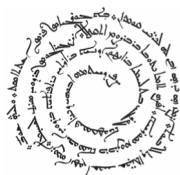


Commentaries, Catenae and Biblical Tradition



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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



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANTF	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung
AGLB	Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel
BAC	The Bible in Ancient Christianity
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
BNU	Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum continuatio medievalis
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum series graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum series latina
CPG	<i>Clavis patrum graecorum</i>
CPL	<i>Clavis patrum latinorum</i>
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CUA	Catholic University of America
CUP	Cambridge University Press
GA	Gregory–Aland (see also <i>Liste</i>)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
IGNTP	International Greek New Testament Project
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>Liste</i>	Kurt Aland, <i>Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments</i> . Zweite neubearbeitete and ergänzte Auflage. ANTF 1. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 1994. The most up-to-date version is found at: http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste
LXX	Septuagint

NA28	E. Nestle, K. Aland et al., <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , twenty-eighth edition. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012.
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
ns	new series
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents
NTVMR	New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room, hosted online by the University of Münster at: http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
ÖAW	Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ÖNB	Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek
os	old series
OUP	Oxford University Press
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> [= <i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca</i>]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 161 vols. Paris, 1857–1866.
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> [= <i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina</i>]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 217 vols. Paris, 1841–1855.
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
<i>RevBén</i>	<i>Revue bénédictine</i>
<i>RevBib</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>SC</i>	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i>
SBPK	Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz
T&S	Texts and Studies
<i>TEG</i>	<i>Traditio Exegetica Graeca</i>
<i>TLG</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i> , hosted online by the University of California, Irvine at www.tlg.uci.edu
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur
UBS	United Bible Societies
UP	University Press
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

PREFACE

The COMPAUL Project

In 2011, the European Research Council awarded Dr Hugh Houghton a Starting Grant to lead a five-year project investigating the earliest commentaries on Paul as sources for the biblical text.¹ This project, known by its acronym COMPAUL, was intended to build on Dr Houghton's doctoral work analysing Augustine's gospel citations.² The aim was to instigate a better understanding of commentaries and their contribution to the transmission of the New Testament in anticipation of two major editing projects: the *Vetus Latina* edition of the four principal letters of Paul and the *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior* of all Pauline Epistles being planned by the IGNTP.

Greek commentaries, often in the form of catena manuscripts (exegetical compilations accompanying a continuous biblical text), are one of the more complex and less examined aspects of New Testament tradition. As for individual commentators, one extreme is represented by the extremely abundant textual history of the writings of John Chrysostom, the principal fourth-century Greek commentator on the Bible, with a corresponding lack of modern editions. The opposite is embodied in the meagre Greek fragments remaining of Origen's highly influential expositions of New Testament books. On the Latin side, the abundance of Pauline commentaries produced between the middle of the fourth century and the early fifth century not only inaugurate a distinctive Latin exegetical tradition but also constitute much of the evidence for the Old Latin versions of the Epistles, preceding the revision of their biblical text around

¹ The project was funded by the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) under grant agreement no. 283302.

² See further H.A.G. Houghton, *Augustine's Text of John. Patristic Citations and Latin Gospel Manuscripts*. Oxford: OUP, 2008, and H.A.G. Houghton, 'Augustine's Adoption of the Vulgate Gospels.' *NTS* 54.3 (2008) 450–64.

the beginning of the fifth century which was later adopted as the Vulgate. Marius Victorinus, the anonymous author known as Ambrosiaster, Jerome, Augustine, Pelagius (and his revisors), the anonymous Budapest commentary, Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Commentary on Romans* and the anonymous Latin version of the Pauline commentary by Theodore of Mopsuestia are all of value in understanding the history and reception of the Pauline text as well as early translation practice.

The aim of the project was to combine the collection of biblical evidence which would subsequently be employed in the planned editions of the Pauline Epistles with a broader investigation of the field of commentaries as a whole and the detailed analysis of certain key or lesser-known witnesses.³ Particular attention was paid to the manuscript transmission of commentaries themselves as evidence for the reception of the Pauline text, the distinction of the source from its exegesis, and the co-existence of different textual traditions. Given the lack of existing scholarly resources pertaining to the text of the four principal Pauline Epistles (Romans, 1 & 2 Corinthians and Galatians), members of the project team made fresh transcriptions of all the manuscript witnesses to these letters listed in the *Vetus Latina* Register.⁴ They also assembled the text of all the quotations of these four Epistles made by Greek authors up to the middle of the fifth century and Latin writers from the first eight centuries. These online databases will be made available for searching, reuse and integration into other platforms. The gathered data provides significant information about the use, diffusion and understanding of the Pauline corpus as well as the differing forms of the biblical text. The team endeavoured to analyse the internal structure of Latin commentaries and the consistency of their text of each verse using a specially-designed interface, known as the 'comcitation' tool; researchers also experimented with different ways of recording the organisation and relationship of the contents of Greek catena manuscripts in spreadsheets and electronic text encoding.

³ For more on the project goals and background, see Christina M. Kreinecker, 'The Earliest Commentaries on Paul as Sources for the Biblical Text. A New Research Project at the Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing at the University of Birmingham'. *Early Christianity* 3.3 (2012) 411–5.

⁴ Roger Gryson, ed., *Allateinische Handschriften/Manuscripts Vieux-Latins. 1. Mss 1–275*. (Vetus Latina 1/1A). Freiburg: Herder, 1999. The transcriptions are to be published online at the website www.epistulae.com and a printed collation of these and other significant Old Latin evidence is in preparation.

Among the planned outputs of the COMPAUL project was an international conference on biblical commentaries and the publication of a collaborative work constituting the state of the art in their study and textual analysis. This is represented by the present volume; more details on its contents and the conference itself are given in separate sections below. Team members have presented the work of the project at a wide range of international conferences and academic gatherings, including the annual meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature and the *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*, the Oxford International Patristics Conference, the British Patristics Conference and the *Editio Critica Maior* editorial meetings. In addition to this book and the electronic resources mentioned above, the project has generated numerous publications. These include a new analysis of the biblical text in Jerome's *Commentary on Galatians*, examinations of the text of several Old Latin manuscripts (including the anonymous Budapest Commentary on Paul), studies of the newly-rediscovered gospel commentary of Fortunatianus of Aquileia, an investigation of Origen's Pauline citations and a general introduction to the Latin New Testament.⁵

⁵ In chronological order: H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Biblical Text of Jerome's *Commentary on Galatians*'. *JTS* ns 65.1 (2014) 1–24; R.F. MacLachlan, 'A Reintroduction to the Budapest Anonymous Commentary on the Pauline Epistles' in *Early Readers, Scholars and Editors of the New Testament*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton. T&S 3.11. Piscataway: Gorgias, 93–106; Matthew R. Steinfeld, 'Preliminary Investigations of Origen's Text of Galatians', in *Early Readers, Scholars and Editors*, 107–17; H.A.G. Houghton, 'A Longer Text of Paul: Romans to Galatians in Codex Wernigerodensis (VL 58)' in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity*, ed. Daniel M. Gurtner, Juan Hernández Jr. and Paul Foster. NTTSD 50. Leiden: Brill, 2015, 329–44; H.A.G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament. A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts*. Oxford: OUP, 2016; H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Gospel according to Mark in Two Latin Mixed-Text Manuscripts.' *Revue Bénédictine* 126.1 (2016) 16–58; H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Text of John in Fortunatianus of Aquileia's Commentary on the Gospels' in *Studia Patristica LXXIV. Papers Presented at the Fifth British Patristics Conference*. Leuven: Peeters, 2016. H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Gospel according to Luke in Vetus Latina 11A (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.f. 67)' in *Traditio et Translatio. Studien zur lateinischen Bibel zu Ehren von Roger Gryson*, ed. Thomas Johann Bauer. AGLB 40. Freiburg: Herder, 2016, 117–34; H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Divisions and Text of the Gospels in Fortunatianus' Commentary on the Gospels' in a companion volume to Fortunatianus' *Commentary on the Gospels*, ed. L.J. Dorfbauer. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016. See also H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Use of the Latin Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism', in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary*

The project was based at the Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing (ITSEE) in the School of Philosophy, Theology and Religion at the University of Birmingham. The core team members were Hugh Houghton (Principal Investigator); David Parker (Consultant); Rosalind MacLachlan, Christina Kreinecker, Catherine Smith, Susan Griffith and Amy Myshrrall (Research Fellows); Theodora Panella and Matthew Steinfeld (Doctoral Students). In addition, the following contributed to the collection of data: Jonathan Day, Robin Diver, Alan Taylor Farnes, Samuel Gibson, Rachel Kevern, Christopher Knibbs, Amanda Myers, Holly Ranger, Thomas Ruston, Georgia Tsatsani and Angeliki Voskou. In addition to our grateful acknowledgment of the generous funding of the European Research Council, we would also like to express our gratitude for the support of colleagues in both academic and administrative matters, including Helen Beebee, Helen Ingram, Sue Bowen, Caroline Marshall, and various members of the research finance, human resources, European funding, and Worklink teams at the University of Birmingham.

Contents of the Present Volume

This book offers an account of the state of the question regarding New Testament commentaries and catenae, combining broader surveys of different types of material with more detailed investigations of specific authors and works. Every chapter was originally delivered as a paper at the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament and revised, in the light of discussion at the conference and further research, for inclusion in the present collection. While each contribution stands by itself, the book is arranged thematically and internal cross-references have been added where particular papers treat related topics. Although contributors were not asked to provide separate bibliographies, these have been included for two of the articles in which a catalogue of manuscripts is given, in order to enable the abbreviation of references to secondary literature.

Research. Essays on the Status Quaestionis, ed. B.D. Ehrman & M.W. Holmes. 2nd edn. Leiden: Brill, 2012, 375–405; Christina M. Kreinecker, ‘The Imitation Hypothesis. Pseudepigraphic remarks on 2Thess with help from documentary papyri’ in *Paul and Pseudepigraphy*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Gregory P. Fewster. Leiden: Brill, 2013, 197–219; H.A.G. Houghton and C.J. Smith, ‘Digital Editing and the Greek New Testament’ in *The Ancient Worlds in A Digital Culture*, ed. Claire Clivaz, Paul Dilley and David Hamidović. Leiden: Brill, 2016. Further publications related to the project are in preparation.

The first four chapters provide overviews of commentary tradition. Expanding on introductory remarks at the Birmingham Colloquium and introducing research from the *Editio Critica Maior* of John and the COMPAUL projects, **H.A.G. Houghton** and **D.C. Parker** offer an introduction to Greek New Testament commentaries. They deal with questions of terminology, describe the layout of commentaries and catenae and briefly introduce the principal Greek commentators along with a summary of research on catenae. The checklist of manuscripts at the end of the chapter brings together the 526 representatives included in the Gregory–Aland *Liste* along with 100 additional witnesses in an attempt to lay the foundations for further study of New Testament catenae. **R.F. MacLachlan** explores the context of commentary in secular Graeco-Latin literature during the first Christian centuries. She describes commentaries on works of literature, Roman legal writings, and philosophical and scientific works: particular subjects include papyrus fragments treating Homer and Demosthenes, commentaries on Aristotle and the Hippocratic Corpus, and the prodigious output of Galen along with his reflections on writing commentary. **Gilles Dorival** traces the development of scholarship on catenae over almost five hundred years, beginning with the sixteenth century. Using the Catenae on Psalms, he seeks to reconstruct the origins of the catena tradition as well as outlining its subsequent reworkings. The differing concerns of philological and historical approaches still leave many questions unanswered, despite significant progress in the latter part of the twentieth century. **William Lamb** considers the catena as a literary genre within Byzantium, arguing that accusations of a lack of originality are unjust. The way in which *florilegia* are assembled, including the treatment of diverse theological positions, requires linguistic and doctrinal sensitivity. Attentiveness to the role of memory in the early medieval period also casts light on the compilers' aims and achievements.

The next four chapters explore aspects of Greek tradition in greater detail. **Bruce Morrill** and **John Gram** first enumerate the differing orders of the Pauline Epistles in Greek manuscripts as possible evidence for differing editions. They continue by looking at the layout of 107 catena manuscripts of Romans and the consistency which is displayed in the indication and numbering of divisions. This sample provides a significant collection of data, illustrating many more general features and trends. **Theodora Panella** focusses on just four verses of 1 Corinthians in order to investigate the relationship of the commentaries of Oecumenius, Theophylact and Zigabenus, as well as the *Typus Parisinus* catena. Although Chrysostom is the ultimate origin of many comments, she demonstrates how this was often mediated through one of the other commentaries, as

well as identifying features typical of the individual catenists. **Garrick V. Allen** examines the scholia on Revelation attributed first to Origen and more recently to a previously unknown monk reliant on the lost commentary of Didymus of Alexandria. Allen concentrates on the exegetical practices of this commentary, demonstrating the sophisticated techniques employed by the author. He also considers the presentation of the scholia in the single surviving manuscript, which betrays evidence of a change in format during the transmission of the work. Based on her new edition of Theodoret's *Commentary on Romans*, **Agnès Lorrain** reflects on the difficulty of reconstructing the biblical text used by the commentator. Examples of alterations introduced at a later stage suggest that even the earliest surviving manuscripts may not represent the original form. What is more, the commentary is often so allusive that it could be used in support of multiple variants. Where readings can be reconstructed, the affiliation is, as expected, with the Byzantine text.

The following group of chapters turns to Latin tradition, although the first three contributions focus on its importance for the preservation of material from Origen. **Lukas J. Dorfbauer**, responsible for the recent rediscovery of Fortunatianus of Aquileia's *Commentary on the Gospels*, demonstrates how this work provides new evidence not only for the well-known emendation proposed by Origen to the place name in John 1:28 but also for the often-overlooked orthography of this noun in the principal manuscript of Origen's *Commentary on John*. Other passages are also considered in which Fortunatianus may also be dependent on a Latin version of this commentary. **Susan B. Griffith** compares Ambrose's *Commentary on Luke* with Jerome's translation of Origen's *Homilies on Luke* and their surviving Greek fragments, as well as Hilary of Poitiers' *Commentary on Matthew*. While Ambrose and Jerome's dependence on Origen is evident from their overlap with the Greek fragments, other shared passages may represent Greek material which has otherwise been lost. Careful attention to Ambrose's compositional practices is needed before he can be used as evidence for his sources. **Christina M. Kreinecker** explains how Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Commentary on Romans*, too, is not a verbatim reproduction of its original but a creative reworking. Rufinus' treatment of the biblical text is of particular interest: the Old Latin version which he substitutes for Origen's lemmata is sometimes inconsistent with his translation of biblical quotations in the exegesis, prompting him to introduce text-critical observations.

Shari Boodts and **Gert Partoens** present evidence from a later form of Latin commentary, with a certain resemblance to Greek catenae: the exposition of the Pauline Epistles consisting solely of extracts from the

works of Augustine, assembled by Florus of Lyons in the middle of the ninth century. Several of the manuscripts used by Florus have survived, bearing witness to his manner of working. However, despite the existence of a partial autograph, the textual tradition of the commentary presents problems which must be addressed before a critical edition can be undertaken. The indication of sources in certain manuscripts offers another parallel with catena tradition.

The final two chapters address textual traditions which, although valuable for the textual history of the New Testament, were not included in the scope of the COMPAUL project. **Carla Falluomini** introduces the only New Testament commentary to be preserved in Gothic. Known as *Skeireins*, it was produced some time between the fourth and sixth centuries and covers the first third of the Gospel according to John. The majority of its biblical citations are of verses which are not otherwise attested in Gothic; agreements and differences between other verses and Wulfila's translation suggest that the biblical text of the *Skeireins* may, in part, derive from a different source. An intriguing connection has also been proposed between this work and the *Commentary on John* by Theodore of Heraclea, only preserved in catenae. Finally, **Matthias Schulz** sets out the evidence for New Testament catenae in Coptic and related languages. The principal Bohairic catena manuscript of the Gospels is one of the earliest witnesses to a catena, copied in the late ninth century. Unpublished fragments survive from two others, while one of the Ethiopic catenae appears to be a translation from Bohairic. The next best-attested Ethiopic gospel catena derives from an Arabic catena assembled from Eastern and Western authorities by a priest of the East Syrian Church in the early eleventh century, which is also transmitted in its original language; a third Arabic catena, on Matthew, was composed a century or so later.

In sum, this volume with its particular focus on Greek tradition (as well as contributions on later commentaries and those in other languages) addresses many of the areas in the history and transmission of commentaries which have not so far been covered in the publications of the COMPAUL project. What is more, each chapter explores at least one of the specific areas highlighted by the project: the significance of commentaries for the text of the New Testament, the internal consistency of biblical quotations, the manuscript presentation and transmission of commentaries, and the reuse of earlier authors by later commentators. Most of the contributions are based on fresh investigation of primary sources and, in several cases, constitute significant advances which make possible future research and further developments in knowledge. The editor would like to express his thanks to all contributors, especially those not directly involved

with the COMPAUL project, for their willingness to join in this collaborative volume and share the results of their original research. In addition, we are grateful to the Württembergische Landesbibliothek and the Bibliothèque nationale de France for permission to reproduce images of manuscripts in their collections.

The Ninth Birmingham Colloquium

As noted above, all the chapters in this book derive from presentations at the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. Founded by D.C. Parker and D.G.K. Taylor in 1997, these events have developed over the years into ever larger and more diverse gatherings of established textual scholars and doctoral researchers from across the world. The Ninth Colloquium was held in Birmingham on 2–4 March 2015, with the title ‘The History and Text of New Testament Commentaries’ and was attended by delegates from twelve countries. Generous funding from the European Research Council covered the expenses of several invited speakers: in addition to those who contributed to the present volume, these included Ronald E. Heine and Alexander Andrée, whose respective presentations on Origen’s gospel commentaries and the *Glossa ordinaria* were already scheduled for publication elsewhere.⁶

Following the pattern of previous years, guests were accommodated at Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre, where the famous textual scholar and editor J. Rendel Harris was once Director of Studies. The colloquium excursion was to the city of Worcester: despite the closure of the cathedral library for renovation, delegates were treated to guided tours of the cathedral and the bell tower which included the memorable experience of being in the bell chamber when the cathedral clock struck five. The speaker following the conference dinner in the University’s Staff House was Gordon Campbell, Professor of Renaissance Studies at the University of Leicester and co-chair of the international advisory council to the Museum of the Bible in Washington DC, who spoke on plans for this museum which is scheduled to open in 2017. Among the many who contributed to the colloquium, the organisers would particularly like to thank Lisa Davies

⁶ For Heine’s contribution, see Ronald E. Heine and Karen Jo Torjesen, ed., *The Oxford Handbook to Origen*. Oxford: OUP, 2016; Andrée’s presentation will appear in the journal *Traditio* under the title ‘Peter Comestor’s Lectures on the “Glossa Ordinaria” on the Gospel of John: The Bible and Theology in the Twelfth-Century Classroom.’

and Peter Chinn at Woodbrooke, Rebecca Fielder, Michael Brierley and Saskia Frisby at Worcester, Rachel Canty, Robin Reeve, Sue Bowen, Tim Pearson, Geoff Clinton and Sarah Edwards at the University of Birmingham and Jenny Rousell, Sue Kennedy and their team at Jenny's Kitchen. Members of the COMPAUL project team, especially Catherine Smith, worked exceptionally hard to enable the smooth running of the event.

This is the fourth volume of proceedings from the Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament to be published in the Gorgias *Texts and Studies* series. We would like to thank Dr Melonie Schmierer-Lee, Jeff Haines and George Kiraz of Gorgias Press for making this possible. The proceedings of the Sixth Colloquium, held in London jointly with the British Library, have now been published as Scot McKendrick, David Parker, Amy Myshrall and Cillian O'Hogan, ed., *Codex Sinaiticus: New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript*. London: British Library; Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2015; other volumes are listed in the Gorgias catalogue. Finally, we would like to express our gratitude once again to the European Research Council for funding the open access publication of both this volume and the papers from the Eighth Colloquium online in the Gorgias Press Repository.⁷

H.A.G. Houghton
Birmingham, 29 February 2016

⁷ H.A.G. Houghton, ed., *Early Readers, Scholars and Editors of the New Testament. Papers from the Eighth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual History of the New Testament*. T&S 3.11. Piscataway: Gorgias, 2014.

See http://gorgiaspress.com/bookshop/t-openaccess_repository.aspx.

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 σείρά (‘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 *gezzerah shema*, 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 diple** (>>), while the secondary lemmata and other citations only have a single diple.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/>).

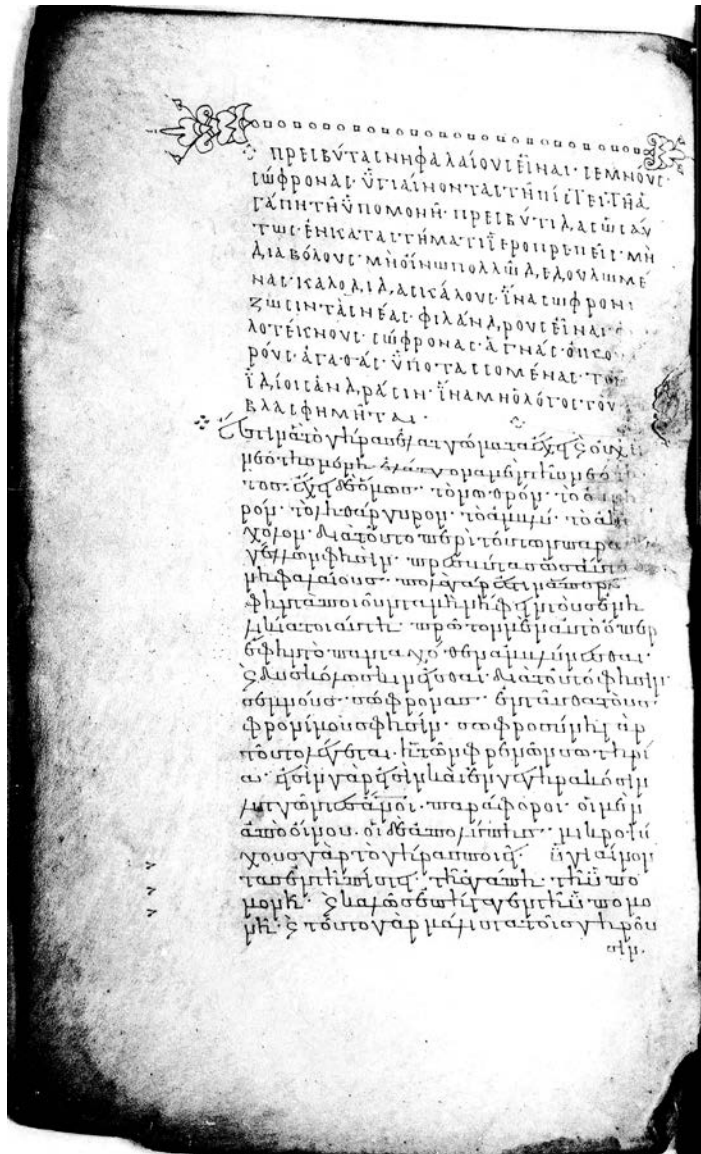


Image 1. Paris, BnF, grec 744, fol. 250v

A ninth-century copy of Chrysostom's commentary on 1 Timothy (in the form of homilies). The lemma at the top of the section is written in majuscule and the commentary in minuscule. A biblical quotation later in the commentary is indicated by a marginal dipole alongside each line.

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

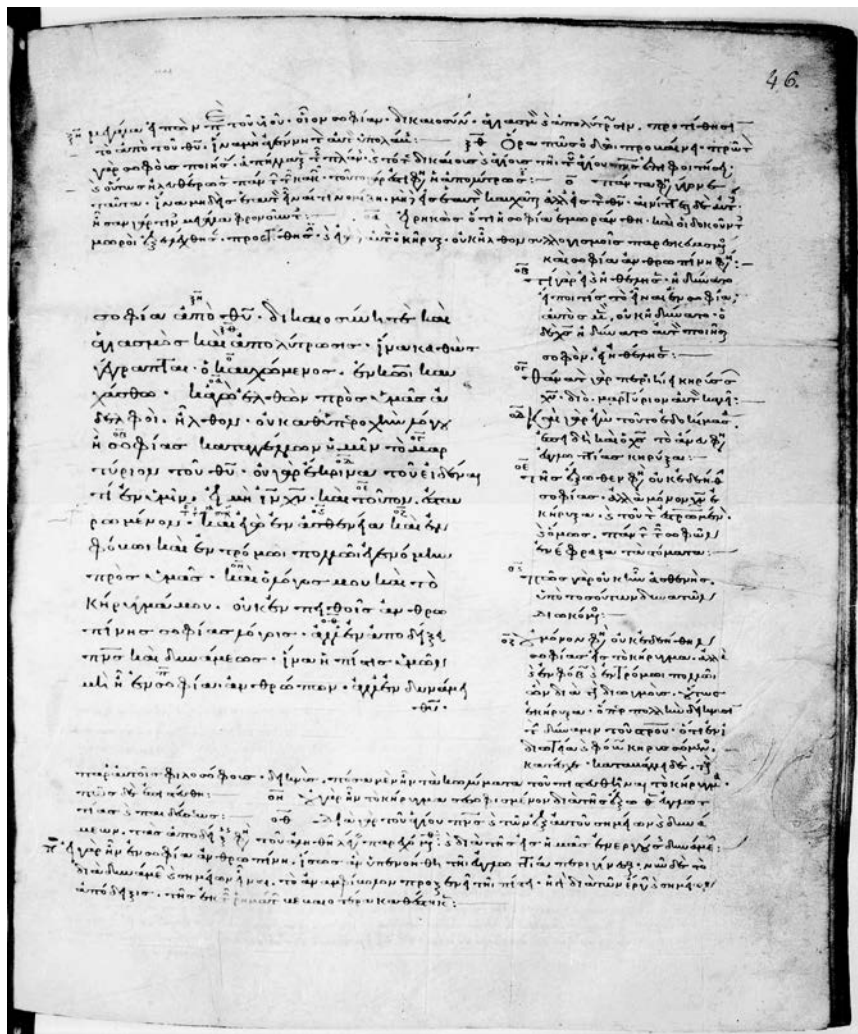


Image 2. Paris, BnF, grec 222, fol. 46r (GA 1932).

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 ($\Omega\rho\iota\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$) or XP for Chrysostom ($\text{Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος}$). The latter may also be referred to as $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \text{Ἰωάννου}$ ('from the holy John') or $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \text{Ἰωάννου}$ ('from the great John'): names may be used for other authors, along with the indication $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ('from the same', often in an abbreviated form such as TY AY) 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*.

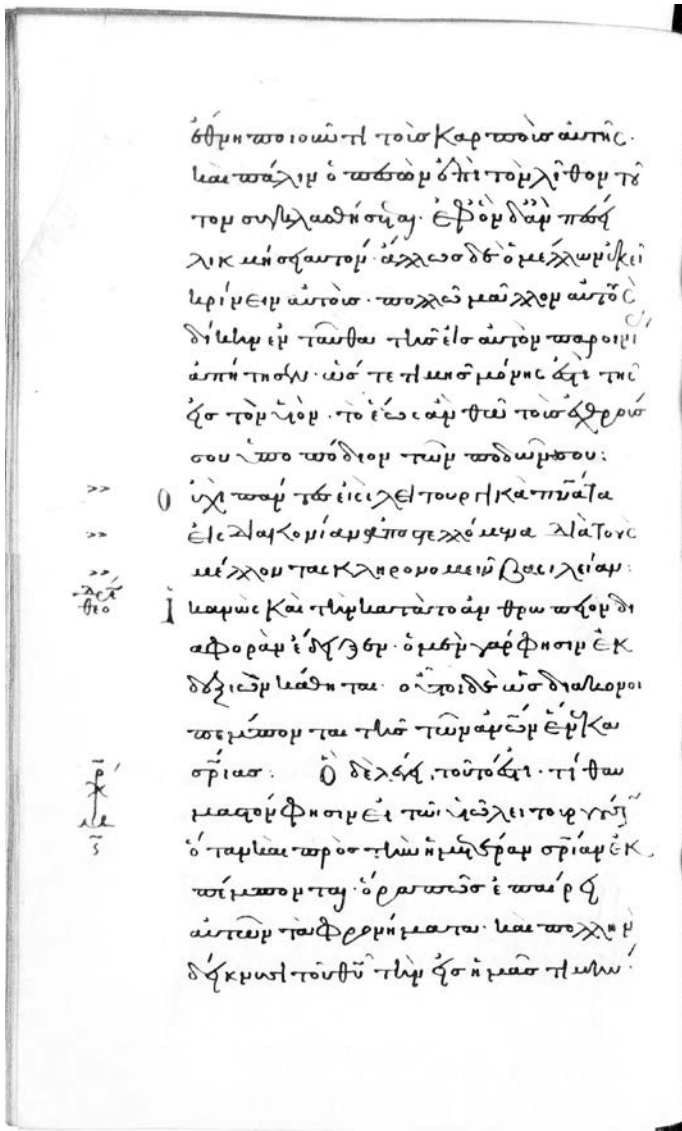


Image 3. Paris, BnF, grec 238, fol. 125v (GA 1938).

A lineated 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