated Form in any Gospel. The other codex is the tenth-century codex Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1915 (Diktyon 68544) which only contains a commentary on Matthew.

One of the manuscripts classified as having the Type A Abbreviated Forms in Matthew (C110.3) and John (C140.3) is the tenth-century codex Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 301 (Diktyon 71968). The commentary on Luke in this document has historically been classified as a *Codex Singulus*.[43] Georgi Parpulov declared it a witness to Type C132 based on its *incipit* and *desint*.[44] While the commentary in this manuscript bears some similarities to C132—including its beginning and end—as well as the Type A basic commentary, the form of the catena is unique. It abbreviates material from earlier catenae and includes author attributions which are not found in C132.[45] Reuss characterized the catenae on Matthew and John in this manuscript as "eine Bearbeitung der gekürzten Grundform" which abbreviates some of the scholia from the abbreviated commentary, expands others, and organizes them irregularly.[46] This characterizes the commentary on Luke in this codex as well. It therefore is best classified as a *Codex Singulus* rather than a part of the C130.3 group.[47]

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[42] *Catena Catalogue* database: https://purl.org/itsee/catena-catalogue. Search conducted 3 April 2023.

[43] See Chapter 7. See also Chapter 3 §2.3, Chapter 4 §3.

[44] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 102.

[45] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, XVI.

[46] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 35, 161.

[47] Perhaps the classification of the commentaries on Matthew and John should be reevaluated in light of the classification in Luke.

The other seven manuscripts with the Type A Abbreviated Form commentary on Matthew (C110.3) and John (C140.3) also have the corresponding commentary on Luke now classified as CPG C130.3. Table A2.4 lists the seven manuscripts containing the Type A Abbreviated Form commentary on Luke.

Manuscript	**Diktyon**	**GA**	**Date**	**Parpulov**	**CPG IV²**
Milan, BA, A 62	42185	1980[48]	X	eap.8.i.γ	C130
Moscow, Russian State Library, F. 270 (P. I. Sevast'janov) 56 (gr. 140)	44336	--	XIII	ecap.8.i.β	C132
Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 177	54421	--	X	eap.8.i.β	C132
Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 220	65952	151	X	e.8.i.α	C132
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 709	67340	--	XII	ecap.8.i.β	C132
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1767	68396	--	XVI	ecap.8.i.β	C130
Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 324	71991	--	XV	--	C130

Table A2.4. Manuscripts of C130.3

The other seven manuscripts in Table A2.4 contain an Abbreviated Form of the Type A commentary on Luke which corresponds to the contents in Matthew and John. These therefore form the corresponding subgroup C130.3 in the CPG. This abbreviated commentary has been attributed to the Byzantine civil servant and diplomat Leo Choirosphaktes (d. ca. 919). In addition to his imperial duties, Choirosphaktes composed some theological works, notably a thousand-line poem *Chiliostichos Theologia* and the epitome contained in these manuscripts.[49] Four manuscripts in the

[48] The GA number only applies to the Pauline Epistles as the catenae on the Gospels have no biblical *lemmata*.

[49] Georges Kolias, ed., *Léon Choerosphactès, magistre, proconsul et patrice : biographie, correspondance* (*texte et traduction*), Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie 31 (Athens: Verlag der Byzantinisch-neugriechischen jahrbücher, 1939); Paul Magdalino, "In Search of the Byzantine Courtier: Leo Choirosphaktes and Constantine Manasses," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997), 141–166; Ioannis Vassis, ed., *Chiliostichos Theologia: Editio Princeps*, Suplementa Byzantina 6 (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2002), 1–18.

group preserve an attribution to the compiler: the tenth-century codex Patmos, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 177v (Diktyon 54421); the twelfth-century codex Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 709 (Diktyon 67340); the fifteenth-century codex Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 324 (Diktyon 71991); and the sixteenth-century codex Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1767 (Diktyon 68396).[50] The title in Vatican gr. 1767 reads Λέοντος μαγίστρου ανθυπάτου πατρικίου τοῦ προγεγόνότος μυστικού καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου. ἐπιτομὴ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ διαφόρων πάτερων (fol. 130r). Choirosophaktes's commentary covers extensive sections of both the Old and New Testament: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1–4 Kingdoms, 1–2 Chronicles, Matthew, John, Luke, James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, Jude, and Acts. Milan, BA, A 62 (GA 1980; Diktyon 42185) and Moscow, Russian State Library, F. 270 (Diktyon 44336) bear a shorter title. In Milan A 62, this is rendered ἐπιτομὴ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίον ἀπὸ διαφόρων πατέρων (fol. 47r).[51] The title in these manuscripts mirrors that of the Vatican gr. 1767 without the reference to the compiler. The compilation is an ἐπιτομή drawn from many Christian writers.[52] The seventh manuscript, the tenth-century Vatican City, BAV, Pal. gr. 220 (GA 151; Diktyon 65952) does not contain a title for the epitome, only those for the Gospels.

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[50] Vatican gr. 1767 is a direct copy of Patmos 177: Giovanni Mercati, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova, di varie badie basiliane d'Italia e di Patmo*, Studi e testi 68 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935), 136; Paul Canart, *Les Vaticani Graeci 1487–1962 : notes et documents pour l'histoire d'un fonds de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, Studi e Testi 284 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1979), 58–59 n 92, 243, 247.

[51] The full title for Matthew is ἐπιτομὴ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἁγιου εὐαγγελίου ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσσοστόμου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου καὶ ἄλλων διαφόρων ἁγίων πατέρων (fol. 1) and John is entitled: ἐπιτομὴ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ διαφόρων πατέρων (fol. 27).

[52] On epitome, see, Marietta Horster and Christiane Reitz, eds., *Condensing Texts – Condensed Texts*, Palingenesia 98 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010); Mülke, "Die Epitome – das bessere Original?," in *Condensing Texts – Condensed Texts*, ed. Marietta Horster and Christiane Reitz, Palingenesia 98 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010). Though their editorial techniques differ vastly, Procopius of Gaza also created an epitome on the Octateuch from an existing catena and thus serves as a loose parallel for Leo Choirosphaktes's epitome. See Jean-Marie Auwers, ed., *Procopii Gazaei Epitome in Canticum canticorum*, CCSG 67 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); Karin Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza: Eclogarum in libros historicos Veteris Testamenti epitome. Teil 1: Der Genesiskommentar*, GCS N.F. 22 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); Françoise Petit, "La chaîne grecque sur la Genèse, miroir de l'exégèse ancienne," in *Stimuli. Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für*

The date of compilation is uncertain. Ioannis Vassis tentatively suggests a date around 907 CE when Choirosphaktes was in exile at a fortress called Petra following missions to Baghdad, Jerusalem, and Antioch.[53] Choirosphaktes next appears in Constantinople by 913 CE when he had been restored to favor. His restoration was short lived. Choirosphaktes joined a failed coup to install Constantine Doukas as emperor. Following this event, he spent his remaining years in exile at the Stoudios Monastery.[54] Either period of exile may have given him access to the Type A commentary and the opportunity to distil it prior to his death sometime around 919 CE. If the proposals of an early tenth-century date are correct, then the codex at Patmos (dated to the first half of the tenth-century by Parpulov) bearing his name in the inscription would have been copied within decades of the initial compilation. Two other codices of this type, Vatican Pal. gr. 220 and Milan A 62, are also dated to the tenth century.[55] Three of the eight copies of the Abbreviated Form are dated to the same century as the composition, and one of the later manuscripts is an *Abschrift* of the oldest copy.[56]

As witnesses to a larger epitome of interpretations on the Bible, the C130.3 manuscripts frequently are accompanied by other biblical books. Three of the four manuscripts which bear the

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Ernst Dassmann, ed. Georg Schöllgen and Clemens Scholten, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband 23 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996), 243–253; Bas ter Haar Romeny, "Procopius of Gaza and his Library," in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*, ed. Hagit Amirav and Bas ter Haar Romeny, Late Antique History and Religion 1 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 173–190.

[53] Vassis, ed., *Chiliostichos Theologia*, 16. For a concise biography of Leo's life see, Magdalino, "In Search of the Byzantine Courtier," 146–147.

[54] Vassis, ed., *Chiliostichos Theologia*, 10.

[55] Another Patmos manuscript, Monastery of St John the Theologian, 178 (Diktyon 54422) is a tenth/eleventh-century manuscript containing only the Old Testament portion of the epitome which is a direct copy of Patmos 177: Ioannes Sakkelion, *Πατμιακή Βιβλιοθήκη : ήτοι αναγραφή των εν τη Βιβλιοθήκη της κατά την νήσον Πάτμον Ιεραράς και Βασιλικής Μονής του Αγίου Αποστόλου και Ευαγγελιστού Ιωάννου του Θεολόγου τεθησαυρισμένων χειρογράφων τευχών* (Athens: Tupographeio Alexandros Papageorgiou, 1890), 98–99. Vat. gr. 1915 noted above is a late tenth-century manuscript witness to the Abbreviated Form.

[56] See n. 49.

title attributing the work to Leo Choirosphaktes also contain epitomes of commentaries on some Old Testament books (Patmos 177; Vatican gr. 1767; and Vatican gr. 709). The other manuscript bearing his name in the title, Vienna Theol. gr. 324, only contains the Gospels in a miscellaneous codex.[57] Most of the C130.3 manuscripts also contain commentaries on other biblical books. Patmos 177, Vatican gr. 1767, and Moscow F. 270 each contain Choirosphaktes's epitomes on the Catholic Epistles and Acts.[58] Milan A 62 contains, in addition to the Gospels, commentaries on Acts and the Pauline Epistles. Scieri characterized the epitome on Acts as "isolated scholia" rather than a full catena, but the catena on the Pauline Epistles represents the earliest stage in the development of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena tradition (C165.1).[59] Vat. gr. 709 also has the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena for the Pauline Epistles, but from a different stage (C165.5) than that found in Ambrosiana A 62. The inclusion of books other than the Gospels is a characteristic feature of the Type A Abbreviated Form manuscripts. Only twenty-five entries in the *Catena Catalogue* database are manuscripts which contain the Gospels and another part of the biblical canon. Nine of these have

[57] A number of miscellaneous codices at the ÖNB contain portions of the Greek New Testament or catenae: Tommy Wasserman, "Marginalized Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament in Vienna," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 28 (2023): 137–191 . See also: Christian Gastgeber, ed., *Miscellanea codicum Graecorum Vindobonensium I: Studien zu griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 380 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009); Christian Gastgeber, *Miscellanea Codicum Graecorum Vindobonensium II: Die griechischen Handschriften der Bibliotheca Corviniana in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Provenienz und Rezeption im Wiener Griechischhumanismus des frühen 16. Jahrhundert*, Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 480 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014).

[58] Parpulov classified the epitomes as C176 for the Catholic Epistles and tentatively as witnesses to C150 ("C150?"). Scieri does not cite any of these manuscripts in his reclassification of the catenae on Acts, though the Moscow codex was unknown to him at the time of publication. As their texts correspond to the form found in Ambrosiana A 62, they likely would be identified with that codex as not having a full catena: Emanuele Scieri, "The Catena Manuscripts on Acts: A Revised Classification," *VC* (2022): 285 n. 19.

[59] Scieri, "The Catena Manuscripts on Acts: A Revised Classification," 285 n. 19; Theodora Panella, "Re-Classifying the Pseudo-Oikoumenian Catena Types for Paul's Epistle to the Galatians," in *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and their Readers*, ed. Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 20 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2021), 400–402; Jacopo Marcon, "The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Romans" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2023).

commentaries on the Gospels and Paul, and, in some cases, the Andreas catena on the Catholic Epistles (C176). Of the sixteen Gospels catena manuscripts paired with other catenae on the New Testament, nearly half belong to the Type A Abbreviated Form group (C110.3, C130.3, and C140.3).[60] The rest have no discernible pattern, containing various combinations of books other than the Gospels and various catena types on the Gospels.

The number and order of the Gospels is another distinguishing feature of the C130.3 manuscripts. Table A2.5 shows the order of the Gospels in the seven C130.3 manuscripts.

Order	**Manuscripts**
Matthew–Mark–Luke–John	1
Matthew–Luke–John	2
Matthew–John–Luke	4

Table A2.5. Order of the Gospels in C130.3 Manuscripts

Only one of the seven manuscripts contains all four of the Gospels, Vatican Pal. gr. 220. The other six omit Mark, which reflects their connection to the initial Type A commentary (C110.1, C130.1, and C140.1) which was initially not written with a commentary on Mark. Most of the other manuscripts follow an irregular order of the Gospels: Matthew–John–Luke. This is the so-called "Western" order of the Gospels without Mark, which is the most common arrangement in manuscripts containing the Type A commentary on the Gospels.[61]

The *mise en page* is another defining feature of the C130.3 catenae. The format of Pal. gr. 220 is singular in multiple ways compared to the other codices in this group: it is the only one of these

[60] Search of the *Catena Catalogue* database conducted 6 April 2023.

[61] On the order of the Gospels in catena manuscripts, see Andrew J. Patton, "Greek Catenae and the 'Western' Order of the Gospels," *NovT* 64 (2022): 128.

manuscripts with a complete biblical text, the only to include Mark, and the only in frame format.[62] All the other codices are alternating catenae with an abridged biblical text. The classification of them as an alternating catena in the *Catena Catalogue* database, is a misnomer. The commentary does not include biblical *lemmata*. The epitome is in the format of a continuous commentary without any external references to the biblical text. Reuss conjectures that the commentary must have originally been composed in frame format as seen in Vatican Pal. gr. 220 because the text itself is "unverständlich" without the biblical *lemmata*.[63] While this is certainly a possibility, the initial form of the Type A commentary was likely composed in alternating format and copies of it are more frequently copied in alternating format than any other catena type, as seen in the table of Appendix 1 and described in Chapter 2. [64] Therefore, while the epitome may not have an apparent organizational logic, its source along with the material evidence of the earliest and every other witness to this work being found in this format suggests it was the initial form. Moreover, as will be discussed further below, Vatican Pal. gr. 220 is an unusual member of the group in more ways than its page layout, order of the gospels, and the presence of the biblical text. That codex, therefore, should not be considered the paradigm for the type. It is recognized that linking the scholia to the appropriate biblical text would take more effort going from an alternating format without *lemmata* to a frame format. Despite the difficulty of that endeavor, the evidence of the C130.3 manuscripts and the peculiarities of Vatican Pal. gr. 220 compared to the rest of the group suggests that the C130.3

[62] See Reuss for the most extensive description of the manuscript: Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 31–33, 75, 160.
[63] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 34.
[64] See Chapter 2 §2.1.2.

epitome was first formatted in a continuous single block without biblical *lemmata* as seen in the majority of witnesses to these texts on the Gospels.[65]

Choirosphaktes's epitome takes the Type A commentary and condenses it. Reuss characterized the editorial work on Matthew, which applies throughout the Gospels, as being marked by minor changes and abridgment: "Gegenüber der Textform der anderen Textzeugen sind an den Scholien oft kleine Änderungen und Kürzungen vorgenommen."[66] The scholia frequently begin with ὅτι, as Reuss noted. Many others begin with πῶς, διά, or τό. As the scholia in Type A are nearly all anonymous, the Abbreviated Form in C130.3 only contains anonymous scholia. Likewise, using Vatican Pal. gr. 220 in frame format as a guide, the scholia leave many gaps in the interpretation of Luke, which also follows the Type A Basic Form. Rauer observed that even though many of the scholia also are found in the Type B Basic Form, they followed the form of the text found in Type A, indicating they descend from the latter.[67] These characteristics demonstrate the connection between the epitome and its connection to the full commentary and Choirosphaktes editorial work.

As noted above, Vatican Pal. gr. 220 stands out from the other C130.3 manuscripts. This codex was the subject of poorly executed earlier editions by Angelo Mai and J.P. Migne (who republished Mai) who dubbed the text the *Scholia Vetera*.[68] An updated investigation and edition of the codex

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[65] The manuscripts of Leo Choirosphaktes's epitomes which only contain Old Testament books also are in alternating format.

[66] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 35.

[67] Max Rauer, *Der dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebene Lukaskommentar*, NTAbh 8 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1920), 60–61. This perhaps reflects places where both the Type A Basic Form and the Type B Basic Form used the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου source. See Chapter 4, especially §4.

[68] Angelo Mai, *Classicorum auctorum e Vaticanis codicibus editorum*, vol. Tomus VI (Rome: Vatican, 1834)and PG 106, 1177–1218. On Migne's industrious but problematic work: D.H. Williams, "Migne's Achievement and the Modern Transmission of Ancient Manuscripts," in *The Edinburgh Companion to the Bible and the Arts*, ed. Stephen Prickett (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 42–55.

was published by Louis Thomas in 1912.[69] The commentary in Vatican Pal. gr. 220 goes without a title and is primarily comprised of the same anonymous comments in the other C130.3 manuscripts. The manuscript, however, has numerous additional scholia, especially those attributed to Photius of Constantinople. These additional scholia are formatted in a way that indicates they were inserted into the commentary from a different source than the epitome.[70] The comments from Photius are always indicated by the monogram of Photius's name and usually are located in the top or bottom section of the page frame with a space between them and the nearest scholium. When the comments appear in the outer margin, it is on folios with larger gaps between comments. The Photian scholia also occasionally appear in the inner margin or in the gutter between the biblical text and the outer column of text.[71] While the presentation of the scholia suggests that these were added to the commentary from a different source, they were clearly a part of this work from the outset because they were copied by the first hand. Outside the Gospel of Luke, only eighteen comments appear in the entire Gospel of Mark, indicating that these are probably better understood as a collection of isolated scholia than as a witness to a catena type.[72] This fits with the omission of Mark from Leo Choirosphaktes's epitome on the Old and New Testament. The scholia added to Pal. gr. 220 place it as a part of the C130.3 type but as a unique member of the type.

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[69] Louis Thomas, *Les collections anonymes de scolies grecques aux evangiles*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1912).

[70] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 39–41.

[71] It seems possible that Leo Choirosphaktes would have been compelled to include numerous Photian scholia if they were they available to him as he was a contemporary of the patriarch and composed a commemorative poem upon Photius's death in 893. See Vassis, ed., *Chiliostichos Theologia*, 13. For the text of the poem see Kolias, ed., *Léon Choerosphactès*, 130.

[72] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 141–142. The text in Mark in Vatican Pal. gr. 220 has been classified as a *Codex Singulus* (C126.1). See Chapter 6 §2.2.

The C130.3 Abbreviated Form of the Type A commentary is an epitome of interpretations on the Gospels formed in the early tenth century by Leo Choirosphaktes. The type is attested in seven manuscripts, listed in Table A2.4. Six codices have nearly identical versions of this epitome and one, Vatican Pal. gr. 220, has an expanded version which supplemented the epitome with other scholia, especially those attributed to Photius of Constantinople. Some of these manuscripts were correctly identified as witnesses to the C130 catena type in the previous structure of the CPG. They can now be more specifically located in the new subtype C130.3. Others were mistakenly classified as witnesses to the C132 commentary, likely because the first scholium is the same in the Type A Basic Form (C130.1) and Type B Basic Form (C132). This reflects the limitations of basing classifications of catenae on their *incipit* and *desinit*. These manuscripts can now be paired with their peers in C130.3. The newly formed type now aligns with the companion epitomes on Matthew (C110.3) and John (C140.3) within the Type A tradition on the Gospels. Only one codex, Vienna Theol. gr. 301, contains one of the Abbreviated Forms in any Gospel without having the corresponding catenae in the other two. The earlier identification of it as a *Codex Singulus* in Luke (C137.1) better explains the data in Luke and aligns with Reuss's description of the epitome it contains on Matthew and John.[73]

5 C130.4: The Catena Form

The final subtype within Type A is the Catena Form. This type has been recognized since Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann's *Catalogus* and was edited in J.A. Cramer's edition on Luke. The Catena Form was previously designated separately from the rest of the Type A tradition with the

[73] Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen*, 35, 161.

number C131. Based on the proposal in Chapter 7, this type has been reassigned C130.4. The designation follows Reuss, who called this type the *Vollkatene*. Since the Catena Form was a separate category in the CPG, the witnesses to this type can be taken from the current data in the *Catena Catalogue* database. Thirteen manuscripts of type C130.4 have been identified. These are listed in Table A2.6. As in the case of C130.1, this catena receives a full discussion in Chapter 2. Therefore, the codices are listed in this Appendix without description of their characteristics.[74]

Manuscript	**Diktyon**	**GA**	**Date**	**Parpulov**	**CPG IV²**
Athens, EBE, 204	2500	771	XI	e.4.i.ε	C131
Athos, Great Lavra, A 16	26944	1078	X	e.4.i.ε	C131
Florence, BML, Plut.06.33	16020	194	XI	e.4.i.α	C131
Paris, BnF, Coislin 23	49165	39	XI	e.4.i.α	C131
Paris, BnF, Coislin 195	49334	34	X	e.4.i.α	C131
Paris, BnF, Gr. 187	49756	301	XI	e.4.i.δ	C131
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 334	56053	--	XVI	e.4.i.β	C131
Sofia, Ivan Duichev Centre, Gr. 177	62431	1684	XI	e.4.i.γ	C131
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1423	68054	373	XVI	e.4.i.δ	C131
Venice, BNM Z.545 (410), fols. 1–140	70016	--	XVI	e.4.i.β	C131

Table A2.6. Manuscripts of Type C130.4

[74] Note that Table 2.3 has two manuscripts for the Type A Catena Form not listed in Table A2.6 (Drama, Kosinitza Monastery, 3 (3P) [GA 1424; Diktyon 13410]) and Paris, BnF, Gr. 189 [GA 19; Diktyon 49758]). These manuscripts have the Type A Catena Form in other Gospels but not Luke and are discussed in Chapter 2 §2.2.3.

APPENDIX 3

Changes to the *Catena Catalogue* Database

Georgi Parpulov's print catalogue *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament Catena Catalogue* comprehensively catalogues all the known catena manuscripts prior to the sixteenth century.[1068] For each manuscript, he identifies which catenae are present primarily based on the beginning and end of the text, which he expresses using the corresponding type in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*.[1069] This catalogue is an invaluable resource for the study of catena manuscripts on the Greek New Testament.

Catherine Smith and Liam Carrington developed the *Catena Catalogue* database which is a tool for researching the catena manuscripts of the Greek New Testament.[1070] While the database was initially populated with the inventory of manuscripts recorded by Parpulov, it differs in several ways. First, manuscripts from the sixteenth century and later were added, increasing the number of catenae. In many cases, Parpulov examined these during the course of preparing his catalogue and had determined their classification in the CPG. Second, the database is updated with additional discoveries of catena manuscripts. Finally, the classification of the catena types for a manuscript may be updated based on subsequent research. These are also typically noted in the manuscript's notes to help users of the print *Catalogue* and the database.

[1068] Georgi Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament: A Catalogue*, TS 3/26 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2021).
[1069] Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, 1.
[1070] *Catena Catalogue* database, programmed by Liam Carrington and Catherine Smith: https://purl.org/itsee/catena-catalogue.

While researching and writing this thesis, the classification of the catena types for several Gospels manuscripts has been updated in the *Catena Catalogue* database. Since the tables of manuscripts in this thesis may classify manuscripts differently from his entry, the changes proposed while working on this project are listed. This list excludes the systematic reclassification of the Type A Basic Form (C130.1, C130.2, C130.3, and C130.4) described in Chapters 6 and Appendix 2, and the formation of the new type C131z described in Chapters 3 and 5, which created new types that did not exist when Parpulov prepared the *Catalogue*.

Manuscript	**Parpulov**	**Patton**
Alexandria, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, 122 (GA 2937; Diktyon 33009)	C132	C131z
Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, 248 (GA 1437; Diktyon 18392)	C133	C132
London, BL, Harley 5540 (GA 114; Diktyon 39505)	C110.4 C130.4	C110.1 C130.1
Milan, BA, D. 161 inf. + D. 466 inf. + D. 298 inf. + D. 282 inf.	--	C112.3 C125.1 C133.1 C141.2
Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ex Vind. 3* (GA 108; Diktyon 45959)	C130.4	C133.1
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.17 (GA 48; Diktyon 46969)	C110.4	C110.2
Paris, BnF, Coislin 19 (GA 329; Diktyon 49161)	C130.4	C133.1
Paris, BnF, Coislin 20 (GA 36; Diktyon 49162)	C140.4	C141.1
Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1225 (GA 1293; Diktyon 53889)	C139.2 C147.4	C130.1 C140.1
Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, S.A. Valle 100 (Diktyon 56149)	C132	C133.1 C135 C130.1
Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 758 (GA139; Diktyon 67389)	C133	C132
Venice, BNM, Z.27 (341) (GA 210; Diktyon 69498)	C133	C132
Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 277, fols. 77–227	C130.4	C130.1

Table A3.7. Manuscripts with updated CPG number in *Catena Catalogue* database

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