

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)

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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, *Catenae 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 Bompaigne, 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 Cyrrhus, 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 XVI^e siècle (Ex-libris: “Non quae super terram”)', *Scriptorium* 43.1 (1989).

⁹ See Erich Lamberz, ‘Zum Schicksal der griechischen Handschriften des Doktor Micón’, *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 Babyła, alongside headings in Latin,

¹⁰ 'Coll. Paris Socie(ta)tis Jesu'.

¹¹ 'Paraphé au désir de l'arrest du 5 jullet 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 Οἰκουµενίου.²⁰ The source for the numbered comments has not yet been identified, but they

¹⁷ Χριστέ μου σῶσον τὸν μοναχὸν Βάβυλα καὶ ξένον. A similar subscription is repeated below by the same hand, but with a different name (Χριστέ μου σῶσον τὸν μοναχὸν Λεω? κύριε ξενῶν).

¹⁸ 'Liber monasterii S. Salvatoris de Septimo ordinis cisterciensium 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 istoriche 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 (ξη) (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 Cyrhus	<i>Interpretatio in xiv epistulas sacti 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</i> , vol. 1, <i>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, *Pauluskatenen*, 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, *Catenae*, pp. 5:460–477, and Karo and Lietzmann, *Catalogus*, pp. 597–598). In Staab, *Pauluskommentare*, p. xlviii, 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 Cyrrhus 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 αἵτιον, 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 ἐρμηνεία τῶν δεκατεσσάρων ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐν ἐπιτομῇ), while in GA 2007 to Nicetas of Heracleas (ἐξήγησις τοῦ μακαριωτάτου μητροπολίτου Νικήτας Ἰρακλείας εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς 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 Cyrrhus (Θεοδωρίτου ἐπισκόπου Κύρρου εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολὴν ἐρμηνεία).

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 [ρχθ], 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

[ξα], 158ex [ρλς], 195ex [ρξς], 258ex [ςκβ], 271exa and 271exb [ςλβ], 273ex [ςλγ], 276ex [ςλε], 284ex [ςμε], 304ex [ςξβ], 311ex [ςο]); c) single scholia from Oecumenius included within the row of the numbered comments in GA 1980 (281exa [ςμβ], 309ex [ςξη], 377ex [ταα], 382ex [ταε], 387ex [ταθ]). 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 $\sigma\upsilon\ \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\tilde{\iota}\ \delta\ \kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$ (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 ($\Sigma\upsilon\ \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\tilde{\iota},\ \delta\ \kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\rho\iota\omicron\nu$). 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 $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu\ \text{Ἡσαΐας λέγει καὶ ἔσται ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν}$ in Rom 15:12. This could be explained as an oversight due to the layout of an antegraph: 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 ($\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu\ \text{Ἡσαΐας λέγει, and ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν}$). 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 $\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota\ \upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \alpha\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ in *Teststelle* 42 (Rom 16:16). However, GA 1919 and GA 2962 in fact read $\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota\ \upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \alpha\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, 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 ἥττημα 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 ἀπολωλῶτα οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ'. Καὶ πάλιν ὅμιν 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 Ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε' (Rom 14:9) λεγόμενον ἵνα ζώντων κυριεύσῃ' (Rom 14:9) ἐπὶ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματῶν παραληπτέον, ζώντων μὲν τῶν ψυχῶν, καθὼ 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, παρακνίσω· 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 εἑαυτὸν 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 ἐξήγησεν 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 ἐξήγησεν (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 βεβαιώσῃ καὶ πληρώσῃ GA 1923 (fol. 73v) | Συνέπραξε δὲ τὸν νόμον ἅπαντα πληρώσας καὶ περιτμηθεῖς. Ἴνα καὶ ταύτη βεβαιώσῃ καὶ πληρώσῃ 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 βεβαιώσῃ καὶ πληρώσῃ 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 *ἐδιοίκησεν* 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