

An Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries with a Preliminary Checklist of New Testament Catena Manuscripts

Houghton, H.A.G.; Parker, D.C.

License:

None: All rights reserved

Document Version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Citation for published version (Harvard):

Houghton, HAG & Parker, DC 2016, An Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries with a Preliminary Checklist of New Testament Catena Manuscripts. in H Houghton (ed.), *Commentaries, Catenae and Biblical Tradition.*, 1, Texts and Studies third series, no. 3.13, Gorgias Press, Piscataway, NJ, pp. 1-36, The Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, Birmingham, United Kingdom, 2/03/15. <<http://gorgiaspress.com/bookshop/download/Commentaries,%20Catenae%20and%20Biblical%20Tradition.pdf>>

[Link to publication on Research at Birmingham portal](#)

Publisher Rights Statement:

Eligibility for repository: Checked on 10/5/2016

General rights

Unless a licence is specified above, all rights (including copyright and moral rights) in this document are retained by the authors and/or the copyright holders. The express permission of the copyright holder must be obtained for any use of this material other than for purposes permitted by law.

- Users may freely distribute the URL that is used to identify this publication.
- Users may download and/or print one copy of the publication from the University of Birmingham research portal for the purpose of private study or non-commercial research.
- User may use extracts from the document in line with the concept of 'fair dealing' under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (?)
- Users may not further distribute the material nor use it for the purposes of commercial gain.

Where a licence is displayed above, please note the terms and conditions of the licence govern your use of this document.

When citing, please reference the published version.

Take down policy

While the University of Birmingham exercises care and attention in making items available there are rare occasions when an item has been uploaded in error or has been deemed to be commercially or otherwise sensitive.

If you believe that this is the case for this document, please contact UBIRA@lists.bham.ac.uk providing details and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate.

Commentaries, Catenae and Biblical Tradition

**Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium
on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament,
in association with the COMPAUL project**

**Edited by
H. A. G. Houghton**



gorgias press

2016

Gorgias Press LLC, 954 River Road, Piscataway, NJ, 08854, USA

www.gorgiaspress.com

Copyright © 2016 by Gorgias Press LLC

All rights reserved under International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, scanning or otherwise without the prior written permission of Gorgias Press LLC.

2016



ISBN 978-1-4632-0576-8

ISSN 1935-6927

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual
Criticism of the New Testament
(9th : 2016 : University of Birmingham) |
Houghton, H. A. G., editor.
Title: 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 / edited
by H.A.G. Houghton.
Description: Piscataway : Gorgias Press, 2016. |
Series: Texts and studies,
ISSN 1935-6927 | Includes bibliographical
references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2016010798 | ISBN 9781463205768
Subjects: LCSH: Bible--Commentaries--History and
criticism--Congresses. |
Catenae--Congresses.
Classification: LCC BS482 .B576 2016 | DDC
225.4/86--dc23
LC record available at
<https://lcn.loc.gov/2016010798>

Printed in the United States of America



Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB II 54, f. 25v.
By kind permission of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek.

The COMPAUL project has received funding from the the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) under grant agreement no. 283302 (“The Earliest Commentaries on Paul as Sources for the Biblical Text”).



TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Contributors	vii
List of Abbreviations	xi
Preface	xiii
1 An Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries with a Preliminary Checklist of New Testament Catena Manuscripts. H.A.G. HOUGHTON & D.C. PARKER	1
2 The Context of Commentary: Non-Biblical Commentary in the Early Christian Period. R.F. MACLACHLAN	37
3 Biblical Catenaes: Between Philology and History. GILLES DORIVAL	65
4 Catenaes and the Art of Memory. WILLIAM LAMB	83
5 Parsing Paul: Layout and Sampling Divisions in Pauline Commentaries. BRUCE MORRILL & JOHN GRAM	99
6 Resurrection Appearances in the Pauline Catenaes. THEODORA PANELLA	117
7 The Reception of Scripture and Exegetical Resources in the <i>Scholìa in Apocalypsin</i> (GA 2351). GARRICK V. ALLEN	141
8 Theodoret's Text of Romans. AGNÈS LORRAIN	165
9 <i>Bethania, Bethara, or Bethabara</i> : Fortunatianus of Aquileia and Origen's <i>Commentary on John</i> , with particular reference to John 1:28. LUKAS J. DORFBAUER	177
10 Ambrose the Appropriator: Borrowed Texts in a New Context in the <i>Commentary on Luke</i> . SUSAN B. GRIFFITH	199

11	Rufinus' Translation of Origen's <i>Commentary on Romans</i> . CHRISTINA M. KREINECKER	227
12	The Transmission of Florus of Lyons' <i>Expositio epistolarum beati Pauli apostoli</i> . State of the Art and New Results. SHARI BOODTS & GERT PARTOENS	253
13	Biblical Quotations in the Gothic Commentary on the Gospel of John (<i>Skeireins</i>). CARLA FALLUOMINI	277
14	An Overview of Research on Bohairic Catena Manuscripts on the Gospels with a Grouping of Arabic and Ethiopic (Gə'əz) Sources and a Checklist of Manuscripts. MATTHIAS SCHULZ	295
	Index of Manuscripts	331
	Index of Biblical Passages	341
	Index of Subjects	345

1. AN INTRODUCTION TO GREEK NEW TESTAMENT COMMENTARIES WITH A PRELIMINARY CHECKLIST OF NEW TESTAMENT CATENA MANUSCRIPTS

H.A.G. HOUGHTON & D.C. PARKER¹

Commentaries remain a relatively underexplored aspect of the textual tradition of the New Testament, even though they have been used by editors of the Greek New Testament for five hundred years. Erasmus' text of Revelation in his 1516 edition was dependent on a single manuscript, a copy of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Andreas of Caesarea (GA 2814): it is said that the difficulties of locating the biblical text is one reason for his occasional retroversions of the Latin text into Greek.² Thus the printed text has from the beginning made use of the commentary manuscript tradition.

While Erasmus' manuscript was from the twelfth century, early examples contribute in multiple ways to the study of the transmission of the Bible. Many commentaries include a full text of the biblical book under consideration, in addition to quotations made by the commentator during the course of their exposition. A commentary may thus offer evidence for the form of biblical text used at a particular time and place, as well as

¹ The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under grant agreement no. 283302 (COMPAUL). Houghton was primarily responsible for the body of this chapter, while Parker produced the accompanying Checklist. We would like to thank the participants at the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium and members of the ITSEE seminar on Greek commentaries in Autumn 2015, especially Theodora Panella, for their contributions reflected in this chapter.

² See D.C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts*. Cambridge: CUP, 2008, 228.

containing explicit observations on variant readings in manuscripts known to the author. The sections of exegesis also bear witness to the reception and interpretation of the biblical text, which may shed further light on its history. Central to the understanding of the creation and use of these works is an appreciation of the manuscripts in which they are transmitted. The present chapter seeks to offer an orientation to the different types of early Greek commentary on the New Testament including catenae, the terminology associated with this field of study, the recent history of scholarship, the manuscript tradition of these writings and their value for the biblical text.

COMMENTARIES, CATENAE AND THE *LISTE*

From the outset, it is important to distinguish between commentaries by a single author and collections of exegetical extracts usually assembled from multiple sources. The latter are known as **catenae**, the Latin word for ‘chains’, although in the manuscripts themselves they are described as *ἐκλογαί* (‘extracts’) or a *συναγωγή* (‘collection’); from Byzantine times, the word *σειρά* (‘string’) is also found. The Gregory–Aland *Kurzgefasste Liste* of manuscripts of the Greek New Testament tends to exclude copies of single-author commentaries, although some are included (occasionally through an oversight) and the situation is different again in the case of Revelation.³ The majority of manuscripts identified in the *Liste* as commentaries (by means of a K in the list of contents) are actually catena manuscripts which include a more-or-less complete text of one or more biblical books. Although Dorival has suggested that catenae in the strict sense should only be used to

³ Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd edn. ANTF 1. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994. The most up-to-date version of this register is now found online, as part of the *New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room*: <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste>. Entries in this list are preceded by GA. Examples of a single-author commentary erroneously included in the *Liste* (and now enclosed in square brackets) are GA 882 (Chrysostom’s *Homilies on John*) and GA 2114 and 2402 (Maximus of the Peloponnese, *Commentary on Revelation*). However, at least five copies of Cyril of Alexandria’s *Commentary on John* are still included (GA 849, 850, 1819, 1820 and 2129; see Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts*, 41). Some collections of extracts derive from (or are ascribed to) a single author, despite their *catena* format, such as the catena of John of Damascus or Nicetas of Heraclea. For Revelation, which is normally accompanied by a commentary, see the section below on *Early Greek Commentators on the New Testament*.

refer to collections in which source identifications are present for each extract and that later compilations based on catenae but which lack these indications are better described as commentaries, the present chapter uses catenae in its traditional, fuller sense.⁴

The most comprehensive investigation to date of New Testament commentary manuscripts is that of Hermann von Soden, in conjunction with his edition of the New Testament which appeared in 1902–13.⁵ Von Soden's scheme of sigla for manuscripts includes details of their textual affiliation, as well as an indication whether or not they were a commentary.⁶ The studies of the Epistles by Staab and the Gospels by Reuss have increased the number of known catena manuscripts, although both of these authors were reliant on catalogues representing only a selection of libraries.⁷ Moreover, many of their manuscripts were not added to the *Liste*, so that there is no single list based on a search of all repositories. The identification of further copies of the New Testament with catenae is therefore relatively common, such as the twelfth-century gospel manuscript in Oxford recently added to the *Liste* as GA 2879.⁸

The checklist attached to the present chapter represents an initial attempt to bring together a list of New Testament catena manuscripts from the principal published sources. Arranged by contents, it reveals both the variety in the contents of catenae and the significant proportion these manuscripts constitute in the overall total of witnesses for each book. Roughly one in ten Greek New Testament manuscripts included in the *Liste* is a catena: the present checklist contains a total of 526 witnesses which have been assigned Gregory–Aland numbers. If lectionaries and papyri are excluded, the proportion of catenae increases to one in six. In addition, the checklist identifies another 100 catena manuscripts which do not appear in the *Liste*. While not all of these are proposed as candidates for inclusion in

⁴ See the works of Dorival, in particular page 67 below, where he states that ‘Oecumenius, Peter of Laodicea, Procopius of Gaza, Theophylact and others are not authors of catenae, but of commentaries totally or partially made from catenae’.

⁵ Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*. Four vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902–13.

⁶ For more on this system, see Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts*, 38.

⁷ For more information about Staab and Reuss, see the section below on the *History of Research on New Testament Catenae*.

⁸ See A.J. Brown, ‘The Gospel Commentary of Theophylact and a Neglected Manuscript in Oxford.’ *NovT* 49 (2007) 185–96.

the *Liste*, this initial enumeration demonstrates the significance of catena manuscripts and the need for a more comprehensive investigation of this tradition.⁹

THE STRUCTURE AND PRESENTATION OF COMMENTARIES

In almost all New Testament commentaries, the biblical text to be expounded is quoted at the top of each section. This means that readers do not have to refer to a separate manuscript of the source under consideration and can locate passages relatively easily, as the commentary follows the sequence of the biblical text. This initial quotation is called the **lemma**. It may extend over several modern verses, or simply consist of a single phrase. In a number of commentaries, especially those delivered as sermons or homilies, the initial lemma is relatively long and shorter extracts are used to introduce subsections. In German, the initial lemma is designated the *Hauptlemma*, while the secondary, shorter lemma is known as the *Nebenlemma*.¹⁰ The lemma also serves to specify the text which is being expounded, in order to mitigate the differences between individual biblical manuscripts.

Where a lemma is not provided, the first occasion on which an author quotes their source in sequence, known as the **running text**, serves a similar function to the lemma, although it may not be as clearly distinguished from the subsequent commentary as lemmata, which are usually grammatically separate. During the course of the exposition, an author may quote from the text under consideration. These **sequential citations** may be given verbatim or adapted to fit the context or grammar of the commentary: apart from comments about the wording of the biblical text, there appears to have been little concern in antiquity to reproduce sources exactly, especially in a homiletic environment. Alterations to enable a verse to stand out of context, whether to remove unnecessary information

⁹ Further discussion about the origins of catena manuscripts and the problems of classification they pose, along with an indication of their potential significance for the history of the biblical text, is to be found in D.C. Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament*. Oxford: OUP, 2012, esp. 40–52. Parker even goes so far as to speculate that ‘the true number of catena manuscripts lacking from the *Liste* may even be as many as those that have been included’ (46).

¹⁰ For an example from Origen’s *Commentary on Romans*, see Caroline P. Hammond Bammel, ‘Die Lemmata bei Origenes und Rufin’, in *Der Römerbrieftext des Rufin und seine Origenes-Übersetzung*. AGLB 10. Freiburg: Herder, 1985, 173–203 (discussed on page 233 below).

or extend the import of the dictum, have been described as **flattening**.¹¹ Sometimes a commentator may paraphrase, or adjust the source to make a point. Equally, quotations may be adduced from elsewhere in the source text or from other biblical books. These **non-sequential citations**, comparable to biblical quotations in other genres of writing, are normally likely to have been drawn from memory. Nevertheless, the fact that they have been provided as illustrations means that they often share a word or concept with the text under consideration.¹²

Manuscripts of commentaries normally employ a system of indicating the structural features of the commentary.¹³ The most common way of marking a new section is by leaving a blank space within a line. The first line of a section may begin with **ekthesis**, the projection of the first word into the left margin by the width of a few characters, sometimes termed a 'hanging line'. When a section does not begin on a new line, the ekthesis may be applied to the first complete line of the section, with the projection sometimes coming in the middle of a word which began on the previous line. Quotations may be indicated by **eisthesis**, the indentation of each line by the width of one or two characters, usually beginning with the first complete line. In Christian texts, biblical quotations are frequently identified by the use of the **diple**, shaped like an arrow-head (>). This critical symbol appears to have been developed by the textual scholars of Alexandria to indicate passages of interest in the text of Homer. Even though the first explicit reference to the use of *diplai* to indicate biblical quotations is in the seventh-century Latin grammarian Isidore of Seville, there are numerous earlier examples of *diplai* in Greek manuscripts: in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus copied around 200 (P.Oxy.III 405) they are used to mark a quotation of Matthew 3:15–16 in a copy of Irenaeus' *Against Heresies*, while

¹¹ See H.A.G. Houghton, "'Flattening" in Latin Biblical Citations' in J. Baun, A. Cameron, M. Edwards and M. Vinzent, ed., *Studia Patristica XLV. Papers from the Fifteenth International Patristics Conference*. Leuven: Peeters, 2010, 271–6.

¹² On the ancient practice of 'concordance exegesis', known in Hebrew as *gezerah shewa*, in which a biblical text may be elucidated by any other scriptural instance of the same word, see Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*. Cambridge: CUP, 1997, 92.

¹³ For a comparative study of the manuscript presentation of early Latin commentaries on Paul, see H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Layout of Early Latin Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles and their Oldest Manuscripts', forthcoming in M. Vinzent, ed., *Studia Patristica. Papers from the Seventeenth International Patristics Conference*. Leuven: Peeters, 2017.

they are commonly found alongside quotations from the Septuagint in fourth-century copies of the New Testament.¹⁴ In early manuscripts of commentaries, including the papyrus fragments of Origen and Didymus found in Tura in 1941, the principal lemma is accompanied by a **double dipole** (>>), while the secondary lemmata and other citations only have a single dipole.¹⁵ Additional ways of indicating lemmata may include **rubrication** or the use of a different size of writing or **script**. For example, the Old Testament citations in Codex Claromontanus (GA 06) are written in red, while in some commentary manuscripts from the ninth century onwards the biblical lemmata continue to be written in majuscules while the rest of the commentary is in the more compact minuscule script: an example of this is given in Image 1.¹⁶

Different forms of presentation are found in other types of commentary from antiquity.¹⁷ It seems to have been more common for commentators on classical texts, whether poems, plays, speeches or philosophical or scientific treatises, to write a companion volume rather than incorporate the source text into their commentary. In manuscripts of works in verse, however, there was space for critical annotations, or **scholia**, to be added in the margins. These may come from a single commentary or a variety of sources and extend from single-word alternative readings to longer comments on the interpretation of the text.¹⁸ A number of formats may be found for philosophical commentaries, some of which may have had their origin as notes taken from lectures. These range from individual scholia to companion volumes and hybrid forms in

¹⁴ See the survey of Ulrich Schmid and Marcus Sigismund, 'Die Markierung von Zitaten in den Handschriften', in M. Karrer, S. Kreuzer & M. Sigismund, ed., *Von der Septuaginta zum Neuen Testament*. ANTF 43. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 2010, 75–152.

¹⁵ See further Caroline P. Hammond, 'A Product of a Fifth-Century Scriptorium Preserving Conventions used by Rufinus of Aquileia.' *JTS* ns 29.2 (1978) 366–91, especially 382–3, where it is noted that this practice was also adopted by Rufinus in his translation of Origen's *Commentary on Romans*.

¹⁶ New Testament manuscripts sometimes feature marginal indications of the source for the quotation, as is seen in Codex Sinaiticus (GA 01; e.g. Acts 2:34, 3:22, 3:25, 4:25 etc.).

¹⁷ See further the chapter by MacLachlan in the present volume.

¹⁸ A number of examples of such manuscripts may be seen online in the *Homer Multitext Project* (<http://www.homermultitext.org/>).

which the commentary is written in a separate column alongside the source text.¹⁹

THE STRUCTURE AND PRESENTATION OF CATENAE

The earliest manuscripts of biblical catenae may have had the source text and comments in parallel columns.²⁰ There are two main formats for catena manuscripts of the New Testament. The earlier of these features the biblical text written continuously in a rectangular space adjoining the central margin, with comments added in the other three margins, above, below and to the side (see Image 2). In German, this is known as a *Randkatene*, ‘marginal catena’, or a *Rahmenkatene*, ‘frame catena’. As the former term may lead to confusion with discontinuous comments or scholia placed in the margin, we propose to adopt the latter term and call them **frame catenae**.²¹ Parallels have been drawn between this ‘book within a book’ presentation and the format of commentary on the Hebrew Scriptures in manuscripts of the Talmud, although there is no evidence for the influence of the latter on the former. Rather, the creation of codices with extra-wide margins for the addition of comments is likely to have been an independent development in a variety of traditions. Nevertheless, the production of copies in which the original format is preserved, presumably to maintain the integrity of the continuous biblical text, is striking. In fact, when the sections of commentary in frame catenae are particularly extensive, a single verse may be repeated several times in the space for biblical text on each page rather than strict continuity being maintained.²²

¹⁹ See further the different types of commentary enumerated in Rodney M. Thomson, *Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts of Latin Commentaries on Aristotle in British Libraries. Volume II: Cambridge*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, 18–19, and the contributions to Josef Lössl and John W. Watt, ed., *Interpreting the Bible and Aristotle in Late Antiquity: the Alexandrian Commentary Tradition between Rome and Baghdad*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

²⁰ See further Dorival on page 76 below.

²¹ Another advantage of this term is that the frames may be of different shapes and sizes: even catenae in which the biblical text is in one column and the commentary in another may be described within this category. On the chronological priority of frame catenae, see H. Lietzmann, *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte in handschriftlicher Überlieferung*. Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Mohr, 1897, 9–12; Dorival suggests that this format may have originated as scholia in the margins of a biblical text (page 76).

²² An example of this is GA 050, in which blocks of text are omitted and

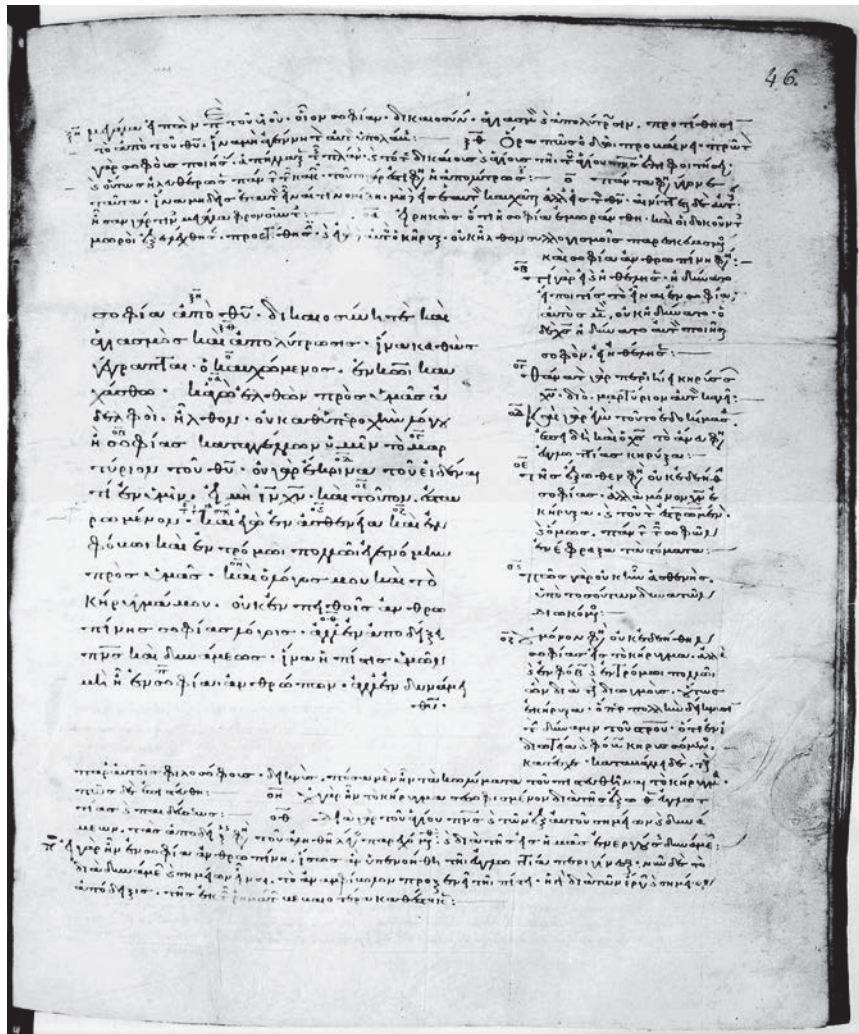


Image 2. Paris, BnF, grec 222, fol. 46r (GA 1932).

A frame catena on 1 Corinthians copied in the tenth or eleventh century. Each comment is identified by a number placed above the corresponding word in the biblical text and preceding the commentary: this is typical of Oecumenian tradition (see below).

repeated: see further U. B. Schmid, with W. J. Elliott and D. C. Parker, ed., *The New Testament in Greek IV. The Gospel According to St John. Vol. II: The Majuscules*. NTTSD 37. Brill: Leiden, 2007.

The frame catena is the predominant form of New Testament catena until the end of the eleventh century.²³

The alternative form of presenting catenae consists of lemmata followed by sections of exposition, as in single-author commentaries. These may be described as **alternating catenae** (designated in German by the unmarked term *Katene*). As the presentation is much less complicated, and the commentary easier to read, this seems to be a secondary development from the layout of frame catenae. The attestation of this form is also later: it only becomes popular in the New Testament tradition from the twelfth century onwards. An example of this format is shown in Image 3.

Within the commentary sections, the independence of each extract is usually preserved, although later catenists are more interventionist in their treatment of their sources.²⁴ The original practice may be taken as an indication of the authority of the sources from which the comments were taken: in many manuscripts, the author is identified before each extract. This is often in the form of an abbreviation or monogram, such as a combination of Ω and P for Origen (Ὠριγένης) or XP for Chrysostom (Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος). The latter may also be referred to as τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου ('from the holy John') or τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰωάννου ('from the great John'): names may be used for other authors, along with the indication τοῦ αὐτοῦ ('from the same', often in an abbreviated form such as ΤΥ ΑΥ) between passages from the same author. Nevertheless, the identification of each author is not always accurate and care must be taken when using catenae as evidence for works which do not survive in their entirety. In frame catenae, the sections of commentary may be connected to the biblical text either through a lemma in the margin consisting of the opening words of the section being expounded, or through a system of symbols above words in the source text. In some traditions, notably the Oecumenian catenae on the Pauline Epistles, numerals are placed above biblical words corresponding to each section of commentary (see Image 2).²⁵ These begin afresh for each book, although in some cases additional comments have been added which interrupt the numerical sequence.

The biblical text in alternating catenae is normally distinguished by the same means as the lemmata in single-author commentaries, described

²³ Compare the tables in Morrill and Gram's chapter in the present volume (pages 110–3), confirming Dorival's observation on page 77.

²⁴ See the chapter by Panella in the present volume.

²⁵ See further the tables of Morrill and Gram below, in which every catena in frame format includes these numbered divisions (page 111).

above. The end of comments is often indicated by blank space or punctuation. One of the most common marks is a double-dot (dicolon) followed by a horizontal line (:–), as illustrated in Image 2.²⁶ In some manuscripts, the lemma text is indicated in the margin with the word κείμενα ('text'), or just the letter κ, while commentary is identified as ἐρμηνεία ('interpretation') or some abbreviation of this word.²⁷

In frame catenae, the commentary is often written in smaller script in order to fit a greater amount of text on the page. This is the case in the late seventh-century Codex Zacynthius (GA 040), the earliest surviving catena manuscript, in which both Gospel text and exposition are written in majuscule script.²⁸ Other frame catenae usually have the commentary in minuscule script, with frequent abbreviations. One counter-example is the ninth-century GA 1900, which has the biblical text in a large minuscule but the exposition in small majuscule script and leaves several lines of blank space at the end of certain sections. This suggests that the manuscript stands at a relatively early point in its tradition, because later copyists would have sought to eliminate the gaps. If the biblical text is written in majuscule characters, the manuscript may have been categorised among the majuscules in the *Liste* regardless of the presence of minuscule on the same page (e.g. GA 0141, 0142).²⁹ This explains why catenae constitute practically all of the New Testament manuscripts classified as majuscule but copied in the tenth century or later. On the other hand, there are also catenae in which the biblical text is initially written in majuscules but later gives way to minuscules: these are usually classified among the latter in the *Liste* (e.g. GA 2351).

²⁶ For more on punctuation, see E. G. Turner and P.J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. 2nd edn. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987, 8–9; we are grateful to Grant Edwards for drawing our attention to this.

²⁷ E.g. GA 0150 and 2110; compare also the use of ερ/ in GA 2351 noted by Allen on pages 147 and 161–3 below.

²⁸ On the dating and script of Codex Zacynthius, see D.C. Parker and J.N. Birdsall, 'The Date of Codex Zacynthius (Ξ): a New Proposal?' *JTS* ns 55 (2004) 117–31.

²⁹ There is, however, some inconsistency, including the example given by Panella on page 121 below: GA 0150 and 2110 are possibly written by the same scribe and identical in format, with majuscule lemmata and minuscule comments, but are assigned to different categories in the *Liste*.

ὁθνη τωσιωω τι τοις καρτωσις αὐτῆς.
 και παλιμ ὁ πατωμ ὅτι τομ λιθου τδ
 τομ συλαωθῆ σῆαγ. Ἐφ' ὅμ δ' αὐ πῶσ
 λικ μῆ σῆατωμ. ἀλλεσ δδ' ὁ μελλωμ ἰκει
 κριμειμ αὐτωσ. πολλω μαιλλου αὐτῶ
 δι κλημ ἐμ τῶσθαι τλω ἔσ αὐτωμ παρορι
 ἀπῆ τῆσθαι. ὡσ τε τῆ μσ μῶμης ἀπῆ τῆσ
 ἔσ τομ ἴουμ. το ἔσ αὐ θω τοις ἄχρῶ
 σου ἴωσ ποδιου τῶμ ποδωμ ἴωσ.
 >> Ὁ ἴχ παμ τῶ εἰσι χεῖ τουρ ηκῆ πῶατα
 >> εἰσ ἀακο μῆ αμ θῆσ γελλῶ μεμα ἀλα τῶσ
 >> μελλου ται κληρονο μεῖν βαι λειάμ.
 θεο
 ἰ
 καμῶσ και τῆμ κῆ τῶσθαι ἄμ θρω πῶσθαι
 αφοραμ ἔδ' ἔθρ. ὁ μῆ γὰρ φησιν ἐκ
 δδ' ἔμ κῆσθαι. ὁ τῶσθαι ὡσ δ' αὐ κῆσθαι
 πῶσθαι τῶσθαι τῶσθαι ἄμ ἔμ ἔμ
 σῆσθαι. Ὁ δὲ λέξῆ. τοῦτῶσθαι. τί θω
 μασθῶ φησιν εἰ τῶσθαι τῶσθαι τῶσθαι
 ὁ τῶσθαι τῶσθαι τῶσθαι ἄμ ἔμ ἔμ
 πῶσθαι τῶσθαι ὁ τῶσθαι τῶσθαι ἄμ ἔμ
 αὐτῶσθαι τῶσθαι ἄμ ἔμ ἔμ ἔμ
 δδ' κῆσθαι τῶσθαι τῶσθαι ἄμ ἔμ ἔμ

Image 3. Paris, BnF, grec 238, fol. 125v (GA 1938).

A lined catena on Hebrews copied in the thirteenth century. The lemma, in the middle of the page, is indicated by double diplai in the margin; the first comment is marked as coming from Theodoret and the next from Chrysostom. Comments and the lemma are separated by a dicolon.

There are a number of intermediate forms of commentary in New Testament manuscripts: although these do not correspond to the full catenae types, they also consist of extracts. The most common is a series described as ‘Extracts from Chrysostom’, which may occur either as a sequential text or in the margins like a frame catena.³⁰ Biblical codices may also have occasional scholia in the margins, added initially by users but incorporated into later copies. The best-known examples of this are the members of the group of manuscripts known as Family 1, whose exemplar included marginal notes of alternative readings, and GA 1739 (known as the von der Goltz codex).³¹ The latter is a copy of the Pauline Epistles which reports differences from the text used by Origen for his *Commentary on Romans*.

EARLY GREEK COMMENTATORS ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

The earliest New Testament commentaries are lost or only partially preserved. We know of a commentary on John by the Gnostic writer **Heracleon**, composed at some point in the second century, from reports in other authors. The most prolific early commentator was **Origen**, later condemned as a heretic, active in the early decades of the third century. Origen’s exegetical works cover most of the New Testament, including multiple-volume commentaries on Matthew, John and Romans, homilies on Luke, Acts and Hebrews and, possibly, scholia on Revelation.³² These were

³⁰ An example of the latter is GA 457, discussed by Panella in papers to the Fifth British Patristics Conference and the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting in 2014.

³¹ For Family 1, see Amy S. Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew*. NTTSD 32. Leiden: Brill, 2004, and Alison Welsby, *A Textual Study of Family 1 in John*. ANTF 45. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 2013; the *editio princeps* of GA 1739 is Eduard von der Goltz, *Eine textkritische Arbeit des zehnten bezw. sechsten Jahrhunderts*. TU 17.4. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899.

³² Critical editions of Origen are as follows:

Matthew: Erich Klostermann, *Origenes Werke X. Commentarius in Matthaeum I*. GCS 40. Leipzig: Teubner, 1935; Ursula Treu, *Origenes Werke XI. Commentarius in Matthaeum II*. 2nd edn. GCS 38. Leipzig: Teubner, 1976; Erich Klostermann, *Origenes Werke XII. Commentarius in Matthaeum III.1*. GCS 41.1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1941; Ursula Treu, *Origenes Werke XII. Commentarius in Matthaeum III.2*. 2nd edn. GCS 41.2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1968; R. Girod, *Origène. Commentaire sur l'évangile selon Matthieu, vol. 1*. SC 162. Paris: Cerf, 1970; see also Erich Klostermann and Ernst Benz, *Zur Überlieferung der Matthäuserklärung des Origenes*. TU 47.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1931, and

popular among Latin authors at the end of the fourth century: Jerome relied heavily on Origen for his commentaries on Matthew, Galatians, Ephesians, Titus and Philemon, while Rufinus of Aquileia produced an abbreviated translation of Origen's *Commentary on Romans* and Origen was also an influential source for Ambrose of Milan.³³ Most of Origen's commentaries have not survived and portions are only known through translations or discoveries such as the Tura papyri. As a result, catena manuscripts can be valuable as a source of otherwise lost extracts from his writings.³⁴

Didymus, sometimes known as Didymus the Blind or Didymus of Alexandria, where he lived in the fourth century, was a prolific exegete. Parts of his commentaries on books of the Old Testament were found among the Tura papyri, but nothing remains of his work on the New Testament apart from fragments in catenae and a Latin translation of his commentary on the Catholic Epistles.³⁵ **Cyril of Alexandria**, patriarch in

Erich Klostermann, *Nachlese zur Überlieferung der Matthäus-Erklärung des Origenes*. TU 47.4. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1932.

Luke: M. Rauer, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 9. 2nd ed. GCS 49. Berlin: Akademie, 1959.

John: E. Preuschen, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 4. GCS 10. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903; C. Blanc, *Origène. Commentaire sur saint Jean*. 5 vols. SC 120, 157, 222, 290, 385. Paris: Cerf, 1966–92.

Pauline Epistles: A. Ramsbotham, 'The Commentary of Origen on the Epistle to the Romans.' *JTS* os 13 (1912) 210–24, 357–68 & 14 (1912) 10–22; J. Scherer, *Le commentaire d'Origène sur Rom. III.5-V.7*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1957; C. Jenkins, 'Origen on I Corinthians.' *JTS* os 9 (1908) 232–47, 353–72, 500–14 & 10 (1908) 29–51; J.A.F. Gregg, 'The Commentary of Origen upon the Epistle to the Ephesians.' *JTS* os 3 (1902): 234–44, 398–420, 554–76; these have recently been brought together by Francesco Pieri, *Opere di Origene 14/4. Exegetica in Paulum Excerpta et Fragmenta*. Rome: Città Nuova, 2009.

Revelation: C.H. Turner, 'Origen, Scholia in Apocalypsin.' *JTS* os 25 (1923): 1–15; Constantin Diobouniotis and Adolf Harnack, *Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis*. TU 38.3. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911.

³³ For Origen and Jerome, see Ronald E. Heine, *The Commentaries of Origen and Jerome on St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*. Oxford: OUP, 2002, and M.A. Schatkin, 'The Influence of Origen upon St. Jerome's Commentary on Galatians.' *VC* 24 (1970), 49–58. An edition of Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Commentary on Romans* and studies of their relationship have been published by Caroline Hammond Bammel: see also H. Chadwick, 'Rufinus and the Tura Papyrus of Origen's Commentary on Romans.' *JTS* ns 10 (1959) 10–42, and the chapter by Kreinecker in the present volume. For Ambrose, see the chapter by Griffith below.

³⁴ See also Griffith's discussion of the *Homilies on Luke* (pages 203–25 below).

³⁵ See F. Zoepfl, *Didymi Alexandrini in epistulas canonicas brevis enarratio*. NTAbh

the first half of the fifth century, wrote commentaries on several New Testament writings. Only the *Commentary on John* is substantially extant in Greek; a Syriac translation provides much of the evidence for the *Commentary on Luke*, while his expositions of Matthew, Acts and the Epistles only survive in fragments.³⁶ **Clement of Alexandria** produced an exposition of the Acts of the Apostles and Catholic Epistles, although this only survives in a Latin translation.³⁷

The most extensive Greek commentator of the fourth century was **John Chrysostom**, known as ‘Golden Mouth’ because of the quality of his preaching. His expositions of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles are transmitted in their entirety. Almost all of these take the form of sets of homilies delivered at the liturgy and recorded by stenographers. They appear to have a lengthy initial lemma quoted at the beginning of each sermon, followed by shorter lemmata structuring the exposition, although it is unclear how much this is owed to redactional activity: most of Chrysostom’s works lack an adequate modern edition because of the abundance and complexity of their manuscript tradition.³⁸ Chrysostom forms the basis for much of the exposition in catenae, adding another layer to his already complicated textual history.

4.1. Münster: Aschendorff, 1914, which also includes the Latin version attributed to Epiphanius Scholasticus, and Erich Klostermann, *Über des Didymus von Alexandrien In epistolas canonicas enarratio*. TU 28.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905.

³⁶ J. Sickenberger, *Fragmente der Homilien des Cyrill von Alexandrien zum Lukasevangelium*. TU 34. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909; P.E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1872. Pusey’s third volume assembles Cyril’s fragments on the Pauline Epistles. For Acts and the Catholic Epistles, see *PG* 74, cols 757–73 and 1008–24. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts*, 330, notes that manuscripts of Cyril’s commentaries are included in the *Kurzgefasste Liste*. The fragments of Cyril in catenae are assembled by Reuss for all three gospels: see note 75 below.

³⁷ Edition in Otto Stählin and Ludwig Fruchtel, *Clemens Alexandrinus III. Stromata Buch VII & VIII*. 2nd edn. (GCS 17). Leipzig, 1970, 203–15.

³⁸ The most recent edition remains *PG* 57–62, which often reprints an earlier edition. For an analysis of different families of text, see Maria Konstantinidou, ‘Opting for a Biblical Text-Type: Scribal Interference in John Chrysostom’s Homilies on the Letter to Titus’ in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies?* ed. H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker. T&S 3.5. Piscataway: Gorgias, 2008, 133–48. The *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci* project to catalogue all known manuscripts of Chrysostom is a necessary precursor to editorial work on his text: seven volumes have been published by the CNRS in Paris from 1968 to 2011.

The beginning of the fifth century saw the production of two commentaries on the Pauline corpus. That of **Theodore of Mopsuestia** only survives for the shorter epistles from Galatians onwards, in a Latin translation, although there are a few fragments of Greek.³⁹ Theodore may also have written a commentary on John.⁴⁰ By contrast, the *Commentary on Paul* by **Theodoret of Cyr** is transmitted in its entirety.⁴¹

Other exegetes of the fourth and fifth centuries include **Acacius of Caesarea**, **Apollinarius of Laodicea**, **Basil the Great**, **Cyril of Jerusalem**, **Diodore of Tarsus**, **Epiphanius of Salamis**, **Eusebius of Caesarea**, **Gennadius** (patriarch of Constantinople), **Gregory of Nyssa**, **Gregory of Nazianzus** and **Severian of Gabbala**. **Eusebius of Emesa**, based near Antioch, had influential contacts with the Syriac Church and was also translated into Latin at an early stage. Even though these authors are not known to have written commentaries on New Testament books, their works are often cited in New Testament catenae. Fragments of works which are only preserved in this way have been collected by Staab (for the Pauline Epistles) and Reuss (Matthew, Luke and John).⁴² Staab's collection also includes two later authors from the ninth century, the patriarch **Photius** and his pupil **Arethas**, archbishop of Caesarea.

Commentaries on Revelation (the Apocalypse of John) offer an entirely different situation. This book appears to have taken some time to become accepted into the New Testament and circulates in manuscripts separately from the other canonical books, usually with a commentary. The earliest commentary is that of **Oecumenius**, also known as a compiler of Pauline catenae, who was active in the early sixth century.⁴³ This is based on

³⁹ The edition is H.B. Swete, *Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii. The Latin Version with the Greek Fragments*. 2 vols. Cambridge: CUP, 1880 & 1882. Additional fragments have been identified since this edition (e.g. Cambridge MA, Harvard University Houghton Library, f MS Lat 433), and work is underway on an edition of a Syriac commentary heavily reliant on Theodore.

⁴⁰ See R. Devreesse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*. Studi e Testi 141. Vatican City: BAV, 1948, which assembles fragments from catenae.

⁴¹ Its text of Romans is discussed by Agnès Lorrain in the present volume, whose edition of the commentary on this Epistle replaces that of PG 82.

⁴² See notes 72 and 75 below; these collections are also available in digital form in the corpus of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (www.tlg.uci.edu).

⁴³ M. de Groote, ed., *Oecumenii Commentarius in Apocalypsin*. TEG 8. Leuven: Peeters, 1999 replaces H.C. Hoskier, *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1928.

the better of the two early text forms of Revelation, also found in Codex Alexandrinus (GA 02), Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (GA 04) and several papyri. The most commonly-found commentary is that of **Andreas of Caesarea**, present in around one-third of the surviving manuscripts of Revelation. Even though the commentary was created in the latter part of the sixth century, drawing on Oecumenius, it is found along with its characteristic form of biblical text in numerous manuscripts copied a thousand years later.⁴⁴ **Arethas of Caesarea** relied heavily on Andreas' commentary for his tenth-century exposition of Revelation.⁴⁵

TYPES OF CATENAE

The beginnings of the catena tradition have been heavily debated. With the exception of the early Codex Zacynthius (dated by Birdsall and Parker to around 700), the oldest manuscripts to have survived date from the ninth century onwards.⁴⁶ We are thus dependent on the analysis of the catena forms for reconstructing the growth of the tradition. Numerous reworkings, in the form of expansions and abbreviations, are attested in catena manuscripts. The origins are often associated with Procopius of Gaza, at the turn of the sixth century, who describes how he compiled extracts from multiple sources on the Old Testament:

τὰς καταβιβλημένας ἐκ τῶν Πατέρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν Ὀκτάτευχον ἐξηγήσεις συνελεξάμεθα ἐξ ὑπομνημάτων καὶ διαφόρων λόγων ταύτας ἐρανισάμενοι.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ See Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts*, 239. The commentary is edited in J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, 1. *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*. Münchener Theologische Studien 1. Munich: K. Zink, 1955. On Andreas' text, see Juan Hernández, 'The Relevance of Andrew of Caesarea for New Testament Textual Criticism.' *JBL* 130.1 (2011) 183–96, and the recent work of the Wuppertal Apocalypse Project, including Marcus Sigismund, Martin Karrer and Ulrich Schmid, eds, *Studien zum Text der Apokalypse*. ANTF 47. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 2015.

⁴⁵ There is no critical edition of this commentary, although fifteen manuscripts are listed in J. Schmid, 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypsetextes.' *Biblica* 17 (1936) 273–93.

⁴⁶ On Codex Zacynthius, see note 28 above.

⁴⁷ Procopius' *Commentary on Genesis*, prologue (PG 87, col. 21.2–5). The compilations of extracts from Augustine in the fifth and sixth centuries offer a

We gathered together expositions laid down by the Fathers and others on the Octateuch, collecting these from treatises and different works.

Catena on the New Testament have different origins, which may go back even earlier. The oldest catena on Mark is attributed to the fifth-century **Victor of Antioch**.⁴⁸ That on Luke is connected with **Titus of Bostra**, from several decades earlier, although it seems that the catena might have been extracted from his commentary.⁴⁹ The earliest compilations on Matthew and John derive predominantly from the writings of John Chrysostom, putting them no earlier than the fifth century or the date of the latest author to be included in the commentary. Although certain witnesses to Matthew and Luke identify their catenae as the work of **Peter of Laodicea**, possibly active in the seventh or eighth century, this attribution is no longer accepted.⁵⁰ Three subsequent catenists are known by name, whose work covers other books of the New Testament in addition to the Gospels. The earliest and most popular is **Theophylact**, archbishop of Ohrid in Bulgaria in the eleventh century.⁵¹ His contemporary **Nicetas** is usually identified as a bishop of Heraclea, although he is sometimes called Nicetas of Serrae.⁵² The third was a twelfth-century monk from Constantinople, **Euthymius Zigabenus**.⁵³ A

parallel development in Latin tradition at the same time (see H.A.G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament. A Guide to its History, Texts, and Manuscripts*. Oxford: OUP, 2016, 59).

⁴⁸ See further W.R.S. Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Commentary on Mark*. Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 6. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

⁴⁹ J. Sickenberger, *Titus v. Bostra. Studien sur dessen Lukashomilien*. TU 21.1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901.

⁵⁰ See G. Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea Erklärung des Matthäusevangeliums*. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Neuen Testaments 5. Leipzig, 1908, M. Rauer, *Der dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebene Lukaskommentar*. NTAbh 8.2. Munich, 1920 and the observations at Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts*, 331.

⁵¹ Theophylact's works are printed in PG 123–6, which reproduces the mid eighteenth-century edition of De Rossi.

⁵² An investigation of the catena on John associated with Nicetas has just been completed by Michael Clark at the University of Birmingham; for Luke, see Joseph Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia*. TU 22.4. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Serrae is likely to be the modern city of Serres in Greece, although it is sometimes interpreted as a reference to the Byzantine term for catenae, σεῖραι.

⁵³ Zigabenus' gospel catena is printed in PG 129, reproducing the eighteenth-century edition by C.F. Matthaei; Zigabenus' catena on the Pauline and Catholic

fourteenth-century archbishop of Philadelphia, **Macarius Chrysocephalus**, was responsible for catenae on Matthew and Luke, which appear to be an expansion of Nicetas' catena.⁵⁴

The earliest catenae on the Pauline Epistles are associated with the name of **Oecumenius**. For many years, this compiler was identified with the tenth-century bishop of Trikka but, as the catena is attested in manuscripts from the ninth-century onwards, the attribution was not accepted by scholars and the commentary was known as **Pseudo-Oecumenius**. The discovery of a commentary on Revelation apparently by the same author enabled the connection of Oecumenius with an author active in Asia Minor around the end of the sixth century. This date which is much more consistent with the history and attestation of the catena and enables the pseudonymous label to be dropped.⁵⁵ Many of the extracts in the Oecumenian tradition are taken from Chrysostom's commentaries on the Pauline Epistles. This is also true of the early eighth-century catena on Paul attributed to **John of Damascus**.⁵⁶ There is then a gap of three centuries or so before the Pauline catenae of Theophylact, Nicetas and Zigabenus.

Five catenae are identified for the Catholic Epistles.⁵⁷ An early form was used as the basis for a compilation attributed to **Andreas the Presbyter**. Another is identified as (Pseudo)-**Oecumenius**, and the latest is the work of **Theophylact**. Little work has been done on catenae on the Acts of the Apostles. In Revelation, as noted above, the commentaries of Oecumenius and Andreas of Caesarea hold pride of place, followed later by

epistles was edited in two volumes by N. Kalogeras, *Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Ζιγαβηνοῦ, Ἑρμηνεῖα εἰς τὰς ἸΔ' ἐπιστολάς τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Παύλου καὶ εἰς τὰς Ζ' καθολικάς*. Athens: Περρῆ, 1887.

⁵⁴ Matthew is known from a single manuscript, the sixteenth-century Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 156. Luke is more widely attested. Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 30 notes that Macarius' sobriquet derives from the gold leaf used for the headings under which his extracts were arranged.

⁵⁵ See F. Diekamp, 'Mittheilungen über den neu aufgefundenen Commentar des Oekumenius zur Apokalypse.' *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Phil.-hist. Klasse)* 43 (1901) 1046–56, and John Suggit, trans., *Oecumenius, Commentary on the Apocalypse*. Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2006.

⁵⁶ The most recent edition remains *PG* 95, col. 441–1033.

⁵⁷ See Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts*, 305 and the survey by Staab detailed in note 71 below.

Arethas. There is also a tradition of scholia, some of which may derive from Origen's lost exposition of this book.⁵⁸

It is worth noting that most of the differing types of catenae are found in both formats, as alternating catena and frame catenae. In addition, catena manuscripts which contain more than one section of the New Testament are not always consistent in the affiliation of their commentary in different biblical books. For example, GA 1424 contains a commentary based on Chrysostom in the Gospels and one from Theodoret and other authors in the Pauline Epistles.⁵⁹ Finally, as has already been mentioned above with regard to Peter of Laodicea, the titles in catenae manuscripts are often misleading and should not be taken as a firm attribution.

There are examples of catenae manuscripts with integrated lectionary apparatus (e.g. GA 0141) and others with the Eusebian apparatus. These examples raise significant questions with regard to the use of such manuscripts. One witness consists of a series of extracts from a catena based on the gospel readings for five feasts in the liturgical calendar.⁶⁰ In addition, catena manuscripts of the Pauline Epistles may contain some or all of the Euthalian apparatus of prologues, chapter divisions and so on.⁶¹

HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON NEW TESTAMENT CATENAE⁶²

The earliest assembly of catena material was that of John Anthony Cramer, published in eight volumes between 1838 and 1844.⁶³ This consists of the transcription of each biblical book from a single manuscript, with variant readings from one or two other witnesses. Cramer was already familiar with the attribution of the catena on Mark to Victor of Antioch and that on

⁵⁸ See Diobouniotis and Harnack, *Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis* and Allen's chapter below (pages 141–63).

⁵⁹ See Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts*, 78.

⁶⁰ Milan, Bibl. Ambros., D.25.inf (920); although only five feasts are included, the reference to the Transfiguration as the fifteenth section (λόγος πεντεκαδέκατος) suggests that this derives from a larger collection. The second half of this manuscript is an autograph Latin translation of the Greek catena extracts.

⁶¹ See the observation by Morrill and Gram on page 103 below.

⁶² For more on this subject, see the contributions of Gilles Dorival and William Lamb to the present volume.

⁶³ J.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, 8 vols, Oxford: OUP, 1844. In addition to scanned copies, the text of this work is now available online in XML format at <http://opengreekandlatin.github.io/catenae-dev/>.

Luke to Titus of Bostra. His principal witness for all four gospels is the eleventh-century Paris, BnF, Coislin gr. 23 (P; GA 39). In Matthew and John he adds information from the tenth-century Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.4 (B; GA 709), while in Mark and Luke he compares the Paris manuscript with the twelfth-century Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Gr. 33 (L; GA 50). Eight manuscripts are used for the Pauline Epistles. Romans is edited from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E.2.20, with lacuna supplied from a manuscript which Cramer identifies as no. 23 in the Royal Library of Munich (now BSB Gr. 412; GA 1909).⁶⁴ For both letters to the Corinthians, Cramer uses Paris, BnF, grec 227 (GA 1937), which he compared with Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.7 and Roe 16 (GA 1908).⁶⁵ For the rest of Paul, he prints the text of Paris, BnF, Coislin grec 204 (GA 1910); for Hebrews he also uses Paris, BnF, grec 238 (GA 1938) and grec 224A (GA 1964). The catenae on Acts and the Catholic Epistles, which he describes as based on Chrysostom, are printed from Oxford, New College, MS 58 (GA 2818), with variants from Paris, BnF, Coislin gr. 25 (GA 307). For Jude, Cramer used Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G. 157.⁶⁶ For Revelation, he prints a single work which he identifies as the commentary of Oecumenius and Arethas, from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 3 (GA 314) and Paris, BnF, Coislin gr. 224 (GA 250). While the choice of manuscripts is somewhat random and there is little in the way of analysis, the transcriptions in Cramer's volumes are useful as a point of reference.

Around a century and a half later, Paul Wendland and Leopold Cohn realised the importance of creating a catalogue of catenae manuscripts and their contents as a prelude to a more scientific study.⁶⁷ The first attempt was the *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus* published by Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann in 1902 (often known as Karo–Lietzmann).⁶⁸ This builds on

⁶⁴ Karo and Lietzmann (see below) identify the Oxford manuscript as 'Bodl. Misc. 48'.

⁶⁵ Cramer describes the manuscript as Reg. 227, but this appears to be a mistake; grec 227 was previously Reg. 1892.

⁶⁶ This manuscript is not in the *Liste*; Karo and Lietzmann (see below) identify it as 'Bodl. Misc. 169'.

⁶⁷ Paul Wendland, *Neu entdeckte Fragmente Philo's nebst einer Untersuchung über die ursprüngliche Gestalt der Schrift de Sacrificiis Abelis et Caimi*, Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1891; L. Cohn, 'Zur indirekten Überlieferung Philo's und der älteren Kirchenväter. Nebst einem Nachtrage von P. Wendland.' *Jahrbuch für Protestantische Theologie* 18 (1892) 475-92.

⁶⁸ Georg Karo and Johannes (Hans) Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus*.

Cramer, identifying multiple types of catenae and providing lists of the authors cited and the opening and closing words of each extract. There are six types of catena identified in Matthew, Luke and John, and nine in the Pauline Epistles. Mark and Acts are described as single traditions (attributed to Victor of Antioch and Andreas the Presbyter respectively); information on the Catholic Epistles is limited, and Revelation is not included. The manuscripts used by Cramer are supplemented with a number of additional witnesses, many from libraries in Florence, Moscow, Milan, Rome and the Vatican. Nevertheless, despite the useful indices of authors and manuscripts, the coverage is by no means exhaustive. Lietzmann also inaugurated a series of *Catenenstudien*, but only two volumes appeared in this and they met with a lukewarm reception.⁶⁹ Other scholars were also active in the field at the same time. Heinrici edited a catena on Matthew, upholding its attribution to Peter of Laodicea, while Sickenberger followed up his edition of Nicetas' catena in Luke and the commentary of Titus of Bostra with surveys of the same gospel in other writers.⁷⁰

A thorough account of catenae on the Epistles was produced by Karl Staab a few decades later. First of all, he published an essay on the Catholic Epistles.⁷¹ This was followed by two volumes on Paul, the first identifying and analysing the different types of catena and the second assembling the full text of each extract by author in order to reconstruct exegetical works which were no longer transmitted in their entirety.⁷² Staab is responsible for

(Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philol.-hist. Klasse). Göttingen: Lüder Horstmann, 1902; see also H. Lietzmann, *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte in handschriftlicher Überlieferung*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Mohr-Siebeck, 1897.

⁶⁹ O. Lang, *Die Catene des Vaticanus gr. 762 zum Ersten Korintherbrief analysiert*. *Catenenstudien* 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909; O. Hoppmann, *Die Catene des Vaticanus gr. 1802 zu den Proverbien*. *Catenenstudien* 2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1912.

⁷⁰ G. Heinrici, *Des Petrus von Laodicea Erklärung des Matthäusevangeliums*. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Neuen Testaments 5. Leipzig, 1908; J. Sickenberger, *Aus römischen Handschriften über die Lukas Katene des Niketas*. Roma, 1898; J. Sickenberger, *Titus v. Bostra. Studien sur dessen Lukashomilien*. TU 21.1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901; J. Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia untersucht*. TU 22.4. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902; J. Sickenberger, *Fragmente der Homilien des Cyrill von Alexandrien zum Lukas Evangelium*. TU 34.1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909.

⁷¹ K. Staab, 'Die griechischen Katenenkommentare zur den katholischen Briefe.' *Biblica* 5 (1924) 296–353.

⁷² K. Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1926; K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen*

the names by which each of the six types of Pauline catena are known. Three are identified by the library of their principal witness: *Typus Vaticanus* is based on Vatican gr. 762 (GA 1915), *Typus Monacensis* is based on Munich, BSB, Gr. 412 (GA 1909) and *Typus Parisinus* derives from Paris, BnF, Coislin gr. 204 (GA 1910; Image 4). The other three are identified by author: Nicetas, Pseudo-Oecumenius and Theodoret. The Oecumenian tradition consists of five subtypes, a–e, including two expansions and one set of extracts. There are four manuscripts which do not correspond with any of the six principal types.⁷³ Staab offers an analysis of each of the types and their character, along with extensive descriptions of the key manuscripts and comments on their biblical text. He also gives an indication of the total number of extracts for each Epistle, divided by author: some extracts are attributed to more than one source (*Doppellemmata*). In the second volume, these are assembled for eleven authors, eight from the fourth or fifth century (Didymus of Alexandria, Eusebius of Emesa, Acacius of Caesarea, Apollinarius of Laodicea, Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Severian of Gabbala and Gennadius of Constantinople) along with Photius, Arethas and Oecumenius (whom he identifies as Oecumenius of Trikka).

A similar approach was taken for the Gospels by Staab's pupil Joseph Reuss. His initial survey divided the catenae on Matthew into five types (A–D and Macarius Chrysocephalus), Mark into two recensions, and John into seven types (A–F and Macarius Chrysocephalus), along with various subtypes, several individual manuscripts, and chapters on the commentaries of Theophylact and Euthymius Zigabenus; Nicetas of Heraclea is represented by Type C in Matthew and Type E in John.⁷⁴ In three subsequent volumes Reuss assembled the extracts for Matthew, John and Luke by authors whose works are otherwise not transmitted: Apollinaris of Laodicea, Theodore of Heraclea, Cyril of Alexandria and Photius appear in all three gospels; Theophilus of Alexandria is cited in Matthew and John, and Theodore of Mopsuestia in Matthew and Luke; Matthew names a further, unidentified, Theodore; John also features Didymus and Ammonius of Alexandria; Luke has extensive extracts by an anonymous

Kirche. Aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben. NTAbh 15. Münster: Aschendorff, 1933 (reprinted 1984).

⁷³ Athos, Pantokrator 28 (GA 1900), Vatican, Vat. gr. 1650 (GA 623), Paris, BnF gr. 226 (GA 1936) and Coislin gr. 208 (not in the *Liste*).

⁷⁴ Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus-, und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht.* NTAbh 18.4–5. Münster: Aschendorff, 1941.

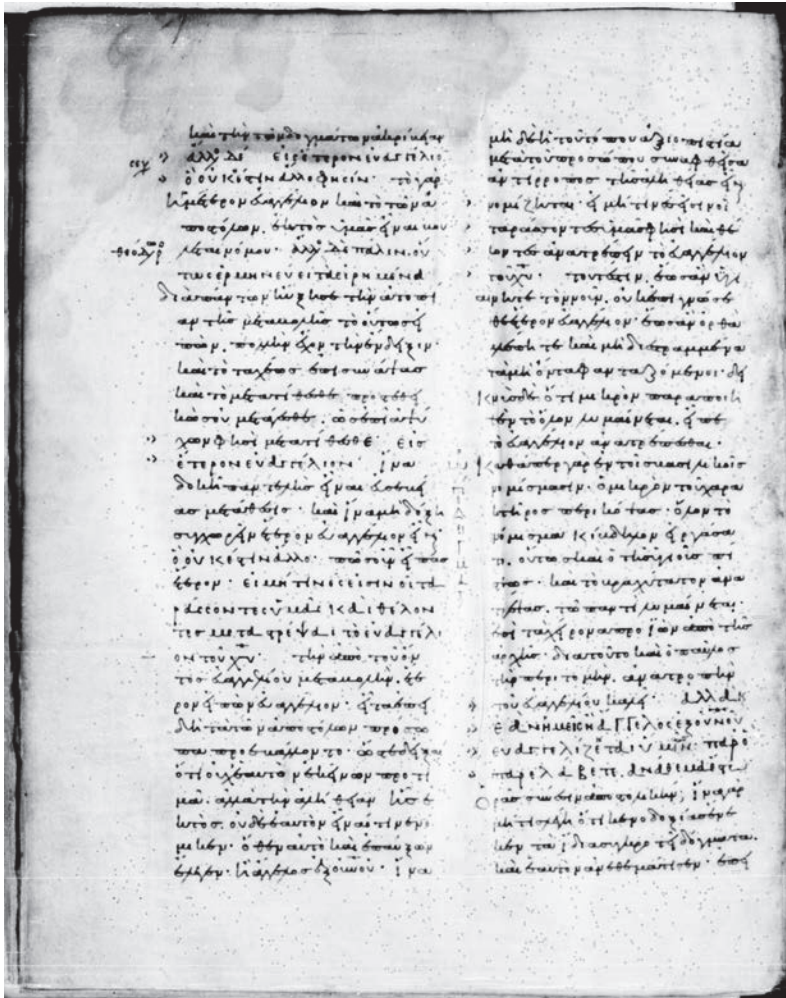


Image 4. Paris, BnF, Coislin grec 204, fol. 7v

The *Typus Parisinus* catena, copied in the eleventh or twelfth century. The biblical lemmata are written in a slightly larger script, including some majuscule letter forms, and sometimes indicated by double diplai. Another biblical quotation is indicated by single diplai. In the left margin, there are indications of the authors Severian of Gabbala and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

author from Jerusalem covering the first chapter only.⁷⁵ Like Staab, Reuss includes details of the folio in each manuscript on which an extract occurs and a critical apparatus of textual variation. The introductions to each of the later volumes offer further precisions to Reuss's initial classifications, including the introduction of a new type (E in Matthew, G in John) based on an important eleventh-century witness, Athos, Lavra, B 113 (GA 1507).⁷⁶ The Lucan catena tradition is divided into six types (A–F), of which Type C is Nicetas and Types D–F are only transmitted in single manuscripts; Type E is the oldest, as found in Codex Zacynthius. The lack of compilation of extracts for Mark is compensated by Lamb's recent study and translation of the *Catena in Marcum*.⁷⁷

CATENAE AND COMMENTARIES AS WITNESSES TO THE BIBLICAL TEXT

Many catena manuscripts are classified as witnesses to the direct tradition of the Greek New Testament, numbered as majuscules or minuscules in the *Liste* based on the script used for the biblical text. Nevertheless, there are some differences between catenae and other members of these categories. Catenae tend to be much later than other majuscules because of the artificial preservation of this script to distinguish the source from the commentary. In alternating catenae, even if the whole book is quoted, the biblical text is not continuous but separated by the intervening sections of commentary. There are also alternating catena manuscripts in which the biblical text is not given in full, but abbreviated. Examples of this include manuscripts which omit numerous verses (e.g. GA 1942 of the Pauline letters), or just give the opening and closing text of each extract. In addition, biblical quotations may be more heavily abbreviated by copyists than the commentary text, if they were seen to function simply as a *aide-mémoire*. In frame catenae, the biblical text does follow continuously from one page to the next. As mentioned above, however, verses may be

⁷⁵ Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*. TU 61. Berlin: Akademie, 1957; Joseph Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*. TU 89. Berlin: Akademie, 1966; Joseph Reuss, *Lukaskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*. TU 130. Berlin: Akademie, 1984.

⁷⁶ See J. Reuss, 'Die Evangelienkatene im Cod. Athon. gr. Lawra B 113.' *ZNW* 42 (1949) 217–28.

⁷⁷ Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*; concerns about the textual accuracy of this volume were presented by Joseph Verheyden at the *Seventeenth International Patristic Conference* (Oxford, 2015).

repeated when the accompanying portions of commentary are particularly extensive. Sometimes, this introduces variation in the biblical text, comparable to the appearance of the same verse in more than one extract in a lectionary.

The biblical text in catena manuscripts may be diagnostic of their affiliation. For examples, there are readings which are unique to witnesses which present the catena of Nicetas on the Gospel according to John.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the unity of commentary and biblical text should not be assumed: it is possible that catenae were copied into manuscripts with a different form of biblical text. One interesting recent finding is that a number of the forms of text which are particularly influential in the textual history of the Catholic Epistles are found in catena manuscripts.⁷⁹ The proximity of the continuous text to biblical quotations in the commentary might result in influence one way or the other, although few examples of this have been convincingly identified. In alternating catenae, there is the possibility that a quotation of the biblical text in one of the extracts could be misidentified as a part of the continuous text.⁸⁰ Repetitions of biblical verses in the margins of frame commentaries, which may divide groups of comments, could derive from a separate textual tradition to that of the continuous text, and must therefore be studied separately (e.g. GA 1900). The text of any quotation of the verse under consideration transmitted within an extract is of interest, in terms of its relationship both to the biblical text associated with the catena and also the direct tradition of that author (where this exists).

The lemmata in biblical commentaries have to be carefully assessed. If they are extensive, it is possible to use them in the same manner as the biblical text in alternating catenae to reconstruct a more-or-less complete form of the book which is being expounded. However, this is not necessarily the text used by the commentator: as in the catenae, it could have been replaced or adjusted by later editors. Comparing the lemmata with repetitions of the biblical text in the body of the commentary offers a means of determining whether or not the lemmata have been substituted.

⁷⁸ Examples were presented by Michael Clark at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting in Atlanta, 2015.

⁷⁹ This was demonstrated by Klaus Wachtel in a paper presented at the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium which, unfortunately, was not available for inclusion in the present volume.

⁸⁰ Compare the problems faced by Erasmus in his use of a commentary manuscript of Revelation, described at the beginning of this chapter.

Quotations in the exegetical sections are normally not as clearly indicated as the lemma and are sometimes grammatically incorporated into the commentary, which means that they are less likely to have been altered by an editor seeking to update the continuous text to another form. Nonetheless, even these quotations may have been reworked or harmonised to a differing text in the lemma during copying and the commentator themselves may not always have been consistent.⁸¹

Not all commentaries have lemmata and in some cases (particularly commentaries initially delivered as homilies) biblical references may have been added at a later stage. The reconstruction of the source of their continuous biblical text must therefore proceed from the basis of the first quotation of each verse in the context of its exegesis, comparing this with the other citations and allowing for the possibility of authorial freedom or later adjustment. As noted above, quotations adduced by the commentator as illustrations are generally not as valuable as the sequential citations in the exegetical sections, because the majority of these are likely to be made from memory. Once all of the biblical references have been assembled from a commentary and, where possible, its manuscript tradition, comparison with direct biblical tradition can also offer an indication of the likelihood that the transmitted text is authorial. The lack of modern critical editions of early Greek commentaries, however, means that at present we have little idea of the variation in the biblical text in the manuscript tradition.⁸² If different forms of text are present in manuscripts of commentaries, this is of interest for the history of the work's transmission, the sensitivity of users to variations in the canonical text and the sort of texts which were introduced into the tradition.

CONCLUSION

Approaching Greek New Testament commentaries and catenae requires considerable background knowledge and familiarity with a number of sources. Although the present overview is necessarily superficial in many

⁸¹ Compare Konstantinidou, 'Opting for a Text-Type'. An example of this in Latin tradition is given in H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Biblical Text of Jerome's Commentary on Galatians'. *JTS* ns 65.1 (2014) 1–24.

⁸² In R.L. Mullen et al., ed., *The Gospel According to John in the Byzantine Tradition*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007, two sources were used for the quotations of Chrysostom's *Homilies on John*, a doctoral dissertation by S.D. Patton based on Montfaucon's edition and the manuscript Sinai, gr. 369–70. Numerous differences between these are reported in the critical apparatus.

places, we hope that it will encourage and be of assistance to future research. The establishment of consistent terminology, in particular, is a necessary stage to ensure parity between studies. In addition, the failure of later studies to take full account of what has gone before has led to surprising gaps in the listing of manuscripts. This is shown by the absence of numerous catena manuscripts from the *Liste*. The need for a comprehensive catalogue and a scientific approach to identifying different types of catenae remains as pressing now as it was at the end of the nineteenth century, despite the significant contributions of Staab and Reuss. It is hoped that the following Checklist goes some way to making a start on this. The advent of substantial electronic corpora (such as the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*), the increased understanding of the textual history of the New Testament in the first millennium provided by the *Editio Critica Maior*, the ever-increasing number of digitised manuscripts available online and the use of databases and other software to hold together large amounts of information means that researchers are in a stronger position than ever before to address the challenges and puzzles posed by these fascinating manuscripts, their murky origins and their complicated textual traditions.

A PRELIMINARY CHECKLIST OF NEW TESTAMENT CATENA MANUSCRIPTS

This undoubtedly faulty and partial list has been compiled from a number of sources, each itself compiled with a different end in view. It began as a spreadsheet listing catena manuscripts of the Gospel of John, recording the different catena types to which different researchers have assigned them. The foundation for this was the *Liste*, whose goal is to record all manuscripts with the potential to be included as Greek witnesses in a critical edition of the New Testament.⁸³ To this were added entries for manuscripts not included in the *Liste*, from the publications of Reuss.⁸⁴ Reuss' goal was to record catena manuscripts and to analyse catena types. Thus manuscripts not containing gospel text and so of no interest to the *Liste* may have been included by Reuss because they contain a catena. He at

⁸³ Unfortunately the data with regard to catenae in the online version of the *Liste* (see note 3 above) is not yet clean enough for one to be able to use it to search for them. This list was made by the traditional method of reading the printed volume.

⁸⁴ See notes 74 and 75 above.

least sometimes records the absence of biblical text in this earlier publication.

This Johannine list was subsequently expanded to include the other Gospels, using the same sources as before with the addition of the list of manuscripts of Nicetas of Heraclea compiled by Zamagni.⁸⁵ The contents of individual manuscripts were checked using the online Pinakes catalogue.⁸⁶

A separate list of all Pauline catena manuscripts was compiled as part of the COMPAUL Project, working from the *Liste* and the researches of Staab.⁸⁷ To this a few other entries were added. Finally, a third list of manuscripts of Acts and the Catholic Epistles was made, again from the *Liste* and other work by Staab.⁸⁸ The decision was taken to exclude the Apocalypse from this survey, as it constitutes a separate case (see above), although its presence is noted where manuscripts contain that book as well as at least one other. Finally, the three spreadsheets were amalgamated into one and the following data abstracted from it.⁸⁹

It will be noted that a significant number of witnesses in this list lack a Gregory-Aland number. The causes for this are hard to ascertain. Both Gregory and von Soden recorded information about catena types, the latter even using it as part of his numbering system. Karo and Lietzmann, in their

⁸⁵ C. Zamagni, 'New Perspectives on Eusebius' Questions and Answers on the Gospels – The Manuscripts', in *Eusebius of Caesarea: Traditions and Innovations*, ed. Aaron Johnson and Jeremy Scott. Cambridge MA and London: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2013, 239–61.

⁸⁶ <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr>. A few items in Zamagni's list appear slightly inaccurate (compare the comments of Schulz on page 310 below), although whether Pinakes or Zamagni is at fault remains to be determined. Item 1 (Athos, Vatopedi, 457) is described in Pinakes as containing a selection of writings, with no mention of Nicetas. Item 4 (Athos, Dionysiou, 377) is described in Pinakes as containing the works of Johannes Argyropoulos. Item 18 (Munich, BSB, Gr. 146) is described in Pinakes as *Homiliae variae* and Item 19 does not match the Pinakes entry either. Item 34 ('Venice, BNM Gr. 331') may be a doublet of Item 35 (Gr. Z. 494 (Coll. 331)). Items 5 and 15 are the same manuscript according to the *Liste* (and item 15 is now with other Taphou manuscripts in the National Library in Athens and not in Istanbul).

⁸⁷ Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen*.

⁸⁸ Staab, 'Die griechischen Katenenkommentare'.

⁸⁹ Further work to be undertaken will include consideration of the manuscripts studied in Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*.

pioneering study, record the Gregory number for every manuscript they cite, and the vast majority now have a Gregory-Aland number.⁹⁰ Reuss and Staab, however, did not refer to Gregory numbers but only used library shelfmarks. Whether this led to a separation between New Testament manuscript studies and work on the catenae is no more than speculation. But it is the case that there is no reference to either of these writers in the additions to Gregory published by Kurt Aland in 1950 and 1953.⁹¹ Whether they were overlooked, or their significance was not recognised, or even they were examined and no manuscript deemed suitable for inclusion in the list, may be impossible to determine.

In the following list, the common English abbreviations for biblical books are used. Manuscripts with a Gregory-Aland number are cited first and are separated from each other by a space. This is followed after a full-stop by manuscripts without a Gregory-Aland number, which are cited by library and shelf number and are separated from each other by a semi-colon. A listing of manuscripts by Gregory-Aland number is found in the Index of Manuscripts at the back of the present volume.

1. Manuscripts containing books from more than one section of the New Testament

Three catena manuscripts contain the entire New Testament:

131⁹² 1424⁹³ 1678

One manuscript contains all but the Catholic Letters:

886

Two manuscripts contain books from the Gospels, Acts and Paul:

1371 (Mk Lk Jn Acts and Romans) 1980 (Mt Lk Jn Acts and Paul)

One manuscript contains the Gospels, Acts and Catholic Letters:

Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1767

One manuscript contains the five Johannine writings:

743

⁹⁰ Karo and Lietzmann, 'Catenarum graecarum catalogus'.

⁹¹ For information on additions to Gregory, see J.K. Elliott, *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts. Third Edition. Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 160. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

⁹² Recorded in *Liste* as not containing Revelation.

⁹³ There is no commentary on Revelation.

Four manuscripts contain parts of the Gospels and Catholic Letters:

197 (Mt Mk Jas) 832 (Mt Lk Jn Cath). Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. Gr. 301 (Mt Lk Jn Jas 1–2Pt); Theol. Gr. 324 (all eleven writings)

Eight manuscripts contain parts of the Gospels and Paul:

858 891 (both complete) 1267 (Jn Rom–Col) 1330 (Gospels Rom/1Cor) 1506 (Gospels Rom–1Cor 4.15) 2482 (Gospels Heb). Paris, BnF, Suppl. Gr. 71 (Gospels Hebrews); Paris, BnF, Gr. 702 (Mt Lk Jn Paul)

Fourteen manuscripts contain parts of all of the New Testament apart from the Gospels:

82 91 250 254 314 424⁹⁴ 468 617 627 911 1862 1888 2431 2776

Twenty-nine manuscripts contain some or all of Acts, the Catholic Letters and Paul:

018 056 0142 94⁹⁵ 101 103 327 454 455 463 605 606 607 608 619 621 623 641 1162 1277 1360 1523 1524 1845 1871 2239 2242 2733. Patmos, Ioannou, 263

One manuscript contains Acts, the Catholic Letters and Revelation:

1859

Seven manuscripts contain Acts and the Catholic Letters:

307 453 610 1066 1842 1895 2818

Five manuscripts contain Acts and some or all of Paul:

441 2576. Florence, BML, Plutei VIII.19; Milan, Bibl. Ambros., F. 104 sup; Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 875

One manuscript contains the Catholic Letters, Paul (only Romans) and Revelation:

1769

Seven manuscripts contain Paul and the Catholic Letters:

442 622 918 1840 2125 2197 2318

One manuscript contains the Catholic Letters and Revelation:

2186

There are eighty-five manuscripts in this first category.

⁹⁴ There is no commentary on Revelation.

⁹⁵ In the printed *Liste* the contents are given as Acts, Paul and Revelation. But the Revelation commentary is older, and is now treated as a separate manuscript with the number GA 2917.

2. Manuscripts containing one or more books from a single section of the New Testament

The bulk of the catena manuscripts comprises those containing only individual units of the New Testament.

2.1 *Manuscripts of the Gospels*

The Gospels form the greatest number, with 193 containing all four:

033 055 12 19 20 24 25 34 36 37 39 40 48 50 63 77 100 108 127 129
 137 138 143 148 151 154 168 186 194 195 196 210 215 222 233 237
 238 240 244 253 259 299 301 303 305 329 332 353 370 373 374 377
 379 391 392 428 549 556 569 591 599 600 649 684 719 723 727 728
 729 730 731 732 733 740 741 744 746 747 749 754 771 772 773 800
 807 809 814 817 818 820 833 834 835 854 855 856 861 863 878 881
 885 888 889 890 949 951 964 978 989 1021 1029 1078 1080 1130 1137
 1160 1164 1178 1182 1230 1252 1253 1261 1262 1263 1265 1266 1268
 1293 1302 1303 1304 1312 1313 1327 1336 1373 1387 1392 1419 1422
 1423 1507 1533 1534 1535 1536 1570 1616 1677 1684 1814 2097 2100
 2101 2107 2109 2148 2188 2203 2206 2211 2214 2317 2346 2381 2395
 2414 2452 2453 2458 2470 2517 2539 2578 2604 2637 2646 2720 2735
 2812 2887. Budapest, UB, VIIIc; Paris, BnF, Coislin Gr. 71; Gr. 233;
 Gr. 703; Rome, Bibl. Angelica, Gr. 703; Vatican, BAV, Vat. Gr. 665;
 Vat. Gr. 757; Vat. Gr. 1692; Vat. Gr. 1741; Venice, BNM, Gr. I.34;
 Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. Gr. 117.⁹⁶

There are 195 manuscripts containing a catena on one or more Gospels, with the following permutations:

Matthew, Mark and Luke (six manuscripts):

300 722 1527 2285 2607. Milan, Bibl. Ambros. 538

Matthew, Mark and John (two manuscripts):

836 2583

Matthew, Luke and John (thirteen manuscripts):

734 2202 2768. Oxford, Bodley, Auct. T. 1. 4 (Misc. 182); Paris, BnF
 Gr. 193; Gr. 231; Gr. 701; Gr. 704; Suppl. Gr. 1300; Vatican, BAV,

⁹⁶ Reuss lists Vatican, BAV, Pal. Gr. 363 as containing Theophylact, but Pinakes gives different contents, so I have not included this MS.

Archivio di S. Pietro B 59; Barb. Gr. 562; Vat. Gr. 1753; Venice, BNM, Gr. 687

Matthew and Mark (thirteen manuscripts):

41 136 146 304 334 590 596 847 970 1374 2207 2579 2755

Matthew and Luke (seven manuscripts):

243 735 1027 2838. Milan, Bibl. Ambros., D.25.inf (920); Paris, BnF, Suppl. Gr. 28; Vatican, BAV, Vat. Gr. 1610 foll 360–388

Matthew and John (eighteen manuscripts):

306 333 423 736 770 819 994 1043 1412 1516 1613 2490. Oxford, Bodley, Auct. E.2.2 (Misc. 30); Paris, BnF, Gr. 199; Gr. 200; Gr. 700; Vatican, BAV, Barb. Gr. 444; Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. Gr. 251

Mark, Luke and John (two manuscripts):

239 841

Mark and Luke (seven manuscripts):

427 721 1112 1337 1537. Vatican, BAV, Ottob. Gr. 113; Vat. Gr. 384

Mark and John (one manuscript):

2106

Luke and John (sixteen manuscripts):

95 139 316 357 589 857 884 1256 1366 1411 2184 2185. Berlin, Staatsbibl., Phillipps 1419; Florence, BML, Gr. VIII.24; Vatican, BAV, Ottob. Gr. 237; Vat. Gr. 547

Matthew only (twenty-nine manuscripts):

310 311 354 366 737 738 751 822 842 893 1028 1156 1254 1332 1631 2190 2450 2577 2581 2597 2770. Florence, BML, Gr. VIII.29; Oxford, Bodley, Barocc. 156; Paris, BnF, Suppl. Gr. 272; Vatican, BAV, Vat. Gr. 724; Vat. Gr. 1190 foll. 799–819; Vat. Gr. 1437; Vat. Gr. 1915; Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. Gr. 209

Mark only (nine manuscripts):

894 2481 2538 2738. Munich, BSB, Gr. 99; Paris, BnF Gr. 206; Gr. 939; Suppl. Gr. 40; Suppl. Gr. 94

Luke only (thirty-four manuscripts):

040 313 320 362 381 426 434 598 739 840 846 848 853 859 868 879 1016 1177 1255 1264 1437 1821 1822 2111 2187 2593. Brussels, BRA, I I.8232–33; London, Lambeth Palace, 763, fol. 63–79v; Milan, Bibl. Ambros., O.245 sup (608); Munich, BSB, Gr. 33; Oxford, Bodley, Barocc. 211; Schleussingen, Hennerg. Gymn., 3; St Petersburg, NLR, Duh. Akad. 370, fol. 41–2; Vatican, BAV, Pal. Gr. 273

John only (thirty-eight manuscripts):

050 0141 87 249 315 317 318 397 430 742 821 849 850 862 865 869 874 882 883 887 993 1184 1271 1370 1707 1819 1820 2103 2129 2192

2480 2573 2575 2763. Milan, Bibl. Ambros., A 282 inf (951); C 255 inf (895); Patmos, Ioannou, 757; Vatican, BAV, Vat. Gr. 1804

The total number of manuscripts containing only Gospels is 388.

2.2 Manuscripts of the Apostolos

Catena manuscripts containing only Acts are rare. The *Liste* only contains: 437 1764.

There are six of the Catholic Letters only:

640 (Jas 1.1–23) 1844 (1 J–Jd) 2130 (Jas–3 Jn) 2741 (1 Pet 4.17–5.7). Oxford, Bodley, Rawl. G.157 (Misc. 169); Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana, 78 (F 9)

Finally, the letters of Paul. The eighty-five (more or less) complete manuscripts are:

075 0150 0151 1798 1900 1905 1906 1907 1908 1911 1914 1916 1917 1919 1920 1921 1922 1923 1924 1927 1929 1930 1932 1933 1934 1939 1941 1943 1945 1947 1950 1951 1952 1961 1962 1963 1969 1970 1971 1972 1973 1977 1978 1981 1982 1984 1985 1986 1987 1991 1992 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999 2000 2007 2008 2011 2012 2102 2105 2110 2183 2189 2205 2248 2659 2690 2739 2817 2889 2899. Kiev, National Library, Φ.1,137, Ff 1-2; L'viv, Bibl., ZN 827; Oxford, Bodley, Auct. T 1.7 (Misc. 185); Paris, BnF, Coislin Gr. 208.1; Gr. 228; Gr. 2875; Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 763; Vatican Vat. gr. 764; Vat. gr. 873; Vat. gr. 9, fol. 301–04; Venice, BNM, gr. Z. 155 (coll. 610)

The following twenty-nine manuscripts contain more than one letter:

1772 1817 1878 1879 1910 1913 1915 1925 1935 1942 1946 1953 1964 1968 1974 1976 1988 1993 1994 2001 2002 2013 2092 2104 2128 2257 2572 2668. Florence, Bib. Naz., Panciat. 157

For single letters, Romans is most common, with the following nine catenae covering the whole letter:

1909 1928 1979 2006 2038 2240 2698 2888; Vatican, BAV, Barb. gr. 546

Five more manuscripts are incomplete:

1936 1949 1967. Oxford, Bodley, Auct. E.II.20 (Misc. 48); Grabe 22 (1 fol.)

1926 contains 1 and 2 Corinthians; 1937 1 Corinthians only and Athos, Vatopedi, 12 has 2 Corinthians. Short sections of 1 Corinthians are found in 2764 and in Munich, BSB, Gr. 571, f. 80 and of 2 Corinthians in 098. Galatians is in 2574 and 2596, 2 Timothy in 2820 and Hebrews in 1818, 1983 and Athos, Vatopedi, 38, with the incomplete copies 1938 and 2890. Finally, 1965 2090 and 2639 contain excerpts from a few letters.

Summary

388 manuscripts contain only Gospels. Two contain only Acts. Six contain only the Catholic Letters. 145 contain only Paul. The total number in the second category is 541. The total number of entries in this checklist is 626. Of these, 100 lack a Gregory-Aland number. It is highly unlikely that all should be assigned one, but at this stage a maximalist approach is required. Further research should deal with four principal tasks:

- (1) to ensure that all catena manuscripts in libraries which have been catalogued have been identified;
- (2) to study the biblical content of each manuscript, its textual character and significance where it is present, and offer a clarification of the criteria for including such manuscripts in the *Liste*;
- (3) to study the catena types, testing the schemata devised by earlier writers and establishing the type to which uncategorised manuscripts belong, as well as recording the excerpts and their sources;
- (4) to explore the origin, context and use of the manuscripts.

As catenae, this class of manuscripts has supplied a wealth of patristic evidence from otherwise lost works and, as biblical manuscripts, some of them have proved significant in the study of the history of the text and the construction of an initial text. A thorough examination may provide further advances in these areas of study.