

That Nothing May Be Lost: Fragments and the New Testament Text



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**That Nothing May Be Lost:
Fragments and the New
Testament Text**

**Papers from the Twelfth Birmingham
Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of
the New Testament**

Edited by

Clark R. Bates

Jacopo Marcon

Andrew J. Patton

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Marie Rébeillé-Borgella holds a PhD in Classics. Her doctoral thesis examined semantics and lexicography in Biblical and Patristic Latin, with the HiSoMA in Lyons, France. Her current research focuses on the Latin Bible and Jerome's translation methodology and sources used. She is currently collaborating with the Institut des Sources Chrétiennes.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANTF	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung
BAGD	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1979).
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BDAG	Frederick W. Danker, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 3rd ed. (Chicago, 2000).
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i>
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
BN	Biblioteca Nazionale
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum: Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique
CPG	<i>Clavis patrum graecorum</i> . Edited by M. Geerard. 5 vols. (Turnhout, 1974–1987).
CSNTM	Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts
ECM	Editio Critica Maior
ERC	European Research Council
FC	Fathers of the Church
GA	Gregory-Aland (see also <i>Liste</i>)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
IGNTP	International Greek New Testament Project
INTF	Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung / Institute for New Testament Textual Research
ITSEE	Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing
LDAB	Leuven Database of Ancient Books

- Liste* Kurt Aland, et al., eds., *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, ANTF 1, 2nd ed. (Berlin/New York, 1994). The most up-to-date version is found at <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste>.
- LSJ Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. with revised supplement. (Oxford, 1996).
- MW Museum Meermann-Westreenianum
- NA28 E. Nestle, Kurt and Barbara Aland et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed. (Stuttgart, 2012).
- NLR National Library of Russia
- NTTSD New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents
- NTVMR New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room, hosted online at <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/>
- PG *Patrologia Graeca* [= *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca*]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 162 vols. (Paris, 1857–1886).
- PL *Patrologia Latina* [= *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 217 vols. (Paris, 1844–1855).
- rell. *reliqui* ('the rest' of the manuscript tradition)
- s.v. *sub voce* ('under the word/heading')
- SC Sources chrétiennes
- SCM St Catherine's Monastery
- SD Studies and Documents
- sec. *secundum* ('according to')
- SHM State Historical Museum
- syr^h Harklean Syriac
- syr^p Syriac Peshitta
- syr^(p) The Syriac Peshitta demonstrates knowledge of the Greek reading but is imprecise in translating it
- syr^{pal} Palestinian Syriac
- TS(III) Texts & Studies (Third Series)
- TuT *Text und Textwert*
- UBS3 United Bible Societies, *Greek New Testament*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart, 1983)
- UBS5 United Bible Societies, *Greek New Testament*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart, 2014)
- VC *Vigiliae Christianae*
- vid *ut videtur* ('as it seems': the reading cannot be determined with certainty)
- VL *Vetus Latina*
- WUNT Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

INTRODUCTION

The textual tradition of the Greek New Testament is itself a fragment. Only a portion of the evidence for the biblical text has been preserved, with losses from the early centuries posing a particular challenge for the recovery of the oldest form of text and our understanding of its development in antiquity. Most of the surviving manuscripts are also fragmentary in some way, from the small scraps of papyrus which provide some of the earliest evidence for a few verses to more substantial witnesses such as the fourth-century Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus which are missing pages at the beginning and end. Even complete documents may also transmit fragments of earlier ones reused as guard leaves or elsewhere in the binding, or in the form of palimpsest leaves dismembered from another manuscript in order to economise on parchment. The incompleteness of the archaeological record is compounded by the ongoing dangers posed to artefacts which have already survived for many centuries, whether through damage as a result of violence, negligence or malicious activity, or simply degradation through age.

The scarcity of early evidence also increases the value of textual fragments preserved in some other way. The most obvious of these are New Testament quotations in early Christian authors. Even though many of these are no longer than one or two phrases, they may still contain important information about the nature of the text in circulation at a particular time and place. Other types of reworking can also be of textual significance, whether in shorter forms such as lists of chapter titles, lectionary incipits or glosses, or longer forms such as gospel harmonies and pseudonymous writings or apocrypha. One might even argue that the separation of the

biblical text into self-contained passages in numerous lectionary or catena manuscripts is a form of fragmentation which has in some way affected the textual tradition.

Faced with such an abundance of incomplete material, New Testament textual scholars are inheritors of the dominical commandment to the apostles after the feeding of the five thousand: συναγάγετε τὰ περισσεύσαντα κλάσματα, ἵνα μή τι ἀπόληται ('Gather up the fragments left over, so that nothing may be lost', John 6:12 [NA28; NRSV]). Such a gathering of fragments is not mere antiquarianism, nor an indiscriminate mounting up of material deemed to be significant for its quantity rather than its quality. Rather, in a scientific context where it is necessary to develop hypotheses in order to account for the discontinuities in the surviving evidence (the numerous gaps in the documentary record), academic integrity demands that the explanations which are advanced are based on as full an account as possible of the material which has been preserved. This is a task which requires a range of specialist expertise, according to the nature of each piece of evidence. Embracing papyrology, codicology, palaeography, philology, linguistics, translation studies, detailed comparative textual analysis—and theology too, as well as the insights which can be provided by chemical or physical investigations and the heuristic possibilities of digital transformation, modern textual scholarship involves collaboration between disciplines in order to develop a consistent and comprehensive account of the evidence which provide its *raison d'être*.

The level of understanding required for such research is not only beyond the capacity of a single individual, but also exceeds what it is possible for any one generation to accomplish. Analytical techniques continue to be developed, building on previous advances in knowledge, and even the body of primary material itself changes, with new discoveries and identifications. For this reason, it is promising that almost all contributors to the present volume (and the editors themselves) are at an early stage in their academic career. Each brings an approach to the fragments under consideration which contributes to the broader collaborative endeavour of assembling the many pieces of this vast jigsaw. While the gospel account is not explicit as to the use

to which the gathered fragments will be put, the study of these witnesses not only sheds light on the history of the New Testament text, but also the contexts and communities in which it has been transmitted, used, studied and even fragmented. In short, fragments can be approached on many levels, and it is to be hoped that the chapters in this collection will themselves contribute to a broader understanding of this fascinating material and the story which it has to tell.

CONTENTS OF THE PRESENT VOLUME

Some of the most famous New Testament fragments are those of the early papyri, and it is fitting that the volume begins with an analysis of Papyrus 50 by **Elijah Hixson**. Despite the damage to the writing material, this unusual document with two passages from the Acts of the Apostles appears to be complete. Multiple incongruities lead him to suggest that this manuscript might be a forgery produced in the early twentieth century, and he even identifies a possible culprit. Further material analysis is required to substantiate the observations which Hixson is able to make from a distance. Fragmentation is taken to new levels in **Andrew J. Patton**'s investigation of Lectionary 2434. This has a claim to be the most fragmented manuscript of the New Testament, with the identification of forty-five leaves in twenty-four different locations (and others still to be discovered). In this instance, the dispersal is due to the biblioclast Otto Ege, who created portfolios featuring sample pages from multiple manuscripts. **Duane G. McCrory** considers the Arabic text of the two pages of Romans extant from a bilingual document copied in the ninth century (GA 0278). He shows that, although based on the Syriac Peshitta, a variety of influences can be seen in this Arabic translation. Full account must be taken of these before using Arabic as a source for the earlier history of the biblical text.

Digital tools come to the fore in the next two chapters. **David Flood** examines GA 1506, a manuscript which is only partially preserved in the Pauline Epistles. The use of red ink for the biblical lemmata of this catena manuscript means that the text can be hard to make out on digitisations of monochrome microfilm. Through the application of image enhancement software to

a new set of files, he is able to offer multiple corrections to the citation of this manuscript in current hand editions. **G. P. Farthing** introduces Probability Structure Analysis as a means of reconstructing manuscript relationships, using Family 13 in Mark as a test case. The presence of shared readings outside the main direction of the stemma requires the fragmentation and connection of different groups in order to reach a statistically plausible model.

Biblical quotations in commentaries and other early Christian writings offer another form of fragment, as observed above. **Marie Frey Rébeillé-Borgella** discusses the New Testament references in a little-known work of the late fourth or fifth century, Philippus Presbyter's commentary on Job. Her conclusion is that, while there are some resemblances to surviving Old Latin sources and other possible evidence for translations which have not otherwise been preserved, the quotations are likely to have been made from memory. **Jacopo Marcon** describes a catena manuscript which has recently been added to the Liste as GA 2962. His analysis of its fragmentary text of Romans identifies it as a rare witness to an early stage of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, found in only one other manuscript. Also in the realm of catenae, **Emanuele Scieri** provides an assessment of an incomplete copy of Acts which transmits two different catenae (GA 886). He shows how their compilation practice exemplifies the challenge of identifying sources in commentaries which have been heavily reworked, as well as the difficulty of determining whether a shorter text is original or an abbreviation. Finally, **Valentin Andronache** explores quotations of the Johannine passages which mention the Paraclete in the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea and Cyril of Jerusalem. Although the text of these verses is largely identical, the two exegetes put these verses to different uses which makes it difficult to compare the relationship between the form of the text and the way in which it is understood.

THE TWELFTH BIRMINGHAM COLLOQUIUM

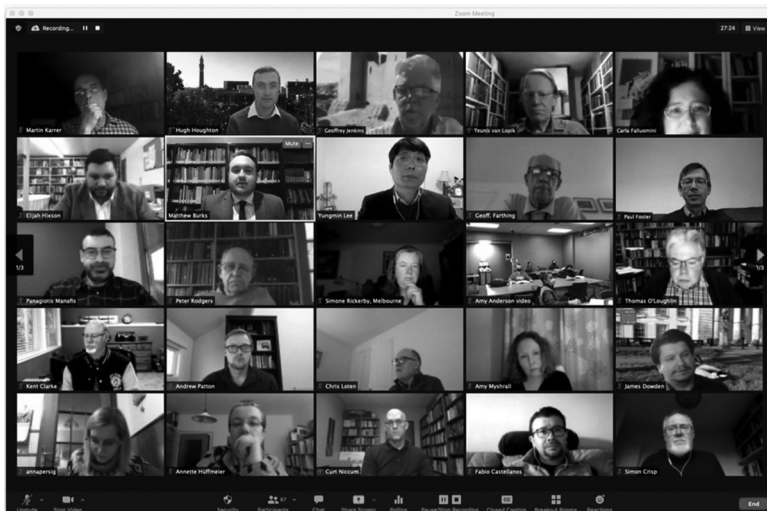
The chapters in this volume were originally delivered as papers during the Twelfth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual

Criticism of the New Testament, with one exception.¹ Its theme of ‘Fragments’ reflected the breakdown of academic normality and the disorder and isolation to which many were subject as a result of the coronavirus pandemic. The experience earlier in this global crisis of arranging the ‘Text-Critical Thursdays’ seminars, at which papers scheduled to be delivered at conferences during the summer of 2020 were instead given to an online audience, had shown the viability of an online event in place of the biennial meeting in Birmingham. Furthermore, a regular session held over a number of weeks appeared preferable to two or three intense days of video-conferencing, providing a chance for conversations to develop on either side of the presentations in the manner of the Birmingham Colloquium. In the face of uncertainty and ongoing travel restrictions, a ten-week series of online presentations was organised which, as it then turned out, coincided with the third national lockdown in England.

On Thursday afternoons from 21 January to 25 March 2021, an international audience gathered on an institutional Zoom link provided by the University of Birmingham to listen to a total of twenty-three presentations on the theme of Fragments. Details of each session were sent out in advance to a dedicated email list which comprised almost two hundred members at the beginning of the colloquium. A late afternoon time in the United Kingdom was chosen to facilitate participation from the Colloquium’s regular attenders based in Europe and North America, but it did not deter others from elsewhere. Between forty and seventy people signed in to the live presentations each week from across the world, which were even beamed into a university classroom in Minnesota. Presenters delivered their papers from eight different countries, ranging from western Canada to two participants in the south of Australia. Despite the technological challenges, the whole series ran smoothly and provided a showcase for a variety of research and presentation styles. One ‘fragmentary’ session enabled five participants to give shorter summaries of ongoing work rather than a full paper. Each

¹ Marcon’s paper was delivered during the ‘Text Critical Thursdays’ series in 2020.

presentation was followed by live questions, and informal conversations were then facilitated in online breakout rooms or an extension of the plenary session for those who were able to remain. Although the social programme characteristic of the Birmingham Colloquium could not be replicated online, feelings of sadness at the end of the series were all the more poignant for a group which, instead of the customary three days, had met regularly over the course of ten weeks during a period in which many were in isolation.

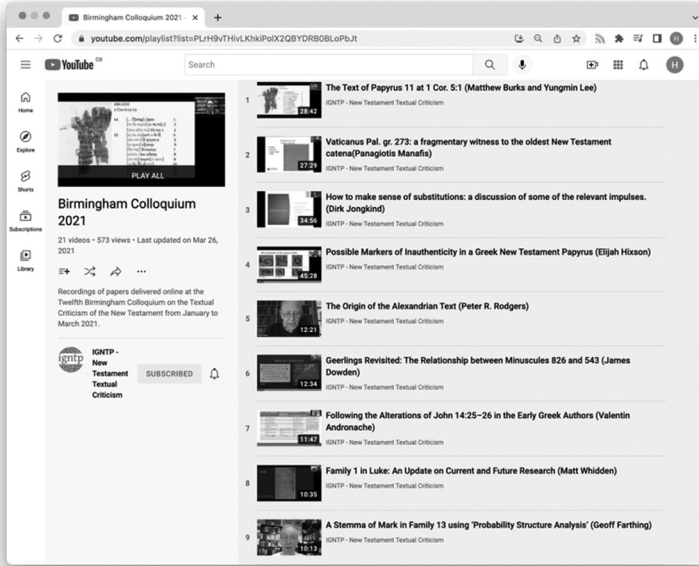


A selection of participants in the first session of the Twelfth Birmingham Colloquium

Each session was recorded, and most presenters gave permission for their video to be uploaded to a playlist on the International Greek New Testament Project's YouTube channel.² This provided an opportunity for those unable to watch live to catch up, and for further dissemination of the presentations. Although Elijah Hixson's paper on Papyrus 50 was a runaway favourite, reaching a total of one thousand views within three months of its being made available online, the entire corpus of videos has, at the time of writing, amassed over five thousand views. This figure

² <https://www.youtube.com/igntp>

continues to rise each month, along with those of the other recordings on this channel. Whatever form is taken by future colloquia, the benefits of this relatively simple way of widening participation in the academic element of the programme are evident.



The IGNTP YouTube Channel Playlist from the Twelfth Colloquium

Notwithstanding the online record of the colloquium, the publication of selected papers in the form of a book allows them to be presented in a lasting and recognised academic format. I am very grateful to my students Clark Bates, Jacopo Marcon, Andrew Patton and Emanuele Scieri for taking on the responsibility of editing this volume, and to all the contributors who have revised their papers for inclusion.³ As two of the chapters are outputs

³ Several papers were delivered as part of the Colloquium but have already been published elsewhere, including Clark R. Bates, 'Stoudios: The Convergence of History, Palaeography, and Textual Criticism on the Greek Minuscule Hand', *Diogenes* 11 (June 2021): 18–36; Dirk Jongkind, 'The Various Scribal Habits Behind Substitutions', in *Ancient Texts*,

from the CATENA project, which has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 770816), I am pleased to acknowledge support from this funder to enable the publication of this volume in Open Access. I would also like to express my thanks to Brice Jones, Tuomas Rasmus, Gemma Tully and Joan Shields of Gorgias Press, along with colleagues on the Editorial Board, for its appearance in the Texts and Studies series alongside similar volumes from previous colloquia.

H. A. G. Houghton
Birmingham, July 2022



Papyri, and Manuscripts: Studies in Honor of James R. Royse, eds. Alan Taylor Farnes, Scott D. Mackie, and David Runia, NTTSD 64 (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 141–159; Peter Montoro and Robert Turnbull, ‘Revising the Repetitions: The Relative Textual Stability of Repeated Patristic Citations as a Window into the Transmission History of Patristic Exegesis—Chrysostom’s Homilies on Romans as an Initial Test Case’, *Sacris Erudiri* 60 (2021): 69–99; Panagiotis Manafis, ‘A New Witness to the Catena of Codex Zacynthius’, *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 26.3 (2022); Peter R. Rodgers, ‘The Origins of the Alexandrian Text of the New Testament,’ *Filología Neotestamentaria* 35 (2022): 61–5.

1. POSSIBLE MARKERS OF INAUTHENTICITY IN A GREEK NEW TESTAMENT PAPYRUS: GENUINELY BAD OR A VERY GOOD FAKE?

ELIJAH HIXSON

In this chapter, I suggest that P.Yale I 3 (GA P50; LDAB 2861) *might* be a modern forgery. I discuss aspects of the manuscript itself, its possible provenance, and the potential identity of its forger, should it turn out to be a modern production. While there is no single smoking gun strong enough to prove that P50 is a modern fake, there are several red flags that mark it as suspicious. Many of these red flags could be explained in such a way that does not de-authenticate the manuscript, but the number of red flags is suspicious. I argue that it should be subjected to further testing in order to authenticate or de-authenticate it as a genuine New Testament papyrus.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT

According to the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library's website, P50 (P.CtYBR inv. 1543) was 'Purchased by Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff from Maurice Nahman in Paris, June 1933, with funds donated by Edward Stephen Harkness and Horatio McLeod Reynolds'.¹ In its *editio princeps*, Carl Kraeling mentioned

¹ 'Guide to the Yale Papyrus Collection':

<https://beinecke.library.yale.edu/research-teaching/doing-research-beinecke/introduction-yale-papyrus-collection/guide-yale-papyrus>

that it was purchased ‘together with a number of other texts of Egyptian provenance’.² The papyrus is a bifolio containing Acts 8:26–32 and 10:26–31 in an unusual, non-continuous format. The two folios are not a sheet from a larger gathering with text missing from lost inner sheets—the bifolio as preserved is the manuscript in its entirety. Each page contains a single column of text. The text of Acts 8:32 ends a line prematurely on col. 2 (line 15) and Acts 10:26 begins on the next line (line 16) of the same column. P50 was first edited by Kraeling in a 1937 Festschrift for Kirsopp Lake, and it was re-edited in 1967 by John F. Oates, Alan E. Samuel and C. Bradford Welles.³ Stephen Emmel conserved P50 at some point between 1983 and 1996, though his remarks on the papyrus are limited to a correction of two readings in the 1967 edition that were correct in Kraeling’s *editio princeps*.⁴ More recently, John Granger Cook has provided a survey of the different functions (for example, amulet, miniature codex, liturgical aid.) that have been proposed for the manuscript.⁵ It has been assigned varying dates within the range of third century to fourth/fifth century (see the discussion of anomalous letterforms below).

Referenced henceforth as ‘Guide to the Yale Papyrus Collection’. This lot is described as containing ‘P.CtYBR inv. 841 (?), 1527-1534, 1535 (?), 1536, 1537, 1538 (?), 1539 (?), 1540 (?), 1541 (?), 1542-1545, 1546 (?), 1631 (?), 1651 (?), 1652 (?), 1656 (?)’. All websites in this chapter were accessed in December 2019 unless otherwise stated.

² Carl H. Kraeling, ‘P50: Two Selections from Acts’, *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake by Pupils, Colleagues, and Friends*, eds. Robert P. Casey, Sylvia Lake, and Agnes K. Lake (London: Christophers, 1937), p. 163.

³ John F. Oates, Alan E. Samuel, and C. Bradford Welles, ‘P.Yale I’, *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library* (Durham: The American Society of Papyrologists, 1967), pp. 15–21.

⁴ Gisela Noack, ‘Conservation of Yale’s Papyrus Collection’, *The Book and Paper Group Annual*, 4 (1986): pp. 61–73; Stephen Emmel, ‘Greek Biblical Papyri in the Beinecke Library’, *ZPE* 112 (1996): pp. 289–294.

⁵ John Granger Cook, ‘P50 (P.Yale I 3) and the Question of Its Function’, *Early Christian Manuscripts: Examples of Applied Method and Approach*, eds. Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas. Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 115–128.

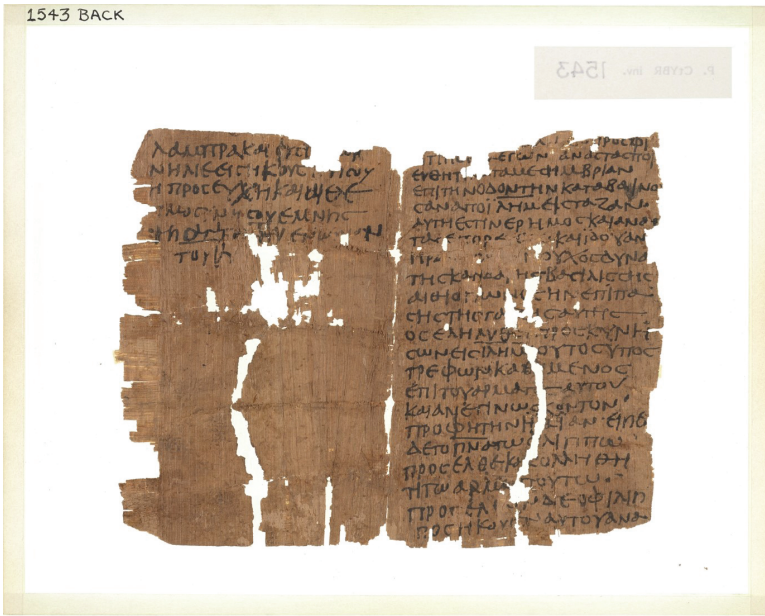


Figure 1.⁶ P50, cols 1, 4

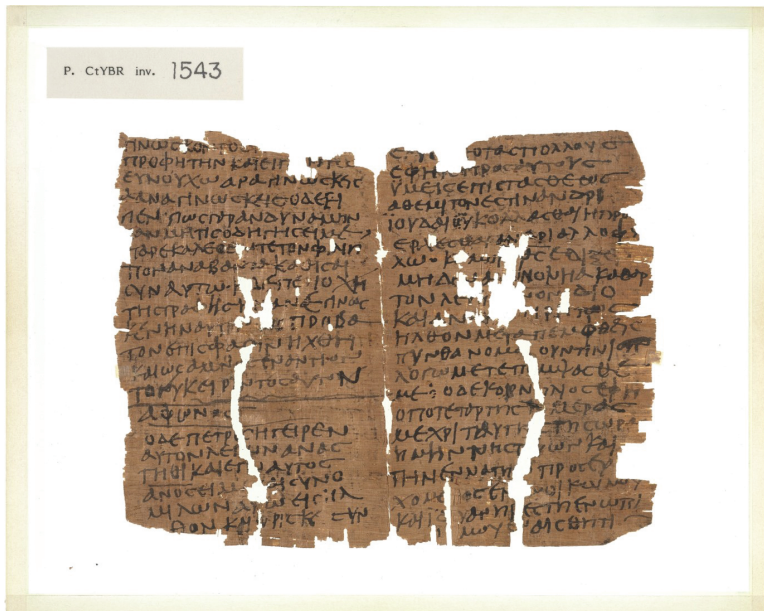


Figure 2. P50, cols 2, 3

KNOWN FAKES IN THE YALE COLLECTION

Malcolm Choat writes that ‘the majority of forged papyri entered collections over 100 years ago’ and that ‘[i]n nearly every case, fakes on papyrus come through the antiquities trade...often hidden among a larger lot of genuine papyri’.⁷ Yale’s papyrus collection does contain a few papyri known to be fakes. The database of known forgeries maintained by the Forging Antiquity project lists the following forgeries housed at Yale’s Beinecke Library, though none bear any real resemblance to P50.⁸

Papyrus	Acquisition information, according to Yale’s website ⁹
P.CtYBR inv. 85	Purchased by David L. Askren (no dealer mentioned) before 1927.
P.CtYBR inv. 526	Purchased by Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff and Charles Bradford Welles from ‘Dr. Kondilios’ in Cairo, in 1931, before 10 February.
P.CtYBR inv. 1797	Purchased from Hans P. Kraus in New York, 1 May 1964.
P.CtYBR inv. 1798	Purchased from Hans P. Kraus in New York, 1 May 1964.
P.CtYBR inv. 1802	Purchased from Hans P. Kraus in New York, 1 May 1964.
P.CtYBR inv. 5207	Purchased from Gallery Nefer, Zurich in 1997. ¹⁰
P.CtYBR inv. 5268	Purchased from Gallery Nefer, Zurich in 1997.

⁶ Unedited images of P50 throughout this chapter are courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. All edits are my own.

⁷ Malcolm Choat, ‘Forging Antiquities: The Case of Papyrus Fakes’, *The Palgrave Handbook on Art Crime*, eds. Saskia Hufnagel and Duncan Chappell (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), p. 560.

⁸ <http://www.forgingantiquity.com/forgeries>.

⁹ ‘Guide to the Yale Papyrus Collection’. I have simply copied in the relevant information from the website without using quotations.

¹⁰ The digital catalogue entries for 5207

(<http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/2768796>) and 5268

(<http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/2768976>) both list ‘1997a’ for the acquisition information. ‘Guide to the Yale Papyrus Collection’ reports Gallery Nefer as the source of the ‘1997a’ acquisition.

P.CtYBR inv. 5407	Purchased from Alan Edouard Samuel (University of Toronto) in New York, 24 February 1992, related to the earlier purchase of a lot by Alan Edouard Samuel from a dealer across from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, early 1965 (sometime between December 1964 and Spring 1965). ¹¹
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ANOMALIES IN THE MANUSCRIPT

The papyrus exhibits a number of anomalies concerning fibre direction, text avoiding lacunae, ink, letterforms, and a discrepancy between the copyist's apparent knowledge and skill. On these bases, I suggest that P50 be subjected to further testing before a conclusion is made regarding its authenticity or inauthenticity.

1. Fibre direction

The first anomaly is admittedly complex, but it appears that the papyrus fibres are at odds with the extant text, particularly on col. 2. The placement of the two sides of the lacuna in the middle leaves insufficient room for the text that must have appeared in that lacuna. If space is made for the expected text, the horizontal papyrus fibres meet at a slight angle at precisely the point of the lacuna in the middle of the folio.

If we presume forgery, one explanation for this phenomenon is that the papyrus fragments were too far apart when transcribed. The forger wrote through the lacunae on each line, unaware that the left fragment had warped out of its correct alignment. In conservation, Emmel would have rotated the bottom of the fragment slightly anti-clockwise, which correctly lined up the papyrus fibres, but this left the text out of alignment. In the following edited images (Figure 3A–D), I use black for a crude drawing of the expected text, white for the average line directions and grey for the papyrus fibres.

¹¹ The digital catalogue entry for 5407 (<http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/2769401>) lists '1992b' for the acquisition information. 'Guide to the Yale Papyrus Collection' gives the above information about the source of the '1992b' acquisition.

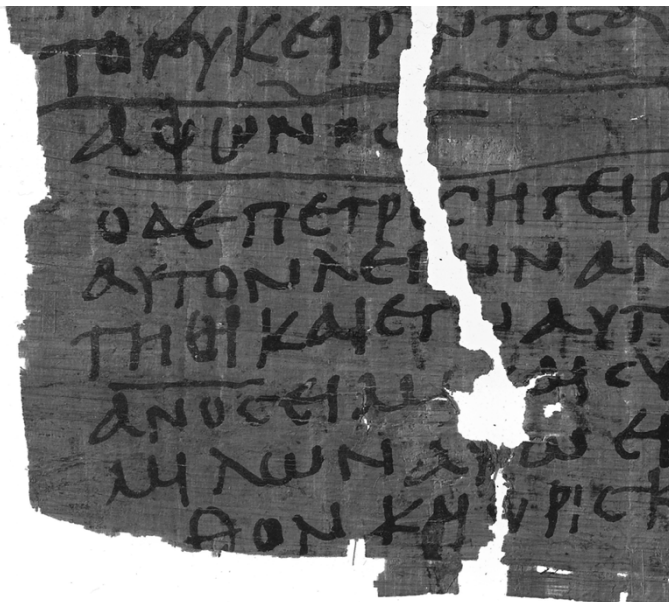


Figure 3A. P50, col. 2, uncorrected, unedited

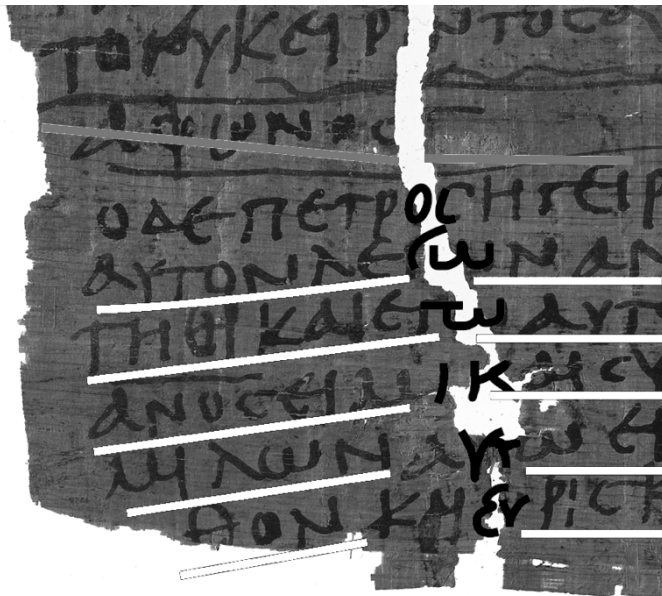


Figure 3B. P50, col. 2, uncorrected, edited

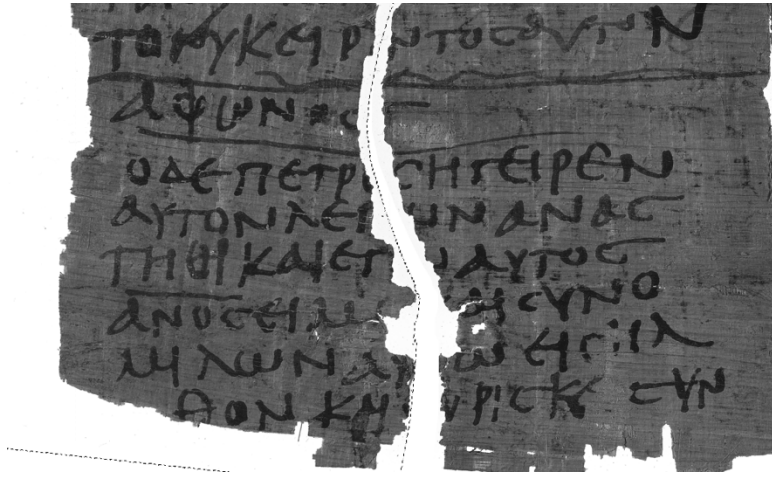


Figure 3C. P50, col. 2, 'corrected', but otherwise unedited

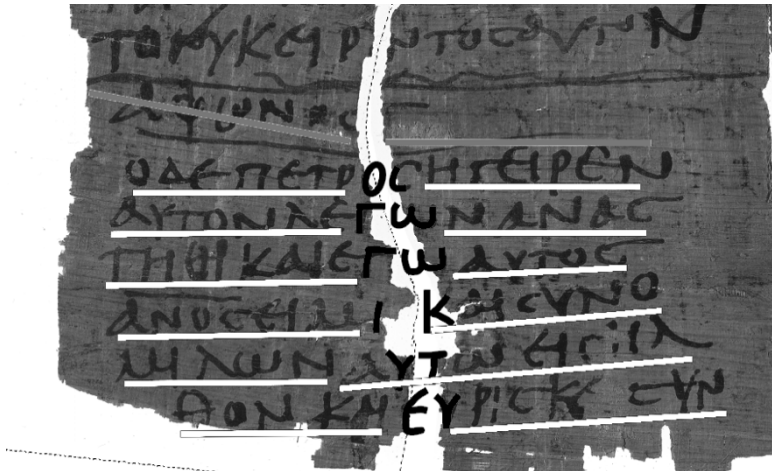


Figure 3D. P50, col. 2, 'corrected' and edited

2. Text avoiding lacunae

Revel Coles and Claudio Gallazzi write:

The following procedure may be helpful in identifying forgeries of this last type [i.e. ‘learned counterfeits’ made ‘with knowledge of language and of palaeography’]. 1) A close examination of the fibre texture. In this class the use of a single dug-up piece of genuine ancient papyrus is likely, which may then exhibit damage (word-holes, cracks, breaks) incurred prior to the forger’s setting-out of his text, and also clean cuts on one or more sides if it has been taken from the margin or other blank area of an existing text. 2) An analysis of the script which is likely to present features from different periods and which above all will reveal itself as adapted to the surface on which it is set out. It will be especially useful to examine letters placed close to any damage, since the writer will have attempted to make his text seem earlier than worm-holes and cracks already there.¹²

In general, it appears that the copyist of the manuscript writes as though the major damage to the papyrus occurred after the text was written, though it is clear in two instances that the writing material was already slightly damaged when the text was added.¹³ First, a square piece of papyrus is missing at the edge of lines 17–18 on col. 3. These lines end here with no missing text before the beginning of each of the following lines. However, the ends of lines 16 and 19 continue beyond this place, each missing pieces of the final letters due to damage at the edge of the papyrus. In line 19, the second peak of μ is noticeably shorter, and the circle of \omicron is not completed at the top of the letter as if the writer were avoiding the hole there.

¹² R.A. Coles and C. Gallazzi, ‘Papyri and Ostraka: Alterations and Counterfeits’, *Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevicchi*, ed. E. Bresciani (Bologna: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Editrice Bologna, 1981), p. 102.

¹³ Kraeling suspects that some damage happened before the text was written and cites πρὸς|ευχόμενος on col. 3 as possible evidence, in ‘P50: Two Selections from Acts’, p. 163, n. 2.

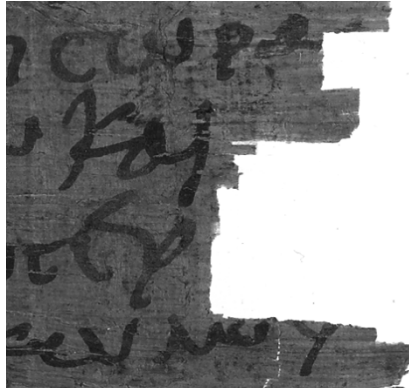


Figure 4. P50, col. 3, ends of lines 16–19

Second, at col. 3, line 18, a fold has cracked the papyrus. The first four letters $\tau\eta\nu \epsilon$ go through the fold, while the fifth letter begins through it but angles up to avoid the crack, and the following letters sit slightly higher on the line of writing, above the fold. The placement of these letters suggests that the crack was already present when the letters were inscribed.¹⁴



Figure 5. P50, col. 3, beginning of line 18

A second manifestation of this anomaly is that in the space below col. 1, line 7 is approximately twice the length of the space above it, as if line 7 was written to avoid a hole in the papyrus here.

¹⁴ Cf. the edition by Oates, et al., in *P. Yale I*, 15, which does not address the ink's avoidance of this crack but states that the cracks in the papyrus are evidence that it was folded after its text was written.



Figure 6. P50, col. 1, lines 6–8 (black lines added to mark the interlinear spacing)

Additionally, there are several instances on the papyrus in which individual letters appear to be written to avoid pre-existing holes, as shown in Table 1.

<p>col. 1, line 2: top of ϵ is abnormally short at the edge of what is extant</p>	<p>col. 1, line 11: ν looks fully formed but almost untouched by the hole</p>	<p>col. 1, line 12: the hole fits snugly between ϵ and λ, though the top of ϵ normally curves over more, and ink might be bleeding around the hole at λ</p>
<p>col. 1, line 17: loop of α is abnormally narrow, avoiding the damage in the middle of the sheet</p>	<p>col. 1, line 22: the hole comes right to the edge of η</p>	<p>col. 2, line 2: this letter is supposed to be a ν; it is misshapen for a ν and fits perfectly within the papyrus</p>








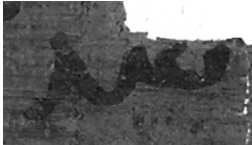
		
<p>col. 2, line 12: the left edge of α ends at the crack in the papyrus, and the tail rises above the hole</p>	<p>col. 3, line 5: the top right corner of ρ comes right to the edge of the hole</p>	<p>col. 3, line 10: ν fits perfectly between two holes, with ink coming right to both edges</p>
		
<p>col. 3, line 10: the top of c ends right at the edge, and the bottom seems to attempt to avoid the hole</p>	<p>col. 3, line 11: a misshapen ϵ at a point of damage and an α that avoids the damage to its left and rises above the hole beneath it</p>	<p>col. 3, line 11: misshapen θ at a crack in the papyrus</p>
		
<p>col. 3, line 18: bottom of ϵ is misshapen</p>	<p>col. 3, line 19: μ and o of $\mu\omicron\nu$ avoiding a hole</p>	

Table 1. Letters avoiding pre-existing holes in P50

A final example of ink avoiding lacunae concerns line spacing. Where there is no existing hole to write ‘through’, writing is not difficult, but the greater the damage, the more difficult it may be to write through it without giving evidence of forgery. One subtle way to reduce the amount of work involved is to adjust line spacing. The overall effect is that extra spacing reduces the number of lines that need to be written through the difficult part. We may compare P50 to P.CtYBR inv. 85, a known fake in the same collection. Though the line spacing is more exaggerated in P.CtYBR inv. 85, the same phenomenon can be observed in both papyri.

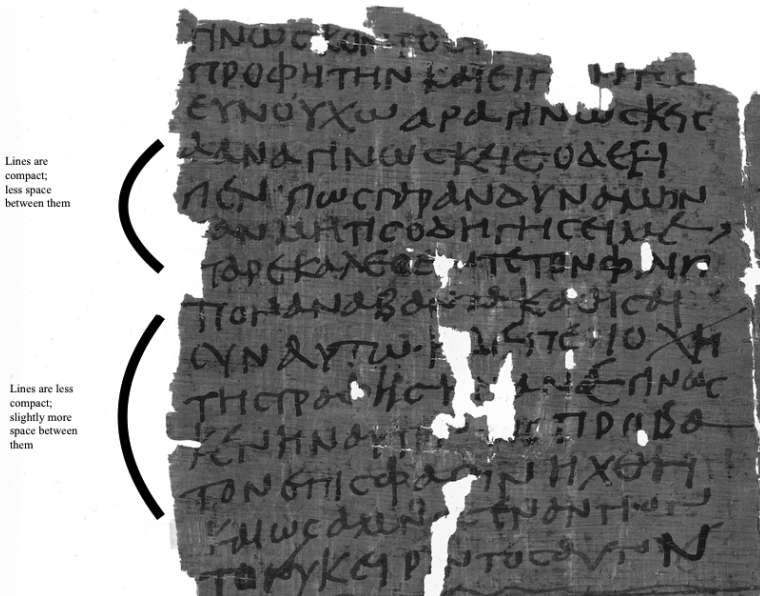


Figure 7. Line spacing in P50

It appears at many places on P50 that damage to the papyrus was already present when its text was inscribed. Some of these anomalies could be explained by poor quality papyrus, but others, such as anomalies around the ‘worm trench’ (as Oates, et al., describe it) in the middle of the folios, are more difficult to explain. If the papyrus was indeed inscribed after such damage had been done, who is more likely to have done so—an ancient scribe or a modern one?

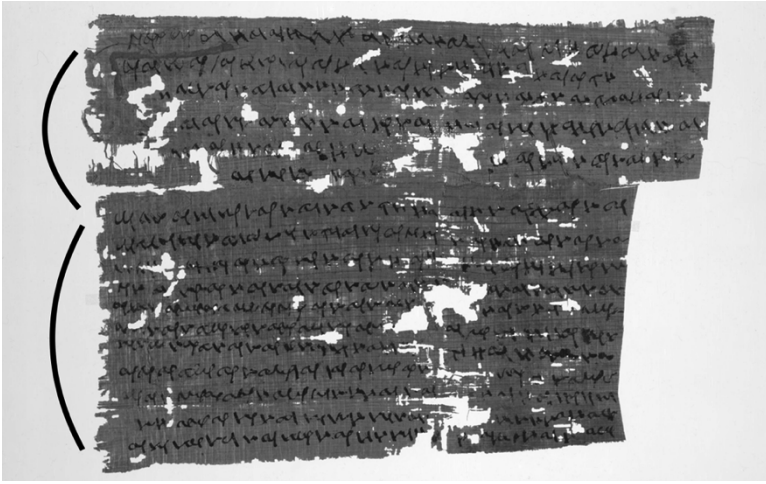


Figure 8.¹⁵ Line spacing in P.CtYBR inv. 85

3. Observations on the ink

3.1 *Ink and particles on the surface of the papyrus.* Kipp Davis et al. noticed that the one of the Dead Sea Scrolls they had identified as forgeries (Schøyen MS 4612/6) had salt crystals on the surface ‘consistent with dry common table salt’ but *under* the ink.¹⁶ This phenomenon was evidence that the papyrus MS 4612/6 had been inscribed with ink ‘in modern times’. Although not an identical phenomenon, the surface of P50 features occasional particles of a reddish-brown solid. The ink of P50 variously appears under these particles or, occasionally, over these particles just as in the case of Schøyen MS 4612/6 as shown in Table 2.

¹⁵ Image courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

¹⁶ Kipp Davis, Ira Rabin, Ines Feldman, and Myriam Kutzsch, ‘Nine Dubious “Dead Sea Scrolls” Fragments from the Twenty-First Century’, *Dead Sea Discoveries* 24.2 (September 2017): pp. 208–209.

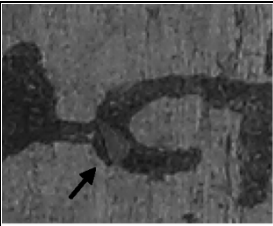
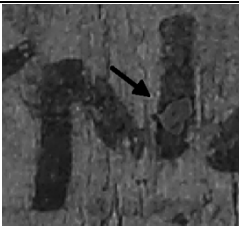
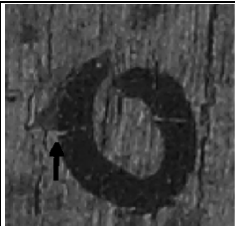

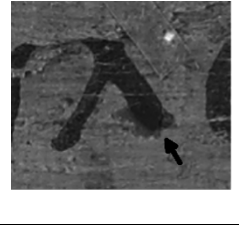

		
col. 1 line 2: particle on top of ink	col. 1 line 8: particle on top of ink	col. 1 line 12: ink partially on top of particle
		
col. 3 line 4: ink written around particle	col. 3 line 11: ink partially on top of particle	col. 4 line 3: ink written around particle

Table 2. Ink and Particles in P50





3.2 Ink Bleeding. In a few places, the images of P50 show a slight discoloration, which may be occasions on which the ink bled but the person who wrote the text tried to scrape some ink away to minimise the effects of bleeding. Perhaps these letters could be examined under a microscope for a more thorough analysis. Kipp Davis et al. also give ink bleeding as one anomalous feature of Schøyen MS. 4612/6.¹⁷

An unskilled copyist could result in some ink bleeding, both in the way the ink itself was made and in the execution of the writing. Stephen C. Carlson describes forged writing as having a slower, more hesitant quality.¹⁸ In the case of P50, ink bleeding

¹⁷ Davis et al., ‘Nine Dubious “Dead Sea Scrolls” Fragments’, p. 207. For comparison, see the image there.

¹⁸ Stephen C. Carlson, *The Gospel Hoax: Morton Smith’s Invention of Secret Mark* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2005), pp. 27–29.

could suggest that the scribe occasionally wrote too slowly for the consistency of the ink, allowing some ink to bleed out into surrounding cracks. If any of this excess ink has been scraped off, that might indicate an intent to hide the ink bleeding—or at least minimise it. Admittedly, if P50 is a writing exercise, its purpose could explain this anomaly. The examples of ink bleeding are shown in Table 3.

 <p>col. 1, line 4: ink bleeding below v; possibly scraped</p>	 <p>col. 1, line 5: ink bleeding above and below both instances of α along fibre direction; possibly scraped</p>
 <p>col. 1, line 9: vertical ink bleeding; discoloration to the left suggests possible scraping, but to the right, unscraped ink flows down a crack</p>	 <p>col. 2, line 16: horizontal ink bleeding</p>





	
<p>col. 1, line 17: horizontal ink bleeding</p>	<p>col. 3, line 9: horizontal ink bleeding</p>
	
<p>col. 3, line 13: unscraped ink bleeding (though it is possible that the raised fibre was scraped)</p>	<p>col. 3, line 18: ink bleeding around damaged papyrus</p>

Table 3. Ink Bleeding in P50

3.3 Patching. Additionally, the papyrus has several examples of what is described as ‘patching’, ‘touching up’ or ‘overwriting’. This phenomenon occurs when a forger writes an imperfect letterform and returns to it to touch it up.¹⁹ Gregg Schwendner has appealed to patching as one indicator that the Jesus’ Wife

¹⁹ Admittedly, patching can happen in genuine writing. On the distinction between patching as an authorial tendency and patching as evidence of forgery, see Joe Nickell, *Detecting Forgery: Forensic Investigation of Documents* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), pp. 70–71. It is unclear whether Nickell’s distinctions are relevant to forged papyri, as his primary concern is to detect forgeries among documents that claim to be more recent—his example of patching is a forged signature of ‘Mrs. A. Lincoln’.

Fragment resembles ‘simulated writing’ rather than authentically ancient writing, and Carlson writes, ‘Even more suspicious than the forger’s tremor is retouching’.²⁰ For P50, there are some irregularities that might be patching, but they may also be due to the general irregularity of the hand and consequently not evidence of forgery. Roger S. Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore mention ‘retracing of letters’ as one indicator of an unpractised (but genuinely ancient) hand.²¹ Microscopic analysis may be able to shed more light on whether any patching on the papyrus could point to forgery, but it is difficult to come to firm conclusions from the images.






		
col. 1 line 3: β is re-written	col. 1 line 15: top of α is retouched	col. 2 line 1: ω is rewritten or retouched
		
col. 3 line 12: misshapen ν is rewritten in the same shape	col. 3 line 15: α is rewritten	

Table 4. Patching in P50

²⁰ Gregg W. Schwendner, ‘The ‘Gospel of Jesus Wife’ as a Questioned Document’, https://www.academia.edu/6860965/THE_GOSPEL_OF_JESUS_WIFE_A_S_A_QUESTIONED_DOCUMENT_What_Would_Simulated_Ancient_Writing_look_like; Carlson, *Gospel Hoax*, p. 26.

²¹ Roger Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore, *Women’s Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC–AD 800* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2015), p. 45.

3.4 Strength/damage. Finally, the ink is regularly dark and undamaged. There are sections of damage that look as though the surface was scraped or rubbed away, and there are several ‘lines’ of damage to the ink that overlap with strips of papyrus. Otherwise, however, the ink does not appear as damaged as one might expect. This uneven damage could be a consequence of the way the papyrus survived through the centuries, or it could be the result of a modern attempt to make the writing look older than it is.

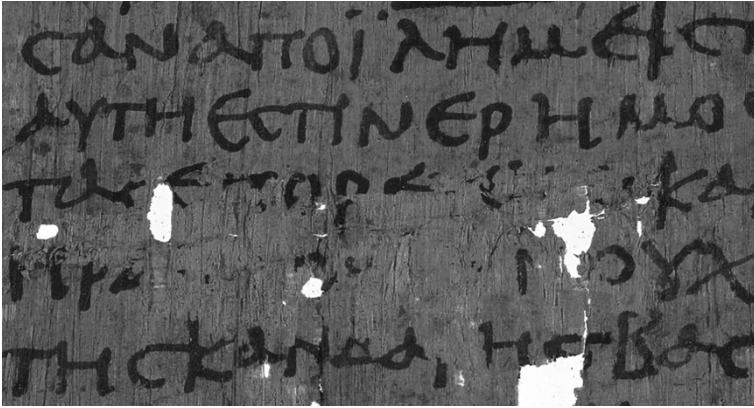


Figure 9. P50, image of ink and damage

3.5 Summary. The ink of P50 has, at times, been written over particulate contamination on the surface of the papyrus. It has occasionally bled out beyond the edges of the written letters (and may have been scraped off in places to mask this bleeding) and has been retouched. In general, its damage seems slightly uneven. The ink is dark and well-preserved in some places and almost completely gone in others. In combination with other anomalies, are these features sufficiently explained by a genuine, but genuinely bad copyist, or does a modern forger provide a better explanation?

4. Anomalous letterforms

The hand of P50 presents difficulties. It has been assigned dates ranging from ‘second half of the third century’, to the fifth century

(by Roberts and Skeat).²² Oates, et al., discuss its mix of earlier and later letterforms, and Cook gives a brief summary of some of the disagreements among palaeographers.²³ Orsini and Clarysse date it to the fourth century.²⁴ Alan Mugridge also accepts a fourth-century date, and describes the hand as: ‘Very uneven semi-uncial, with numerous irregularities in letter shape, size and placement, the unsteadiness evident in the lettering and lines of writing not being straight clearly indicating the hand of an unpractised writer’.²⁵ Additionally, the form and location of punctuation might seem anachronistic with the hand. One of the arguments Oates et al. give for an earlier date is that, despite the later appearance of the hand, such punctuation is more at home either earlier or much later.²⁶

In general, the hand starts out attempting to replicate a majuscule hand, but cursive elements creep in more and more throughout the papyrus. This phenomenon itself is consistent with genuine papyri.²⁷ On the other hand, a few unusual letters

²² Philip Comfort and David Barrett, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Volume 1: Papyri 1–72* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2019), p. 332; Karl Jaroš, *Die ältesten griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments: Bearbeitete Edition und Übersetzung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014), p. 699. For this dating both editions appeal to a remark in Oates, Samuel, and Welles, *P.Yale I*, p. 16: ‘It is hard for me to think of this hand as belonging other than in the period of Diocletian’. For a range of dates that had been assigned to it by 1976, see Kurt Aland, ed., *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri I: Altes Testament, Neues Testament, Varia, Apokryphen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976), p. 280.

²³ Oates, Samuel, and Welles, *P.Yale I*, pp. 15–16; Cook, ‘P50 (P.Yale I 3) and the Question of Its Function’, pp. 116–117.

²⁴ Pasquale Orsini and Willy Clarysse, ‘Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates: A Critique of Theological Paleography’, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 88.4 (2012): p. 470.

²⁵ Alan Mugridge, *Copying Early Christian Texts: A Study of Scribal Practice*, WUNT 362 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), p. 366.

²⁶ For punctuation, the copyist ‘uses a single dot, high in the line, but occasionally a combination of dots and curves ([col.] iii. [line] 14) or something much like an apostrophe ([col.] ii. [line] 11). These last two stand at the end of questions, and the first editor took them to be marks of interrogation, but no others are known before the ninth century, and this is highly unlikely’, in Oates, Samuel, and Welles, *P.Yale I*, p. 16.

²⁷ Bagnall and Cribiore, *Women’s Letters from Ancient Egypt*, p. 45.

may reveal instances in which a forger momentarily lost concentration and slipped into a revealing letterform.









	
<p>col. 1, line 15, <i>αυτου</i>; a modern <i>upsilon</i>?</p>	<p>col. 2, line 3, <i>κει</i> (κ-ε ligature?)</p>
	
<p>col. 2, line 6, <i>με</i>. Tischendorf's 8th edition punctuates with a semicolon here—<i>με;</i> (Acts 8:31).</p>	<p>col. 2, line 7, φ (in a single movement)</p>
	
<p>col. 2, line 8, <i>ακ</i></p>	<p>col. 2, line 8, β (formed in three movements: ↓, →, and '3')</p>
	
<p>col. 2, line 17, half of ω without evidence of a first half?</p>	<p>col. 3, line 14, modern punctuation (;) after <i>με</i>? Tischendorf's 8th edition punctuates with a semicolon here—<i>με;</i> (Acts 10:29).</p>

Table 5. Anomalous Letterforms in P50

5. Discrepancy between the copyist's apparent knowledge and skill

Finally, there does seem to be a discrepancy between the copyist's apparent knowledge of manuscripts and his or her skill in producing one. In the *editio princeps*, Kraeling writes, 'The question is whether the writer's knowledge of literary conventions and his purpose in the composition of the text corroborate the impression made by the script. In general, it may be said that he knows the conventions of manuscript composition'.²⁸ Kraeling notes that the *nomina sacra* are correctly written in standard forms, punctuation and diacritical marks are used correctly, and the scribe's 'orthography, though not above reproach ... is at times better than that of the great fourth-century codices'.²⁹

Textually, Oates et al. write that 'between the Alexandrine text, represented primarily by \aleph and B, and the Western text of D, *P. Yale* 3 goes mostly with the former' but mention a small number of places where P50 agrees with D (GA 05) against \aleph and B (GA 01 and 03), echoing Kraeling's assessment of the manuscript's textual affinities.³⁰ Oates et al. write of the few 'unique readings' that 'None of them is of special importance'.³¹ These readings in general are sensible and are not inconsistent with what could be expected. They list the following:

Text	Location	P50	NA28	Additional attestation, according to the ECM
Acts 8:28	col. 1, line 13	ουτος	ἦν τε	-
Acts 8:30a	col. 1, line 21	προσελθων	προσδραμών	181 1875
Acts 8:30b	col. 2, lines 2–3	ειπ[ε]ν τω ευνουχω	εἶπεν	K:SM S:P ^{>}
Acts 8:30c	col. 2, line 3	αρα	ἀρά γε	61 636 642 1751 1890 2147 2718 Ath ^{ms} Eus. SevGab ^{ms}
Acts 10:30	col. 3, line 14	ο δε	και ο	-

Table 6. Singular Readings in P50

²⁸ Kraeling, 'P50: Two Selections from Acts', p. 169.

²⁹ Kraeling, 'P50: Two Selections from Acts', p. 169.

³⁰ Oates, Samuel, and Welles, *P. Yale I*, 18; Kraeling, 'P50: Two Selections from Acts', pp. 171–172.

The high number of corrections is striking, which implies that it was important to the copyist to reproduce the text accurately. Oates et al. count fourteen corrections in these few verses and suggest that one of these corrections might indicate that the copyist had knowledge of multiple forms of the text. They write, 'In iii, 17 [i.e. col. 3, line 17; Acts 10:30], the writer planned to write ἡμην τὴν ἐνάτην with most of the manuscripts, but checked himself and wrote νηστεύων with D and E. It is possible to suspect that he was familiar with the other text and failed for a moment to note the divergence of his archetype'.³² In 1926, these two readings were available on facing pages in Ropes' edition.³³

The copyist clearly knew what a literary manuscript should look like, including *nomina sacra* and punctuation. He or she also clearly cared for the text, making numerous corrections so that the text would be accurately copied. Unusually, then, the first pericope ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence and does not complete the citation of Isaiah 53:7: 'As a sheep, he was led to slaughter, and as a lamb before the one shearing it was silent...'. Even this ending is a correction; *αφωνος* was added after the copyist had originally ended the pericope after *χειραντος αυτου*.

Despite the copyist's accurate knowledge of the proper text and features of a Christian literary manuscript, the copyist was apparently not accustomed to producing one. The hand itself has been described as 'ugly' by Oates et al.³⁴ Mugridge placed the hand of P50 in his 'unskilled' category. Kraeling attributed 'the inelegancies of his product' to 'carelessness and haste', supposing that the copyist was simply 'accustomed to cursive writing'.³⁵ Still, Oates et al. address the discrepancy between knowledge and ability head on: 'The most obvious suggestion especially in view of the many corrections, is that this was a school exercise, but the hand

³¹ Oates, Samuel, and Welles, *P. Yale I*, p. 18.

³² Oates, Samuel, and Welles, *P. Yale I*, p. 17.

³³ James Hardy Ropes and Henry Joel Cadbury, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Text of Acts* (London: Macmillan, 1920), pp. 96–97.

³⁴ Oates, Samuel, and Welles, *P. Yale I*, p. 17, n. 4.

³⁵ Kraeling, 'P50: Two Selections from Acts', p. 170.

is not that of a schoolboy and the corrections were made by the original writer'.³⁶ They conclude their discussion: 'It is mysterious'.

In light of the observation that the hand is not the hand of a trained copyist, but it is the hand of someone who is well-acquainted with manuscript conventions, could a better explanation be that the manuscript is a fake produced by someone who knew manuscripts well? This scenario could explain why the *nomina sacra* and punctuation are completely regular, why the text does not contain any particularly interesting readings, and why the copyist was a zealous corrector who aimed to get the text correct. But it could also explain why the handwriting is not that of a skilled copyist and why so many corrections were needed. A skilled textual scholar, well-acquainted with manuscripts might be able to replicate the right kind of handwriting, but not without difficulty. The text of P50, however—particularly in light of its textual affinities—is precisely what we might expect from such an individual.

AN AUTHENTIC PAPYRUS WITH MANY OF THE SAME ANOMALIES

It may be that P50 is genuine. The hand does generally resemble an ancient documentary hand, and we might expect a forger to stay more closely to a model. Some of the anomalies might be explained by the poor quality of the papyrus and the poor skill of the copyist, and some of the textual discrepancies could be attributed to the exemplar, not a forger. As a check on these anomalous forms, I propose P. Col. VIII 225 as a counterexample. P. Col. VIII 225 is a private letter from Alexandria dated to the late second century. Though we have every reason to believe that P. Col. VIII 225 is genuine, it has some of the same anomalous features as P50. There are similar letterforms of β and ϕ , some ink smudges, a few letters that avoid holes in the papyrus and a few instances of ink bleeding.

³⁶ Oates, Samuel, and Welles, *P. Yale I*, p. 19.

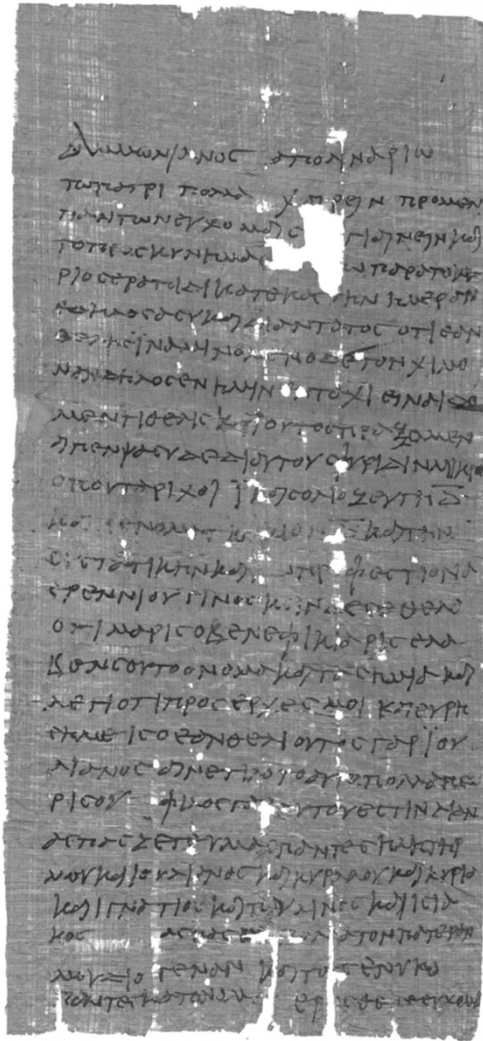


Figure 10. P. Col. VIII 225 (Private letter, late II cent.,
Inv. 320, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia
University Libraries)

Both papyri have a similar way of writing β in two (\downarrow , then either '3' or 'S') or three (\downarrow , \rightarrow , then either '3' or 'S') strokes. With regard to ϕ , P. Col. VIII 225 is more consistent. P50 most commonly uses

a less cursive ϕ and only occasionally has a cursive ϕ that looks like ∞ with a vertical pipe that can be made in a single movement. This behaviour might be expected if the copyist's natural hand was cursive, and he or she had momentary slips while attempting an unnatural literary hand.




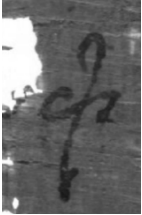


P50	P. Col. VIII 225
	
col. 2, line 11	line 16
	
col. 2, line 7	line 13
	
col. 2, line 12	line 15

Table 7. Similar letter forms in P50 and P. Col. VIII 225

Both manuscripts also exhibit ink smudges. The difference, however, is that ink smudges are worse and more frequent in P50. In P.Col. VIII 225, they are relatively mild and infrequent. The worst smudges in P.Col. VIII 225 are on lines 7, 8 and 10, but smudges are more pervasive in P50.




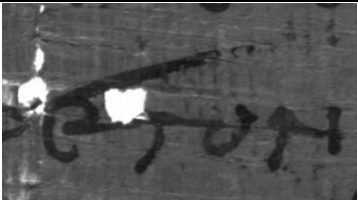
P50	P.Col. VIII 225
	
col. 3, line 12	line 8
	
col. 3, line 14	line 7

Table 8. Smudges in P50 and P. Col. VIII 225

One possible marker of inauthenticity is the phenomenon of ink being written around holes in the papyrus, as if it were added after the hole was already there. One can regularly find text that is written around holes in papyrus or blemishes in parchment, but P50 has an unusual concentration of instances in which the ink of a letter comes right to the edge of a hole in the parchment. Still, it is possible that these instances are simply coincidences. Although P50 has more instances of ink coming suspiciously close to a hole in the parchment, P.Col. VIII 225 is not without them. The holes on P.Col. VIII 225 may be due to the quality and manufacture of the papyrus medium and not to subsequent damage, which is at least partly the case also for P50. Moreover, some of the letters in P50 seem to be misshapen in order to avoid holes, but the letterforms in P.Col. VIII 225 are more natural.



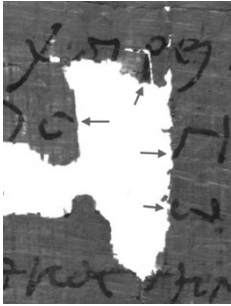

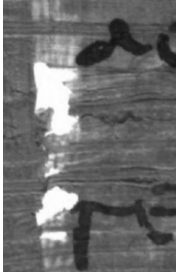

P.Col. VIII 225	
	
line 16	line 6, <i>συ και</i>
	
lines 2-5	line 22
	
Lines 24-25	Lines 19-20

Table 9. Writing around holes in P. Col. VIII 225

Ink bleeding is another red flag present in both P50 and P.Col. VIII 225. Although ink bleeding is more extensive on P50, it is not unique to it.

In summary, P. Col. VIII 225 does exhibit a few of the same anomalies as P50. However, the extent to which P50 exhibits these red flags, particularly the ink smudges, ink bleeding and ink avoiding holes, is greater than that of P. Col. VIII 225. The additional problems of P50, particularly the type and extent of

ink avoiding holes and the problem posed by the papyrus fibres, suggest that even if a genuine papyrus can exhibit some of the same red flags, P50 is still in need of further testing regarding its authenticity.

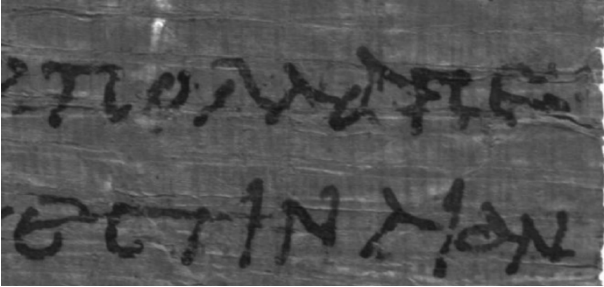
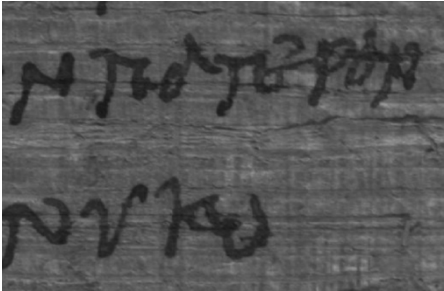
P.Col. VIII 225

Lines 19–20

lines 24–25

Table 10. Ink bleeding in P. Col. VIII 225

A simple way to provide some objective evidence on the status of P50 is to examine the manuscript under a microscope and compare it to other manuscripts that are known to be fake and/or genuine.³⁷ New papyrus lacks the normal cracks that come with age, and if P50 is a modern production that used ancient papyrus

³⁷ Yale's Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library has been closed to non-Yale researchers for the duration of the productions of this chapter. I have therefore been unable to examine the manuscript with a microscope.

(such as the recent ‘Jesus’ Wife Fragment’), ink will have seeped into microscopic cracks that would not have existed in ancient times and would be difficult, if not impossible, to see with the naked eye. If this phenomenon were observed, it would provide objective evidence that P50 is a modern production.

This phenomenon features prominently in the 2019 report of the Museum of the Bible on the scientific assessment of the Dead Sea Scrolls owned by the Museum of the Bible, all now considered to be modern forgeries.³⁸ During a presentation of the results of this report, Abigail Quandt referred to the phenomenon of ‘finding the ink going into cracks that wouldn’t have existed if the writing substrate was new at the time of the text being inscribed and also going over edges that would not have been torn and would have been intact’ as ‘kind of the most damning of all’ of her findings.³⁹

INTERLUDE

Thus far, I have suggested that P50 might be a modern fake because of anomalies in the papyrus itself. In what follows, I engage in some reasoned speculation to suggest a possible creator. I admit that I will not convince everyone. Consequently, I work from the tentative assumption that P50 is indeed fake, and I give my thoughts on who might have created it. My hope is that even if my conclusion is incorrect, the information I provide may assist someone to disprove my theory and to offer a more likely culprit or demonstrate that the papyrus is authentic.

GENRE

If P50 is a fake, we must ask what kind of fake it is. Dictionaries, encyclopaedias and maps sometimes contain fake entries or ‘trap streets’ inserted to track plagiarism. If a word, person or street listed in one of these works does not exist in reality but appears in another work of the same kind, it is evidence that the

³⁸ Available at <https://museumofthebible.org/dead-sea-scroll-fragments> (accessed 2 November 2020).

³⁹ Beginning at approximately 33:45 in the video featured at the top of the page in the previous note.

information has been inappropriately copied from its source. Examples include ‘Lillian Virginia Mountweazel’ in the 1975 *New Columbia Encyclopedia* and ‘esquivalience’ (‘the willful avoidance of one’s official responsibilities’) in the 2001 *New Oxford American Dictionary*.⁴⁰ Mischa Meier’s *Neue Pauly* entry for ‘Apopudobalia’ describes an ‘ancient’ sport surprisingly reminiscent of modern-day football.⁴¹

However, some fakes do seem to be innocent. Revel Coles and Claudio Gallazzi mention P. Harr. inv. 336, a papyrus whose text is in French that they describe as ‘school practice by an Egyptian child, without intention to deceive’,⁴² Other fakes may well have been intended to deceive, possibly even having had a definite ‘mark’. It has been suggested that evangelical Christians who are eager to purchase ‘relics’ of the Christian Scriptures were the perfect market for fake Dead Sea Scrolls.⁴³ Others, still, ‘may be attempts to perpetuate a grand joke on the academy or a rival’, as Malcolm Choat describes.⁴⁴ In his 1971 Society of Biblical Literature presidential address, Bruce M. Metzger exposed Paul R. Coleman-Norton’s ‘amusing agraphon’, published in *Catholic*

⁴⁰ Henry Alford, ‘Not a Word’ *The New Yorker* (August 29, 2005). See also ‘cj16163’ in the *Amsterdam Database of New Testament Conjectural Emendation* (<https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/nt-conjectures?conjID=cj16163>).

Thanks to Jeff Cate, Peter Gurry, Peter Head, Dirk Jongkind and Tommy Wasserman for drawing my attention to various fake references mentioned here.

⁴¹ Mischa Meier, ‘Apopudobalia’, *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Edited by H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Band 1 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996), p. 895.

⁴² Coles and Gallazzi, ‘Papyri and Ostraka: Alterations and Counterfeits’, p. 103. Perhaps similar in intention is the often-repeated anecdote that C.H. Spurgeon said that in his preaching, he takes his text and ‘makes a beeline to the cross’, However, it appears that Spurgeon never actually said those words. See Thomas Breimaier, *Tethered to the Cross: The Life and Preaching of Charles H. Spurgeon* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2020), p. 3.

⁴³ Ludvik A. Kjeldsberg, ‘Christian Dead Sea Scrolls? The Post-2022 Fragments as Modern Protestant Relics’, *Museum of the Bible: A Critical Introduction*, eds. Jill Hicks-Keeton and Cavan Concannon (Lanham, MD: Lexington Press, 2019), pp. 207–218.

⁴⁴ Choat, ‘Forging Antiquities: The Case of Papyrus Fakes’, p. 559.

Biblical Quarterly, as a forgery.⁴⁵ Metzger affirmed that the content of the agraphon was suspiciously similar to a joke Coleman-Norton (Metzger's *Doktorvater*) once told to his students.⁴⁶

Perhaps 'joke' or 'spoof' is the best description of what P50 was intended to be (see below). By 'spoof,' I mean a fake that was created without any obvious malicious intent. Some examples do not even reflect an intent to deceive. There is no shortage of spoofs in the academy—fake articles and references that are written as if they were serious works of scholarship but contain enough information to reveal their true identities. One example is Peter Arzt-Grabner's tale of finding in a flea market a folder containing '...um erste Beschreibungen und Transkriptionen antiker Papyri handelte—womöglich aus Ulrich Wilckens eigener Hand!'⁴⁷ One of these 'records' described a papyrus that recorded a traffic accident in ancient Egypt—obviously the value of such a find is that it answers the important question of whether ancient Egyptians drove on the right side or on the left side of the road: damage to the left side of the cart (or car) involved ('die linke Seite seines Wagens') suggests that in ancient Herakleopolis, they drove on the right.⁴⁸ Another example of a joke within a serious work is Martin E. Marty's brief 'review' of *The Relieved Paradox* by one Franz Bibfeldt, in a publication of Concordia Theological

⁴⁵ P.R. Coleman-Norton, 'An Amusing Agraphon', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 12.4 (October 1950): pp. 439–449.

⁴⁶ Bruce M. Metzger, 'Literary Forgeries and Canonical Pseudepigrapha', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 91.1 (March 1972): pp. 3–24.

⁴⁷ Peter Arzt-Grabner, 'Eine Eingabe aus Herakleopolis Magna (Ägypten)—einen Verkehrsunfall betreffend?', *Calamus: Festschrift für Herbert Grassl zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Georg Nightingale, Monika Frass, and Rupert Breitwieser (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), p. 35. It should be noted that Arzt-Grabner describes this article as 'fiction' on his own English-language CV at <https://www.uni-salzburg.at/index.php?id=21286>.

⁴⁸ Arzt-Grabner, 'Eine Eingabe aus Herakleopolis Magna (Ägypten)', pp. 39–40. For another article similar in genre, though not (to my knowledge) described as fiction, see Daniel T. Baldassarre, 'What's the Deal with Birds?', *Scientific Journal of Research and Reviews*, (April 1, 2020).

Seminary.⁴⁹ Despite the fact that no such book—and no such theologian—ever existed, the joke persisted long enough to spawn a collection of essays on the theology of ‘Bibfeldt’.⁵⁰

Academic spoofs or jokes can also appear in the form of fake references contained in otherwise serious works. In a review of Carsten Peter Thiede’s work arguing that the Qumran fragment 7Q5 is a ‘first-century Mark’ papyrus, Daniel B. Wallace mentions alternative identifications of its text.⁵¹ In a footnote sandwiched between serious works by Gordon Fee and Kurt Aland, Wallace notes a monograph on the subject, ‘Conan D. Parson, 7Q5: *An Ancient ‘Honey Do’ List?* (Snowflake, Saskatchewan: Technasma, 1975)’, an invention that is clearly a joke and not intended to offer additional support to his otherwise-serious critique of Thiede’s hypothesis. Wallace mentions Parson’s ‘monograph’ only in his review published in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, the institutional journal of Wallace’s own seminary; the reference does not appear in the other review article Wallace published that year (in *Westminster Theological Journal*).⁵²

A PROPOSAL FOR THE CULPRIT’S IDENTITY

If P50 is not an authentic Greek New Testament manuscript, it would not be the only one to be included in the *Kurzgefasste Liste* and given a Gregory-Aland number. Gregory-Aland 2427 (University of Chicago ms. 972), also known as ‘Archaic Mark’, is

⁴⁹ Martin E. Marty, ‘Review of *The Relieved Paradox*’, *Concordia Seminarian* (1951): p. 19.

⁵⁰ Martin E. Marty and Jerald C. Brauer, eds., *The Unrelieved Paradox: Studies in the Theology of Franz Bibfeldt* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959).

⁵¹ Carsten Peter Thiede, *The Earliest Gospel Manuscript? The Qumran Fragment 7Q5 and its Significance for New Testament Studies* (London: Paternoster Press, 1992); Daniel B. Wallace, ‘A Review of *The Earliest Gospel Manuscript?* by Carsten Peter Thiede’, *Bibliotheca Sacra* (July 1994): pp. 350–354.

⁵² Daniel B. Wallace, ‘7Q5: The Earliest NT Papyrus?’, *Westminster Theological Journal* 56.1 (Spring 1994): pp. 173–180. For another excellent, though dated, example of this practice, see the classic study by the noted English sociologist Richard Gerollt, ‘Some Observations on Persistence’. Though the article itself can be difficult to access, a summary by the author can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQw4w9WgXcQ>.

an infamous example of a modern production that was once thought to be ancient. However, before Mary Virginia Orna discovered Prussian Blue (first made around 1704) in it or Stephen C. Carlson identified its exemplar as Philipp Buttman's 1860 edition of the Greek New Testament, there were doubts about its authenticity.⁵³ Kirsopp and Silva Lake never completely committed to a position on its authenticity though. Mitchell et al. report that according to a letter from Chuck Bennison to E.C. Colwell, Silva Lake was asked about Archaic Mark again in June 1970. She still would not commit to a position regarding its authenticity, but she remarked, 'It's either 14th century or a 19th century forgery, and if a forgery, either a serious attempt or a spoof by someone like my husband!'⁵⁴

Perhaps Silva Lake's comment reveals more than she intended at the time. Kirsopp Lake (1872–1946) was a New Testament textual critic and Harvard professor who certainly had the means and opportunity to produce P50, and according to his wife, he may have had the motive as well. By 1970, she did not seem to think it had been beneath her late husband to make a fake manuscript as a spoof. Silva Lake and Kirsopp's daughter Agnes were two of the three editors of Lake's *Festschrift* (along with Robert Casey) in which the *editio princeps* of P50 was published.⁵⁵ If it was a fake, they—especially Silva—would have almost certainly known the truth. From this working hypothesis that Kirsopp Lake is the scribe of P50 and created it as a spoof or joke, there *does* seem to be an intent to deceive but not in a malicious manner. If Lake is its creator, I suggest that he intended the papyrus to be published, accepted, and forgotten before its authenticity was questioned.

⁵³ For a summary, see Margaret M. Mitchell, Joseph Barabe, and Abigail Quandt, 'Chicago's "Archaic Mark" (ms 2427) II: Microscopic, Chemical, and Codicological Analyses Confirm Modern Production', *Novum Testamentum* 52 (2010): pp. 101–133.

⁵⁴ Cited from Mitchell, Barabe, and Quandt, 'Chicago's "Archaic Mark"', 132. Many thanks to Margaret M. Mitchell, who helped me verify the contents of these letters.

⁵⁵ Casey, Lake, and Lake, eds., *Quantulacumque*.

ASPECTS THAT POINT TO KIRSOPP LAKE

A few aspects of the papyrus may point to Kirsopp Lake as its author. First, as already mentioned, its *editio princeps* was published in a *Festschrift* to Lake. Publication of a fake manuscript as if it were real in a *Festschrift* may not be the best way to honour someone unless that person was the manuscript's creator. However, if the papyrus was a joke to Lake, one way to honour him would be to publish his creation as if it were genuine in a way that resulted in its acceptance as authentic.

Second, P50 is a manuscript of Acts that came onto the scene as the final volumes of Lake's five-volume work on Acts (with F. J. Foakes Jackson) were being published.⁵⁶ By this time in his life, Lake had invested heavily in the Acts of the Apostles. The text is one fitting for Lake. As I have mentioned above, Lake wrote in the preface to the translation and commentary volume of this five-volume work that he thought the original text of Acts was more like Codex Vaticanus than Codex Bezae, but that occasionally, Codex Bezae preserved original readings against Codex Vaticanus.⁵⁷ Lake's general position on the original text of Acts describes precisely the textual affiliation of P50.

Finally, there is one textual anomaly that might point to Lake. Although the hand is uneven, it seems that too much text is required to fit on the first line, which comes textually at Acts 8:26. There, the ECM prints Ἄγγελος δὲ κυρίου ἐλάλησεν πρὸς Φίλιππον for the *Ausgangstext* and reports only minor variation. The text at the end of col. 1, line 1 survives, but the beginning of the line is lost to a lacuna. Cook writes, 'Although Kraeling considered the possibility of 25 letters in 1.1 [i.e. col. 1, line 1], the word ἄγγελος (angel) must have been abbreviated given constraints of space', Rather than an unusual *nomen sacrum* in a manuscript in which *nomina sacra* otherwise appear in standard forms, there may be another explanation.⁵⁸ Volume IV of the five-volume *Beginnings*

⁵⁶ Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity Part I* (London: Macmillan, 1920).

⁵⁷ Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury, *The Beginnings of Christianity Part 4: Translation and Commentary*, p. ix.

⁵⁸ Cook, 'P50 (P.Yale I 3) and the Question of Its Function', p. 116.

of *Christianity* is a commentary on Acts by Lake and Henry Cadbury, of which Lake ‘acted as final editor of the whole’.⁵⁹ At Acts 8:26, Lake and Cadbury note the mentions of ‘the Spirit’ and ‘a Spirit of the Lord’ at vv. 29 and 39, adding ‘It is doubtful how far the writer [of Acts] distinguished between “angel” and “spirit”’.⁶⁰ Lake had already made a similar statement as early as 1915. In his article, ‘The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles’, Lake referred to ‘the apparent exchange of usage between ‘Spirit’ and ‘angel of the Lord’ in the story of Philip (Acts 8:26, 29, 39)’.⁶¹ Perhaps in the lacuna at the beginning of fol. 1 ↓, line 1, an abbreviation was indeed intended, but the *nomen sacrum* in the lacuna was π̄να. This solution would resolve the problem of too many letters on the line in a way that is consistent with Lake’s position regarding angel/Spirit in Acts. Again, this solution is admittedly speculative—the text is lost, but the extant letters do suggest that something was anomalous at the beginning of the line.

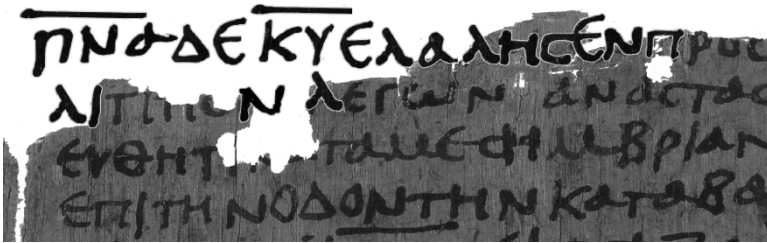


Figure 11. P50 col. 1, reconstruction with π̄να using handwriting samples from elsewhere in P50

MEANS, MOTIVE AND OPPORTUNITY

As I mentioned earlier, there seems to be a discrepancy between the knowledge of the copyist of P50 and his or her skill. The

⁵⁹ Lake and Cadbury, *Beginnings*, Vol. 4: *Translation and Commentary*, p. VII.

⁶⁰ Lake and Cadbury, *Beginnings*, Vol. 4: *Translation and Commentary*, p. 95.

⁶¹ Kirsopp Lake, ‘The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles’, *American Journal of Theology* 19.4 (October 1915): p. 499.

papyrus was clearly written by someone who knew normal manuscript conventions well but was not a well-practised copyist. Kirsopp Lake as its copyist again would explain this discrepancy. He was certainly familiar not only with manuscripts but also with various readings and what to expect regarding scribal error.

If P50 is a fake, it is a brilliant fake. One useful thought experiment is to step back and think about what kind of manuscript one would make if one wanted to create a 'spoof' in the 1920s or 1930s that had potential to go undetected. The manuscript would ideally be small—the more of it there is, the more chances there are for the scribe to make a telling mistake and the papyrus to be exposed as inauthentic. The format should be unusual enough that it cannot easily be compared to anything else but at the same time, not so unusual that it would draw much attention to itself. The format of P50—two excerpts from Acts on a single bifolio—does that. The text cannot be too unusual, but it should also not be too 'clean'—it should contain enough variants and copyist errors to make it look like a real manuscript, but at the same time its text should not be too interesting so as to draw unwanted attention. The date of the manuscript likewise should not be so early that it attracts additional research. In short, if one wanted to create a fake manuscript that had good chances of not being exposed, P50 is exactly the sort of manuscript one would make. It is the sort of papyrus that might be cited for only a few variants but is not in itself enough to change anyone's opinion on the text at those places. It is the sort of manuscript that could sneak into a critical apparatus and be forgotten. It would take an exceptional mind to conceive of the perfect fake, but Kirsopp Lake may have been just that exceptional person. He lived at the right time and fits the bill perfectly for the kind of person required for the task, and his wife did not seem to think such an endeavour was beneath him. If P50 is a modern production, Kirsopp Lake had the means to make it.

With regard to motive, I can only refer again to Silva Lake's comments in 1970. I suspect that if Kirsopp Lake did create P50, it was simply a joke to him—a spoof. If P50 is indeed such a spoof, it would not be the only such manuscript created for this purpose. Bruce Metzger recounts the story of the 'Partridge Manuscript', a

creation by students Barrett Tyler and Reamer Kline at the Episcopal Theological School, who managed to fool W.H.P. Hatch before coming clean.⁶²

Kirsopp Lake had the means and the motive to create a fake Greek New Testament papyrus as a spoof, and he also had the opportunity. A *terminus ante quem* can be set at June 1933, when the papyrus was purchased (as part of a papyrus lot) in Paris from Maurice Nahman. Lake's time spent in and around Egypt is well-documented. In addition to his work at St. Catherine's Monastery, Lake places himself in Cairo both in 1927 and again in early February 1930.⁶³ Though I have not yet been able to place Lake with Maurice Nahman, I have been able to place Lake with one of Nahman's associates, David Askren. Lake appears to have met Askren in 1927. Based on entries in Francis W. Kelsey's diary, dated 28 February and 3 March 1927, John Griffiths Pedley writes, 'At the end of the month (i.e., February 1927), Kirsopp Lake arrived from Port Said to be introduced to Askren and to visit the office in Cairo of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, from which he subsequently learned that he had been authorized to visit the monastery itself'.⁶⁴

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

One problem is that, although there are a number of small anomalies in P50, there is no single smoking gun. Most, if not all, of the anomalies could be explained by phenomena that are seen in genuine ancient papyri. The unusual format of the manuscript indicates that it could not have been intended as a normal literary manuscript, and its precise purpose has been debated. Cook suggests that it might be intended as 'a preacher's notes for use in a worship service or as a Christian traveller's notes for use in

⁶² Bruce M. Metzger, *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian* (Grand Rapids: Baker Publishing, 1995), pp. 132–136. Thanks to Stephen C. Carlson for reminding me of this forgery.

⁶³ Kirsopp Lake, 'The Serabit Expedition of 1930', *Harvard Theological Review* 25.2 (April 1932): pp. 95–100.

⁶⁴ John G. Pedley, *The Life and Work of Francis Willey Kelsey: Archaeology, Antiquity, and the Arts* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2011), p. 383.

teaching'.⁶⁵ Some of the avoidance of damage could be explained as the act of an ancient copyist doing the best he or she could with an already-damaged scrap of papyrus. Even Kraeling suggested in the *editio princeps* that the papyrus medium was likely already damaged when the text was written.⁶⁶

Still, the papyrus has anomalies. Perhaps it has enough anomalies to justify a closer, multi-disciplinary look. Microscopic analysis, especially of the areas around the holes in the papyrus, might be able to shed additional light on the question of whether the damage where text is missing occurred before or after the papyrus medium was inscribed. If radiocarbon dating is an option, perhaps a discrepancy could be identified between the palaeographic date ranges and the date range based on radiocarbon analysis, as was the case for the *Jesus' Wife Papyrus*. Kraeling described two papyrus patches that seem to be no longer visible, but his images of the papyrus in the *editio princeps* show at least one horizontal patch of the papyrus at the bottom of the empty space in the final column that is no longer attached in the newer images.⁶⁷ Perhaps this area can be examined more closely to detect any signs of modern materials. Additionally, samples of Lake's handwriting could be examined in order to see if there is anything consistent with the hand of the papyrus.⁶⁸ P50 may indeed be a genuine, but genuinely bad papyrus manuscript of the Greek New Testament, but in light of its anomalies, might it be a *Kirsopp Fake*?

⁶⁵ Cook, 'P50 (P.Yale I 3) and the Question of Its Function', p. 125.

⁶⁶ Kraeling, 'P50: Two Selections from Acts', p. 63.

⁶⁷ Kraeling, 'P50: Two Selections from Acts', p. 164.

⁶⁸ In September 2021, I examined in Oxford a handwritten 'Catalogue of Laudian Greek Manuscripts' in the Bodleian allegedly written by Lake around 1902–1911 (Weston Library, R.6.96/1-2). The Greek text bears little resemblance to the hand of P50 in my opinion.

2. THE FRAGMENTATION AND DIGITAL RECONSTRUCTION OF LECTIONARY 2434

ANDREW J. PATTON*

Manuscript fragments present a significant challenge for studying the material and textual history of the past. ‘Fragmentologists’ seek to examine these artefacts in order to reunite lost leaves, virtually

* Research at its best is collaborative, and this is even more true when studying dozens of scattered manuscript leaves during a global pandemic. I am grateful to the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts for generously supporting the acquisition of images of undigitised leaves and my colleagues there who encouraged this research. I benefited immensely from Stratton L. Ladewig and Jacob W. Peterson who offered valuable comments on drafts of this chapter. I also am grateful to the staff and researchers at many libraries and institutes with whom I consulted: Andy Armacost (Duke University), Jill Botticelli (Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary), Kaitlin Buerge (Middlebury College), Lisa Fagin Davis (Medieval Academy of America), Jennifer Draffen (Memphis Brooks Museum of Art), Scott Gwara (University of South Carolina), Lynley Anne Herbert (Walters Art Museum), Miriam Intrator (Ohio University), Katie Leggett (INTF), Maggie Long (Wesleyan University), Katrina Marshall (Public Library of Cincinnati), Anne McLaughlin (Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge University), David A. Michelson (Vanderbilt University), Beth Owens (Cleveland Museum of Art), Laura Ponikvar (Cleveland Institute of Art), Katherine Prichard (University of Michigan Museum of Art), Diana Severance (Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University), Lori Salmon (NYU Institute of Fine Arts), Kyle R. Triplett (New York State Library), Deb Verhoff (NYU Institute of Fine Arts), and N. Kivilcim Yavuz (University of Kansas).

or in print, and to understand better their historical context.¹ The advances made in digital humanities, especially digitisation and electronic presentation of manuscripts along with their metadata, present new opportunities for ‘digital fragmentology’.² Indeed, Barbara A. Shailor maintained, ‘The image is worth a thousand words and many other libraries will only recognize that they hold Otto Ege leaves when they see a “matching leaf” in a good color digitized image’.³ In the case of GA L2434, the image was worth more than a thousand words.

In 2019, colleagues at the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts were tracking the digitisation status of Greek New Testament manuscripts in North America. GA L1584, belonging to the Spencer Research Library at the University of Kansas had already been digitised. Upon viewing the images of the single leaf, a manuscript I recently examined at the Dunham Bible Museum at Houston Baptist University was brought to mind.

¹ Eric J. Johnson and Scott Gwara, ‘“The Butcher’s Bill”: Using the Schoenberg Database to Reverse-Engineer Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books from Constituent Fragments’, *Manuscript Studies* 1, no. 2 (Fall 2016): p. 237. See also Frederick Porcheddu, ‘Reassembling the Leaves: Otto Ege and the Potential of Technology’, *Manuscripta* 53 no. 1 (2009): pp. 29–48.

² Lisa Fagin Davis, ‘The Promise of Digital Fragmentology’, *Manuscript Road Trip* (13 July 2015), <https://manuscriptroadtrip.wordpress.com/2015/07/13/manuscript-road-trip-the-promise-of-digital-fragmentology/>. Accessed 2 April 2020. Other recent studies on dispersed Greek New Testament manuscripts include Brice C. Jones, ‘A Missing Codex Leaf from a New Testament Lectionary’, (18 March 2014) <https://www.bricecjones.com/blog/a-missing-codex-leaf-from-a-new-testament-lectionary>. Accessed 15 March 2021; Georgi Parpulov, ‘Membra disiecta Sinaitica Graeca’, *Fragmentology* 5 (2022): forthcoming; Julia Verkholanstev, ‘From Sinai to California: The Trajectory of Greek NT Codex 712 from the UCLA Young Research Library’s Special Collection (170/347)’, *Manuscript Studies* 1, no. 2 (2017): pp. 216–234; Tommy Wasserman, ‘A New Leaf of Constantine Theologites the Reader’s Lectionary in Uppsala University Library (Fragm. ms. graec. 1 = Greg.-Aland L1663)’, *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 86 (2021): pp. 148–166.

³ Barbara A. Shailor, ‘Otto Ege: His Manuscript Fragment Collection and the Opportunities Presented by Electronic Technology’, *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* 60 (2003): p. 18.

An initial survey of the online *Kurzgefasste Liste* revealed folios of this same manuscript at five institutes which were assigned four separate Gregory-Aland numbers.⁴ These pieces were originally part of the same codex and this realisation led to the subsequent identification of twenty-two more leaves in nineteen collections. This fragmented sixteenth-century lectionary—which ordinarily would escape the notice of most New Testament textual scholars—now stands apart as the most widely scattered Greek New Testament manuscript.⁵

FOUR ARE ONE

After linking the leaves in Kansas and Houston together, a search of the online *Liste* and the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room yielded two other catalogued manuscripts that appeared to be pieces of the same codex (Table 1).⁶

GA Number	Location	Institute	Shelf Mark	Leaves
GA L1584	Lawrence, KS	Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas	MS 9/2:24	1
GA L2282 ⁷	Fort Worth	A. Webb Roberts Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary	Gr. MS. 1	1
GA L2434	Houston	Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University	2011.63a-d	4

⁴ <https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste>.

⁵ Formerly, the manuscript owned by the most institutions was Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (022), kept in eight locations. Elijah Hixson suggests there may be a ninth owner: *Scribal Habits in Sixth-Century Greek Purple Codices*, NTTSD 61 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), p. 9.

⁶ Kurt Aland, Michael Welte, Beate Köster and Klaus Junack, eds., *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, ANTF 1, 2nd ed. (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1994), now updated online at <https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste>.

⁷ Gr. MS. 1 at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary is the only one of these four manuscripts catalogued in the *Liste* at the time of its last printing in 1994 (Aland et al., *Kurzgefasste Liste*, p. 361). Though MS

GA Number	Location	Institute	Shelf Mark	Leaves
GA L2487	New York	Pierpont Morgan Library & Museum	MS M. 1070.4	1
	Cambridge, UK	Parker Library, Corpus Christi Col- lege, Cambridge	MS. 633	16

Table 1. Matching Manuscript Leaves by Gregory-Aland Number

Each of these manuscripts are lectionaries that have been dated between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. L2434 and L2487, listed as fourteenth/fifteenth century received the earliest potential date range. L1584 received a fifteenth century date, and L2282 was dated to the sixteenth century.⁸ For reasons discussed below, the manuscript was likely copied in the early sixteenth century.

The physical traits of the leaves were crucial factors in identifying matches. Each leaf was copied on paper. Their di-

9/2:24 was assigned GA L1584, a lower number, it filled a ‘*frei*’ number that was perhaps inadvertently skipped by von Dobschütz: Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, ANTF 1, 1st ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1964), p. 293, n. 3. In a blog post, Gregory Paulson explains the decision to fill the *frei* numbers in advance of a new print edition of the *Liste*: Gregory Paulson, “‘*Frei*’ Numbers: 10 Newly Added Lectionaries”, Institute for New Testament Textual Research (INTF) Blog (3 February 2020). <https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/intfblog/-/blogs/-frei-numbers-10-newly-added-lectionaries>.

⁸ John W. Taylor, ‘A Greek Lectionary Manuscript at Southwestern Seminary’, *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 52, no. 1 (Fall 2009): pp. 45–47. Taylor found a handwritten note on the folder accompanying the leaf at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary that gives the date 1390. However, the material evidence of a watermark led him to estimate a date in the late fifteen or early sixteenth century. The 1390 date indicates the Southwestern leaf once belonged to the same person who owned the leaf held at the University of Kansas. The Kansas leaf had 1390, also in pencil, written on the mat which held the leaf. Both libraries, sadly, discarded these documents: Unpublished Internal Catalogue Record of the Spencer Research Library by Ann L. Hyde (dated 28 Oct 1964 and 22 Oct 1985), Catalogue IV, Binder B. Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas. I thank N. Kivilcim Yavuz for informing me of this record and sharing a scan of it.

mensions all fall within proximity to one another with height ranging from 305–325 mm and width ranging from 212–225 mm, which allows for variation due to cutting, irregular formation, and shrinking over time in various locations at different rates. The text is consistently formatted in two columns of twenty-three lines. Three of the five manuscript pieces are single leaves (L1584, L2282, L2487 [Pierpont Morgan Library]), and the two other portions (L2434 and L2487 [Corpus Christi College, Cambridge]) contain gatherings with continuous portions of the manuscript plus additional leaves out of sequence from later in the codex. The size and formatting of the various leaves provide evidence that these four entries in the *Liste* were initially part of a single codex.

Additional observations confirm that these leaves were all part of one manuscript. The first is the presence of a folio number written in Greek numerals in the upper right corner of the recto of each leaf. As will be shown below, when these numbers are arranged sequentially, the text follows the proper lectionary sequence. Palaeographic evidence also supports the single-codex conclusion. The leaves were written in an archaïcising form of the Hodegon style minuscule. While the handwriting is not particularly distinct, the leaves clearly were copied by the same hand, shown in Figure 1.

Additionally, L1584, L2282, and L2434 were taped in the same position using the same size pieces of tape. The leaf of L2487 at the Pierpont Morgan Library is still mounted, presumably with tape resembling the other leaves. The Corpus Christi College, Cambridge leaves of L2487 are not taped. Scott Gwara, who donated the leaves to the college in 1991, confirmed the leaves were still bound between Middle Hill boards when he purchased them and have since been rebound. These form the residue of the manuscript after other leaves were removed.

The leaves also show damage and deterioration in the same locations shown in Figure 1. For example, fols. 100 (Cambridge, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, MS 633, fol. 14) and 101 (Lawrence, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, MS 9/2:24) have a round stain from water damage in the centre of the page on the inner margin which spans the two pages in a circular pattern. There is another stain from lines 20–23 in a

triangular pattern. The same patterns of damage in folios at separate collections clearly points toward them being detached parts of a single codex.

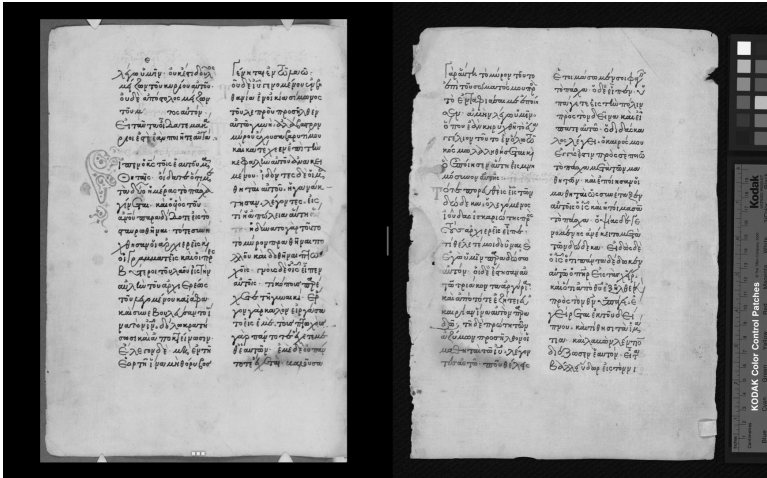


Figure 1. Similar Damage Patterns on Consecutive Leaves.
 Left: Cambridge, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 633, fol. 14v. Right: Lawrence, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, MS 9/2:24

Another important piece of evidence demonstrating that these leaves belonged to the same codex is a matching watermark. John W. Taylor notes the presence of a watermark on L2282 ‘which displays a set of scales within a circle, suspended by a rope or chain incorporating two circles from a six-pointed star’.⁹ He identifies this watermark as Briquet No. 2601.¹⁰ Likewise, Jonathan A. Richie identifies the same Briquet No. 2601 watermark on leaves of L2434.¹¹ This identification matches observations made while I examined the manuscript at the Dunham

⁹ Taylor, ‘A Greek Lectionary Manuscript at Southwestern Seminary’, p. 46.

¹⁰ Taylor, ‘A Greek Lectionary Manuscript at Southwestern Seminary’, p. 47. Taylor’s source for watermarks is C.M. Briquet and Allan Stevenson, *Les Filigranes*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968), p. 184.

¹¹ Jonathan A. Richie, ‘On the Style and Substance in Fragments of a Greek Manuscript’ (Pieces of the Past Essay Contest, Dunham Bible Museum, 2017), p. 3.

Bible Museum and can be seen in the CSNTM's digital images. For L2487, handwritten notes on the text and features compiled by Robert E. Sinkewicz show a sketch of the same watermark design as Briquet No. 2601.¹² This watermark can be seen in the images of L2487. Likewise, the Pierpont Morgan Library catalogue notes a similarly shaped watermark in the object description.¹³ The presence of the same watermark on leaves from three of the four already catalogued manuscripts further substantiates that these leaves belonged to the same manuscript.

The physical traits combined with these specific comparanda conclusively show that these four entries in the *Liste* should be consolidated into a single Gregory-Aland number. The INTF agreed with this conclusion and consolidated the four entries to GA L2434. The fact that this manuscript is already known in five locations raises questions about its history. How was it dismembered? And where is the rest of the manuscript—if it remains extant?

THOMAS PHILLIPPS AND OTTO EGE

The fragments comprising Cambridge, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, MS 633 were previously labelled with two Phillipps numbers. These refer to the personal numbering system of Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), a bibliophile *extraordinaire* from the nineteenth century. During his lifetime, Phillipps amassed a collection of more than 60,000 manuscripts—almost certainly the largest private collection in history.¹⁴ Left with a massive collection and little funds, his heirs began to slowly sell the collection of books and manuscripts, beginning in the late 1800s. Remarkably, it took more than one hundred years to

¹² Unpublished notes on MS 633 by Robert E. Sinkewicz, Pamphlet Box LIV, 6. Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge University. Sinkewicz identified the same watermark in a different catalogue: Dieter and Johanna Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen aus griechischen Handschriften*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Mielke, 1974), p. 237.

¹³ Pierpont Morgan Library. MS. M1070.4.

¹⁴ Toby Burrows, 'Manuscripts of Sir Thomas Phillipps in North American Institutions', *Manuscript Studies* 1, no. 2 (Fall 2017): p. 308.

disperse the entire library. Now, Phillipps's manuscripts line the shelves of libraries around the world.¹⁵

The two reference numbers are Phillipps 20610 and 23124. The two numbers result from a duplicate entry on Phillipps's part; this frequently occurred in his catalogues.¹⁶ In the catalogue of Phillipps's collection, the following description accompanied 20610:

Excerpta ex Evangeliiis. *Græce. a Fragment. Incip.* 'Etelsiws.'
desinit 'Apesteilen.' *f. grn. bds. charta bombye. s. xiv. vel, xv.*¹⁷

The entry for 23124 reads:

Ex Evangelio. *Græce. Fragmentum. fol. lt. grn. bds. ch. s. xiv.*¹⁸

From Phillipps's catalogue, we receive the title 'Excerpts from the Gospels' or 'From the Gospel'. The manuscript was already incomplete, copied on paper with his own light green Middle Hill boards as covers. He dated it to the fourteenth or fifteenth

¹⁵ Toby Burrows, 'The History and Provenance of Manuscripts in the Collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps: New Approaches to Digital Representation', *Speculum* 92/s1 (2017): p. S40; Toby Burrows, 'Collecting Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in Twentieth-Century Great Britain and North America', *Manuscript Worlds* 7, no. 2 (2019): pp. 52–53; Sandra Hindman et al., *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age: Recovery and Reconstruction* (Evanston, IL: Mary and Leigh Block Museum of Art, 2001), p. 64; A.N.L. Munby, *The Dispersal of the Phillipps Library*, Phillipps Studies 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960). Burrows calculated, 'If the Schoenberg Database figures are a reasonable guide, sales of Phillipps manuscripts may have accounted for something like 20–25% of the market for codices during the twentieth century' ('Collecting Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts', p. 53).

¹⁶ A.N.L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library from 1841–1872*, Phillipps Studies 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 165–166.

¹⁷ Thomas Phillipps, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomæ Phillipps, Bart. A.D. 1837* (Middle Hill: Impressus typis Medio-Montanis mense maio, 1837), pp. 381. Phillipps printed his catalogue through his private press but did not update the publication year or even clearly mark the beginning of subsequent additions. Thus, the publication year remains 1837 following the internal publication information even though it was updated multiple times after that.

¹⁸ Phillipps, *Catalogus Librorum*, p. 427.

century. In the first entry, Phillipps also noted the beginning word of the first leaf and last word of the last leaf, which correspond to the first and last words in MS 633. Thus, any remaining leaves from this codex must fall between the first and last leaves owned by Corpus Christi College.

Though Phillipps's catalogue frequently gives detailed notes about the sources of his manuscript acquisitions, this codex was noted in sections labelled 'miscellaneous manuscripts' for both entries—a pattern that became more frequent in the later part of Phillipps's library building.¹⁹ The other dated purchases around the two entries date between 1868–1870, so perhaps these were purchased in the last five years of the collector's life.

While no record of where and when Phillipps acquired the manuscript exists, a handwritten obituary note on Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 633, fol. 16r gives some oblique information about its whereabouts before it arrived in England. The text reads: 14 μηνός αὐγούστου 1816 ἀπέθανε ὁ ἄφ. Φραντσίσκος στάϊς ποτὲ ἄφ. Ἐμμανουήλ καὶ ἐκηδεύθη εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου τῶν Καλητζιάνων παπὰ Πέτρος Καλίτζος ἐφιμέριος.²⁰ The note commemorates the death and burial of a man named Francesco who was buried at the Church of Saint John the Theologian of Kalizia on 14 August 1816. Therefore, sometime before Phillipps acquired it, the manuscript was situated somewhere in the Greek-speaking world. The Italian name Francesco paired with the Greek text and place suggests somewhere within the Venetian empire. Scott Gwara seems to make the same conclusion, identifying the Corpus Christi College leaves as from the Greek Isles.²¹ While this obituary does not push

¹⁹ Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library*, p. 135.

²⁰ I thank Georgi Parpulov for his assistance with the transcription and analysis of this note, which corrects Sinkewicz's transcription in the Parker Library's unpublished notes on the manuscript (Pamphlet Box LIV, 6. Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge).

²¹ Scott Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts: A Study of Ege's Manuscript Collections, Portfolios, and Retail Trade with a Comprehensive Handlist of Manuscripts Collected or Sold* (Cayce, SC: De Brailes, 2013), p. 141. The fragments which constitute Houston, Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University, 2011.63a-d also were associated with the Venetian Empire. The museum acquired the leaves from Christian manuscript

the history of this codex much before Phillipps, it at least marks the *terminus post quem* for its transfer from the Mediterranean regions to Britain. Leaves from other collections indicate what happened to the codex after it left Phillipps's library.

GA L2434 was auctioned at Sotheby's in their 1 December 1947 sale of Phillipps's manuscripts and purchased by Otto F. Ege (1888–1951).²² Ege has one of the most complicated legacies among American manuscript collectors and dealers.²³ He amassed one of the largest personal collections of medieval fragments in North America.²⁴ But Ege is not renowned for having a large collection; rather, he is infamous for what he did with it. In an autobiographical piece written in 1938, Ege confesses, or rather declares, 'For more than twenty-five years I have been one of those "strange, eccentric, book-tearers"'.²⁵ Throughout his career, Otto Ege purchased and sold separate manuscript leaves and scandalously took apart bound manuscripts, selling them in pieces or as sets of leaves. Christopher de Hamel gives a sense of the scope of Ege's book-breaking activity: 'Ege probably destroyed more medieval manuscripts than any single person since the Reformation'.²⁶ Lisa Fagin Davis quantifies Ege's work: 'several

collector Donald L. Brake who purchased them at auction from Swann Galleries in 2004. The auction listing suggests the place they were copied may have been Crete: 'Bible in Greek. New Testament. Lectionary.', Lot 15, *Swann Galleries*, 'Rare Books' 15 April 2004.

²² 'Greek Lectionary', Lot 62, *Bibliotheca Phillipica: Catalogue of a Further Portion of the Renowned Library Formed by the Late Sir Thomas Phillipps . . . Comprising Valuable Autograph Letters and Historical Documents, 1st December 1947* (London: Sotheby & Co., 1947), p. 11.

²³ Fred Porcheddu, 'Otto F. Ege: Teacher, Collector, and Biblioclast', *Art Documentation: Journal of the Art Libraries Society of North America* 26, no. 1 (2007): p. 4–14.

²⁴ Porcheddu, 'Otto F. Ege', p. 5.

²⁵ Otto F. Ege, 'I Am a Biblioclast', *Avocations* 1 (March 1938): p. 516.

²⁶ Christopher de Hamel, 'Cutting Up Manuscripts for Pleasure and Profit', in *The Rare Book School 1995 Yearbook*, ed. Terry Berlinger (Charlottesville, VA: Book Arts, 1996): p. 16. In the same vein, Melissa Conway and Lisa Fagin Davis note the exponential growth in the number of manuscript leaves compared to codices in American collections over the last century, which was significantly influenced by Ege's business and his imitators: 'The Directory of Institutions in the United States and

thousand leaves from several hundred manuscripts that passed through Ege's hands can be identified in at least 115 North American collections in twenty-five states'. These total 'more than 10% of the entire corpus of single leaves in the United States'.²⁷ Lest we simply think of Ege as a ruthless profiteer, he did espouse educational purposes for distributing manuscript leaves:

Surely to allow a thousand people "to have and to hold" an original manuscript leaf, and to get the thrill and understanding that comes only from actual and frequent contact with these art heritages, is justification enough for the scattering of fragments. Few, indeed, can hope to own a complete manuscript book; hundreds, however, may own a leaf.²⁸

Damaging or destroying cultural objects grates against twenty-first century (and twentieth-century) sensibilities and understandings of curatorial care.²⁹ Whatever his goals were, Ege continued dismantling and selling manuscripts until his death in 1951.

Ege distributed both floating or 'rogue' leaves as well as portfolio sets of leaves from various manuscripts and rare books.³⁰ Some sets included as many as fifty fragments from fifty different sources, cut from their bindings, mounted onto boards with object descriptions, and then gathered into a box. Ege created multiple

Canada with Pre-1600 Manuscript Holdings: From its Origins to the Present, and its Role in Tracking the Migration of Manuscripts in North American Repositories', *Manuscripta* 57, no. 2 (2013): p. 173.

²⁷ Lisa Fagin Davis, 'An Echo of the Remnant', *Florilegium* 35 (2022): 20.

²⁸ Ege, 'Biblioclast', p. 518.

²⁹ Roger S. Wieck explores the rise and popularity of collections of single leaves and manuscript cuttings in Europe and the United States in 'Folia Fugitiva: The Pursuit of the Illuminated Manuscript Leaf', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 54 (1996): 233–254. See also Davis, 'An Echo of the Remnant'; Scott Gwara, 'Collections, Compilations, and Convolutés of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Fragments in North America before ca. 1900', *Fragmentology* 3 (2020): pp. 73–139; Christopher de Hamel and Joel Silver, eds., *Disbound and Dispersed: The Leaf Book Considered* (Chicago: The Caxton Club, 2005); and Sandra Hindman et al., *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*.

³⁰ Barbara A. Shailor, 'Otto Ege: Portfolios vs. Leaves', *Manuscripta* 53, no. 1 (2009): p. 17. For a detailed description of Ege's business, see Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, pp. 17–49.

copies of his portfolios with each set including a distinct page from each manuscript. Consequently, leaf number four in one set usually came from the same codex as leaf number four in the other sets in the same series. The portfolios were marketed especially to public and smaller private universities and local libraries where many could not afford to purchase a complete or pristine artifact. Thus, Ege's assemblages are scattered even in city libraries and small university collections, especially in the United States.³¹

After Ege acquired GA L2434 in 1947, it was dismembered with some rogue leaves circulating independently and many included in a portfolio series under the name 'Excerpts from the Evangelists'.³² The Cleveland Museum of Art acquired the earliest detached leaf of the manuscript via purchase from Ege in 1949. The lectionary was incorporated in *Fifteen Original Oriental Manuscript Leaves of Six Centuries, Twelve of the Middle East, Two of Russia and One of Tibet from the Collection of, and with Notes Prepared by Otto F. Ege, Late Dean of the Cleveland Institute of Art, Cleveland, Ohio*. Though Ege did not date his creations, *Oriental* was prepared, or at least finished, posthumously. Gwara discovered a handwritten note on one portfolio that indicates the printed materials were completed circa 1952 'for MRS. Otto Ege', the year after her husband's death.³³ Thus, Ege's widow either completed the preparations for *Oriental* or independently made this final series after his death.³⁴ Corroborating this theory, the earliest acquisition

³¹ Porcheddu, 'Otto F. Ege', p. 11; See also Hindman, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, p. 255–256, on Ege's efforts to bring medieval art and calligraphy to 'the doorstep of America'.

³² Ege likely drew the name from Phillipps, either mistranslating 'Evangeliiis' as evangelists instead of gospels or preferring his version of the title.

³³ Scott Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, p. 35. Capitalisation and underlining from the source.

³⁴ Louise Ege also finished and dispatched one of her husband's seminal portfolios, *Fifty Original Leaves of Medieval Manuscripts*, after his death. See Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, p. 44 and Lisa Fagin Davis, 'The Beauvais Missal: Otto Ege's Scattered Leaves and Digital Surrogacy', *Florilegium* 33 (2016): pp. 143–166. Peter Kidd found that Louise Ege not only completed and marketed manuscript portfolios under Otto Ege's brand after 1951 but also acquired new manuscripts that came into them: 'Louise Ege, Book-Breaker', *Medieval Manuscripts Provenance* blog (3

date for a portfolio I have found is 1957 by the New York State Library and the Memphis Brooks Museum of Art. Furthermore, A.S.G. Edwards notes that many copies were donated by Ege's heirs, often in the 1980s, rather than purchased by the institution.³⁵ This might be the result of sales not beginning until the second half of the 1950s, which left a substantial unsold inventory after her death. The existence of forty sets that include this lectionary presents a significant opportunity for finding additional leaves that are not currently registered in the *Liste*.

MORE LEAVES OF GA L2434

Scott Gwara's Handlist

Scott Gwara completed the most exhaustive research on the location of known Ege portfolios and fragments. In *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, he gives a summary of Ege's acquisition history, appendices on each convolute, and a handlist for each known manuscript. Table 2 provides the twelve locations for *Oriental* and one group of floating leaves listed by Gwara.³⁶ Medievalists and manuscript researchers tracing Ege leaves often follow Gwara's Handlist numbering system—GA L2434 is Handlist 64. In this table, GA number refers to the number prior to the consolidation of all the leaves to GA L2434.

Location	Library	Shelf Mark	GA Number	<i>Oriental</i>
Albany	New York State Library	091 fE29	--	6
Baltimore	Walters Art Museum	W.814	--	15
Buffalo	Oscar A. Silverman Library, University at Buffalo	Z113 .E33 1900z	--	17

December 2017): <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2017/12/louise-ege-book-breaker.html>.

³⁵ A.S.G. Edwards, 'Otto Ege: The Collector as Destroyer', *Manuscripta* 53, no. 1 (2009): p. 9; Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, p. 35 n. 90.

³⁶ Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, p. 103.

Location	Library	Shelf Mark	GA Number	<i>Oriental</i>
Cambridge, UK	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge ³⁷	MS 633	L2487	--
Cincinnati	Cincinnati & Hamilton County Public Library	096.1 ffF469f	--	36
Cleveland	Jessica R. Gund Memorial Library, Cleveland Institute of Art	ND3237 .E33	--	18
Durham	David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University	Z106.5.E18 E34 1950z	--	34
Middlebury, VT	Davis Family Library, Middlebury College	15372178	--	35
Middletown, CT	Olin Library, Wesleyan University	Z113 .E33 1900z	--	38
New York	Brooklyn Museum	Z109 Eg7	--	24
New York	Schwarzman Rare Books Collection, New York Public Library	OFCA + + + 95-3946	--	40
New York	Stephen Chan Library of Fine Arts, New York University	Z105 .F54 1980z	--	25

³⁷ Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 633 was not included in an *Oriental* set. Gwara himself donated the sixteen leaves to the Parker Library in 1991 after purchasing them from H.P. Kraus in 1986. Kraus, an American bookdealer, acquired them from Sotheby's sale on 26 November 1985 in a lot of numerous Ege manuscripts: 'Oriental and Exotic Manuscripts, A Collection of Single Leaves and Fragments [Tenth to Nineteenth Century]', Lot 91, *Sotheby's*, 'Western Manuscripts and Miniatures' 26 November 1985.

Location	Library	Shelf Mark	GA Number	<i>Oriental</i>
	Institute of Fine Arts			
New York	Pierpont Morgan Library & Museum	M.1070.4.	L2487	29

Table 2. Locations of *Oriental* in Gwara

Only L2487 at the Pierpont Morgan Library and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge had already been catalogued in the *Liste*. Thus, ten leaves can be added to the register. A few of the institutions with *Oriental* also own other Greek New Testament manuscripts: Duke University, the New York Public Library, the Pierpont Morgan Library, and the Walters Art Museum. This leaf was not included among their other Greek New Testament manuscripts perhaps because it was no longer readily identifiable as an independent object.³⁸ Gwara's list of the locations holding parts of this lectionary emphasizes that Ege's biblioclast work has had the downstream effect of making it difficult to detect these leaves unless one was studying the portfolio.

Additional Locations

In addition to the portfolios and leaves identified by Gwara, we can add eleven leaves of GA L2434 listed in Table 3, none of which were previously included in the *Liste*. Information about at least three more leaves is available, but they have not been included in Table 3 because their whereabouts are unknown.³⁹

³⁸ For example, this Greek leaf and the other in the portfolio were omitted from the descriptive catalogues of the Greek manuscripts at both the New York Public Library and the Walters Art Museum: Nazedhda Kavrus-Hoffman, 'Catalogue of the Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in Collections of the United States of America: Part II: The New York Public Library', *Manuscripta* 50, no. 1 (2006): pp. 21–76; Georgi R. Parpulov, 'A Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum', *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 62 (2004): pp. 71–187.

³⁹ One leaf was auctioned by Sotheby's in 2003 in *Oriental* 22: 'Otto F. Ege', Lot 312, *Sotheby's*, 'The Travel Sale, Pictures and Near & Middle Eastern Books and Maps' 14 Oct 2003. Another leaf was microfilmed in

These additional fragments of Excerpts from the Evangelists were found in seven copies of *Oriental*—bringing the total number of known sets to nineteen—and two are rogue leaves.

Location	Library	Shelf Mark	Leaves	<i>Oriental</i>
Memphis	Memphis Brooks Museum of Art ⁴⁰	57.183.4	1	?
Cleveland	Cleveland Museum of Art	1949.344	1	--
Cambridge, MA	Houghton Library, Harvard University	MS Am 3398	1	16
Bloomington	Lilly Library, Indiana University	<i>not yet accessioned</i>	2	12
Chicago	Newberry Library	Wing MS 208	1	27
Athens, OH	Mahn Center for Archives and	Farfel-464	1	--

1952 as part of the Ege Microfilm Memorial stored at the Berks County Historical Society in Reading, PA; on the date and nature of the microfilm collection, see Wieck, 'Folia Fugitiva', p. 249 n. 77. I thank Scott Gwara for bringing this leaf to my attention and sharing a scan of the microfilm. The third unknown location comes from *Oriental* 8, which was listed for sale by a New York-based antiquarian bookseller, Donald A. Heald Rare Books, in the spring of 2022. A purchase had not been made at the time of writing. This listing included an image of every leaf allowing the recovery of information about the fragment's contents: 'Ege, Otto F. (1888-1951) Fifteen Original Oriental Manuscripts. 12th-18th Centuries', Donald A. Heald Rare Books. There is possibly a fourth extant leaf, but this cannot be confirmed: In 2020, Forum Auctions sold seven leaves from *Oriental* 20. Of these, three leaves had descriptions indicating the contents, but the other four leaves had no description ('Ege [Otto F.] Fifteen Original Oriental Manuscript Leaves of Six Centuries, number 20 of 40 copies, 7 manuscript leaves only of 15, each mounted in thick paper mounts and with printed description', Lot 85, *Forum Auctions*, 'Books and Works on Paper' 7 May 2020). It is possible that Excerpts from the Evangelists was part of the unnamed leaves. These leaves also appeared at auction in 2014: 'Christian Manuscript Leaves', Lot 303, *Dominic Winter*, 'Printed Books & Maps' 23 July 2014. I would like to thank Katie Leggett for bringing the Forum sale to my attention.

⁴⁰ Recognition and thanks are due to Katie Leggett for finding this leaf and sharing it with me.

	Special Collections, Ohio University			
Ann Arbor	University of Michigan Museum of Art	1959/1.148a 1959/1.148b 1987/1.195.4	3	26 11
Nashville	Jean and Alexander Heard Libraries, Vanderbilt University ⁴¹	MSS.1018	1	23

Table 3. Additional Leaves of GA L2434

The seven copies of *Oriental* are owned by six institutes. The **Memphis Brooks Museum of Art** owns an *Oriental* set, which they acquired in 1957 directly from Louise Ege. This date is tied for the earliest known purchase of an *Oriental* edition. The museum, however, no longer has record of this portfolio's series number. It is not surprising to find a copy of this portfolio and other Ege material at the Brooks Museum because Louise Ege sold manuscript leaves directly from the museum's giftshop after her husband's death.⁴² Two sales occurred within weeks of one another: **Harvard University** acquired *Oriental* 16 by private sale in April 2022 and **Indiana University** bought two leaves of the manuscript by private sale in May 2022. Their portfolio, *Oriental* 12, was sold with seven additional Ege leaves, including one belonging to GA L2434. Both *Oriental* 12 and 16 were sold by Texas-based antiquarian bookseller, Michael Laird Rare Books & Manuscripts, who acquired the compilations directly from Ege's descendants.⁴³ Chicago's **Newberry Library** has one leaf of GA L2434 in *Oriental* 27, which was donated to the library in 1986 by Ege's daughter, Elizabeth Ege Freudenheim and her husband,

⁴¹ I thank Scott Gwara for sharing the location of this leaf with me.

⁴² Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 4 n. 12. I suspect some of the individual leaves of GA L2434 were sold from Memphis during this period.

⁴³ Otto Ege Compilation of 22 Leaves from 'Oriental' Manuscripts, 1952 (MS Am 3398). Houghton Library, Harvard University; also, private correspondence with the seller.

Milton Freudenheim.⁴⁴ The **University of Michigan Museum of Art** owns three leaves of this manuscript from two copies of *Oriental*. The museum acquired the sets separately. In 1959, they purchased *Oriental 26* directly from Louise Ege, and then in 1987, the Freudenheims donated *Oriental 11*. *Oriental 26* is particularly interesting because it contains seventeen leaves: adding an extra leaf of Excerpts from the Evangelists and a Persian manuscript. **Vanderbilt University** acquired *Oriental 23* from auction at Christie's in October 2021 which includes one leaf of GA L2434.⁴⁵

The **Cleveland Museum of Art** owns a rogue leaf purchased from Otto Ege in 1949. The museum published a large photo of the leaf in an educational booklet called *The Art of the Alphabet* along with the object's name and a description.⁴⁶ However, the leaf is not listed in the museum's catalogue because it is part of their Art to Go education program. Objects in this teaching collection are not part of the main catalogue. Without a digital copy of this booklet being available online, the leaf would not have been found.

Ohio University also holds a rogue leaf. It was donated by Gilbert and Ursula Farfel along with more than 200 other leaves from printed books and manuscripts. Gilbert Farfel kept notebooks about his manuscript acquisitions and recorded that this leaf was acquired at Maggs, a London-based dealer, in June 1997.⁴⁷ While the Farfel leaf cannot be connected directly to Ege, the Gilbert and Ursula Farfel Collection of Incunable and Manuscript Leaves includes at least four other leaves which can

⁴⁴ The Newberry Library catalogue's accession notes state: 'Gift 1986': Newberry Library. Wing MS 208. Librarians confirmed this portfolio was donated by the Freudenheims.

⁴⁵ 'Fifteen Original Oriental Manuscripts', Lot 30, *Christie's*, 'Fine Printed Books and Manuscripts Including Americana' 1–15 Oct 2022.

⁴⁶ Laura Martin, *The Art of the Alphabet* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2014), p. 22. This is a fitting title and use of the leaf as Ege himself published a short book titled *The Story of the Alphabet* (Baltimore: Munder, 1921) and intended many of his leaves would be used for teaching.

⁴⁷ Unpublished Notes on Farfel-464 by Gilbert Farfel, Farfel Notebook 06: Leaves 397–468.

be identified as part of *Oriental*.⁴⁸ As these other leaves were not purchased at the same time or from the same place, the Farfels' leaf of GA L2434 may have never been part of a portfolio.

Therefore, to date, forty-five leaves of this Byzantine lectionary have been located at twenty-four different locations.⁴⁹ GA L2434 has been scattered among more institutions than any other manuscript in the *Liste*. It is to be expected that additional floating leaves and portfolios will be identified.

RECONSTRUCTING THE CODEX

The codicological information and biblical text on the leaves allows the reconstruction of the codex. Since Phillipps's catalogue gives the first and last words of the manuscript as it was in his collection and these appear on fols. 32 and 117, no more than eighty-six leaves remained from the codex in the 19th century.⁵⁰ At the point when GA L2434 left the Phillipps collection and was purchased by Ege, all eighty-six leaves remained.⁵¹ Therefore, more than half the leaves (forty-five) belonging to this surviving portion have been identified. As only nineteen of the forty *Oriental* portfolios have been found, discovering the rest of those sets—including the three which were sold in the last twenty years—would result in at least twenty-one more fragments. That would leave only twenty leaves either lost or preserved separately.

The page numbering mechanisms, biblical text, and lectionary headings facilitate reconstructing the order of the leaves. The leaves are enumerated by a folio number in the top right corner and some also have a quire signature centred in the bottom

⁴⁸ These are Farfel-402 (an Armenian lectionary), Farfel-003 (an Ethiopian hymnal), Farfel-ou016 (two leaves of a Slavonic music manuscript), and Farfel-282 (a Slavonic collection of Bible stories).

⁴⁹ The appendix gives the complete current list of locations. The leaves in unknown locations are not included in these totals because it is impossible to confirm their existence.

⁵⁰ Since the obituary note mentioned above appears on the last of the leaves (Cambridge, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, MS 633, fol. 16r), it seems probable the manuscript was incomplete in 1816 when the note was written.

⁵¹ Sotheby & Co, *Bibliotheca Phillipica*, p. 11.

margin. The surviving portions of this Byzantine lectionary only included lessons from the Gospels for Saturday and Sunday and then daily readings during holy seasons from the Synaxarion. Table 4 places the imaged leaves within the codex, including two leaves in unknown locations: one which was included in the Ege Microfilm Memorial and the other sold by Donald A. Heald Rare Books.⁵² The leaves in unknown locations are distinguished by italics. Slashes in the Scripture references separate readings by lection. Some leaves could only be seen on one side because they are mounted on Ege's boards and the conservators chose not to undo the tape to image or examine the opposite side. This is noted by the phrase 'not imaged' in the Scripture reference column. The only leaf in a known location that was not able to be imaged or examined directly is housed at the Walters Art Museum.

Leaf	Location	Scripture Reference
32	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 1	(r) John 17:4-13 (v) John 17:13 / John 14:27-15:5
33	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 2	(r) John 15:5-7 / John 16:2-9 (v) John 16:10-13 / John 16:15-20
34	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 3	(r) John 16:20-23 / John 16:23-27 (v) John 16:27-33 / John 17:18-21
35	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 4	(r) John 17:21-26 / John 21:15-16 (v) John 21:16-22
36	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 5	(r) John 21:24-25 / John 7:37-44 (v) John 7:44-52, 8:12 / Matt 18:10
37	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 6	(r) Matt 18:10-19 (v) Matt 18:19-20
38	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 7	(r) Matt 5:42-48 / Matt 10:32 (v) Matt 10:32-33, 37-38, 19:27-30 / Matt 7:2

⁵² See n. 37.

Leaf	Location	Scripture Reference
39	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 8	(r) Matt 7:2–8 / Matt 4:18–21 (v) Matt 4:21–23 / Matt 7:24–28
40	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 9	(r) Matt 7:28–8:4 / Matt 6:22–24 (v) Matt 6:24–33
41	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 10	(r) Matt 6:33 / Matt 8:14–22 (v) Matt 8:22–23 / Matt 8:5–12
43	Jessica R. Gund Memorial Library, Cleveland Institute of Art	(r) Matt 9:18–26 / Matt 9:1–2 (v) Matt 9:2–8 / Matt 10:37–40
44	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 11	(r) Matt 10:40–11:1 / Matt 9:27–32 (v) Matt 9:32–35 / Matt 12:30–37
47	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 12	(r) Matt 19:5–12 / Matt 18:23–24 (v) Matt 18:24–33
50	New York State Library	(r) Matt 22:16–22 / Matt 21:33–35 (v) Matt 21:35–42 / Matt 23:1–2
51	David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University	(r) Matt 23:2–12 (v) Matt 22:2–10
52	University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1959/1.148a	(r) Matt 22:11–14 / Matt 24:2–6 (v) <i>not imaged</i>
53	University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1959/1.148b	(r) Matt 22:40–46 / Matt 24:34–39 (v) <i>not imaged</i>
54	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 13	(r) Matt 25:14–29 (v) Matt 25:29 / Matt 25:1 / John 3:13
55	Olin Library, Wesleyan University	(r) Luke 4:31–36 / Luke 5:2 (v) Luke 5:2–10
56	University of Michigan Museum of Art 1987/1.195.4	(r) <i>not imaged</i> (v) Luke 5:23–26 / Luke 6:31–35
59	Schwarzman Rare Books Collection, New York Public Library	(r) Luke 7:3–10 / Luke 16:19 (v) Luke 16:19–27

Leaf	Location	Scripture Reference
63	Jean and Alexander Heard Libraries, Vanderbilt University	(r) <i>not imaged</i> (v) Luke 10:30–37 / Luke 9:57–58
65	Newberry Library	(r) <i>not imaged</i> (v) Luke 12:33–40 / Luke 14:16–18
70	A. Webb Roberts Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary	(r) Luke 19:8–19:10 / Luke 18:2–8 / Luke 18:10 (v) Luke 18:10–14 / Luke 20:46–21:1
75	Memphis Brooks Museum of Art	(r) <i>not imaged</i> (v) Matt 25:43–46 / Matt 6:1–4
76	Pierpont Morgan Library & Museum	(r) <i>not imaged</i> (v) Matt 6:13 / Matt 6:14–21
78	Davis Family Library, Middlebury College	(r) John 1:49–51 / Mark 1:35–1:42 (v) Mark 1:42–44 / Mark 2:1–6
79	Houghton Library, Harvard University	(r) Mark 2:6–12 / Mark 2:14–15 (v) Mark 2:16–17 / Mark 8:34–9:1
80	<i>Oriental 8</i>	(r) Mark 9:1 / Mark 7:31–37 / Mark 9:17 (v) <i>not imaged</i>
85	Lilly Library, Indiana University	(r) Matt 21:10–11, 15–17 / John 12:1–6 (v) <i>not imaged</i>
86	Oscar A. Silverman Library, University at Buffalo	(r) John 12:17–18 / Matt 21:18–24 (v) Matt 21:24–32
87	Brooklyn Museum	(r) Matt 21:32–41 (v) Matt 21:41–43 / Matt 24:3–9
88	Cleveland Museum of Art	(r) Matt 24:9–22 (v) <i>not imaged</i>
95	Stephen Chan Library of Fine Arts, New York University Institute of Fine Arts	(r) Matt 25:27–36 (v) Matt 25:36–45
97	Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections, Ohio University	(r) John 12:34–42 (v) John 12:42–50 / Matt 26:6

Leaf	Location	Scripture Reference
98	Cincinnati & Hamilton County Public Library	(r) Luke 22:1–11 (v) Luke 22:11–22
100	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	(r) John 13:6–10 / John 13:12–16 (v) John 13:16–17 / Matt 26:2–12
101	Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas	(r) Matt 26:12–13 / Matt 26:14–20, John 13:3–5 (v) John 13:5–20
102	<i>Ege Microfilm Memorial</i>	(r) <i>not imaged</i> (v) Matt 26:29–37
104	Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University, fol. a	(r) Matt 26:52–60 (v) Matt 26:60–69
105	Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University, fol. b	(r) Matt 26:69–27:2 (v) John 13:31–38
107	Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University, fol. c	(r) John 14:20–28 (v) John 14:28–15:5
109	Lilly Library, Indiana University	(r) John 15:22–16:4 (v) <i>not imaged</i>
111	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 15	(r) John 16:32–17:8 (v) John 17:8–16
114	Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University, fol. d	(r) John 18:23–28 (v) Matt 26:57–67
117	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 16	(r) John 19:12–16 / Matt 27:3–7 (v) Matt 27:7–19

Table 4. Reconstructed Codex in Sequential Order

Eight leaves were able to be placed in sequence based on the synaxaria despite not seeing the folio number either because the leaf was mounted with the verso facing or the leaf was trimmed by Ege. Most of these were simple scenarios where the legible text followed closely that found on securely placed leaves. **University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1987/1.195.4** contains Luke 5:23–26 and Luke 6:31–35 on the verso. These are part of the readings for the second Saturday and Sunday of the Gospel of Luke. The leaf at Wesleyan University, fol. 55 in the codex, contains the

readings for the first Saturday and Sunday of the New Year (Luke 4:31–36 and Luke 5:2–10), which are the first weekend lections in Luke. Consequently, the Michigan leaf can be securely identified as fol. 56. Likewise, the verso of the **Pierpont Morgan Library** leaf contains the readings for the Saturday and Sunday of the last week before Lent (Matt 6:1–13 and 6:14–21). In the synaxarion, these fall before the readings on the page housed at Middlebury College (fol. 78), which begins with John 1:49 from the Sunday of Lent reading. Therefore, this leaf can be identified as fol. 76 with one missing leaf coming between them that would contain Mark 2:23–3:5 and John 1:44–49. Identifying the location of this leaf allowed the fragment at the **Memphis Brooks Museum of Art** to be placed as fol. 75. The text on its verso concludes with part of the reading from the Saturday before Lent (Matt 6:1–4), and this lection ends on the verso of the Pierpont Morgan Library's leaf. The leaf included in *Oriental 8* has the recto showing, but the folio number was lost when Ege trimmed the manuscript. The folio begins with the final words of the third Sunday of Lent (Mark 9:1), so it can be identified as fol. 80. **Indiana University's** leaf in *Oriental 12* also is mounted with the recto showing and the folio number trimmed. The text gives lections for Palm Sunday, meaning it is fol. 85, preceding the leaf at the University at Buffalo which also has Palm Sunday readings. The leaf only known from the **Ege Microfilm Memorial** shows the text of Matthew 26:29–37 on its verso. This is part of the five readings for the holy services around Good Friday. It therefore immediately follows the University of Kansas leaf and is fol. 102.

Three other leaves have folio numbers that could not be read and fall within a part of the codex with multiple missing fragments around them. Still, the leaves could be placed securely by codicological details and analysing the number of leaves needed to accommodate the readings on the missing leaves. Ege mounted the **Vanderbilt University** leaf with the verso facing, which contains the readings for the ninth Sunday in Luke (Luke 10:30–37) and the beginning of the tenth Saturday in Luke (Luke 9:57–58). Unfortunately, there is a gap in known leaves with folio numbers showing between the readings for the fifth week of Luke (fol. 59 at the New York Public Library) and the fifteenth week of

Luke (fol. 70 at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary). Thus, the Vanderbilt leaf cannot be securely sequenced in the codex based on its folio number or biblical text. However, the leaf does have a quire signature ($\theta = 9$) on the recto which can be seen in reverse through the paper. The eighth and eleventh quire signatures are on fol. 55 (Wesleyan University) and fol. 79 (Harvard University). If an eight-leaf quire was used—which is the case for the six of the seven quires where the quire signature remains—then the Vanderbilt leaf would be placed at fol. 63 in the reconstructed codex.⁵³ The leaf at the **Newberry Library** remains mounted with the verso showing and gives the readings for the eleventh week of Luke on the verso (Luke 12:33–40 and Luke 14:16–18). While the folio number cannot be used to place this leaf, it can be approximately placed as fol. 65 in the reconstructed codex based on the position of the Vanderbilt leaf. While approximate, these are reasonable conclusions because the expected readings in Luke would fit on the intervening missing folios (reconstructed fols. 60–62 and 64) and the two rectos which could not be read. The third fragment, **Indiana University's** rogue leaf, bears John 15:22–16:4, which is part of a lengthy reading in the Passion sequence. This text falls between fol. 107 (Dunham Bible Museum fol. c) which covers John 14:20–15:5, and fol. 111 (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, fol. 15). The Indiana University leaf is fol. 109. The leaf before it will cover John 15:5–22, and the verso of the Indiana leaf and the subsequent one will read John 16:4–18:23. Though only forty-five of eighty-six leaves remain, all which could be examined or

⁵³ Quire signatures appear on Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge fol. 8 (quire 6), Olin Library, Wesleyan University (quire 8); Vanderbilt University, Jean and Alexander Heard Libraries (quire 9); Houghton Library, Harvard University (quire 11); Brooklyn Museum (quire 12); Stephen Chan Library of Fine Arts, New York University Institute of Fine Arts (quire 13); and Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge fol. 15 (quire 11). If the eight-leaf quire was used throughout, a signature would have been expected at the reconstructed fol. 47 which is Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge fol. 12 (quire 7). No quire signature is present and the two leaves before and after are still missing, so it cannot be determined whether the quire was shorter or longer.

digitised—including two in unknown locations—could be reconstructed in the codex’s sequence.

CONCLUSION

A.S.G. Edwards lamented, ‘What [Otto Ege] left for posterity is a problem of enormous complexity, given both the number of manuscripts he dismembered, the other leaves he sold, and the current geographical range of their dispersal’.⁵⁴ This Byzantine lectionary with the ill-fortune of being included in one of Ege’s portfolios represents the challenges faced in the recovery and reconstruction of the manuscripts he broke apart. This study of GA L2434 adds nineteen locations and twenty-two leaves to those already entered in the *Liste*. Thus, this manuscript has been scattered to a total of twenty-four locations and forty-five leaves are now known to exist. Based on the evidence supplied in this chapter, the INTF consolidated the four existing GA numbers to GA L2434 and added all the locations previously unknown to New Testament textual scholars. Though it already is the most widely scattered Greek New Testament manuscript, I expect additional leaves to be identified in other libraries and museums across the United States and the world. This research shows that the fragments, even later ones like GA L2434, deserve careful study and may have histories as intriguing as the most well-known codices⁵⁵

Gwara’s Handlist reports that Otto Ege owned two other Greek New Testament manuscripts in the *Liste*—also noted by Jeff Cate—numbered GA 2438 (Handlist 281) and L1672 (Handlist

⁵⁴ Edwards, ‘Otto Ege: Collector as Destroyer’, p. 10.

⁵⁵ Athina Almpanti and Agamemnon Tselikas, ‘Manuscript Fragments in Greek Libraries’, *Fragmentology* 2 (2019): pp. 87–113. Almpanti and Tselikas found that ten to twenty percent of the total number of Greek manuscripts in Greece and regional Orthodox libraries are fragments and discussed two tenth-century Greek lectionaries that had not been catalogued in the *Liste* in their case studies. Their work shows the significant opportunity to find additional uncatalogued manuscripts and reconstruct broken manuscripts by studying the fragments.

282), but their present locations are unknown.⁵⁶ Furthermore, Gwara also notes an uncatalogued twelfth-century manuscript which might not be dismembered.⁵⁷ In 2015, the Beinecke Library at Yale University acquired a ‘treasure trove’ of the Ege collection from his grandchildren. Their announcement stated that more than fifty unbroken manuscripts were donated as well as pieces of dismembered codices. The Beinecke promises the collection will be available for research once it is catalogued.⁵⁸ To date, the collection remains unprocessed.⁵⁹ Four *Oriental* sets appeared for sale between October 2021 and May 2022, as noted above. Some of these were sold by dealers who purchased the objects directly from Ege’s heirs. Thus, hope remains that additional leaves of GA L2434 will resurface over time and perhaps the other missing Greek New Testament manuscripts. Between the recovery of additional leaves of this Byzantine lectionary and his other Greek New Testament manuscripts, work remains to be done on identifying and cataloguing Ege’s Greek New Testament manuscripts.

APPENDIX: COMPLETE LIST OF MANUSCRIPT LOCATIONS

Location	Library	Shelf Mark	<i>Oriental</i>	GA	Leaves
Albany	New York State Library	091 fE29	6	--	1
Ann Arbor	University of Michigan Museum of Art	1959/1.148A 1959/1.148B 1987/1.195.4	26 (1959) 11 (1987)	--	3

⁵⁶ Gwara, *Otto Ege’s Manuscripts*, 191; Jeff Cate, ‘Greek New Testament Manuscripts in California’, *The Folio* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2012): pp. 3, 8.

⁵⁷ I would like to thank, again, Scott Gwara for providing more information and images of this manuscript from his own research trips.

⁵⁸ Mike Cummings, ‘Beinecke Library Acquires “Treasure Trove” of Medieval Manuscripts from a Famed “Book Breaker”’, *Yale News* (15 November 2015), <https://news.yale.edu/2015/11/15/beinecke-library-acquires-treasure-trove-medieval-manuscripts-famed-book-breaker>.

⁵⁹ Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, ‘Otto F. Ege’ Collection’, 2016-gene-0014. The call number refers to the entire collection and is described as ‘35 linear feet (20 boxes, 5 flat parcels, 1 wooden crate, 4 totes)’. Three other unprocessed additions to the collection are given the call numbers: 2016-gene-0017, 2016-gene-0018, and 2017-gene-0029.

Location	Library	Shelf Mark	Oriental	GA	Leaves
Athens, OH	Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections, Ohio University	Farfel-464	--	--	1
Baltimore	Walters Art Museum	W.814	15	--	1
Bloomington	Lilly Library, Indiana University	<i>not yet accessioned</i>	12		2
Buffalo	Oscar A. Silverman Library, University at Buffalo	Z113 .E33 1900z	17	--	1
Cambridge, MA	Houghton Library, Harvard University	MS Am 3398	16	--	1
Cambridge, UK	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	MS. 633	--	L2487	16
Chicago	Newberry Library	Wing MS 208	27	--	1
Cincinnati	Cincinnati & Hamilton County Public Library	096.1 ffF469f	36	--	1
Cleveland	Jessica R. Gund Memorial Library, Cleveland Institute of Art	ND3237 .E33	18	--	1
Cleveland	Cleveland Museum of Art	1949.344	--	--	1
Durham	David M. Rubenstein Rare Book &	Z106.5.E18 E34 1950z	34	--	1

Location	Library	Shelf Mark	Oriental	GA	Leaves
	Manuscript Library, Duke University				
Fort Worth	A. Webb Roberts Library, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary	Gr. MS. 1	--	L2282	1
Houston	Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University	2011.63a	--	L2434	4
Lawrence, KS	Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas	MS 9/2:24	--	L1584	1
Memphis	Memphis Brooks Museum of Art	57.183.4	?	--	1
Middlebury, VT	Davis Family Library, Middlebury College	15372178	35	--	1
Middletown, CT	Olin Library, Wesleyan University	Z113 .E33 1900z	38	--	1
Nashville	Jean and Alexander Heard Libraries, Vanderbilt University	MSS.1018	23		1
New York	Brooklyn Museum	Z109 Eg7	24	--	1
New York	Schwarzman Rare Books Collection, New York	OFCA + + + 95-3946	40	--	1

Location	Library	Shelf Mark	<i>Oriental</i>	GA	Leaves
	Public Library				
New York	Stephen Chan Library of Fine Arts, New York University Institute of Fine Arts	Z105 .F54 1980z	25	--	1
New York	Pierpont Morgan Library & Museum	M.1070.4.	29	L2487	1

Table 5. Complete List of Manuscript Locations

3. THE ARABIC TEXT OF ROMANS 1:1–9A; 24B–29 IN SINAI GREEK NEW FINDS MAJUSCULE 2

DUANE G. MCCRORY*

There has been a recent surge in scholarship on the Arabic versions in the last decade and a half, including the published PhD dissertations of Hikmat Kashouh on the Arabic versions of the Gospels, Sara Schulthess on the text of Vatican Arabic 13 (hereafter VA13) in 1 Corinthians and Vevian Zaki on the Arabic versions of the Pauline Epistles, articles by Monferrer-Sala on Matthew 13 and Philemon in VA13, Vevian Zaki on what she calls three recensions of the Pauline Epistles and on Sinai Arabic 151 (hereafter SA151), and Jack Tannous's short article on Sinai Greek New Finds Majuscule 2 (hereafter MG2).¹ However, in the introductions to the

* I give my sincerest thanks to Emanuele Scieri, Andrew Patton, and to the anonymous readers for their helpful suggestions and corrections, and to Hugh Houghton for organising the Birmingham Colloquium. Any remaining errors are my own.

¹ Hikmat Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: The Manuscripts and Their Families* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012); Sara Schulthess, *Les manuscrits arabes des lettres de Paul: État de la question et étude de cas (1 Corinthiens dans le Vat. Ar. 13)* ANTF 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2018); Vevian Zaki, *The Pauline Epistles in Arabic: Manuscripts, Versions, and Transmission*, *Biblia Arabica* 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2022); Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, 'An Early Fragmentary Christian Palestinian Rendition of the Gospels into Arabic from Mār Sābā (MS Vat. Ar. 13, 9th c.)', *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 1 (2013), pp. 69–113; Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, 'The

standard critical text of Nestle-Aland and the United Bible Societies, currently NA28 and UBS5, there is no reference to the Arabic versions, nor are they cited in the apparatus of the Pauline Epistles.² A note in the introduction to UBS3 mentions that it cites the Arabic versions rarely, but even that note (and presumably the rare citations of the Arabic versions) is absent from UBS5.³ Scholarly interest in the Arabic versions has increased, but much work remains to be done to identify Greek variants behind Arabic translations for these manuscripts to gain a hearing for their testimony to the history of the New Testament text.⁴

MG2 is the only known bilingual Greek-Arabic manuscript of the Pauline Epistles and is written in two columns. The Greek column has been assigned Gregory-Aland number 0278 and is one of the consistently cited witnesses in NA28, though not in UBS5.⁵ This paper examines the remaining fragments of Romans contained in the first two folios of MG2.⁶ In his 2019 article Tannous examines fifteen test passages throughout the entire

Pauline Epistle to Philemon from Codex Vatican Arabic 13 (Ninth Century CE) Transcription and Study', *JSS* 60.2 (2015), pp. 341–371; Vevian Zaki, 'The Textual History of the Arabic Pauline Epistles: One Version, Three Recensions, Six Manuscripts', in *Senses of Scripture, Treasures of Tradition: The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims*, ed. Miriam L. Hjälms, *Biblia Arabica* 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 392–424; Vevian F. Zaki, 'A Dynamic History: MS Sinai, Arabic 151 in the Hands of Scribes, Readers, and Restorers', *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 11 (2020): pp. 200–259; Jack Tannous, 'A Greco-Arabic Palimpsest from the Sinai New Finds: Some Preliminary Observations,' in *Heirs of the Apostles: Studies on Arabic Christianity in Honor of Sidney H. Griffith*, ed. David Bertaina et al., *Arabic Christianity* 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 426–445.

² NA28, pp. 23*–34* and 67*–77*; UBS5, pp. 30*–35*.

³ UBS3, pp. xxxii and xxxvi.

⁴ Most of these studies concern themselves with establishing *Vorlagen* of the Arabic manuscripts and do not refer to Greek variants at all. Although MG2's exemplar has a Syriac *Vorlage*, for several variants below MG2 could be cited as supporting Greek readings.

⁵ NA28, pp. 20*–22* and 63*–65*; UBS5, pp. 16*–23*.

⁶ I have used the digital images from the Sinai Palimpsest Project to transcribe the Greek and Arabic text of Romans in MG2 at <https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/viewer/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1862z2p>.

Pauline corpus in MG2 comparing the Arabic to the Greek columns and to the Syriac Peshitta, tentatively concluding that it follows the Peshitta relatively literally, but noting that there are several places where it might have been corrected against the Harklean Syriac version.⁷ From the fragments of Romans, only Romans 1:3 is included in his test passages and the present study examines the entire extant text of Romans to determine its relationship to the Greek column and its *Vorlage*.

The primary focus of the manuscript is clearly the Greek column, which is written in majuscule script. There are more rubrics in Greek both in the title on the first folio, *πρὸς ῥωμαίους παύλου ἐπιστολή*, which runs the width of the page across both columns, and the *κεφάλαια* markings which are only in Greek letters usually next to the Greek column. Each *κεφάλαιον* begins with a large capital Greek letter. There is an Arabic header across from the Greek one above the title, most likely indicating lections, but the beginning is lacunose due to a hole in the page. The Greek letters at the beginning of each epistle are a numbering system of the order of the Pauline Epistles, so that $\bar{\alpha}$ in the margin below the large capital Π in *Παῦλος* designates Romans as the first letter in the Pauline letter collection contained in this manuscript.⁸ Fol. 3v does have *κεφάλαιον* $\bar{\epsilon}$ at 1 Corinthians 8:1 next to a large capital letter, which shows that the *κεφάλαια* start anew with each epistle. The *ἀρχ(ή)* above and to the left of *Παῦλος* indicates the beginning of a lection, which is described at the top of the page as *ἀνάγνω(σμα) τῆς κυρια(κῆ) ...]ν ἐν συνα(ξάριω)* ('the reading of the Sunday ... in the Synaxarion') but the folio is lacunose at the point where it would specify which Sunday it is. The heading is very similar to the one in Ephesians on fol. 24r, which has *ἀνάγνω(σμα) τῆς κυρια(κῆ) τῶ(ν) βαϊῶν ἐν συναξ(άριω)* ('the reading of the Sunday of the Palms in the Synaxarion'), which is also the Palm Sunday reading in VA13 (*βαϊῶν ἐλόγιτ[ῶν]*). The extant *κ* for *κυρια(κῆ)* is present in the heading for Romans and is written in the same way as the one for

⁷ Tannous, 'A Greco-Arabic Palimpsest', pp. 426–445.

⁸ This is further confirmed by other numbers for Epistles in this manuscript where the beginning is extant, $\bar{\delta}$ for Galatians on fol. 7r, $\bar{\epsilon}$ for Ephesians on fol. 24r, $\bar{\eta}$ for 1 Thessalonians on fol. 58v, $\bar{\theta}$ for 2 Thessalonians on fol. 72r, and $\bar{\iota}$ for Hebrews on fol. 79r.

Ephesians, which makes it clear that Romans 1:1 began a Sunday reading, possibly according to the Jerusalem lectionary, because it should be a Tuesday reading according to the Byzantine lectionary.⁹ MG2 follows the same lectionary system found in VA13, which has Romans 1:1 as the beginning of a Sunday reading, albeit without a description.

There are some important limitations of Arabic which mean that certain features of the text found in MG2 must not be used to support variant readings. Among these are the presence or absence of the definite article in Arabic. As one example of many, not a single Greek word in Romans 1:1 has the definite article, but in Arabic, most are made definite either because they have the definite article or because they are part of a construct phrase that makes them definite. These are عبد (construct) for δοῦλος, المسيح for Χριστοῦ, المدعو for κλητός, الرسول for ἀπόστολος, أنجيل (construct) for εὐαγγέλιον and الله for θεοῦ. As in the Peshitta, the word order for variants involving divine names such as Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ or Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ cannot be determined reliably from their Arabic translation.¹⁰ In MG2 and the Arabic manuscript tradition in general, the translation يسوع المسيح ('Jesus the Christ'), with some variant spellings of the name Jesus, is commonly found. Only a few isolated manuscripts such as VA13 and BNFC17¹¹ read المسيح يسوع ('the Christ, Jesus') in the few cases where the order Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ appears in the Greek or ⲡⲬⲚⲓⲛⲥ in the Coptic text.¹² A third type of Greek

⁹ See Sebastia Janeras, 'Les lectionnaires de l'ancienne liturgie de Jérusalem', *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 2 (2005), pp. 71–92, for a study of the Jerusalem Lectionary and its manuscripts. See also Samuel Gibson, *The Apostolos: The Acts and Epistles in Byzantine Liturgical Manuscripts*, TS(III) 18 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2018), pp. 45–47 which discusses the influence of the Jerusalem Lectionary on the Byzantine rite, and 258 for this reading in the latter.

¹⁰ Peter J. Williams, 'An Evaluation of the Use of the Peshitta as a Textual Witness to Romans', *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 13 (2008): p. 2.

¹¹ This is a bilingual Coptic-Arabic manuscript in the BnF: see Table 1 below.

¹² To demonstrate further, in Ephesians 1:1 on fol. 24r where the Greek column has $\bar{\chi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}\bar{\varsigma}$, the Arabic column has أسوع المسيح, and again at the end of the verse where the Greek column has ἐν $\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega}$ $\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}$, the Arabic column has يسوع المسيح. This does not necessarily indicate disagreement from the Greek

variant which cannot be rendered in Arabic translations is θεοῦ, which if it refers to ‘God’ and not ‘a god’ is always الله (‘the God’) in MG2. For *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης* in Romans 1:4, the Arabic column has بروح القدس, ‘by the Spirit of Holiness’ or simply, ‘by the Holy Spirit,’ which is the standard Arabic rendering of Holy Spirit, even occurring in this form in the Qur’an at 2:253.

Acknowledging these limitations, what follows is an analysis of the extant portion of Romans in MG2, beginning with the Greek variant readings and analysing the differences between the Greek and Arabic columns.¹³ Next is a comparison of MG2 to the Syriac Peshitta and other Arabic manuscripts to determine the source of the differences. The analysis concludes with a discussion of its unique readings and the reasons these might have been created, either by the scribe or in the exemplar. Table 1 lists the sigla used in this study with the shelfmark, date and, where available, websites with digital images for all of the Arabic manuscripts that were consulted for comparison to the text of MG2.

Siglum	Shelfmark	Date	Website for Images
460 ^{a,g,l}	Venice, BNM, Gr. Z. 11 (Arabic, Greek, Latin) ¹⁴	13 th cent. CE	http://www.internetculturale.it
A39K	Aleppo, Syriac Orthodox Archdio- cese N. 39 (k)	1479 CE	https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom

column so much as it demonstrates how fixed this form had become in most Arabic manuscripts.

¹³ Appendix A has a full transcription of the Greek and Arabic columns for the extant part of Romans and Appendix B has a table with the singular and subsingular Greek variant readings.

¹⁴ 460 is the Gregory-Aland number for the Greek column of this trilingual Greek-Latin-Arabic manuscript. For simplicity, I have used g for Greek, l for Latin, and a for Arabic to designate the columns.

ADul	Duluth, Minnesota, Kathryn A. Martin Library, (no number)	15 th cent. CE	
ANS327	St Petersburg, NLR, Arabic New Series 327	892 CE	
BNFa6274	Paris, BnF, Arabe 6274	18 th cent. CE	https://gallica.bnf.fr
BNFa6725	Paris, BnF, Arabe 6725	918 CE	https://gallica.bnf.fr
BNFc17	Paris, BnF, Copte 17	13 th cent. CE	https://gallica.bnf.fr
BNFs50	Paris, BnF, Syriaque 50	1187 CE	https://gallica.bnf.fr
COP13-7	Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bible 154	1253 CE	https://archive.org
E1625	Madrid, El Escorial, Ar. 1625 (Cas 1620)	18 th cent. CE	
H1	Homs, Archdiocese of the Greek Orthodox, 1	not dated	https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom
JSM263	Jerusalem, St. Mark Syrian Orthodox Monastery, 263	16 th cent. CE	https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom
LA2	Leiden, Univ., Acad. 2	14 th cent. CE	https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl

MG2	Sinai Greek NF MG2	9 th cent. CE	https://sinai.library.ucla.edu
MO4	Venice, BNM, Or. 4	16 th cent. CE	
RC867	St Peters- burg, Insti- tute of Ori- ental Man- uscripts Russian Academy of Sciences, C 867	13 th cent. CE	
SA147	Sinai, SCM, Arabic 147	13 th cent. CE	https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu
SA151	Sinai, SCM, Arabic 151	867 CE	https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu
SA155	Sinai, SCM, Arabic 155	9 th cent. CE	https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu
SA156	Sinai, SCM, Arabic 156	1316 CE	https://www.loc.gov/item
SA158	Sinai, SCM, Arabic 158	1232 CE	https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu
SA164 ^L	Sinai, SCM, Arabic 164	1238 CE	https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu
SA167	Sinai, SCM, Arabic 167	1255 CE	https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu
SA168	Sinai, SCM, Arabic 168	1238 CE	https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu
SA175 ^L	Sinai, SCM, Arabic 175	1225 CE	https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu
SA436	Sinai, SCM, Arabic 436	10 th cent. CE	https://www.loc.gov

VA13	Vatican, BAV, Vat. ar. 13	10 th cent. CE	https://digi.vatlib.it
VA28	Vatican, BAV, Vat. ar. 28	1271 CE	https://digi.vatlib.it
VBA63 ^L	Vatican, BAV, Borg. ar. 63	1741 CE	https://digi.vatlib.it
WG32	Wolfen- büttel, Herzog- August Bibliothek, Gud. Gr. 32	16 th cent. CE	

Table 1. Arabic Manuscripts Consulted

Though any conclusions about the *Vorlage* of MG2 remain tentative because such a small portion of Romans is extant, I consider the suggestions of Tannous and provide further evidence regarding its relationship to the Peshitta, but also show that, *contra* Tannous, in Romans it does not correct the Arabic text to that of the Harklean Syriac.

GREEK VARIANTS

Rather than beginning by comparing the Arabic column to the Syriac in places where it disagrees with the Greek column, it is necessary first to establish how the Arabic text of MG2 relates to the entire Greek textual tradition in places where there is known textual variation, so that one does not assume that differences between the Arabic and Greek columns are due to a different *Vorlage* without further analysis. In the extant portion of Romans in MG2, there are forty-eight instances of variation in Greek manuscripts depending on how one determines a variation unit—excluding spelling variations. I have presented a table of the genetically significant Greek variants with the critical text of NA28 as the first reading, followed by known variant readings with the Greek manuscripts and versions that support them in subsequent columns. Instead of listing all manuscripts and versions that agree

with the critical text in each variant, I have used the following method. Where there are 15 Greek manuscripts or fewer I have listed all of them with the critical text. If more than 15 Greek manuscripts agree with the critical text I have used the Latin abbreviation *rell.* to indicate that all Greek manuscripts except for the ones listed for other variant readings agree with the critical text. I included 0278, MG2 and the Syriac versions, commenting on other versions in the analysis of the variant readings when relevant. I consulted the apparatus of NA28 and UBS5, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*, von Soden's critical edition and textual commentary, and, occasionally, Swanson's edition of Romans to locate variant readings.¹⁵ I verified von Soden's readings using images from the NTVMR when possible. For the text of the Syriac Peshitta and the Harklean version I used Aland and Juckel's *Das Neue Testament in Syrischer Überlieferung*.¹⁶ Though not included in the table, for the other versions I consulted Horner's edition and Kneip's unpublished M.A. thesis for the Sahidic Coptic, Horner's edition for the Bohairic Coptic, Houghton's edition for the Latin versions, Abraha's edition for the Ethiopic, and my own transcriptions for other Arabic manuscripts.¹⁷

¹⁵ Klaus Junack et. al., eds., *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus. II. Die Paulinischen Briefe*, 2 vols., ANTF 12 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989–1984); Hermann Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, 4 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911–1913), 1:2. Reuben Swanson, ed., *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Romans* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House; and Pasadena: William Carey International University Press, 2001).

¹⁶ Barbara Aland and Andreas Juckel, eds., *Das Neue Testament in Syrischer Überlieferung. II. Die Paulinischen Briefe*, 3 vols., ANTF 14, 23, 32 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991–2002).

¹⁷ George William Horner, ed., *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, Otherwise Called Sahidic and Thebaic*, 7 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920; repr. Osnabrück: Zeller, 1911–1924); David Kneip, 'The Text of Romans in Sahidic Coptic' (unpubl. diss., Abilene Christian University, 2004); George William Horner, ed., *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect, Otherwise Called Memphitic and Bohairic*, 4 vols. (London: Clarendon Press, 1905; repr. Osnabrück: Zeller, 1969), 3; H.A.G. Houghton et. al., eds., *The Principal Pauline Epistles: A Collation of Old Latin Witnesses*, NTTSD 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2019); Tedros

Variant	Romans	Critical Text	Reading B	Reading C
1	1:1	Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ Ⲫ ¹⁰ 03 81	Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 0278 <i>rell.</i> syr ^{p,h,pal} MG2	
2	1:3	τοῦ γενομένου 0278 61 ^c <i>rell.</i> syr ^{h,pal}	τοῦ γεννωμένου 51 ^{(*)c} 61* 441 syr ^(p) MG2	
3	1:4	κυρίου 0278 ^{vid} <i>rell.</i> MG2 460 ^a	θεοῦ 323 460 ^{a,l} 1738	
4	1:7	ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ 0278 <i>rell.</i> syr ^{p,h,pal} MG2	ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ 012	
5	1:8	περί 01 02 03 04 06* 018 0151 33 81 104 630 1505 1506 1739 1881 syr ^{p,h}	ὑπέρ 06 ² 010 020 025 044 049 056 0142 0278 1175 1241 2464 MG2	
6	1:9	μου ¹ Ⲫ ^{26vid} 01 02 03 04 06 ² 018 020 025 0151	μοι 06* 010 044 056 0142 424 1505 1506 syr ^{p vid,h} MG2 ^{vid}	lac. 0278
7	1:24	αὐτοῖς Ⲫ ^{40vid} 01 02 03 04 06* 81 104 1881* syr ^{p,h} MG2 ^{vid}	ἐαυτοῖς 06 ² 010 018 020 025 044 049 056 0142 0151 0278 33 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1506 1739 1881 ^c 2464	
8	1:25	τῇ κτίσει <i>rell.</i>	τὴν κτίσιν 025 ^c (025* κτησιν) (0278 τὴν κτη[σ]ειν) (999 τὸν κτίσιν)	
9	1:26	φύσιν 0278 <i>rell.</i> syr ^h	φύσιν χρῆσιν 06* 012 syr ^(p) MG2 ^{vid}	

Abraha, *La lettera ai Romani: Testo e commentari della versione Etiopica*, Äthiopistische Forschungen 57 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001).

10 ¹⁸	1:27	τε 01 03 06 ¹ 018 020 049 ^c 056 0151 81 365 1175 1241 1836 2464 syr ^p vid	δέ 02 06* 012 025 044 33 104 630 1505 1739 1881 syr ^h MG2 ^{vid}	om. 04 049* 0278 1827
11	1:27	ἐαυτοῖς 0278 rell. syr ^{p,h} MG2	αὐτοῖς 03 018 0151 104* 1506	
12	1:28	ὁ θεός 0278 rell. syr ^{p,h} MG2	om. 01* 02 0172* 1827 1845 2815	
13 ¹⁹	1:29	πονηρία πλεονεξία κακία 03 0172 ^{vid} 6 424 ^c 1739 1881	πορνεία πονηρία πλεονεξία κακία 020 044 049 056 0142 0278 ^{vid} 88 256 263 365 424* 429 436 460 917 1175 1241 1245 1319 1573 1962 2127 2200 2464 2492 syr ^h (MG2)	(πορνεία πονηρία κακία πλεονεξία syr ^p)

Table 2. Genetically Significant Greek Variants

There are 13 genetically significant variants in the extant portion of MG2. The Greek and Arabic columns agree in seven of them, two cannot be determined and they disagree four times. For the agreements, in Romans 1:7 I have combined what NA28 lists as two separate variants to show that MG2 and 0278 do not agree with the omission of ἐν ᾿Ρώμῃ as in 012. In Romans 1:28 neither lacks ὁ θεός, omitted in 01* 02 0172* 1827 1845 2815 and in the

¹⁸ The majority of Greek manuscripts are split between the critical text and reading B so that I have only listed the consistently-cited witnesses in NA28 for each of those readings

¹⁹ There are at least ten other readings and the syr^p reading does not exist in any Greek manuscript; however, I have included these for comparison and analysis between MG2 and 0278.

Arabic manuscripts SA155 and BNFa6725. Romans 1:29 is a complicated variant that has at least twelve variant readings in Greek, but MG2 clearly agrees with the order of the Greek column. In Table 2, I only list three readings for this variant, one of which I created from the order of the Peshitta, ܐܫܘܢܐ ܐܫܘܠܘܠܐ ܐܫܘܥܘܐ ܐܫܘܢܘܘܐ, in what would be the reading of its Greek *Vorlage* if one existed. Despite an itacism and two incorrect circumflex accents, the order of 0278 is certain. MG2 agrees with this order, reading وزني وشراره وشره وفسق, except that it has the added conjunction و before each of the terms like the Peshitta, both Coptic versions, and some Arabic manuscripts of the same recension with a Greek *Vorlage*, namely SA175^L, SA158, SA168, H1, and VBA63^L. The apparatus of UBS5 and NA28 list syr^(p) for the same reading as 0278 and MG2 in parentheses most likely due to the difference in word order for πλεονεξία and κακία. The Peshitta has ܐܫܘܢܘܘܐ, meaning ‘bitterness; harshness, cruelty’ after the word for πορνεία and has the word for πλεονεξία at the end after κακία.²⁰ If ܐܫܘܢܘܘܐ translates πονηρία syr^p would still not belong with this reading, but should have its own, separate reading with the order πορνεία πονηρία κακία πλεονεξία.²¹ Although this order is not a known Greek variant, the Arabic manuscripts A39K, ADul, WG32, JSM263, and BNFa6274 agree exactly with the Peshitta, while BNFa6725, SA436, and SA159 have the same word order without the added conjunction و before each of the terms. Unfortunately, P.J. Williams does not reference this verse in his article on the Peshitta in the NA27 apparatus;²² however, whether the Peshitta’s word order derives from a Greek manuscript is inconsequential to the point that MG2 does not agree with the Peshitta in this variant.

²⁰ Jessie Payne Smith, ed., *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary Founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith, D. D.* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998), p. 301b.

²¹ Aland-Juckel have this word by itself with no parallel in syr^h so that they do not seem to consider it to be a translation of πονηρία. However, when one compares 1 Corinthians 5:8, ἐν ζύμῃ κακίας καὶ πονηρίας, syr^p has ܐܫܘܢܘܘܐ ܐܫܘܥܘܐ ܐܫܘܠܘܠܐ, which seems to indicate that the translator of the Peshitta did use ܐܫܘܢܘܘܐ to translate πονηρία.

²² Williams, ‘An Evaluation’, p. 3.

While there is some uncertainty with the variants in Romans 1:1, 4, and 8, it seems clear the Greek and Arabic columns do agree in these readings. In Romans 1:1, the Greek and Arabic columns agree in the order Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ with most of the rest of the Greek manuscript tradition as well as most versional evidence against the reading of the critical text of NA28, although what MG2 has is the standard Arabic for this name. The form could show influence from the Syriac, which has ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ in all five locations in the extant text of Romans in MG2, but one should not make too strong a connection without further evidence. For the variant concerning κυρίου or θεοῦ in Romans 1:4, 0278 has the top right corner of what is probably a K visible since there is no middle line that would indicate a Θ like the one in line 4 of this page, ΘΥ, so the columns agree on the variant κυρίου. In Romans 1:8, which involves the substitution of a preposition, deciding whether MG2 agrees with the Greek must remain tentative because prepositions rarely have an exact equivalence between the source and target languages. However, based on a comparison of prepositions used in Romans 1:3 where there is no textual variation, here in 1:8, and Ephesians 6:18–19 it seems probable that both Syriac versions agree with περί and MG2 with ὑπέρ for this verse. In Romans 1:3, the Greek column has περί and in 1:8 ὑπέρ, while the Arabic column also changes prepositions with على in 1:3 and عن in 1:8. MG2 has عن in Ephesians 6:18 and 6:19 for ὑπέρ in the Greek column of both verses, though the NA28 apparatus does not note the reading of ὑπέρ for 0278 in Ephesians 6:18 even though it is one of the consistently cited witnesses. For the Syriac versions in Romans 1:3 and 1:8 each has the same preposition both times. Syr^p has ܠܥܢܐ and syr^h has ܠܥܢܐ, the latter of which is back-translated both times as περί in Aland-Juckel.²³ It is reasonable to suggest that since the Peshitta also has the same preposition for both verses, and since Romans 1:3 has περί with no textual variation, that this also translates περί in Romans 1:8 against 0278 and MG2.

The two variants for which one cannot determine agreement are that of the first μου and the variant μοι in Romans 1:9, and the

²³ Aland and Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in Syrischer Überlieferung*, p. 560.

accusative τῆν κτίσιν in 0278 in Romans 1:25 with 025 999 against the dative τῇ κτίσει in the rest of the Greek manuscripts. For the variant in Romans 1:9, there is a hole in the Greek column where the variant would be, but the Arabic column is readable. It follows the reading μοι with قد يشهد لي, ‘he might witness to me,’ or ‘he indeed witnesses to me’. There are two possibilities because the normal use of قد with the imperfect means, ‘sometimes, at times; perhaps, or English “may”, “might”’.²⁴ However, Lane notes that it could have the sense of certainty, with the meaning ‘indeed’.²⁵ In the latter case MG2 would agree with the emphasis present in the Peshitta reading, ܠܗ ܘܢܘܨܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܥܘܕܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ, the participle plus the enclitic, which has the sense of emphasis, ‘for it is God who is the witness to me’, or the Harklean, ܘܢܘܨܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܥܘܕܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ, which is nearly the same as the Peshitta except it has the emphatic form of the participle and ܘܢܘܨܐ instead of ܘܢܘܨܐ. Arabic does not have a dative case, so one cannot be certain whether it agrees with the accusative case in 0278 for the variant in Romans 1:25, but it does have the plural الخلائق (‘the creatures’) like the Peshitta where the Greek has the singular.

For the four disagreements, in Romans 1:3 the Arabic column reads المولود (‘the one born’) with the Greek manuscripts 51^{(*)c} 61* 441, against τοῦ γενομένου of the Greek column. GA 51 corrects the vowel from γεννομένου to γεννωμένου, but this could be significant because the word breaks across the line as γεν-νομένου. If the original scribe accidentally wrote a second ν to start the next line, one could suggest the original text reads with the rest of the Greek manuscripts with a mistaken additional ν, but is corrected to γεννωμένου with the vowel change instead of being corrected to γενομένου by deleting the second ν. The crux of the problem is how one understands the meaning of τοῦ γενομένου here, which Tannous in his article on MG2 simply translates as ‘who was born’, without further comment.²⁶ It is clear from various Greek lexica, such as LSJ and BAGD, that one of the possible meanings of γίνομαι is ‘to be

²⁴ Cowan, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, p. 872.

²⁵ E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. 8 vols. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863, repr. Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1968), p. 2491a.

²⁶ Tannous, ‘A Greco-Arabic Palimpsest’, p. 434.

born'.²⁷ Aside from this verse, Paul uses a form of this verb thirty-five times in Romans not once in the sense of being born.²⁸ The only certain use of *γεννάω* is in Romans 9:11, speaking of Jacob and Esau. In the versional evidence for this variant Old Latin *qui factus est ei*, Vulgate *qui factus est*, Sahidic Coptic ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉ, Bohairic Coptic ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉ, Harklean Syriac ܩܘܝܟܘܢܐ ܥܝܘܢܐ, and even some Arabic manuscripts VA13* BNFa6725 الذي, VA13^c, SA155 and SA159 الذي كان, and SA158, H1, MO4 and VBA63^l الصاير, have the meaning of 'the one who', 'the one who was', 'the one [who] became or descended', which shows that the translators do not interpret the Greek as 'the one born', like we find in MG2 with المولود. The only versional evidence with a clear meaning of being born includes the Peshitta ܩܘܝܟܘܢܐ ܥܝܘܢܐ, Ethiopic ዘተወልደ (zatawalda), MG2, and Arabic manuscripts with some connection to the Peshitta, including SA147 and SA151^{supp} المولود,²⁹ and ANS327, SA167, BNFs50, RC867, and COP13-7 الذي ولد, where the latter form is a literal translation of the Peshitta. The participle in MG2 does not translate literally the Peshitta's relative pronoun with a verb in the perfect, and although its participle agrees in form with its Greek column, in meaning it agrees with τοῦ γεννωμένου found in the later Greek manuscripts 51^{(*)c} 61* 441. Further complicating the matter, on folio 19v at Galatians 4:23, the Greek column misspells γεγέννηται as γεγένηται. The Arabic column reads ولد ('was born'), which is a translation of γεγέννηται—the very word the Greek column should have read as the perfect passive, third person singular of *γεννάω* instead of *γίνομαι*. If the Arabic column translates the Greek column in both Romans 1:3 and Galatians 4:23, it is consistent in both cases.

²⁷ LSJ, s.v. γίνομαι; BAGD s.v. γίνομαι.

²⁸ Four in Old Testament quotations (9:29; 10:20; 11:9, 34), ten in the phrase μη γένοιτο (3:4, 6, 31; 6:2, 15; 7:7, 13; 9:14; 11:1, 11) and 20 other instances (2:25; 3:4, 19; 4:18; 6:5; 7:3 (2x), 4, 13 (2x); 11:5, 6, 17, 25; 12:16; 15:8, 16, 31; 16:2, 7) where it tends to have the sense of 'to become' or 'to be'.

²⁹ Romans 1:3 is in the supplementary folios that were later added to replace the beginning of SA151, but it does not seem to have a close relationship to this manuscript. However, see Zaki, 'A Dynamic History', p. 232, where she calls MG2 a recension of the original text of SA151. In a more recent publication, she posits that the supplementary folios were translated from Greek.

However, it is more likely that MG2's text derives from the Peshitta, as it does in other places, but changes the form to a participle to match its Greek column.

Only part of Romans 1:24 is extant and there is one Greek variant in which MG2 agrees with the reading *αὐτοῖς* against *ἐαυτοῖς* of the Greek column. Although the last letter of the Arabic word is mostly missing due to a hole in the manuscript, it clearly does not have the same word *بادبارهم* which translates *ἐαυτοῖς* in Romans 1:27. Instead it appears to read *ها*, the Arabic preposition *ب* with the feminine singular enclitic pronoun which in Arabic can have an impersonal plural noun as its referent, followed by a dot in a circle as punctuation. However, the referent for the Greek pronoun *αὐτοῖς* can only be either *τὰ σώματα*, neuter plural, or *αὐτούς*, masculine plural, and cannot be the feminine plurals *ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις* or *τῶν καρδιῶν*. Because *ἐν αὐτοῖς* follows directly after *τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν*, the referent is most likely the ones God gave over, so 'in them' or 'among them', is intended, which does not differ much in meaning from the variant with *ἐαυτοῖς* in the Greek column. The problem with the Arabic text is, even though the text of the previous part of the verse is not extant, the feminine singular enclitic pronoun cannot refer to the third-person plural direct object of the main verb *αὐτούς* in Greek, because that refers to people and so would have to be the third-person plural *هم*.³⁰ Depending on how it was translated in the missing Arabic text, the referent could be the desires, their hearts, uncleanness, or their bodies. Like the Greek, due to the proximity of *اجسادهم* to *ها* it is redundant to refer to their bodies again immediately and would seem to be a nonsense reading if that was intended. It must

³⁰ If one compares the way the scribe wrote *هم* with the previous word *اجسادهم* in the line immediately above this one to what is written here, most of the *م* would be visible because it extends below the line, but there is nothing visible below the line here and only the top part of this line has a hole in it. If we also compare the attached *ها* two lines down in the word *وعبدوها* we see that the scribe, when attaching the *ا* to the *ه*, makes a slight downward stroke then starts the *ا* from the top instead of one smooth stroke as he does in the following line with *خالقها*. This makes the reading *ها* nearly certain, but the missing part of the verse makes it extremely difficult to determine the Arabic referent for the enclitic pronoun.

refer to one of the other three nouns, which means it cannot translate either of the Syriac versions, both of which read ܘܗܘܢ, which can only refer to ܘܗܘܢ, ‘them’, or ܘܗܘܢܘܬܗܘܢ, ‘their bodies’. The reading could go back to a Greek manuscript with αὐταῖς instead of αὐτοῖς or an Arabic translator could have misread it as αὐταῖς, whether in MG2’s exemplar or in a comparison with another Greek manuscript. The Coptic versions seem to be more open to interpretation since the third-person plural does not distinguish between masculine and feminine. In Horner’s edition of the Sahidic Coptic, for ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲧⲟⲩ he translates ‘in them (i.e. the lusts)’.³¹ However, for the same word in his Bohairic edition, ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲧⲟⲩ, he translates, ‘among them’, indicating the referent is the object of the verb ⲁⲓⲧⲏⲏⲧⲟⲩ (the ones whom God delivered) but either interpretation is possible in both versions.³² While the Coptic versions may explain the referent in MG2, this manuscript does not have any significant relationship with the Coptic versions. ANS327 and SA147, which have many readings in common with MG2, read وشهوات قلوبهم الدنسه (‘the unclean desires of their hearts’) in the part of the verse that is missing in MG2 and the same verb as MG2, where the referent must be either ‘the unclean desires’ or ‘their hearts’. There is an interesting reading that Aland and Juckel cite for Bar Hebraeus ܘܗܘܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܘܗܘܢܘܬܗܘܢ, of which MG2’s text could be a literal translation, including Arabic لكي for ܘܗܘܢ, which is not in the Peshitta or Harklean version, and ܗܘܢܘܬܗܘܢ for ܘܗܘܢ.³³ However, identifying a versional source for the Arabic reading at Romans 1:24 cannot be determined conclusively. No matter the source of the Arabic ܗܘܢܘܬܗܘܢ and whatever the intended referent, MG2 does not agree with the Greek text εαυτοῖς in 0278.

For the Greek variant φύσιν in Romans 1:26, NA28 lists 06* 012 as φύσιν χρῆσιν against the rest of the Greek manuscript tradition. Though von Soden indicates the entire Latin tradition supports the longer reading, Houghton shows AMst^{var} and PEL^B do not have the addition.³⁴ MG2 has a different grammatical struc-

³¹ Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect*, p. 11.

³² Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect*, p. 9.

³³ Aland and Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in Syrischer Überlieferung*, p. 97.

³⁴ Houghton, *The Principal Pauline Epistles*, p. 41.

ture, *واستعملن ما ليس طبيعياً*, ('and they used what was not natural') and clearly knows a text or translation that inserts the word *χρησιν*, as found in syr^p, *ܘܥܡܠܢ ܡܐ ܠܝܣ ܛܒܝܥܝܐ*—though the latter has the third person singular verb 'used' at the end reflecting a Greek word order.³⁵

In Romans 1:27 the Greek column has only *καί*, omitting *τε* or *δέ*, but the Arabic column has *وايضاً فان*, which clearly represents a longer reading. One would like to be able to compare the only other possible use of *τε* in this fragment in Romans 1:26, but the manuscript is lacunose at this point. In the reading of MG2, one can leave the particle *ان* untranslated, as it allows the grammatical possibility of putting the subject before the verb like the Greek column, though the latter has a participle instead of a finite verb. While *ف* can translate multiple Greek words, it is a common translation of *δέ* in many Arabic manuscripts. Either *و* or *ايضاً* can translate *καί*, but MG2 has both, which is redundant. Based on all of this, it seems certain that the scribe of MG2 knew a reading with *δέ* and might have known and conflated all three variant readings. Syr^p has *ܘܥܡܠܢ* and syr^h has *ܘܥܡܠܢ*, neither of which is a match for MG2, though the influence of syr^p is clear when one expands the comparison to include more of the beginning of this verse. For the Greek *ὁμοίως τε/δέ και οι ἄρσενες*, MG2 has *وايضاً فان* *ذکورهم هكذا*, and syr^p has *ܘܥܡܠܢ ܡܐ ܠܝܣ ܛܒܝܥܝܐ*. MG2 transposes *ὁμοίως* to the end and includes the suffixed possessive pronoun for *οί ἄρσενες* in agreement with syr^p. Therefore, MG2 shows awareness of the Peshitta's reading and follows it nearly exactly, but also knows another reading with *δέ* and conflates them against the Greek column.

SYRIAC AGREEMENTS

There are several places in addition to those noted above where MG2 differs from the Greek column in grammar, word order, the

³⁵ The other Arabic manuscripts that follow syr^p are ANS327 with the same reading as MG2, SA167 *ويعملن*, COP13-7 *ومتعین*, and apparently SA151^{supp} *وتقلبن*, though the verb means 'to change' or 'to turn', not 'to use'. 460^a also has the addition but use a noun instead of a verb so that it does not reflect the Peshitta reading but is more likely a translation of a Latin *Vorlage*.

addition or omission of words, and singular/plural substitutions where it follows the Peshitta or is clearly influenced by it. For grammatical differences between the columns, in Romans 1:1 the Arabic text has الذي أفرز, the relative pronoun plus the perfect passive for the Greek participle ἀφωρισμένος. Although this is a legitimate and widespread means of translating a Greek participle into Arabic, twenty-four Arabic manuscripts transcribed for this study use a participle here.³⁶ MG2's verb is a consonantal cognate both of the Peshitta ܐܘܪܝܫܘܢܐ and the Greek ἀφωρίζω, but matches the form of the Peshitta, which also has a passive form of the verb with the relative particle. However, the Sahidic πενταγορη and the Bohairic φη εταγορη have the relative with the perfect passive forms. Therefore, though this seems an important difference between the Arabic and Greek columns, it is inconclusive and could simply be a non-literal translation of the Greek column without using the participial form. In Romans 1:28, for ποιεῖν of the Greek column, MG2 has what is very difficult grammatically in Arabic كي يكونوا يعملون, the particle to show purpose followed by two third-person plural verbs, the first one in the subjunctive and the second in the imperfect, that must mean, 'so that they are doing'. It is an attempt to translate literally ܩܝܡܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܠܘܢ in syr^p, the ܐ indicating purpose with the third-person plural imperfect verb, but followed by the masculine plural participle, functioning as a verb. Both emphasize the ongoing aspect of the Greek present infinitive. ANS327 and BNFs50, فصاروا يعملون, have a more coherent translation of this Syriac construction with the perfect followed by the imperfect which can be translated 'so that they got to the point that they are doing'.

There are several differences in word order where MG2 follows the reading of the Peshitta. In Romans 1:3, MG2 transposes the Greek κατὰ σάρκα, Arabic بالجسد, before the Greek ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ, which agrees with the Peshitta's word order. In Romans 1:5 for εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, MG2 restructures this entire clause in word order

³⁶ VA13, SA155, BNFA6725, SA159, SA175^L, SA158, SA168, H1, MO4, VBA63^L, 460^a, SA151^{supp}, ANS327, SA147, BNFC17, SA167, VA28, A39K, ADuI, WG32, JSM263, BNFA6274, RC867 and COP13-7.

and grammar with so many verbal and grammatical similarities to the Peshitta that it is unmistakably following it here.³⁷ It reads, *في جميع الأمم كي يتقادوا لأيمان اسمه* ('in all the nations so that they should obey the faith of his name') where the Peshitta has *ܘܠܟܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܠܘܫܘܥܐ ܕܢܘܨܘܢ* ('in all of them, the nations, so that they will obey the faith of his name'). Both have the same transposition of *ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* to the beginning of the clause, move the purpose clause to the end of the verse, and change obedience to a third-person plural imperfect verb with the nations as the subject. MG2 even has the same construct relationship 'faith of his name' instead of what would be better Arabic grammar 'faith in his name'. The only difference between them is the Peshitta has a redundant object suffix in the phrase *ܘܠܟܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ*, which is common for Syriac grammar and not Arabic. Even with these differences that start on one side of the folio and continue to the other, the scribe of MG2 takes care to line up the Arabic text with the Greek column so that they end in approximately the same location.

MG2 has some significant additions and omissions when compared to the Greek column that have a clear connection to the Peshitta. In Romans 1:3 MG2 adds *ال* ('family') before *داود* ('David'), which Tannous includes in his test passages.³⁸ In his article he suggests that when there are differences between the Greek and Arabic columns the Arabic is following the Peshitta and not the Greek: by including Romans 1:3 he suggests the addition is from the Peshitta, *ܘܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܝܘܨܘܦ ܕܘܝܘܨܘܦ* ('of the house of David').³⁹ The reading is probably derived from the Peshitta, but it is not literal, even though Arabic does have the cognate term *بيت* ('house') and could have used that word here. MG2's reading reflects the more common Arabic idiom, which is also found in the Qur'an in 2:248 referring to the family of Moses (*أل موسى*) and the family of Aaron (*أل هرون*). In Romans 1:4, the phrase *من بين الاموات* ('from among the dead ones') for Greek *νεκρῶν* is similar to

³⁷ The Arabic manuscripts ANS327, SA151^{supp}, BNFs50, RC867 and COP13-7 also have this order.

³⁸ Tannous, 'A Greco-Arabic Palimpsest', p. 434.

³⁹ Tannous, 'A Greco-Arabic Palimpsest', p. 430.

syr^P *ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܝܬܝܡ* ('from the house of the dead ones'). As seen in Romans 1:3, they are related without MG2 literally translating the Peshitta.⁴⁰ In Romans 1:25, for *οἵτινες μετήλλαξαν*, MG2 has *وَبَدَّلُوا* ('and they exchanged'), leaving out any translation of *οἵτινες*, which agrees with syr^P *ܡܠܥܗܘܢ*. MG2 has added an object suffix to the masculine singular participle *خالقها* for *τὸν κτίσαντα*, which is not required by Arabic grammar but follows the Peshitta *ܠܡܢ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ* with SA151^{supp}, BM4950 and COP13-7. For *ὅς ἐστὶν εὐλογητός* the Arabic has *الذي له التسيحات* ('who to him [are] the glorifications'), a reading that follows the first part of the Peshitta *ܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ*, but then drops the doublet 'and the blessings', due to influence from the Greek column. The final addition in Romans 1:25 is *الى ابد الابد* ('to the age of the ages') which has the added phrase 'the age of', as in the Peshitta *ܠܠܗܠܘܬܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ*, along with ANS327, SA151^{supp}, BNFs50 and COP13-7, where the Greek has *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*. In Romans 1:28, MG2 has *لم يحكموا على انفسهم ان يعرفوا الله* ('they did not judge upon themselves that they should know God') for the Greek *οὐκ ἔδοκίμασαν τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει* in agreement with the Peshitta *ܠܡ ܝܚܟܡܘܢ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ*. It is possible that both agree with the addition of *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς* in 1836, but in MG2 one would expect the preposition *ب* not *على*. The Greek is difficult grammatically and is made easier to understand in both the Arabic and Syriac translations. Rather than agreeing with the singular reading of 1836, it is more likely that the phrase is added because the verb *يحكموا* 'to judge' meant to translate the Greek verb *ἔδοκίμασαν* was not specific enough to translate it and needed 'in themselves' to represent more accurately the semantic range of the Greek verb. MG2 literally translates the Peshitta reading, but it uses the correct Arabic grammar and the preposition that the Arabic verb requires instead of using the Syriac cognate.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Although VA13 and SA159 have different forms for the plural of dead, they and ANS327, SA147, BNFs50, RC867, and COP13-7 have the same expression as MG2 in this verse.

⁴¹ The Arabic manuscripts H1, ANS327, BNFs50, COP13-7 and E1625 all have a form of the added phrase, and all use the same Arabic verb. Most Arabic manuscripts have verbs that mean 'to test' or 'to try', including *يحيروا* in SA155, BNFa6725, SA436 and SA159, *يختبروا* in SA158, MO4 and

MG2 has two instances where there is a singular noun for a Greek plural and three with a plural for a Greek singular, all of which agree with the Peshitta. For the singular Arabic and plural Greek, both examples are in Romans 1:27 where MG2 has الذكر على الذكر for ἄρσενες ἐν ἄρσεσιν, following the Peshitta ܩܕܝܫܐ ܥܠܝ ܩܕܝܫܐ, and for εἰς ἀλλήλους, it reads واحدٌ على واحدٌ following ܥܠ ܥܠ ܥܠ in the Peshitta. MG2 has plural for singular in Romans 1:25 الخلائق for τὴν κτῆσειν following the Peshitta's ܠܚܝܬܐ,⁴² الاناث for τῆς θηλείας in Romans 1:26 following ܠܝܚܝܬܐ in the Peshitta, and in Romans 1:29 فكر رديه for κακοηθείας following ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ found in the Peshitta. All of these agreements between MG2 and the Peshitta against the Greek column reveal that the text of MG2's exemplar is a translation of the Peshitta.

ARABIC AGREEMENTS

MG2 has several readings that are not related to the Syriac or Greek but are common in the Arabic manuscript tradition. In Romans 1:1, MG2 begins with the word من before Paul ('from Paul') which is not found in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, or Ethiopic versions, but is in many Arabic manuscripts including ones with Greek, Coptic, Latin, and mixed Syriac-Coptic *Vorlagen*.⁴³ However, it is not found in manuscripts translated from the Peshitta.⁴⁴ For the preposition διὰ in Romans 1:2 MG2 has على السن ('on the tongues of') which is also in BNFa6725, 460^a, ANS327, SA167^c, BNFs50, RC867 and COP13-7, but this does not have a definitive relationship to another *Vorlage*. Both Syriac versions have ܥܠܝܬܐ, which is the equivalent of Sahidic εβολ εἰποτοῦ and Bohairic εβολ εἰποτοῦ, and the Arabic manuscripts VA13, SA155 and SA159 على يدي, all of which mean 'by the hand(s) of'.

VBA63^l, and بمتحنوا in 460^a, without the added phrase, which would not be required of these verbs to translate the meaning of the Greek ἐδοκίμασαν.

⁴² This agrees with the Arabic manuscripts VA13, 460^a, ANS327, SA147, SA151^{supp}, SA167, BNFs50 and COP13-7.

⁴³ Greek: the family of manuscripts including SA175^l, SA164^l, SA158, SA168, SA156, MO4, H1, VBA63^l; Coptic: VA28; Latin: 460^a; mixed: A39K, LA2, ADul, WG32, JSM263, BNFa6274.

⁴⁴ These include SA151^{supp}, ANS327, SA147 and BNFs50.

The other Arabic translation for $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ is ب, found in SA158, H1, MO4 and VBA63^L, closer in meaning to ‘through’ in the sense of agency. In Romans 1:3 MG2 has بالجسد (‘in the body’) for $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha$, which seems to be a common translation for this Greek expression and is also the reading of VA13, SA155, BNFa6725, SA159, ANS327, SA151^{supp}, SA147, BNFs50, RC867 and COP13-7.⁴⁵ The Syriac has either the absolute ܘܡܝܢ in the Peshitta or the emphatic ܘܡܝܢܐ in the Harklean and Palestinian versions. Comparing this with the sixteen extant uses of the word $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}$ in Galatians in MG2, only twice does it use an Arabic word for ‘flesh’ (الحم).⁴⁶ In the other fourteen occurrences, whether singular or plural, the Arabic column has the word جسد (‘body’).⁴⁷ In these occurrences in Galatians, the Peshitta always has a form of ܘܡܝܢܐ, and both the Harklean and the Peshitta have ܘܡܝܢܐ for all twenty-six uses of $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}$ in Romans, where one might expect ܘܡܝܢܐ if the Arabic were translating the Syriac literally with the word جسد. MG2 then has the Arabic word to translate $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}$ that fits the context, much like the other eleven Arabic manuscripts that use the same word in Romans 1:3. MG2 has a transposition of من بين الاموات, Greek $\nu\epsilon\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$, after ‘Jesus Christ our Lord’ in Romans 1:4, which seems to be a stylistic grammatical change in Arabic to bring the object of the verbal action to the position right after the verbal form, in this case the Arabic maṣdar—verbal noun—a form that does not exist in Greek, English or Syriac, but can often be translated with the English gerund, ‘raising’ in this case. VA13, SA155, BNFa6725, SA159, SA158, H1, MO4, VBA63^L, 460^a, RC867 and COP13-7 all have this transposition, even though most of these have Greek *Vorlagen* and the last two have a mixed text that derives from a Syriac *Vorlage*. The three Arabic manuscripts without the transposition, ANS327, SA147 and BNFs50, have a Peshitta *Vorlage* and none of the Syriac or Coptic versions has the transposition. In Romans 1:25, MG2 has a transposition of the

⁴⁵ The only Arabic manuscripts that use a different word are SA158, H1, MO4 and VBA63^L that use البشرة (‘the skin’) and 460^a that uses the literal Arabic word for ‘flesh’ (الحم).

⁴⁶ Galatians 1:16 and 2:16.

⁴⁷ Galatians 2:20; 3:3; 4:13, 14, 23, 29; 5:13, 16, 17 (twice), 19, 24; 6:8, 12, and 13.

phrase *وعبدوها* ('and served them') to the position after *الخالق* ('the created things') which then requires the added object suffix *ها* to provide a direct object for 'they served' with the Arabic manuscripts SA158, H1, MO4 and VBA63⁴⁸, though they have the singular *البرية*, and with 460^a, ANS327, SA147, BNFs50 and COP13-7 that have the plural. In Romans 1:28, MG2 adds *حق معرفته* ('truth of his knowledge') after *ان يعرفوا الله* with SA147 and ANS327 the latter of which has the added preposition *ب* with *بحق معرفته*. One could make the case that it is a theologically-motivated addition that reflects the doctrinal differences of the time, whether that was the inner-Christian conflict between the Melkites, Jacobites and Nestorians on the nature of Christ or, perhaps more likely with the Qur'anic vocabulary used in this Arabic text, the Muslim challenges to Christian Trinitarian beliefs. This addition is not found in the Syriac, Latin, or Coptic versions, nor is it in any other Arabic manuscript.

UNIQUE READINGS OF MG2

MG2 has some unique readings not found in any other manuscripts or versions that clarify the meaning of certain expressions or are influenced by the Greek column. The first is in Romans 1:4 where MG2 has the addition *حيا* ('alive') in the phrase *لأنبعث يسوع المسيح ربنا حيا من بين الاموات* ('by the raising of Jesus Christ our Lord alive from among the dead ones'). This could be a theologically-motivated addition, and it is clearly meant to clarify *إنبعث*, but several other Arabic manuscripts have a form of this verb without the addition.⁴⁸ In Romans 1:8 there is a large capital Π to begin the verse because it starts a new *κεφάλαιον*, which the scribe includes here in the margin in red, *κεφάλ[αιον] ᾱ*, next to the capital Π. The Arabic column reflects this *κεφάλαιον* marking in its translation of this verse. Where the Greek column has *Πρῶτον μὲν*, the Arabic column has *أما بعد فاني أولاً* ('now then, so first I') an addition of *أما بعد* where *فاني أولاً* is sufficient to translate the Greek, and it does not translate the Peshitta's *ܘܡܝܢ ܗܘܢܐ* or *ܘܡܝܢ ܗܘܢܐ* in the Harklean version. Hans Wehr defines *أما بعد* as '(a

⁴⁸ These are SA158, H1, MO4, VBA63⁴⁸, ANS327, SA147, RC867 and COP13-7.

formular phrase linking introduction and actual subject of a book or letter, approx.:) now then..., now to our topic:....'.⁴⁹ MG2, then, apparently adds *اما بعد* to indicate the beginning of the *κεφάλαιον*, which is marked in red in the Greek column. Romans 1:27 has two additions in MG2 that clarify the meaning in the context. For the Greek *ἐξεκαύθησαν ἐν τῇ ὀρέξει αὐτῶν*, MG2 has *وشبقوا بالشهوه وهاج* ('and they lusted in the desire, and they got excited'), the first part of which follows the Peshitta *ܩܕܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ* in omitting the third-person plural object suffix to translate *αὐτῶν*, adding the conjunction *و*, and having the same meaning of the verb 'and they lusted', instead of the Greek 'they were inflamed'. MG2 adds the verb *وهاج* to include the full semantic range of the Greek verb *ἐξεκαύθησαν*. Later in the verse MG2 has *الذي كان ينبغي ان يقبلوه* ('which it was appropriate that they receive it') for the Greek *ἣν ἔδει*, an addition of the clarifying phrase *ان يقبلوه*, where, comparing this addition to the next, the scribe of MG2 finds it necessary to add a clarifying verbal phrase to this particular Arabic verb. MG2 has *ما لا ينبغي فعله* ('what is not appropriate to do it') in Romans 1:28 for the Greek *τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα*, an addition of *فعله* unique to this manuscript. The Bohairic *ⲛⲏⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ* 'the things which are not fit to do' is very similar to the Arabic but does not have the object suffix. These differences between the Arabic and Greek columns show an influence from the Arabic manuscript tradition but also demonstrate that there was a certain freedom with this translation where one could add words for clarification.

CONCLUSION

After examining thirteen genetically significant Greek variants and differences between the Greek and Arabic columns, comparing them to the Syriac, other Arabic manuscripts, and looking at unique readings, the results indicate that MG2 is a complicated text. The scribe of this exemplar clearly knew both Greek and Arabic, as the columns and folios maintain strict alignment in the Greek and the Arabic translation—even ending

⁴⁹ J Milton Cowan, ed., *Arabic-English Dictionary: The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 4th ed. (Ithaca, NY: Spoken Language Services, Inc., 1994), p. 32.

Romans 1:5 at the same general location in both columns despite the transposition in the Arabic column. The volume of significant, word-for-word agreements with the Peshitta suggests that a manuscript of this version was the *Vorlage* of MG2's exemplar. However, there are significant readings where it follows the word order and grammar of the Greek column against the Peshitta, which suggest that the scribe did not copy the exemplar's text exactly but occasionally altered it to create a more accurate translation of the Greek column. Additionally, it is obvious the scribe knew the readings of other Arabic manuscripts which can be seen in the transpositions and various unique translations of certain words like *σάρξ*, along with the use of several prepositions that are common only in the Arabic manuscript tradition. There are other places where MG2 has a unique reading that clarifies the meaning of the Greek or reflects a *κεφάλαιον* marking in the Greek column. Some readings seem to be theologically motivated and reflect the history of the controversies of the time in which this text was copied. MG2, therefore, is not an original translation from the Greek column into Arabic. Rather the Arabic column's exemplar was translated from the Peshitta. The scribe is influenced by the Greek column or another Greek manuscript and occasionally alters the readings deriving from its exemplar's Syriac *Vorlage* to conform to it. MG2 shows knowledge of other Arabic manuscripts and a freedom to add to the text to clarify Greek phrases that might be difficult to understand. Although it agrees with the Harklean Syriac version in nearly all instances of definite versus indefinite nouns against its Greek column, this can be explained by other means: there are too many disagreements with this version to suggest that the Harklean had any influence on the Arabic column of this manuscript. In agreement with Tannous, in the fragmentary text of Romans the exemplar of MG2 is a translation from a Syriac *Vorlage*, the Peshitta, which sometimes uses Qur'anic language and is at an earlier stage of transmission in the same family as the Arabic manuscripts ANS327, dated 892 CE, and SA147. Using an Arabic exemplar, the scribe has at times corrected the text not to the Harklean version but to the Greek column, and occasionally some other Greek and Arabic manuscripts.

APPENDIX A: FULL TRANSCRIPTION OF GREEK AND ARABIC COLUMNS⁵⁰

Greek column (0278)

Arabic column (MG2)⁵¹

[fol. 1ra] ἀναγνω(σις) τῆ κυ[ριακη ...]ν ἐν συνα(ξαρῖον)

Κυριευλογησον
και συ[.]ογησον

[...] سيد برك وأعن [fol. 1rb]

πρὸς Ῥωμαίους· Πάυλου· ἐπιστολῆ

αρχ¹ Παῦλος δοῦλος Ἰϋ Χϋ.

¹ من بولس عبد يسوع

ἁ κλητὸς ἀπόστολος·

المسيح المدعو الرسول

ἀφ' ὠρισμένους εἰς

الذي أفرز لأنجيل الله

ἐυαγγέ[λιον]ν θϋ. ² δ,

² الذي وعد من قبل على

πρὸ ἐπη[γγε]ίλατο διὰ

τῶν προφ[η]τῶν

αὐτοῦ. [ἐν] γραφῆις

ἀγίαις ³ περι [τ]οῦ ὑἱ

αὐτοῦ. τοῦ γενομέ-

νου ἐκ σπέρματος

Δαδ κατὰ σάρκα

ابنه المولود بالجسد

[م]ن ذرية ال داود⁵²

⁵⁰ The Greek text is written in majuscule but I have transcribed it using the standard script in the critical editions to make it easier to read. I have used capital letters to begin names or where there is a large capital in the margin of the manuscript. Text in brackets, whether Greek or Arabic, is a conjecture based on the critical text for the Greek column and, for the Arabic, comparison to the scribe's orthography and to other Arabic manuscripts. Where the missing text is too uncertain to make a conjecture, each dot represents a letter, and three dots represent a whole word.

⁵¹ There are many letters without diacritics and there are very few vowel markings. For readability, I have added diacritical points to distinguish letters and have only retained the vowel markings that are present in the manuscript. Because the scribe very rarely writes a *hamza* with an *alif* and it is always above it, one cannot say for certain that for a word like لأنجيل in line three that a *fatha* is intended.

⁵² Part of the letter *ن* curves under the *د* of the next word, as in the third line from the bottom, so that this letter is certain.

⁴ Τοῦ ὀρισ[θ]έντ[ος] υἱῷ
 θῦ. ἐν δυνά[μει/μι] κα-
 τὰ π̄ν̄α ἀγιω[συν]ης.
 ἐξ ἀναστάσεω[ς ν]ε-
 κρῶν Ἰ̄ν Χ̄ν τ[ου χ̄]ῦ
 [ἡμῶν].⁵ δι' [ου] ἐ-
 [λαβο]μεν χάριν καὶ
 [ἀποσ]τολὴν εἰς ὑπ' ἁ-

[fol. 1va] [κοῆ]ν πίστεως. ἐν
 [πά]σιν τοῖς ἔθνεσ̄ι.
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος
 αὐτοῦ.⁶ ἐν οἷς ἐ-
 στέ καὶ ὑμεῖς κλη-
 τοῖ Ἰ̄ν Χ̄ν.

⁷ π̄σ̄ιν τοῖς ὄυσιν ἐν
 Ρῶμη ἀγαπητοῖς
 θῦ. κλητοῖς ἀγίοις·
 Χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρή-
 νη ἀπὸ θῦ π̄ρς ἡμῶ[ν]
 καὶ κ̄ν Ἰ̄ν Χ̄ν.

⁸ κεφαλ[αιον] ἁ Πρω̄τον μὲν εὐχα-
 ριστῶ τῶι θ̄ωι μου
 [δ]ιὰ Ἰ̄ν Χ̄ν. ὑπερ πάν-
 [τ]ων ὑμῶν· ὁ-
 [τ]ι ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν
 [κ]ατ' ἀγγέλλετ[αι ε]ν
 [ο]λ̄ωι τῶι κόσ[μω]·

⁹ Μάρτυς γὰρ μ[ου/ι] ἐστ[ι]
 ὁ θ̄ς. ὃ λατρ[εύ]ω
 ἐν τῶι π̄νι μ[ου].
 ἐν τῶι εὐαγγελίωι
 τοῦ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ.

⁴ [...] ف⁵³ انه ابن الله بالقوه
 بروح القدس لأنبعث
 يسوع المسيح ربنا
 حيا من بين الأموات
⁵ الذي به نلنا النعمه
 والرساله في جميع

[fol. 1vb] الأمم كي ينقادوا
 لأيمان اسمه
⁶ الذين انتم منهم انتم مدعوون
 بيسوع المسيح.

⁷ الى جميع من بروميه من احبا
 الله المدعوين الاط[هار]
 النعمه والسلام معكم [من]
 الله ابينا ومن ربنا يسوع المسيح

⁸ أما بعد فاني اولا اشكر
 لاله ييسوع المسيح عن جميعكم
 من اجل ان ايمانكم قد ذاع
 في العالم باسره

⁹ لانه قد يشهد لي الله
 [....] بالروح
 [بانجيل ابن] ه

⁵³ When one compares how the scribe writes the final ف in the fragment attached to the side in the image of fol. 7r this is a ف. The ف here looks exactly like that one, so there is no doubt when identifying this letter.

[fol. 2ra]^{24b} τοῦ ἀτιμάζεσθ[αι τα] σώματ[α] αὐτῶν ἐν
 ἑαυτοῖ[ς].
²⁵ Ὅιτινες μετ' ἡλλαξᾶ
 τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ
 θυ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει·
 καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν
 καὶ ἐλάτ[ρε]υσαν
 τὴν κτη[σ]ειν παρὰ
 τὸν κτίσ[α]ντα.
 ὅς, ἐστὶν ἐ[υ]λογοητος
 εἰς τοὺς αἰ[ω]νας
 ἀμήν·

لكي يفضحوا أجسادهم^{24b} [fol. 2rb]
 به [1].²⁵ وبَدَّلُوا
 حق الله بالكذب
 واتَّقوا الخلاق وعبدوها
 دون خالقها
 الذي له التسبيحات
 الى ابد الابد امين

²⁶ Δια τοῦτο παρέδωκε
 αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς πά-
 θη ἀτιμίας· αἱ τε
 γὰρ θήλειαι αὐτῶν.
 μετ' ἡλλαξαν τὴν
 φυσικὴν χρῆ[σι]ν
 εἰς τὴν παρα [φυσ]ι·
²⁷ [Ὁ]μοίως καὶ δι α[ρσ]ε-
 νε[ς] ἀφέντες [τ]ὴν
 [φυσ]ικὴν χρῆσιν
 [τῆς] θηλείας.

من اجل هذا اسلمهم²⁶
 [ال] له الى الادوا الفاضحه
 [000] ان اناثهم ابدلن
 [سن]ه⁵⁴ طبعهن واستعملن
 ما ليس طبيعيا
²⁷ وايضا فان ذكورهم هكذا
 تركوا استعمال طبع الاناث

[fol. 2va] ἐξεκαύθησαν ε]ν τῇ
 ὀρέξει αὐτῶν εἰς
 ἀ[λλ]ήλους· ἄρσε-
 νες ἐν ἄρσεσιν τὴν
 ἀσχημοσύνην κα-
 τ'εργαζόμενοι·
 Καὶ τὴν ἀντιμισθίᾳ
 ἣν ἔδει τῆς πλάνης
 αὐτῶν. ἐν ἑαυτοῖς
 ἀπολαμβάνοντες·

[fol. 2vb] وشبقوا بالشهوة
 وهاج واحد على واحد
 الذكر على الذكر
 عملا خزيا
 والجزا الذي كان ينبغي ان
 يقبلوه في غوايتهم قبلوا [هم/ه]

⁵⁴ This could also be فعله.

²⁸ Καὶ καθ' ὡς οὐκ' ἔδοκί-
 μασαν τὸν θν̄ ἔχξῑ
 ἔν ἐπιγνώσει. παρ̄ε-
 δωκεν αὐτοῦς ὁ θς̄
 εἰς ἀδόκημον νοῦν.
 [π]οιεῖν τὰ μὴ καθή-
 [κ]οντα·
²⁹ [πε]πληρωμένους πά-
 [ση α]δικεία· πορν[ε]ία·
 [πο]νηρία· πλεο[νεξ]εῖα·
 κακεῖα· μεστ[ους]
 φθόνου· φόν[ου]·
 ἔρειδος· δόλου[·]
 κακοηθείας· ψιθυριστᾶς·
³⁰ κατάλαλους·

بادبارهم^{28 55} وكما لم يحكم [وا]
 على انفسهم ان يعرفوا [الله]
 حق معرفته وكلهم الله الى
 علم الباطل كي يكونوا يعملون
 ما لا ينبغي فعله²⁹ اذ هم
 مُتلبون كل اثم وزني
 وشراره وشره وفسق
 [و]ح[س]د وقتل ومرا
 [....] فكر رديه وتدمر
³⁰ [....] مه

APPENDIX B: SINGULAR AND SUBSINGULAR GREEK VARIANTS

Variant	Romans	Reading A/D	Reading B/E	Reading C
1	1:3	κατὰ σάρκα 0278 <i>rell.</i> MG2	τὸ κατὰ σάρκα 88 915	
2	1:4	ἀγιωσύνης 0278 <i>rell.</i> MG2	ἀγιωσύνης ἐν δυνάμει 1836	
3	1:4	Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 0278 460 ^{s,1} <i>rell.</i> MG2	Ἰησοῦ 57 460 ^a	
4	1:5	ὑπέρ 0278 <i>rell.</i> MG2	διὰ 88	

⁵⁵ One might expect بادبارهم here, 'in their bodies', instead of 'in their backsides', which might be a mistaken transposition of letters in copying from an Arabic exemplar. However, the ى could not be mistaken for a ر because it would have been joined to the ة.

5	1:5	αὐτοῦ 0278 <i>rell.</i> MG2	<i>om.</i> 1518 <i>sec.</i> von Soden	
6	1:5-6	αὐτοῦ, ⁶ ἐν οἷς ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς κλητοί 0278 <i>rell.</i> MG2	<i>om.</i> Ϝ ¹⁰	
7	1:6	ὑμεῖς 0278 <i>rell.</i> MG2	ἡμεῖς 489	
8	1:7	τοῖς <i>rell.</i>	τούς Ϝ ¹⁰	
9	1:7	ὑμῖν <i>rell.</i>	ἡμῖν Ϝ ¹⁰	
10	1:7	ἡμῶν <i>rell.</i>	<i>om.</i> 0142	ὑμῶν 517
11	1:7	Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ <i>rell.</i>	Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ Ϝ ¹⁰	
12	1:8	μου <i>rell.</i>	<i>om.</i> 241 <i>sec.</i> von Soden	
13	1:8	διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ <i>rell.</i>	<i>om.</i> 01* (1518 <i>sec.</i> von Soden)	<i>om.</i> διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν 1270
14	1:9a	γάρ 88 ^c <i>rell.</i>	<i>om.</i> 88*	
15	1:25	τοῦ θεοῦ 910 ^c <i>rell.</i>	αὐτοῦ 2815 <i>sec.</i> von Soden	<i>om.</i> 910*
16	1:26	διὰ τοῦτο <i>rell.</i>	διὸ καὶ 018 88	
17	1:26	αὐτούς <i>rell.</i>	αὐτός 1912	
18	1:26	ὁ θεός <i>rell.</i> MG2 ^{vid}	<i>om.</i> 1836	
19	1:26	ἀτιμίας <i>rell.</i>	ἀτιμίας τοῦ ἀτιμασθῆναι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς 1319	
20	1:26	αἶ τε <i>rell.</i>	εἴτε 330	lac. MG2
21	1:26	θῆλειαι <i>rell.</i>	θηλεῖ 020* (330 θηλεῖ)	

22	1:26	αὐτῶν <i>rell.</i>	ἑαυτῶν 330	<i>om.</i> 242 sec. von Soden
23	1:26	χρῆσιν <i>rell.</i> MG2 ^{vid}	κτίσιν 06*	χρῆσιν τῆς θηλείας 823 1243 2815
24	1:27	οἱ 489 ^c <i>rell.</i>	<i>om.</i> 020 489*	
25	1:27	χρῆσιν <i>rell.</i>	φύσιν 33	χρῆσιν εἰς τὴν 489
26	1:27	τῆς θηλείας (τῆς θηλείας 33 ^c) 1836 ^c <i>rell.</i>	τῆς θηθηλείας 33*	<i>om.</i> 1836*
27	1:27	ἔξεκαύθησαν <i>rell.</i>	εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν ἔξεκαύθησαν εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν 1836	
28	1:27	ἐν ¹ 226* <i>rell.</i>	<i>om.</i> 201 226 ^c 664	
29	1:27	ἀλλήλους <i>rell.</i>	αὐτοῦς 88	
30	1:27	ἀπολαμβάν- οντες <i>rell.</i>	ἀντιλαμβάνοντες 012	
31	1:28	ἔδοκίμασαν <i>rell.</i>	ἔδοκιμάσαμεν 823	
32	1:28	τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν <i>rell.</i>	ἔχειν τὸν θεόν 049	τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς 1836
33	1:29	φθόνου φόνου ἔριδος 018 ^c <i>rell.</i>	φθόνου ἔριδος φόνου 02	φθόνου φόνων ἔριδας 012
		φθόνου ἔριδος 018* 81	φόνου φθόνου ἔριδος 33	
34	1:29	δόλου <i>rell.</i>	<i>om.</i> 02	
35	1:30	καταλάλους 0278 <i>rell.</i>	καταλάλος 0142	κακολάλους 06 ^s

4. NEW READINGS IN GA 1506 AND THE USE OF DIGITAL TOOLS

DAVID FLOOD*

INTRODUCTION

Gregory-Aland 1506 is best known for its inclusion among the consistently-cited witnesses to Romans and 1 Corinthians in the Nestle-Aland apparatus.¹ Despite this, GA 1506 has no entries in the third edition of Keith Elliott's *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts*.² Why, then, should GA 1506 be counted among those consistently-cited witnesses and yet have received little dedicated study? It is almost certainly because of its frequent agreement with the critical text, disagreement with the Majority Text reading, and because it is a late (fourteenth century) minuscule manuscript.

A dedicated study of GA 1506 demonstrates that its importance—previously implied by frequent appeals to its text in the NA28 apparatus—is deserved. A full transcription reveals that there are dozens of mistaken (if understandable) readings found

* I thank the editors, especially Jacopo Marcon and Clark Bates, whose comments on an earlier draft helped to correct and sharpen key points. I also thank the anonymous reviewers for their insights and corrections.

¹ *Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed., eds. Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, and others (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012), pp. 63*–64*.

² James Keith Elliott, *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts*, 3rd ed., Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 160 (Boston: Brill, 2015), p. 260.

in the standard critical apparatuses. Readings in fragmentary witnesses are often unclear and debated. However, although GA 1506 is a fragment in that it breaks off at 1 Cor 4:15, before this point it does not have the problems of damage or lacunae associated with other fragments. Rather, it is imperfectly captured in *images*. The images of GA 1506, as will be discussed below, are less than ideal and fail to clearly capture several important readings—mostly as a limitation of the technology used and through no fault of those involved. The fragmentary nature of GA 1506, therefore, is in relation to the knowledge of its readings and the state in which it is presented for study today.

In this paper I will (1) introduce GA 1506 and its newly-identified relationship to other witnesses; (2) demonstrate a method for reading nearly illegible text in the manuscript using photo-editing software; (3) provide corrections or clarifications to the critical apparatus concerning readings from twenty-five verses in Romans and 1 Corinthians.

GA 1506

GA 1506 is a codex currently held by the library at the Great Lavra Monastery in Mount Athos, Greece, with the shelfmark B.89. The monasteries of Mount Athos are famous both for one of the most significant collections of ancient biblical texts in the world and for their seclusion. The result of Mount Athos' general unreachability is that most researchers only have access to this treasure trove of witnesses through a major imaging venture involving the IGNTP and the United States Library of Congress in 1952–3.³ The manuscript is dated to 1320 CE based on a scribal note on fol. 257r (Figure 1 below). Several readers have called attention to the date with the use of asterisks and their own conversion from the Byzantine calendar date to our Common Era.⁴

³ Ernest W. Saunders and Charles G. LaHood Jr., eds., *A Descriptive Checklist of Selected Manuscripts in the Monasteries of Mount Athos* (Washington: Library of Congress Photoduplication Service, 1957), .p. v.

⁴ The Byzantine calendar follows 'the Roman Julian calendar' instead of the Gregorian calendar and began not with the birth of Christ, but with the 'Creation of the World...5509 BC', (Anthony Bryer, 'Chronology and Dating', in

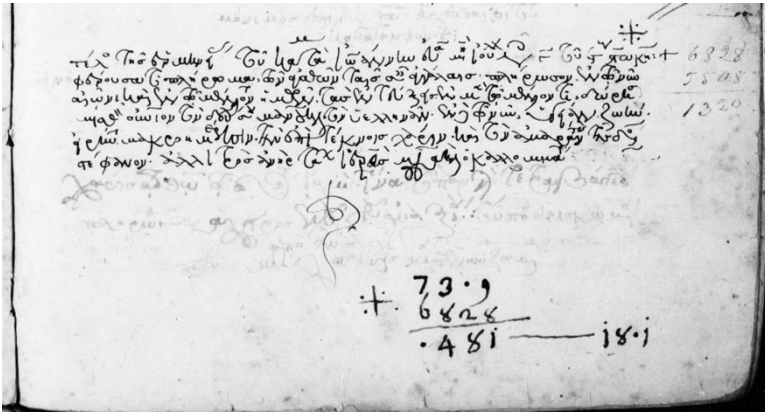


Figure 1. Scribal note with date in GA 1506 (fol. 257r)⁵

The first line of the colophon reads *τελο(ς) της ερμηνειας του κατα ιωαννην ευαγγελιου μηνι ιουλλ(ιω) ινδ(ικτιωνος) γ του ετ(ους), ζωκη*, ‘The end of the commentary on the Gospel according to John, in the month of July of the third Indiction of the year 6828’.⁶

The first section of the codex is the text of all four Gospels with the commentary of Theophylact (fols. 4–258). This is followed by writings of Nicholas of Methoni (fols. 258–267), writings of Basil of Caesarea (fols. 267–295, CPG 2953), writings of Arsenios (fols. 295–298), John Chrysostom’s *Pascha* (fols. 301–305), writings of Epiphanius of Salamis (fols. 305–306, CPG 3779).⁷ The final section of the codex contains Romans and 1

The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies, eds. Robin Cormack, John F. Haldon, and Elizabeth Jeffreys, Online. [Oxford University Press, 2012].

⁵ IGNTP and Library of Congress, ‘1506’, Digitised microfilm (Great Lavra Monastery, Mt. Athos, March 1952), <https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271051219-ma/?st=gallery>. Unless stated otherwise, images are portions of images hosted by the Library of Congress.

⁶ Gratitude is due to Denis Salgado for his help identifying the abbreviations in this line.

⁷ Saunders and LaHood, *A Descriptive Checklist of Selected Manuscripts in the Monasteries of Mount Athos*, p. 10.

Corinthians 1:1–4:15 along with the catena of John of Damascus (fols. 307–338, CPG 8079).

Family 0150

GA 1506 belongs to a small group of witnesses that I have identified and named Family 0150. The members of this family include GA 0150 (Patmos, St. John the Theologian Monastery, 61, ninth cent.), GA 2110 (Paris, BnF, Grec 702, ninth cent.), and GA 1506. The defining feature of each member is the alternating catena of John of Damascus distributed in the same sections and with the same enumeration.⁸ Across these three manuscripts, the same units of commentary correspond to the same units of *lemmata* (the biblical material). Each unit of lemma and commentary is numbered, and these numbers are identical across all three manuscripts excepting the occasional minor error. All three members have an unabbreviated biblical text and the same edition of the catena. There are two other New Testament manuscripts catalogued by the INTF that contain a very similar catena. These are GA 018 (Moscow, SHM, Sinod. Gr. 97) and GA 0151 (Patmos, St. John the Theologian Monastery, 62).

There are several things that indicate GA 018 and GA 0151 are one subgroup, while GA 0150, GA 2110 and GA 1506 are another. (1) The titles of GA 018 and GA 0151 make no mention of John of Damascus, but rather attribute the commentary solely to John Chrysostom. GA 2110, and GA 1506, on the other hand, explicitly cite John of Damascus as the one who arranged the

⁸ With the exception of GA 0151, Robert Volk identified these manuscripts and others not catalogued by INTF in the introduction to his critical edition of the catena of John of Damascus (Robert Volk, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos: Commentarii in epistulas Pauli VII*, PTS 68 [Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2013], pp. 5–11). It was Theodora Panella who seems to have been the first to note that the commentary text in GA 0151 was actually a match for the Damascene catena, especially when compared to GA 018 (Theodora Panella, 'Resurrection Appearances in the Pauline Catena', in *Commentaries, Catena, and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in Conjunction with the COMPAUL Project*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, TS(III) 13 [Piscataway: Gorgias, 2016], p. 122).

ἐκλογαί (selections) from Chrysostom. The title folio in GA 0150 is lacunose. (2) GA 018 and GA 0151 are written in two columns while GA 0150, GA 2110, and GA 1506 are single column manuscripts. (3) The *lemmata* of GA 0150, GA 2110, and GA 1506 contain many non-Byzantine readings while the *lemmata* of GA 018 and GA 0151 are aligned more closely with the Byzantine text.

To demonstrate the remarkable textual affinity shared by the members of Family 0150 in their *lemmata*, Table 1 below shows a preliminary quantitative analysis of a complete collation of Family 0150 members against GA 01, GA 02, GA 03, GA 04, GA 06, GA 33, the Majority Text, and the NA28 in Rom 13–16 and 1 Cor. 1–4. The transcriptions of GA 06, GA 0150, GA 2110, and GA 1506 used for this analysis are mine. The Robinson-Pierpont edition of Greek New Testament was used to represent the Majority Text.⁹ The rest were transcribed by the INTF and downloaded from the NTVMR. I collated these transcriptions with the Collation Editor developed by ITSEE and INTF.¹⁰ The comparisons were calculated using the *Compare Witnesses* module from Joey McCollum’s implementation of the CBGM software.¹¹ Minor orthographical differences have been regularised. This table demonstrates that across these witnesses in Rom 13–16 and 1 Cor 1–4, the members of Family 0150 are always each other’s nearest relationship. These relationships and numbers are not final; some orthographical differences will be ‘un-regularised’ once a study of each scribe’s habit is concluded. The analysis counts the percentage agreement concerning variation units only. Text on which all analysed witnesses agree is not counted.

⁹ *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform 2018*, eds. Maurice A. Robinson, William G. Pierpont, (VTR Publications, 2018).

¹⁰ Catherine Smith, *Collation Editor*, 2020, https://github.com/itsee-birmingham/collation_editor_core.

¹¹ Joey McCollum, *open-cbgn: First DOI Release*, Windows 10, C++ , 2020, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4048498>.

GA	0150	1506	2110	P46	01	02	03	04	06	33	NA28	Maj
0150		88.8	97.1	72.3	82.6	80.3	78.3	81.6	70.4	78.2	85.5	82.8
1506	88.8		89.7	68.9	76.7	76.0	73.1	76.3	67.3	73.2	80.8	79.0
2110	97.1	89.7		72.1	82.6	80.0	78.0	81.7	70.5	78.8	85.4	83.1
P46	72.3	68.9	72.1		79.4	76.0	79.6	78.7	67.3	71.1	83.6	76.7
01	82.6	76.7	82.6	79.4		86.7	85.1	87.8	73.6	80.8	93.6	84.1
02	80.3	76.0	80.0	76.0	86.7		81.7	87.0	72.3	79.5	90.4	81.8
03	78.3	73.1	78.0	79.6	85.1	81.7		85.0	72.3	77.0	90.2	81.3
04	81.6	76.3	81.7	78.7	87.8	87.0	85.0		71.2	81.2	93.5	84.9
06	70.4	67.3	70.5	67.3	73.6	72.3	72.3	71.2		69.7	76.7	74.4
33	78.2	73.2	78.8	71.1	80.8	79.5	77.0	81.2	69.7		84.7	86.9
NA28	85.5	80.8	85.4	83.6	93.6	90.4	90.2	93.5	76.7	84.7		88.5
Maj	82.8	79.0	83.1	76.7	84.1	81.8	81.3	84.9	74.4	86.9	88.5	

Table 1. Preliminary quantitative analysis of Rom 13–16 and 1 Cor 1–4

The quantitative analysis of Family 0150 reveals that GA 0150 and GA 2110 are more closely related to one another than GA 1506 is related to either. This is the result of GA 1506 generally agreeing less with *all* other manuscripts. GA 1506 tends to have a more idiosyncratic text than the other family members; this is due, at least in part, to containing more singular readings than the other family members.

The main problem hindering the reading of GA 1506 is a confluence of three issues leading to illegible and nearly illegible passages. (1) The lemma (biblical text) is written in red ink, but the commentary is written in black ink; (2) The only available images are digitised editions of monochrome microfilm in which the red lemma ink appears very faint; (3) It is common for the commentary of the reverse side of the folio to be more visible through the parchment than the front-facing lemma (see Figure 2).



Figure 2. Rom 11:6 in GA 1506 (fol. 323v)

METHOD FOR READING DIFFICULT PORTIONS OF GA 1506

The most detrimental factor contributing to the legibility of GA 1506 is the limitation of the imaging technology used. It is fitting, then, that leveraging current technology enables the recovery of especially difficult portions of text. It is worthwhile to explain the method used to discover some of the new readings.

Finding the Best Images

When a first-hand examination is not possible, the first and most important step in any project involving ancient manuscripts should be identifying the best available images. The NTVMR should be the first—but not last—place that one checks for images. In the case of GA 1506, it may not be immediately obvious that alternatives exist since all the available images online ultimately stem from the same microfilm. Both the original and at least one duplicate microfilm have been scanned. Since the expedition by the IGNTF at Mount Athos was a joint venture with the Library of Congress, it should not be surprising to find that the Library of Congress hosts its own scans of the microfilm.¹²

The Library of Congress images are higher resolution scans and seem to be generally superior to the images on the NTVMR—with *one* caveat: they must undergo minor image processing for the lemma to be visible (see Figure 3 below). The light and contrast need to be adjusted since the lemma is too faint otherwise. This adjustment is possible, in part, because the Library of Congress has made the uncompressed TIFF files freely available for download.¹³ After comparing the two available sets of images, it is obvious that the NTVMR and Library of Congress images are not merely differently edited versions of the same digital file. The contrast and clarity are much lower in the NTVMR images. There are also horizontal lines and what appear to be fibres in the NTVMR images. These may derive from the use of the microfilm over several generations or extraneous material in the equipment used for

¹² See note 6 above.

¹³ For more information see ‘TIFF: Tagged Image File Format’, *National Archives*, n.d., <https://www.archives.gov/preservation/products/definitions/tif.html>.

digitisation. This is all mentioned to demonstrate that the images are different because they are different scans of different microfilm and not only because of postprocessing.

Analysing GA 1506 in light of GA 2110

Having established that GA 1506 and GA 2110 have the same catena structure, divisions, numbering, and *lemmata*, GA 2110 can be used for analysing the readings found in GA 1506. Even though the lemma of fol. 323v in GA 1506 is very difficult to read, it is quite easy to see the catena structure. When compared to fols. 278v–279r in GA 2110 (Figure 3), it becomes obvious that the length of the divisions is a good match.

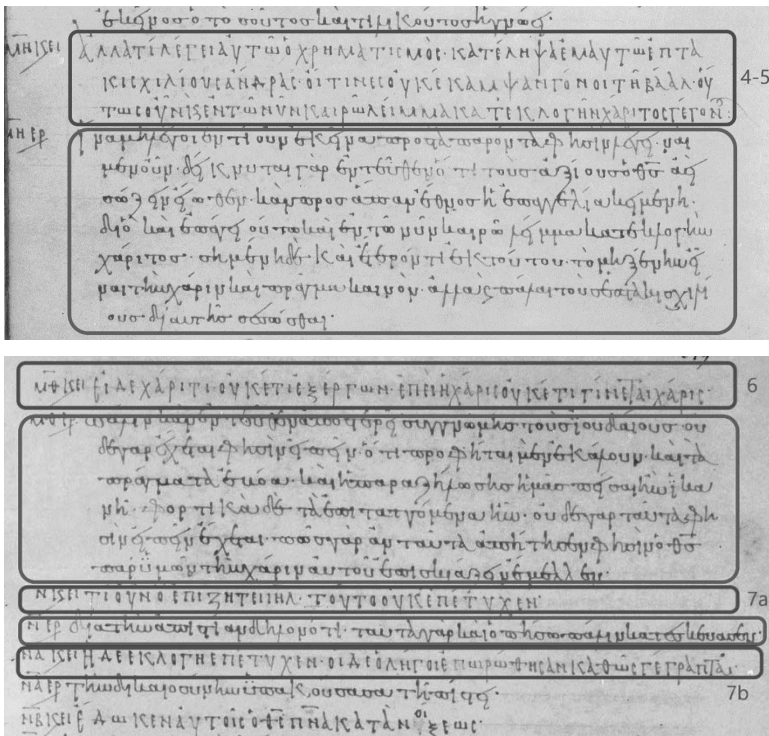


Figure 3. Rom 11:4–7 in GA 2110 (fols. 278v–279r) with *lemmata* and scholia outlined.

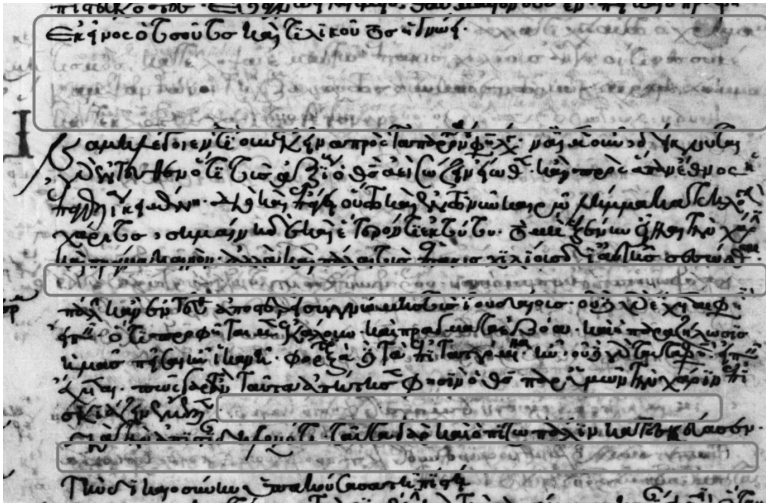


Figure 4. Rom 11:4-7 in GA 1506 (fol. 323v) with *lemmata* and *scholia* outlined

GA 2110 does not have the longer reading at Rom 11:6—an addition that would nearly double the length of 11:6. While GA 2110 and GA 1506 will not have a one-to-one correlation concerning the number of lines per lemma or the line lengths, one can acquire a sufficient sense of proportions by comparing the two witnesses. In both, Rom 11:4–5 is contained within a single lemma section and the accompanying commentary is longer than the lemma. In GA 2110, Rom 11:6 clearly takes up a single line and is followed by a longer commentary section. In GA 1506 we observe a similar proportion; one line of lemma is followed by a longer commentary section. In GA 2110, 11:7 is broken into two short sections, the first shorter than the second. In GA 1506 we also observe two short lemma sections in which the first is shorter than the second. This structural comparison suggests that GA 1506 simply does not have the room for the longer reading and likely matches the content in GA 2110.

Using Digital Tools

The most important digital tool for this project was a photo editor for changing the light levels of the Library of Congress microfilm scans. See Figure 5 for a before and after of this edit. For this step, almost any photo editor will be sufficient.

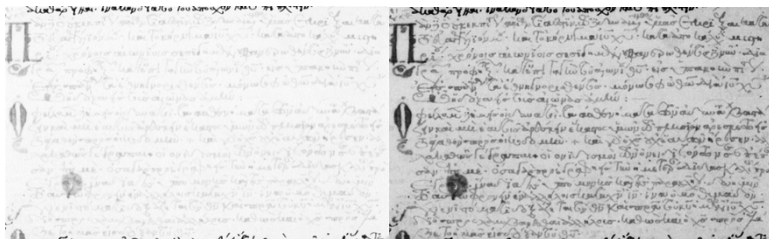


Figure 5. GA 1506, fol. 328v unedited (left) and edited (right)

In addition to making the lemma easier to read, I also used image editing software to help read sections in which the text from the reverse side of the folio interfered with the front-facing lemma.¹⁴ A demonstration of this process as it was used for reading Rom 11:6 is detailed here. Rom 11:6 is contained on fol. 323v (Figure 4). Figure 6 is a cropped image that displays only Rom 11:6.

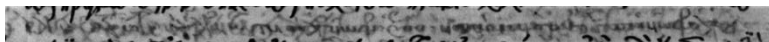


Figure 6. Rom 11:6 in GA 1506 (fol. 323v, l. 18)

The line appears cluttered because the commentary text from the reverse side shows more clearly than the front-facing lemma. To filter out the commentary text on the verso, I employed the following steps:

I first identified the line of commentary that is bleeding through from the recto (Figure 7). Second, I cropped the image to isolate the commentary.

¹⁴ The GIMP Development Team, *GIMP*, Windows 10, 2020, <https://www.gimp.org/>.

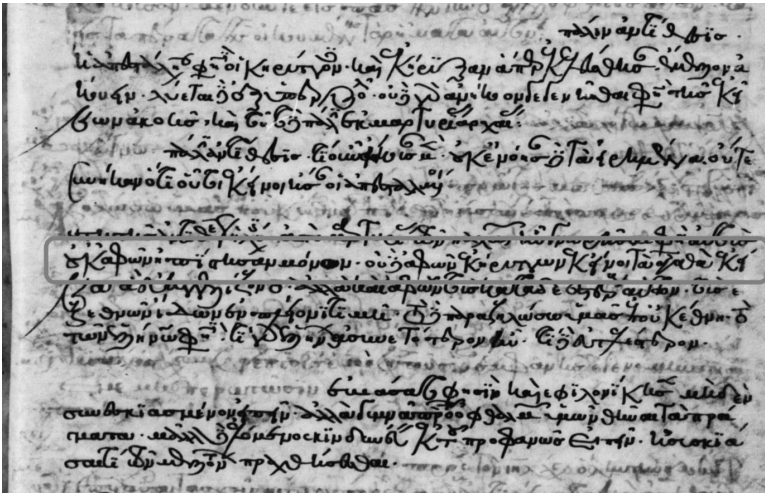


Figure 7. Commentary line outlined on the reverse-side of Rom 11:6 (fol. 323r)

Third, the background needed to be removed so that only text remained. Fourth, the image was flipped horizontally, and its colour changed to red (Figure 8). Fifth, the isolated and reversed line of commentary from the recto was laid over the lemma section on the verso in varying degrees of opacity (Figures 9 and 10). It is still challenging to read, but with a comfortable familiarity with this scribe's hand it is considerably easier to *look through* the commentary because it can be clearly differentiated from the lemma. The final steps toward a clearer presentation of the lemma are to colourise and extract the lemma text from its context (Figures 11 and 12). Using image editing software, the lemma can be extracted by selecting only the parts painted blue. Finally, a transcription of Rom 11:6 in GA 1506 can now be presented:

Rom 11:6 εἰ δὲ χάριτι οὐκ ἐστὶ ἐξ ἐργ[ω]ν ἐπ[ε]ι [ἡ] χάρις [οὐ]κ ἐπὶ
 γιν[ε]τ[α]ί χάρις¹⁵

¹⁵ Unless otherwise stated, I am responsible for all transcriptions and translations of GA 1506. Words transcribed from this manuscript are rendered without breathing and accent marks.

COLOUR FIGURES



Figure 8. Line from GA 1506 flipped, extracted from background, and coloured (fol. 323r)



Figure 9. Rom 11:6 overlaid with reverse-side commentary at 33% opacity, GA 1506 (fol. 323v)



Figure 10. Rom 11:6 overlaid with reverse-side commentary at 66% opacity, GA 1506 (fol. 323v)



Figure 11. Rom 11:6 in GA 1506 with reverse-side commentary coloured red and front-facing lemma coloured blue, 33% opacity, (fol. 323v)



Figure 12. Rom 11:6 lemma in GA 1506 extracted from background (fol. 323v)



Figure 13. Rom 11:7a in GA 1506 with reverse-side commentary coloured red (fol. 323v)

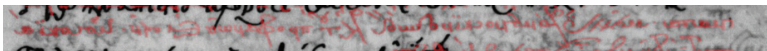


Figure 14. Rom 11:7b in GA 1506 with reverse-side commentary coloured red (fol. 323v)

NEW READINGS

The ‘new readings’ that will be proposed can be categorised into two groups. The first two readings consist of new transcriptions of Romans 11:6 and 7 based on the coloured digital image editing process which has just been described. The others are corrections to readings cited in the critical apparatus of NA28 or UBS5 or in the *TuT* volumes for the Pauline corpus.¹⁶ In the latter group, the text of NA28 is provided for reference.

Romans 11:6

The editorial text of Rom 11:6 in NA28 reads εἰ δὲ χάριτι, οὐκέτι ἐξ ἔργων, ἐπεὶ ἡ χάρις οὐκέτι γίνεται χάρις. The Byzantine text (represented by Robinson-Pierpont), however, adds the following to the end, Εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἔργων, οὐκέτι ἐστὶν χάρις· ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐκέτι ἐστὶν ἔργον. The Byzantine addition doubles the length of the verse.

There are contradicting citations for GA 1506 in this verse among the standard critical apparatuses. *TuT* notes that GA 1506 is illegible at this point of variation, while the NA28 critical apparatus cites GA 1506 as a witness to the longer reading.¹⁷ The UBS5 apparatus cites GA 1506^{vid} as a witness for the shorter reading. As was demonstrated above, it is certain that the entire lemma section contains only the shorter reading. One can be confident, now, that GA 1506 is a witness to the shorter reading, along with its family member, GA 2110. As a result, I suggest that the NA apparatus should be corrected, and the UBS citation should be upgraded to remove ‘vid’.

Romans 11:7

Rom 11:7 is divided between two consecutive lemma sections. The lemma text of Rom 11:7a and its associated commentary constitute one numbered unit while Rom 11:7b and its associated commentary are contained in the following unit. Both units of the

¹⁶ Kurt Aland, ed., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des neuen Testaments. II. Die Paulinischen Briefe. 1. Allgemeines, Römerbrief und Ergänzungsliste*, ANTF 16 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991).

¹⁷ Aland, *Text und Textwert*, p. 379.

lemma were transcribed using the method demonstrated above. See Figure 13 for 11:7a and Figure 14 for 11:7b.

Rom 11:7a τῖ ο[υν] ο επιζητει ιηλ τουτο ουκ [επε]τυχη[εν]

Rom 11:7b [η] [δ]ε εκλογ[η] [επε]τ[υ]χ[εν] [οι] δε ολ[ηγοι]
επ[ωρωθησ]αν

Perhaps the most important contribution of this transcription of 11:7 in GA 1506 is that it clearly marks the end of 11:6, which eliminates the possibility that GA 1506 contains the Byzantine addition at the end of 11:6.

Romans 1:9

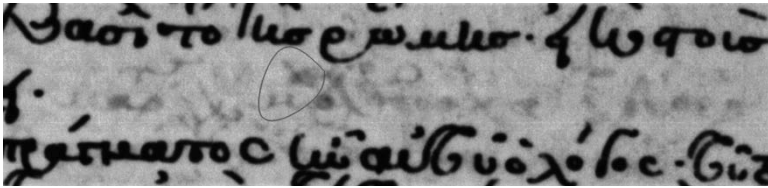


Figure 15. Rom 1:9 in GA 1506 with the location of μου outlined, (fol. 307v)

GA 1506 μαρτυς γαρ μου εστ(ιν) ω λατρευω

NA28 μάρτυς γάρ μου ἔστιν ὁ θεός, ᾧ λατρεύω

The NA28 apparatus cites GA 1506 as a witness to reading μοι for μου, but the ου ligature 8 is clearly legible above the mu.

Romans 1:24

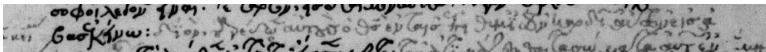


Figure 16. Rom 1:24 in GA 1506 (fol. 308r)

GA 1506 δι ον, παρεδωκεν αυτους ο θς εν ταις επιθυμιας των
καρδιων αυτων εις α-

NA28 Διὸ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν
καρδιῶν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν

The NA28 apparatus cites GA 1506 as a witness to the addition of *καί* between *διό* and *παρέδωκεν*. Not only does GA 1506 actually omit *καί*, but it appears to have a singular reading by substituting *δι' ὃν* (because of which) for *διό* (therefore). This reading is not found in Tischendorf or von Soden.¹⁸

Romans 8:11

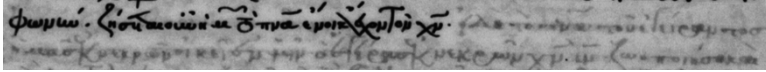


Figure 17. Rom 8:11 in GA 1506 (fol. 318r)

GA 1506	ει δε το πνα̅ του εγειραντος ημας εκ νεκρων οικει εν υμιν ο εγειρας εκ νεκρων χν̅ εν ζωοποιηση και
NA28	ει̅ δε̅ το̅ πνεύμα̅ τοῦ̅ ἐγείραντος̅ τὸν̅ Ἰησοῦν̅ ἐκ̅ νεκρῶν̅ οἰκεῖ̅ ἐν̅ ὑμῖν̅, ὁ̅ ἐγείρας̅ Χριστὸν̅ ἐκ̅ νεκρῶν̅ ζωοποιήσει̅ και̅

The NA28 apparatus cites GA 1506 as a witness to the omission of *τόν*, but this misrepresents the substitution *ἡμᾶς* for *τόν ἰησοῦν*. This appears to be a reading exclusive to Family 0150, since the only other witness in which it is found is GA 2110 (GA 0150 is lacunose here).

¹⁸ *Novum Testamentum Graece*, eds. Constantine von Tischendorf, Caspar René Gregory, and Ezra Abbot (Leipzig: Giesecke and Devrient, 1894); Hermann Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments: in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, 4 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1911–1913).

Romans 8:23

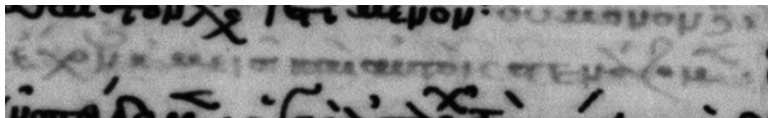


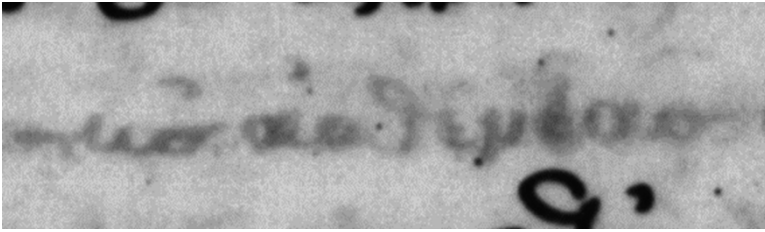
Figure 18. Rom 8:23 in GA 1506 (fol. 319r)

GA 1506 εχοντες ημεις και αυτοις στεναζομεν

NA28 ἔχοντες, ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν

There are several variants attested in the critical apparatus for Rom 8:23, but the phrase in question here is ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοί. There is considerable variety among the witnesses concerning the order and omission of words. The NA28 apparatus cites evidence for six readings; it cites GA 1506 as a witness to the reading in the editorial text, as does *TuT*.¹⁹ This does not reflect the wording as it appears in GA 1506, but it is possible that the scribe's exemplar *did* agree with the reading in the text because the reading in GA 1506 could descend from the reading in the text of NA28. GA 1506 contains a scribal error which seems to replace the nominative plural αὐτοὶ with the dative plural αὐτοῖς—a nonsense substitution since it clearly forms a phrase with the nominative ἡμεῖς, 'we ourselves'. The error, however, seems not to be an erroneous substitution but rather an instance of parablepsis in which αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς was elided to αὐτοῖς. Therefore, the text of GA 1506 as it stands does not match the reading of NA28, and it is impossible to know whether the scribe of GA 1506 inherited the error or in fact produced it.

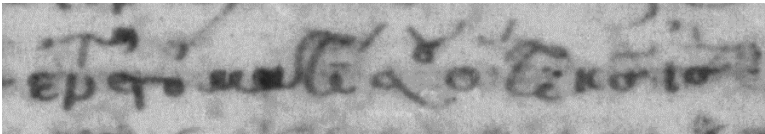
¹⁹ Aland, *Text und Textwert*, p. 356.

Romans 8:26**Figure 19. Rom 8:26 in GA 1506 (fol. 319v)**

GA 1506 της ασθeneias

NA28 τῆ ἀσθενείᾳ

While the NA28 apparatus incorrectly includes GA 1506 among the witnesses that support ταῖς ἀσθενείαις, *TuT* correctly states that GA 1506 reads τῆς ἀσθeneias.²⁰ Although the actual reading of GA 1506 is not one of the four readings presented as options in the NA28 apparatus, *TuT* does list four other minuscule witnesses for the same reading: GA 436, GA 582, GA 2523, and GA 2576. As the older member of the textual family in which GA 1506 appears, GA 2110, reads τη ασθενια (the same as the NA28 text except for an itacism), it seems likely that GA 1506 represents one of a number of occasions on which the dative of this noun was changed to the genitive, an alternative case for the complement of συναντιλαμβάνεται.

Romans 10:9**Figure 20. Rom 10:9 (fol. 322v)**

GA 1506 εν τω στοματι σου οτι $\overline{\kappa\zeta\ \iota\zeta}$

NA28 ἐν τῷ στόματί σου κύριον Ἰησοῦν

²⁰ Aland, *Text und Textwert*, p. 361.

The NA28 apparatus lists three readings:

(a) εν τω στοματι σου κυριον Ιησουν Χριστον P46, 02

(b) (+ το ρημα 03) εν τω στοματι σου οτι κυριος Ιησους 03, 81

(text) ἐν τῷ στόματί σου κύριον Ἰησοῦν 01, 06, 010, 012, 018, 020, most others

The reading of GA 1506 is a perfect match for reading (b). It is not rare that GA 1506 (along with Family 0150) agrees with either 01 or 03 and a few other witnesses. Yet, in the NA28 apparatus GA 1506 is cited in support of the reading in the text.

Romans 10:20

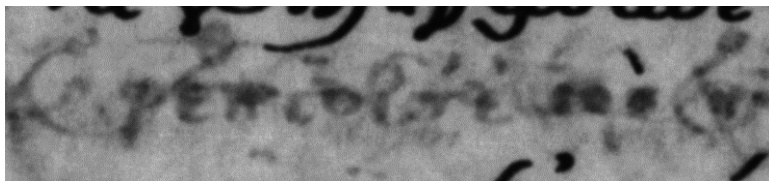


Figure 21. Rom 10:20 in GA 1506 (fol. 323r)

GA 1506 ευρεθ(ην) τοις εμει

NA28 εὐρέθηγν [ἐν] τοῖς ἐμέ

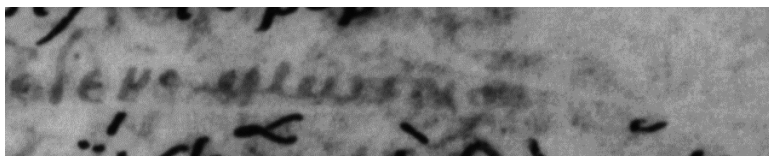


Figure 22. Rom 10:20 in GA 1506 (fol. 323r)

GA 1506 εγενομην τοις

NA28 ἐγενόμην τοῖς

GA 1506 is cited by the NA28 as a witness to the addition of ἐν twice in this verse: following εὐρέθηγν and following ἐγενόμην. GA 1506 lacks ἐν in both places.

Romans 13:9

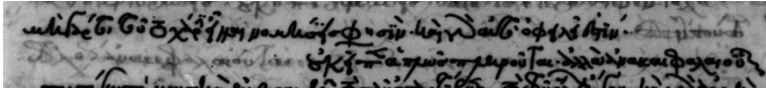


Figure 23. Rom 13:9 in GA 1506 (fol. 327r)

GA 1506	ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται
NA28	ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται

The NA28 apparatus cites GA 1506 as a witness to the word order τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ in the text. However, GA 1506 reverses this order and supports the reading in the Majority Text.

Romans 15:29

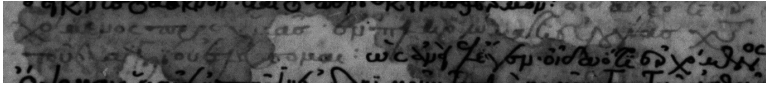


Figure 24. Rom 15:29 in GA 1506 (fol. 330r)

GA 1506	οἶδα δὲ ὅτι ἐρ- χομενος προς υμας · ἐν πληρωματι εὐλογίας χυ· του εὐαγγελίου ἐλευσομαι
NA28	οἶδα δὲ ὅτι ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν πληρώματι εὐλογίας Χριστοῦ ἐλεύσομαι.

This is not a ‘new’ reading because the UBS5 apparatus cites GA 1506 (and GA 0150) correctly, but the NA28 apparatus and *TuT* cite GA 1506 as a witness to the omission of τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.²¹ Most witnesses insert τοῦ εὐαγγελίου before χριστοῦ, but only Family 0150 (GA 0150, GA 1506, GA 2110) insert τοῦ εὐαγγελίου after χριστοῦ.

²¹ Aland, *TuT*, 421.

Romans 15:33

Again, this is not a newly discovered reading, but rather a challenge to the communication of the variation present in GA 1506 at this place. The NA28 apparatus cites P46 and GA 1506 as the only two witnesses that insert the doxology after 15:33. However, only P46 actually inserts the doxology after 15:33, after which all of Romans 16 follows. GA 1506, on the other hand simply omits 16:1–24 but leaves space for it on the page, as Figure 25 demonstrates.

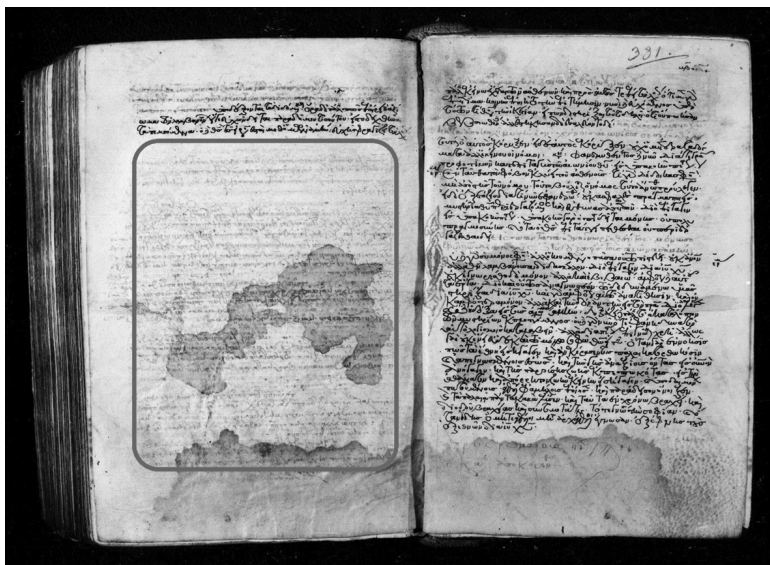


Figure 25. Fols. 330v and 331r in GA 1506 with an outline around blank space on 330v

The other members of Family 0150 do contain Rom 16:1–23, but the section receives no commentary. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the greetings section was eventually left out of the manuscript witnesses to the Damascene catena. This is especially the case if the primary value of the tradition was taken to be the commentary and not the lemma. The UBS5 apparatus states that GA 1506 omits 16:1–24 *'but add 16:25–27 here'*. This obscures the situation that GA 1506 does not place the doxology *'here'*, that is, immediately after 15:33, but rather it places the doxology after

nearly a full page of white space. GA 1506 has a single variant here: the omission of 16:1–24.

But why does GA 1506 omit the greetings section of Romans 16 yet leave appropriate space for it? A handful of reasons readily present themselves: The primary goal was likely to preserve the commentary. The scribe may have left space in order to add the missing scripture once the task of preserving the commentary was complete. It may even have been that the red ink used for writing the lemma was low in supply. It is also possible that 16:1–24 had already fallen out in the exemplar manuscript, and so the scribe may have left space with the intention of filling in the missing scripture by consulting a continuous-text manuscript. In any case, we can say that GA 1506 is incomplete in multiple ways.

1 Corinthians 2:2

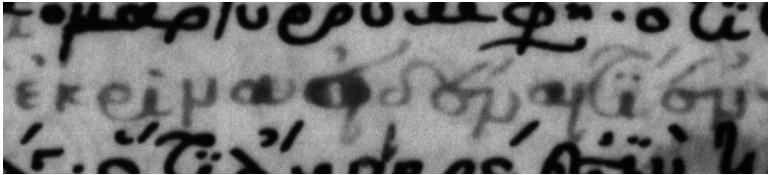


Figure 26. 1 Cor. 2:2 in GA 1506 (fol. 334r)

GA 1506 *εκρινα ειδεναι τι εν*

NA28 *ἔκρινά τι εἰδέναι ἐν*

The NA28 apparatus cites GA 1506 as a witness to the text reading *τι εἰδέναι*, but GA 1506 reverses the words. The first alternative reading given in the apparatus is *ειδεναι τι*, for which GA 01, 02, 010, 012, 048^{vid}, 6, 1175, 1241, 1505, and 2464 are cited. GA 1506 should be listed among these witnesses. The Majority Text reads *τοῦ εἰδέναι τι*, so the reading of GA 1506 and the above witnesses follow the order of the Majority Text but omit *του*.

1 Corinthians 2:15

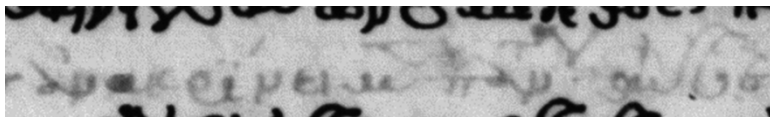


Figure 27. 1 Cor 2:15 in GA 1506 (fol. 335v)

GA 1506 *ανακρινει μεν παντα αυτος*

NA28 *ἀνακρίνει [τὰ] πάντα, αὐτὸς*

At this place, NA28 incorrectly cites GA 1506 for the reading *τὰ πάντα*. The UBS5 apparatus correctly cites GA 1506 for the reading *μεν παντα*, which is the reading of the Majority Text. There can be no doubt about GA 1506's reading; the *μ* and *εν* ligature are both clearly visible in the microfilm scans.

1 Corinthians 3:2

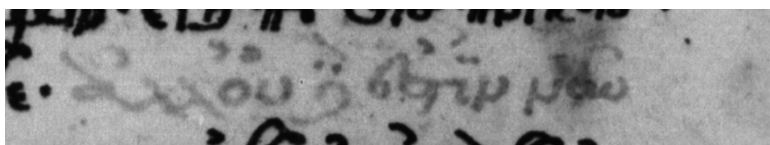


Figure 28. 1 Cor 3:2 in GA 1506 (fol. 336r)

GA 1506 *αλλ ουδε εστιν νυν*

NA28 *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε*

Note the full clause in NA28: the NA28 apparatus cites GA 1506 as a witness for the reading *ἔτι* but the UBS5 apparatus cites GA 1506 for its omission. It seems that neither is quite right since GA 1506 likely contains a nonsense scribal error at this point of *ἔστιν* for *ἔτι*. The third-person singular form of *εἰμί* does not fit the grammatical context, 'but still you are not able'.

1 Corinthians 4:15

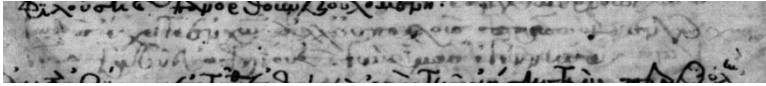


Figure 29. 1 Cor 4:15 in GA 1506 (fol. 338v)

GA 1506 γω[γου]ς εχ[η]τε εν χω · αλλ ου πολλους πρας εν
γαρ χω̄ τῷ̄ δια του ευαγγελιου εγω υμας εγεννησα

NA28 παιδαγωγους ἔχῃτε ἐν Χριστῷ̄ ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὺς
πατέρας· ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ̄ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγὼ
ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα.

For the omission of *ἰησοῦ*, the NA28 apparatus cites only GA 03, GA 1506, and part of the tradition of Clement. As one can see from the image and transcription, however, GA 1506 witnesses to the presence of *ἰησοῦ* in 1 Cor 4:15. This citation error is interesting because the omission is, apparently, a rare variant; there is little reason to even suspect that GA 1506 would preserve what now appears to be a singular reading of 03.

1 Corinthians 4:17

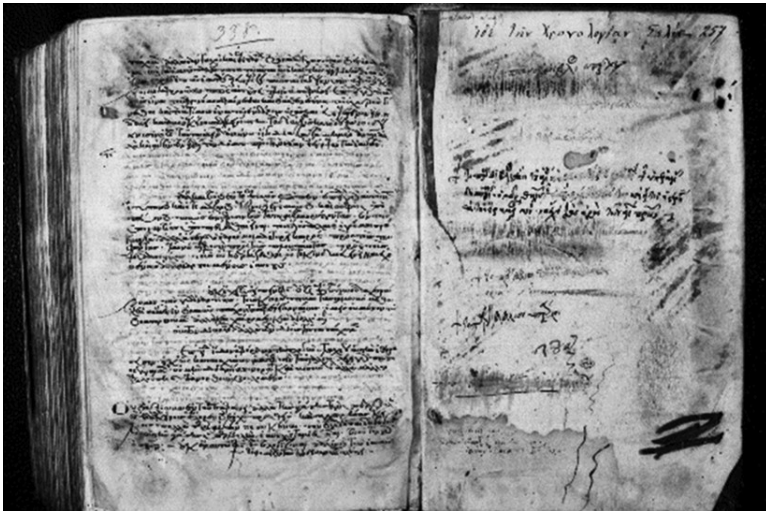


Figure 30. Final page and inner back cover of the manuscript containing GA 1506

In a curious mistake, NA28 cites GA 1506 as a witness to the omission of *αὐτό* in 1 Cor 4:17. It is true that this word cannot be found in GA 1506, but this is because everything after 1 Cor 4:15 is lacunose. GA 1506 is an incomplete manuscript. If there is or was more to the end of GA 1506, there is no photographic record of it.

CONCLUSION

Although the limitations of the technology used to preserve the text of GA 1506 have led to difficult sections of text, this article intended to demonstrate how further use of technology can facilitate the recovery of text from these difficult sections. The first step in the method used was determining from where to retrieve the best available images and not assuming that all available scans originate from the same copy of a microfilm. The use of technology has been especially profitable for reading text that has been rendered nearly illegible due to confusion between the front-facing text and the reverse-side text, especially when the reverse text shows through more strongly. Concerning the transcription of GA 1506 specifically, it is beneficial to take advantage of its similarity to GA 0150 and 2110. Since the division, numbering, and content of the commentary and *lemmata* in each of the three witnesses are the same, navigating the barely legible passages is possible. With the best available images in hand, several new readings in Romans and 1 Corinthians have been offered, contradictory citations among the critical editions have been adjudicated, and minor errors in critical apparatuses have been identified. One may also compare the accuracy of the NA28 and UBS5 apparatuses and discover that, generally, the UBS5 is more likely to cite the readings of GA 1506 accurately.

While much of the demonstrated method is specific to GA 1506 as a member of an identified manuscript family, some suggestions for future research into poorly digitised witnesses are applicable to a wider range of documents. (1) Find the best images available. Many manuscripts from Mount Athos will have microfilm scans on the NTVMR *and* on the Library of Congress website—it is advantageous to check both. The libraries on Mount

Athos have also begun to digitise their manuscripts.²² Theodora Panella is monitoring this process, so it is generally advisable to check the NTVMR for potential external images available.²³ The NTVMR does not usually indicate external microfilm scans in the manuscript workspace if INTF has their own scans, but links to all external images, including those hosted by the Library of Congress, are often in the online *Liste* entry. (2) If possible, work from downloaded images and experiment by manipulating the light and contrast of the images to see if text can be brought out from too-bright or too-dark portions. It is often the case that more visual information has been captured than is immediately obvious.

It should not be surprising that GA 1506 is the source of a dozen or more incorrect citations. It is difficult to read, and several factors contribute to the confusion of readers. First, its original imaging was limited to monochrome by the available technology. Second, it is categorised by the Alands as category II in the Paulines, which means that one might expect to find readings that agree with the critical text.²⁴ Indeed, at least eight of the incorrect citations above stated that GA 1506 agreed with the text of the NA28. It may be that the critical text was used as a base text, and it was given the benefit of the doubt in difficult places. We should expect to update readings whenever a manuscript which has, historically, been neglected by direct study, receives a dedicated examination.

²² 'Mount Athos Repository', *Mount Athos*, 2020, <https://repository.mountathos.org/jspui/>.

²³ Theodora Panella, 'New Testament Manuscripts from Mount Athos', *Institute for New Testament Textual Research (INTF) Blog*, 3 March 2020, <https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/intfblog/-/blogs/new-testament-manuscripts-form-mount-athos-repository>.

²⁴ Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987), p. 133.

APPENDIX: ALL NEW READINGS IN GA 1506

Readings discussed above marked with *. Some citations of GA 1506 are entirely incorrect while others are reasonable summaries but may be unintentionally misleading. It is not suggested here that these ‘potentially misleading’ citations of GA 1506 be changed in future editions, but rather they are worth clarifying for the interested researcher.

Reference	Incorrect or Misleading Reading	Correct Reading
Rom 1:9*	μοι (NA28)	μου
Rom 1:20	omit <i>αἰδιος</i> (NA28)	<i>αιδιος</i> is written above the line by the first hand as an apparent immediate correction.
Rom 1:25	και (NA28)	omitted
Rom 3:2	The NA28 cites GA 1506 for both the reading in the text (incorrect) and the first alternative reading (correct).	<i>πρωτον μεν οτι</i>
Rom 7:17	<i>οικουσα</i> (NA28)	<i>κουσα</i> (scribal error)
Rom 8:11*	omit <i>τον</i> (NA28)	<i>ημας</i> for <i>τον ιησουν</i>
Rom 8:23*	<i>ημεις και αυτοι</i> (NA28 and <i>TuT</i>)	<i>ημεις και αυτοις</i> , parablepsis of <i>αυτοι εν εαυτοις</i> → <i>αυτοι_ς</i>
Rom 8:26*	<i>ταις ασθeneιαις</i> (NA28)	<i>της ασθeneιας</i> (<i>TuT</i>)
Rom 9:27	<i>καταλειμμα</i> (NA28)	<i>εγκαταλημμα</i> (<i>TuT</i>)
Rom 10:9*	<i>κυριον ιησουν</i> (NA28)	<i>κς ις</i>
Rom 10:20a*	<i>ευρεθην εν τοις</i> (NA28)	<i>ευρεθην τοις</i>
Rom 10:20b*	<i>εγενομην εν τοις</i> (NA28)	<i>εγενομην τοις</i>
Rom 11:6*	Add <i>ει δε εξ εργαων ουκετι εστι χαρις, επει το εργον ουκετι εστιν εργον</i> (NA28). <i>TuT</i> notes that this text is illegible.	omit
Rom 13:1	<i>εξουσαις</i> (NA28)	<i>εξουσια</i>
Rom 13:9*	<i>τω λογω τουτω</i> (NA28)	<i>τουτω τω λογω</i>

Rom 13:9b	σεαυτον (NA28)	εαυτον, the sigmas in ως σεαυτον have likely been elided
Rom 15:29*	omit του ευαγγελιου (NA28, <i>TuT</i>)	include του ευαγγελιου
Rom 15:33*	add 16:25–27 here (NA28)	omit 16:1–24 (but leave a blank space)
1 Cor 1:28	omit και (NA28)	include και (UBS5)
1 Cor 2:2*	τι ειδεναι (NA28)	ειδεναι τι
1 Cor 2:15*	τα παντα (NA28)	μεν παντα (UBS5)
1 Cor 3:2*	ετι (NA28), omit ετι (UBS5)	εστιν for ετι
1 Cor 3:17	φθειρει φθερεϊ (NA28), φθειρει φθειρεϊ (UBS5)	φθῆρει φθηρεϊ
1 Cor 4:15*	omit ιησου (NA28)	τῷ
1 Cor 4:17*	omit αυτο (NA28)	1 Cor 4:16ff is lacunose

5. A STEMMA OF MARK IN FAMILY 13 USING PROBABILITY STRUCTURE ANALYSIS

G.P. FARTHING

This article offers a statement of the basis of Probability Structure Analysis, as I have now developed this conjecture beyond my earlier publications.¹ It also offers my early analysis of the Gospel of Mark in Family 13. Many complications have been omitted since a full treatment would require the scope of a book to examine them. It is my intention to publish in due course a complete analysis of Family 13, at least in Mark, showing what can be discovered by this method about the complex history of these manuscripts and the Family's relationship with the earliest text and the Byzantine text.

¹ G.P. Farthing, 'Detailed Textual Stemmata by means of Probability Theory', *Actes du Quatrième Colloque international Bible et informatique: matériel et matière: l'impact de l'informatique sur les études bibliques = Proceedings of the Fourth International Colloquium on the Bible and Computer: Desk and Discipline: The Impact of Computers on Bible Studies: Amsterdam, 15–18 August 1994*, ed. Association Internationale Bible Et Informatique and Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Collection DEBORA 8 (Paris: Champion, 1995), pp. 214–222 and G.P. Farthing, 'Using Probability Theory as a Key to Unlock Textual History', *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts: The Papers of the First Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. David G.K. Taylor, TS (III) 1 (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 1999; repr. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2013), pp. 110–134.

In 1942, Kirsopp and Silva Lake gave Figure 1 for Family 13 in Mark, but they added: ‘This diagram is concerned solely with the relation of the manuscripts to each other, without consideration for corruption from other texts. To it, to understand the matter fully, must be added influence by the Byzantine text on y, on c and on codex 124, as well as a certain amount of reinfusion of Caesarean readings in 124.’²

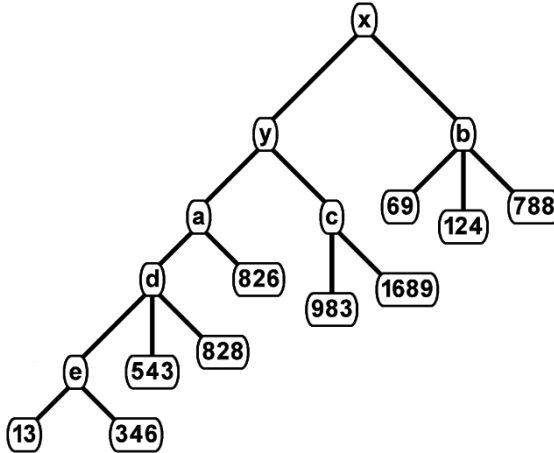


Figure 1. The Lakes' Stemma

Understanding the Lakes' stemma is straightforward. In the Lakes' stemma the lines—also called branches or stems below—each relate to a specific copying event, or groups of copyings, which each yield a specific text combination, so that their stemma, with fifteen stems, involves fifteen real text combinations: ten where one text stands alone and five where several texts stand against the rest. For instance, stem (e) to (d) relates to GA 13, 346 :: 69, 124, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983, 1689; stem (e) to GA 13 relates to GA 13 :: 69, 124, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983, 1689 and stem (y) to (x) to (b), counted as a single stem, relates to GA 13, 346, 543, 826, 828, 983, 1689 :: 69, 124, 788. In other words, there is a one-to-one

² Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, *Family 13 (The Ferrar Group), Mark with a collation of Codex 28 of the Gospels*, SD 11 (London: Christophers, 1941), p. 42.

correspondence between a specific stem and a specific text combination. However, for ten real texts there are not fifteen but 511 possible text combinations. In fact, over a hundred actual text combinations come from a comparison of the texts of these ten manuscripts, even if only those with two forms of the text are considered. Furthermore, in the fifteen combinations consistent with the Lakes' stemma the texts are divided into two neat groups. For instance, to cite one example of many, in Mark 4:16 there is the simple variation: GA 13, 346, 543, 826, 828: εὐθύς || 69, 124, 788, 983, 1689: εὐθέως. Finding the various manuscripts on the Lakes' stemma it is clear that this variation would most simply occur by a change on the stem (y) to (a).

However, most variations are not so neat. For instance, in Mark 4:32 there is the variation: GA 13, 346, 543, 788, 826: πετεινά || 69, 124, 828, 983, 1689: τὰ πετεινά. The variation is neither significant nor the combination of manuscripts frequent, but it is typical of many variations found in Mark and illustrates the point well. If this combination is plotted graphically on the stemma as in Figure 2, at least four fragments result.

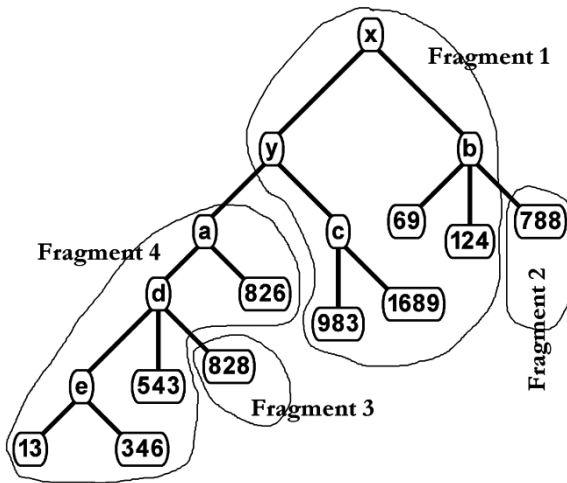


Figure 2

Considering the history of this variation and assuming the earliest text to be found in (x) in Fragment 1, identical changes occur on stems (b) to GA 788 and (y) to (a) because Fragment 2 has the

same texts as Fragment 4. But how does Fragment 3 get its text, since it must agree with Fragment 1? The only way is by the change on stem (y) to (a) being reversed on the stem (d) to GA 828; that is by the scribe of GA 828 writing the text of (x) at this point. These illustrate the processes that make assembling a credible stemma from text combinations so difficult: identical changes do occur and sometimes a scribe, for whatever reason, returns a point in the text to an earlier form. It is important to realise that in all but the fifteen combinations found in collating the texts of these ten manuscripts which conform to the given stemma, one or both sides of the text combination must be fragmented to fit the stemma. Put another way, in most combinations chance links are present due to the same change occurring coincidentally or due to readings being coincidentally reintroduced. For the textual critic attempting to find the underlying history of the manuscripts which can then be represented as a stemma, these occurrences are great difficulties. Most combinations do not fit any simple stemma, and if complex stemmata are attempted where does one stop in including more and more text combinations? These chance agreements are also what makes any attempt at describing the textual relationships based on their similarity very difficult.

Probability Structure Analysis considers a great number of the variations discoverable by collating real manuscript texts. The significance of most of these combinations is fragmentary, as in the example above, but, if these fragments of meaning are combined carefully, a credible underlying history or stemma can be discovered. Probability Structure Analysis seeks to investigate, account for, and represent the more elusive complications alluded to by the Lakes by coordinating these many fragmentary textual relationships. Probability Structure Analysis does not work with the frequencies of the real text combinations directly but seeks to create a model whose text combinations parallel the real text combinations as closely as possible. A good match suggests that the Probability Structure model stemma is a 'good enough' representation of the underlying history or stemma of the real manuscripts.

BASIC CONJECTURES OF THE PROBABILITY STRUCTURE MODEL

The following conjectures are the basis on which I have built the models used in this analysis and believe they have been supported by finding useful results so far.

1. That all the texts in the model consist of a finite number of possible points of variation.
2. That each possible point of variation can have two, and only two, forms.
3. That each copying process is characterised by a specific probability of each possible point of variation changing.

The following simple example demonstrates how Probability Structural Analysis works. Let us consider a symbolic text represented by twenty-six possible points of variation each identified by a lower-case letter (Figure 3). Each possible point of variation also has one and only one other form or state, identified by an upper-case letter:

State 1:

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

 State 2:

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Figure 3

We take a manuscript A with a text where every possible point of variation is in the lower-case form:

A	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Figure 4

B is a copy of A made with a 40% probability of each possible point of variation changing. 40% of 26 is 10.4, but the result must be a whole number and the nearest whole number is 10. The specific points of variation which change in any scenario are of course random:

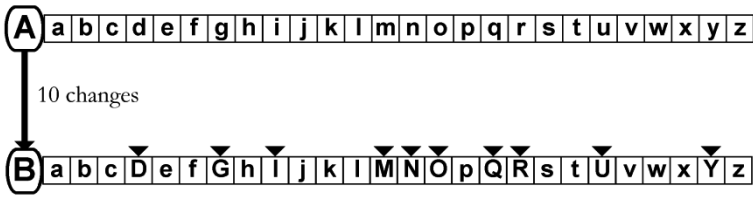


Figure 5

A second copy C is then made independently with a 30% probability of each possible point of variation changing. 30% of 26 is 7.8. The nearest whole number is eight changes. Again the ‘choice’ of which points of variation change is random:

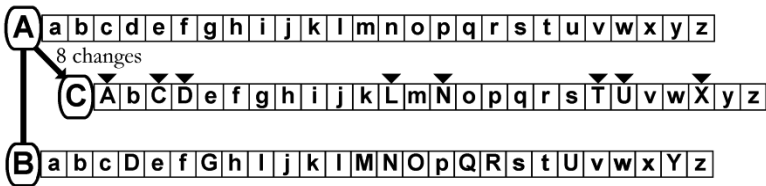


Figure 6

The crucial and fundamental thing to notice is that the changes forming B and the changes forming C coincide three times *by chance* at D, N and U, despite sharing no genealogical relationship:

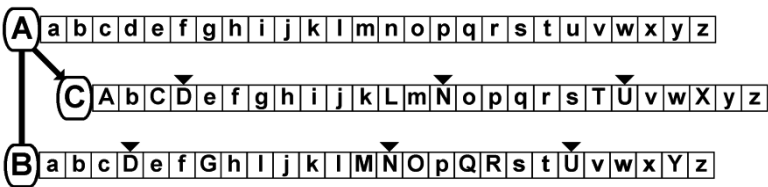


Figure 7

With Probability Structure Analysis, regardless of how few or how many texts are represented, every possible text combination will be assigned a probable frequency, though in some cases the figure may be insignificant. The strength of Probability Structure Analysis is its ability to give frequencies to combinations formed by chance duplications and chance reversals of changes which so bedevil our

understanding of the real texts. The result of this modelling is that text combinations that do not fit the history of the textual copying will always arise; their presence is inevitable. This, I claim, is the aspect of Probability Structure Analysis that correctly mirrors real life; the mass of text combinations that do not conveniently fit any suggested stemma of real texts are not weird aberrations but inevitable consequences of the real copying process. Thus, if we are to model real copying, we need an analysis which models this chaotic aspect as Probability Structure Analysis does.

STEMMATA WITH CONFLATE TEXTS

A further issue that Probability Structure Analysis can deal with is the case where a text has more than one parent. This can arise in various ways. A scribe may find a part of the source is missing.³ The scribe will then find a second copy to compensate for what is missing. Or a scribe who memorised the text may occasionally 'correct' the text as the copy is made. These circumstances can be called mixture, conflation or contamination. Probability Structure Analysis deals with this circumstance by proportioning two or more stems that feed the conflate text. Clarifying the data is complex but the presentation is quite straightforward (Figure 8). Here C is partly derived from A and partly from B. Dotted stems are given proportions which must add up to exactly one. The full stem is given a probability which converts to a mean number of changes which occur in the copying process. The assumed text X is a convenient fiction to assist calculation.

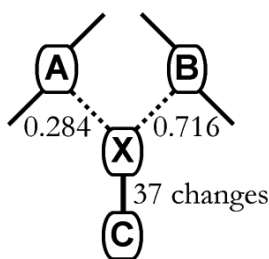


Figure 8

³As we will see in 'A Practical Example' below, several manuscripts in this study have small sections of text missing.

THE BASIC MATHEMATICS OF PROBABILITY STRUCTURE ANALYSIS⁴

Let us suppose a set of four manuscripts of a document, called A, B, C and D. These manuscripts are collated and the following number of times each grouping is found is shown in Table 1.

A :: B, C, D	3 times
A, B :: C, D	30 times
A, C :: B, D	15 times
A, D :: B, C	17 times
A, B, C :: D	345 times
A, B, D :: C	260 times
A, C, D :: B	160 times

Table 1. Groupings in four manuscripts

A stemma is suggested which seeks to explain the relationships of these texts (Figure 9).⁵

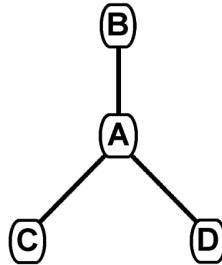


Figure 9

⁴ The books from which I learned this mathematics are now well out of print. If the reader wishes to pursue the ideas the internet is full of references (but for that reason is a bit of a maze). I suggest a start at <https://www.bmj.com/about-bmj/resources-readers/publications/statistics-square-one/8-chi-squared-tests> which explains various uses for the chi squared test and helpfully gives a table converting the error figure and degrees of freedom to probabilities in Appendix Table C.pdf. The detail in this table is poor but will give a start for further searches.

⁵ A stemma can be constructed manually on inspection of the data, especially if one is building on an existing stemma, or a program can start from scratch and test all possible simple stemmata to find the one offering the lowest error figure. Both methods are used in manipulating the real data in this article.

Giving the computer program the real text combination figures and the suggested stemma, it offers the stem lengths and N figure in Table 2 as the optimum in order most accurately to model the relationships of the real texts based on the group agreement figures. The N figure is the notional number of possible points of variation in the text. The length of the stems given in Table 2 have added to them the probabilities of the text changing on that stem and the complementary probability of the text not changing on that stem. The length of each stem is the mean number of changes expected on that stem, given the probability of change on that stem and the N value: it is the centre of a range and can sensibly be shown with a decimal fraction, whereas the real frequencies must be whole numbers. The letter P is used for the probability of change and Q for the probability of no change. Each individual P plus Q must add to one.

Stem	Length	P of change	Q of no change
A-B	$L_{AB} = 194.27$	$P_{AB} = 0.05087$	$Q_{AB} = 0.94913$
A-C	$L_{AC} = 307.90$	$P_{AC} = 0.08062$	$Q_{AC} = 0.91938$
A-D	$L_{AD} = 392.77$	$P_{AD} = 0.10285$	$Q_{AD} = 0.89715$
The N figure: 3819			

Table 2. Optimum calculations of sample.⁶

The stem lengths can be found by multiplying the appropriate probability of change and the N figure; the probabilities of change can be found by dividing the appropriate stem length by the N figure. The N figure is needed by the computer for its calculations but represents nothing objective in describing the texts of the manuscripts. For this reason, the frequency of the combination where all texts agree is taken to be uncountable and ignored.

Given this stemma, the implied combination frequencies can be calculated. For instance, A and B standing against C and D (A, B :: C, D) occurs where there is no change on the stem A-B (since these texts agree) but there are changes on stems A-C and A-D (since the texts at each end of the stems disagree). The probabilities of change and no change are given in Table 2, as is the number of points of possible variation. The frequency is:

⁶ The figures given in this article are rounded to give a neat presentation and may not match exactly in the last significant figure if mathematical operations are performed on them.

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Formula 1} \quad F(A, B :: C, D) &= N \times Q_{AB} \times P_{AC} \times P_{AD} \\
 &= 3819 \times 0.94913 \times 0.08062 \times 0.10285 \\
 &= 30.055
 \end{aligned}$$

I have then used a χ^2 (chi squared) calculation to determine the error figure arising from a comparison of the given value (30) and the modelled value (30.055). The general formula is:

$$\text{Formula 2} \quad \chi^2 = \frac{(R-M)^2}{R}$$

Where R is the frequency derived from the real texts and M from the model. Thus, for F (A, B :: C, D) the error is:

$$\text{Formula 3} \quad E(A, B :: C, D) = (30 - 30.055)^2 / 3 = 0.00010$$

The other error figures can be calculated in the same way, except for E (A :: B, C, D); here the frequency of three is too small to be used. χ^2 calculations need a figure of at least five to be valid. The solution is to group the 3 for A :: B, C, D with the next smallest figure, 15, which is for A, C :: B, D.⁷ This method of grouping, or consolidation, works well for small numbers of figures but gives difficulties for larger numbers of figures; large groupings can conceal large errors. While the χ^2 method is satisfactory for the purposes of demonstration of the method's potential, seeking a more reliable method for larger stemmata is an important next step of my research. The χ^2 method is not in any way intrinsic to Probability Structure Analysis. The full set of results is shown in Table 3.

Combination	Real	Calculated	Error
A :: B, C, D	3	<i>consolidated with A, C :: B, D</i>	
A, B :: C, D	30	30.055	0.00010
A, C :: B, D	15 + 3	19.980	0.21779
A, D :: B, C	17	14.052	0.51118
A, B, C :: D	345	342.732	0.01491
A, B, D :: C	260	262.186	0.01838
A, C, D :: B	160	160.239	0.00036
Sum			0.76271

Table 3. Error figures for sample

⁷ If there are several frequencies of less than five, but which together equal or exceed five, they are treated as a single independent grouping, which will give its own error figure.

This error figure can be converted to a probability that the stemma, with its attributes, is a good explanation of the relationships of the real manuscript texts. However, one more value is needed for the calculations, that is the 'degrees of freedom'. In our example we are trying to account for the relationships of our four manuscript texts based on seven numbers: the frequencies of the various group agreements (ignoring where all texts agree). It is self-evident that if we use a mathematical system which uses seven or more numerical values it would be possible, without fail, to show a convincing comparison. Mathematically, if seven variables are used to account for seven given figures, the 'degrees of freedom' is zero and the attempt pointless. For a meaningful system, fewer values must be used than those to be matched. In our calculations we have six values to account for (there are seven frequencies, but one is consolidated with another, leaving six), and use three stem lengths plus an N value, that is four values, giving a 'degree of freedom' of six minus four which equals two. Given the error figure and the degrees of freedom, standard tables, or a very complicated formula, will give a probability that the calculated figures, with that particular stemma, offer a reasonable explanation of the relationship of the four manuscript texts. The result here is 68.3%. The example's data was, of course, manufactured to give a high probability.

The method of calculating the frequency of combinations where a text has been assumed in order to make sense of the stemma can be demonstrated from Table 3. If we wished to list the combinations of those texts, taking account only of B, C and D, the numbers become clear by listing the seven combinations in Table 3 but omitting the unwanted A, as in Table 4.

Combination	Frequency
:: B, C, D	3
B :: C, D	30
C :: B, D	15
D :: B, C	17
B, C :: D	345
B, D :: C	260
C, D :: B	160

Table 4. Combinations without A

The first combination becomes B, C, D :: where all texts agree, and is ignored. Each of the other useful combinations now occur twice: the second is the same as the seventh, the third the same as the sixth, the fourth the same as the fifth. By adding in pairs, we obtain the following results:

B :: C, D	30	+	C, D :: B	160	= 190
C :: B, D	15	+	B, D :: C	260	= 275
D :: B, C	17	+	B, C :: D	345	= 362

Table 5. Results of combinations without A

The general rule where the stemma has an assumed text is simple: count the frequency, as indicated in the stemma, with the assumed text agreeing with the texts on the left of the combination and add this to the frequency with the assumed text agreeing with the right side. Where there is one assumed text two frequencies will be added; if there are two assumed texts it will be four frequencies; if three texts, it will be eight, and so on, the number being two to the power of the number of assumed texts.

A PRACTICAL EXAMPLE

Given all this, can so simple a system usefully model the relationships of actual texts? This example relates to the same group of texts as the Lakes studied, with the exception of GA 1689. When I began my studies, GA 1689 was considered 'lost'. For instance, Jacob Geerlings in his collation of Family 13 in Luke says: 'The variant readings of 1689 have been extracted from Soden's apparatus and until this manuscript is rediscovered, his apparatus is unfortunately the only source of information about the text of this manuscript'.⁸ While this manuscript has now been rediscovered in Prague and is present in the NTVMR, this information came to me too late for inclusion in this article.

To answer the question, I will construct a stemma based on the full transcriptions of the nine texts of Family 13 in Mark, excluding GA 1689, found in the NTVMR. Sadly, three

⁸ J. Geerlings, *Family 13 (The Ferrar Group). The Text According to Luke*, SD 20 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1961), p. 1.

manuscripts have folios missing: GA 13 is missing 1:21 to 1:45a; GA 543 is missing 8:4b to 8:28a; 826 is missing 12:3b to 12:19a. Since the mathematics requires all texts to be present in each variation examined these sections of Mark, approximately 10% of the text, are not considered. Further, for this study, I have used only variations which have two forms of text and omitted variations consisting wholly of the presence or absence of an *iota* subscript or a final *nu*. Thus, while the transcription of the texts is the work made available by the INTF, the collation and counting of variations is entirely my responsibility. My analysis program, using these data, offers the stemma in Figure 10 as the best simple stemma—a stemma lacking any conflate text—for Family 13 in Mark, with the Lakes’ stemma repeated as Figure 11 for comparison.

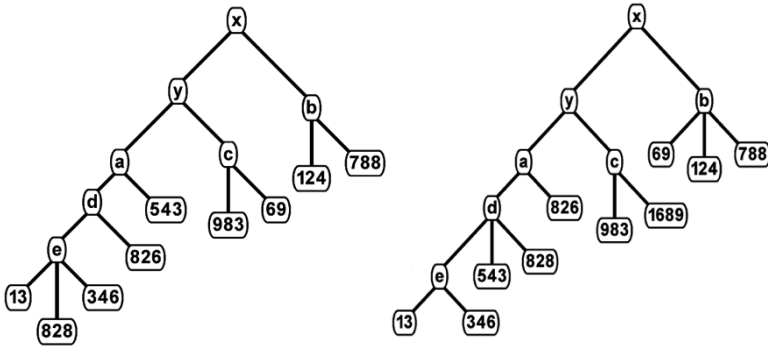


Figure 10. Stemma by Farthing (left)

Figure 11. The Lakes’ stemma (right)

Figure 10 is produced by a program which essentially tests every possible simple stemma that could relate these manuscripts’ texts and finds the one that minimises the sum of the error values when the frequency of each real text combination is compared with the frequency of that same combination implied by the modelled stemma.

The comparison of the stemmata in Figure 10 and Figure 11 shows that the mathematics do straightforwardly produce a credible, though slightly differing, stemma. Apart from the absence of GA 1689 there are three differences between my best simple stemma and the Lakes’ stemma: GA 69 has moved round

to group with 983; GA 543 and GA 826 have changed places; GA 828 has moved to link in at assumed text (e). In order to avoid any confusion with the Lakes' stemma, in the following analysis the identities of the assumed texts have been altered using the lower-case letters j and following. These identities are, of course, simply conventions and we may assign them as we wish. Equally the assumed text (x) is omitted as the analysis cannot create or deal with an assumed text linked to only two other texts, as its content is then indeterminate.

The Lakes do not offer any 'scale' showing how closely related these texts and groups are to each other, but the Probability Structure Analysis result offers such information in the form of stem lengths which give the probable numbers of changes on each stem of Figure 12. This stemma was constructed by a program only from a list of frequencies of the text combinations derived from my counting of variations collated from the Münster transcriptions. Essentially, every possible stemma was considered and the one shown below had the lowest error figure, and therefore the highest probability of explaining the data offered. Thus, the stemma produced depends not at all on any subjective evaluation but wholly on the combination frequencies offered to the program.

In the stemma of Figure 12, the error figure and probability have been reduced to two decimal places. The physical length of each stem roughly mirrors the mean number of changes on that stem, which is given by an attached figure, rounded to a whole number. In later stemmata, where there are partial stems, the width of each dotted line shows very approximately the proportion being represented with a figure appended. Dotted partial stems indicate nothing by their length, as these must be adapted for clarity in presenting the diagrams.

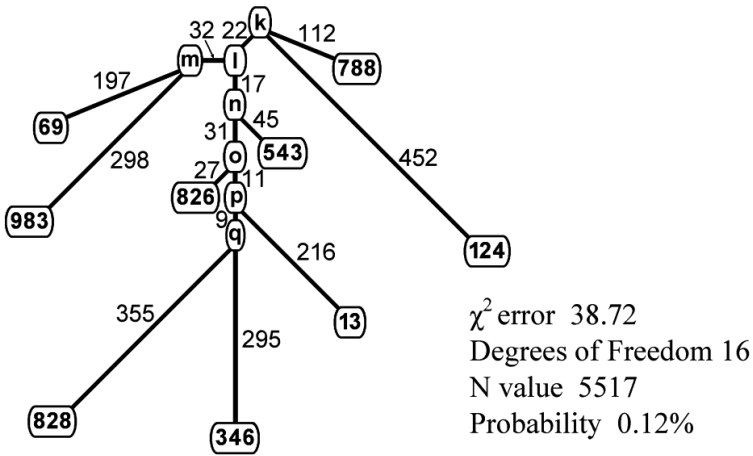


Figure 12

Based on this information, I suggest that while GA 69, 543, 826 and GA 828 have moved in comparison to the Lakes' stemma they have not in fact moved very far. Figure 12 is the optimum simple stemma from these data but has a trivial probability of 0.12%, suggesting it fails to take into account one, or more likely several, conflated texts. As claimed above, Probability Structure Analysis has some ability to account for these conflate texts. In a limited space, I must simply show what I believe at present to be the best analysis that takes conflate texts into account. In many cases a variety of interpretations are possible, but I have omitted these discussions. This is very much work in progress.

How do we find where conflate texts might be? The lack of a conflate text will be indicated by a high error figure for some particular text combination(s). I do not give all 105 combination frequencies which are greater than zero for reasons of space, but Table 6 has the eleven error figures greater than 1.0, ordered by the size of the error. These account for over 90% of the combinations considered.

Combination	Real	Calculated	Error
124, 543, 788, 826	7	0.06986	6.86098
13, 124	7	13.53709	6.09732
69, 124, 543, 788, 826	5	0.49979	4.05037
13, 69, 543, 788, 826, 828	6	1.08104	4.0327
69, 124, 788	6	1.48845	3.39234
124, 346	27	18.83076	2.47172
13, 124, 346, 543, 826, 828	5	1.69082	2.19014
13, 346	14	9.11794	1.70247
69, 788	6	2.98578	1.51426
13, 69, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828	25	19.07667	1.40344
13, 69, 124, 346, 543, 788, 826	11	14.67992	1.23107

Table 6. Error figures derived from Figure 12

By adding partial stems, we can more closely draw together groups which are at present separate but are fragmented. The full expression of the first combination is: 124, 543, 788, 826 :: 13, 69, 346, 828, 983. The left part of the combination contains texts which are contiguous through (k), (l), (n) and (o), uninterrupted by any assumed text connected to a real text not in the group, whereas the right part is fragmented into two groups: Fragment 1 = GA 69, 983 and Fragment 2 = GA 13, 346, 828, which are separated by assumed texts attached to other texts: (l), (n) and (o), as in Figure 12. Of course, we could take the group GA 13, 69, 346, 828, 983 as contiguous through texts (m), (l), (n), (o), (p) and (q) but this would force the remaining texts into three fragments: (k), GA 788 and GA 124; GA 543 on its own and GA 828 on its own. I do not see how this latter fragmentation could be resolved.

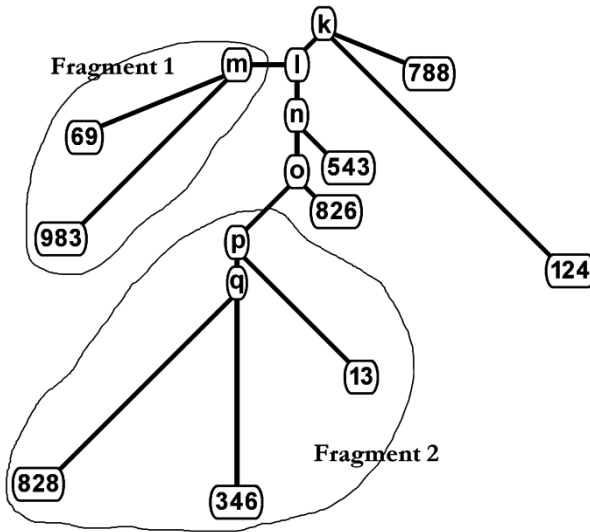


Figure 13

It is the separated groups that we relate together, as in Figure 14. A new stem, (r) to (p), is added in the manner of Figure 8, with partial links (m) to (r), and (o) to (r).

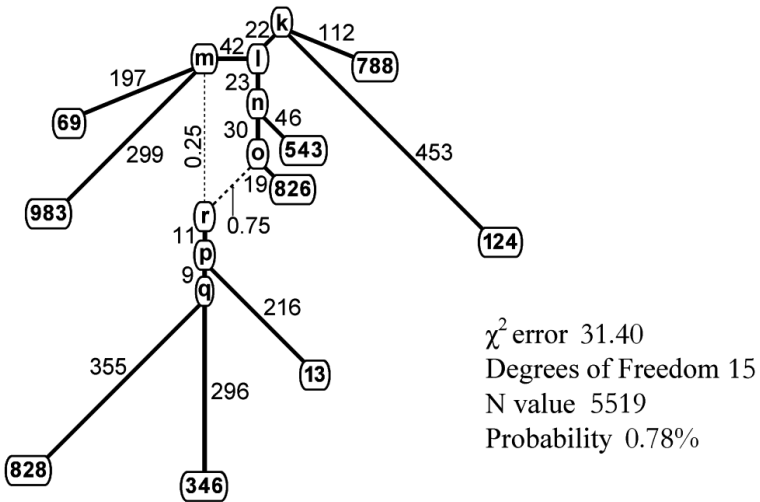


Figure 14

The Chi-squared error figure is reduced by 7.32 to 31.40. One stem, (o) to (p), is lost, a new stem (r) to (p) is added, and a pair of partial stems are added, which count as one new stem since the two parts of the partial stems are fully linked, not independent. The result is $16 + 1 - 1 - 1 = 15$ degrees of freedom. The probability is still small at 0.78%. The N value is almost unaltered. The combination 124, 543, 788, 826 :: 13, 69, 346, 828, 983 which has a real frequency of 7 and, from the stemma in Figure 12, had a calculated frequency of 0.06986 with an error of 6.86098, now has a calculated frequency of 7.22752 and an error figure of 0.00740, so is no longer listed among those with error figures in excess of 1.0. Table 7 gives the new list of the four combinations (with error figures greater than 3.0, this time to save space) again listed by size of error.

Combination	Real	Calculated	Error
13, 124	7	13.54445	6.11854
13, 69, 543, 788, 826, 828	6	1.08334	4.02893
69, 124, 543, 788, 826	5	0.75973	3.59597
69, 124, 788	6	1.49154	3.38771

Table 7. Error figures derived from Figure 14

The two combinations with the highest error figures here cannot be used to modify the stemma. The first, GA 13, 124 :: 69, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983, has a higher calculated frequency than the real frequency. The stemma can only be modified now by adding a stem, full or partial, which necessarily increases the appropriate frequency, but cannot decrease it. The second combination, GA 13, 69, 543, 788, 826, 828 :: 124, 346, 983, seems to be resolvable as the calculated frequency is less than the real frequency, but it requires a modification to increase the frequency of agreement between three texts which are fragmented in the stemma. This would require three extra stems, linking GA 124 to GA 346, linking GA 124 to GA 983 and also linking GA 346 to GA 983. This real data from nearly the whole of Mark, where the variations have only two forms, is the first real data that has produced such situations and is on the long list of things requiring further work. Hence, we work with the third

combination which is similar to that we used to modify Figure 12: GA 69, 124, 543, 788, 826 :: 13, 346, 828, 983. This time the unlinked fragments are GA 13, 346, 828 and GA 983, whereas in Figure 12 and Figure 13 one fragment contained both GA 69 and GA 983. There is already a link from (r) to (m); so, rather than add another link, the link from (r) to (m) is moved to a new assumed text (s) somewhere between (m) and GA 983. The optimized result is shown in Figure 15.

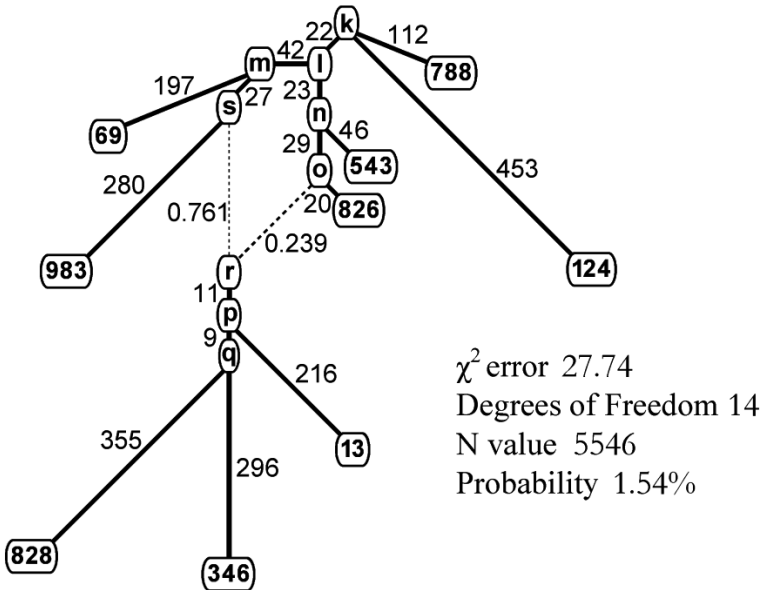


Figure 15

Again, the error figure is less, while the degrees of freedom are reduced by one as a new stem from (m) to (s) is added, the N figure increases slightly and the probability is now 1.54%. There are slight changes in the lengths of a few stems; in fact every length has changed slightly, hidden by the rounding of the figures to whole numbers. The combination GA 69, 124, 543, 788, 826 :: 13, 346, 828, 983 which has a real frequency of 5 and had, from the stemma in Figure 14, a calculated frequency of 0.75973 and an error of 3.59597, now has, from the stemma in Figure 15, a frequency of 4.00212 and an error of 0.19915. Table 8 lists the

error figures resulting from the stemma shown in Figure 15 which are greater than 2.0.

Combination	Real	Calculated	Error
13, 124	7	13.49845	6.03284
13, 69, 543, 788, 826, 828	6	1.07187	4.04774
69, 124, 788	6	1.51347	3.35483
124, 346	27	18.76370	2.51247
13, 124, 346, 543, 826, 828	5	1.68387	2.19934

Table 8. Error figures derived from Figure 15

The combinations with the two highest errors still do not resolve so we attend to the next: GA 69, 124, 788 :: 13, 346, 543, 826, 828, 983. The first part of the combination fragments into GA 69 against GA 124 with GA 788, so partial links are put in from (k), linked to GA 124 and GA 788, and from (s) to a new assumed text (t) which feeds GA 69 directly, as in Figure 16. By adding a partial stem (t) to (s) but eliminating a full stem, from (l) to (m) the degrees of freedom remain at 14. Probability is now at 4.17%.

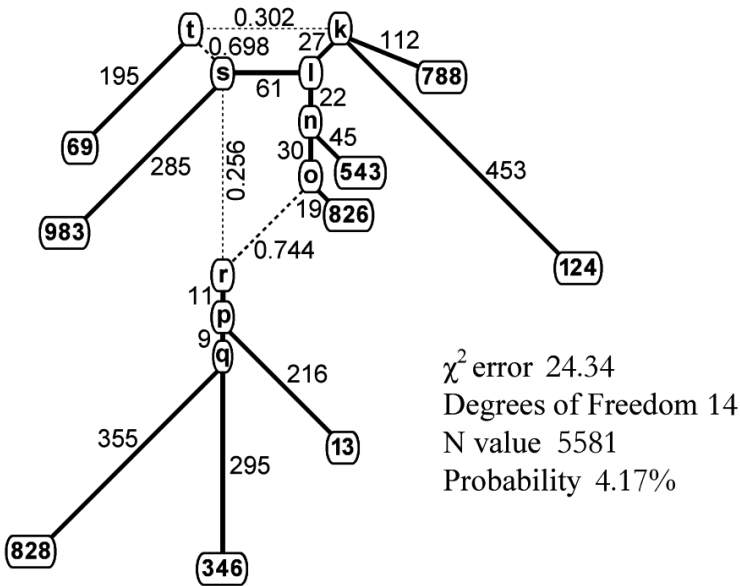


Figure 16

The combination GA 69, 124, 788 :: 13, 346, 543, 826, 828, 983 with a real frequency of 6 now has a calculated frequency of 6.95246 and the error is reduced from 3.35483 to 0.15120. Table 9 lists the error figures resulting from the stemma shown in Figure 16 which are greater than 2.0.

Combination	Real	Calculated	Error
13, 124	7	13.44853	5.9405
13, 69, 543, 788, 826, 828	6	1.05678	4.07257
124, 346	27	18.67375	2.56765
13, 124, 346, 543, 826, 828	5	1.62425	2.27914
13, 124, 346, 543, 826, 828	5	1.68387	2.19934

Table 9. Error figures derived from Figure 16

The first and second of these combinations remain unworkable but the third, GA 124, 346 :: 13, 69, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983 is resolved by linking the fragments GA 124 and GA 346. This is achieved by making complimentary partial links from (q) and from GA124 to a new assumed text (u), which reduces the degrees of freedom to 13, as in Figure 17.

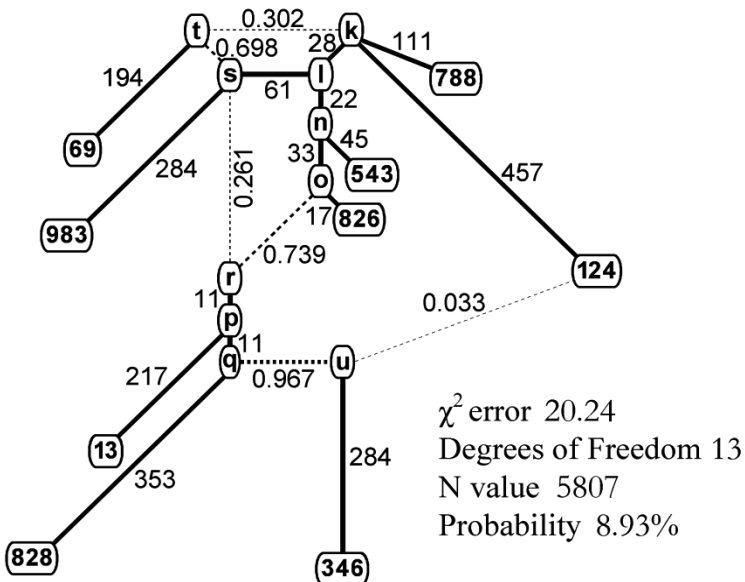


Figure 17

The error figure is now reduced to 20.24, the N value is 5807 and the probability 8.93%. The combination GA 124, 346 :: 13, 69, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983 has a real frequency of 27. In the stemma in Figure 16 the combination had a calculated frequency of 18.67375 and an error of 2.56765, but in the stemma in Figure 17 it has a calculated frequency of 28.26250 and an error figure of 0.05903. Table 10 lists the error figures resulting from the stemma in Figure 17 which are greater than 1.0, covering 86% of the total error.

Combination	Real	Calculated	Error
13, 124	7	12.79122	4.79117
13, 69, 543, 788, 826, 828	6	1.52576	3.33647
13, 124, 346, 543, 826, 828	5	1.58876	2.32732
13, 346	14	8.46735	2.18644
13, 69, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828	25	17.81327	2.06596
13, 69, 124, 543, 788, 826, 828	16	11.11718	1.49012
69, 788	6	3.29337	1.22098

Table 10. Error figures derived from Figure 17

The first two combinations remain irresolvable so we work with the next: GA 13, 124, 346, 543, 826, 828 :: 69, 788, 983. It is the second grouping that is fragmented. GA 983 and GA 69 are closely linked but GA 788 does not link to them closely. The solution is to make GA 788 conflate from (s) and its existing root (k) with a new assumed text is added (v) linking directly to GA 788 as in Figure 18.

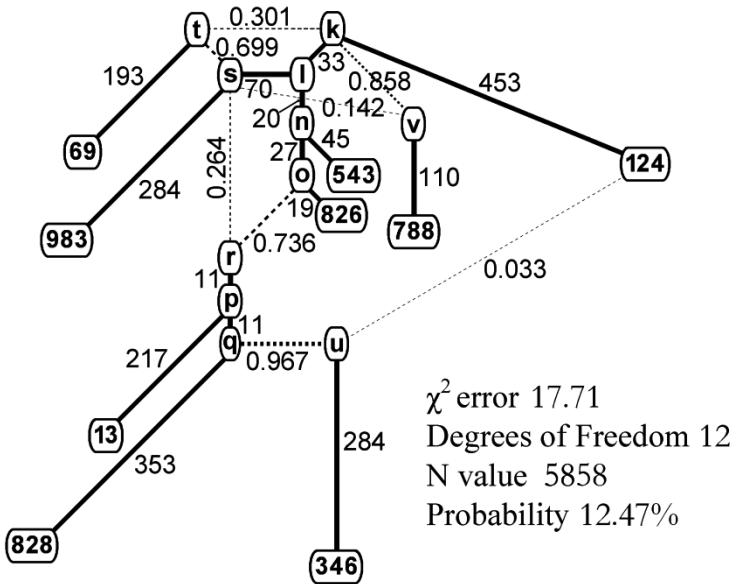


Figure 18

Interestingly, GA 69 now has the same partial links, to (k) and to (s), as GA 788, though in different proportions. The extra partials reduce the degrees of freedom by one to 12. The N value is 5858, and the error figure 17.71 so that the probability is now 12.47%. The combination GA 13, 124, 346, 543, 826, 828 :: 69, 788, 983, which has a real frequency of 5, had a calculated frequency of 1.58876 and an error figure of 2.32732 from the stemma in Figure 17, but from the stemma in Figure 18 it has a calculated frequency of 5.08986 and an error figure of 0.00162. Table 11 lists the error figures from the stemma in Figure 18 which are greater than 1.0.

Combination	Real	Calculated	Error
13, 124	7	12.6798	4.60859
13, 69, 543, 788, 826, 828	6	1.50038	3.37442
13, 346	14	8.40278	2.23777
13, 69, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828	25	17.63076	2.17223
13, 69, 124, 543, 788, 826, 828	16	11.01962	1.55026
69, 788	6	3.41611	1.11274

Table 11. Error figures derived from Figure 18

Again, the first two combinations are irresolvable so we look at GA 13, 346 :: 69, 124, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983. GA 346 is already a conflate from (q) and GA 124, so the simplest approach is to add a further link from GA 13 to (u) as in Figure 19. I attempted to resolve this fragmentation by juggling the full stems around GA 13, GA 828 and GA 346 but found no simple solution.

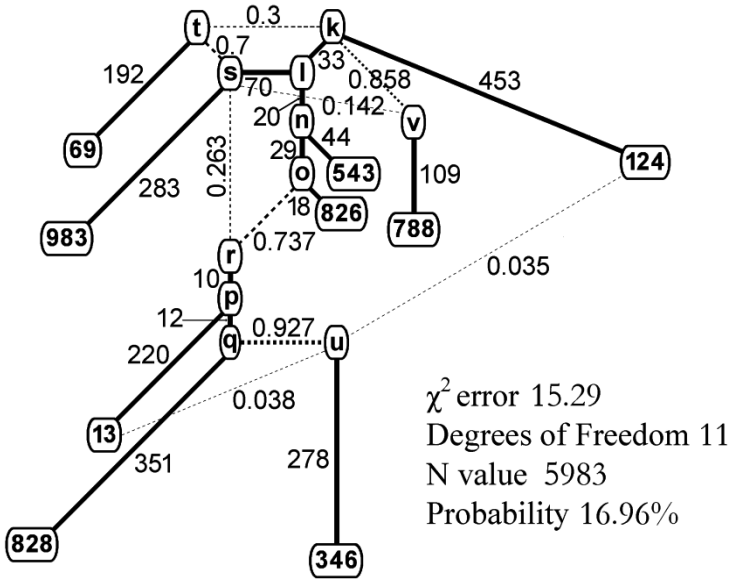


Figure 19

The extra partial link reduces the degrees of freedom by one to 11. The combination 13, 346 :: 69, 124, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983 had a real frequency of 14 and a calculated frequency of 8.40278, giving an error of 2.23777 from the stemma in Figure 18, but it has a calculated frequency of 13.99175 giving an error of 0.00000 in Figure 19. Table 12 lists the error figures from the stemma in Figure 19 which are greater than 1.0.

Combination	Real	Calculated	Error
13, 124	7	12.22954	3.90687
13, 69, 543, 788, 826, 828	6	1.46997	3.42019
13, 69, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828	25	17.2733	2.38808
13, 69, 124, 543, 788, 826, 828	16	10.60811	1.81703
69, 788	6	3.3355	1.18326

Table 12. Error figures derived from Figure 19

Again, the first two combinations are irresolvable so we look at GA 13, 69, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828 :: 124, 983. The pair GA 124 and GA 983 must be fragmented to fit the stemma in Figure 19. Figure 20 shows GA 983 made conflate and derived from a new assumed text (w) fed by partial links from (s) and GA 124.

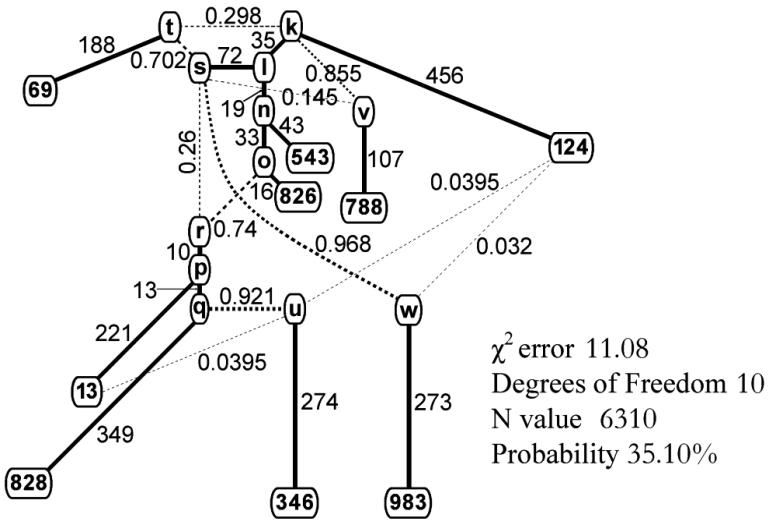


Figure 20

The stemma in Figure 19 gave a calculated frequency of 17.27330 and an error of 2.38808 to the combination GA 13, 69, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828 :: 124, 983, which had a real frequency of 25, but the stemma in Figure 20 gives a frequency of 26.40976 and an error of 0.07950. Table 13 lists the error figures resulting from the stemma in Figure 20 which are greater than 1.0.

Combination	Real	Calculated	Error
13, 124	7	11.44507	3.90687
13, 69, 543, 788, 826, 828	6	2.28685	2.29791
13, 69, 124, 543, 788, 826, 828	16	9.70306	2.47822
69, 788	6	3.30054	1.21451

Table 13. Error figures derived from Figure 20

Again, the first two combinations are irresolvable so we look at GA 13, 69, 124, 543, 788, 826, 828 :: 346, 983. Figure 21 shows a new partial link between GA 983 and (u) which feeds GA 346.

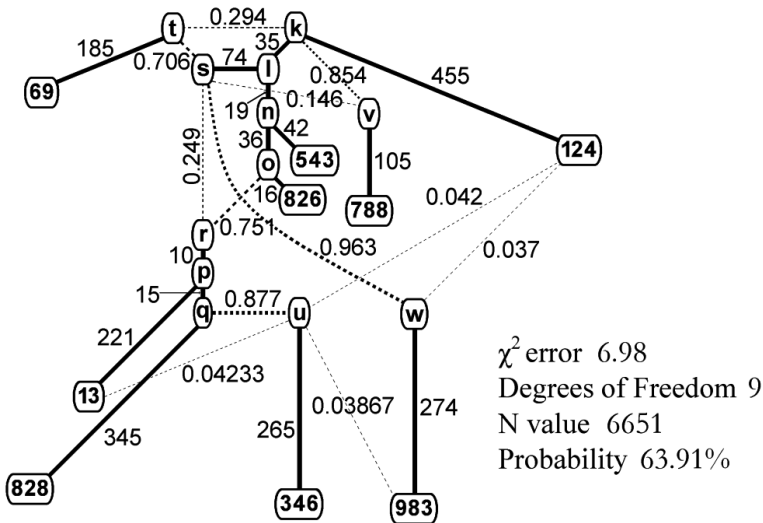


Figure 21

The new link decreases the degrees of freedom by one. The combination 13, 69, 124, 543, 788, 826, 828 :: 346, 983 has a real frequency of 16. The stemma in Figure 20 gave a frequency of 9.70306 and hence an error of 2.47822. The stemma in Figure 21 gives a frequency of 17.10938 and an error of 0.07692. Table 14 lists the error figures resulting from the stemma in Figure 21 which are greater than 1.0.

Combination	Real	Calculated	Error
13, 124	7	10.85372	2.12160
69, 788	6	3.15786	1.34629
13, 69, 543, 788, 826, 828	6	3.42002	1.10938

Table 14. Error figures derived from Figure 21

Again, the first and third combinations are irresolvable so we look at GA 69, 788 :: 13, 124, 346, 543, 826, 828, 983. A link is put in between GA 788 and (t) giving the arrangement in Figure 22. There is the alternative of linking these manuscripts by putting the link between GA 69 and (v) but this yields a slightly lower probability.

After the first run of this stemma, I made two changes. First, I reduced the stem between (n) and (o) to zero, as the first run of the stemma gave it a length of two changes. I rejected this length because I doubt a text could be copied with only two changes and also because removing the stem—that is reducing this stem to zero length—increases the probability figure slightly since the degrees of freedom are increased thereby. Second, I tried putting the two small links to GA 124, from (u) and from (w), to a point on the stem GA 124 to (k) at an assumed text I called (j). This gave a better probability and fitted better with the Lakes' understanding of the history of the text in Figure 11, which I accepted in my rendering of the optimum simple stemma in Figure 10. My reason for doing this is dealt with later in the chapter. The final form of the stemma of Mark in Family 13, at this stage of my ongoing studies, is in Figure 22. I have twisted the stemma somewhat in the hope of making it more legible.

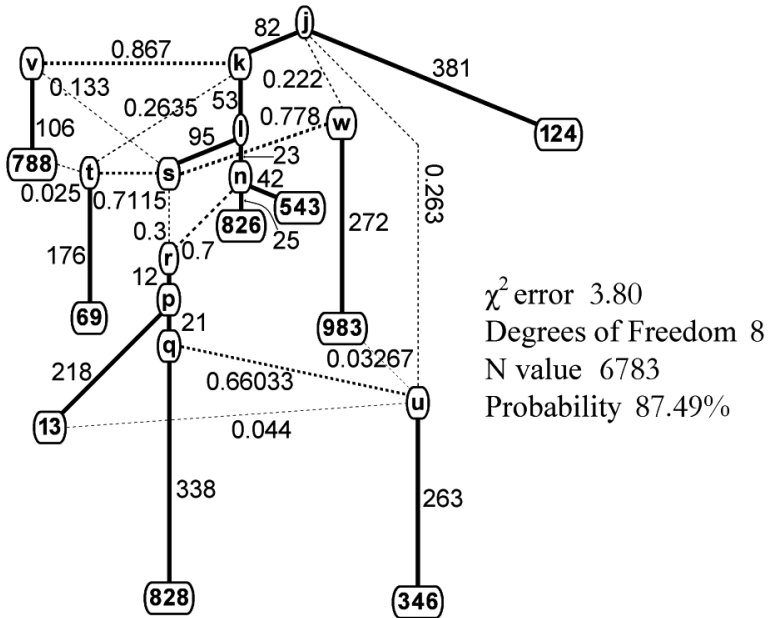


Figure 22

The combination GA 69, 788 :: 13, 124, 346, 543, 826, 828, 983, which has a real frequency of 6, had, according to the stemma in Figure 21, a calculated frequency of 3.15786 and an error of 1.34629, but according to the stemma in Figure 22 has a calculated frequency of 5.91779 giving an error figure of 0.00113.

Several general remarks are proper here. As partial stems have been added, the probability that the stemma is a credible explanation of the relationships between the manuscript texts has increased (it has, of course, to be the right stem in the right place) although degrees of freedom have decreased making the achievement of a high probability more difficult. The N figure has steadily increased, but a discussion of why this should be is well beyond the scope of this article. The probability for the stemma in Figure 22 is quite high at 87.49%. Perhaps this is too high. Statisticians can be suspicious of correlations that are too good: anything above 97.5% is beyond credibility. The difficulty here is that one could go on adding partial links to the stemma until workable ones ran out; but this might simply be trying to resolve

chance agreements into partial links. I cannot see, yet at least, any difference between combinations that need fragmenting in order to fit our working stemma because some part of the texts' history has not yet been taken into account and those which naturally arise from chance agreements and chance reversals of the text. But I do need to find some clear indication of where to stop; this is work in progress.

The stemma has become complicated, but is it still, in any sense, basically the same stemma as that in Figure 10? In Figure 23 I have taken the stemma in Figure 22 and removed all the smaller partial links and made the strongest partial link in each case a full link. Allowing for distortions of length and twisting of stems the reader can see that Figure 10 and Figure 23 are almost the same stemma, with the one exception that the stems from GA 543 and GA 826 now join the rest of the stemma at the same point.

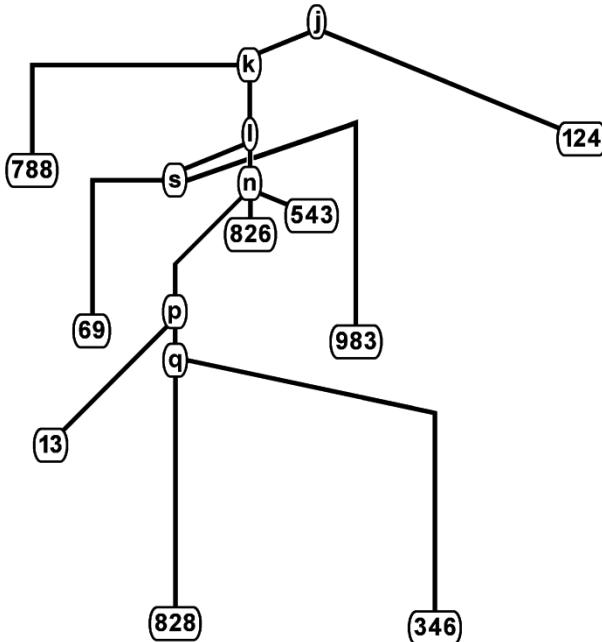


Figure 23

As I progressed in adding partial stems, two text combinations could not be construed and so were ignored in the calculations. That is: GA 13, 124 :: 69, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983 which had an error of 6.09732 in the optimum simple stemma and GA 13, 69, 543, 788, 826, 828 :: 124, 346, 983 which had an error of 4.03270 in the optimum simple stemma. The appropriate error figures have generally reduced as the complication of the stemma has gone forward and, in the stemma in Figure 22, stand at 1.84130 (the highest remaining error) and 0.01890, respectively. As the computer tries at each stage to modify the stem lengths and proportions of partial stems every combination frequency is considered so that, inevitably, each error figure will be altered. The stemma is in some measure an interconnected whole. In preparing Figure 22, I pointed out that I had rerun the stemma with the stem (n) to (o) removed because it was unreasonably small. What then should we make of the very small partial links that we see in the later stemmata of Family 13?⁹ Would the result be better by ignoring and removing them? The answer is no, since by doing so the error figure increases considerably. But can we sensibly imagine a situation where a copyist adds just a few verses from a different source to that from which nearly all the text is copied?

As mentioned above, a scribe can need to deal with copies which have missing portions of text: indeed, the manuscripts that I have considered for the stemma of Family 13 are defective: GA 13 is missing 1:21 to 1:45a; GA 543 is missing 8:4b to 8:28a; 826 is missing 12:3b to 12:19a. Since Mark has 678 verses these missing sections amount to, as decimal proportions, 0.036, 0.035 and 0.024, respectively. If someone used one of these manuscripts as their exemplar, they would need to supplement the text with these small proportions from elsewhere. It is therefore conceivable, but not of course proved, that this has happened in copying texts in the stemmata in this article. The exact proportion would depend on the number of verses to a folio in the copy text and the number of folios missing. Equally, in comparing any two manuscript texts, differ-

⁹ In Figure 22: links 788 to (t) = 0.025; 13 to (u) = 0.044; 983 to (u) = 0.03267. Further small partial links occur in Figures 24 to 26.

ences are not evenly distributed, hence our observation here is a very general one. Where proportions are more substantial it seems simple enough to account for them by the scribe exchanging copy text part way through or a scribe fairly industriously, but only partially, 'correcting' the copy text. Where a number of partial stems converge, as with assumed text (u) in Figure 22, it must be remembered that some, perhaps many, manuscripts are missing from our knowledge and the complex situation shown may be all we have left of an extensive history of copying.

I am struck by the difference of the stem lengths in Figure 22; several in the twenties and others in the three hundreds. Perhaps the longer stems are testimony to exceptionally deficient work, but I suspect it is much more likely that these stems are records of many competent individual copying events. We are saddened by what has been lost, but I trust we may recover some of this by effective implementation of good theoretical work

The further issue that needs tidying up is the question of the point of origin of my stemmata. My method of determining which text in the stemma has the earliest text has been to include NA28 in the collation. NA28 has, as I understand it, the current best critical text of Mark since the ECM was not yet available at the time of writing. Of course, NA28 is not a manuscript text but a scholarly text. However, the justification for its inclusion in this part of the study is simply that it works. I have not included NA28 in the main analysis of this article as including it with the whole family introduces complications that I have not yet mastered and the discussion of which extends far beyond the principal aim of this study; and crucially, of course, NA28 is not a member of Family 13. However, for my purposes here, I introduce a worked stemmata of NA28, GA 69, GA 124, GA 788 and GA 983 which are those manuscripts nearest to the point where the Lakes place their earliest text as in Figure 1 and Figure 11. Only five texts are fairly easy to deal with, though I am not suggesting that the results here are necessarily significant in any wider context. Figure 24 shows the optimum simple stemma as determined by the analysis program simply on the basis of the manuscript combinations. However, since the stemma has a poor probability, I have pursued a better stemma to provide a more secure result.

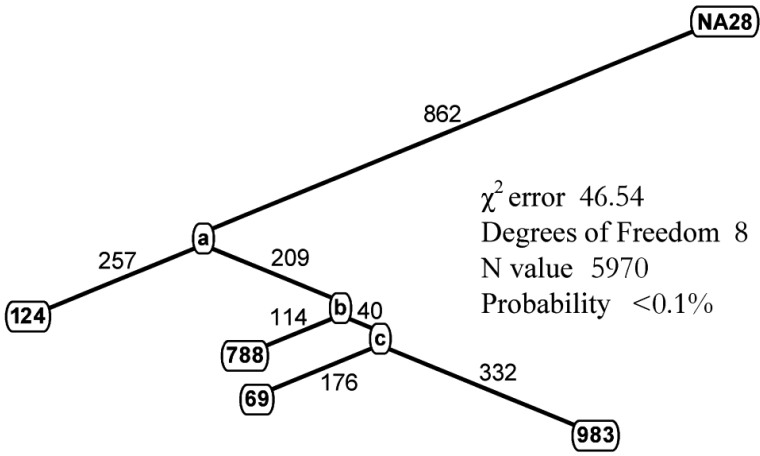


Figure 24

Table 15 lists all the combinations, real frequencies, calculated frequencies, and corresponding error figures from the stemma in Figure 24.

Combination	Real	Calculated	Error
NA28 :: 69, 124, 788, 983	730	717.85055	0.20220
NA28, 69 :: 124, 788, 983	14	22.32308	4.94812
NA28, 69, 124 :: 788, 983	10	10.53649	0.02878
NA28, 69, 788 :: 124, 983	20	13.13079	2.35930
NA28, 69, 124, 788 :: 983	250	248.84887	0.00530
NA28, 124 :: 69, 788, 983	181	185.59209	0.11650
NA28, 124, 788 :: 69, 983	35	39.78777	0.65494
NA28, 788 :: 69, 124, 983	35	15.84529	10.48294
69 :: NA28, 124, 788, 983	145	129.79340	1.59476
69, 124 :: NA28, 788, 983	6	7.44259	0.34685
69, 124, 788 :: NA28, 983	34	42.50416	2.12708
69, 788 :: NA28, 124, 983	28	13.44141	7.56973
124 :: NA28, 69, 788, 983	209	215.25725	0.18734
124, 788 :: NA28, 69, 983	32	10.35936	14.63491
788 :: NA28, 69, 124, 983	74	83.75375	1.28562

Table 15. Error figures from Figure 24

The combination GA 124, GA 788 :: NA28, GA 69, GA 983 has the highest error figure. GA 124 and GA 788 are already closely linked, so the fragment NA28 and the fragment (c) with GA 69 and GA 983 are connected by partial links to a new assumed text (d) as in Figure 25.

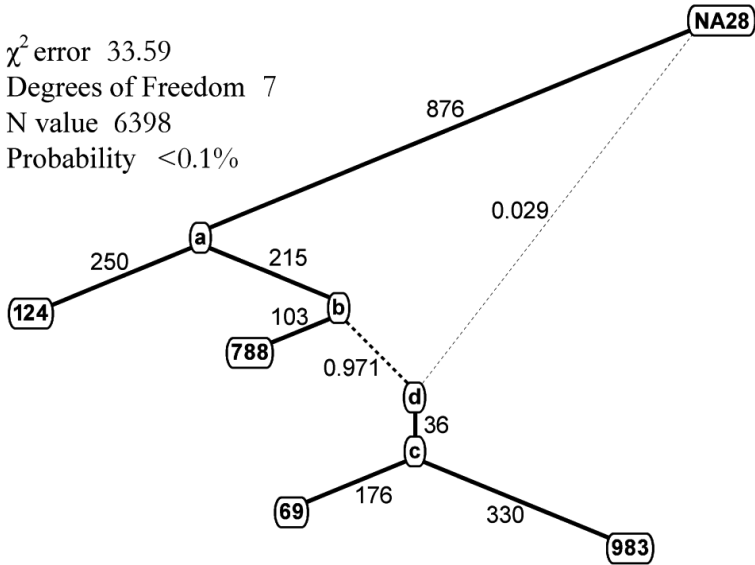


Figure 25

The error figure is reduced but the probability is still tiny.¹⁰ The highest error from the stemma in Figure 25 is for NA28, GA 788 :: GA 69, GA 124, GA 983 with a real frequency of 35, a calculated frequency of 13.27473 and an error of 13.48535. This error is reduced by separating GA 788, with an assumed text (e) fed by two partial stems linked to NA28 and (b) as in Figure 26.

¹⁰ In this section, to save space, I will not keep offering lists of error figures as this is not part of the main presentation.

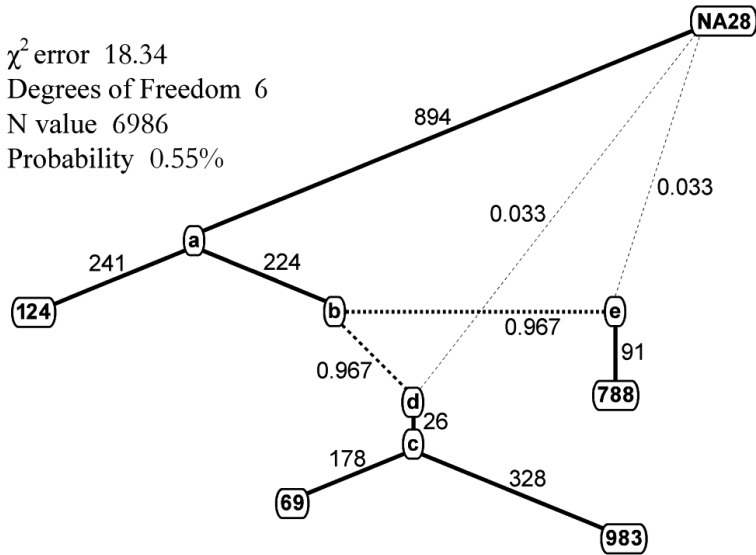


Figure 26

The error is again reduced and the probability just noticeable at 0.55%. The highest error now from the stemma in Figure 26 is for combination GA 69, GA 788 :: NA28, GA 124, GA 983 with a real frequency of 28, a calculated frequency of 11.18141 and an error of 10.10232. This is dealt with by adding a third assumed text (f) linking to 69 with partial links to (c) and GA 788, as in Figure 27.

The probability is now high and we need proceed no further. So, what do we conclude as to the point of origin of the completed stemma? Consistently through the four stemmata in this last section, NA28, representing for us at least a very early form of Mark, joins the family stemma between GA 124 and (b), the point at which strong links to GA 788 and to the common ancestor of GA 69 and GA 983 come together. In these stemmata the proportions of the two sections between GA 124 and (b) are roughly equal. In the final stemma for our present analysis in Figure 22, these lengths between GA 124 and (j), and (j) and (k), are much less equal. However, looking at Figure 21, the origin of the two very small partial links ending at (u) and (w) comes at GA 124, in a stemma with a probability of over 60%. If this coincident point suggests the position of the earliest text, it seems

that wherever it is placed between GA 124 and (k) will offer a fairly high probability. For an accurate positioning, I would suggest that a full analysis with NA28 included with the whole Family is the only certain way forward. But, for the time being, a point between GA 124 and (k) is credible as in Figure 10 and Figure 11.

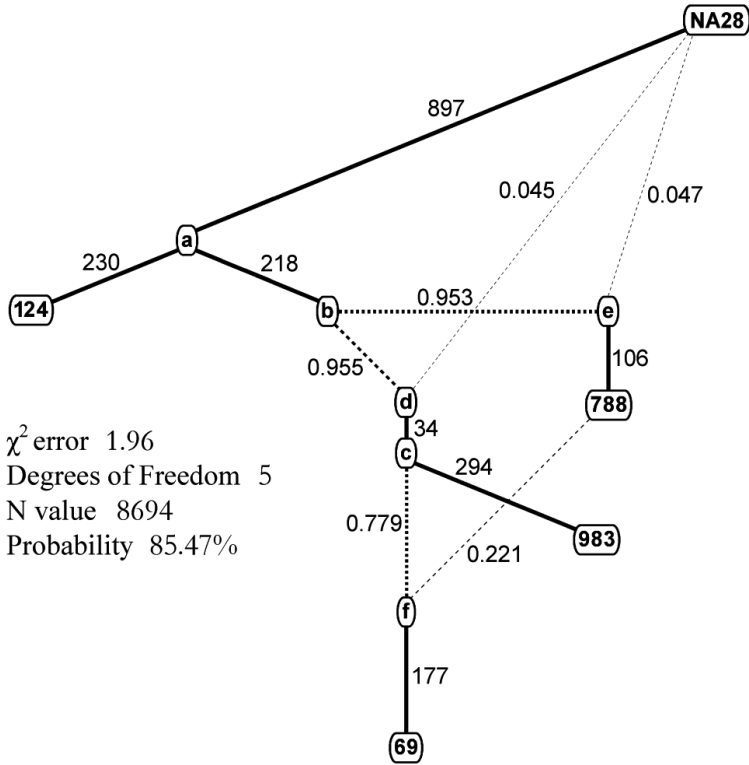


Figure 27

CONCLUSIONS

I hope this study has demonstrated that the underlying conjectures of Probability Structure Analysis, and the as yet imperfect method of applying it, show promise in explaining the relationships between the texts of the manuscripts examined, and that the whole is worthy of further work and consideration. Further research, giving a fairly full examination of the methods and poten-

tial of Probability Structure Analysis, will look more carefully at the relationship between Family 13 and the earliest text. Indeed, I hope to collate in some version of the Byzantine text to see where the link to those forms of the text can be clarified. Equally, Probability Structure Analysis is not restricted to the analysis of closely related groups of manuscript texts but extends to any group of texts, or any groups of texts now only considered distant relatives, provided they are of a single work.

6. PHILIPPUS PRESBYTER'S COMMENTARY ON JOB: A SOURCE FOR THE STUDY OF LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

MARIE FREY RÉBEILLÉ-BORGELLA*

PHILIP'S COMMENTARY ON JOB¹

The commentary on the book of Job, written by Philip—a priest and disciple of Jerome—has never been critically edited. One reason for this is that Philip's *In Iob* does not form a constitutive part of the *Patrologia Latina*. Two texts very similar to this commentary appear in the PL and could therefore be mistaken for Philip's original commentary:

- PL 26.619–802, printed among Jerome's works and under his name, is indeed a commentary on Job but it is in fact a ninth-century compendium of Philip's work, conveyed by three manuscripts: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 106, fols. 1–266 (ninth century); Karlsruhe, Badische Landes-

* This paper has widely benefited from the thoughts and comments of Laurence Mellerin and Pierre Chambert-Protat. I am very grateful for their help.

¹ The exact title of Philip's commentary is one of the many points currently unclear. Sichard's printed title is *In historiam Iob commentariorum libri tres*, while Ciccarese's is *Expositio in Iob*. In this paper, I have decided to use a shortened version of the title, *In Iob*.

bibliothek, Aug. perg. 193, fols. 1–262 (tenth century), in which the text is attributed to Hrabanus Maurus; and Paris, BnF, Lat. 12016, fols. 1–89 (eleventh century).

- PL 23.1407–1470, a printing of a collection of biblical glosses from the Book of Job that borrows widely from Philip’s commentary found in St Petersburg, NLR, F.v.I.3 (second half of the eighth century). This manuscript also contains the Vulgate translation of Job and is used for critical editions of the Vulgate.

Neither of these two texts is the full version of Philip’s commentary, although two diplomatic editions from the sixteenth century are available and provide a basis for the work of contemporary scholars. These editions were each printed from a single manuscript—not the same one—and cannot therefore take the place of a critical edition of Philip. The first was published by Johannes Sichard in Basel in 1527.² It relies on a manuscript that the publisher claims to have read in Fulda Abbey which has now been lost. The other edition, based on a manuscript from the Saint Victor Abbey—now Paris, Arsenal, 315—was published in 1545 by Jean de Roigny under the name of Bede the Venerable.³ As such, it was reprinted among the complete works of Bede by Johann Herwagen in Basel in 1563, and again in Cologne in 1612 and 1688.⁴ Both editions present Philip’s commentary as divided into three books, representative of the manuscripts themselves. However, the commentary on Job was not reprinted in the PL,

² Philippus Presbyter, *In historiam Iob commentariorum libri tres*, ed. Johann Sichard (Adam Petrus: Basel, 1527).

³ Jean de Roigny, ed., *Venerabilis Bedae Presbyteri Theologi Doctissimi Juxta Ac Sanctissimi, Commentationum in Sacras Literas, Tomus Primus*, (Paris, 1545).

⁴ Johann Herwagen, ed., *Opera Bedae Venerabilis presbyteri anglosaxonis, uiri in diuinis atque humanis literis exercitatissimi, omnia in octo tomos distincta*, (Basle, 1563); Anton Hierat and Johann Gymnich, eds., *Venerabilis Bedae Presbyteri Anglosaxonis, Viri sua aetate doctissimi. Opera quotquot reperiri potuerunt omnia*, (Cologne, 1612); and Johann Wilhelm Friessen II, ed., *Venerabilis Bedae Presbyteri saxonis, doctoris ecclesiae vere illuminati: Opera quotquot reperiri potuerunt omnia* (Cologne, 1688).

and consequently, no further investigation has been made regarding it, its dating, or its sources.⁵

The editions of Sichard and Roigny-Herwagen printed Philip's text divided into three books—a division also conveyed by all extant manuscripts—and forty-two chapters, following the contemporary chapter divisions of the Book of Job (i.e., Book I: ch.1–17; Book II: ch. 18–31; and Book III: ch. 32–42).

There are thirteen known manuscripts, several of which are fragmentary:

⁵ The first study of Philip's commentary was Desiderius Franses, 'Het Job-commentaar van Philippus Presbyter', *De Katholiek* 157 (1920): pp. 378–386 in which he investigated six possible manuscripts. See also André Wilmart, *Analecta Reginensia: extraits des manuscrits latins de la reine Christine conservés au Vatican*, Studi e Testi 59 (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1966), pp. 315–322, in which he focused on Vat. Reg. Lat. 111, a ninth-century manuscript. In Irénée Franses, '*Le commentaire au livre de Job du prêtre Philippe*' (Lyons: Thèse de la Faculté Catholique de Lyon, 1949), the author conducted a preliminary study towards a critical edition. However, his list of manuscripts is far from being exhaustive and should not be used currently. Other works are Maria Pia Ciccarese, 'Filippo e i corvi di Giobbe 38,41: alla ricerca di una fonte perduta', *Augustinianum* 35 (1995) and investigations in 'Una esegesi "double face"', 'Filippo e i corvi di *Giobbe*' and 'Sulle orme di Gerolamo: la "Expositio in Iob" del presbitero Filippo', *Motivi letterari ed esegetici in Gerolamo: atti del Convegno tenuto a Trento il 5–7 dicembre 1995*, ed. Claudio Moreschini (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1997), where the author explains why Philip's work could be a witness to the Origenian exegesis of Job, and that his biblical text reflected an early stage of Jerome's translation on the book of Job. Ciccarese had planned a critical edition of the text to be published in the CCSL collection, but it is no longer on the agenda. Magdalena Józwiak, in her 'Commentary to the Story of Job by Philip Presbyter Versus the Epitome of the Work: A Monographic Article Conducive to Comparative Research on these Texts', *Vox Patrum* 62: *Festschrift in Honour of Rev. Prof. Franciszek Drączowski* (September 2014): pp. 185–95 explained the way the anonymous author of PL 26 deals with Philip's original commentary. Finally, Kenneth B. Steinhauser, in 'Job in Patristics Commentaries and Theological Works', *A Companion to Job in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 34–70, had discussed the delicate matters of the commentary dating and whether Sichard's edition is reliable, as well as reviewing nearly all the literature on Philip from 1920 to 2016.

- Cambrai, BM, 470, eighth century, fols. 205, complete and originally from England.
- The Hague, Huis van het boek (*olim* MW), 10 A 1, fols. 1–41, 44–199, first half of the eighth century, originally from Tours. The manuscript contains the three books, except for a short missing portion.
- Paris, BnF, lat. 1839, ninth century, fols. 123–200v, likely originated in Eastern France and has only the text of the third book.
- Troyes, Médiathèque Jacques-Chirac (*olim* BM), 552, second half of the ninth century, fols. 1–88v, + Paris, BnF, lat. 1764, fols. 9–10. Its origin is uncertain. The first eight chapters of Book I and part of the ninth chapter are missing.
- Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 111, second half of the ninth century, fols. 1–99v, originally from Western France. The manuscript lacks the end of Book III, from the middle of chapter 40 to the end of chapter 42.
- Oxford, Bodleian, Bodl. 426 [SC 2327], ninth century, fols. 1–118v, originally from England. The manuscript only contains Books I and II.
- Troyes, Médiathèque Jacques-Chirac (*olim* BM), 559, end of the ninth century, fols. 119–238v, may originate in Auxerre. Book III is missing, as is the end of Book II.
- Paris, BnF, Lat. 12157, ninth century, fols. 97v–116v, 88–95v, 117–142. The manuscript has only Book III. Gorman believes that it was copied from Paris BnF lat. 1839.
- Berne, Burgerbibliothek, 99, ninth century, fols. 1–8, fols. 170–171, fragments most likely originating in Western France.
- Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 2332, ninth century, fol. 3, one-*folio* fragment.
- Paris, Arsenal, 315, eleventh century, 116 fols., printed by Jean de Roigny under Bede's name. It lacks only one *bifolium*.
- Florence, BML, San Marco 722, twelfth century, 246 fols., nearly complete, lacking only the last chapter of Book III.

- Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 437 (*olim* A.82), fourteenth century, fols. 102–175v, complete.⁶

If Sichard's assertions in his preface are to be believed, his own edition is based on a twelfth-century manuscript. However, as sources and dates were not provided, we cannot know whether his dating is correct or where it was copied.

To date, no one has made a full classification or tried to establish a stemma of these manuscripts. Michael Gorman identifies two main families of manuscripts, Cambrai, BM 470 and The Hague MW 10 A 1 being the head of each. He also asserts that Sichard's manuscript, which belongs to the Cambrai BM 470 family, is witness to an inferior recension, while Kenneth Steinhauser asserts that Sichard has *lectiones difficiliores* and should therefore be regarded as a more reliable witness.

Only the completion of a thorough critical edition will lead us to determine which family of manuscripts is closer to the original text. Initial surveys of the manuscripts have led to the conclusion that Sichard's text contains unique textual variations against all other extant manuscripts.⁷ Therefore, it may still belong to a more reliable family of manuscripts whilst not constituting the most reliable witness for its family, but Cambrai BM 470 would provide a better text for this family of witnesses.

PHILIP AND THE DATING OF *IN IOB*

Much is unknown about Philip's life. Apart from the manuscript of his commentary on Job, he is known solely by a notice in Gennadius of Massilia's *De viris illustribus* (LXII):

⁶ The most important study, and the only complete one, of Philip's commentary manuscripts is Michael M. Gorman, 'The Manuscripts and Printed Editions of the Commentary on Job by Philippus', *Revue bénédictine* 116 (2006): pp. 193–222. My work on Philip is deeply indebted to his detailed research. The list of manuscripts with which I provide here is a summary of his work. For further details, see pp. 200–206.

⁷ This is true of Philip's own words and his biblical citations. For example, see Sichard, *In historiam Iob*, vol. II, p. 82, where the citation of 1 Cor 11:10 is: *debet mulier uelamen habere supra caput propter angelos*; but all the manuscripts convey *debet mulier potestatem habere supra caput propter angelos*.

Philippus presbyter, optimus auditor Hieronymi, commentatus In Iob edidit sermone simplici librum. Legi eius et familiares epistulas et valde salsas et maxime ad paupertatis et dolorum tolerantiam exhortatorias. Moritur Marciano et Avito regnantibus.

Philip the priest, **Jerome's best disciple**, published a book of commentary on Job in simple language. I also read his letters to his relatives, which were full of spirit and encouraged them very strongly to endure poverty and torment. He died while Marcian and Avitus were reigning.

The biographical note about Philip comes immediately after that of John Cassian and before that of Eucherius of Lyons, suggesting that Philip, who has today largely fallen into oblivion, benefitted from a certain level of notoriety. Marcian was Roman Emperor of the East from 450 to 457 CE and Avitus was Roman emperor of the West from July 455 to October 456 CE. Philip's death would have occurred around 455 CE. The placement of his short biography in Gennadius's work may suggest that he died in Provence, and this place of death can be a clue to resolve the complex problem of *In Iob's* dating.

Philip's commentary is the first known Latin commentary on Job to use Jerome's translation as the basis of its biblical quotations. The dating of the text is still disputed, and much of the debate is based mainly on the identification of Nectarius, who is mentioned in the dedicatory epistle preceding the commentary:

Adhortante te, immo potius compellente, Nectari pater beatissime

'Because you impelled me to do it, or rather you forced me to do it, Nectarius, blessed father...'⁸

Kenneth Steinhauser, following others, identifies Nectarius with the Patriarch of Constantinople from 381 CE to his death in 397 CE.⁹ By contrast, Michael Gorman considers that Nectarius of Constantinople would have been too high-ranking a figure to be addressed with the level of language of the dedication.¹⁰ For this

⁸ Sichard, *In historiam Iob*, p. 1.

⁹ Steinhauser, 'Job in Patristic Commentaries and Theological Works', p. 47.

¹⁰ Gorman, 'The Manuscripts and Printed Editions', p. 195.

reason, he believes that the Nectarius to whom the commentary was dedicated would have been a less important bishop—Nectarius, Bishop of Avignon (439–455 CE).

It seems to me that the words *pater beatissime* are not sufficient criteria to identify Nectarius. Indeed, in the fourth and fifth centuries, *beatissime pater* is used in letters addressed to bishops, included high-profile bishops. Paulinus of Nola calls Alypius of Thagaste, Delphinus of Bordeaux and Florentius of Cahors *beatissime pater*.¹¹ It is also true that Augustine of Hippo is called *domine merito uenerabilis et uere beatissime pater* by Quodvultdeus, though this is a more unctuous formulation than Philip's dedication.¹² Michael Gorman also wonders how Philip could have been in contact with the patriarch of Constantinople, given that he was a 'mere' priest. But if history has recorded his name as *optimus auditor Hieronymi*, 'Jerome's best pupil', it may very well be that Jerome introduced Philip to Nectarius of Constantinople. The wording of the dedication and its presumed obsequiousness are not sufficient to identify the recipient of the letter with confidence. Instead, other aspects may help to shed more light on this issue.

The current consensus dates Jerome's revision of the Book of Job to approximately 394 CE.¹³ On the basis of the study of Philip's quotations from the translations of the Hebrew canon and the Greek books of the Hebrew Bible, Kenneth Steinhauser's dating is, in my opinion, to be preferred.¹⁴ Indeed, when he is quoting

¹¹ See Letters to Alypius of Thagaste; Delphin of Bordeaux; and Florent of Cahors, in Paulinus of Nola, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, vol. 1, trans. P.G. Walsh (New York: Newman Press, 1966).

¹² Quodvultdeus, *Letters*, 221, p. 2.

¹³ Jérôme, *Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*, SC 592, trans. Aline Canellis (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2017), p. 392.

¹⁴ Even while there is no critical edition of *In Iob*, the study of the manuscripts is sufficient to prove which Latin translation Philip was using for which biblical books. Indeed, there are no significant variants in the biblical lemmas in the different groups of manuscripts that would leave the question of an Old Latin or Vulgate citation undecided. When the case remains undecided, it is because the Vulgate translator—Jerome or someone else—has kept an Old Latin rendition as their own translation.

books that Jerome had finished revising, Philip uses the Hieronymian revisions rather than the Old Latin to quote the Hebrew Bible or deuterocanonical books, even when comparisons with the Old Latin are part of his exegesis. Apart from the Psalms—for which he always quotes Jerome's translation of the Septuagint—Philip uses Jerome's revised version to quote from Genesis, Numbers, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Daniel, Malachi, and Jonah. Quotations from Deuteronomy are a mixture of Vulgate and Old Latin. Those of Isaiah and Proverbs come, at times, from Jerome's revisions, at times from the Old Latin and also from sources not always identified. As Jerome translated the Pentateuch in one sitting, either Philip is simply not consistent in the translations he used of the Hebrew Bible and the deuterocanonical books, or he used Jerome's available translations as he was writing his commentary on Job without the translation of the Pentateuch and Isaiah being fully available. If this is the case, the relative chronology of Jerome's translations would require revision: it is currently assumed that Jerome translated Isaiah before the Pentateuch, and the most common opinion on the Pentateuch places its translation ca. 398 CE. However, while he sometimes uses the Vulgate version of the Pentateuch, Philip most often quotes Isaiah in the Old Latin. The only dating hypothesis for Jerome's revisions that would match Philip's quotations is the one put forward by Roger Gryson in which the Pentateuch would have been translated in 393 CE and Isaiah around 390–392 CE.¹⁵ Nevertheless, an alternative hypothesis regarding Philip's pattern of quotations from the Hebrew Bible and the deuterocanonical books may be preferred.

It is certain that Jerome had finished his revision of the Book of Job when Philip wrote his commentary, as Philip is using it for the lemmas on which he is commenting. Philip's quotations from the Pentateuch and Isaiah may lead one to think that Jerome was still working on both revisions and that neither had yet been finalised while Philip wrote *In Iob*. Therefore, Jerome's revision of the Book of Job, which we believe to have been completed in

¹⁵ Hermann Josef Frede and Roger Gryson, *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel* (Freiburg: Herder, 2004), pp. 536–537, 542–544, 546–547.

394 CE, may have been completed a little earlier than 394 CE, possibly around 392 CE. This period is commonly thought to be when Jerome also completed the revision of the Twelve Prophets which, as we saw, Philip quotes consistently.¹⁶ The revisions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel were assuredly completed before 393 CE, perhaps around 390 CE.¹⁷ From these observations the following hypothesis can be drawn: Philip would have written *In Iob* around 392 CE, when Jerome's revision had been completed. At this time, the revisions of Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Twelve Prophets would have also been completed and Jerome would have been working on the Pentateuch and Isaiah, with Philip having Jerome's work at hand. In this case, there would be no complexity with Philip's quotations from the Hebrew Bible and this hypothesis would be chronologically coherent.

However, one may argue that it was common for a Christian Latin writer to use Old Latin quotations as well as the Vulgate long after Jerome had completed his revision of the Latin Bible. Further inquiries are therefore necessary to establish the value of the biblical material for the dating of this commentary. Furthermore, a pre-394 CE dating of Philip's commentary would also raise the problem of Philip's age when he wrote it. If he died—as Gennadius asserts—around 455 CE, he would have died a very old man and would have written his commentary whilst still very young, without revising his text once or writing any other biblical commentaries in his subsequent, sixty-one years. My current work on this commentary would lead me to believe that Philip is using rabbinical exegetical material that Jerome was also using in Bethlehem. If this is true, he would not have had access to it if he had written his commentary in Provence towards the end of his life. The matters of dating may also impact the study of the presbyter's New Testament quotations, as Philip's attitude towards the Latin text of the Hebrew Bible and deuterocanonical books corresponds to his use of the Old Latin and Vulgate in the text of the New Testament. Nevertheless, one

¹⁶ Canellis, *Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*, p. 466.

¹⁷ Canellis, *Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*, pp. 97–98, 438 and 444.

can still study Philip's New Testament material with great benefit even while the dating of his commentary remains disputed.

PHILIP'S NEW TESTAMENT TEXT

Although Philip's commentary is on a book of the Hebrew canon, there are many New Testament quotations in his work. They are easily identifiable in both the Old and New Testament, as Philip frequently introduces his quotations with introductory formulae such as *sicut dicitur in Psalmo/Euangelio/...*, *sicut Euangelium/propheta/psalmista ait*, *secundum Euangelium*, *ut ait Apostolus or de quo dicit in Euangelium/in Euangelio*. There are approximately 275 New Testament quotations in *In Iob's* forty-two chapters—or the 210 pages of Sichard's edition. Indeed, it would seem that Philip's exegesis is based on at least three main points: highlighting Hebrew etymologies and using rabbinical exegesis in a Christianised way; providing comparisons between the translation of the Vulgate and other textual traditions of the Bible; and drawing up typologies—Job being seen as a prefiguration of Christ. This third point explains the frequent use of New Testament quotations. The examples provided here are far from exhaustive but this chapter's expressed aim is to suggest some avenues of analysis for Philip's choices of New Testament quotations.

When Philip quotes the New Testament, his preference seems to be the Old Latin versions. Still, this general tendency is far from systematic. Indeed, it appears to depend on the dating of Philip's work. The Hieronymian revision of the Gospels had been completed before Philip began to compose his commentary, for Jerome's revision took place in 383 or 384 CE. It is very likely then, that the Catholic Epistles had been revised at the time Philip was composing his commentary. Indeed, at that time the Vulgate text of the Epistle of James is quoted in Letter 41 of Pseudo-Jerome (384 CE) and the Vulgate text of the Epistle of Jude is used by Jerome, in 386 CE. As far as the translations of the Pauline Epistles are concerned, their revision is probably later, although we have no certainty. In the context of the present work, it must also be noted that it is not always possible to distinguish clearly between the text revised or retranslated by Jerome and the Old

Latin text, especially when the text of Jerome or his disciples appropriates one of the Old Latin translations. When Philip quotes a verse that has remained identical in both the Old Latin and in the Vulgate, we cannot *a priori* affirm that he is quoting the Vulgate and not the Old Latin.

On the basis of the gospel quotations used by Philip, we can see that, although he quotes the Vulgate at times, he does not hesitate to quote the Old Latin as well, even when it is known that Jerome's revision had, by then, already been finalised and was, in all likelihood, available to Philip. This is observable in two telling examples:

- **John 8:56** (*In Iob I, 14; p. 52*): *Abraham pater uester concupiuit ut uideret diem meum et uidit et gausus est.*¹⁸
Vulgate: *Abraham pater uester exultauit ut uideret diem meum et uidit et gausus est.*
- **Luke 11:21** (*In Iob III, 40; p. 200*) *cum fortis armatus custodit domum suam in pace sunt ea quae possidet.*
Vulgate: *cum fortis armatus custodit atrium suum in pace sunt ea quae possidet.*

The following question requires further consideration: when Philip's quoted text differs from the Vulgate, where does his biblical text come from? Several sources are identifiable: 1) Philip's quotation is matched in one or more other patristic (or other) sources, without any variation in vocabulary or syntax; 2) his quotation combines several known translations of the same verse; 3) at times, part of the translation quoted by him is a rendering or a formulation that is currently undocumented elsewhere.

Quotations matched in other authors

Whereas Philip sometimes has renderings of biblical passages that are unique to him, he relies primarily on formulations found in other Church Fathers and Christian Writers in the fourth and fifth centuries.

¹⁸ The pagination used for quotations of Philip's commentary is that of Sichard's 1527 edition.

- **Luke 4:34** (*In Iob* II, 21; p. 86): *quid uenisti ante tempus perdere nos?*¹⁹

Vulgate: *quid nobis et tibi Iesu Nazarene uenisti perdere nos?*

At the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth century, this particular textual variant is known only to Augustine and is frequently used by him throughout his work (e.g., *Adnotationes in Iob*; *City of God*; *Sermons*; *Homilies on the First Epistle of St John*). Two Old Latin manuscripts also have this variant: VL 4 (Codex Veronensis), with an Italian Old Latin text from the fourth century, and VL 6 (Codex Colbertinus), part of which is an ancient Old Latin form (for example, in Luke).²⁰

- **John 8:44** (*In Iob*, II, 24; p. 98): *ille homicida fuit ab initio*
Vulgate: *ille homicida erat ab initio*

This reading can be found in Old Latin manuscripts as well as in the writings of the Church Fathers. The Old Latin manuscripts are: VL 4; VL 5 (Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis), a bilingual manuscript copied around 400 CE; VL 10 (Codex Brixianus), close to the Vulgate but with some similarities to the Old Latin and the Gothic versions; VL 11 (Codex Rehdigeranus), whose text is an Italian Old Latin from the end of the fourth century; VL 14 (Codex Usserianus primus), whose Old Latin text is typical of a Welsh-Irish textual family; and VL 15 (Codex Aureus Holmiensis), whose text is nearly identical to the Vulgate but retains Old Latin features.²¹ Quotations of this verse identical to Philip's text are also found in the *Quaestiones Veteris et Noui Testamenti* of Ambrosiaster, probably written in Rome between 370 and 375 CE,

¹⁹ All examples in this chapter are cases when all manuscripts—or all but one—agree on a rendition that can be safely assumed to be Philip's choice of wording. There are cases of biblical quotations for which a critical edition of the commentary is required before studying them: these are not included here.

²⁰ H.A.G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 212–213.

²¹ Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, pp. 212–219.

and Rufinus' translations of Origen, believed to have been finalised later than Philip's *In Iob*.²²

- **Revelation 9:17** (*In Iob* III, 41; p. 204): *et ex ore eorum exiit ignis et fumus et sulphur*.
Vulgate: *et de ore ipsorum procedit ignis et fumus et sulphur*.

Ex ore eorum exit is text-type K, an African translation. The formulation can be traced to Cyprian of Carthage and is supposed by Roger Gryson to have been used by Tyconius in his commentary on Revelation.²³ This reading is known only from Church Fathers and is not contained in any Old Latin manuscripts.

Philip's text combines several known translations

In these particular instances, none of the parts of the verse quoted by Philip are without parallel in Christian literature and in Latin biblical manuscripts, but the passages as a whole are a combination of the parts, resulting in phrasing unique to *In Iob*.

- **John 8:56** (*In Iob* I, 14; Sichard p. 52): *Abraham pater uester concupiuit, ut uideret diem meum et uidit et gauisus est*.
Vulgate: *Abraham pater uester exultauit ut uideret diem meum et uidit et gauisus est*.

The first part of the verse, *Abraham pater uester concupiuit*, is not paralleled in any Old Latin manuscripts, but is used both by Augustine and by Quodvultdeus.²⁴ However, for both authors, the second part of the verse is not the same as appears in *In Iob*. Augustine's full rendering appears as: *Abraham pater uester*

²² Ambrosiaster, *Quaestiones Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, ed. Alexander Souter (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1908), p. 150; J.P. Migne, PL 12, *In Exodum Homiliae* VIII, pp. 350–361.

²³ While Gryson has published a reconstruction of Tyconius's *Commentary on Revelation*, Steinhauser earlier maintained that such a commentary cannot be reconstructed; see Kenneth B. Steinhauser, 'The Structure of Tyconius' Apocalypse Commentary: A Correction', *VC* 35 (1981): pp. 354–357.

²⁴ J.P. Migne, PL 42, p. 678; Quodvultdeus, *Sermo IV: Contra Iudaeos, paganos et Arianos* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), p. 5.

concupiuit me uidere; et uidit, et gauisus est, while Quodvultdeus' rendering appears as: *Abraham pater uester concupiuit uidere diem meum et uidit et gauisus est*.

Philip's second part of the verse, *ut uideret diem meum et uidit et gauisus est*, is both an Old Latin and a Vulgate rendering, but the peculiar combination with Philip's formulation of the first part of the verse is almost exclusive to *In Iob*. Indeed, Philip's complete quotation (*Abraham pater uester concupiuit, ut uideret diem meum et uidit et gauisus est*) is used only in Florus of Lyons' anthology, where Florus provides excerpts from Avitus of Vienne.²⁵ Avitus, a sixth-century bishop from Gaul, is thus the only author to quote the entire verse in the same formulation as Philip. Did Avitus know it through Philip or did Philip and Avitus independently rely on the same source? There seems to be no way to know.

- **John 18:28** (*In Iob* Prologus; Sichard p. 2) *Et ipsi non intrauerunt praetorium, ne contaminerentur*.²⁶
Vulgate: *Ipsi non introierunt in praetorium ut non contaminarentur*.

The segment *non intrauerunt* is not specific to Philip. It is found in the text reconstructed by Roger Gryson of Tyconius' commentary on Revelation and in two Old Latin manuscripts: VL 13 (Codex Monacensis or Codex Valerianus), whose Old Latin text is close to the biblical text of Arian authors and VL 14.²⁷ It should be noted that these two manuscripts do not translate the Greek ἵνα μὴ

²⁵ Florus of Lyons, *Collectio ex dictis XII Patrum, Dicta Aviti Viennensis, pars III* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), p. 352.

²⁶ Since the difference between Old Latin and Hieronymian revision lies in the choice of the verb, *intrauerunt* or *introierunt*, I choose to include this example in my paper even if the *In Iob* manuscripts do not agree on the use of the preposition *in* after *intrauerunt*. However, all agree against Sichard. Indeed, Cambrai BM 470, The Hague MW 10 A 1, Vatican BAV Reg. Lat. 111, Troyes BM 552, Oxford BL Bodl. 426, Paris Arsenal 315, Bern BB 99, Florence BML San Marco 722 and Madrid BN 437 convey the rendition *non intrauerunt praetorium*, while Sichard has printed *non intrauerunt in praetorium*.

²⁷ Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, pp. 217–218.

μικροθῶσιν as *ne contaminerentur*, so that they do not share with Philip the second part of the quotation.

- **Luke 11:21** (*In Job* III, 40; Sichard p. 200) *cum fortis armatus custodit domum suam in pace sunt ea quae possidet.*
Vulgate: *cum fortis armatus custodit atrium suum in pace . . .*

The reading *custodit domum suam* has a co-witness in the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaëum*, dated later than Philip's commentary:

*Quamdiu fortis armatus custodit domum suam, in tuto sunt omnia eius: cum autem venerit fortior, diripiet vasa eius.*²⁸

At least three VL manuscripts convey the same reading: VL 10 (Codex Brixianus), VL 14 (Codex Usserianus Primus) and VL 16 (Fragmenta Sangallensia or Fragmenta Curiensia), fragments of an early Italian manuscript.²⁹

- **2 Cor 10:7** *Si quis confidit se esse seruum Christi, hoc cogitet intra se, quia sicut ipse Christi est, ita et nos.* (*In Job* I, 12; p. 47)
Vulgate: *Si quis confidit sibi Christi se esse hoc cogitet iterum apud se quia sicut ipse Christi est ita et nos.*

Se esse seruum/seruus Christi is attested as a minority variant in a work by Ambrosiaster.³⁰ A variant of the word order, *se Christi seruum esse*, is also found in at least three Old Latin manuscripts: VL 75 (Codex Claromontanus; Paris, BnF, grec 107–107A–107B), with the bilingual text-type D—whose origin is disputed; VL 76 (Codex Sangermanensis; St Petersburg, NLR, F.v.XX), a copy of VL 75; and VL 78 (Codex Augiensis; Cambridge, Trinity College, B.17.1), which is often close to the Vulgate.³¹ *Hoc cogitet intra se* is also not found here in Latin Christian literature. The formulation may be a contamination due to familiarity with Mark 2:8 (*quo statim cognito Iesus spiritu suo quia sic cogitarent intra se dicit illis quid ista cogitatis in cordibus vestris*) and Lk 12:17 (*et*

²⁸ *Opus imperfectum in Matthaëum*, pp. xx, 7, 24, l. 54.

²⁹ Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, pp. 219–220.

³⁰ Ambrosiaster, *Commentarius in Pauli epistulas ad Corinthios* (recensio α), ad Cor. II, 10,7.

³¹ Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, pp. 243–245.

cogitabat intra se dicens quid faciam quod non habeo quo congregem fructus meos), but the formulation is also present in two VL manuscripts, VL 61 (the Book of Armagh; Dublin, Trinity College, Ms 52)—whose text of the Pauline Epistles is a revised Old Latin form—and VL 77 (the bilingual Codex Boernerianus; Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, A. 145b) whose text is very close to VL 75.³² As the first part of the quotation is also known from VL manuscripts, it seems plausible that Philip used an existing Old Latin text here.

- **Luke 12:32** (*In Job* II, 31; Sichard, p. 135) *nolite timere pusillus grex quia placuit patri uestro dare uobis regnum.*
Vulgate: *nolite timere pusillus grex quia conplacuit patri uestro dare uobis regnum.*

The use of *placuit* in this verse is nowhere to be found in Latin patristic literature. However, there are mediaeval witnesses with this reading and it is also found in one of the oldest Old Latin manuscripts, VL 3 (Codex Vercellensis; Vercelli, Archivio Capitolare Eusebiano, s. n.), probably copied in the second half of the fourth century.³³ The variant can also be found in Vat. Reg. lat. 49, a late ninth- or tenth-century manuscript known as *Catechesis Celtica*. However, according to Martin McNamara, the part of the collection in which the verse is quoted—no. 32—is not one in which Irish affiliations can be detected.³⁴

All of Philip's quotations that combine several different families of Old Latin translations fall, in my opinion, into the category of 'mental text' as Hugh Houghton has defined it—a biblical rendering with characteristics typical of citations made by memory.³⁵ Philip seems to use his own Latin version which he

³² Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, pp. 237 and 244.

³³ Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, p. 15.

³⁴ Martin McNamara, 'Sources and Affiliations of the Catechesis Cellica (MS Vat. Reg. lat. 49)', *The Bible and the Apocrypha in the Early Irish Church, A.D. 600–1200: Collected Essays* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 217–218.

³⁵ H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Use of the Latin Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism', in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, 2nd ed., eds. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, NTTSD 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 395–396.

has assembled from fragments of different biblical translations available to him—though this was not a deliberate but a subconscious activity. Therefore, Philip's text cannot be confused with another rendering and only reflects the 'mental text' used by Philip from several different textual traditions of the Latin Bible. Researchers must therefore be very attentive when investigating the different sources which would have led to the rearranged biblical quotation.

A similar phenomenon occurs with Philip's quotations of the Hebrew Bible. Striking examples are Isaiah 53:4 and 53:7:

- **Isaiah 53:4** (*In Iob* II, 31; p. 140) *ipse infirmitates nostras suscepit et pro nobis dolet . . .*

Vulgate: *uere languores nostros ipse tulit et dolores nostros ipse portauit . . .*

Pro nobis dolet is characteristic of the third century, African Old Latin tradition (the K text-type); *infirmitates* is unique to Augustine, and *suscepit* is an X text-type—an early text which is possibly an *ad hoc* translation of Greek.³⁶

- **Isaiah 53:7** (*In Iob* II, 31; p. 140) *sicut ouis ad uictimam ductus et sicut agnus agnus tondentem se sine uoce, sic non aperuit os suum.*

Vulgate: *sicut ouis ad occisionem ducetur et quasi agnus coram tondente obmutescet et non aperiet os suum.*

"Ductus" is also found in Augustinian biblical quotations; *ad uictimam* is both X and K text-type; *sicut* is common to Origen and African texts (the European tradition and Augustine have *tamquam*); *tondentem sine uoce* is African.

Even if Philip's attitude towards New Testament quotations seems to differ from his method of quoting the Hebrew Bible and the deuterocanonical books, by using Old Latin for the New Testament—even though Jerome's revisions are already available to him—his use of memorised biblical verses is common in all the biblical books where he seems at times unwittingly to create an idiosyncratic mixture of different textual traditions.

³⁶ On the different text-types of the Old Latin Bibles, see Houghton, 'The Use of the Latin Fathers', pp. 385–387.

All or part of Philip's quotation has no known co-witness

Finally, there are cases in which some or even the entire quotation from Philip has no surviving parallel in late antique or medieval literature or in the manuscripts of Latin biblical translations.

- **Luke 1:78–79** (*In Iob* I,1; p. 4) *per uiscera misericordiae Dei, quibus uisitauit³⁷ nos Oriens ex alto / ut illuminaret positos in tenebris et umbra mortis . . .*
Vulgate: *Per uiscera misericordiae Dei nostri in quibus uisitauit nos oriens ex alto / inluminare his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent . . .*

Echoes of *positos in tenebris et umbra mortis* are found in a quotation from a sixth-century text, the *Passio sancti Andreae*, which appears in the collection gathered under the name of *Virtutes apostolorum* attributed to Pseudo-Abdias:

*ut homines **positos in tenebris et umbra mortis** per uerbum Dei ad uiam ueritatis et luminis reuocarem³⁸*

This is the closest resemblance to Philip's variant reading of Luke 1:79 which can currently be found, and dates more than one century after Philip's *In Iob*. Was the biblical text used in the *Virtutes apostolorum* influenced by Philip or does the peculiar wording derive from a common source? There are currently no answers to this question.

- **1 Pet. 4:1** (*In Iob* III,37; Sichard p. 462) *Christus igitur in carne passo et uos eodem sensu armamini, quia passus est in carne . . .*

³⁷ Sichard's edition conveys *quibus uisitauit*, in accordance with Cambrai BM 470, which belongs to the same manuscripts group. However, as the manuscripts The Hague MW 10 A 1, Vatican BAV Reg lat. 111, Troyes BM 559, Bern Burgerbibliothek 99, Paris Arsenal 315, Madrid BN 437, and Florence BML San Marco 722 all convey *in quibus uisitauit*, I am still unsure of Philip's exact rendition and will not discuss Lk 1:78 in this paper. However, Lk 1:79's variant *positos in tenebris and umbra mortis* is attested in all the manuscripts, alongside Sichard's edition.

³⁸ Maximilien Bonnet, ed., 'Passio Sancti Andreae Apostoli', *Analecta Bollandia* 13 (1894): p. 374.

Vulgate: *Christo igitur passo in carne et uos eadem cogitatione armamini quia qui passus est carne desiit a peccatis.*

Eodem sensu is a translation that only Philip quotes. It is present in all the manuscripts of *In Iob*, and it must therefore be original to the text used by Philip. No other Old Latin manuscripts convey this reading, and it is currently unparalleled in late antique and mediaeval literature.

I have demonstrated above that several biblical quotations from Philip are not *hapax legomena* but can be linked to known variants. It seems, therefore, that it would be unwise to infer from the absence of known textual parallels that Philip, in these instances without surviving parallels, did not rely on any Latin tradition at all. Did he translate these two passages from Greek himself? It is unlikely, as in Luke 1:79 there is no obvious variant to *καθημένοις* in Greek which would justify the translation with *positos*. It could therefore be that the biblical quotations of Philip which have no parallels are witnesses to biblical textual variants which are otherwise lost.

PHILIP'S SOURCES FOR BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS

The purpose of this paper is not to provide an in-depth investigation into the origins of the translations used by Philip. However, after searching for other witnesses to Philip's New Testament quotations, some interesting points should be noted. First, there is a kinship between some of his quotations and Augustine's biblical quotations. Secondly, Philip had a definite knowledge of, or access to, African Old Latin texts. Thirdly, there are several cases of common wordings between *In Iob* and manuscripts VL 10 and VL 14. These hypotheses are still to be verified by an exhaustive study of all the biblical quotations, but they corroborate the initial observations I have been able to make on the study of the text of the Hebrew Bible and deuterocanonical books and reflect on the two Isaiah examples provided. In my opinion, there may also be a kinship between Philip's biblical text and the one of Tyconius as reconstructed by Gryson.

As for Philip's similarities with the biblical text quoted by Augustine, these do not relate exclusively to the New Testament.

Indeed, Philip often quotes translations of the book of Job other than the Hieronymian translation of the lemma on which he comments. These translations are often found in Augustine's works as well. The question that arises is therefore one of chronology: Philip's manner of quoting the Hebrew Bible and the deuterocanonical books prompt me to date the commentary prior to 397 CE, as dating it between 440 and 450 CE seems inconsistent with the state of the biblical text of Philip's Latin version of the Hebrew Bible. However, the readings of Latin translations which, apart from Philip, can only be found in Augustine's works are traditionally dated after 397 CE. Did Augustine and Philip draw separately from the same sources? Which of the two read the other one and became influenced by the wording of the biblical materials? This is one of the many points which a critical edition of Philip's text will clarify. Definite conclusions regarding Philip's links to the textual traditions represented by VL 10 and VL 14 cannot be drawn from so few examples. Like the two preceding points, they call for deeper investigations of Philip's biblical sources for his New Testament quotations.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the biblical quotations presented suggests that the choice of textual traditions quoted by Philip does not depend on the books being quoted. The Gospels as well as the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, and even Revelation, are quoted both in the Vulgate and in textual traditions other than the revisions undertaken by Jerome or following him. Overall, Philip's attitude toward the New Testament text thus seems to follow a more flexible and less systematic approach than his quotations of the Hebrew Bible and the deuterocanonical books. This could depend on whether Jerome's revisions of the biblical translations were completed when he was writing *In Job*. Is Philip thus following in the footsteps of his master, whose preference for the Hebrew books was well known and who did not pay the same attention to the revision of New Testament translations as he had to the Hebrew Scriptures? It is plausible, even if there can be no formal proof. Nevertheless, with regard to the Hebrew canon and to the Greek deuterocanonical books, biblical quotations used by Philip

suggest that he had a very extensive selection of documents at hand. For the Hebrew canon, he appears to be familiar with Jewish biblical commentaries. This detailed knowledge of textual traditions is reflected in the diversity of traditions reflected in the New Testament quotations of Philip. When scholars find a New Testament quotation in Philip's work that does not have any extant parallel, the example of 1 Pet. 4:1 mentioned above would lead us to suppose that Philip's wording and formulation is testimony to an otherwise unpreserved form of the VL. Finally, a study of Philip's biblical quotations shows that the question of the provenance of Philip's biblical material is inseparable from that of the dating of the work. As I have argued in this chapter, this seems to be resolvable by a revised dating of around 392 CE based on Latin quotations of the Hebrew Bible. Further study of the sources on which Philip drew to quote the Latin Bible will continue to be necessary, and a critical edition of *In Iob* will need carefully to assess the evidence that can help us understand Philip's biblical material.

7. A MISSING LINK IN THE CHAIN: A NEGLECTED FRAGMENTARY MANUSCRIPT OF THE PS. OECUMENIAN CATENA ON ROMANS (OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, AUCT. T.1.7 [MISC. 185]) (GA 2962)

JACOPO MARCON*

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary research has recently begun to re-investigate biblical catenae as witnesses for the transmission of the New Testament. In this context, the present contribution fits within the broader context of my examination of the manuscript tradition of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on the Pauline Epistles.¹ More

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¹ The main works on Pauline catenae include John Anthony Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum* (8 vols.: Oxford, 1833–1844); Georg Karo and Johannes H. Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus* (Göttingen: Lüder Horstmann, 1902); Hermann Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, 4 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1911–1913);

precisely, it sheds light on a fragmentary catena manuscript that has just been added to the *Liste* of the INTF in Münster. This is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.7 (Misc. 185) (GA 2962) which is a witness to the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena.² Further research has enabled me to identify the manuscript Florence, BML, Plut. 10. 4 (GA 1919) as a sibling manuscript of GA 2962, due to the palaeographical and textual similarities that are presented in this paper. My primary aim here is to situate this neglected manuscript within the wider tradition of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Romans, to examine its contents, and to locate this witness, alongside GA 1919, in the textual tradition of this compilation. Besides the physically defective nature of the manuscript, the present paper also reflects on catena manuscripts as repositories of fragments of the Greek Church Fathers, and the process of assembling this exegetical material.

Karl Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1926); Karl Staab, *Paulukommentare aus der Griechischen Kirche* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1933); Maurits Geerard and Jacques Noret, eds., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. IV Concilia. Catenae*, 2nd ed., CCSG 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018); H.A.G. Houghton, ed., *Commentaries, Catenae, and Biblical Tradition*, TS (III) 13 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2016); Theodora Panella, 'The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Galatians' (unpubl. diss., University of Birmingham, 2018); Theodora Panella, 'Re-Classifying the Pseudo-Oikoumenian Catena Types for Paul's Epistle to the Galatians', in *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and their Readers*, eds. Reinhart Ceulemans and Barbara Crostini, *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 20 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2021); Georgi Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament: A Catalogue*, TS (III) 25 (Piscataway NJ: Gorgias, 2021); and Chiara Coppola, 'A New Analysis of the Scholia Photiana of the Pseudo-Oecumenian Tradition' (unpubl. diss., University of Birmingham, 2021).

² I am thankful to the staff of the Bodleian Library and, especially, to Andrew Dunning, the R.W. Hunt Curator of Medieval Manuscripts, for enabling me to consult the manuscript both at the Bodleian Library (May 2019) and via Zoom.

**THE HISTORY AND THE CATENA: A PALAEOGRAPHIC AND
TEXTUAL EXAMINATION OF THE CATENA IN GA 2962
AND 1919.**

Among the eighty-five manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Romans, which have been identified based on the standard beginning of the text of the initial scholium (Τὸ ἀποῦσι γράφειν αἰτίον τοῦ κείσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα...),³ GA 2962 and GA 1919 form an unusual pair regarding the organization of the exegetical material.⁴ Both the manuscripts present similar codicological and palaeographical features. They are alternating or full-page catenae, with biblical lemmata in Alexandrian majuscules, followed by portions of exegetical extracts marked by single *diplai* and written in a *minuscule bouletée* of the mid-tenth century.⁵ Usually, the first complete line after the biblical lemma is in *ekthesis* and the opening letter is larger. Like most alternating catenae, a blank space with an upper dot or two points and a horizontal line (:-) marks the ending of the biblical lemmata and beginning of the commentary, and vice versa. While GA 1919

³ Other versions include Τίνος ἔνεκεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα... (Venice, BNM, Gr. Z. 34 [349] [GA 1924], Paris, BnF, Gr. 223 [GA 1933], Paris, BnF, Gr. 224 [GA 1934], Vatican City, BAV, Barb. Gr. 503 [GA 1952], Paris, BnF, Coislin. Gr. 217 [GA 1972], and Mount Athos, Monastery of Vatopedi, 593 [GA 2189]), τὸ ἐξῆς Παῦλος ἀπόστολος πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ... (Paris, BnF, Coislin. Gr. 26 [GA 056], Munich, BSB, Gr. 375 [GA 0142], Paris, BnF, Gr. 219 [GA 91], and Oxford, Magdalen College, Gr. 7 [GA 1907]) and ζητητέον τίνος ἔνεκεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα (see below).

⁴ For a complete list of manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Romans, refer to the CPG C165 entries in the Catena Project Database (<https://purl.org/itsee/catena-catalogue>) based on Parpulov's catalogue.

⁵ According to Georgi Parpulov and David Speranzi, to whom I am thankful for the palaeographical advice, GA 1919 is younger than the Oxford manuscript, but not by much. For the *minuscule bouletée*, see in particular Maria Luisa Agati, *La minuscola "bouletée"* (Vol. 1–2) (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1992), and Jean Irigoin, 'Une écriture du Xe siècle: la minuscule bouletée', in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine. Actes du Colloque internationale organisé dans le cadre des Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique à Paris du 21 au 25 octobre 1974*, eds. Jean Glénisson, Jacques Bompaire, and Jean Irigoin, Colloques internationaux du CNRS 559 (Paris: CNRS, 1977).

contains the full text of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on the Pauline Epistles, with prefaces attributed to Theodoret of Cyrhus, GA 2962 is a fragmentary witness: its catena covers Rom 9:3 to Phlm 25, apart from the sections on Rom 9:10b–24a and 10:1–16, which are lacunose. The presence of a double preface before Hebrews suggests that the manuscript originally had the complete text of the catena for all fourteen epistles, with the standard set of prefaces from Theodoret.⁶ The leaves at the end of the manuscript (fols. 305–306), containing the text of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Romans 9:3–10, and 9:24–33, were originally placed at the beginning of the codex.

Little is known about the history of GA 2962, apart from the information provided by Cataldi Palau in the description of the codex made for the catalogue of the manuscripts of the Meerman Collection in the Bodleian Library.⁷ In the sixteenth century the manuscript was the property of an unidentified owner, who left his mark on fol. 1r,⁸ and afterwards was numbered among the thirty-three Greek manuscripts of the library of a Doctor Micon, Professor of Theology at the University of Barcelona in 1582.⁹

⁶ Most of the manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition have the standard Euthalian apparatus, which consists of the Euthalian Prologue on the Pauline Epistles (BHG 1454), the preface to Romans (Von Soden [140]), the *Peregrinationes Pauli* (BHG 1457b) and the *Martyrium Pauli* (BHG 1458), the list of *kephalaia*, and the Euthalian and Theodoretan prefaces before each of the Pauline Letters (Von Soden [140–142]). See Lorenzo Alessandro Zaccagni, *Collectanea monumentorum veterum ecclesiae graecae, ac latinae* (Rome, 1698); Louis Charles Willard, *A Critical Study of the Euthalian Apparatus*, ANTF 41 (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2009); Vemund Blomkvist, *Euthalian Traditions: Text, Translation and Commentary*, TU 170 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

⁷ Annaclara Cataldi Palau, *A Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts from the Meerman Collection in the Bodleian Library* (University of Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2011).

⁸ ‘Non quae super terram’. See Cataldi Palau, *Catalogue*, p. 22, and Annaclara Cataldi Palau, ‘Une collection de manuscrits grecs du XVII^e siècle (Ex-libris: “Non quae super terram”)', *Scriptorium* 43.1 (1989).

⁹ See Erich Lamberz, ‘Zum Schicksal der griechischen Handschriften des Doktor Micon’, *Kleronomia* 4 (1972): p. 125, and Gregorio De Andrés, ‘Los codices griegos del doctor Micon, catedrático de Teología en Barcelona’, *Emerita* 36 (1968).

Later, the manuscript was owned by the library of the Jesuits of Clermont, as confirmed by the shelfmark on the front cover (*M. G. 113*), the *Index* by Sirmond at the beginning of the manuscript, the *ex libris*,¹⁰ and the so-called *Mesnil's Paraph* on fol. 1r.¹¹ After the dissolution of the Jesuit order and the suppression of the library of Clermont (1763), this manuscript was acquired by the Dutch nobleman Gerard Meerman for 300 guilders.¹² Finally, the manuscript entered the Bodleian Library after the Meerman sale.¹³

GA 1919 is also mostly the product of a single hand, apart from additions by a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century scribe of sixty-five anonymous scholia from the *Homilies on Romans* of John Chrysostom (CPG 4427),¹⁴ the *Commentarii in epistulas Pauli* of John of Damascus (CPG 8079),¹⁵ and the scholia on Romans from Photius of Constantinople (CPG C165.3).¹⁶ Besides the frequent addition of marks and breathings in a darker ink by a later hand, several haphazard marginalia by subsequent annotators are present, along with some *probationes calami* on fol. 425v. The latter include a partial transcription of Psalm 50 and a reference to an unidentified monk Babyla, alongside headings in Latin,

¹⁰ 'Coll. Paris Socie(ta)tis Jesu'.

¹¹ 'Paraphé au désir de l'arrest du 5 julliet 1763. Mesnil'. The manuscript is the number LXXI, in *Catalogus manuscriptorum codicum Collegii Claromontani, quem excipit catalogus MSS^{um} Domus Professae Parisiensis* (Paris: Saugrain–Leclerc, 1764), p. 20.

¹² *Bibliotheca Meermanniana sive catalogus librorum impressorum et codicum manuscriptorum quos maximam partem collegerunt viri nobilissimi Gerardus et Joannes Meerman*, 4 vols. (The Hague: Luchtmann, van Cleef and Sheurleer, 1824), p. 4:7, num. 53.

¹³ S. C 20579 and *Auctar T. 1. 7*, written twice in pencil on the front cover.

¹⁴ PG 60.385–682, and Frederick Field, *Ioannis Chrysostomi interpretatio omnium epistularum Paulinarum per homilias facta*, 7 vols. (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1854–1862), 1.

¹⁵ PG 95.442–570, and Robert Volk, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos: Commentarii in epistulas Pauli VII*, PTS 68 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 21–143.

¹⁶ Staab, *Pauluskommentare*, pp. 470–652.

geometrical shapes and sketches of sequences of letters.¹⁷ Furthermore, a note of ownership in the upper margin of fol. 425v indicates that the manuscript was originally in the collection of the Abbey of S. Salvatore de Septimo in Florence.¹⁸ Later, it was included among the thirty-seven manuscripts given to the Laurenziana Library in Florence by order of Cosimo I in 1568.¹⁹

Based on the analysis of the catena in the manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition, the same distinctive distribution of the exegetical extracts is seen in the catena of GA 2962 and GA 1919 compared to Venice, BNM, Gr. Z. 33 (423) (GA 1923). This manuscript, which was included by Staab among the representatives of the so-called *Erweiterte Typus* (or *Expanded Type*, CPG C165.3), serves as a representative of the standard text of the Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Romans, on the grounds that it contains the full set of scholia. This consists of three different types of comments. The first is a set of 917 numbered extracts, thirteen of which also feature the name *Οικουµενίου*.²⁰ The source for the numbered comments has not yet been identified, but they

¹⁷ Χριστέ μου σώσον τὸν μοναχὸν Βάβυλα καὶ ξένον. A similar subscription is repeated below by the same hand, but with a different name (Χριστέ μου σώσον τὸν μοναχὸν Λεω? κύριε ξενῶν).

¹⁸ 'Liber monasterii S. Salvatoris de Septimo ordinis cistercensium florentinae diocesis'.

¹⁹ Franca Trasselli, 'Per notizia dei posteri: un filo rosso tra i manoscritti provenienti dalla Badia di S. Salvatore a Settimo "Florentinae Dyocesis"', *Aevum* 85.3 (2011): p. 896. The manuscript is listed as 'Epistole di S. Paolo Greche in carta buona' (in Giovanni Richa, *Notizie storiche delle chiese fiorentine, Divise ne' suoi quartieri*, 10 vols. [Florence: Pietro Gaetano Viviani, 1754–1762], p. 9. 1: 349).

²⁰ The numbered scholia of GA 1923 are numbered from α to ρ and then from α again, like most of the frame catenae of the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition. On the numbering system of frame catenae see Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen*, p. 101 (related to Vatican City, BAV, Pal. Gr. 10 [GA 1998]). The following scholia are attributed to Oecumenius by name: 105ex (ε) (Rom 2:5, fol. 11r), 110ex (ι) (Rom 2:8, fol. 11r), 113ex (ιγ) (Rom 2:9, fol. 11v), 273ex (ογ) (Rom 5:14, fol. 27v), 281exa (πα) (Rom 5:17, fol. 29v), 382ex (πβ) (Rom 7:20, fol. 38v), 387ex (πζ) (Rom 7:23, fol. 39v), 415ex (ιε) (Rom 8:9, fol. 41v), 619ex (ιθ) (Rom 11:15, fol. 58r), 649ex (μθ) (Rom 11:29, fol. 60r), 668ex (ξγ) (Rom 12:2, fol. 61v), 776ex (ος) (Rom 14:12, fol. 69v), 792ex (τβ) (Rom 14:20, fol. 70v).

seem mainly to rely on the homilies of John Chrysostom on Romans, as suggested by Lorrain.²¹ The second is a series of unnumbered scholia added at a later stage: these are part of the so-called *Corpus Extravagantium* or *Extravagantes* (indicated in the present discussion by *ex* following the number of the previous scholium), identified by symbols or attributions rather than numbers.²² Out of the 137 *Extravagantes*, forty scholia are indicated by signs or with τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= *eiusdem auctoris*) and ἄλλως, used to link two different passages of the same author, and ninety-four by monograms or the complete name of the sources. Table 1 summarizes the content of the catena, with reference to the author and the original source, when this can be identified.

Author	Work	Total extracts
Oecumenius	<i>Fragmenta in epistulam ad Romanos</i> (CPG C165) (Staab, <i>Pauluskommentare</i> , pp. 423–432)	54
Theodoret of Cyrillus	<i>Interpretatio in xiv epistulas sancti Pauli</i> (CPG 6209) (PG 82.43–226, Agnès Lorrain, <i>Théodoret de Cyr, Interpretatio in epistulam ad Romanos. Édition, traduction et commentaire</i> [unpubl. diss., Université Paris-Sorbonne: 2015])	19
Severian of Gabala	<i>Fragmenta in epistulam ad Romanos</i> (CPG 4219) (Staab, <i>Pauluskommentare</i> , pp. 213–225)	16
John Chrysostom	<i>In epistulam ad Romanos (homiliae 1–32)</i> (CPG 4427) (PG60.385–682, Field, <i>Ioannis Chrysostomi</i>)	9

²¹ Agnes Lorrain, 'Éditer les chaînes exégétiques grecques: Quelle place pour les mises en page?', *Byzantion* 91 (2021): p. 260 (in the *apparatus fontium*, John Chrysostom's *Homilies* are mentioned as the sources of the numbered scholia of GA 1919 in Rom 8:30–34).

²² The term *Corpus Extravagantium* was coined by Staab to define the unnumbered scholia that are found along with the numbered extracts in Pauline catenae (Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen*, p. 101). See further, Panella, 'The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena,' p. 54, and Panella, 'Re-Classifying the Pseudo-Oikoumenian Catena Types,' p. 388.

Gennadius of Constantinople	<i>Fragmenta in epistulam ad Romanos</i> (CPG 5973) (Staab, <i>Pauluskommentare</i> , pp. 352–418)	7
Cyril of Alexandria	<i>Fragmenta in epistulam ad Romanos</i> (CPG 5209) (Philip E. Pusey, <i>Sancti patris nostril Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium</i> , 3 vols. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872], pp. 3:173–248)	6
Basil of Caesarea	<i>Epistula CCLXI</i> (CPG 2900) (PG32.967–972), and <i>Quod deus non est auctor malorum</i> (CPG 2853) (PG31.341, ll. 4–8)	3
Origen of Alexandria	<i>Commentarius in epistulam ad Romanos</i> (CPG 1457) (see Caroline P. Hammond Bammel, ‘Extracts from Origen in Vat. Pal. 204’, <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> 49.1 [April, 1998])	4
Acacius of Constantinople	<i>Fragmenta in epistulam ad Romanos</i> (CPG 3511) (Staab, <i>Pauluskommentare</i> , pp. 53–56)	2
Dionysius of Alexandria	<i>Fragmenta II in epistulam ad Romanos</i> 11.26 (CPG 1591) (Charles Lett Feltoe, <i>The Letters and other Remains of Dionysius of Alexandria</i> , [Cambridge: University Press, 1904], p. 251).	1
Isidore of Pelusium	<i>Letter 1244</i> (CPG 5557) (Isidore de Péluse, <i>Lettres, vol. 1, Lettres 1214–1413</i> , ed. Pierre Éviéux, SC 422 [Paris: Le Cerf, 1997], pp. 224–227).	1
Gregory of Nyssa	<i>De Vita Moysis</i> (BHG 2278, CPG 3159) (Grégoire de Nysse, <i>La Vie de Moïse</i> , ed. Jean Daniélou, SC 1ter, [Paris: Le Cerf, 1968], pp. 44–326: 150).	1
Theodore of Mopsuestia	<i>Fragmenta in epistulam ad Romanos</i> (CPG 3846) (Staab, <i>Pauluskommentare</i> , pp. 113–172)	1

Table 1. The scholia from the Greek Church Fathers in GA 1923 (Standard Text)

The third type of material in GA 1923 is a set of 172 extracts attributed to Photius of Constantinople (the so-called *Scholia Photiana*), whose name is occasionally present in front of the

scholia.²³ The *Photiana* are usually preceded by the repetition of the biblical lemma in majuscule, along with the attribution to Photius, either in an abbreviated or expanded form.

Using the text of the catena in Rom 7:8 as a test passage to investigate the relationship between the manuscripts of the textual tradition, GA 1919 was selected as one of the closest representatives of the *Urform*, described by Staab as the manuscript where the separation between the *Urtyp* and the earliest layer of *Extravagantes* is first attested. Based on Cramer's analysis of the additions and the textual variants of GA 2962 compared to Morellus' printed edition (1631),²⁴ Staab concluded that this manuscript is much closer to Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Gr. 1430 (GA 622) than to Vatican City, BAV, Pal. Gr. 10 (GA 1997) (Staab's *Spezialtypus* and *Normaltypus* respectively), and assigns it a position in the textual tradition between these two manuscripts.²⁵

Besides the same alternative initial scholium, these two witnesses have a peculiar distribution of the exegetical material. Indeed, not only do they omit all the *Scholia Photiana*, in keeping with Staab's *Normaltypus* (CPG C165.1), but they also lack the majority of the *Extravagantes* which characterise this standard text. Only twenty-two scholia are written in the margins of

²³ The text of the exegetical comments of Photius of Constantinople on the Romans is presented in Staab, *Pauluskommentare*, pp. 470–544.

²⁴ Οἰκουμένιου Ὑπομνήματα εἰς τὰς τῆς Νέας Διαθήκης πραγματείας τὰσδε = *Oecumenii commentaria in hosce Novi Testamenti tractatus: In Acta Apostolorum, In omnes Pauli Epistolas, In Epistolas Catholicas omnes. Accesserunt Arethae Caesareae Cappadociae episcopi Explanationes in Apocalypsin*, ed. Frédéric Morel, trans. Jean Henten (Lutetia [Paris]: Claudius Sonnius, 1631).

²⁵ Before Karl Staab, who considered GA 2962 as a representative of the stage leading to the formation of the *Normaltypus* (Staab, *Pauluskatennen*, p. 186), GA 2962 was collated by Cramer alongside Paris, BnF, Gr. 227 (GA 1937) and Oxford, Bodleian, Roe 16 (GA 1908), for 1-2 Cor and included in the catalogue of Karo-Lietzmann (Cramer, *Catenaes*, pp. 5:460–477, and Karo and Lietzmann, *Catalogus*, pp. 597–598). In Staab, *Pauluskommentare*, p. xlvi, the manuscript is listed as R (the manuscript is mostly used for the extracts of Oecumenius).

Romans in GA 2962 and GA 1919.²⁶ Nine of these are attributed to Oecumenius, five to Severian of Gabala, two are anonymous unnumbered comments, three agree with numbered extracts in GA 1923—scholia 588 (GA 1919, fol. 51r, GA 2962, fol. 2r), 666 (GA 1919, fol. 56v, GA 2962, fol. 7r) and 802 (GA 1919, fol. 66r, GA 2962, fol. 16v), the latter combined with the previous 801ex from Oecumenius—one is attributed to Theodoret of Cyrrihus and one to Dionysius of Alexandria. In addition, GA 1919 and GA 2962 include twelve comments featured among the *Extravagantes* in GA 1923 as unnumbered, anonymous extracts in the main body of the catena, rather than added in the margins.²⁷ In GA 1923, five of these are attributed to Oecumenius and seven are anonymous scholia. In addition, six *Extravagantes* are absent from both manuscripts (Rom 9:3–10, 24–33, 10:4–16:27): three scholia from John Chrysostom, one from Gennadius of Constantinople, one anonymous unnumbered extract and one numbered comment.²⁸

²⁶ The analysis of the distribution of the *Extravagantes* in the remaining text of Romans in GA 1919 shows that sixty-two scholia are added by the same hand in the margin: forty-seven are part of the secondary layer of comments which constituted the *Extravagantes* of the *Normaltypus* (Panella's *Corpus Extravagantium* 2), and they are listed in column 5a of the table in the Appendix (51exa–539ex). In addition to the *Extravagantes*, fifteen extracts correspond to the scholia numbered 3, 6 (part), 107, 139, 149, 150, 261, 287, 288, 314, 378, 384, 439, 459, and 460 of the Standard Text (GA 1923). Among these, one is attributed to Theodoret (scholium 139), and two to Oecumenius (scholia 261 and 378).

²⁷ The analysis of the complete text of the Catena in GA 1919 shows that, among the fifty-one *Extravagantes* of the Standard Text included in the main body of the chain (column 4a), thirteen have an attribution to Oecumenius in the margin, two Chrysostom, two Gennadius, and one Severian, Isidore and Cyril. Three numbered scholia of the Standard Text [scholia 270, 276, 312 (first half)], along with one scholium that has both the number (πα) and the attribution in GA 1923 (281ex), have an abbreviated attribution to Oecumenius added by the same, or a later, hand in the margin, and one numbered extract (scholium 333) has the attribution to Chrysostom nearby.

²⁸ Besides the six *Extravagantes* absent from both GA 1919 and GA 2962, GA 1919, which has the complete text of Romans, lacks twenty-five other scholia found in GA 1923: thirteen *Extravagantes* and twelve numbered extracts. Among the *Extravagantes*, eight are anonymous scholia, two

Despite the absence of seventeen *Extravagantes* and all the *Photiana*, GA 1919 and the last portion of GA 2962 contain additional scholia which are not included in the catena of GA 1923. These are entered by the first hand either in the margin or in the main body of the catena. First, the anonymous *Extravagans* (scholium 1ex of the appendix: Ζητητέον τίνος ἔνεκεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, des. τῷ ὀνόματι προτάσσει), which comes after the first numbered extract of the Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena (Τὸ ἀποῦσι γράφειν αἴτιον, des. τοῦ κορυφαίου Πέτρου), is distinctive of GA 1919 and five other witnesses. These are Paris, BnF, Coisl. Gr. 202bis. (fols. 27–328) (GA 94; fol. 157r), Milan, Ambrosiana, B. 6 inf. (GA 1941; fol. 1v), Florence, BML, Plut. 09. 10 (GA 2007; fol. 1r), Great Meteoron, Holy Monastery of the Transfiguration of Christ (Metamorphosis), 503 + Paris, BnF, Suppl. Gr. 1264 (GA 2011; fol. 1r), and Mount Athos, Monastery of Vatopedi, 239 (GA 2183; fol. 6v).²⁹ In GA 94, GA 1941 and GA 2011 this anonymous scholium is attributed to Oecumenius and is followed by two extracts from the first homily of John Chrysostom on Romans, which are also present in the other manuscripts but absent from the Standard Text. The manuscripts Oxford, Bodleian Library, Roe 16 (GA 1908; fol. 2r) and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A. 62 Inf. (GA 1980; fol. 64r) can be included in this group of manuscripts, although they only have the extract from Oecumenius, reported as the first numbered scholium of the catena (α), and omit the standard incipit of the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition. Additionally, ten further extracts from Chrysostom's *Homilies* I, II, VII, and

from Oecumenius (one together with the number ιγ), and one from Origen, Cyril and Basil.

²⁹ Apart from GA 94, GA 1908 and GA 2183, that are frame catenae, the other manuscripts have an alternating layout. In GA 1980 the authorship of the chain is attributed to John Chrysostom (τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Χρυσοστόμου ἐρμηνεῖα τῶν δεκατεσσάρων ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐν ἐπιτομῇ), while in GA 2007 to Nicetas of Heracleas (ἐξήγησις τοῦ μακαριωτάτου μητροπολίτου Νικήτας Ἰρακλείας εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου). Besides the presence of the first additional scholium from Oecumenius, GA 2183 is a representative of the *Erweiterte Typus* (CPG C165.3) due to the presence of *Photiana*. It attributes the authorship of the Catena to Theodoret of Cyrrihus (Θεοδωρίτου ἐπισκόπου Κύρρου εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολὴν ἐρμηνεῖα).

VIII on Romans are included in the margins of GA 1919,³⁰ plus one unidentified scholium in the main body of the catena (between scholia 38 and 39).

The analysis of the distribution of the *Extravagantes* was extended to these additional manuscripts, with the aim of investigating their relationship with GA 1919 and GA 2962, and to reflect on their role in the development of the textual tradition, from the *Urkatena* to the *Erweiterte Typus*. Because of the absence of most of the *Extravagantes*, GA 94, GA 2011 and GA 1980 are likely to be the closest forms to the *Urkatena*, which consists of only the original stage of numbered comments without the *Extravagantes* or *Photiana*. Indeed, GA 94 and GA 2011 lack the same number of *Extravagantes* (114) and numbered scholia (thirty-three) in comparison with the Standard Text. GA 1980, which Panella considers as the closest form to the *Urkatena* for Galatians, lacks sixty *Extravagantes* in the sections of Romans for which it is extant (Rom 1:1–8:4, 16:2–27). If we accept this identification and extend the analysis to the scholia in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Gr. 2062 (GA 627), which Staab considers as the source of the unnumbered scholia of the *Normaltypus*,³¹ we find that all the twenty-nine *Extravagantes* in GA 1980 are absent from the text of GA 627. Vice versa, those recorded in the margin of GA 627—forty-four scholia in Rom 1:1–8:3, and one scholium in Rom 16:19—are absent from GA 1980. The scholia present in GA 1980 and omitted by GA 627 can be considered as the original set of *Extravagantes* of the *Normaltypus* (Panella's *CE1*),³² which were

³⁰ Scholia 6ex (fol. 1v; PG 60.396), 7exc (fol. 2r; PG 60.397), 10ex (fol. 2r; PG 60.397), 20exa (fol. 2r; PG 60.399), 20exb (fol. 2r; PG 60.399), 53ex (fol. 4r; PG 60.409), 135exb (fol. 11r; PG 60.433), 143ex (fol. 11v; PG 60.435), 194ex (fol. 16v; PG 60.444), 246ex (fol. 21r; PG 60.461).

³¹ Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen*, p. 169.

³² For the first layer of *Extravagantes*—those found in GA 1980 and absent from GA 627—see column 2 (*CE1*) of the table in the Appendix. These scholia comprise a) scholia included within the row of the anonymous, unidentified scholia of GA 1923, which may be numbered or associated with the previous scholium in GA 1980 (46ex [καὶ ἀλλως], 118exa [ρβ], 148ex [ρκθ], 160ex [ρλη], 166ex [ρμδ], 281exb [ςμβ], 303exb [ςξα], 385ex [τλζ]); b) extracts attributed to Oecumenius in GA 1923, usually combined with the previous numbered scholium or scholia in GA 1980 (72exb

subsequently expanded by one or more sets of additional material (Panella's *CE2*).³³

Finally, GA 1919 (and potentially the missing part of GA 2962) not only has most of the *Extravagantes* found in GA 1980 and GA 627, but includes forty-four *Extravagantes* which are absent from the manuscripts as illustrated by the table in the *Appendix*;³⁴ conversely, it omits eleven *Extravagantes* which are present in the manuscripts of the *Normaltypus*.³⁵ As a result, GA 1919 and GA 2962 are likely to be the earliest form of the *Normaltypus*, with some of the unnumbered scholia added in the margin before they had yet been incorporated into the standard text of the *Normaltypus* (*Urform* + *CE1* and *CE2*). On the one hand, the *Extravagantes* included in the main body of the catena as unnumbered scholia mostly agree with the scholia in GA 1980, and include several scholia from GA 627 which constitute the secondary stage of this additional material.³⁶ On the other hand, those added in the

[ξ α], 158ex [$\rho\lambda\zeta$], 195ex [$\rho\xi\zeta$], 258ex [$\varsigma\kappa\beta$], 271exa and 271exb [$\zeta\lambda\beta$], 273ex [$\zeta\lambda\gamma$], 276ex [$\zeta\lambda\epsilon$], 284ex [$\varsigma\mu\epsilon$], 304ex [$\zeta\xi\beta$], 311ex [$\zeta\sigma$]); c) single scholia from Oecumenius included within the row of the numbered comments in GA 1980 (281exa [$\varsigma\mu\beta$], 309ex [$\zeta\xi\eta$], 377ex [$\tau\lambda\alpha$], 382ex [$\tau\lambda\epsilon$], 387ex [$\tau\lambda\theta$]). One scholium is attributed to Cyril in GA 1923 (scholium 303exa).

³³ The second layer of *Extravagantes* includes the scholia absent from GA 1980 and present in GA 627, as illustrated in the present Appendix (column 3 [*CE2*]). See further, Panella, 'The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Galatians,' pp. 82–86, and Panella, 'Re-Classifying the Pseudo-Oikoumenian Catena Types,' pp. 401–402.

³⁴ Scholia 74exb, 105ex, 110ex, 135ex, 177exb, 371ex, 414ex, 415exa, 415exb, 426ex, 438ex, 444ex, 449ex, 451ex, 455ex, 464ex, 477ex, 478ex, 489ex, 509ex, 515ex, 531ex, 608ex, 619ex, 621ex, 643ex, 648ex, 649ex, 668ex, 683ex, 684exa, 684exb, 684exc, 684exd, 762exa, 783ex, 785ex, 792ex, 801ex, 803ex, 808exa, 821ex, 833ex, 863ex. However, since GA 1980 is lacunose at Rom. 8.4–16.1 (scholia 403–874) it is not possible to verify the omission of these scholia from the manuscript. See columns 4–5 in the Appendix.

³⁵ Scholia 51exb, 113ex, 235exb, 306ex, 334ex, 348ex, 641ex, 688ex, 707ex, 812ex, 824ex. See columns 4–5.

³⁶ Scholia 89ex, 95ex, 118exb, 168ex, 186ex, 203exa, 204ex, 226ex, and 313ex. Four scholia from GA 627 (306ex [Cyril], 334ex [anonymous], 641ex [Gennadius], and 707ex [Chrysostom]), are omitted by GA 1919 and the available section of GA 2962. See column 4a in the Appendix.

margins, anonymously or with the indication of the source, might belong to a later set of additional material, which is not yet completely established in the text of the catena, possibly that found in GA 627 (column 5). Nevertheless, twenty-eight out of the seventy-three scholia in the margin of GA 1919 are not attested in GA 627, but are present in GA 1997, selected as a representative of the *Normaltypus*.³⁷ Since these scholia are mostly anonymous or attributed to Oecumenius,³⁸ it is also possible that some of them were originally present in the catena of GA 1980, that, unfortunately, is lacunose between scholia 403 and 874.³⁹

THE BIBLICAL TEXT

The collation of the extant text of Romans in GA 2962 and GA 1919 against the Majority Text and the NA28 shows that both manuscripts broadly agree with the Byzantine text.⁴⁰ As GA 2962 has only now been assigned a Gregory-Aland number, it was not included in *Text und Textwert*.⁴¹ In this collection of test passages,

³⁷ Scholia 74exb, 105ex, 110ex, 135ex, 177exb, 371ex, 414ex, 415exa, 415exb, 426ex, 438ex, 444ex, 449ex, 451ex, 455ex, 464ex, 515ex, 608ex, 619ex, 621ex, 643ex, 762exa, 776ex, 783ex, 801ex, 808exa, 821ex, 863ex (column 6 in the Appendix, CE3).

³⁸ Oecumenius: 105ex, 110ex, 371ex, 415exa, 426ex, 444ex, 449ex, 451ex, 455ex, 515ex, 619ex, 762exa, 776ex, 783ex, 801ex, 808ex, 821ex, 863ex; anonymous: 135ex (but from Theodoret), 177exb, 438ex (but from Chrysostom), 608ex (but from Oecumenius); Severian: 74exb, 414ex; Cyril: 464ex; Chrysostom: 415exb.

³⁹ Scholia 414ex, 415exb, 489ex, 509ex, 531ex, 608ex, 648ex, 649ex, 684exa, 684exb, 684exc, 684exd, 762exa, 821ex, and 833ex are attested in both GA 94 and GA 2011, which, according to Panella, are later abridged versions of GA 1980 (Panella, 'Re-Classifying the Pseudo-Oikoumenian Catena Types,' p. 401).

⁴⁰ For the Majority Text, see *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform*, eds. Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont (Southborough MA: Chilton, 2005); for *Text und Textwert*, GA 1919 is listed among the minuscules of the Byzantine type in Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989), p. 139.

⁴¹ Kurt Aland, ed., *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. II. Die Paulinischen Briefe*, 4 vols., ANTF 16 (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1991).

GA 1919 appears in two *Sonderlesarten*: at Rom 6:12 (*Teststelle* 7) it shares an omissive reading with five important manuscripts (P46, 06, 010, 012, 2516); at Rom 14:10 (*Teststelle* 28), it has a longer omission with four other catena manuscripts (1908*, 1935, 1987, 2011) which is matched by GA 2962.

GA 2962 and GA 1919 share twenty other readings that diverge from both the Majority Text and NA28. Three of these are harmonizations to other biblical passages. For instance, the variant $\sigma\upsilon\ \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \delta\ \kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$ (Rom 14:10), present in these two manuscripts and GA 1908, could be explained as a repetition of the same expression in Rom 14:4 ($\Sigma\upsilon\ \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \delta\ \kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\rho\iota\omicron\nu$). Some variants are attested in earlier tradition, such as the addition of $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\epsilon$ after $\xi\theta\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ in Rom 15:9 (01², 33, 104, 1505). This addition conforms the citation to the text of LXX Ps 17:50 and is also attested in GA 94, GA 1908, and GA 2011. The substitution of $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ with $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon$ in Rom 15:16 has wider support (02, 04, 06*², 010, 012, 33, 81, 94, 104, 365, 630, 1739, 1881, 1908, 2011). Another omission shared by GA 1919 and GA 2962 is the sentence $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu\ \text{Ἡσαΐας λέγει καὶ ἔσται ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσι}$ in Rom 15:12. This could be explained as an oversight due to the layout of an antigraph: in both manuscripts, the text of this scholium starts and ends with additional material that is absent from the standard Pseudo-Oecumenian catena and matches the beginning and the ending of the biblical lemma ($\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu\ \text{Ἡσαΐας λέγει}$, and $\text{ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν}$). The inclusion of part of the biblical text in the commentary is possible in the alternating catenae, where it can be difficult to distinguish between the end of the biblical text and the beginning of the commentary, and vice versa, especially when there are no *diplai*, or the biblical lemmata are not capitalized.

Finally, these manuscripts share two readings agreeing with NA28 against the Majority. The first is $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ for $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ in Rom 16:6 (*Teststelle* 40), where GA 1919 and GA 2962 are joined by 134 other witnesses, including GA 94, GA 1908 and GA 2011. Second, GA 1919 is included in *TuT* among 76 manuscripts with the reading $\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota\ \upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ in *Teststelle* 42 (Rom 16:16). However, GA 1919 and GA 2962 in fact read $\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota\ \upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, a conflation which appears to be

peculiar to these two manuscripts; GA 94 has the unique reading: ἀσπάζονται δε ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ.

Singular readings are also attested in GA 2962, illustrating the secondary nature of its biblical text in comparison with GA 1919. Most of these involve errors related to itacism (e.g. at Rom 11:25) or the omission of one or more letters or words (e.g. *πα* for *πᾶσα* in Rom 14:11). Similarly, in Rom 11:17 GA 2962 has a unique and ungrammatical reading, *τις τῶν κλάδων* for *τινες τῶν κλάδων*. In a longer omission, GA 2962 lacks the entire phrase: *κόσμου καὶ τὸ ἡττημα αὐτῶν πλοῦτος ἐθνῶν* from Rom 11:12. In contrast, GA 1919 presents only one singular reading against GA 2962, NA28 and the Majority Text in the portions of text shared with GA 2962. This is at Rom 16:27, where it reads *αἰῶνας ἡμῖν*, corrected to *αἰῶνας ἀμῖν* (sic) retaining the itacism. This is not reported in *TuT*.⁴²

THE TEXT OF THE CATENA

Due to the absence of a critical edition of the Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Romans, the only sources to examine the text of the catena are my own transcriptions of GA 1923 (selected as the Standard Text), Donatus' *editio princeps* (reproduced in PG 118),⁴³ and Staab's collection in *Pauluskommentare* of extracts from Greek Church Fathers in catenae (Didymus of Alexandria, Eusebius of Emesa, Acacius of Caesarea, Apollinarius of Laodicea, Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Severian of Gabala, Gennadius of Constantinople, Oecumenius, Photius of Constantinople, and Arethas of Caesarea).

Overall, the text of GA 2962 and 1919 differs from GA 1923 on 392 occasions. More than half of these readings involve itacism (nineteen in total), omission or addition of letters, syllables and words, and different word order. Besides the sixty-nine additions and the twenty-nine omissions of conjunctions,

⁴² Aland, *TuT*, pp. 405–406.

⁴³ *Expositiones antiquae ex diversis sanctorum partum commentariis ab Oecumenio et Aretha collectae in hosce Novi Testamenti tractatus. Oecumenii quidem in Acta Apostolorum. In septem Epistolas quae Catholicae dicuntur. In Pauli omnes. Arethae vero in Ioannis Apocalypsim*, ed. Bernardo Donato (Verona: Sabii, 1532), and PG 118.307–636.

articles, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs and φησί(ν) in GA 2962 and 1919, more significant interpolations are attested and worthy of attention. For instance, in scholium 610 (Rom 11:11) GA 2962 (fols. 3v–4r) and GA 1919 (fol. 53r) add ἀπόστολος between αὐτός, and φησί(ν), followed by a citation of Rom 1:16: Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι.⁴⁴ In this passage, the exegete is referring to the priority of the Jews in receiving the word of Jesus, through citations of Rom 1:16, Matt 10:6 and Acts 13:46; the latter two are preceded by ὁ Κύριος, matching the addition before the Romans citation. The fact that ἀπόστολος is present also in GA 94 (fol. 177v), GA 2011 (fol. 24v), and GA 1908 (fol. 35v) is further evidence of the close relationship between these manuscripts.

Additionally, the words τὰ δὲ σώματα after θνητὰ in scholium 769 (Rom 14:9) are added in both GA 2962 (fol. 14v) and GA 1919 (fol. 63v), but absent from GA 1923 (fol. 69r) and Migne (PG 118.596). In this case, the scholium refers to a passage from the third book of Methodius of Olympus's *Περὶ ἀναστάσεως* (*De Resurrectione*; CPG 1825), as found in the Standard Text (GA 1923): τουτέστι ψυχῶν καὶ σωματῶν αἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν ἀθάνατοι τὰ δὲ θνητὰ, οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Μεθόδιος ἐν τῷ *Περὶ Ἀναστάσεως* λογῶν.⁴⁵ The addition of σώματα is unnecessary in this context and is likely to be either an interlinear or marginal addition in a common subarchetype of the two manuscripts or an omission of GA 1923 due to homoeoteleuton. Interestingly, τὰ δὲ σώματα is present in both GA 94 (fol. 182r) and GA 2011 (fol. 32r), where the reference to Methodius Olympus's work is omitted, and in GA 1908 (fol. 43v). Finally, twenty-seven occurrences involve differences in word order, usually the inversion of one or two words.

⁴⁴ Scholium 610 (part): ὅθεν καὶ αὐτός φησιν, ὁ ἀπόστολος Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι. Καὶ πάλιν ὁ Κύριος. Πορεύεσθε μᾶλλον πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ. Καὶ πάλιν ὑμῖν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον λαληθῆναι τὸν λόγον'.

⁴⁵ Possibly the scholium refers to Methodius of Olympus, *De Resurrectione*, book 3.21.12 (Gottlieb N. Bonwetsch, *Methodius von Olympus* [Erlangen-Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung nachf. (Georg Böhme), 1891], p. 280, ll. 16–19): ὥστε τό διὰ τοῦτο Ἐχριστὸς ἀπέθανε' (Rom 14:9) λεγόμενον ἵνα ζώντων κυριεύσῃ' (Rom 14:9) ἐπὶ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματῶν παραληπτέον, ζώντων μὲν τῶν ψυχῶν, καθὼς ἀθάνατοι, νεκρῶν δὲ τῶν σωματῶν.

Besides these common scribal mistakes, several variants illustrate the relationship of GA 2962 and GA 1919 as siblings from a lost common *Vorlage*. Some consideration will be devoted to the group GA 94–2011, and GA 1908, which agree with the most distinctive readings of the two witnesses in addition to sharing some of the characteristic forms of their biblical text. Some of the variants attested by GA 2962 and GA 1919 (plus GA 94–GA 2011, and GA 1908) are *lectiones faciliores* or reading mistakes. For instance, *πράγματος* rather than *προστάγματος* in scholium 580 (Rom 10:19) is a simple instance of a more familiar word replacing a specific term, possibly through the misreading of an abbreviation.⁴⁶ This reading is also found in Migne (PG 118.535–536). Likewise, the nonsense *ὁ δὲ γενόμενος* found in scholium 823 (Rom 15:8) of GA 2962 (a.c.) (fol. 18r–v) and GA 1919 (fol. 67v) is a misreading of *ὁ δὲ νόμος* (GA 1923 [fol. 73v], GA 2962 [p.c.] and GA 1908 [fol. 46v]). GA 94 (fol. 184r) and GA 2011 (fol. 34v) omit the first part of the scholium (*ὁ δὲ γε νόμος οὐκ ἴσχυσεν αὐτὰς βεβαιῶσαι*). In other instances, the substitution of a *lectio difficilior* might have originated as the result of harmonization to the biblical text or the close context. For example, in scholium 661 (Rom 11:35), *τὰ πάντα* found in GA 2962 (fol. 7r), GA 1919 (fol. 56v), GA 94 (fol. 179r)–GA 2011 (fol. 27r), and GA 1908 (fol. 38r) may be a banalization of the less common *τὰ ὄντα*, found in GA 1923 (fol. 60v), and Migne (PG 118.535–536), perhaps also influenced by the presence of *τὰ πάντα* in the following biblical lemma. A similar situation occurs in scholium 727 (Rom 13:6), where the four manuscripts have *λειτουργοί* rather than the *ὑπουργοί* of GA 1923 (fol. 65v), GA 1908 (fol. 41v), and Migne.⁴⁷ This banalization is likely to have been prompted by *λειτουργοῦντες* in the text of the scholium and *λειτουργοί* in the biblical lemma.

Another category of variants concerns longer omissions or additions of exegetical material. In scholium 798 (Rom 14:22), for example, the two manuscripts (GA 1919, fol. 65v, and GA

⁴⁶ Scholium 580 (part) (GA 1919, fol. 50v; GA 2962, fol. 1v): οἶον, παρακλίσω· μεγίστη δὲ ἡ τοῦ πράγματος ἰσχύς.

⁴⁷ PG 118.579–580. Scholium 727 (GA 1919, fol. 60v; GA 2962, fol. 11v; GA 94, fol. 181r; GA 2011, fols. 29v–30r): Τουτέστιν, λειτουργοί θεοῦ καὶ λειτουργοῦντες θεῷ τοῦτο τὸ ἡμῶν κήδεσθαι.

2962, fol. 16v), alongside the group of GA 94 (fol. 183r), GA 2011 (fol. 33r), and GA 1908 (fol. 45r), repeat the biblical lemma before the beginning of the scholium (μακάριος ὁ μὴ κρίνων ἑαυτὸν ἐν ᾧ δοκιμάζει), compared to the Standard Text, which begins the scholium with *τουτέστιν* (GA 1923, fol. 71r). Two additions in scholia 812 (Rom 15:3) and 819 (Rom 15:7), are likely to have been included from marginal or interlinear scholia in an antigraph:⁴⁸ they are also present in GA 94, GA 2011, and GA 1908 but absent from GA 1923 and Migne (PG 118.612). In scholium 821 (Rom 15:8), these manuscripts (apart from GA 1908) omit *τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει περιτομῆς* because of the similarity of *περιτμηθεῖς* and *περιτομῆς*.⁴⁹ In scholium 763 (Rom 14:6), the five manuscripts and Migne (PG 118.593) add *καὶ ὁ φρονῶν ὥστε καθ' ἡμέραν μὴ νηστεύειν διὰ τὸν Κύριον οὕτω φρονεῖ* between *οὕτω φρονεῖ* and *πᾶν*, while GA 1923 has an 'abbreviated' version that excludes this supplementary addition, and simply reads *οὕτω φρονεῖ πᾶν*.⁵⁰ In this instance, it is possible either that a marginal annotation has been incorporated in the text of the catena at an early point, or that GA 1923 excluded the passage by a *saut du même au même*.

There are only ten cases in which GA 2962 differs from GA 1919 and GA 1923, which—as in the case of the biblical text—

⁴⁸ Scholium 812: ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου συμφέροντος GA 1923 (fol. 72v) | ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου συμφέροντος ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο φησὶν εἰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐξήτησεν GA 1919 (fol. 66v), GA 2962 (fol. 17v), GA 94 (fol. 183v) GA 2011 (fol. 34r) | ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου συμφέροντος (scholium ξς) + ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο φησὶν εἰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐξήτησεν (scholium ξζ) GA 1908 (fol. 45v); scholium 819: τὸν θεὸν δοξάσετε διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης GA 1923 (fol. 73r) | τὸν θεὸν δοξάσετε καὶ πάλιν τὸν θεὸν δοξάζεσθαι παρασκευάσει ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγάπη GA 1919 (fol. 67r), GA 2962 (fol. 18r), GA 94 (fol. 184r), GA 2011 (fol. 34rv), and GA 1908 (fol. 46r).

⁴⁹ Scholium 821 (part): Συνέπραξε δὲ τὸν νόμον ἅπαντα πληρώσας καὶ περιτμηθεῖς. Τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει περιτομῆς, ἵνα καὶ ταύτη βεβαιώση καὶ πληρώση GA 1923 (fol. 73v) | Συνέπραξε δὲ τὸν νόμον ἅπαντα πληρώσας καὶ περιτμηθεῖς. Ἴνα καὶ ταύτη βεβαιώση καὶ πληρώση GA 1919 (fol. 67r), GA 2962 (fol. 67rv), GA 94 (fol. 184r), GA 2011 (fol. 34v) | Συνέπραξε δὲ τὸν νόμον ἅπαντα πληρώσας καὶ περιτμηθεῖς. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ λέγε περιτομῆς, τουτέστιν καὶ αὐτὸς περιτμηθεῖς, ἵνα καὶ ταύτη βεβαιώση καὶ πληρώση GA 1908 (fol. 46r).

⁵⁰ Scholium 763 (part): οὕτω φρονεῖ πᾶν GA 1923 (fol. 63r) | οὕτως φρονεῖ καὶ ὁ φρονῶν ὥστε καθ' ἡμέραν μὴ νηστεύειν διὰ τὸν κύριον οὕτω φρονεῖ πᾶν GA 1919 (fol. 63v), GA 2962 (fols. 13v–14r), GA 94 (fol. 182r), GA 2011 (fol. 31v), GA 1908 (fol. 43r).

illustrate the secondary nature of GA 2962. Most of these are minor copying errors, sometimes leading to nonsense readings (e.g. φαλαδέλφος for φιλαδέλφος). In scholium 714 (on Rom 13:1), GA 2962 (fol. 10v) alone reads *καὶ δικαιώσεν αὐτάς* against *καὶ διώκησεν αὐτάς* in GA 1923 (fol. 65r), GA 1919 (fol. 60r), GA 1908 (fol. 40v), and Migne (PG 118.577). The context of the scholium and the grammatical inconsistency of the variant in GA 2962 make it clear that *διώκησεν* (from *διοικέω*) is the original reading, found as *ἐδιοικήσεν* in both GA 94 (fol. 180v) and GA 2011 (fol. 29r). This is one of many indications that the text of GA 1919 precedes that of GA 2962.⁵¹ Finally, there is only one occurrence where the text of the catena in GA 1919 differs from GA 1923 and GA 2962, which is a simple dittography with no genealogical significance.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has offered a complete description of the fragmentary manuscript GA 2962, only recently added to the *Liste* of Greek New Testament manuscripts, with the aim of locating this witness within the wider tradition of the Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Romans. The surprising result is that, with its close relative GA 1919, GA 2962 appears to represent an early stage of this catena tradition which has not previously been identified. This stage can be considered as the subsequent development of GA 1980, along with its related group of GA 94 and GA 2011. In this context, the presence of a *Photianum* (scholium 99Ph on Rom 2:2) among the numbered extracts in GA 94 (fol. 158v) suggests that it is a secondary, abridged rearrangement of the catena rather than the form closest to the *Urkatena*. This hypothesis has been recently confirmed by Panella, who believes that GA 94 and GA 2011 are two later abridged copies of GA 1980.⁵²

In addition to their palaeographical and codicological similarities, the affinity between GA 1919 and GA 2962 has been confirmed by the analysis of the content—especially the number

⁵¹ Scholium 714 (part): 'Ο θεός, φησιν, ἔταξε καὶ διώκησεν αὐτάς.

⁵² Panella, 'Re-Classifying the Pseudo-Oikoumenian Catena Types', p. 401.

and the disposition of the exegetical scholia—and the examination of both the biblical text and the catena. The presence of some of the *Extravagantes* in these manuscripts, both in the margins and in the main text of the commentary, demonstrates that neither of these witnesses is the *Urkatena*, consisting solely of the numbered extracts. However, GA 1919 and GA 2962 represent an intermediate stage between the unattested *Urkatena* and the manuscripts of the *Normaltypus*, which include the *Extravagantes* as well as the numbered comments. Consequently, the *Extravagantes* added in the margins of GA 2962 and GA 1919 may derive from a preliminary stage of additions to the *Urkatena*, where the *Extravagantes* are still recorded as anonymous scholia or with the name of the author in front and not yet included among the numbered extracts (unnumbered in the alternating catenae). Therefore, those recorded in the main text of the catena alongside the unnumbered extracts had already been integrated as part of the exegetical chain. This suggests that the scholia traditionally described as the *Corpus Extravagantium* were added piecemeal and consist of multiple subsequent additions to a central core, namely that of GA 1980, that could differ according to the educational or exegetical purposes for which catenae were copied. On the other hand, the presence of twenty-six scholia in the margin, absent from GA 627 but included in the manuscripts of the *Normaltypus*, might locate these two witnesses in the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition on Romans after the insertion of the second set of *Extravagantes* from GA 627, but before the establishment of the *Normaltypus* stage, namely Panella's CE3, comprising the numbered scholia and the *Extravagantes* of GA 1980 (CE1) and GA 627 (CE2). However, since nineteen out of these twenty-seven additional scholia from GA 1919 are either attributed to Oecumenius (seventeen) or anonymous (one unidentified and one from Oecumenius), it is also possible that these extracts were present in the missing part of the catena of GA 1980. The presence of fifteen of these additional scholia in GA 94 and 2011 might confirm their original inclusion in GA 1980, given that these manuscripts have a later abbreviation of GA 1980. However, the absence from GA 1980 of five scholia attributed to Oecumenius, namely 105ex, 110ex, 135ex, 177ex, and 371ex, may discount this hypothesis and suggest instead that these supplementary scholia

were taken from the stage represented by GA 1919 and GA 2962. Furthermore, the analysis of the incipit of the catena has revealed a correlation between GA 1919 and GA 2962 and seven other witnesses, which, in addition to the distinctive beginning, involves two additional scholia from the first homily of John Chrysostom on Romans. Further investigation is required of the relationship between these manuscripts, in particular between GA 1919–GA 2962, and GA 94–GA 2011.

The analysis of their biblical text has shown that both the manuscripts broadly agree with the Byzantine text and share the same variant readings against the Majority Text and the NA28. Although very closely related—sharing one reading in Rom 16:16 which is not preserved anywhere else in direct tradition—the text of GA 2962 is inferior to that of GA 1919 in both the biblical text and the catena: the variant in scholium 714 (Rom 13:1) demonstrates that GA 1919 cannot depend on GA 2962, while the palaeographical analysis of GA 1919 indicates that this manuscript cannot have served as the exemplar for GA 2962. As a result, they likely depend on a shared antigraph, predating all surviving Romans catena manuscripts, which is no longer preserved. This tradition, reaching further back into the history of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Romans than has previously been possible, also makes possible a new understanding of the later outworking of this catena, including the position of other closely-related manuscripts such as GA 94, GA 2011 and GA 1908.

Appendix: The distribution of the *Corpus Extravagantium* in GA 1923 (*Erweiterte Typus*), GA 1980 (*CE1*), GA 627 (*CE2*), GA 1919 and 2962 (*CE2–CE3*), and GA 1997 (*CE3, Normaltypus*).

GA 1923	GA 1980 (CE1)	GA 627 (CE2)	GA 1919 and 2962 in the text (CE2–CE3)		GA 1919 and 2962 in the margin (CE2–CE3)		GA 1997 (CE3)
			GA 1919	GA 2962	GA 1919	GA 2962	
Absent	1ex	Absent	1ex	Lacuna			Absent
Absent	2ex	Absent	2ex	Lacuna			Absent
Absent	3ex	Absent	3ex	Lacuna			Absent
Absent	38ex	Absent	38ex	Lacuna			Absent
46ex	46ex	Absent	46ex	Lacuna			46ex
51exa	Absent	51exa			51exa	Lacuna	51exa
51exb	Absent	51exb	Absent	Lacuna			51exb
51exc	Absent	51exc			51exc	Lacuna	51exc
60ex	Absent	60ex			60ex	Lacuna	60ex
72exb	72exb	Absent	72exb	Lacuna			72exb
74exa	Absent	74exa			74exa	Lacuna	74exa
74exb	Absent	Absent			74exb	Lacuna	74exb
89ex	Absent	89ex	89ex	Lacuna			89ex
Absent	Absent	90exa	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	Absent
Absent	Absent	90exb	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	Absent
Absent	Absent	92ex	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	Absent
95ex	Absent	95ex	95ex	Lacuna			95ex
105ex	Absent	Absent			105ex	Lacuna	105ex
110ex	Absent	Absent			110ex	Lacuna	110ex
113ex	Absent	Absent	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	113ex
118exa	118exa	Absent	118exa	Lacuna			118exa
118exb	Absent	118exb	118exb	Lacuna			118exb
118exc	Absent	Absent	Absent	Lacuna			Absent
120ex	Absent	120ex			120ex	Lacuna	120ex

GA 1923	GA 1980 (CE1)	GA 627 (CE2)	GA 1919 and 2962 in the text (CE2-CE3)		GA 1919 and 2962 in the margin (CE2-CE3)		GA 1997 (CE3)
			GA 1919	GA 2962	GA 1919	GA 2962	
128ex	Absent	128ex			128ex	Lacuna	128ex
135ex	Absent	Absent			135ex	Lacuna	135ex
148ex	148ex	Absent	148ex	Lacuna			148ex
154ex	Absent	154ex			154ex	Lacuna	154ex
158ex	158ex	Absent	158ex	Lacuna			158ex
160ex	160ex	Absent	160ex	Lacuna			160ex
Absent	Absent	160exb	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	Absent
166ex	166ex	Absent	166ex	Lacuna			166ex
Absent	Absent	166exb	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	Absent
168ex	Absent	168ex	168ex	Lacuna			168ex
177exa	Absent	177exa			177exa	Lacuna	177exa
177exb	Absent	Absent			177exb	Lacuna	177exb
178ex	Absent	Absent	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	178ex
181ex	Absent	181ex			181ex	Lacuna	181ex
186ex	Absent	186ex	186ex	Lacuna			186ex
195ex	195ex	Absent	195ex	Lacuna			195ex
Absent	Absent	197ex	Absent	Lacuna			Absent
203exa	Absent	203exa	203exa	Lacuna			203exa
203exb	Absent	203exb			203exb	Lacuna	203exb
203exc	Absent	203exc			203exc	Lacuna	203exc
204ex	Absent	204ex	204ex	Lacuna			204ex
215ex	Absent	215ex			215ex	Lacuna	215ex
226ex	Absent	226ex	226ex	Lacuna			226ex
235exa	Absent	Absent	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	Absent
235exb	Absent	235exb	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	235exb
235exc	Absent	235exc			235exc	Lacuna	235exc
236ex	Absent	236ex			236ex	Lacuna	236ex
258ex	258ex	Absent	258ex	Lacuna			258ex
271exa	271exa	Absent	271exa	Lacuna			271exa

GA 1923	GA 1980 (CE1)	GA 627 (CE2)	GA 1919 and 2962 in the text (CE2-CE3)		GA 1919 and 2962 in the margin (CE2-CE3)		GA 1997 (CE3)
			GA 1919	GA 2962	GA 1919	GA 2962	
271exb	271exb	Absent	271exb	Lacuna			271exb
273ex	273ex	Absent	273ex	Lacuna			273ex
274ex	Absent	274ex			274ex	Lacuna	274ex
276ex	276ex	Absent	276ex	Lacuna			276ex
281exa	281exa	Absent	281exa	Lacuna			281exa
281exb	281exb	Absent	281exb	Lacuna			281exb
284ex	284ex	Absent	284ex	Lacuna			284ex
286ex	Absent	286ex			286ex	Lacuna	286ex
290ex	Absent	Absent	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	Absent
297ex	Absent	297ex			297ex	Lacuna	297ex
299ex	Absent	299ex			299ex	Lacuna	299ex
303exa	303exa	Absent	303exa	Lacuna			303exa
303exb	303exb	Absent	303exb	Lacuna			303exb
304ex	304ex	Absent	304ex	Lacuna			304ex
305ex	Absent	305ex			305ex	Lacuna	305ex
306ex	Absent	306ex	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	306ex
309ex	309ex	Absent	309ex	Lacuna			309ex
311ex	311ex	Absent	311ex	Lacuna			311ex
313ex	Absent	313ex	313ex	Lacuna			313ex
321ex	Absent	321ex			321ex	Lacuna	321ex
334ex	Absent	334ex	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	334ex
348ex	Absent	Absent	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	348ex
351ex	Absent	351ex			351ex	Lacuna	351ex
359ex	Absent	359ex			359ex	Lacuna	359ex
360ex	Absent	360ex			360ex	Lacuna	360ex
367ex	Absent	367ex			367ex	Lacuna	367ex
371ex	Absent	Absent	Absent	Lacuna	371ex	Lacuna	371ex
377ex	377ex	Absent	377ex	Lacuna			377ex
382ex	382ex	Absent	382ex	Lacuna			382ex

GA 1923	GA 1980 (CE1)	GA 627 (CE2)	GA 1919 and 2962 in the text (CE2-CE3)		GA 1919 and 2962 in the margin (CE2-CE3)		GA 1997 (CE3)
			GA 1919	GA 2962	GA 1919	GA 2962	
385ex	385ex	Absent	385ex	Lacuna			385ex
387ex	387ex	Absent	387ex	Lacuna			387ex
399ex	Absent	399ex			399ex	Lacuna	399ex
414ex	Lacuna	Absent			414ex	Lacuna	414ex
415exa	Lacuna	Absent			415exa	Lacuna	415exa
415exb	Lacuna	Absent			415exb	Lacuna	415exb
418ex	Lacuna	418ex			418ex	Lacuna	418ex
426ex	Lacuna	Absent			426ex	Lacuna	426ex
438ex	Lacuna	Absent			438ex	Lacuna	438ex
444ex	Lacuna	Absent			444ex	Lacuna	444ex
449ex	Lacuna	Absent			449ex	Lacuna	449ex
451ex	Lacuna	Absent			451ex	Lacuna	451ex
455ex	Lacuna	Absent			455ex	Lacuna	455ex
464ex	Lacuna	Absent			464ex	Lacuna	464ex
477ex	Lacuna	Absent	477ex	Lacuna			477ex
478ex	Lacuna	Absent	478ex	Lacuna			478ex
486exa	Lacuna	486exa			486exa	Lacuna	486exa
486exb	Lacuna	486exb			486exb	Lacuna	486exb
489ex	Lacuna	Absent	489ex	Lacuna			489ex
509ex	Lacuna	Absent	509ex	Lacuna			509ex
510exa	Lacuna	510exa			510exa	Lacuna	510exa
510exb	Lacuna	510exb			510exb	Lacuna	510exb
511ex	Lacuna	Absent	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	Absent
515ex	Lacuna	Absent			515ex	Lacuna	515ex
531ex	Lacuna	Absent	531ex	531ex			531ex
539ex	Lacuna	539ex			539ex	539ex (part)	539ex
560ex	Lacuna	Absent	Absent	Lacuna	Absent	Lacuna	Absent
608ex	Lacuna	Absent	608ex	608ex			608ex
619ex	Lacuna	Absent			619ex	619ex	619ex

GA 1923	GA 1980 (CE1)	GA 627 (CE2)	GA 1919 and 2962 in the text (CE2-CE3)		GA 1919 and 2962 in the margin (CE2-CE3)		GA 1997 (CE3)
			GA 1919	GA 2962	GA 1919	GA 2962	
621ex	Lacuna	Absent			621ex	621ex	621ex
641ex	Lacuna	641ex	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	641ex
643ex	Lacuna	Absent			643ex	643ex	643ex
648ex	Lacuna	Absent	648ex	648ex			648ex
649ex	Lacuna	Absent	649ex	649ex			649ex
668ex	Lacuna	Absent	668ex	668ex			668ex
683ex	Lacuna	Absent	683ex	683ex			683ex
684exa	Lacuna	Absent	684exa	684exa			684exa
684exb	Lacuna	Absent	684exb	684exb			684exb
684exc	Lacuna	Absent	684exc	684exc			684exc
684exd	Lacuna	Absent	684exd	684exd			684exd
688ex	Lacuna	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	688ex
707ex	Lacuna	707ex	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	707ex
736ex	Lacuna	736ex			736ex	736ex	736ex
756ex	Lacuna	756ex			756ex	756ex	756ex
762exa	Lacuna	Absent			762exa	762exa	762exa
762exb	Lacuna	762exb			762exb	762exb	762exb
776ex	Lacuna	776ex			776ex	776ex	776ex
779exa	Lacuna	779exa			779exa	779exa	779exa
779exb	Lacuna	779exb			779exb	779exb	779exb
779exc	Lacuna	779exc			779exc	779exc	779exc
783ex	Lacuna	Absent			783ex	783ex	783ex
785ex	Lacuna	Absent	785ex	785ex			785ex
792ex	Lacuna	Absent	792ex	792ex			792ex
801ex	Lacuna	Absent			801ex	801ex	801ex
803ex	Lacuna	Absent	803ex	803ex			803ex
808exa	Lacuna	Absent			808exa	808exa	808exa
812ex	Lacuna	812ex	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	812ex
821ex	Lacuna	Absent			821ex	821ex	821ex

GA 1923	GA 1980 (CE1)	GA 627 (CE2)	GA 1919 and 2962 in the text (CE2-CE3)		GA 1919 and 2962 in the margin (CE2-CE3)		GA 1997 (CE3)
			GA 1919	GA 2962	GA 1919	GA 2962	
824ex	Lacuna	824ex	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	824ex
833ex	Lacuna	Absent	833ex	833ex			833ex
843ex	Lacuna	843ex			843ex	843ex	843ex
863ex	Lacuna	Absent			863ex	863ex	863ex
909ex	Lacuna	909ex			909ex	909ex	909ex

8. EXEGETICAL FRAGMENTS: OBSERVATIONS ON THE CATENAE ON ACTS IN VATICAN, BAV, REG. GR. 6 (GA 886)

EMANUELE SCIERI*

INTRODUCTION

The Vatican Library manuscript Reg. gr. 6 (hereafter GA 886) is a codex containing the text of the Greek New Testament, except the Catholic Epistles, with a commentary.¹ However, the section on the Acts of the Apostles (fols. 185r–205v) is incomplete: both biblical text and commentary stop at Acts 7:59 (fol. 205v); equally, only a small extract from Revelation is present (fol. 336r: Rev. 22:1–2 with scholia). The fragmentary nature of the text of Acts is further exacerbated by the fact that the commentary consists of two individual types of catena, copied in minuscule script by a thirteenth- and fourteenth-century hand respectively, yet bound together to complement one another: the first catena

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¹ Digitized microfilm images are available on the NTVMR (<https://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace?docID=30886>).

comments on Acts 1–2:13, while the second continues on Acts 2:14–7:59.

This double compilation has received little attention from twentieth-century scholarship on New Testament catena manuscripts. While Henry Stevenson and Joseph Reuss barely mention the section on Acts, focussing on the text and authorship of the other commentaries preserved by GA 886,² Georg Karo, Johannes Lietzmann, Hermann von Soden and Robert Devreesse identify this manuscript as a witness to the Andreas catena (CPG C150), based on the analysis of the second commentary which seems to reproduce an abridged text of the principal compilation on the Acts of the Apostles.³ The same observation is provided in Karl Staab's study on the Pauline catenae, where a short remark is added about the disorganised structure of the first catena on Acts 1–2:13, which in his opinion resembles a formless mass.⁴ Finally, in his recent catalogue of New Testament catena manuscripts, Georgi Parpulov has included this witness in an appendix of manuscripts with single author commentaries, although no author is identified for the commentary on Acts.⁵

² Henry M. Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti graeci Reginae Svecorum et Pii PP. II Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome: Vatican, 1888), pp. 4–6; Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus-, und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 18.4–5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941), pp. 224–226. These works provide the most exhaustive description of the manuscript features.

³ Georg Karo and Johannes H. Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus* (Göttingen: Lüder Horstmann, 1902), p. 595. GA 886 is classified as *catena ex opere maiore excerpta* (b), as opposed to *catena integra* (a) which includes the manuscripts with a full catena; Hermann Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, 4 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911–1913), pp. 1:682–686. GA 886 is identified as *A^{mp50}*; Robert Devreesse, 'Chaînes exégétiques grecques', in *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément*, ed. By L. Pirot and A. Robert, vol. 1 (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1928), pp. 1205–1206.

⁴ Karl Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1926), pp. 219–220.

⁵ Georgi Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts of the Greek New Testament: A Catalogue*, TS (III) 25 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2021), p. 214. GA 886 is classified as a.An2.

Following a more detailed analysis of the section on Acts, the present study aims to fill the gaps of past research and provide fresh insights into the nature of the two fragmentary catenae from GA 886 and their relationship with the manuscript tradition of the Andreas catena.

CONTENT OF GA 886 AND ATTRIBUTION OF THE COMMENTARIES

GA 886 comprises 336 paper leaves (346 x 245 mm).⁶ It features the text and the commentary of Matthew (fols. 2r–75v), Mark (fols. 75v–93r), Luke (fols. 94r–134r), John (fols. 134v–182r), Acts (fols. 185r–205v), Pauline Epistles (fols. 208r–336v), and Revelation (fol. 336v); however, as mentioned above, the sections on Acts and Revelation are incomplete. According to Kurt and Barbara Aland, the biblical text of all books is a representative of the Byzantine text-type (Category V).⁷ Nevertheless, the manuscript was selected for inclusion in the ECM of Acts, where GA 886 is listed among the *Codices Byzantini*:⁸ its seven extant chapters have an agreement with the Byzantine text of about 91%.⁹ Additional contents include: two scholia from Theodoret of Cyrillus and Eusebius of Caesarea, respectively (fols. 1r–v); a list of *κεφάλαια* for Matthew (fol. 1v), and four epigrams (fols. 1r–v, 2r, 134r, 208r), one of which was transcribed by Ioannes Chortasmenos, Bishop of Selybria, who acquired the manuscript

⁶ In addition to the descriptions mentioned in note 3 above, see also the short entries in Frederick H.A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 4th ed., ed. Edward Miller, 2 vols. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1894), p. 1:267, and Caspar R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1900–1909), pp. 1:229–230.

⁷ Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament. An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, 2nd ed., trans. Erroll F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989), p. 134.

⁸ Holger Strutwolf, Georg Gäbel, Annette Hüffmeier, Gerd Mink, and Klaus Wachtel, eds., *Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maior. III. Die Apostelgeschichte/The Acts of the Apostles*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2017), p. 2:8.

⁹ <https://ntg.uni-muenster.de/acts/ph4/comparison#ms1=886&ms2=35>.

during the 14th/15th century and left a colophon just underneath the poem.¹⁰

With the exclusion of the Theodoret extract, added by an unknown hand, and the epigram written by Chortasmenos, the rest of the supplementary content was transcribed by the same hand responsible for the biblical text and the commentary of all books, while the section on Acts 2:14–7:59 (fols. 189v–205v) was copied by a different hand. However, the *Kurzgefasste Liste*, based on Gregory, does not record different dates for the individual scripts and mistakenly assigns this manuscript to the year 1454.¹¹ This may have been inferred from the ownership note in Greek on fol. 205v:¹² following the Byzantine practice of dating manuscripts from the creation (5508 BCE), the date given in the manuscript is 6954 (ϞϠϣδ'), which equates to the year 1446 CE (6954-5508).¹³ The INTF date may simply be a misreading of the year based on the last two digits (54). In any case, the date has no bearing on the manuscript's date of production, but indicates the time when the manuscript was acquired by Ioannes Chortasmenos; he then gave it to Makarios, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Marina in the fifteenth century, who soon afterwards passed it to Demetrios Lascaris Leontari, the author of the

¹⁰ The text of the epigrams is available on the Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams (<https://dbbe.ugent.be>), occurrences 18108, 24486, 18110, 18809. The last is transcribed by Chortasmenos on fol. 1v: on this epigram see Christian Gastgeber, 'Aus der Bibliothek des Ioannes Chortasmenos: Ailios Aristeides, ÖNB, Cod. Phil. gr. 96', in *Alethes Philia. Studi in onore di Giancarlo Prato*, ed. Marco D'Agostino, Collectanea 23 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2010), pp. 409–434: 419, n. 23. On Ioannes Chortasmenos see *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*, ed. Ernst Gamillscheg, Dieter Harlfinger, et al., 3 vols., Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik 3 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981–1997), p. 3:315.

¹¹ *Liste*, p. 99; Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, p. 229.

¹² The transcription of the note is in Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti Graeci*, p. 6, and Florentia Evangelatou-Notara, *Χρηνοί, κήτορες, δωρητές σε σημειώματα κωδίκων. Παλαιολόγειοι χρόνοι*, Parartema 49 (Athens: Parousia, 2000), p. 269.

¹³ On the Byzantine practice see Lidia Perria, *Γραφίς. Per una storia della scrittura greca libraria (secoli IV a.C.–XVI d.C.)*, Quaderni di Νέα Ψώμη, (Rome: Università degli studi di Roma 'Tor Vergata', 2011), pp. 175–185.

subscription.¹⁴ Based on the palaeographical evidence, Parpulov suggests that the hand responsible for the largest part of the manuscript content could be dated as early as the second half of the thirteenth century, while the supplementary scribe of fols. 189v–205r should be assigned to the fourteenth century.¹⁵

The commentary on the Gospels is attributed to Nicetas of Naupactus, an unknown writer who is not to be confused with Nicetas of Heraclea.¹⁶ The name of the author is specified in a librarian's note on the front page (fol. 1r): *Niceta episcopus Naupacti liber in evangelia*. This is probably based on the inscription that precedes the text and commentary on Matthew (fol. 2r), where it is stated that Nicetas' commentary was drawn mainly from the works of Chrysostom and other commentators:

Νικήτα ἐπισκόπου τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ Ναυπάκτου σύνταγμα εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον, συντεθὲν μάλιστα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐξηγήσεων τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσσοστόμου εἶτα καὶ ἀπὸ ἐτέρων διαφόρων.

Treatise by Nicetas bishop of the Metropolis of Naupactus on the holy Gospel of Matthew, composed especially from the

¹⁴ See Evangelatou-Notara, *Χορηγοί, κτήτορες, δωρητές*, p. 29. On the three possessors see the entries in the *Prosopographisches Lexikon Der Palaio-logenzeit*, ed. Erich Trapp et al. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976–1986), nn. 16174, 14676, 30897. The names of the owners are also repeated in a Latin note on fol. 206r (transcription in Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti Graeci*, p. 6), while fol. 1r also contains an ownership note by Christian Raue (17th century).

¹⁵ Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, p. 214, n. 1.

¹⁶ This confusion led Michael Clark (who relies on Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, p. 229) to include GA 886 in his dissertation on the catena of Nicetas of Heraclea and the text of John, which in fact, following the results of the research, is considered by the author as a witness to a different catena: see Michael A. Clark, *The Catena of Nicetas of Heraclea and its Johannine Text* (unpubl. diss., University of Birmingham, 2016), especially pp. 14, 24 (<https://etheses.bham.ac.uk/6424/>), and Michael A. Clark, 'Nicetas of Heraclea's Catena on John's Gospel: How Many Manuscripts are There?', in *Authoritative Texts and Reception History: Aspects and Approaches*, ed. Dan Batovici and Kristin de Troyer, *Biblical Interpretation* 151 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017), pp. 222–224.

expositions of Saint John Chrysostom and after that from different others.

The attribution seems to be reinforced by a marginal note, linked by a symbol to the name Nicetas, which ascribes to this author other exegetical works, including one on the Acts of the Apostles:¹⁷

οὗτος δὲ καὶ τὸ ψαλτήριον ἐξηγήσατο καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου καὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τὰς καθολικὰς. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τινα ἕτερα οὐ γινώσκω· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ μόνα ἦλθον εἰς χεῖρας ἐμὰς.

This one also produced an exegesis on the Psalter, the Pauline Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Catholic Epistles. I have no idea whether there are others. In fact, only these came into my hands.

The same authorship is claimed for the commentary on the Pauline Epistles in the inscription before Romans (fol. 208r):

Ἐν ἐτέρᾳ βίβλῳ εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ Βουλγαρίας ἐπιγεγραμμένην εὔρον τὴν παροῦσαν ἐξήγησιν τοῦ κυρίου δηλονότι Θεοφυλάκτου. Ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ βίβλῳ ἀπαραλλάκτως ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ μᾶλλον κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς, προβαίνουσα δὲ διήλαττεν. Ὅθεν καὶ πέπεισμαι τῷ Ναυπάκτου ταύτην προσκεκληρῶσθαι δανεισασμένῳ (cod. δεινασάμενος) τὰ πλείω παρὰ τοῦ Βουλγαρίας ἦτοι τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὕστερος τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ Βουλγαρίας ὁ Ναυπάκτου.

In another book I found the present exposition ascribed to the name of the Bulgarian, clearly the master Theophylact. The exegesis in that book was indistinguishable from the present one, especially towards the beginning, but changed as it went on. Hence, I am convinced that this should also be assigned to the author from Naupactus, who borrowed most of the content from the Bulgarian and from Chrysostom, since the author from Naupactus is later in time than the Bulgarian.

This note explains that, although another manuscript preserves a very similar version attributed to the eleventh-century Theophylact of Bulgaria, significant differences throughout the text suggest that the commentary should rather be assigned to Nicetas, who draws

¹⁷ This remark is erroneously referred to Theophylact by Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti graeci Reginae Svecorum*, p. 5.

the largest part of the exegetical material from Theophylact and Chrysostom.

In a complementary note on fol. 2r, just before the title, the quality of Nicetas' commentary is praised as far superior to the work of Theophylact:

ἀξιολογώτατον βιβίον καὶ δυσεύρετον· ἐξήγησις θαυμασιωτάτη καὶ πλουσία καὶ κρείττων ἢ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Βουλγαρίας· ἔστι δὲ τὸ βιβλίον πάνυ ὀρθώτατον.

A very remarkable book and difficult to find. The exegesis is excellent and rich, and superior to that of the Bulgarian; and the book is altogether very correct.

Despite the inscriptions, the attribution is disputed by modern scholarship. While Reuss does not rule out that Nicetas could be responsible for the section on Matthew, but not for the other three gospel commentaries, which in his opinion are genuine works by Theophylact, von Soden extends the authorship of the Archbishop of Bulgaria to the commentaries on all four Gospels and the Pauline Epistles.¹⁸ On the other hand, Stevenson claims the authorship of Theophylact only for the commentary on the Pauline Epistles, while accepting Nicetas' attribution for the commentaries on the Gospels and Acts;¹⁹ this is restricted to the Gospels by Scrivener and Gregory, who indicate Theophylact only as the author of the commentaries on Acts and Pauline Epistles.²⁰ By contrast, Albert Ehrhard assigns all the commentaries to the Bishop of Naupactus.²¹ Finally, on more solid ground, Parpulov confirms von Soden's claim that Theophylact is the author of all

¹⁸ Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katennen*, p. 226; von Soden, *Die Schriften*, pp. 269, 283 (where the manuscript is given the sigla Θ⁵⁶ and Θ^{π56} to indicate Theophylact's commentary on the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles, respectively), 630, 637. Von Soden's opinion is also supported by Clark, *The Catena of Nicetas of Heraclea*, p. 24.

¹⁹ Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti graeci Reginae Svecorum*, p. 4.

²⁰ Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction*, p. 267, Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, pp. 229–230.

²¹ Albert Ehrhard, *Theologie. B. Exegese*, in *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)*, ed. Karl Krumbacher, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft* 9/1 (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1897), pp. 136–137.

the commentaries from the manuscript except the fragments on Acts and Revelation: by comparing the incipit and explicit of each section, the commentaries on the Gospels have been identified with the text printed in PG 123.143–1348 and PG 124.9–317, while the section on the Pauline Epistles corresponds to catena C167, which is published in PG 124.336–1357 and PG 125.9–404.²²

In any case, no author is indicated in the codex for the commentaries on Acts and Revelation. Although fols. 183r–184v are blank, it is curious that on fol. 185r the commentary on Acts has no title, unlike the other commentaries, and begins directly with a reworked sentence from the beginning of Chrysostom's Homily 1 on Acts, Οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θείων Εὐαγγελίων ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος τοὺς πιστοὺς ὠφελεῖν δύναται (cf. PG 60.13, 16–17).²³ A short title (Πράξεις) is supplied in the top-right margin by a later hand, which also transcribes a second full title (Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων) in the space between the first and the second commentary passage, before the biblical text of Acts 1–3. This suggests that those commentary parts were meant to serve as a prologue. No obvious cues, however, allow us to determine whether the author of the commentary on Acts 1–2:13 is Nicetas, given the lack of other witnesses to this text as well as of commentary manuscripts on Acts bearing this name. Conversely, we are aware of at least five catena manuscripts on Acts attributed to Theophylact, each containing a different type of catena, but none of which corresponds to the compilation preserved in GA 886.²⁴

²² Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, pp. 211–212, where the two works are marked as e.Θφ and p.Θφ. The Pinakes database also records the commentary on Paul as Theophylact's catena C167 (<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/66176/>).

²³ See Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti graeci Reginae Svecorum*, p. 5: 'integrum commentarium sequuntur folia 182v–184 sine scriptura'; for this reason, these pages have not been digitized on the INTF.

²⁴ These are GA 254, 455, 1524, 1842, 2576. The texts of GA 455, 1524 and 1842 are printed in PG 125, 495–1132. However, GA 455, 2576 seem to derive from C150 (Andreas), while GA 1842 appears to be a sub-type of C151 (Ps.-Oecumenius), as I have recently argued in Emanuele Scieri, 'The Catena Manuscripts on Acts: A Revised Classification', *VC* 76.3 (2022), pp. 290, 294–296.

Parpulov has recently suggested that this unknown commentary might provide a section missing from another anonymous fragmentary commentary on Acts, Messina, Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria, S. Salv. 40 (GA 1839), although he admits that this assumption is ‘not readily demonstrable’.²⁵ Von Soden, on the other hand, included GA 1839 among the independent excerpts from the Andreas catena (C150).²⁶ In a recent reclassification of catena manuscripts on Acts, I have marked GA 1839 as a *codex singulus* (C155.6), while referring the study of its relationship with GA 886 and C150 for further scrutiny.²⁷

THE CATENA ON ACTS 1–2:13

The first catena on Acts (fols. 185r–189v) displays a very distinctive profile. It is written as an alternating catena, where biblical *lemmata* are immediately followed by commentary sections of variable length.²⁸ The biblical text is distinguished by some of the same means as the *lemmata* in single-author commentaries.²⁹ These consist of a blank space left within a line, rubrication, and punctuation through a double-dot (dicolon) followed by a horizontal line. The same punctuation is employed to mark the end of the commentary sections: these are more extensive than those of the second catena, on Acts 2:14–7:59.

The most striking difference between the first and second commentary involves the structure of the compilation. The first commentary is not made of attributed scholia following one another and clearly separated by ending marks as in most catenae: at first sight, it resembles a single-author commentary. Neverthe-

²⁵ Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, p. 214 (acp.An1).

²⁶ von Soden, *Die Schriften*, p. 685 (O³⁷).

²⁷ Scieri, ‘The Catena Manuscripts’, p. 302.

²⁸ On the layout of catenae see Hans Lietzmann, Hermann Usener, *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Überlieferung* (Freiburg: Mohr Siebeck, 1897), pp. 9–11; see also H.A.G. Houghton and D.C. Parker, ‘An Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries with a Preliminary Checklist of New Testament Catena Manuscripts’, in *Commentaries, Catenae and Biblical Tradition*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton, TS (III) 13 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2016), p. 10.

²⁹ See Houghton and Parker, ‘An introduction’, pp. 10–11.

less, a thorough analysis of the text reveals that this is a patchwork of scholia, or rather of fragments from multiple patristic sources. More precisely, the compiler seems to have made a selection of extracts in order to create a running commentary, and comments from different Fathers are blended in such a way that the whole work appears rather muddled. The size of the exegetical material ranges from minimal text units, such as short phrases, to more extensive blocks including clauses and sentences. The names of the sources are almost never indicated: only Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus are mentioned in a limited number of occasions (three and two times, respectively) mostly through a periphrasis and always in the form of indirect quotations.³⁰ In four cases, these are attributed vaguely to anonymous sources through indefinite pronouns:³¹ it is unclear whether the lack of name represents the compiler's choice not to mention the author(s), or rather the absence of an attribution for these fragments in the exemplar.

However, this kind of compilation is not unusual in catena tradition, and regarding the book of Acts it finds a parallel in the catenae by Ps.-Oecumenius (CPG C151) and Ps.-Theophylact (CPG C152).³² More importantly, it seems to have a literary precursor in Procopius of Gaza's *Epitome of the Octateuch* (CPG C3). Conventionally regarded as the initiator of the catena tradition, at the beginning of the sixth century, Procopius in the prologue of his *Epitome* describes two different stages involved in his work.³³ While he originally created a catena from patristic commentaries and other exegetical works, which has not been preserved by the manuscript tradition, in a second stage, due to

³⁰ Τῶ δὲ Χρυσολόγῳ δοκεῖ ... ὡς ἐνταῦθα γέγραπται ὁ χρυσοῦς τὴν γλώτταν (fol. 187r); ἡ δὲ χρυσὴ γλῶττα φησὶν ὡς (188v); ὁ Θεόλογος Γρηγόριος φησὶν ... Τοῦτω γὰρ ἀρέσκειται καὶ ὁ πολὺς ἐν θεολογίᾳ Γρηγόριος (fol. 189r).

³¹ Καὶ εἰρήκασι τινες (fol. 187r); οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἶπον ὡς ... οἱ δὲ, ὅτι (fol. 188v); εἶπε δὲ τις ὡς (fol. 189r). Similar instances in the Theophylact's catena on the Pauline Epistles are discussed by Theodora Panella, 'Resurrection Appearances in the Pauline Catenae', in Houghton, *Commentaries*, p. 127.

³² PG 118.29–308; 125.495–1132. On these types see Scieri, 'The Catena Manuscripts on Acts', pp. 294–302.

³³ Karin Metzler, ed., *Prokop von Gaza, Eclogarum in libros historicos Veteris Testamenti epitome, Teil 1: Der Genesiskommentar*, GCS, NF 22 (Berlin/Munich/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), p. 1.1–12; cf. PG 87, 21–24.

the vast amount of the material, Procopius embarked on a considerably reduced compilation (*ἐκλογῶν ἐπιτομή*, ‘Epitome of Extracts’) where the *lemmata auctoris* are not present and the different interpretations are assembled in a combined whole as if they were written by a single author.³⁴ Although in Gilles Dorival’s opinion compilations of this kind, which are based on catenae but lack author indications, would be better regarded as commentaries, no proposal has yet been made to change their traditional classification as catenae in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*.³⁵ On this basis, in my recent survey of the catena manuscripts on Acts, the first fragmentary compilation in GA 886 has been included in the group of catenae preserved by *codices singuli* and assigned the number C155.5.³⁶

Indeed, despite its unique character and the difficulty in detecting the individual patristic sources, there is sufficient evidence that a significant number of fragments are adopted from the Andreas catena (C150), the principal catena on Acts and the main source for later compilations.³⁷ The first sentence in GA 886 commenting on Acts 1:3 (inc. Ἀντιοχεὺς ὑπάρχων τὸ γένος ὁ θεῖος Λουκᾶς, ἱατρός τε τὴν ἐπιστήμην) reproduces the beginning of C150 (cf. Cramer p. 1.4–7). More importantly, embedded in the commentary are several fragments which are also found in C150,

³⁴ Procopius’ prologue and the origins of catena are discussed in Gilles Dorival, ‘Biblical Catenae: Between Philology and History’, in Houghton, *Commentaries*, pp. 72–76; among others, see François Petit, ed., *Catenae Graecae in Genesim et in Exodum*, 2 vols, CCSG 2, 15 (Turnhout-Leuven: Brepols, 1977–1896), pp. 2:xx, xcvi n. 2; and more recently Maria Antonietta Barbàra Valenti, *Estratti catenari esegetici greci. Ricerche sul Cantico dei cantici e altro*, Testi e studi di cultura classica 76 (Pisa: ETS, 2019), pp. 22–24.

³⁵ Dorival, ‘Biblical Catenae’, pp. 72–76.

³⁶ Scieri, ‘The Catena Manuscripts’, p. 302.

³⁷ This catena was published by John A. Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, 8 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1838–1844), 3. In *Acta SS. Apostolorum*. The printed edition is based on Oxford, Bodleian, New College, MS 58 (GA 2818, 12th cent.) and contains an appendix of variants from Paris, BnF, Coislin Gr. 25 (GA 307, 10th cent.). On this catena and its tradition see Scieri, ‘The Catena Manuscripts on Acts’, pp. 287–293.

where they are attributed to the following sources: *anepigraphos*, Apollinaris of Laodicea, Chrysostom, Cyril, Didymus, Severus of Antioch, Severian of Gabala.³⁸

Remarkably, as can be observed in Table 1, GA 886 also contains reworked fragments from fifteen of the thirty-one additional scholia on Acts 1–2:13 transmitted by the ninth- or tenth-century manuscript Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Stavrou 25 (GA 1895).³⁹ I have identified this codex as subtype C150.1b, differentiating it from five representatives of the full catena (C150.1a).⁴⁰ In GA 886 some of these extracts are even placed as close to each other as in GA 1895, although the compiler rearranges the original sequence presented by the latter; this suggests that the catenae in the two manuscripts might be closely related. On the other hand, other fragments in GA 886 are present neither in GA 1895 nor in the representatives of C150.1a, but are attested in the direct tradition of patristic works (when this has been preserved), such as Chrysostom's Homilies.⁴¹ For this reason, it can be inferred that the compiler employed multiple sources. Equally, the sources of a few sections of the commentary remain undetected, raising the suspicion that they may contain the compiler's own exegesis.

³⁸ The full list of patristic sources cited in C150 is in Maurits Geerard and Jacques Noret, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum, IV. Concilia. Catenae*, rev. ed., CCSG 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 380–381.

³⁹ The ninth century is the date provided in the *Liste*, while Parpulov pushes the date forward to the first half of the tenth century (see Parpulov, *Catena Manuscripts*, p. 140).

⁴⁰ Apart from GA 2818 and GA 307, the other manuscripts are Vatican, BAV, Barb. Gr. 582 (GA 453, 14th cent.), Paris, BnF, Gr. 221 (GA 610, 11th cent.) and Athos, Pantokratoros, 770 (GA 1678, 14th cent.); see Scieri, 'The Catena Manuscripts on Acts', p. 288.

⁴¹ The evidence includes Athanasius' *Orationes tres contra Arianos* (PG 26); Chrysostom's *Homiliae in Acta Apostolorum* 1–4 (PG 60), *Homiliae in principium Actorum* 2 (PG 51), *Homiliae in Matthaëum* 77 (PG 58), *Homiliae in Joannem* 87 (PG 59), *Homiliae de sancta pentecoste* 2 (PG 50), *Homiliae in epistolam 1 ad Corinthios* 30 (PG 61), *Expositiones in Psalmos* (PG 55), *Fragmenta in Jeremiam* (PG 64); Gregory of Nazianzus' *Orat. 41 in Pentecosten* (PG 36), *Epistulae theologicae* 101 (SC 208); Isidore of Pelusium's *Epistulae de interpretatione divinae scripturae* 499–500 (PG 78).

GA 1895 (C150.1b)	GA 886
Ammonius (fol. 8r)	fol. 186r
<i>scholium</i> (fol. 8r)	fol. 186r
<i>anepigraphos</i> (fol. 8v)	fol. 186v
<i>anepigraphos</i> (fol. 13v)	fol. 186v
Chrysostom (fol. 14r)	fol. 187r
the same (fols. 14r-v)	fol. 187r
Didymus (fols. 16v-17r)	fol. 186v
<i>scholium</i> (fols. 20v-21r)	fol. 187r
Didymus (fols. 21r-22r)	fol. 187v
Apollinaris (fol. 22v)	fol. 187v
untitled (fols. 24r-v)	fol. 188r
Chrysostom (fols. 24v-25r)	fol. 188r
Severian of Gabala (fol. 25r)	fol. 188r
untitled (fol. 25r)	fol. 188r
untitled (fols. 25r-v)	fol. 188r

Table 1. List of extra scholia from GA 1895 found in GA 886

Although the scholia are occasionally reproduced in their entirety, in most cases the compilation practice of GA 886 seems to follow the so-called technique ‘by cutting’, which is the most typical method of abbreviating the exegetical material in catenae.⁴² This consists of extracting small pieces of text from the source, while omitting other portions (perhaps considered unnecessary for the exegesis), as well as introducing linking words and grammatical adjustments to make up for the omissions. Overall, this kind of intervention abbreviates the source, yet preserves its original style. Less frequently, the ‘résumé’ technique is also employed, which involves paraphrasing and reworking the source, while retaining only a few words or clauses. In all cases, the selected passages from an author are sometimes reproduced

⁴² See Carmelo Curti and Maria Antonietta Barbàra, ‘Greek Exegetical Catenae’, in *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus (750)*, ed. Angelo Di Berardino, trans. Adrian Walford, 1st ed. repr., Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2008), p. 611; see also Carmelo Curti, ‘La tradizione catenaria e il recupero dei commenti greci alla Bibbia: validità e limiti’, in *Eusebiana I. Commentarii in Psalmos*, ed. Carmelo Curti, Saggi e testi classici, cristiani e medievali (Catania: Centro di studi sull'antico cristianesimo, 1989), p. 280.

individually as they appear in the source, but more often are fragmented and mixed with elements from other authors in such a way as to form a single block of text, and in an order which does not necessarily reflect that of the original source. An example of this can be observed in Table 2.

<p>GA 886 (fol. 188v) on Acts 2:2–3</p>
<p>“Οτε μὲν οὖν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ γνωσθῆναι ἔδει τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς κάτεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὅτε δὲ πλῆθος ὄλον ἐπιστραφῆναι κατήλθεν ἐν εἶδει πυρίνων γλωσσῶν. Τί δήποτε; Ἐκεῖ μὲν τὸ πρᾶον τοῦ δεσπότου δηλοῦται, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸ τιμωρητικὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων παραγυμνοῦται, καὶ τὸ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως διακριτικόν. “Οτε μὲν γὰρ ἁμαρτήματα συγχωρῆσαι ἔδει, πολλῆς ἔδει τῆς πραότητος· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐτύχομεν δωρεᾶς, λοιπὸν καὶ κρίσεως καιρὸς καὶ ἐξετάσεως. “Ωσπερ τὸ πῦρ ἔχει τὴν φωτιστικὴν καὶ καυστικὴν δύναμιν, οὕτως ὁ λόγος τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ ἐφώτιζε τοὺς πιστεύοντας, καὶ ἀνήλισκε τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας. Τοιαύτην εἶχε γλώσσαν πυρὸς ὁ Παῦλος· ἢ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐφώτισεν καὶ τὸν Ἐλύμαν τὸν μάγον ἐτύφλωσεν· τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει κάκεινον φωτίσας, καὶ τοῦτον τυφλώσας. ᾠφθῆσαν οὖν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις γλώσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρὸς. Οὐκ εἶπε μερίζομεναι, ἀλλὰ διαμερίζομεναι. Καλῶς· ἐκ μιᾶς γὰρ ἦσαν ῥίζης· ἵνα μάθῃς, ὅτι ἐνέργειά ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρακλήτου πεμφθεῖσα· οὐκ ἐφάνησαν εὐθέως γλώσσαι, ἀλλὰ πῦρ πολὺ· εἶτα ὡσπερ κατεμένετο τὸ πῦρ καὶ διεμερίζετο εἰς γλώσσαν. Τίνος μερίζοντος; Τίνος μερίζομένου; οὐχ ἡ φύσις τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐμερίζετο, ἀλλ’ ἦν τὸ μερίζον τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὸ δὲ μερίζομενον ἢ δωρεὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος· τὸ γὰρ Πνεῦμα οὐ διαρεῖται, ἀλλὰ διαρεῖ.</p>
<p>C150.1</p>
<p><i>τοῦ αὐτοῦ.</i> (on Acts 1:5) [Δείκνυσι λοιπὸν τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰωάννου φανερώς· ...] Τί δήποτε; Ἐκεῖ μὲν τὸ πρᾶον δηλῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸ τιμωρητικόν. Καὶ τῆς κρίσεως δὲ εὐκαιρῶς ἀναμιμνήσκει. “Οτε μὲν γὰρ ἁμαρτήματα συγχωρῆσαι ἔδει, πολλῆς ἔδει τῆς πραότητος· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐτύχομεν τῆς δωρεᾶς, λοιπὸν καὶ κρίσεως καὶ ἐξετάσεως καιρὸς. Cramer pp. 6.27–7.16 (cf. Chrysostom, Homily 1 on Acts, in PG 60:21, 28–33)</p> <p><i>τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.</i> (on Acts 2:3) [“Ὡσεὶ πυρὸς”, φησι· καλῶς ὡς, ἵνα μηδὲν αἰσθητὸν ...] “Οτε μὲν γὰρ Ἰωάννη ἔδει γνωσθῆναι τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὡς ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἦλθε τοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὖν δὲ ὅτε πλῆθος ὄλον ἐπιστραφῆναι ἐχρῆν, ὡσεὶ πυρὸς. Cramer pp. 17.31–18.3 (cf. Chrysostom, Homily 4 on Acts, in PG 60:43, 8–11)</p>

τοῦ αὐτοῦ (on Acts 2:3)

Και καλῶς εἶπε, Διαμεριζόμεναι. Ἐκ μιᾶς γὰρ ἦν ῥίζης· ἵνα μάθῃς, ὅτι ἐνέργειά ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρακλητοῦ πεμφθεῖσα. [Ἔρα δὲ καὶ ἐκείνους πρώτους δειχθέντας ἀξίους ... οὕτω δὴ καὶ οὗτοι πάντα εἶσαν τὰ ἑαυτῶν.]

Cramer p. 18.4–13 (cf. Chrysostom, Homily 4 on Acts, in PG 60:43, 45–47)

Σευήρου (but *Σευηριανοῦ* in GA 307, 453, 610, 1678, 1895). (on Acts 2:3)

[Οὐκ εἶπε πυρὸς, ἀλλ' ὡσεὶ πυρὸς, οὐ γὰρ ἦν πῦρ τὸ φαινόμενον· ...] οὐκ ἐφάνησαν εὐθέως γλώσσαι, ἀλλὰ πῦρ πολὺ· εἶτα ὡσπερ κατεμένετο τὸ πῦρ καὶ διεμερίζετο εἰς γλώσσας. τίνος μερίζοντος; τίνος μεριζομένου; οὐχ ἡ φύσις τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐμερίζετο, ἀλλ' ἦν τὸ μερίζον τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὸ δὲ μεριζόμενον ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος· τὸ γὰρ Πνεῦμα οὐ διαιρεῖται, ἀλλὰ διαιρεῖ. **ἔφθησαν διαμεριζόμεναι ὡσεὶ πυρὸς** [· διατί γλώσσαι; ...] **καὶ** ὡσπερ τὸ πῦρ ἔχει τὴν φωτιστικὴν καὶ καυστικὴν δύναμιν, οὕτως ὁ λόγος τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ ἐφώτιζε τοὺς πιστεύοντας καὶ ἀνῆλπισκε τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας. Τοιαύτην εἶχεν γλώσσαν πυρὸς Παῦλος· ἢ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸν ἀνύπατον ἐφώτισεν καὶ Ἐλύμαν τὸν μάγον ἐτύφλωσεν· τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει κάκεινον φωτίσας, καὶ τοῦτον τυφλώσας.

Cramer p. 20.4–32

Table 2. Compilation practice in GA 886

In the section commenting on Acts 2:2–3, the catenist of GA 886 combines phrases, sentences, and blocks of text of variable length from different scholia which in C150.1a are quite distant from one another.⁴³ The first scholium from Chrysostom comments on Acts 1:5, whereas the second and third extract from the same author and the scholium from Severus of Antioch (or Severian of Gabala?) explain Acts 2:3.⁴⁴ The selected fragments are reproduced verbatim, with only minor variations in the vocabulary (the synonyms *κάτεισιν* for *ἦλθε*, and *οὖν* for *γάρ*) and grammar (the indicative *δηλοῦται* instead of the participle *δηλῶν*; the third plural *ἦσαν* instead of the third singular *ἦν*), as well as very few additions (*τῶν ἀποστόλων*; *τὸ ... μελλούσης ... διακριτικόν*), omissions (*νῦν*, *εὐκαίρως*, *καί*, *εἶπε*) and substitutions (*κατηλθεν ἐν*

⁴³ The portions of text from C150.1a which are omitted in GA 886 are inserted within square brackets; the text in bold indicates additions in either group.

⁴⁴ The heading *Σευήρου* is only transmitted by GA 2818 (Cramer's base manuscript); the other representatives of C150.1a have *Σευηριανοῦ*.

εἶδει πυρίνων γλωσσῶν instead of ἐχρῆν ὥσει πυρός; παραγυμνοῦται instead of ἀναμιμνήσκει). However, the original order from C150.1 is dramatically altered:⁴⁵ not only are the textual portions of the first two scholia from Chrysostom reversed, but the third extract from the author is inserted between two fragments from Severus' scholium, which are also reversed. The result is an example of genuine mixture where explanations originally attributed to individual writers are blended as if they were expressed by one and the same writer, similarly to what Procopius did in his epitome.

THE CATENA ON ACTS 2:14–7:59

The second catena is a representative of the standard type, which in GA 886 is given an alternating layout as in the first fragmentary catena. The biblical text is rubricated and separated from the scholia by a double dot (which may or may not be followed by a horizontal line), which is also employed to mark the end of a scholium. The author of each comment is normally identified by his full name (for example: Διδύμου) or through an abbreviation or monogram (for example: χρ for Χρυσοστόμου, τυ αυ for τοῦ αὐτοῦ). This is positioned either within the text, in the blank space left for this purpose between two scholia, or in the margin, near the beginning of the scholium; in both cases, it is rubricated for ease of identification.

As already mentioned above, Karo and Lietzmann, von Soden, and Staab identified this catena as an abridgment of C150. I have recently supported this opinion by classifying the second catena in GA 886 as C150.2f.⁴⁶ However, it is uncertain whether this is indeed a later abridgment of the full catena or, as suggested by Devreesse, the shorter content reflects an earlier stage of

⁴⁵ The portion of text οὐκ εἶπε μεριζόμεναι, ἀλλὰ is not an addition by GA 886, but an omission from GA 2818, since it is present in the other witnesses to C150.1. Equally, the omission or addition of articles are likely to be scribal interventions.

⁴⁶ Scieri, "The Catena Manuscripts on Acts", p. 292.

C150.⁴⁷ Indeed, among the several types abbreviated from the Andreas catena, GA 886 is the only version in which the selected scholia are copied in full; the other catenae usually reduce or even rework the original material. Only three scholia (fols. 192r–v, 195v–196r, 196v) present a shorter text than C150.1 (Cramer pp. 55.19–56.16, 75.15–23, 80.12–20), as they do not contain the text preceded by the phrase *καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα* (‘and a little later’). Since this heading is generally added when two extracts from the same author or the same work follow in sequence, the missing portions might have been added by the C150.1 representatives rather than omitted by GA 886. Equally, given the presence of the formula in several other extracts, the few omissions in GA 886 might be simply explained as an abbreviation of the full scholia.

The suspicion that this manuscript contains an abridgment comes from observing fol. 194r: here a scholium which in C150.1 is attributed to Didymus (Cramer pp. 66.19–67.2) is stripped of a large portion of text and the name of the author is erased.⁴⁸ However, the omission might be due to scribal eyeskip: as can be seen in Table 3, the beginning of this scholium shares similar words with the beginning and ending of the scholium before (titled *σχόλιον* in C150.1, but anonymous in GA 886). It is therefore possible that the scribe, after copying the previous scholium and the name *Διδύμου* before the adjacent scholium, erroneously mistook the beginning of this for the incipit or the explicit of the scholium already copied. As a result, the copyist erased Didymus’ attribution, believing that the text yet to be transcribed (*inc. ἡγητέον ὡς Χριστὸς ἀναληφθεῖς*) was a continuation of the previous scholium; indeed, in the full catena from GA 1895 (fols. 59v–60r) this portion is separated from the rest of the comment by a line break.

⁴⁷ Devreesse, ‘Chaînes exégétiques grecques’, p. 1205: ‘A notre avis, nous avons là, recopiée par un scribe d’âge postérieur, une première étape de la chaîne’.

⁴⁸ Despite the erasure, it is still possible to see the curve at the top of δ , the υ with the acute accent on it, and the lower stroke of μ .

GA 886 (fol. 194r)	C150.1 (Cramer pp. 66.19–67.2)
<p>untitled. Τὸ ἄχρι καὶ τὸ ἕως παρὰ τῆς θειᾶ γραφῆς οὐ χρόνων ἐστὶ σημαντικόν· ... καὶ δόξης θεοπρεποῦς κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.</p> <p><i>Διδύμου.</i> ἡγητέον ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀναληφθεὶς εἰς οὐρανοὺς μένει ἐκεῖ ... τέλος ἐπιτίθησι τῷ εἶναι ἐν οὐρανῷ.</p>	<p><i>σχόλιον.</i> Τὸ ἄχρι καὶ τὸ ἕως παρὰ τῆς θειᾶ γραφῆς οὐ χρόνων ἐστὶ σημαντικόν· ... καὶ δόξης θεοπρεποῦς κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.</p> <p><i>Διδύμου.</i> Ἐπόμενος τίς τῆς συνθειας τῆς γραφῆς, τὸ καὶ τὸ ἕως ἐκλήφεται οὐ πάντως χρονικὰς περιγραφὰς σημαίνοντα· ... ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· ἡγητέον ὡς Χριστὸς ἀναληφθεὶς εἰς οὐρανοὺς μένει ἐκεῖ ... τέλος ἐπιτίθησι τὸ εἶναι ἐν οὐρανῷ.</p>

Table 3. Hints of scribal mistake in GA 886

While further research is necessary to establish the development of the Andreas catena, there are sufficient hints that also the second catena from GA 886 might be closely related to GA 1895 (C150.1b) and that both contain a different stage of catena than the representatives of C150.1a. First, it is noteworthy that, although GA 886 contains fewer scholia than all the C150.1 witnesses, it shares all the eighteen omissions in GA 1895 of scholia on Acts 2:14–7:59 which are present in the five representatives of C150.1a. In contrast, the two manuscripts share three extra scholia which are absent from the majority of C150.1a exemplars: these are titled ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου (fol. 192v), τοῦ αὐτοῦ (fol. 198v), Ἀμμωνίου (fol. 201v). While the first and third of these are only shared with GA 1895 (fols. 53r, 92v), the second also appears as a supplement in GA 307 (fol. 46r) and GA 453 (fol. 57r).⁴⁹

⁴⁹ In both manuscripts the additional scholium is signaled by a symbol (÷) and placed in the margins. In GA 307 this is titled Ἰωάννου.

GA 886 (fol. 192v)	GA 1895 / C150.1b (fol. 53r)	C150.1a
<p><i>ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου.</i> 'Ο συνεργῶν Κύριος τοῖς προαιρουμένοις τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοὺς σπουδάζοντας συγκαταριθμηθῆναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐνωθῆναι τοῖς προλαβοῦσι, τὴν πίστιν προσσετίθει καθ' ἐκάστην τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.</p> <p><u>Διδύμου.</u> 'Ο συνεργῶν Κύριος τοῖς προαιρουμένοις τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοὺς ἐκτὸς φημι σπεύδοντας συγκαταριθμηθῆναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐνωθῆναι τοῖς προλαβοῦσι, τὴν πίστιν προτίθησιν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. Νοήσεις δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον ... ἢ φύσις αὐτῶν προσσιθεῖ αὐτοὺς τοῖς πιστοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Κύριος.</p>	<p><i>ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου.</i> 'Ο συνεργῶν Κύριος τοῖς προαιρουμένοις τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοὺς σπουδάζοντας συγκαταριθμηθῆναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐνωθῆναι τοῖς προλαβοῦσι, τὴν πίστιν προσσετίθει καθ' ἐκάστην τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.</p> <p><u>Διδύμου.</u> 'Ο συνεργῶν Κύριος τοῖς προαιρουμένοις τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοὺς ἐκτὸς φημι σπεύδοντας συγκαταριθμηθῆναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐνωθῆναι τοῖς προλαβοῦσι, τὴν πίστιν προτίθησιν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. νοήσεις δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον ... ἢ φύσις αὐτῶν προσσιθεῖ αὐτοὺς τοῖς πιστοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Κύριος.</p>	<p><i>ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου.</i> 'Ο συνεργῶν Κύριος τοῖς προαιρουμένοις τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοὺς σπουδάζοντας συγκαταριθμηθῆναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐνωθῆναι τοῖς προλαβοῦσι, τὴν πίστιν προσσετίθει καθ' ἐκάστην τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ· νοήσεις δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον ... ἢ φύσις αὐτῶν προστίθησιν αὐτοὺς τοῖς πιστοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Κύριος.</p>

Table 4. Extra scholium in GA 886 and GA 1895

Further confirmation comes from observing that both manuscripts have several scholia which are either arranged in reverse order or placed further down or up in comparison with representatives of C150.1a, and whose titles occasionally change to reflect the different arrangement, as displayed in Table 5.⁵⁰ If one looks at the section on Acts 5:41–42, scholium 3, entitled *Χρυσσοστόμου* in C150.1a, appears as scholium 2 in both GA 1895 and 886: the name of the source is omitted and replaced by *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* because,

⁵⁰ Apart from GA 2818 (Cramer's base manuscript), the manuscripts in the table are ordered according to the catena type and GA number.

following the inversion, this scholium is presented after another comment from the same author (τοῦ αὐτοῦ in GA 1895 and GA 886). In contrast, in C150.1a this scholium is positioned after one entitled Ἀμμωνίου; therefore, the name Chrysostom needs to be specified to prevent the passage from being mistaken for another extract from Ammonius. The same situation can be observed in the section on Acts 7:30–32, where a scholium from Eusebius of Emesa, located as number 6 in C150.1a, is brought forward as number 2 in GA 886 and 1895. Its position right after another scholium from the same author makes the name redundant; this instead has to be spelled out in the C150.1a witnesses, where the scholium follows one by Cyril. Similarly, in the section on Acts 7:42–43, scholium 6 in C150.1a is moved up to scholium 2 in GA 886 and 1895. In this case the substitution of Χρυσσοστόμου with τοῦ αὐτοῦ could not be applied to the reversed scholium, this being preceded by an extract from Didymus; instead, it could be introduced for the subsequent comment also extracted from Chrysostom.

A more diversified arrangement of scholia can be observed in Acts 7:59. Despite its absence from GA 610, scholium 1 is present in the majority of C150 witnesses considered here. However, in GA 1895 and 886 this is placed as scholium 3 in the sequence and attributed to Ammonius, while in GA 2818 and GA 1678 it is anonymous and maintained in the given sequence.⁵¹ On the other hand, in GA 307 and GA 453 this is not included in the text of the catena but supplemented in the margins where it is linked by a symbol to the lemma πνεῦμα μου.⁵²

⁵¹ However, in Cramer p. 130.27 this scholium is printed after scholium 4.

⁵² In Table 5 the marginal position of the scholium is marked by an asterisk attached to the number (*).

Scholium	C150.1a					C150.1b	C150.2f
	GA 2818	307	453	610	1678	1895	886
Acts 2:24							
1	1 ἐξ ἀνεπι- γράφου	1	1	1	1	3 Χρυσο- στόμου	3 Χρυσο- στόμου
2	2 Σευήρου ...	2	2	2	2	4 τοῦ αὐτοῦ	4 τοῦ αὐτοῦ
3	3 untitled	3	3	3	3	1	1
4	4 untitled	4	4	4	4	2	2
Acts 5:32							
1	1 τοῦ αὐτοῦ	1	1	1	1	2	2
2	2 untitled	2	2	2	2	1	1
Acts 5:41–42							
1	1 τοῦ Χρυσο- στόμου	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2 Ἄμμωνίου ...	2	2	2	2	3 τοῦ αὐτοῦ	3 τοῦ αὐτοῦ
3	3 τοῦ Χρυσο- στόμου	3	3	3	3	2	2
Acts 7:21–23							
1	1 Ἄμμωνίου	1	1	1	1	2	2
2	2 Διδύμου	2	2	2	2	1	1
Acts 7:30–32							
1	1 Εὐσεβίου	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2 τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου	2	2	2	2	6 τοῦ αὐτοῦ	6 τοῦ αὐτοῦ
3	3 τοῦ Χρυσο- στόμου	3	3	3	3	2	2
4	4 τοῦ αὐτοῦ	4	4	4	4	3	3
5	5 Κυρίλλου	5	5	5	5	4	4

6	6 Εὐσεβίου ἐπισκόπου Ἑμίσης	6	6	6	6	5	5
Acts 7:42–43							
1	1 Διδύμου	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2 τοῦ Χρυσο- στόμου	2	2	2	2	6	6
3	3 τοῦ αὐτοῦ	3	3	3	3	2 τοῦ αὐτοῦ	2 τοῦ αὐτοῦ
4	4 τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου ...	4	4	4	4	3	3
5	5 τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου ...	5	5	5	5	4	4
6	6 τοῦ Χρυσο- στόμου	6	6	6	6	—	—
Acts 7:59							
1	1 untitled	5*	5*	—	1	3 Ἄμμωνίου	3 Ἄμμωνίου
2	2 untitled	1	1	1	2	1	1
3	3 Ἄθανασίου	2	2	2	3	—	—
4	4 untitled	3 Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσο- στόμου	3 τοῦ Χρυσο- στόμου	3	3	2 τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου	2 Χρυσο- στόμου
5	5 τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου ...	4	4	4	5	4	4

Table 5. Sequence and attribution of scholia

Table 5 also shows that, besides sharing the same variation in the titles and sequence of scholia, GA 886 and 1895 give attributions to scholia which in C150.1a are anonymous, although it is not always possible to ascertain their correctness. In the section on Acts 2:24 scholia 3 and 4, which in C150.1a are preceded by a

scholium from Severus of Antioch, are titled *Χρυσοστόμου* and *τοῦ αὐτοῦ*, respectively. The latter scholium is indeed an extract from Chrysostom's Homily 6 on Acts (cf. PG 60.58, 44–45), while the source of the former scholium is undetected outside of the catena. The same is true for the section on Acts 7:59: scholium 3, which as seen above is anonymous in C150.1a but in both GA 886 and GA 1895 is attributed to Ammonius. On the other hand, GA 886 and GA 1895 share with GA 307 and GA 453 the attribution of scholium 4 to Chrysostom, which in C150.1a is preceded by a comment from Athanasius. Although in the latter case the extracts have not been detected outside this catena, these instances also suggest that the lack of title in a scholium does not necessarily mean that the source is the same as the scholium before.⁵³

On the other hand, some attributions in GA 886 are incorrect, and the genuine identification is supplied by the representatives of C150.1 (including GA 1895) as confirmed by the direct tradition. On fol. 198v, the title *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* introduces a scholium which in C150.1 is attributed to Chrysostom (Cramer pp. 94.30–95.3) and follows an extract from Didymus; the scholium is indeed from Chrysostom's Homily 13 on Acts (cf. PG 60.108, 60–109, 3). Similarly, on fol. 204v the same title is repeated for two consecutive scholia, which in C150.1 are attributed to Chrysostom and Origen, respectively (Cramer pp. 126.29–34, 127.12–17), and separated by a scholium from Severus (Cramer p. 127.1–10). In the first case the heading is correct, since the extract is from Homily 17 on Acts (cf. PG 60.137, 52–59) as well as the scholium before (cf. PG 60.138, 48–55); in contrast, the second *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* is incorrect since the scholium is an extract from Origen's Letter to Africanus (cf. PG 11.72, 5e–11). These circumstances also show that the title *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* in catenae manuscripts is not always trustworthy.⁵⁴

⁵³ See Curti and Barbàra, 'Greek Exegetical Catenaes', pp. 609–610; see also Sandro Leanza, 'Problemi di ecdotica catenaria', in *Metodologie della ricerca sulla tarda antichità. Atti del Primo Convegno dell'Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi*, ed. Antonio Garzya, Associazione di studi tardoantichi 1 (Naples: M. D'Auria Editore, 1989) pp. 257–258.

⁵⁴ See Curti, Barbàra, 'Greek Exegetical Catenaes', p. 609; see also Leanza, 'Problemi di ecdotica catenaria', pp. 258–259.

In a third instance (fol. 202r), the heading *καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα* introduces a comment which in the C150.1 manuscripts is attributed to Eusebius of Emesa (Cramer pp. 111.16–112.6) and comes after a scholium from Chrysostom: while the lack of attestation of this scholium outside the catena makes it difficult to confirm the attribution to Eusebius, its absence from Chrysostom's direct tradition may indeed indicate that *καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα* here is incorrect. Equally, on fol. 193r a scribal oversight involving *καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα* determines the combination of two scholia originally separate and ascribed to individual authors: due to *saut du même au même*, the scribe copies the first part of a scholium from Chrysostom up to *καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα* (Cramer p. 59.4–16) and then jumps to the same formula introducing the second part of the next scholium attributed to Severus of Antioch (Cramer p. 59.17–31), thereby removing an extensive portion of both comments and ascribing the resulting mixture only to the first author.

CONCLUSION

Despite their fragmentary nature, the two exegetical texts on Acts in GA 886 display distinctive profiles, and yet disclose two different faces of the same genre of commentary, the catena. While the second catena (on Acts 2:14–7:59) contains a shorter form of the Andreas catena (C150), the first catena (on Acts 1–2:13) is more peculiar, as it appears to be a running text created by mixing unattributed pieces of scholia from patristic sources. The evidence suggests that these may have also been extracted from the Andreas catena.

There are further hints that both catenae, despite being different types of compilation, relate to the version of the Andreas catena preserved in GA 1895 (C150.1b). For the first catena this is demonstrated by the reworking of a considerable number of extra scholia from GA 1895, which are absent from the other witnesses to the Andreas catena (C150.1a). Similarly, the second catena shares with GA 1895 three extra scholia. Interestingly, one scholium is only partly found in C150.1a, where it seems to derive from a combination of two individual, yet very similar extracts in GA 886 and GA 1895, due to eyeskip. This suggests that the two manuscripts represent an earlier stage of the Andreas catena,

where the two scholia had not yet been mixed. What is more, a significant number of scholia are arranged in the same distinctive sequence found in GA 1895, and in both manuscripts they are given titles which are either missing or different in the representatives of C150.1a. Further examination is required to establish the chronological relationship between the catenae in GA 886 and GA 1895: more precisely, it remains to be ascertained whether the first represents an abbreviation of the second, or the second is an expansion of the first.

As for the author of the first catena, it is difficult to determine whether it was the same Nicetas of Naupactus to whom is ascribed the section on Matthew, or Theophylact of Bulgaria, as suggested by some scholars. Even more complicated, and likely to remain a mystery, is the reason for the incompleteness of the texts. In particular, future research should investigate the criteria behind the compilation practice and the impact of this on the exegetical profile of the commentary. It should also ascertain whether the sections which do not find a parallel in the Andreas catena contain original exegesis by the compiler or betray the influence of sources hitherto undetected. This work could be assisted by comparison with the catenae on Acts by Ps.-Oecumenius (C151) and Ps.-Theophylact (C152), which feature similar techniques of compilation, as well as with other catena types, including those from previously unknown *codices singuli* (C155).

In conclusion, even though it is not possible to fill the missing gaps of these fragmentary catenae, attempts can be made to address the questions rising from what is extant, in order ultimately to evaluate the weight of these exegetical fragments in the reception of the Acts of the Apostles throughout the Byzantine World and the Middle Ages.

9. THE PARACLETE'S TEACHING: THE TEXT AND EXEGESIS OF JOHN 14:25–26 AND JOHN 16:12–15 IN THE WRITINGS OF EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA AND CYRIL OF JERUSALEM

VALENTIN ANDRONACHE

This chapter discusses a few fragments of tradition and brings a contribution to the history of reception and interpretation of the Gospel of John. For this purpose, it looks at the exegesis of John 14:25–26 and 16:12–15 in general, but also with a particular focus on the subject of the Paraclete's teaching in the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea and Cyril of Jerusalem. Specifically, it sets out to indicate the places where either John 14:25–26 or 16:12–15, or both texts, are cited in the works of these two writers, and to describe their function and interpretation in their immediate literary context. Given that these authors were not interpreting and commenting on the same text of John 14:25–26 and 16:12–15, special attention will be paid to the form in which they cite one or the other Johannine passages in order to see whether the form of the text influences the interpretation of these passages. In what follows, a brief overview of the current state of research on the reception of the Gospel of John is offered. Then, I discuss the passages from the works of Eusebius and Cyril where John 14:25–26 or 16:12–15 are cited, with attention to the form of the quoted

text and to the way the citations fit within these passages. The survey is concluded by a comparison between the two authors' text and exegesis.

The selection of these Johannine texts and early Christian writers of the fourth century was made because the Gospel of John was widely used by Christian writers during the doctrinal debates of the fourth and fifth century.¹ I chose to look at the interpretation of John 14:25–26 and 16:12–15 because these passages overlap in their description of the Spirit's teaching function, and they are often cited together in patristic works. Furthermore, I was inspired by the editors of the fourth volume of *Biblia Patristica* in selecting Eusebius and Cyril—both from Palestine. These editors divide the numerous patristic works of the fourth century following a geographical principle. As they explain, the criterion of 'region' can offer some sense of unity: in language, in way of life, and in theological and exegetical concerns.²

Most research on the reception history of the Gospel of John has in view the second century CE. Such studies deal with issues related to John's canonicity and authority as reflected by the Gospel's influence on other early Christian writings. These studies focus on the ways by which the literary dependence between John and other early texts can be determined, by analysing verbal agreement, similar vocabulary, themes, and ideas.³ Consequently,

¹ See Charles E. Hill, 'The Gospel of John', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Paul M. Blowers and Peter W. Martens, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 602.

² See Jean Allenbach et al., *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique. 4. Eusèbe de Césarée, Cyrille de Jérusalem, Epiphane de Salamine*. (Paris: CNRS, 1987), p. 5. This volume groups Eusebius and Cyril together with Epiphanius of Salamis. Although there are three references to John 14:25–26 in the works of Epiphanius, he has no citation of the passage and, implicitly, does not interpret this. For this reason, Epiphanius is not considered in this paper.

³ The earliest modern study on this subject is J. N. Sanders, *The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church: Its Origin and Influence on Christian Theology up to Irenaeus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943); among the most recent, see Lorne R. Zelyck, *John Among the Other Gospels: The Reception of the Fourth Gospel in the Extra-Canonical Gospels*, WUNT II 347

they do not consider how the text of John was interpreted. There are three main studies that look at how the Gospel of John was interpreted by early Christian authors beyond the second century CE, namely, Wiles' *The Spiritual Gospel: The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, Casurella's *The Johannine Paraclete in the Church Fathers*, and Keefer's *The Branches of the Gospel of John*.⁴ Wiles and Keefer examine how different Christian writers have interpreted John, but they are more interested in the kinds of exegetical methods these writers used to interpret John and how they understood certain themes or concepts in the Gospel.⁵ Casurella is the only one to address the content of the patristic exegesis of John. He focuses on five specific passages, namely, the so-called Paraclete sayings.⁶ His study gathers interpretations of the Paraclete sayings from Greek and Latin Christian writers from the first seven centuries. However, Casurella's survey is problematic with respect to the way in which he presents these interpretations. For example, when he deals with the exegesis of Greek authors between the councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, he distinguishes between doctrinal and exegetical writings. This gives the impression that there are two kinds of interpretations. He groups the doctrinal exegesis into three categories—Trinity, Christology, and Pneumatology—and within each category he describes how certain authors used the Johannine passages to conceive of the Trinity, or Christology, or Pneumatology. How-

(Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013); for a discussion of the studies that focus on the second century reception of John, see Dan Batovici, 'The Second-Century Reception of John: A Survey of Methodologies', *Currents in Biblical Research* 10.3 (2012), pp. 396–409.

⁴ See Maurice F. Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel: The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel in the Early Church* (New York: Cambridge University press, 1960); Anthony Casurella, *The Johannine Paraclete in the Church Fathers: A Study in the History of Exegesis*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Biblischen Exegese* 25 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983); and Kyle Keefer, *The Branches of the Gospel of John: The Reception of the Fourth Gospel in the Early Church*, *Library of New Testament Studies* 332 (London: T&T Clark, 2006).

⁵ Wiles investigates Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodore of Mopsuestia; Keefer investigates Heracleon, Irenaeus, and Origen.

⁶ The five Paraclete sayings are: John 14:16–17, 14:25–26, 15:26–27, 16:7–11, and 16:12–15.

ever, this does not do justice to the variety of contexts in which the Johannine passages are cited and interpreted. Furthermore, in the exegetical section, Casurella groups the interpretations according to the five Paraclete sayings, which makes it look as if all Christian writers had the same, or similar, interpretations of a passage. Most importantly, he does not consider at all the actual text of the citations of the five Paraclete sayings. This shows that there is need for a study that pays attention not only to the interpretations of a biblical text, but also to the context in which these occur, that highlights both the similarities and the differences between explanations of the same biblical text, and that takes into account the form of the text which the writers interpret.

THE TEXT AND EXEGESIS OF JOHN 14:25–26 AND JOHN 16:12–15

According to the fourth volume of *Biblia Patristica*, there are sixteen references to John 14:25–26 and twenty references to John 16:12–15 in the works of Eusebius and Cyril.⁷ These references include both instances where the Johannine passages are cited entirely or partially and where there is lesser verbal correspondence, such as allusions and reminiscences. In this paper, only those references that contain verbatim citations of John 14:25–26 and/or John 16:12–15 will be considered.

Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 264–339)

Eusebius of Caesarea cites passages from John 14:25–26 in three places. He cites only verse 26 in *Commentarius in Isaiam* 2.16, verses 25–26 in *Commentarius in Psalmos* (Ps 56: PG 23.512), and in *De ecclesiastica theologia* 3.5.5–6 he cites verses 25–26 twice.⁸

⁷ See *Biblia Patristica* 4, pp. 272–274. In gathering the references and the citations for this paper, I have used the fourth volume of *Biblia Patristica*, Biblindex (www.biblindex.org/en), and the *ITSEE Citations Database* (<https://itsee-wce.birmingham.ac.uk/citations>).

⁸ For the Greek text of *Comm. Isa.*, see Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Eusebius Werke. 9: Der Jesajakommentar*, GCS 60 (Berlin: Akademie, 1975); for the Greek text of *Comm. Ps.*, see PG 23.501–517. Although this work has never been properly edited, according to Michael J. Hollerich, *Eusebius of Caesarea's Commentary*

Table 1 displays Eusebius' citations alongside the NA28 text of John 14:25–26, divided into its constituent parts.⁹

	NA28	<i>Comm. Isa.</i> 2.16	<i>Comm. Ps.</i> 56	<i>Eccl. theol.</i> 3.5.5–6
25.	ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν		ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν,	ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν,
a	παρ' ὑμῖν μένων·		παρ' ὑμῖν μένων·	παρ' ὑμῖν μένων·
26.	ὁ δὲ παράκλητος,	ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ παράκλητος,	ὁ δὲ παράκλητος,	ὁ δὲ παράκλητος,
a ₁	τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,	τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,	τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,	τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,
b	ὁ πέμψει ὁ πατὴρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου,	ὁ πέμψει ὁ πατὴρ μου ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου,	ὁ πέμψει ὁ πατὴρ μου ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου,	ὁ πέμψει ὁ πατὴρ μου ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου,
c	ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα	ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα	ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα	ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα
a ₂	καὶ ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα		καὶ ὑπομνήσει	καὶ ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα
d	ἃ εἶπον ὑμῖν [ἐγώ].			ὅσα εἶπον ὑμῖν (3.5.5) ὅσα εἶπον (3.5.6)
e				

Table 1. Eusebius' citations of John 14:25–26

on Isaiah: *Christian Exegesis in the Age of Constantine*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 9, n. 35, the text of the commentary on Ps 51–95:3 (PG 23.441c–1221c) is authentic; for the Greek text of *Eccl. theol.*, see Erich Klostermann and Günther Christian Hansen, eds., *Eusebius Werke. 4: Gegen Marcell; Über die kirchliche Theologie; Die Fragmente Marcells*, 3rd ed., GCS 14 (Berlin: Akademie, 1989).

⁹ The text of John 14:26 in NA28 consists of two main clauses, two relative clauses, and an apposition. The first main clause starts in 26a₁ by expressing its grammatical subject, ὁ παράκλητος. Then, the first main clause is interrupted by an apposition, in 26b, which is immediately followed by a relative clause, in 26c. Afterwards, the first main clause is resumed in 26a₂, where the first main verb is expressed, διδάσκω. The second main clause, in 26d, containing the verb ὑπομνήσκω, is linked to the first main clause through the coordinating conjunction καί. Then, in 26e, there follows another relative clause.

The text of John 14:25–26 is identical in Eusebius' citations, except for the beginning of verse 26 in *Comm. Isa.* 2.16, which differs from the citations in *Comm. Ps.* 56 and *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.5–6 and from the text of NA28. In *Comm. Isa.* 2.16, the citation starts with ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ, instead of ὁ δὲ παράκλητος, likely because Eusebius mixes the beginning of John 14:26 with the beginning of John 15:26, which he also cites in *Comm. Isa.* 2.16, immediately after John 14:26. Further, the two citations in *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.5 and 3.5.6 are identical to each other, except that in 3.5.5 verse 26 ends with εἶπον ὑμῖν, while in 3.5.6 it ends simply with εἶπον. M. Jack Suggs suggests that Eusebius' text of John did not contain ὑμῖν in 3.5.5 either, and that this is a later scribal addition.¹⁰ However, Klostermann's edition of *Eccl. theol.* does not register any textual variants in either of the two citations, which makes Suggs' suggestion difficult to support.¹¹ It is more likely that, in *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.6, Eusebius simply stopped citing after ὅσα εἶπον.

Except for the beginning of verse 26 in *Comm. Isa.* 2.16, there are two other places where Eusebius' citations differ from NA28. First, all four citations of Eusebius contain the genitive pronoun μου after ὁ πατήρ in verse 26c, which is not present in NA28. And second, both citations in *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.5–6 have ὅσα instead of ἃ in verse 26e, and, in the same verse, ἐγώ is missing from *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.5.

Eusebius cites passages from John 16:12–14 in *Comm. Ps.* 56 and *Eccl. theol.* 3.5. In *Comm. Ps.* 56, the author cites verses 12a–13c, followed immediately by 14b–c. In *Eccl. theol.* 3.5, he cites multiples times various phrases from John 16:12–14 and once verses 12–14 entirely.¹² Since the text of the partial citations is generally identical to that of the entire citation in *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.15–16, Table 2 displays only the text of John 16:12–14 as it is found in *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.15–16.

¹⁰ See M. Jack Suggs, 'The New Testament Text of Eusebius of Caesarea' (unpubl. diss., Duke University), 1954, p. 259.

¹¹ See Klostermann and Hansen, *Eusebius Werke.* 4, pp. 160–161.

¹² There are also a couple of citations of John 16:13–14 in *Eccl. theol.* 3.4: one of verses 13–14, and four of verse 14b–c. However, since the citations of verses 13–14 and two of the citations of verse 14b–c are part of a block quote from Marcellus, they are not included in this discussion.

	NA28	<i>Comm. Ps. 56</i>	<i>Eccl. theol.</i> 3.5.15–16
12.	Ἔτι πολλὰ ἔχω ὑμῖν	ἔτι πολλὰ ἔχω λέγειν	ἔτι πολλὰ ἔχω λέγειν
a	λέγειν,	ὑμῖν	ὑμῖν
b	ἀλλ' οὐ δύνασθε βαστάζειν ἄρτι·	ἀλλ' οὐ δύνασθε βαστάζειν ἄρτι·	ἀλλ' οὐ δύνασθε βαστάζειν ἄρτι·
13.	ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος,	ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος	ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος
a			
b	τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας,	τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας,	τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας,
c	ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πάση·	διηγῆσεται ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν	διηγῆσεται ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν πᾶσαν·
d	οὐ γὰρ λαλήσει ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ,		οὐ γὰρ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λαλήσει,
e	ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀκούσει λαλήσει		ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀκούσει,
f	καὶ τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.		καὶ τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.
14.	ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ δοξάσει,		ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ δοξάσει,
a			
b	ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήμψεται	ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψει	ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται
c	καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.	καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.	καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.

Table 2. Eusebius' citations of John 16:12–14

Eusebius' citations of John 16:12–14 differ from one another in two places: verses 13c and 14b. In verse 13c, the word *πᾶσαν* is missing from the citation in *Comm. Ps. 56*. Given the position of *πᾶσαν* in this verse, it is likely that the missing adjective in *Comm. Ps. 56* is a reading Eusebius created when he abbreviated the citation of John 16:12–14 by skipping also verses 13d–14a. In verse 14b, Eusebius' citations differ from one another and from NA28. The citation in *Comm. Ps. 56* reads *λήψει*, and the citation in *Eccl. theol. 3.5.15–16* reads *λήψεται*, unlike *λήμψεται* in NA28. Whereas *λήψεται* is a spelling variant to *λήμψεται*—both future indicative third-person singular—, *λήψει*, which is future indicative second-person singular, is a curious reading, because the subject of verses 13–14 is *ἐκεῖνος*, *τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας*, and all the verbs are in the third-person singular. Besides the variants in verse 14b, Eusebius' citations differ from NA28 in three other places. First, in both *Comm. Ps. 56* and *Eccl. theol. 3.5*, Eusebius' text differs from NA28

by inverting ὑμῖν with λέγειν in v. 12a. Second, both citations read διηγῆσεται ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν in v. 13c instead of ὀδηγήσει ὑμᾶς ἐν κτλ. as in NA28. And third, another inversion is found in verse 13d in *Eccl. theol.* 3.5, where λαλήσει and ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ are reversed.

Having considered the text Eusebius used, we can consider his exegesis of John 14:25–26 and 16:12–14. In *Comm. Isa.* 2.16 Eusebius interprets the text of Isa 40:1–2, where God commands a group of persons to comfort his people (παρακαλεῖτε παρακαλεῖτε τὸν λαόν μου).¹³ The keyword παρακαλέω reminds Eusebius of the Spirit-Paraclete, and thus he thinks that those who comfort are those who have received the Spirit-Paraclete (οἱ μὲν οὖν παρακαλοῦντες εἶεν ἂν οἱ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ παράκλητον ὑποδεδεγμένοι). This prompts Eusebius to insert in his interpretation of Isaiah a number of New Testament texts where παρακαλέω or cognates of it—παράκλητος—are used: John 14:16–17, 14:26, 15:26, 16:7, 2 Cor 1:3–7 and 2 Cor 5:10. Yet he does not interpret these texts further.

In his interpretation of Ps 56 (LXX), Eusebius inserts three Johannine passages mentioning the Spirit (John 14:15–17, 14:25–26, and 16:12–13) when commenting on verses 8–12.¹⁴ It is not clear what in Ps 56:8–12 triggers Eusebius to think of these three Johannine texts. The citations come immediately after the lemma text, and the phrase Eusebius uses to introduce them simply states that Jesus said these things about the Holy Spirit to his disciples. However, the citations are followed by a comment:

Δι' ὧν παρίστησι μείζονα μὲν εἶναι τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ χωρούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων· Οὐ γὰρ δύνασθε, φησί, βαστάζειν· τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ χορηγούμενον καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμπόμενον ἀναγγέλλειν αὐτοῖς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.¹⁵

Through these words he (Jesus) shows that he has greater things which cannot be understood by the apostles. For you cannot bear them, he says. But the Spirit of truth, who bestows

¹³ See Eusebius of Caesarea, *Commentary on Isaiah*, ed. Joel C. Elowsky, trans. Jonathan J. Armstrong, *Ancient Christian Texts* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity press, 2013), pp. 191–193.

¹⁴ See Eusebio di Cesarea, *Commento ai Salmi 1 (1-71)*, ed. M. Benedetta Artioli, *Testi Patristici 176* (Rome: Città nuova, 2004), pp. 385–396.

¹⁵ PG 23, 512d.

from him (Jesus) and is sent by him (Jesus) to the apostles, proclaims the whole truth to them.¹⁶

This comment is a paraphrase of John 14:26 and 16:12–13, through which Eusebius highlights the gist of them: Jesus has greater things (μείζονα) to teach the disciples, but due to their lack of understanding, Jesus' earthly teaching remains incomplete; yet, the Spirit, who bestows from Jesus and is sent by Jesus—probably an indicator of subordination—, brings this teaching to completion by proclaiming the whole truth, including, supposedly, the μείζονα.

Eusebius' main point in *Eccl. theol.* 3.5 is to show that the Spirit is different from the Son (ἕτερόν ἐστιν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ υἱοῦ).¹⁷ He builds up his argument mainly by citing and interpreting passages from John that talk about the Spirit and/or the Paraclete, including John 14:25–26 and 16:12–15. Eusebius comments on these two passages, having in view the teaching function of the Paraclete. Thus, immediately after citing John 14:25–26 in *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.6, he says:

ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ τέως ταῦθ' ὑμῖν λελάληκα, φησίν, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ πέμψει ὁ πατήρ μου, πάντα ὑμᾶς διδάξει, ὅσα νῦν οὐ μεμαθήκατε διὰ τὸ μὴ χωρεῖν ὑμᾶς· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἔλθων, λέγω δὲ ὁ παράκλητος, ἀναπληρώσει τὴν διδασκαλίαν, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μνήμην ὑμῖν ἐμποιῆσαι.¹⁸

For I have up to this time said these things to you, he says, but the Spirit of truth, whom my Father will also send, he will teach you everything that you have not learned now because you were not capable of it; but when he has come, I mean the Counselor, he will complete the teaching, along with calling to your remembrance even the things now said by me.¹⁹

¹⁶ My translation.

¹⁷ See *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.1. See Eusebius of Caesarea, *Against Marcellus and On Ecclesiastical Theology*, trans. Kelley McCarthy Spöerl and Markus Vinzent, FC 135 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2017), pp. 304–313.

¹⁸ *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.7–8.

¹⁹ Eusebius of Caesarea, *Against Marcellus and On Ecclesiastical Theology*, p. 309.

According to this comment, Eusebius understands the Paraclete's task towards the disciples as follows. During his earthly ministry, Jesus taught ταῦτα. Of these, the disciples understood a part, and a part they did not understand (ὅσα νῦν οὐ μεμαθήκατε). Therefore, the Paraclete's task is to teach the disciples everything they did not understand of Jesus' teaching, thus completing it. In addition to teaching the disciples that which they did not understand of ταῦτα, the Paraclete also reminds the disciples of τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα—presumably that part of ταῦτα which the disciples understood.

After citing John 16:12–15 in *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.15–16, Eusebius says: ἐν οἷς πάλιν ἃ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐδίδαξεν ταῦτα μαθήσεσθαι τοὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπαγγέλλεται, that is, 'in these words he promises again that his disciples will learn from the Holy Spirit [these] things that he himself did not teach'.²⁰ From this comment it appears that Eusebius' understanding of the Paraclete's teaching is slightly different from earlier: now, he says that what the Paraclete teaches the disciples are the things they have not heard previously from Jesus. Yet, pointing to ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἔμοῦ λήψεται καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν of John 16:14, Eusebius makes it clear that the Paraclete is subordinate to Jesus, and that what the Spirit teaches still comes from Jesus.²¹ However, either because they did not comprehend everything from Jesus, or because Jesus did not teach everything, Eusebius' point is that the Spirit teaches the disciples something they did not learn from Jesus. This interpretation emphasises the Spirit's otherness in relation to Jesus, which is what Eusebius wants to prove in *Eccl. Theol.* 3.5, namely, that the Spirit is distinct from Jesus.

Cyril of Jerusalem (315–387)

Cyril of Jerusalem cites passages from John 14:25–26 and from John 16:12–15 only in his 16th and 17th *Catecheses ad illuminandos*, in which he focuses on the Holy Spirit.²² He has four citations of

²⁰ *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.16. For the translation, see Eusebius of Caesarea, *Against Marcellus and On Ecclesiastical Theology*, p. 311.

²¹ See *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.17–18.

²² For the Greek text of *Catech. illum.* 16–17, see Wilhelm Karl Reischl and Joseph Rupp, eds., *Cyrilli Hierosolymarum archiepiscopi Opera quae supersunt omnia*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1848–1860, repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 2:

John 14:25–26, in *Catech. illum.* 16.14, 17.4, 17.11, and 17.34. In *Catech. illum.* 17.4 and 17.34, Cyril cites only verse 26a₁–b, and in both places the text of the citation is identical to the editorial text of NA28 and *Catech. illum.* 17.11, reading ὁ δὲ παράκλητος, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. For this reason, they are not included in Table 3. In *Catech. illum.* 16.14, Cyril cites only verse 26a₂–e, although he interrupts the citation after 26d with a comment, to which I will return later. In *Catech. illum.* 17.11, he cites verses 25–26 entirely.

	NA28	<i>Catech. illum.</i> 16.14	<i>Catech. illum.</i> 17.11
25. a	ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν		ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν
b	παρ' ὑμῖν μένων·		παρ' ὑμῖν μένων·
26. a ₁	ὁ δὲ παράκλητος,		ὁ δὲ παράκλητος,
b	τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,		τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,
c	ὃ πέμψει ὁ πατήρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου,		ὃ πέμψει ὁ πατήρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου,
a ₂	ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα	ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα	ἐκεῖνος διδάξει ὑμᾶς πάντα
d	καὶ ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα	καὶ ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα	καὶ ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα
e	ἃ εἶπον ὑμῖν [ἐγώ].	ὅσα εἶπον ὑμῖν	ἃ εἶπον ὑμῖν

Table 3. Cyril's citations of John 14:25–26

The text of John 14:25–26 in Cyril's citations agrees generally with NA28, with three exceptions. First, the citation in *Catech. illum.* 16.14, in verse 26e, reads ὅσα instead of ἃ as NA28 and *Catech. illum.* 17.11. Second, in *Catech. illum.* 17.11, in verse 26a₂, there is an inversion of ὑμᾶς and διδάξει. In his study of the New Testament text of Cyril, Roderic L. Mullen characterizes this reading as a 'Cyril variant'.²³ Third, neither of Cyril's citations have ἐγώ at the end of verse 26e.

204–297; see further Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson, trans., *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem*, 2 vols., FC 61, 64 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1969–1970), pp. 2:76–119.

²³ See Roderic L. Mullen, *The New Testament Text of Cyril of Jerusalem*, *The New Testament in the Greek Fathers* 7 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), p. 163.

Cyril cites passages of John 16:12–15 in three places: in *Catech. illum.* 16.24, 17.4, and 17.11. In *Catech. illum.* 17.4, he cites only verse 13a–b, reading *ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας*, just as NA28 and *Catech. illum.* 17.11. For this reason, this is not included in Table 4. In *Catech. illum.* 16.24, Cyril cites verses 13a–b and 14a–c. He intentionally skips verse 13c–f, as in between verses 13a–b and 14a–c he adds *καὶ ἐξῆς*. In *Catech. illum.* 17.11, Cyril cites John 16:12–15 entirely.

	NA28	<i>Catech. illum.</i> 16.24	<i>Catech. illum.</i> 17.11
12.	Ἔτι πολλὰ ἔχω ὑμῖν		ἔτι πολλὰ ἔχω λέγειν
a	λέγειν,		ὑμῖν
b	ἀλλ' οὐ δύνασθε βαστάζειν ἄρτι.		ἀλλ' οὐ δύνασθε βαστάζειν ἄρτι.
13.	ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος,	ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος	ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος
a			
b	τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας,	τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας,	τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας,
c	ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πάσῃ.		διηγήσεται ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν πᾶσαν.
d	οὐ γὰρ λαλήσει ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ,		οὐ γὰρ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λαλήσει,
e	ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀκούσει λαλήσει		ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν ἀκούσῃ λαλήσει
f	καὶ τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.		καὶ τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.
14.	ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ δοξάσει,	ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ δοξάσει,	ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ δοξάσει,
a			
b	ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται	ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαμβάνει	ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται
c	καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.	καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.	καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.
15.	πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ πατὴρ ἐμὰ ἐστίν.		πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ πατὴρ ἐμὰ ἐστίν.
a			
b	διὰ τοῦτο εἶπον		διὰ τοῦτο εἶπον ὑμῖν
c	ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαμβάνει		ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται
d	καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.		καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.

Table 4. Cyril's citations of John 16:12–15

There are six points in which the text of John 16:12–15 in Cyril's citations differs from NA28. First, in *Catech. illum.* 16.24, *δέ* is omitted in verse 13a. However, as Mullen points out, since Cyril

twice cites this verse with *δέ*, in 17.4 and 17.11, it is likely that Cyril's text of John had *δέ*, and that the omission in 16.24 is an oversight by the author.²⁴ Second, Cyril's citation in *Catech. illum.* 16.24 has the present indicative *λαμβάνει* in verse 14b, unlike NA28 and *Catech. illum.* 17.11 that have the future indicative *λήψεται/λήψεται*. Assuming that Cyril's text read *λαμβάνει* in verse 15c, it could have happened that Cyril mistook 14b–c for 15c–d, as they are similar. Yet, it is difficult to say whether Cyril's text indeed read *λαμβάνει* in 15c, especially since in *Catech. illum.* 17.11, the citation reads *λήψεται*. It could be that *λήψεται* in *Catech. illum.* 17.11 is Cyril's harmonization to 14b, and that Cyril's New Testament had *λήψεται* in 14b, and *λαμβάνει* in 15c. However, according to Mullen, Cyril's text of John read *λήψεται* in both 14b and 15c, and the present indicative *λαμβάνει* in *Catech. illum.* 16.24 is a 'Cyril variant'.²⁵ Third, there are two inversions in *Catech. illum.* 17.11: one in verse 12a, where *ὑμῖν* and *λέγειν* are reversed, and one in verse 13d, where *λαλήσει* and *ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ* are reversed. Fourth, in verse 13c, Cyril's citation in *Catech. illum.* 17.11 reads *διηγῆσεται κτλ.*, unlike *ὁδηγήσει κτλ.* in NA28. Fifth, in verse 13e, in *Catech. illum.* 17.11, the verb is in the aorist subjunctive form, unlike NA28, where the verb is in the future indicative form. Sixth, another difference between the citation in *Catech. illum.* 17.11 and NA28 stands in the absence or presence of *ὑμῖν* at the end of 15b.

Having considered Cyril's text of John 14:25–26 and 16:12–15, we turn to his use and interpretation of these passages. In *Catech. illum.* 16.14, Cyril focuses on the speaking of the Spirit and, thus, emphasises the Spirit's personhood. For this purpose, he cites several passages where the Spirit appears to be talking to different persons (to Philip in Acts 8:29, to Ezekiel in Ezek 11:5, and others). In this context, Cyril also cites John 14:26 partially, *ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα καὶ ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα ὅσα εἶπον ὑμῖν*, which he interrupts before the relative clause with a brief comment: *οὐκ εἶπε διδάξει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπομνήσει*. While the other references depict the Spirit talking, the passage from John 14:26 indicates the content of the Spirit's communication which, according to Cyril, is

²⁴ See Mullen, *The New Testament Text of Cyril of Jerusalem*, p. 166, n. 65.

²⁵ See Mullen, *The New Testament Text of Cyril of Jerusalem*, pp. 166–167.

the teaching of Jesus. Cyril's comment highlights that Jesus does not describe the Spirit only as teaching, but also as reminding of his own words, which means that the teaching of Jesus and that of the Holy Spirit are not different but the same (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα Χριστοῦ διδάγματα καὶ ἄλλα ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτά).

In *Catech. illum.* 16.24 Cyril describes the relationship between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit with respect to their possession of spiritual gifts (χαρίσματα), saying that the Father gives to the Son and the Son shares with the Spirit (καὶ πατὴρ μὲν δίδωσιν υἱῷ, καὶ υἱὸς μεταδίδωσιν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι). In this context, Cyril quotes passages from Matt 11:17 and John 16:13–14. Although these texts do not talk about spiritual gifts, they are important to Cyril for their description of sharing between the Father and the Son, and respectively, between the Son and the Spirit. The passage from Matt 11:17 (πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου) supports the first part of his claim, that the Father gives to the Son. The passage from John 16:13–14, especially verse 14b–c, supports the second part of Cyril's claim that the Son shares with the Spirit. Thus, Cyril concludes the three possess the same spiritual gifts (οὐκ ἄλλα πατρὸς χαρίσματα καὶ ἄλλα υἱοῦ καὶ ἄλλα ἁγίου πνεύματος).

In *Catech. illum.* 17.4, Cyril's aim is to show that the Holy Spirit is named in multiple ways in the Scriptures. For this purpose, he cites ὁ δὲ παράκλητος, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον from John 14:26, and ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας from John 16:13. He thus shows that 'Holy Spirit', 'Paraclete', and 'Spirit of truth' are titles that refer to one and the same entity.

After he presents four different interpretations concerning the descent of the Spirit at Jesus' baptism in *Catech. illum.* 17.9–10, in 17.11 Cyril sets out to offer another interpretation, which comes from Jesus' own words.²⁶ Accordingly, he cites passages about the Spirit such as John 3:5, Luke 11:13, John 4:23–24, Matt 12:28, 31–

²⁶ Consider how Cyril begins *Catech. illum.* 17.11: Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἴσως καὶ ἄλλως ἐξηγητέον. αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ νῦν ἀκουστέον τῶν περὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος ῥημάτων, that is, 'Concerning these matters perhaps another explanation should be given; we should listen to the words of the Savior Himself regarding the Holy Spirit'. For the Greek text, see Reischl and Rupp, *Cyrilli Hierosolymarum archiepiscopi*, p. 262, and for the translation see McCauley and Stephenson, *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem*, p. 102.

32, John 14:16–17, 14:25–26, 15:26, 16:7–8, and 16:12–15. The entire section consists of these citations, which Cyril introduces with different formulas (φησὶ γάρ, καὶ πάλιν, καὶ πάλιν λέγει). However, he offers neither an interpretation of these passages, nor an explanation for why he chose to cite these passages as an interpretation of the Spirit's descent at Jesus' baptism.

In *Catech. illum.* 17.34, Cyril partially cites John 14:26 (ὁ δὲ παράκλητος, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον), together with John 4:24 (πνεῦμα ὁ θεός), and Lam 4:20 (πνεῦμα πρὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν χριστὸς κύριος), to show that the word 'Spirit' is applied to all three divine persons in the Scripture. With this, he teaches his audience that the three, although sometimes named in a similar way, should not be confused.

Comparing Eusebius with Cyril

The exposition above has identified places in the writings of two fourth-century Christian authors where the full text or smaller passages of John 14:25–26 and John 16:12–15 are cited. It has also showed the form in which these passages are cited and how they are used and interpreted. Next, since both authors comment on the teaching function of the Paraclete, I will compare their views on the subject in relation to the biblical text which they present. Tables 5 and 6 display each author's text of John 14:25–26 and John 16:12–15. This text is a reconstruction based on the textual observations made above, which leaves out the variants created, unintentionally or not, by either of the two authors and aims to reflect the text of John 14:25–26 and 16:12–15 in the form available to them.

	Eusebius	Cyril
25.	ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν,	ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν
a		
b	παρ' ὑμῖν μένων·	παρ' ὑμῖν μένων·
26.	ὁ δὲ παράκλητος,	ὁ δὲ παράκλητος,
a ₁		
b	τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,	τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,
c	ὁ πέμψει ὁ πατήρ μου ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου,	ὁ πέμψει ὁ πατήρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου,
a ₂	ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα	ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα
d	καὶ ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα	καὶ ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα
e	ὅσα εἶπον ὑμῖν	ὅσα/ἅ εἶπον ὑμῖν

Table 5: John 14:25–26

Except for μου in Eusebius' text of 26c, and for ἄ in Cyril's text of 26e, the two texts of John 14:25–26 are identical.

	Eusebius	Cyril
12.	ἔτι πολλὰ ἔχω λέγειν ὑμῖν	ἔτι πολλὰ ἔχω λέγειν ὑμῖν
a		
b	ἀλλ' οὐ δύνασθε βασιτάζειν ἄρτι·	ἀλλ' οὐ δύνασθε βασιτάζειν ἄρτι·
13.	ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος	ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος
a		
b	τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας,	τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας,
c	διηγήσεται ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν πάσαν·	διηγήσεται ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν πάσαν·
d	οὐ γὰρ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λαλήσει,	οὐ γὰρ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λαλήσει,
e	ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀκούσει λαλήσει	ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν ἀκούσῃ λαλήσει
f	καὶ τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.	καὶ τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.
14.	ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ δοξάσει,	ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ δοξάσει,
a		
b	ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται	ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται
c	καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.	καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.
15.		πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ πατὴρ ἐμὰ ἐστίν·
a		
b		διὰ τοῦτο εἶπον ὑμῖν
c		ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται
d		καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν.

Table 6. John 16:12–15

The only difference is in verse 13e, where Cyril's text has the aorist subjunctive of ἀκούω, unlike the future indicative in Eusebius. The possible implication of this variant for the understanding of the Paraclete's teaching function will be highlighted in what follows.

As described above, Eusebius has two slightly different conceptions of the Paraclete's teaching function. First, interpreting John 14:25–26 in *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.6–8, he says that the Spirit completes the work of Jesus by teaching the disciples that which they did not understand from him. In addition, the Spirit also reminds the disciples of the words of Jesus. Second, interpreting John 16:12–15 in *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.15–19, Eusebius says that the Spirit teaches something that Jesus himself did not teach. He has a similar conception in *Comm. Ps.* 56, where he says that Jesus had greater things to teach the disciples, which they

could not bear yet, but the Spirit would teach them all the truth. It is not clear whether Eusebius viewed these two conceptions as complementary, in the sense that the object of the Spirit's teaching comprises both the things that Jesus taught but the disciples did not grasp and things that Jesus did not teach at all, or whether this distinction comes about unintentionally in Eusebius' interpretation of John 14:25–26 and 16:12–15. Also, it is difficult to say whether the form in which Eusebius read the text of either of the two Johannine passages influenced his understanding of the Paraclete's teaching.

Cyril touches on the subject of the Paraclete's teaching only when he interprets John 14:26 in *Catech. illum.* 16.14. Cyril's comment, οὐκ εἶπε διδάξει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπομνήσει, shows that he gives as much importance to the Paraclete's teaching as to the Paraclete's reminding, and that he conceives the didactic function of the Spirit as made up of both activities, unlike Eusebius in *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.6–8. Also, the way Cyril phrases his last comment on this subject, οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα Χριστοῦ διδάγματα καὶ ἄλλα ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτά, indicates his emphasis on the fact that the Paraclete teaches the same things as Jesus, and not things that Jesus never taught, as Eusebius thinks in *Eccl. theol.* 3.5.15–19. Since Cyril's text of John 14:25–26 is almost identical to Eusebius' text, it is improbable that the form of this text impacted Cyril's conception of the Paraclete's teaching. However, even if Cyril discusses the Paraclete's teaching function only in relation to John 14:25–26, there is a slight chance that the variant in the text of John 16:13e had some influence on him. In a text-critical study of John 16:13, Reimund Bieringer argues that the variant ἂν ἀκούσῃ is a theological correction, which links the Paraclete closely to the Father and the Son, and which emphasises that the Paraclete speaks only about what he hears from the Father and the Son.²⁷ Such an interpretation of ἂν ἀκούσῃ seems to overlap with Cyril's second comment, οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα κτλ., and suggests that this variant

²⁷ See Reimund Bieringer, 'The Spirit's Guidance into All the Truth: The Text-Critical Problems of John 16,13', in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis. Festschrift J. Delobel*, ed. A. Denaux, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 161 (Leuven: Leuven University Press; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), p. 196.

could be a factor that influenced Cyril's interpretation of the Paraclete's teaching function in contrast to Eusebius.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has investigated how the teaching function of the Paraclete is understood by Eusebius of Caesarea and Cyril of Jerusalem based on John 14:25–26 and 16:12–15. It analysed first the text of the Fathers' citations in order to see the form in which they knew the biblical texts. Then, it looked at how the Fathers used and interpreted the two Johannine passages in their works. Lastly, it compared the two Fathers' text and exegesis of John 14:25–26 and 16:12–15 in order to see whether any differences between the fathers' interpretations are due to certain textual variants. From this, the following conclusions may be drawn. To begin with, in the works of Eusebius and Cyril, these two Johannine passages are used in different contexts, and they are never cited specifically to be interpreted themselves, but to support certain arguments. This makes it difficult to separate the interpretation of the passages from the arguments in which they were used, and in turn makes it difficult to compare their interpretation. Furthermore, the subject of the Paraclete's teaching function is never discussed for its own interest but is used to affirm or disprove particular ideas. Eusebius discusses the Paraclete's teaching in order to stress the Spirit's otherness in relation to Jesus in *Eccl. theol.* 3.5, and Cyril employs it to strengthen the Spirit's personhood in *Catech. illum.* 16.14. While Eusebius has two slightly different conceptions of the Paraclete's teaching based on John 14:25–26 and 16:12–15, Cyril discusses this subject only in relation to John 14:25–26. This makes it difficult to trace any influence that the form of the text could have had on the conceptualization of the Paraclete's teaching function. Finally, this study shows that Eusebius and Cyril knew John 14:25–26 and 16:12–15 in very similar forms, with some variation, and that in at least one case the form of the text may have influenced the understanding of the didactic function of the Paraclete.

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