

A chapter from the history of Catenae

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A CHAPTER FROM THE HISTORY OF CATENAE:
CPG C111–C112 AND THEIR PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN ANCESTOR

PANAGIOTIS MANAFIS – GEORGI PARPULOV

Some fifty-eight manuscripts from the tenth and subsequent centuries¹ contain an extensive commentary on the Gospel of Matthew (CPG C111). Falsely attributed to ‘Peter of Laodicea’, this text is in fact a paraphrase pieced together from various sources which the compiler, himself anonymous, did not care to identify.² On several occasions (CPG C112.1–6 and C119.1) C111 was extended with further passages whose authors are usually named, Pseudo-Peter’s core text being in its turn marked as ‘unascribed’ (ἀνεπιγράφου).³ No one has examined the origin of this additional, ascribed material, assuming as a matter of course that it came straight from the complete text of the respective author’s exegetical works. Six previously unstudied manuscript leaves pasted to a codex deposited now in the Monastery of Saint Nikanor of Zavorda in the region of Grevena, Greece present the issue in a different light. In fact, the manuscript with the shelfmark Zavorda, Monastery of St Nikanor 5 is a convolute, where ff. 307-312 form a distinct unit bound at the end of the codex. These folia bear no relation to the text that precedes them (a Gospel lectionary) and must be vestiges from another codex, the rest of which is now lost. The leaves are copied in early minuscule that can be dated to the second half of the ninth century (Fig. 1), and thus, remarkable on account of

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- 1 Listed in G.R. PARPULOV, *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament: A Catalogue*. Piscataway 2021, 38-70.
- 2 J. REUSS, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht* (*Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen*, XVIII/4-5). Münster 1941, 72-78. For the Greek text see C.F.G. HEINRICI, *Des Petrus von Laodicea Erklärung des Matthäusevangeliums* (*Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*, 5). Leipzig 1908. Heinrici himself emphasises (pp. xxix-xxxiii) that the work he edited is essentially a compilation.
- 3 REUSS (cited n. 2), 79-101. In CPG C112.1, the extra passages are unattributed. On CPG C119.1, see G. PARPULOV, *Some New Patristic Scholia on the Gospel of Matthew*. *Adamantius* 27 (2021) in press.

their age.⁴ The present paper argues that this new witness not only assists with the identification of the source for a number of passages transmitted in the commentaries designated as C112.1–5 in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*⁵ but it also provides the text of extracts in the catena on Matthew previously unknown. In what follows, we describe their content in detail. For passages already published in print, we refer to the respective editions prepared by Field, Nau, Tzamalikos, Klostermann, and Reuss.⁶ The last three of these are cited by paragraph rather than page number. In the case of Reuss, numbers in bold correspond to the sections: **1.** Apollinarius of Laodicea, **2.** Theodore of Heraclea, **3.** Theodore of Mopsuestia, **4.** Theodore, **6.** Cyril of Alexandria.⁷ Our manuscript only includes select phrases from the Gospel text, which we identify just by chapter and verse.

Zavorda, Monastery of St Nikanor, 5, ff. 307-312, designated Z:

... ἐγεννήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός», ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἡμῶν etc. {Reuss §4.4}.

Mt 1:17 Γενικῶς⁸ καὶ συλλήβδην ἀνακεφαλαιωσάμενος etc. {Nau, p. 25}.⁹

ἸΩΡ(ιγένου)· Ἐν τρισὶ διείλε etc. {for the full text, see further below}.

Ἄλλο· Χρειωδῶς οὖν τίνος ἔνεκα καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὸν Ματθαῖον ἐσχάτη μερὶς περιττεύει. Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὸν χρόνον τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας etc. τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν {Field, p. 38}.

Mt 1:18 ἸΩΡ(ιγένου)· Ἄλλο γένεσις etc. {Klostermann §12}.

Θεοδώρου Ἡρακ(λείας)· Διὰ τρεῖς αἰτίας etc. {Reuss §2.4}.

ἸΩΡ(ιγένου)· Συνῴκει δὲ ἡ Μαρία etc. {Reuss §2.5; cf. Klostermann §13 II}.

Mt 1:18 ἸΩΡ(ιγένου)· «Ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου» τὸ λεγόμενον τὸ πνευματικὴ

4 The manuscript is described in L. POLITIS, Κατάλογος χειρογράφων Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ζάβορδας, Thessaloniki 2012, 6. It was Prof. Politis who dated these six leaves to the ninth century. We warmly thank the abbot and brotherhood of the Zavorda Monastery for sending us photographs of these leaves and for their kind permission to study and publish them.

5 M. GEERARD – J. NORET, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Concilia. Catenae*. Turnhout 2018.

6 F. FIELD, *Sancti patris nostri Joannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Homiliae in Matthaem*, vol. 1. Cambridge 1839; F. NAU, *Quelques nouveaux textes grecs de Sévère d'Antioche. ROC III.7 (1929/30) 3-30*; P. TZAMALIKOS, *Origen: New Fragments from the Commentary on Matthew*. Paderborn 2020; E. KLOSTERMANN – E. BENZ, *Origenes Werke, XII. Origenes Matthäuserklärung, v. 3 (GCS, 41)*. Leipzig 1941, 11-37; J. REUSS, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben (TU, 61)*. Berlin 1957. The last two of these editions are included in the on-line *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A Digital Library of Greek Literature*.

7 Reuss's no. 5, Theophilus, is not represented in our manuscript.

8 This passage bears no lemma in the manuscript.

9 Cf. M. BRIÈRE, *Les Homiliae cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche: traduction syriaque de Jacques d'Edesse. Homélie XCI à XCVIII (PO, 121)*. Paris 1943, 505 (Homily 94).

γέννησις τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ δηλώσει καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον {Tzamalikos §3}.

Mt 1:20 **Ἀπολιναρ(ίου)**· Ἄξιον δὲ ἐξετάσαι διατί μὴ πρὸ τούτου ἦλθεν etc. καλοῦντος ἐφίσταται {Field, p. 45}.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Διατί μὴ φανερώς καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ποιμέσι etc. τῶν λεγομένων ἀπόδειξις {Field, pp. 46-47}.

Mt 1:20 **Ἦρ(ιγένους)**· Ἐφοβεῖτο οὐχ ὅτι ἐπόρνευσεν etc. {Klostermann §18}.

Mt 1:20 **Θεοδώρου Ἡρακ(λείας)**· Δυνατὸν νοῆσαι καὶ πνεῦμα τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ πνεῦμα καλεῖται {Reuss §4.5}. Οὐδὲν δὲ θαυμαστὸν Θεῷ ἐκ μόνης γυναικὸς προαγαγεῖν τέκνον τῷ ἐκ μόνου ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἀπλῶς τῷ ποιήσαντι τὴν γυναικα καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἄδὰμ ἐκ μόνης γῆς. Ἀρχὴ γέγονεν ὁ Χριστὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τῆς ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου γεννήσεως.

Mt 1:21 **Κυρίλλ(ου) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας)**· Μὴ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ etc. {Reuss §6.7; Field, pp. 48-49}.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Ἴνα δειχθῆ etc. {full text below}.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Καὶ τίνας ἔνεκεν «τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ» εἶπεν etc. ἐκείνης {Reuss §6.8; Field, pp. 49-50}.

Θεοδώρου Μοψου(εστίας)· Ἄντι τοῦ ἀθανάτους etc. {Reuss §3.5}.

Ἦρ(ιγένους)· Εἰ λαὸν ἔχει etc. {Klostermann §20}.

Mt 1:22 **Ἦρ(ιγένους)**· Προφητεία ἐστὶν πρόρρησις etc. {Klostermann §21}.

Mt 1:25 **Ἦρ(ιγένους)**· Εὐρίσης ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τὸ «ἔως» ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀορίστου τεθεῖσα, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ κόρακος· κατὰ γὰρ τὸ αἰσθητὸν οὐχ ὑπέτρεψεν {cf. Klostermann §22}.

Σευήρου Ἀντιοχ(είας)· Ὅτι δὲ οὐ συνῆλθεν αὐτῇ πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν etc. {Nau, pp. 26-27}.¹⁰

Mt 2:1 **Θεοδώρου Ἡρακ(λείας)**· Ἀκολούθως τῇ προφητεία etc. {Reuss §2.7}.

Ἦρ(ιγένους)· Ὁ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀποκεφαλίσας οὐκ ἔστιν οὗτος· οὗτος γὰρ βασιλεὺς, ἐκεῖνος τετράρχης.

Ἦρ(ιγένους)· Φασὶν ὅτι οἱ μάγοι εἶχον τὴν πρόρρησιν τοῦ Βαλαάμ φυλασσομένην τὸ «ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακώβ». Ἐκαστος δὲ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἔξει κέχρηται ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς σωτηρίαν εἰς γνῶσιν τῆς ἀληθείας ὡς τοῖς ἀστρολόγοις τὸν ἀστέρα.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Μάγοι οἱ Περσῶν σοφοὶ ὧν εἷς ἦν Βαλαάμ καὶ τάχα οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μαγείας ἐν τῷ ἔθνῳ ἔχοντες {cf. Klostermann §24}.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Τὰ προφητευθέντα τοῦ Βαλαάμ ὅτε ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρᾶσθαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ «ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακώβ καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ» καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς προσδοκῶντες, τοῦτο ἰδόντες ἐβεβαιούτο βασιλέα μέγα γεγενῆσθαι καὶ Ἰουδαίοις {Klostermann §24}.

¹⁰ Cf. BRIÈRE (cited n. 9), 512-13 (Homily 94).

Καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον· Ὡς κομῆται δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα etc. {Reuss §2.8; cf. Klostermann §24}.

Mt 2:3 Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας)· Οὐχ ἡ τῶν μάγων φωνὴ etc. «μία ποιμνη, εἷς ποιμὴν» ὁ Χριστός {Reuss §6.10}.

Mt 2:6 Ὁρ(ιγένους)· Ταύτας δὲ παρήγαγε τὰς μαρτυρίας etc. ἐσήμανεν ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβ πρόρρησις {Reuss §3.6}.

Mt 2:7 Θεοδώρου Ἡρακ(λείας)· Τοὺς μάγους διὰ τοῦτο «λάθρα καλέσας» ἠρώτα, ἐπειδὴ ὑπόπτευσεν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὡς διασώζοντας αὐτὸν εἰ γε ἔμαθον ὡς ἴδιον βασιλέα {cf. Reuss §4.7}.

Mt 2:8 Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Ἀλλόκοτος ὁ Ἡρώδης πῆ μὲν etc. τῷ βρέφει {Reuss §2.9}.

Mt 2:9 Δύναμεις¹¹ τις ἦν ἡ τοὺς μάγους ὀδηγοῦσα etc. {Klostermann §28}.

Κυρίλλ(ου) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας)· Ἔστη ὁ ἀστήρ πῆγμα etc. {Reuss §6.13}.

Θεοδώρου Ἡρακ(λείας)· Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκρύβη, ἵν’ ἀπολέσαντες τὸν χειραγωγοῦντα εἰς ἀνάγκην ἐμπέσωσιν ἐρωτῆσαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ πᾶσι τὸ πρᾶ...¹²{cf. Reuss §2.10}.

...θάδε «ποιήσατε καρπὸν ἄξιον τῆς μετάνοιας».

Mt 3:5 Θεοδώρου Ἡρακ(λείας)· Ἀκούοντες οἱ ὄχλοι τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν etc. {Reuss §2.13}.

Ὁριγένους· Ἐπειδὴ λύχνος Ἰωάννης ὑπῆρχε etc. {Klostermann §43}.

Θεοδώρου· Καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ βαπτίζοντος ὑπόληψις etc. ὑψηλοτέρας ἀρχῆς {Field, pp. 126-27; cf. Reuss §4.10}.

Mt 3:7 Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας)· Οὗτοι ὡς νομομαθέστεροι etc. {Reuss §6.19}.

Ὁρ(ιγένους)· Τὸ «γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν» δηλώσει τὴν ἕξιν τῆς κακίας· φασι γὰρ etc. {Klostermann §44}.

Θεοδώρου Μομφ(ουεστίας)· Εἰ τις μετὰ ἀκριβείας προσέχει τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ ἐγκωμίοις τὴν ἐπιτίμησιν ἐκέρασεν etc. διαφθείροντες χερσί {Field, pp. 138-39}.

Mt 3:8 Ὁρ(ιγένους)· Τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα etc. {full text below}.

Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας)· Φαίη δ’ ἂν τις «καρποὺς μετανοίας» εἶναι etc. παχύτητος {Reuss §6.20}.

Θεοδώρου· Οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τοῦ φυγεῖν etc. τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀρετῆς ἀμελήσητε {Reuss §4.11; Field, p. 139}.

Mt 3:9 Κυρίλλ(ου) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας)· Τινες φασὶν ὅτι περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ταῦτα λέγει λίθους αὐτοὺς μεταφορικῶς καλῶν. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο φημι· μὴ νομίσητε γὰρ φησιν, ὅτι ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀπολεισθαι ἄπαιδα ποιήσετε¹³ τὸν πατριάρχην· τῷ γὰρ Θεῷ

11 No lemma.

12 At this point, between the present-day ff. 309 and 310, two leaves from the manuscript are lost.

13 Z reads ποιήσεται.

δυνατὸν καὶ ἀπὸ λίθων ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸ δοῦναι καὶ εἰς τὴν συγγένειαν ἐκείνην ἀγαγεῖν. Τῷ γὰρ ἀπὸ λίθων ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι ὅμοιον ἦν τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μήτρας ἐκείνης προέλθειν παιδίον {Field, pp. 139-40}.

Καὶ πάλιν· Οὐχ ἡ συγγένεια τοῦ Ἀβραάμ οἰκειοῖ τῷ Θεῷ τοὺς τῷ γράμματι μόνους ἐπεριδομένους καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐνσάρκου περιτομῆς οἰομένους δικαιουῖσθαι· οἱ γὰρ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας υἱοὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ υἱοὶ εἰσιν. Οἱ ἐξ ἔθνῶν οὔτοι τὰς πνευματικὰς ποιοῦντες ἐργασίας μετὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν τὸν μόνον ἀληθῆ πίστεως, δικαιοῦνται.

Θεοδώρ(ου) Ἡρακ(λείας)· Εἶδες πῶς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς ἐκβάλλων συγγένειαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως εἰσάγει· ἡ γὰρ μίμησις τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐποίει τὴν ἀληθῆ συγγένειαν, ἥδει γὰρ ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦτο καυχόμενοι εἰς μάτην ἡμέλουν τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀρετῆς.

Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον· Ὡσπερ γὰρ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Λῶτ etc. καὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ ἐκ γῆς {Reuss §6.21}.

Ἦρ(ιγένους)· Εἰ «ἐκ τῶν λίθων δίδωται etc. {Klostermann §45}.

Καὶ πάλιν· Οἱ λίθοι λαμβάνονται etc. {Klostermann §46}.

Mt 3:10 Εἰρηναίου Λουγδούν(ων)· Ἀξίνη παρεικάζει τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰωάννης ὁ Βαπτιστής· καὶ Ἰερεμίας γὰρ etc. {Reuss §6.25}.

Κυρίλλ(ου) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας)· «Ἀξίνη» φησὶν τὸν Χριστὸν etc. ἐνεκεντρίσθησαν {Reuss §6.24}.

Θεοδώρου Ἡρακ(λείας)· Τί γὰρ λέγω, φησὶν, ὅτι etc. {Reuss §4.12; Field, p. 140-41}.

Mt 3:11 Τοῦ μὲν Ἰωάννου τὸ βάπτισμα εἰς μετάνοιαν καὶ μόνον τῶν προλημφθέντων (sic), Χριστοῦ δὲ εἰς ἄφεσιν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὕδατος λέγεται, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ πυρός.

Mt 3:11 Θεοδώρου Ἡρακ(λείας)· Ὡστε ὅταν ἀκούσης ὅτι «ἰσχυρότερός μου ἐστίν», μὴ νομίσης etc. ἐδόκει πάντων εἶναι {Field, p. 143}.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· «Ἐν πυρὶ» λέγονται αἱ τῶν ἁγίων ψυχαὶ etc. τὸ πῦρ αὐτὸ δοκιμάσει {Reuss §2.18}.

Ἦρ(ιγένους)· Τὸ πῦρ καθαρίζει etc. {Klostermann §47}.

Κυρίλλ(ου) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας)· Συνέδησε δὲ ὁ μακάριος Βαπτιστής etc. {Reuss §6.27}.

Mt 3:12 Ἦρ(ιγένους)· Πτύον ἐστὶν διάκρισις etc. {Klostermann §51}.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Ἔργῳ ἔδειξεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς etc. Ἀνανίας Παύλου {Klostermann §52}.

Mt 3:14-15 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ βάπτισμα μετάνοια ἦν καὶ εἰς κατηγορίαν etc. «καὶ σὺ ἔρχῃ πρὸς με;» {Field, p. 153}.

Τί οὖν ὁ Χριστός; Ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πέτρου etc. καὶ τὴν ὑπακοήν {Field, p. 153}.

Ὁ δὲ λέγει, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν etc. τῶν ἐντολῶν ἀπασῶν {Field, p. 124}.

Ἔρχεται τοινῦν μετὰ τῶν δούλων ὁ δεσπότης etc. κατὰ λόγον ἔπεται ἅπαντα {Field, p. 152-53}.

Mt 3:15 Ὁρ(ιγένους)· Καλῶς καὶ τὸ «ἄρτι» προσέθηκεν etc. τοῦ νόμου κειμένην {Klostermann §54; cf. Field, p. 154}.

Mt 3:15 Σευήρου· Τί ἐστὶν τὸ «πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην»; Ἥμελλον παύειν etc. περιστερῶν νεοσσούς» [καὶ¹⁴ τὰ ἄλλα νόμιμα διεξέρχεται {Tzamalikos §12}.¹⁵

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· «Ἄφες ἄρτι»· τουτέστι παραχωρεῖ τῇ σοφίᾳ etc. {Klostermann §54}.

Mt 3:15 Θεοδώρου Ἡρακ(λείας)· Διὰ τοῦτο ἐβαπτίσθη etc. ἀγιασθῶσιν {Reuss §3.14}.

Θεοδώρου Μομμ(ουεστίας)· Ζητεῖται παρὰ πολλοῖς etc. {Reuss §3.14}.

Among other known catenae, *Z* is related to five types, *CPG* C112.1–5.¹⁶ Since none of these is available in print, we have chosen as specimens a single manuscript copy of each:

C112.1 Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, W 139,¹⁷ designated *D*

C112.2 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Grec 230,¹⁸ designated *G*

C112.3 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. grec 1076, designated *S*¹⁹

C112.4 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin 24,²⁰ designated *C*

C112.5 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. soppr. 171,²¹ designated *P*.²²

14 The words after [are illegible in *Z*.

15 Cf. M. BRIÈRE – F. GRAFFIN, *Les Homiliae cathedrales* de Sévère d'Antioche: traduction syriaque de Jacques d'Edesse. Homélie I à XVII (*PO*, 175). Turnhout 1976, 356-57 (Homily 10 §§7-8). This passage is clearly by Severus of Antioch – rather than, as Prof. Tzamalikos thinks, by Origen.

16 C112.6 and C119.1 contain no material that is also found in *Z*.

17 This manuscript contains the same catena as Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1229, on which see REUSS (cited n. 2), 78-79.

18 This manuscript is paginated and the references below are to page numbers rather than folio numbers.

19 KLOSTERMANN – BENZ (cited n. 6) assigns to this manuscript the siglum C^{1a} 2.

20 KLOSTERMANN – BENZ (cited n. 6) assigns to this manuscript the siglum C^{1b} 2. It was also used by NAU, *Quelques nouveaux textes grecs* (cited n. 6). It contains the same catena as the manuscript used by TZAMALIKOS, *Origen: New Fragments* (cited n. 6), viz. Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Αγ. Σάββα 232 – which, however, is defective at the beginning.

21 This manuscript is defective at the beginning and lacks the text for Mt 1:1–2:15. Alas, it is the sole known representative of *CPG* C112.5.

22 *P* is the siglum assigned to this manuscript by REUSS (cited n. 2). The manuscript was also used by KLOSTERMANN – BENZ (cited n. 6) where it is assigned the siglum C^{1c}.

These five²³ contain the following passages from Z:

- {Nau, p. 25} D: 31v, S: 8v, C: 8r
- {Reuss §4.4} S: 9r, C: 8v
- {Klostermann §12} G: 43, S: 9r, C: 8v
- {Reuss §2.4} S: 9r, C: 8v
- {Reuss §2.5; cf. Klostermann §13 II} S: 9r, C: 8v-9r
- {Tzamalikos §3} C: 9r
- {Reuss §6.7; Field pp. 48-9} S: 9v, C: 10v²⁴
- {Reuss §6.8; Field pp. 49-50} S: 10r, C: 10v²⁵
- {Reuss §3.5} S: 10r
- {Klostermann §20} S: 10r, C: 10v
- {Klostermann §21} S: 10r, C: 10v
- {Nau, pp. 26-7} S: 10v, C: 11r-v
- {Reuss §2.7} S: 10v, C: 11v-12r
- {Reuss §2.8; cf. Klostermann §24} S: 11r, C: 12r
- {Reuss §6.10} D: 32v, S: 11r, C: 12v
- {Reuss §2.9} D: 32v, S: 11r, C: 12v, P: 1v
- {Klostermann §28} S: 11v, C: 13r
- {Reuss §6.13} S: 12r, C: 13r-v
- {cf. Reuss §2.10} G: 46-47,²⁶ S: 12r, C: 13v
- {Reuss §2.13} S: 14r, C: 16v, P: 5v
- {Klostermann §43} S: 14r, C: 16v, P: 5v
- {Field, pp. 126-27; cf. Reuss §4.10} S: 14r, C: 16v-17r²⁷
- {Klostermann §44} S: 14v, C: 17v, P: 7r
- {Reuss §4.11; Field p. 139} G: 50,²⁸ S: 14v, C: 17v²⁹
- {Field, pp. 139-40} G: 50,³⁰ S: 14v, C: 17v-18r³¹
- {Klostermann §45} G: 50, S: 14v, C: 18r, P: 7r
- {Klostermann §46} G: 50, S: 14v, C: 18r³²
- {Reuss §6.24} S: 15r, C: 18r, P: 7v

23 *D* sometimes paraphrases the original text and contains no lemmata with authors' names.

24 This passage is marked Χρ(υσοστόμου).

25 Χρ(υσοστόμου).

26 Χρ(υσοστόμου).

27 Χρ(υσοστόμου).

28 Χρ(υσοστόμου).

29 Χρ(υσοστόμου).

30 Χρ(υσοστόμου).

31 Χρ(υσοστόμου).

32 Κυ(ρίλλου).

- {Reuss §4.12; Field, p. 140-41} G: 50-51,³³ S: 15r, C: 18r-v,³⁴ P: 7v
 {Field p. 143} S: 15r, C: 18v-19r,³⁵ P: 8v
 {Reuss §2.18} S: 15r, C: 19r, P: 8v
 {Reuss §6.27} S: 15r, C: 19r, P: 8v
 {Reuss §6.25} G: 50, S: 15r
 {Klostermann §51} G: 51, S: 15v, C: 19r, P: 8v
 {Klostermann §54; cf. Field, p. 154} S: 15v, C: 19v, P: 9r-v
 {Klostermann §54} S: 15v, C: 19v-20r, P: 9v³⁶
 {Tzamalikos §12} S: 16r, C: 20r, P: 9v
 {Reuss §3.14} S: 16r, C: 20r-v.

It is clear from the above 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* contains a fragment. Moreover, the compilers of C112.2 and C112.4 consulted this catena in a copy where, unlike *Z*, passages by John Chrysostom were correctly attributed to their actual author. But *Z* also contains a ‘residue’ of passages not present in C112, namely:

Ἐν τρισὶ etc.; {Field, p. 38}; {Field, p. 45}; {Field, pp. 46-47}; {Klostermann §18}; {Reuss §4.5}; Οὐδὲν δὲ θαυμαστὸν etc.; Ἴνα δειχθῆ etc.; {cf. Klostermann §22}; Ὁ τὸν Ἰωάννην etc.; Φασὶν ὅτι etc.; {cf. Klostermann §24}; {Klostermann §24}; {Reuss §3.6}; {cf. Reuss §4.7}; – {Reuss §6.19}; {Field, pp. 138-39}; Τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα etc.; {Reuss §6.20}; Οὐχ ἡ συγγένεια etc.; Εἶδες πῶς etc.; {Reuss §6.21}; Τοῦ μὲν Ἰωάννου etc.; {Klostermann §47}; {Klostermann §52}; {Field, p. 153}; {Field, p. 153}; {Field, p. 124}; {Field, p. 152-53}.

It seems that the compilers of C112.2–5 did not make use of this ‘residue’ for fear of repetition: they may well have noticed that many of the above ‘leftover’ passages were paraphrased in C111 – while C111 is in its turn the common basis for all C112 catenae. C111’s dependence on *Z* becomes evident from the following comparison (the parallels cannot be accidental, as it is extremely unlikely that the makers of C111 and of *Z* both culled, independently of one another, the same passages from four different authors):

Origin: Ἐν τρισὶ διεΐλε τὰς γενεαλογίας ἐν αἷς τὰς τρεῖς καταστάσεις ὄψη τοῦ λαοῦ· ἀπὸ μὲν Ἀβραάμ ἕως Δαυὶδ οὐ φαίνονται ὑπὸ βασιλέων πολιτευόμενοι, καὶ ἀπὸ Δαυὶδ ἕως τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας οἰκειοὶς ἐχρήσαντο βασιλεῦσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μετοικησίας Βαβυλῶνος μετέπεσεν ἡ ἀρχὴ εἰς τὸ τῶν ἱερέων γένος καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἀδιόρθωτος ἔμεινεν ὁ λαός. {*Z*: 307r}

33 Χρ(υσοστόμου).

34 Χρ(υσοστόμου).

35 Χρ(υσοστόμου).

36 Σευήρου.

C111: Τρεῖς καταστάσεις δείκνυσιν ὁ εὐαγγελιστής· μίαν μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Κριτῶν ἕως τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἕως Δαβίδ, καὶ πάλιν τὴν ἀπὸ Δαβίδ μέχρι τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας μέχρι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἕως Δαβίδ οὐκ ἦρξαν τοῦ ἔθνους βασιλεῖς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ Μωσέα καὶ Ἰησοῦν οἱ λεγόμενοι Κριταί· ἀπὸ δὲ Δαβίδ ἕως τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας οἰκείους ἐχρήσαντο βασιλεῦσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἕως τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετέπεσε τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἱερέων γένος. {Heinrici,³⁷ pp. 6-7}

Cyril of Alexandria: Ἴνα δειχθῆ ὅτι Ἰησοῦς φύσει υἱὸς ἦν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, οὐχ ὁ ἐν δοκίσει πατὴρ αὐτοῦ νομιζόμενος εἶναι Ἰωσήφ ἐπιτίθησι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ φύσει καὶ ἀληθῶς ὑπάρχων αὐτοῦ πατὴρ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τούτῳ κατηκολούθησε νόμοις. {Z: 308r}

C111: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ φύσει υἱὸς ἦν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ Χριστός, ὁ πατὴρ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατακολουθήσας νόμοις αὐτὸς τίθησι τὴν ὀνομασίαν, προστάσσει δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἰωσήφ ὡς πατρὶ κατὰ νόμον τὸ ὄνομα τιθέναι. {Heinrici, p. 8}

Origen: Φασὶν ὅτι οἱ μάγοι εἶχον τὴν πρόρρησιν τοῦ Βαλαὰμ φυλασσομένην τὸ «ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακώβ». Ἐκαστος δὲ τῆ ἰδία ἔξει κέχρηται ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς σωτηρίαν εἰς γνῶσιν τῆς ἀληθείας ὡς τοῖς ἀστρολόγοις τὸν ἀστέρα. {Z: 309r}

C111: Τούτους λέγουσιν τινες τοῦ γένους εἶναι τοῦ Βαλαὰμ, οἱ καὶ εὐρόντες παρ' ἑαυτοὺς ὡς εἰκὸς τὴν τοῦ Βαλαὰμ χρησμοδίαν τὴν λέγουσαν «ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακώβ» καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς σωζομένην, ἰδόντες τὸν ἀστέρα δρομαῖοι ἦλθον εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ. ... Συγκαταβάσει δὲ χρώμενος ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τὸ ἔθος ἔχειν Χαλδαίους τοῖς ἄστροις προσέχειν διὰ τούτου αὐτοὺς εἴλκυσε. {Heinrici, pp. 11-12}

Theodore of Heraclea: Τοὺς μάγους διὰ τοῦτο «λάθρα καλέσας» ἠρώτα, ἐπειδὴ ὑπώπτευσεν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὡς διασῶζοντας αὐτὸν εἴ γε ἔμαθον ὡς ἴδιον βασιλέα. {Z: 309v; cf. Reuss §4.7}

C111: Οἰόμενος ἀπατᾶν τοὺς μάγους ὁ Ἡρώδης λάθρα καλεῖ αὐτούς, ἐπειδὴ ὑπώπτευε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀποκρύπτειν τὸν Χριστὸν ὡς ἴδιον βασιλέα, βουλομένους αὐτὸν διασῶσαι. {Heinrici, p. 13}

Cyril of Alexandria: Οὗτοι ὡς νομομαθέστεροι τῶν ἄλλων προσῆλθον τῷ Ἰωάννῃ οὐς καλεῖ «γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν» διὰ τὸ ὁμοιότροπον· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, ὅτε μέλλει εἰς φῶς ἐξίεναι, διαρρήγνυσι τὴν τῆς μητρὸς νηδὺν καὶ νεκρὰν αὐτὴν καταλείποντα ἄπεισιν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οὗτοι νεκρὰν ὥσπερ οὔσαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν μητέρα, τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, κατέλειψαν καὶ διεσῶζοντο ἐκ τῆς χριστοκτονίας, δι' ἣν ὑπέμειναν τὰ ἀνείκαστα κακὰ τέως ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἣν καλεῖ «μέλλουσαν ὀργήν». {Z: 310r; Reuss §6.19}³⁸

37 C.F.G. HEINRICI, Des Petrus von Laodicea (cited n. 2).

38 We reproduce the wording of Z, which differs slightly from the text edited by REUSS.

C111: Ὡς φονικούς διασύρων αὐτοὺς «γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν» ἔφη ὁ Ἰωάννης. Ὅμως ἔχει καὶ ἔπαινον ἢ ὕβρις· θαυμάζει γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν νῦν μεταβολὴν διὰ τὸ καταλείψαι αὐτοὺς ὡσεὶ νεκρὰν τὴν ἑαυτῶν μητέρα Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ δραμεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ σωθῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης αὐτοῖς ἐπενεχθῆναι ὀργῆς, ἢ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ τῆς ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ. {Heinrici, p. 21}

Origen: Τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα αὐχοῦσι τοῦ Ἀβραάμ προφητεύει τὴν καθαίρεσιν ἐκείνου τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τὴν κλήσιν τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν ἀναστάντων δίκην λίθων καὶ λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις πεπιστευκότων, οἱ τοῖς ἔργοις γίνονται τέκνα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἀντὶ τῶν ἐκβληθέντων καὶ τοῦ ἁγιάσματος καὶ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν, οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν προημαρτημένων ἐργαζόμενοι τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιοῦσι καρποὺς τοῦ πνεύματος ἀξίους τῆς μετανοίας, δι' οὓς πρότεροι γενόμενοι γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν μεταβάλλονται καὶ γίνονται υἱοὶ τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς πατρὸς, εὐλόγως διὰ τοὺς τοιοῦτους αἰτοῦντες καρποὺς τὸ «Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς». {Z: 310v}

C111: Εἶτα τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα αὐχοῦσι τὸν Ἀβραάμ τὴν καθαίρεσιν προφητεύει καὶ τὴν κλήσιν τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν ἀναισθητῶν δίκην λίθων καὶ λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις πεπιστευκότων τῷ εἰπεῖν· «καὶ μὴ δόξητε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν Ἀβραάμ· δύναται γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγεῖραι τέκνα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ». Διὰ δὲ τούτου προτρέπεται αὐτοὺς ἀποστήναι τῆς κατὰ σάρκα συγγενείας καὶ ἔλκει ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκ πίστεως. {Heinrici, p. 22}

Cyril of Alexandria: Φαίη δ' ἂν τις «καρποὺς μετανοίας» εἶναι προηγουμένως μὲν τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν πολιτείαν τὴν «ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς» οὔσαν καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένην τῆς τοῦ γράμματος παχύτητος. {Z: 310v; Reuss §6.20}³⁹

C111: «Καρποὶ» δὲ «μετανοίας» προηγουμένως μὲν ἢ εἰς Χριστὸν πίστις, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ πολιτεία. «Ποιήσατε οὖν» φησι «καρποὺς ἀξίους τῆς μετανοίας», τουτέστι μὴ μόνον τὴν ψυχὴν τῇ μετανοίᾳ καθάρητε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργα ποιήσατε χρηστά. {Heinrici, p. 22}

To sum up, Z presents us with a fragment from a previously unnoticed catena⁴⁰ compiled at some point between the early sixth and the late ninth century: the most recent author cited in it is Severus of Antioch, who died in 538, while Z itself, judging from its script, cannot be later than ca. 900. Some passages from this catena were paraphrased in a composite commentary (CPG C111) erroneously ascribed to 'Peter of Laodicea'. That commentary formed in its turn the

³⁹ Z differs slightly from the text edited by REUSS.

⁴⁰ PARPULOV (cited n. 1), 71, inaccurately identifies the catena in this manuscript as CPG C112.3.

basis for a further group of catenae (CPG C112) where yet more passages from Z were grafted onto Pseudo-Peter's text. This three-stage history illustrates the complexities of textual transmission and shows that catenists did not always have direct access to the works of authors whom they quote.

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ABSTRACT

The last six leaves of the manuscript Zavorda, Monastery of St Nikanor 5 contain glosses by various authors (Origen, Theodore of Heraclea, Apolinarius, Cyril of Alexandria, etc.) on the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 1:17–2:9 and 3:5–3:15). These leaves are a detached fragment from a ninth-century codex, the rest of which no longer survives. Comparison with other known exegetical collections shows that they represent a distinct, previously unidentified type of catena commentary. We describe their content and compare it to several related catenae, thus shedding new light on the genesis of various Matthaean commentaries.

