

# Codex Zacynthius: Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary



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**Codex Zacynthius:  
Catena, Palimpsest, Lectionary**

**Edited by**

**H. A. G. Houghton**

**D. C. Parker**

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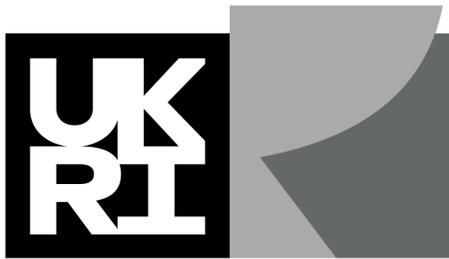
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## FOREWORD BY THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIAN

By any measure, Codex Zacynthius is a remarkable manuscript. It is understood to be one of the most important surviving New Testament manuscripts, and its huge appeal lies in its hidden backstory and the detective work to uncover its secrets.

Codex Zacynthius is a palimpsest: a manuscript from which the text has been scraped or washed off in order for it to be used again. The recycling of manuscripts was common practice at a time when writing surfaces were precious, few books were produced, and a tiny percentage of the population was literate. The surface of the parchment was first used some time in the eighth century when it was inscribed in Greek with a text from the Gospel of Luke. At the end of the twelfth century this was partially scraped away and written over with the text of an Evangelium, a book composed of passages from the Four Gospels.

Two hundred years ago this year, Codex Zacynthius was presented to General Colin Macaulay by Prince Comuto of the Ionian island of Zakynthos who then passed it on to the British and Foreign Bible Society. From 1983 the text was housed in the Bible Society's collection at Cambridge University Library. When the Society put the Codex up for sale in 2013, Anne Jarvis, then University Librarian, launched a public campaign with the help of Rowan Williams and raised £1.1 million to acquire the manuscript. I'm very glad she did, and for all the support from individuals and national bodies, including the National Heritage Memorial Fund, that came together to make sure Codex Zacynthius remains open for scholarship for all time at one of the world's greatest research libraries. The Library's hope was that this would enable the manuscript to be the object of further detailed research, in order to read the palimpsest undertext for the first time and come to a better understanding of this document and its history. The announcement of funding for the Codex Zacynthius Project by the Arts and Humanities Research Council in 2017 was exactly the development for which the University Library had hoped in order to achieve this goal.

This book represents the Codex Zacynthius Project findings, which used cutting edge digital techniques to reveal the layers of text in the manuscript and revisited the findings of earlier research to discover the surprising neglect of the catena commentary, despite the pioneering work of J. Harold Greenlee. The application of multispectral imaging to the manuscript has enabled the project to make a full transcription and translation of the catena, now all freely available alongside these state-of-the-art images in the Cambridge Digital Library online.

The study of the biblical text indicates that Codex Zacynthius is a particularly important witness to the text of the Gospel according to Luke. The additional early

readings identified by the project on the basis of the new images are a valuable contribution to this field, and the presentation of the full text of the catena commentary is an important step for patristic scholars. The way in which these extracts were assembled and combined is a fascinating story of biblical interpretation in a period for which we have comparatively few records. The chapters in this book tease out some of the significance of this in terms of the exegetical activity of compilers and the theological implications of the selection of authors, not least the deliberate choice to include a polyphony of voices combining ‘orthodox’ and ‘discredited’ sources.

The proportion of the commentary in Codex Zacynthius which preserves writings from early Christian authors which have not been transmitted in direct tradition—together making up no less than three-quarters of the catena commentary in this manuscript—vividly illustrates how catenae preserve an otherwise lost tradition of Christian exegesis. In particular, this manuscript is of incomparable value in transmitting passages from Severus of Antioch in Greek.

While the palimpsest, understandably, has been the focus of much of the interest in this manuscript, I am very pleased to see that the Codex Zacynthius Project has also made a full investigation of the lectionary overtext. This will be an important contribution to further research into another aspect of Byzantine engagement with the Bible which, like catenae, has long been underappreciated. In this case, we are introduced to a memorable new figure in the person of the scribe Neilos, who wrote this lectionary at the end of the twelfth century. His complaints in the margins about his head hurting or his slowness in copying shine a new light on the task which he shared with hundreds of others across the centuries in the transmission of scripture and remind us of some of the human aspects of book production.

I would like to congratulate David Parker, Hugh Houghton and all members of the project on its successful completion. Both this book and the electronic resources created by the team will be of value to future scholarship in clarifying the place of Codex Zacynthius, both catena and lectionary, within history and tradition. As the contributors themselves acknowledge, this book marks a beginning rather than a definitive account. There is plenty more to occupy researchers in the study of this manuscript, such as the question of the date at which the catena was copied and the relation of Codex Zacynthius to other catenae traditions.

It is particularly good to learn that this book, as well as the electronic edition, will be published in open access, making the fruit of this research available to all who are interested. This includes the many members of the public who contributed to the campaign to purchase Codex Zacynthius. I hope that they too find that the studies in this volume confirm the importance of this manuscript and, two centuries later, the gift it remains to all who seek to study and learn more of the biblical texts it contains.

Dr Jessica Gardner  
University Librarian  
Cambridge University Library

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have collaborated on the Codex Zacynthius Project which has produced this set of studies and the electronic and printed editions of the manuscript. Members of the project team, based at the Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing (ITSEE) in the University of Birmingham, were Alba Fedeli, Amy Myshrall, Catherine Smith, Gavriil-Ioannis Boutziopoulos, Panagiotis Manafis, Rachel Kevern, Thomas William Ruston and William Lamb, in addition to the editors of the present volume. Chapter 2 provides more information about individual contributions and the way in which the project unfolded. Given the importance to the project in its early stages of the unpublished material of J. Harold Greenlee, following his detailed work on the manuscript in 1950–1, we should put on record our gratitude to him not least for the generous spirit with which he shared his work with J. Neville Birdsall: Appendix 2 reproduces Greenlee’s own introduction to the manuscript on the basis of the permission given by Greenlee to Birdsall in their correspondence of the 1990s. Had Greenlee’s planned edition been published in the 1950s, scholarship on Codex Zacynthius and on catenae would have been considerably more advanced.

We are grateful to Cambridge University Library for their encouragement and support throughout the project and to Jessica Gardner, the University Librarian, for contributing the foreword to this volume. Special mention should go to Ben Outhwaite, Head of the Genizah Unit, who was the principal point of liaison with the project. Chris Burgess and Huw Jones played key roles in developing the exhibition and the electronic edition respectively. We would also like to thank Maciej Pawlikowski, Amélie Deblauwe and Błażej Mikula of the Digital Content Unit and Tuan Pham of the software development team for the Cambridge University Digital Library. The multispectral imaging of the palimpsest was undertaken by members of the Early Manuscripts Electronic Library (EMEL), directed by Michael Phelps and including Roger Easton and Keith Knox, along with members of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at the University of Hamburg, led by Ira Rabin and including Damianos Kasotakis. Their skill and professionalism made a vital contribution to the project.

Among those who offered advice during the course of the project, we thank in particular Georgi Parpulov and Nigel Wilson, as well as others who attended the Codex Zacynthius Study Day run in association with the Centre for the Bible in the Humanities at Oriel College on 5 November 2019. We are grateful to Hindy Najman, Arjen Bakker, Megan Davies and Stefania Beitia for the organisation of this event. J.K. Elliott kindly supplied a document from among the papers of G.D. Kilpatrick. Michael Dainton assisted

with the release of the image data in the University of Birmingham Institutional Research Archive. For the production of this book, we thank Melonie Schmierer-Lee and Tuomas Rasimus of Gorgias Press and also express our gratitude for the detailed feedback of the reviewer for *Texts and Studies*. Finally, we gratefully acknowledge the generous funding of the Arts and Humanities Research Council for the Codex Zacynthius Project which made the whole endeavour possible.

Birmingham, January 2020

## PREFACE AND PROJECT OUTPUTS

The principal output of the Codex Zacynthius Project is the electronic edition of the manuscript, consisting of images, transcription and translation. This has been released on the Cambridge University Digital Library at:

**<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/codexzacynthius/>**

The present volume is intended as a complement to this edition, consisting of a set of studies of different aspects of the manuscript and its contents. Each contribution is self-standing, with its own conclusion and, in many cases, a list of information related to the topic treated in that chapter. At the same time, we have sought to make links between these contributions by providing extensive cross-references as well as indexes. Tregelles' lead has been followed in using Roman numerals to indicate the pages of the catena and Arabic numerals for the pages of the overtext. Manuscript readings are normally quoted without diacritics (or with those written in the codex), but where the catena of Codex Zacynthius is quoted as a work in its own right, it has been provided with standard orthography, diacritics and punctuation. All websites were current in January 2020.

The chapters on the history of research and the Codex Zacynthius Project offer an account of previous scholarly engagement with this manuscript and the creation of the edition. The other chapters bring together observations and insights acquired over the course of several months of intensive work on the codex and the preparation of the full transcriptions and translation. In Appendix 2, we have included Greenlee's introduction to his projected transcription of the catena: even though the work of the Project and other subsequent publications mean that this has been superseded in some areas, it remains an important historical document and bears witness both to his expertise and to his appreciation of the manuscript borne of long hours in its company.

None of the chapters in this volume is offered as the final word: there is still much to be done on the palaeography and origins of this codex, its place within the broader transmission history of the Gospel according to Luke (including systems of textual division), the sources and development of catenae, and the New Testament lectionary tradition. Our hope is that, like the edition itself, the material in this volume may stimulate and inform future research in the multiple areas to which this remarkable manuscript makes a contribution.

## Project Outputs

As noted above, the electronic edition of the manuscript is available on the Cambridge University Digital Library at:

**<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/codexzacynthius/>**

Several of the lists provided in the present volume are also available in digital form, linked to this edition.

A printed version of the transcription and translation of the catena undertext is published in the same series as the present volume:

H.A.G. Houghton, P. Manafis and A.C. Myshrall, ed., *The Palimpsest Catena of Codex Zacynthius: Text and Translation*. Texts and Studies, Third Series. Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2020.

The original electronic files of the transcription and translation have been released on the University of Birmingham Institutional Research Archive (UBIRA) at:

**<https://edata.bham.ac.uk/429>** (undertext transcription)

DOI: 10.25500/eData.bham.00000429

**<https://edata.bham.ac.uk/430>** (overtext transcription)

DOI: 10.25500/eData.bham.00000430

**<https://edata.bham.ac.uk/431>** (undertext translation)

DOI: 10.25500/eData.bham.00000431

Any subsequent updates will be linked to these records.

The raw images of the undertext have also been archived on UBIRA and licensed for Creative Commons re-use. Files in JPG format (0.5MB each) may be downloaded from:

**<https://edata.bham.ac.uk/428>**

DOI: 10.25500/eData.bham.00000428

Files in TIFF format (100MB each) are stored on the University of Birmingham Research Data Store. To obtain a copy of these, please contact [research-data@contacts.bham.ac.uk](mailto:research-data@contacts.bham.ac.uk) quoting the project folder reference 2018/houghtha-codex-zacynthius.

## Postscript

Shortly before this book went to press, Panagiotis Manafis identified a further witness to the text of the catena of the first twenty pages of Codex Zacynthius, which also preserves scholia from seven of the pages now missing from this manuscript. These are the pages from a catena on Luke copied in the twelfth century which are now bound at the beginning and end of Vatican, BAV, Palatinus graecus 273, assigned the identifier C137.5 in the revision of the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* published in 2018. A full study of this witness will be published separately under the auspices of the CATENA project: we are grateful to Gorgias Press for allowing us to insert some references to this manuscript into the present volume at a late stage in its production.

## ABBREVIATIONS

BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum
CUL	Cambridge University Library
CUP	Cambridge University Press
GA	Gregory-Aland
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
IGNTP	International Greek New Testament Project
INTF	Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung
ITSEE	Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
NA28	Nestle-Aland, <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , 28 <sup>th</sup> edn. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012).
NLG	National Library of Greece
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
OUP	Oxford University Press
PG	Patrologia Graeca
RP	Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont, <i>The New Testament in the Original Greek. Byzantine Textform</i> (Southborough MA: Chilton, 2005).
SC	Sources chrétiennes
T&S	Texts and Studies
TLG	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Digital Library</i> , ed. Maria C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine. [ <a href="http://www.tlg.uci.edu">http://www.tlg.uci.edu</a> ]
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
UBS4	United Bible Societies, <i>Greek New Testament</i> . Fourth edn. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993).



## CHAPTER I. HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON CODEX ZACYNTHIUS (D.C. PARKER)

Codex Zacynthius was first encountered by critical scholarship on sea-girt Zante in 1820, when it was presented by the Duke, Prince Antonio Comuto (1748–1833), to General Colin Macaulay (1760–1836), friend and colleague of Wellington, prisoner of Tipu Sultan and abolitionist.<sup>1</sup> Macaulay brought the manuscript to the United Kingdom the following year and gave it to the British and Foreign Bible Society, where it was assigned the shelfmark MS 213. Both of these donations are recorded on a page stuck to the inside front cover of the manuscript, Comuto’s Greek text designating the book ‘a memorial of the piety of the knight, Count Antonio’.<sup>2</sup> Tregelles gathered enough information about the two men to be able to illustrate some of the circumstances surrounding this gift. The Prince was a noted scholar with a large library, interest in religious matters and sympathy towards Britain (his island being at this time within the British Protectorate), while the General was also a well-read man and strongly supported the work of the Bible Society.<sup>3</sup> In the year prior to Macaulay’s visit, Comuto had expressed his support for the production of a translation of the lectionary into Modern Greek and attended a meeting of a Bible Committee with two British representatives who presented it with seventy copies of an edition of the New Testament produced by the London Missionary Society; Macaulay himself played an important role in the translation of the Bible into Malayalam when he was Resident of Travancore.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For Macaulay, see Colin Ferguson Smith, *A Life of General Colin Macaulay, Soldier, Scholar and Slavery Abolitionist*. (Birmingham: privately printed, 2019).

<sup>2</sup> Μνημόσυνον σεβάσματος τοῦ Ἰππέος Ἀντωνίου Κόμητος 1820: the hand is somewhat shaky, consistent with Comuto’s advanced age. Under this is written in pencil, perhaps by Macaulay, *Il Principe Comuto, Zante*. The date of Macaulay’s gift of the manuscript is recorded as November 6, 1821, although it appears that there may have been an attempt in a different ink to adjust this to 1820.

<sup>3</sup> *Codex Zacynthius* (Ξ). *Greek Palimpsest Fragments of the Gospel of Saint Luke, Obtained in the Island of Zante, by the late General Colin Macaulay, and now in the Library of The British and Foreign Bible Society. Deciphered, Transcribed, and Edited, by Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, LL.D.* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1861), xxiii–xxv.

<sup>4</sup> Tregelles, *Codex Zacynthius*, xxiv; Smith, *A Life*, 39–43.

The research project from which this book comes has reached its completion on the two-hundredth anniversary of the manuscript's entry into the world of western scholarship, and only now is a transcription of the whole text being published. This may seem strange. It is less surprising when one considers the general lack of interest in the whole textual content of catena manuscripts. Generally, New Testament philologists have abstracted the biblical text and subsequent research has often forgotten the nature of the source.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, it remains surprising that a whole generation was to pass before a study even of the biblical text alone of this manuscript was to appear. This transcription (which did not include the catena) by the distinguished editor Samuel Prideaux Tregelles (1813–75), appeared in 1861.<sup>6</sup>

According to Tregelles, the manuscript had been inspected in London in 1845 by Johann Martin Augustin Scholz (1794–1852) who observed that it was a palimpsest.<sup>7</sup> Although Scholz contributed extensively to our knowledge of Greek New Testament manuscripts, none of the accounts of his travels in search of them or his other publications was published late enough to include any information about this foray. It appears that the first printed notice of the manuscript comes from the pen of the German orientalist Paul de Lagarde (1827–1891), who drew Tregelles' attention to the manuscript in a letter of 11 August, 1858. Tregelles cites the whole description published by Lagarde the previous year.<sup>8</sup> In it Lagarde seems to indicate that he had examined the manuscript four years earlier, recognised that the undertext contained Luke but found it hard to read, and commended its further study to the appropriate person at the Bible Society. He correctly identified some of the writers excerpted, but mistakenly stated that Origen and Titus were cited anonymously. He also suggested that editors of the New Testament should study the manuscript.<sup>9</sup>

On 6 September, 1858 Tregelles received permission from the Bible Society to transcribe the manuscript in his own home.<sup>10</sup> He reported that he was able to complete the transcription and return the manuscript 'after a few months'.<sup>11</sup> The publication

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<sup>5</sup> See D.C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts*. (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 55–6.

<sup>6</sup> See note 3.

<sup>7</sup> Tregelles, *Codex Zacynthius*, ii.

<sup>8</sup> The description is found in Paul De Lagarde, *De Novo Testamento ad Versionem Orientalium fidem edendo Commentatio* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1857). Lagarde's research included the catena tradition in Coptic (*Catena in Evangelia Aegyptiacae quae supersunt* [Göttingen: Dieterich, 1886]), as well as Titus of Bostra (*Titi Bostreni quae ex opere Contra Manichaeos edito in codice Hamburgensi servata sunt Graece* [Berlin: Hertz, 1859]; *Titi Bostreni Contra Manichaeos Libri Quatuor Syriace*, [Berlin: Hertz, 1859]).

<sup>9</sup> Tregelles pointed this out, and also reacted firmly to observations by Lagarde concerning the use of chemical reagents in deciphering manuscripts.

<sup>10</sup> Tregelles was then resident in Plymouth, possibly at 6 Portland Square. The house no longer stands. For his life, see the article in *DNB* by É.C. Marchant, revised by J.K. Elliott. See further the recent biography by Timothy C.F. Stunt, *The Life and Times of Samuel Prideaux Tregelles. A Forgotten Scholar* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

<sup>11</sup> Tregelles, *Codex Zacynthius*, ii.

reproduced the format of the biblical text with respect to the page and line divisions, printed in lithograph using the Alexandrian type.<sup>12</sup> He also provided what he described as a ‘facsimile tracing’ (p. xxi) of one page of the manuscript as it is now bound. In his preface, Tregelles describes the manuscript, lists the commentators named at the top of each page of the catena, transcribes the initial *kephalaia*, provides a partial concordance between the folios of the lectionary and the undertext, and offers several comments on the manuscript and its text. It appears that he may have been abroad a good time between his completion of the transcription and its publication in 1861, in addition to a period of severe illness which he mentions in a postscript to his preface to explain why the preparation of the volume was slow: Bagsters sent the British Museum a receipt for the type on 20 May 1859, and it was not returned until 15 July 1861.<sup>13</sup>

Tregelles’ editions of the New Testament and the manuscript itself appear to have been the point of departure for all subsequent scholarship on its biblical text. He was responsible for assigning the manuscript the alphabetical siglum  $\Xi$ , which was adopted by Tischendorf in his *editio octava critica maior* of 1869. Errors in Tischendorf’s citation of Codex Zacynthius in Luke 7:28 and 8:20 suggest that he took its readings from the apparatus to Tregelles’ edition of Luke rather than that of the manuscript: the perpetuation of these by subsequent editors reveals their dependence on their predecessors.<sup>14</sup> Two decades before the appearance of Westcott and Hort’s *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, F.J.A. Hort had been responsible for reading the proofs of Tregelles’ edition of the manuscript and Codex Zacynthius is cited throughout the introduction to their edition of 1881.<sup>15</sup> In the same year, however, a two-page article was published by Nicholas Pocock in a weekly review entitled *The Academy*.<sup>16</sup> Pocock drew attention to ‘as many as seven variations’ between the facsimile tracing in Tregelles’ edition page and the corresponding page of his transcription. Although he did not have access to the manuscript, Pocock collated the gospel text from Tregelles, noting a total of around three hundred differences between Codex Zacynthius and the *Textus Receptus*. Indeed, he compared the manuscript favourably to the fourth-century codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, observing that, in terms of scribal performance, ‘the MS. may be said to be more correct than the Sinaitic and Vatican MSS., which have many more itacisms and many more mistakes than the Codex Zacynthius’, even if ‘the value of this MS. is almost superseded by the publication of the Vatican, and still more by the discovery of the Sinaitic

<sup>12</sup> For this type, cut for Woide’s facsimile edition of Codex Alexandrinus, see J.H. Bowman, ‘The Codex Alexandrinus and the Alexandrian Greek Types,’ *The British Library Journal* 24.2 (1998): 169–83, esp. 174–5. There were three sizes, all of which were used in Tregelles’ edition. Some of the type still exists at the British Library, but it is not known whether the matrices survive.

<sup>13</sup> Bowman, ‘The Codex Alexandrinus,’ 175.

<sup>14</sup> See J.H. Greenlee, ‘Some Examples of Scholarly “Agreement in Error”,’ *JBL* 77.4 (1958): 363–4.

<sup>15</sup> Tregelles, *Codex Zacynthius*, xx.

<sup>16</sup> Nicholas Pocock, ‘The Codex Zacynthius,’ *The Academy* 19 (1881): 136–7.

MS.’<sup>17</sup> Codex Zacynthius appeared in a short book published in 1928 giving details of four manuscripts belonging to the Bible Society, which is entirely dependent on Tregelles’ published information.<sup>18</sup>

The manuscript also featured in publications on palaeography. Following Tregelles, Gardthausen listed Codex Zacynthius without discussion as an eighth-century production in the first edition of his *Griechische Palaeographie* (1879); the longer treatment in the second edition of 1913 reproduces Tregelles’ description of the hand.<sup>19</sup> The same date was accepted by Gregory and Scrivener in subsequent decades.<sup>20</sup> In 1937, Hatch proposed a redating of two majuscule gospel manuscripts, Codex Zacynthius and Codex Cyprius (GA 017), placing the former in the sixth century, two centuries earlier than the date proposed by Tregelles and accepted up to that point.<sup>21</sup> This dating was adopted by Aland in the first edition of the *Kurzgefasste Liste*, in which the gospel writing in the undertext was registered with the siglum GA 040 and the lectionary overwriting as GA L299.<sup>22</sup>

Transcription of the catena did not follow until ninety years after that of the biblical text. On the suggestion of G.D. Kilpatrick of Queen’s College, Oxford, J. Harold Greenlee (1918–2015) took research leave from his position at Asbury Theological Seminary in order to examine the manuscript as a Senior Fulbright Fellow in 1950–51. Kilpatrick had arranged that the British and Foreign Bible Society would loan the manuscript from their collection in London to Oxford’s Bodleian Library for this period. Greenlee’s working method was to transcribe ‘with Cod. Z sitting on a wide window ledge of the Bodleian Library, and a magnifying glass over the text and a mirror to focus the sunlight into the glass’.<sup>23</sup> The transcribers for the current project, working with high quality images combining the optimum wavelengths for the ink of the undertext, can testify to the excellent results that Greenlee achieved. Unfortunately, plans to publish the transcription, with a preface of forty pages in typescript (printed for the first time as Appendix 2 in the current volume), were abandoned. Only three short contributions saw the light of day: a

<sup>17</sup> Pocock, ‘The Codex Zacynthius,’ 137.

<sup>18</sup> R. Kilgour, *Four Ancient Manuscripts in the Bible House Library* (London: BFBS, 1928).

<sup>19</sup> Viktor Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*. First edn. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1879), 139; V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie. II. Die Schrift, Unterschriften und Chronologie*. Second edn. (Leipzig: Von Veit, 1913), 141.

<sup>20</sup> This is described further in Chapter 3.

<sup>21</sup> W.H.P. Hatch, ‘A Redating of Two Important Uncial Manuscripts of the Gospels—Codex Zacynthius and Codex Cyprius,’ in *Quantulacumque. Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake*, (ed. R.P. Casey, S. Lake, and A.K. Lake; London: Christophers, 1937), 333–8.

<sup>22</sup> Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des neuen Testaments*. First edn. ANTF 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1963). A copy of a letter from Aland to Gunther Zuntz dated 14 September 1982, kept in the file on GA 040 at the INTF in Münster, indicates his intention to revise the date of the undertext in the second edition of the *Liste*, although this appears not to have been carried through.

<sup>23</sup> Letter to J.N. Birdsall, dated 6 January, 1998. Greenlee also referred to ‘... the work I did on a window ledge of the Bodleian Library back in 1950–51, with the help of a magnifying glass, and some printed texts to help a bit ...’ in a letter to J.N. Birdsall, dated 1 February, 1997.

five-page article of corrections to Tregelles' edition, which appeared in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* in 1957; a two-page note in the same journal the following year observing errors in the citation of the manuscript in scholarly editions, as observed above; a ten-page article on the catena in *Biblica* two years later, entitled 'The Catena of Codex Zacynthius'.<sup>24</sup> Greenlee left a copy of his typescript with Kilpatrick, however, who loaned the transcription to Joseph Reuss some three decades later for his collection of fragments from early Greek commentaries on Luke.<sup>25</sup> Greenlee's own papers were eventually deposited with the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont, California.<sup>26</sup>

Around 1995, my Birmingham colleague Neville Birdsall and I became interested in the many unanswered questions surrounding the manuscript, in particular by the unresolved discrepancy in the dates offered for the undertext. We agreed to pursue the question from two angles: I examined the palaeography of the manuscript and Birdsall considered the development of catenae.<sup>27</sup> In the course of our research, Birdsall became aware of Greenlee's work and began a correspondence with him. As a result, I was able to acquire a copy of Greenlee's transcription on a visit to Claremont in November 1997, which was of great use to Birdsall in his researches. The research bore fruit in an article which appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies* of 2004, proposing a date for the copying of Codex Zacynthius of around the year 700.<sup>28</sup>

An overview of the history of research on catenae is provided by Birdsall's contribution to the joint article, which may be rehearsed briefly here.<sup>29</sup> At the point at which Tregelles was working, there was no research and the only modern publication that provided any illumination was John Anthony Cramer's series *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, which appeared between 1838 and 1844. Only at the very end of the nineteenth century did significant research begin to appear. An initial catalogue of catena manuscripts was assembled by Hans Lietzmann and Georg Karo.<sup>30</sup> The first investigations of Lukan catenae were by Joseph Sickenberger. His research took the form of monographs on individual commentators: Titus of Bostra, Nicetas and Cyril of

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<sup>24</sup> J.H. Greenlee, 'A Corrected Collation of Codex Zacynthius (Cod. E),' *JBL* 76 (1957): 237–41; J.H. Greenlee, 'Some Examples of Scholarly "Agreement in Error"; J.H. Greenlee, 'The Catena of Codex Zacynthius,' *Biblica* 40 (1959): 992–1001.

<sup>25</sup> Joseph Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*. TU 130 (Berlin: Akademie, 1984): see v and xv. Although Reuss cites Greenlee's published articles, nowhere does he connect him with this 'copy of the codex'.

<sup>26</sup> For an account of his career, see an obituary by his son at <http://evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.com/2015/03/rip-harold-greenlee.html>.

<sup>27</sup> See further Chapter 3 below.

<sup>28</sup> D.C. Parker & J.N. Birdsall, 'The Date of Codex Zacynthius (E): A New Proposal,' *JTS* ns 55.1 (2004), 117–131.

<sup>29</sup> See also Chapter 8 below.

<sup>30</sup> Hans Lietzmann, *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte in handschriftlicher Überlieferung* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Mohr, 1897); G. Karo and J. Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus* (Göttingen: Luder Horstmann, 1902).

Alexandria.<sup>31</sup> This approach was continued two decades later by Max Rauer, the first to make mention of Codex Zacynthius, with studies of Peter of Laodicea and Origen's Homilies on Luke.<sup>32</sup> Another leading figure in this period of research was Joseph Reuss. His first work offered lists of witnesses and his theories regarding the typologies of a number of catenae for each of Matthew, Mark and John.<sup>33</sup> Reuss later published extracts of otherwise-lost works from the catenae of Matthew, John and Luke: the last of these, as noted above, is the only previous work to make use of Greenlee's transcription.<sup>34</sup> More recently, a translation and study of the *Catena in Marcum* was published by William Lamb.<sup>35</sup> The designations of catena types in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, each beginning with C, have become the standard to identify these works and are described in detail in Chapter 8.

Further research in Birmingham has continued to explore catenae as a specific class of witness for the New Testament and to elucidate further the relationship between the different types. The establishment of a full list of New Testament catena manuscripts first became of interest to me when I observed the fact that some but not all of the manuscripts listed by Reuss had a Gregory-Aland number.<sup>36</sup> On the whole, New Testament textual research had focused on the biblical text of such witnesses, ignoring their context within the catena tradition. A noteworthy exception was the work of Hans von Soden.<sup>37</sup> Von Soden's categories are:

<i>K</i>	Cyril of Alexandria's Commentary on John
<i>A</i>	Antiochene Commentaries
<i>C</i> <sup>μ</sup>	Catenae of unknown origin on Matthew
<i>C</i> <sup>κ</sup>	Catenae of unknown origin on John
<i>N</i> <sup>μ, λ, ι</sup>	Catenae of Nicetas on Matthew, Luke and John
<i>Z</i>	Gospel Commentary by Zigabenus
<i>Θ</i>	Gospel Commentary by Theophylact

<sup>31</sup> Joseph Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra. Studien zur dessen Lukashomilien*. TU 21.1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901); *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia*. TU 22.4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902); *Fragmente der Homilien des Cyrill von Alexandrien zum Lukasevangelium*. TU 34 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909). For further research on Nicetas, see note 39 below.

<sup>32</sup> Max Rauer, *Der dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebene Lukaskommentar*. MA 8/2 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1920); Max Rauer, *Origenes: Werke. Neunter Band. Die Homilien zu Lukas*. Second edn. GCS 49 [35] (Berlin: Hinrichs, 1959).

<sup>33</sup> Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus-, und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen*. NTAbh 18.4–5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941).

<sup>34</sup> Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*. TU 61 (Berlin: Akademie, 1957); Joseph Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*. TU 89 (Berlin: Akademie, 1966); Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*.

<sup>35</sup> William R.S. Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Commentary on Mark*. TENT 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

<sup>36</sup> D.C. Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament. The Lyell Lectures, Oxford, Trinity Term 2011* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 40–52, esp. 46.

<sup>37</sup> Hans von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments. 1. Teil: Untersuchungen. 1. Abteilung: Die Textzeugen* (Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1902), 249–89.

There are further types for the other parts of the New Testament. Codex Zacynthius is included within von Soden's schema, where it received the siglum *A*<sup>1</sup>. As part of the European Research Council-funded COMPAUL project (2011–16), I produced a checklist of New Testament catena manuscripts which featured no fewer than one hundred items not registered in the *Kurzgefasste Liste*.<sup>38</sup> The award of subsequent funding by the European Research Council in the form of the CATENA project (2018–23) has permitted the refinement of this list as part of the process of producing a comprehensive catalogue. In addition, a series of doctoral projects at the University of Birmingham has investigated different aspects of the catena tradition, often including extensive transcriptions of unpublished material.<sup>39</sup>

The impetus for further research on Codex Zacynthius was due to a change in ownership. Since 1984 the Bible Society's library had been housed in Cambridge University Library. In 2013 the decision was taken by the Bible Society to sell some of its holdings, including this manuscript. A campaign was launched by the University Library, under the patronage of Archbishop Rowan Williams, Master of Magdalene College, to keep the manuscript in Cambridge. Donations were made by individuals and organisations, including the National Heritage Memorial Fund, and after an extension of six months to the initial deadline set by the Bible Society, in 2014 the University Library raised the required £1.1 million to purchase the manuscript. This sum was used by the Bible Society towards the building of a Centre in North Wales called Mary Jones World. After its successful fund-raising, the Library was anxious to develop understanding and access to Codex Zacynthius, which on its accession had been assigned a new shelfmark: MS Additional 10062. The development of multispectral imaging, a non-invasive means of recovering the original text of palimpsest manuscripts, also meant that the time was ripe for a reinvestigation of the undertext.

Discussions were held between members of Cambridge University Library, biblical scholars at Cambridge (including Lamb) and the directors of ITSEE at the University of Birmingham (Parker and Houghton). As a result of these, work on Codex Zacynthius was incorporated into several applications for projects funded by research councils. The most extensive of these was a proposal submitted in January 2017 to the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) for a complete electronic edition of the

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<sup>38</sup> 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, T&S 3.13, Piscataway NJ: Gorgias, 2016), 1–35; see especially 28–35.

<sup>39</sup> This includes Michael A. Clark, 'The catena of Nicetas of Heraclea and its Johannine text', unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2016 [<https://etheses.bham.ac.uk/6424/>]; Theodora Panella, 'The Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Galatians', unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2018 [<https://etheses.bham.ac.uk/8666/>] and work currently in progress by Coppola on Photius, Marcon on the Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena on Romans, and Scieri on the Catena on Acts.

manuscript, both the overtext and undertext, following the production of a new set of digital multispectral images. This project would also include the first-ever English translation of the catena, a set of studies of the manuscript and its contents, and an exhibition in Cambridge. The application was able to build on the existing partnership between ITSEE and the University Library, who had collaborated on a full-text electronic transcription of the bilingual New Testament manuscript Codex Bezae, published online in the Cambridge University Digital Library in 2012, as well as the Mingana-Lewis Qur'anic palimpsest.<sup>40</sup> Ben Outhwaite, Head of the Genizah Research Unit in Cambridge, had arranged for images of test pages from Codex Zacynthius to be taken using advanced techniques, with impressive results. The reviewers of the application were unanimously positive, and in July 2017 the AHRC announced funding of £303,165 for the Codex Zacynthius Project to be led by Parker and Houghton at ITSEE in Birmingham from 1 February 2018 for 24 months.

The chief result of this project is that at last the full text of this document, the oldest New Testament manuscript to contain a catena, will be published two centuries after it was first presented to a representative of a British organisation. Along with this has come the opportunity to acquire a deeper understanding and to ask fresh questions of the manuscript. We have not only established a text of the catena which goes beyond the remarkable achievements of Greenlee and provides material not included by Reuss, but we have confirmed the significance of the palimpsest for the text of the Gospel according to Luke by the restoration of further ancient readings and opened a new window onto Byzantine manuscript production with a thorough examination of Lectionary 299, including the identification of its copyist and his comments on his work. The Codex Zacynthius Project will thus feed into the ongoing work of the CATENA Project and the *Editio Critica Maior* of Luke, as well as making an important step towards a fuller investigation of the text and structure of New Testament lectionaries and supplying extensive material for future study.

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<sup>40</sup> The edition of Codex Bezae is online at <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00002-00041/>; see also <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/2167/> and <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1664/>. For the Mingana-Lewis Qur'anic palimpsest, see <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/minganalewis/1>, <https://specialcollections-blog.lib.cam.ac.uk/?p=12005> and Alba Fedeli, 'The Digitization Project of the Qur'anic Palimpsest, MS Cambridge University Library Or. 1287, and the Verification of the Mingana-Lewis Edition: Where is Salām?' *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 2.1 (2011): 100–17.

## CHAPTER 2. THE CODEX ZACYNTHIUS PROJECT (H.A.G. HOUGHTON)

The different aspects of the Codex Zacynthius Project enabled the work to be subdivided into a series of connected tasks, each undertaken by members of the project with specialist expertise. Its duration of twenty-four months was a relatively short period of time for the creation of new images, the transcription of both manuscripts, the identification of the extracts, a preliminary study of the significance of the catena and the and the translation of the catena into English, which meant that efficient project management was key to its successful delivery.

The key to the investigation of the undertext was the multispectral imaging of the palimpsest. While arrangements were being made for this, transcribers were able to begin work on the oertext from the beginning of the project in February 2018. A fresh set of images of the lectionary was produced by Amélie Deblauwe of the Digital Content Unit at Cambridge University Library, while Amy Myshrall, transcription co-ordinator for the International Greek New Testament project, prepared an electronic base text in XML of the passages in a Greek gospel lectionary. Two postgraduate students at Birmingham, Gavriil-Ioannis Boutziopoulos and Thomas William Ruston, were recruited to make independent transcriptions of the oertext of Codex Zacynthius using the Online Transcription Editor (developed as part of the Workspace for Collaborative Editing) to edit the base text.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the size of the transcription was such that the lectionary was split into eight separate files (five for the Synaxarion and three for the Menologion) in order to avoid overloading the interface. The complexity of the material meant that the preparation of these initial transcriptions by part-time contributors took fourteen months. On the completion of each portion of the text, the two versions were compared by Myshrall using automated comparison software in an environment developed by Catherine Smith, ITSEE's technical lead. Myshrall then reconciled the differences with reference to the images and proofread each page within the Online Transcription Editor. The full draft of the lectionary transcription was completed in August 2019, and it was proofread again in its final form before the release of the electronic edition.

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<sup>1</sup> See further H.A.G. Houghton, M. Sievers and C.J. Smith, 'The Workspace for Collaborative Editing,' *Digital Humanities 2014 Conference Abstracts, EPFL-UNIL, Lausanne, Switzerland, 8-12 July 2014*, 210-11; H.A.G. Houghton and C.J. Smith, 'Digital Editing and the Greek New Testament,' in *Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture* (ed. Claire Clivaz, Paul Dilley and David Hamidović, Digital Biblical Studies 1. Leiden: Brill, 2016), 110-27.

Outhwaite, as the lead on the project for Cambridge University Library, arranged for the imaging of the undertext to be carried out by the Early Manuscripts Electronic Library (EMEL), led by Michael Phelps, in collaboration with the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at the University of Hamburg directed by Ira Rabin. A team of image capture and processing specialists, consisting of Roger Easton, Keith Knox and Damianos Kasotakis, took up residence in Cambridge for three weeks in July 2018.<sup>2</sup> Various members of the project from ITSEE, including Alba Fedeli who had worked extensively on palimpsests, were able to be present during the imaging process in order to offer feedback on the initial results and identify places where further processing might be necessary. The imaging was undertaken in climate-controlled conditions within the University Library itself. Each page was photographed fifty-one times, using different wavelengths of light (from infrared to ultraviolet) as well as X-ray. Care was taken to ensure that there was no movement of the manuscript during the photographic sequence, which took around seven minutes for each page, as the multispectral image was to be created from a combination of these images. The camera was a MegaVision E7, with an Apo-Digital M26 lens: the raw greyscale images were available in flattened forms as TIFF files of 100MB each and JPEGs of around 10MB.

The initial processing of the images was undertaken soon after their capture by Easton and Knox in the neighbouring room. Using high-performance computers, they used a variety of techniques in order to obtain the greatest legibility of the undertext. Four sets of images were produced during the first week.<sup>3</sup> The first was a ‘pseudo-colour’ set, in which the ink of the undertext was coloured red (an example is provided in Image 2.1). As the black and red of the overtext remained, this often interfered with the legibility of the undertext. The second were known as ‘sharpies’, in greyscale, with the black ink of the overtext removed entirely (Image 2.2). These were helpful to provide an overall sense of the page, but the obliteration of most of the overtext meant that joining the traces of the undertext was not always easy; the red ink from the overtext, such as the ekphonic notation in the lectionary, continued to be visible. The third was a set of colour images combining all the wavelengths, comparable to the appearance of the manuscript in normal light. Finally, a fourth folder consisted of images in raking light, which offered an overview of the surface of the parchment, and a set of ‘transmission ratio’ images. The latter took the ratio of the infrared transmission and reflectance images (both at 940 nm). This ratio often shows up characters from the flesh side where the erased ink has eaten into the parchment, leaving cavities in the shape of the characters but with no surviving stains from the ink: without the stains, there is little or no response to ultraviolet illumination, yet the cavities allow more light through the parchment and thereby reveal the missing text as characters that are brighter than the parchment. Prior to the imaging, the team had

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<sup>2</sup> In addition, Amélie Deblauwe and Dale Stewart assisted Kasotakis with the handling of the manuscript. A second camera operator, Ivan Shevchuk, was unable to obtain a visa to enter the UK in time. Michael Phelps himself was present for the final week.

<sup>3</sup> For more on multispectral imaging by the members of this team, see Roger L. Easton, Keith T. Knox and William A. Christens-Barry, ‘Multispectral imaging of the Archimedes palimpsest,’ *Proceedings of 32nd Applied Imagery Pattern Recognition Workshop* (2003): 111–16. A video about the process for Codex Zacynthius, produced during the first week of imaging, may be viewed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XxXb8qBYgPQ>.

expected that the transmission ratio images would be the most successful in revealing the undertext of Codex Zacynthius. Unfortunately the results were disappointing, despite multiple attempts at combinations incorporating the transmission ratio images, and ultimately they did not form part of the final distribution.

During the final week of imaging, Knox's attention was drawn to an unexpected glitch in one of the combined images. Examining this further, he discovered three pairs of wavelengths in which one member of each pair could be divided into the other to suppress the overtext, making the undertext particularly prominent. The combination of these led to a new set of images, known as 'triples', which were a significant improvement on all of the previous attempts: the ink on the flesh side of the parchment was normally easily legible, while on the hair side it had sometimes been rubbed away but was still more evident than before (see Image 2.3). Again, pseudo-colouring was applied to assist with distinguishing the different types of ink. The majority of the undertext was coloured purple or dark blue, although where red ink had been used for titles or initials, this appeared as a mid-blue. The black ink of the overtext was coloured in a light blue or cyan colour, which made it less noticeable to the human eye and easier to distinguish from the undertext, while the rubrics for the neumes and lectionary indications became a slightly redder purple than the undertext. Within these images, it was also possible to use Adobe Photoshop to change the hues or to invert the colours: the latter sometimes improved legibility by enhancing the outline of letters where the ink had eaten away at the parchment. The quality of the triple images was such that the project decided to use them alone for transcription purposes and display in the electronic edition, rather than presenting users with a series of options.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the original set of the raw image data for each page has been made available through the University of Birmingham's Institutional Research Archive to allow the possibility of re-use and further processing in the future.<sup>5</sup>

As the multispectral images consisted of a file for each individual page of the current manuscript, in order to facilitate the transcription of the undertext (and the final edition) the pages of the original manuscript had to be reconstituted by joining together the two relevant images from within the quire. This task was undertaken by Alba Fedeli during the autumn of 2018. For this, she relied on a concordance of the overtext and undertext leaves prepared by Amy Myshrall, presented as Appendix 1 in the current volume. As it was impossible to predict how much text might be missing in the middle of each page, where the leaves were bound in the central gutter of the manuscript, the images were not cropped at this point. In fact it seems that relatively few lines are obscured, so these images are slightly taller than the original pages would have been. To avoid any loss of quality and follow the practice of the Cambridge University Digital Library, these files were kept in TIFF format.

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<sup>4</sup> Contrast the presentation of the Sinai Palimpsest project, where users are presented with a range of images at different combinations: <https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/>.

<sup>5</sup> See further the Project Outputs listed on page xvi above.

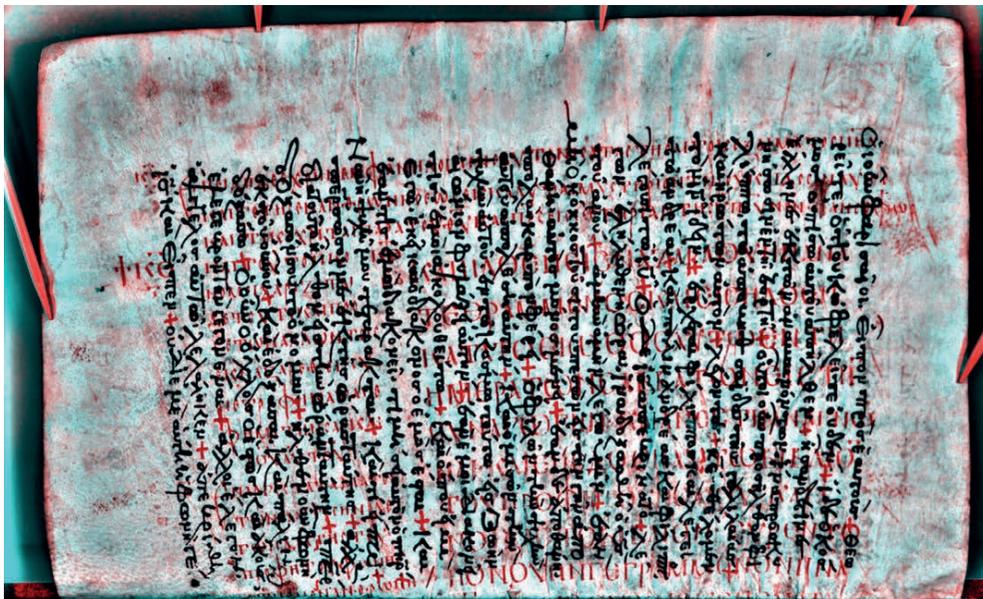


Image 2.1: Pseudocolour image of modern fol. 119v (catena fol. XXVIIIv)

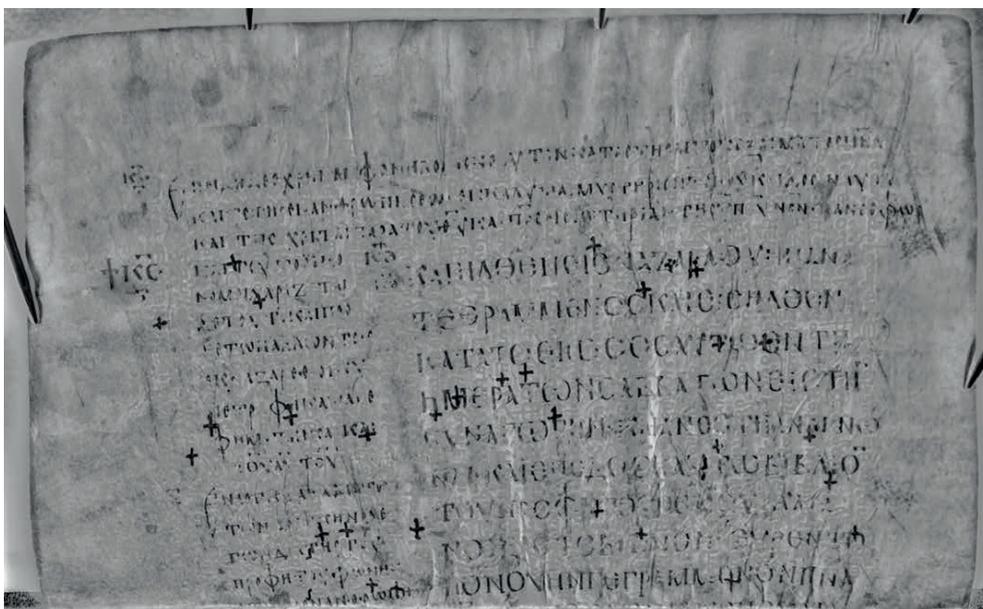


Image 2.2: 'Sharpie' image of modern fol. 119v (catena fol. XXVIIIv)

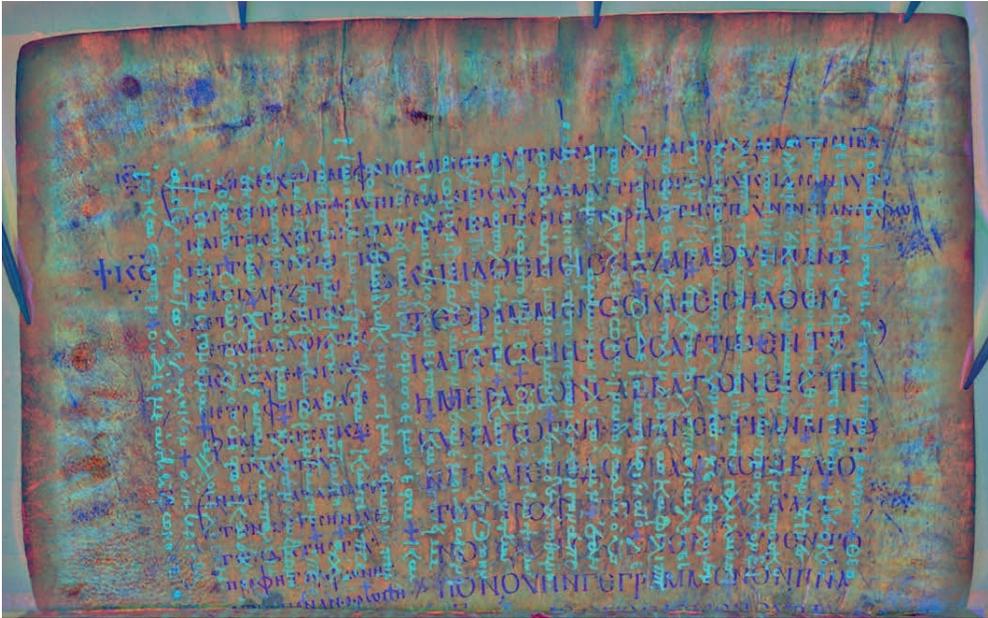


Image 2.3: Triple image of modern fol. 119v (catena fol. XXVIIIv)

The two transcribers of the undertext, Rachel Kevern and Panagiotis Manafis, joined the project in September 2018. Initially, they made two independent transcriptions of the biblical text, using the Online Transcription Editor, in order to standardise their practice. After completing thirty-four pages in this way, they switched to a single initial transcription of each page, which was reviewed by the other transcriber.<sup>6</sup> Comparison was made with Tregelles' 1861 edition, as well as Greenlee's list of corrections. With the new multispectral images, not only was it now possible to resolve the questions raised by Greenlee, but three further readings could be established in the biblical text where Tregelles' edition was in error.<sup>7</sup> For the catena, Greenlee's typescript was transcribed using basic markup in a standard text editor. Although the amount of text that Greenlee had been able to read or reconstruct was remarkable, his transcription did not include lineation.<sup>8</sup> During the first comparison with the new images, Kevern added the formatting information to this text file. Manafis then proofread Greenlee's transcription against the manuscript. The similarity between the catena of Codex Zacynthius and Paris,

<sup>6</sup> On this method of working, see H.A.G. Houghton, 'Electronic Transcriptions of New Testament Manuscripts and their Accuracy, Documentation and Publication,' in *Ancient Manuscripts in Digital Culture: Visualisation, Data Mining, Communication* (ed. Claire Clivaz, David Hamidović and Sarah Bowen Savant. Digital Biblical Studies 3. Leiden: Brill, 2019), 133–53.

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter 4 below.

<sup>8</sup> On Greenlee's work, see further pages 4–5.

Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément grec 612 (GA 747)—which is discussed extensively in Chapter 8 below—had already been noted by Greenlee: this was also established independently by the CATENA project.<sup>9</sup> The Paris manuscript, along with printed texts of the patristic scholia (where these existed), was therefore used by Manafis to supply small portions of text in Codex Zacynthius which remained illegible. The first draft of the catena transcription was completed in July 2019.

While the transcription was in progress, William Lamb used Greenlee's typescript to examine the identification of each of the scholia. Although many of the extracts in the manuscript are assigned a heading with an indication of the source—down even to the number of individual sermons or letters within a corpus—these are not always accurate.<sup>10</sup> Lamb used the electronic corpus of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* to identify the text, compiling a concordance as an online spreadsheet, which enabled other project members to contribute information from their own research on the catena. It proved possible to locate the source of the majority of the extracts, including those whose attribution was listed as anonymous (ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου).<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, although the *TLG* includes a full text of Cramer's transcription of the Catena on Luke, some of the key publications in this field are still missing from this corpus. Sickenberger's collection of material from Titus of Bostra and Clement of Alexandria and, most importantly, Reuss' assembly of material from commentaries on Luke therefore had to be cross-checked manually.<sup>12</sup> The final set of identifications deriving from this spreadsheet is presented at the end of Chapter 5, while the sources are discussed in Chapters 6–8.

The English translation of the catena, undertaken by Hugh Houghton, was created by replacing the Greek text in the transcription file but preserving the layout and paratextual features. While an attempt was made to conform the translation to the lineation of the manuscript, details such as the size of characters, unclear letters and text obscured by the gutter were not retained. Instances of non-standard orthography were not reproduced, although corrections were translated when they resulted in a change of meaning. The initial translation was made directly from Greek, which acted as a first check on the transcription of the undertext: unexpected readings and potential typographical errors were compared with the images of the manuscript, and any discrepancies corrected. This literal version was reviewed by Lamb, who drew Houghton's attention to Payne-Smith's translation of the Syriac text of Cyril of Alexandria's *Homilies on Luke* and some of the Greek fragments assembled by Mai.<sup>13</sup> This provided a helpful comparison for a

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<sup>9</sup> J.H. Greenlee, 'The Catena of Codex Zacynthius,' *Biblica* 40 (1959): 992–1001, 1000. Unfortunately, the CATENA project did not examine the Codex Palatinus until several months after the end of the Codex Zacynthius Project (see pages xvi and 70).

<sup>10</sup> See further Chapter 6.

<sup>11</sup> On this designation, see pages 63 and 100 below.

<sup>12</sup> On these editions, see page 5–6 above.

<sup>13</sup> Robert Payne Smith, *The Gospel according to S. Luke by S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria. Now first translated into English from an Ancient Syriac Version*. 2 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1859). The text of this translation had been made available online by Roger Pearse in 2008 [[http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/cyril\\_on\\_luke\\_00\\_eintro.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/cyril_on_luke_00_eintro.htm)]. This searchable version

substantial amount of the text. Likewise, Lienhard's translation of the Latin version of Origen's *Homilies on Luke* and various Greek fragments was used for cross-reference.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that most of the catena had not previously been translated from Greek meant that careful review was required in order to enable the production of something that was sufficiently literal enough to assist users with some Greek but also readable in English. The translation of the gospel text was produced by editing the existing transcription of Luke in a similar fashion. This was done by Robert Ferro, a pupil at King Edward's School, Edgbaston, Birmingham, during a period of work experience in July 2019. The biblical text was supplied from the New Revised Standard Version: where the text of Luke in Codex Zacynthius differed from the editorial text of Nestle-Aland 28 (taken to represent the basis of the NRSV), the translation was amended to try to reproduce this difference: this included word order, but not orthography.

On the completion of the catena transcription and translation in the plain-text editor, they were converted into XML by Catherine Smith using a set of Python scripts. The resulting XML conformed to the TEI P5 Guidelines in order to enable it to be easily manipulated and also archived in a standard encoding.<sup>15</sup> Information such as the actual identification of each of the patristic scholia (from Lamb's spreadsheet) and the equivalent page numbers in the overtext was added as attributes to the XML, both for reference purposes and to enhance the electronic edition. Smith developed the web presentation of the transcription (and the translation) by creating a single HTML file for each page of the undertext by combining the XML transcriptions of the biblical text and the catena. The resulting layout in a browser aims to mirror the manuscript page as closely as possible using HTML and a cascading style sheet (CSS). As the undertext was written in majuscule, even though the transcription had been made using standard lower-case Greek letters, the project decided to use an uncial font for its display (GFS Decker) in order to resemble the appearance of the manuscript. The marginalia required the creation of various zones on the page in order to display each in its correct location. In addition, the varying width of the columns required some manual adjustments to be made to the CSS for individual pages: although smaller script is used on certain pages in the manuscript, it was decided to maintain the same font size throughout. To assist with maintaining the original column width, only the first hand reading was displayed for corrections, while abbreviations were indicated by a symbol (°): mouseover boxes were used to present the full information to users. Smith was also responsible for converting the XML of the lectionary transcription into individual HTML pages to the specification of the project. Again, the XML was

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greatly facilitated the identification of the Greek fragments within the complete text. However (as Pearse notes in his preface) it was necessary to refer to Payne-Smith's original publication in order to confirm the exact source of each portion.

<sup>14</sup> Joseph T. Lienhard, *Origen: Homilies on Luke, Fragments on Luke*. Fathers of the Church 94 (Washington DC: Catholic University of America, 1996).

<sup>15</sup> See further the Project Outputs listed on page xvi above.

enhanced by the addition of translations of the lection indications and marginalia as attributes, to assist users of the electronic edition. The first version of the web presentation for both the undertext and oertext was proofread by Amy Myshrall in December 2019, with adjustments to the undertext being incorporated into the files of both the transcription and translation. As observed in the course of the Codex Sinaiticus Project which had run at ITSEE over a decade earlier, the full electronic presentation brought to light some of the inconsistencies of the production of the original document, and it was occasionally necessary to compromise in the display of the text.<sup>16</sup>

The creation of the electronic edition within the Cambridge University Digital Library was prepared by Huw Jones in the Digital Content Unit at Cambridge in December 2019 and January 2020. The simplest form of presentation was to treat the oertext and undertext as two independent manuscripts, but provide links to the corresponding folios between the two witnesses. This was initially accomplished by means of a concordance document with hyperlinks, hosted on the University of Birmingham Institutional Research Archive along with detailed tables of contents for each manuscript.<sup>17</sup> As envisaged in the original project proposal, upgrades to the Digital Library meant that the functionality was added to rotate the images in order to examine what is visible of the undertext on images of the lectionary. However, as the Digital Library itself remained restricted to the display of a single image at a time, links were provided to a Mirador interface for users wishing to compare photographs taken under normal light with the multispectral images. An alternative is to open multiple browser windows, one for the oertext and undertext: pending further development of the Digital Library interface, this also remains the most straightforward way to compare the transcription and translation of the catena. The electronic edition was released in the Cambridge University Digital Library shortly before the conclusion of the project at the end of January 2020.

The challenges of producing and still more importantly maintaining an electronic edition meant that during the course of the project it was also decided to produce a printed edition of the transcription of the undertext. Catherine Smith developed a workflow for exporting the XML into a series of tables which was then incorporated into the Microsoft Word template for the *Texts and Studies* series and adjusted manually as required. The print format allowed additional flexibility with the placing of marginalia and the reproduction of the page layout as well as a further opportunity to proofread the online edition. The translation was included on each facing page of the printed edition as a continuous text in order to provide space to include notes on the transcription and text at the foot of each page.

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<sup>16</sup> See Peter Robinson, 'The Making of the Codex Sinaiticus Electronic Book,' in *Codex Sinaiticus. New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript* (ed. by Scot McKendrick, David Parker, Amy Myshrall and Cillian O'Hogan. London: British Library and Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2015), 261–77 and, more broadly, H.A.G. Houghton, 'The Electronic Scriptorium: Markup for New Testament Manuscripts,' in *Digital Humanities in Biblical, Early Jewish and Early Christian Studies* (ed. Claire Clivaz, Andrew Gregory and David Hamidović. Leiden: Brill, 2014), 31–60.

<sup>17</sup> See <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/3280> as well as <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/3278> and <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/3279>.

As the project was in progress, a variety of additional material came to light. Although Parker already had Birdsall's copy of Greenlee's transcription, it was only during the digitisation of Birdsall's correspondence in March 2019 that Parker rediscovered Greenlee's letters to Birdsall describing his working practices at the Bodleian.<sup>18</sup> In the following month, J.K. Elliott informed Parker that he had come across a typescript entitled 'Codex Zacynthius: The Catena and the Text of Luke' among the papers of G.D. Kilpatrick. It was clear from internal references, as well as the format of the document, that this was Greenlee's introduction to his edition. Elliott provided a copy which was scanned for use by members of the project team and transcribed by Megan Davies in order to be included as Appendix 2 in the present volume. In June 2018, the project was contacted by two descendants of General Colin Macaulay, Lucinda Smith and Colin Ferguson Smith, who lived near the University of Birmingham. They kindly shared material from the biography which they were preparing of their ancestor prior to its publication in December 2019.<sup>19</sup>

The lead in planning the exhibition associated with the Codex Zacynthius Project, to be held in the Milstein Exhibition Centre at Cambridge University Library between October 2020 and February 2021, was taken by Ben Outhwaite and Chris Burgess, Head of Exhibitions and Public Engagement at Cambridge University Library. A variety of palimpsests were lined up for display, including fragments of the Archimedes Palimpsest held by the University Library and the Mingana-Lewis Qur'anic fragment. In August 2019, as part of a separate editorial project on Latin papyrus documents, Houghton identified the undertext on two small fragments of a sixth-century Italian manuscript which had been overwritten with Masoretic texts in Hebrew in the ninth century and discovered in the Cairo Genizah: these turned out to be the oldest surviving witnesses to Augustine's *Against the Sermon of the Arians* and the expanded text of his *Sermon 225*, the latter by some six hundred years.<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, these were added to the list for the exhibition.

Another event at Cambridge University Library inspired by the project was the HandsOn Digital Humanities hackathon in July 2019. This was a joint venture between the Library and the History department of Queen Mary's University, London, directed by Eyal Poleg. Three teams of postgraduate students and software developers competed to design and develop apps to enable members of the public to engage with palimpsest manuscripts. Images from the Codex Zacynthius Project were used by one team, which developed an innovative 'slider' enabling users to move between the undertext and overtext.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> See Chapter 1 above, especially note 23.

<sup>19</sup> Colin Ferguson Smith, *A Life of General Colin Macaulay, Soldier, Scholar and Slavery Abolitionist* (privately printed; Birmingham, 2019).

<sup>20</sup> H.A.G. Houghton, 'New Identifications Among the Sixth-Century Fragments of Augustine in Cambridge University Library,' *Sacris Erudiri* 58 (2019): 171–80.

<sup>21</sup> <https://trnka.korpus.cz/~lukes/the-reagents/> (see also <https://github.com/dlukes/the-reagents>); for links to the other projects and more information about the hackathon, see <https://twitter.com/HandsOnDH>.

The project held a Study Day at Oriel College, Oxford, on 5 November 2019, in conjunction with the Centre for the Study of the Bible in the Humanities, to disseminate its initial findings and consult on the presentation of the digital and printed editions. In addition to papers delivered by members of the project team, Nigel Wilson offered an assessment of the script of the overtext. He brought to the project's attention a further liturgical manuscript copied by the scribe Neilos (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 788) which included a palimpsest. Could this provide further missing pages of Codex Zacynthius? During the lunch break, participants consulted the Vatican's website of digitised manuscripts and the question was soon answered thanks to the high-quality images provided there.<sup>22</sup> While Neilos had copied the majority of the manuscript (Vat. gr. 788 pt. A), the seven palimpsest pages (Vat. gr. 788 pt. B) had been overwritten by a later, fourteenth-century hand on a manuscript in minuscule script, which could not be Codex Zacynthius. Nevertheless, in addition to images of these pages taken under ultraviolet light, the website also provided an identification of the undertext, fragments of the gospels of Matthew and John from a lectionary written around the end of the tenth century. With no record of this manuscript in the online version of the *Kurzgefasste Liste*, the Codex Zacynthius Project passed these details to the INTF in Münster in order to determine whether the manuscript should be registered among the witnesses to the Greek New Testament.

Given the challenges of dating the undertext, as described in Chapter 3, the Codex Zacynthius Project did explore the possibility of subjecting part of the manuscript to Carbon 14 dating, a procedure which Greenlee had suggested some seventy years earlier.<sup>23</sup> The destructive nature of the present form of this analysis, however, meant that the decision was taken not to proceed. Just as the refusal of earlier generations to apply chemical reagents to enhance the legibility of the palimpsest had enabled successful results to be achieved in the present day through multispectral imaging, so it is hoped that advances in the dating of ancient artefacts will in the not-too-distant future bring new information to apply to these questions without damage to the documents themselves.

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<sup>22</sup> <http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guui/scan/link.jsp>.

<sup>23</sup> See page 294 below.

## CHAPTER 3. THE UNDERTEXT WRITING (D.C. PARKER)<sup>1</sup>

It is appropriate to begin with a brief description. It has usually been stated that the catena manuscript of Codex Zacynthius is written in two scripts.<sup>2</sup> The biblical text is in biblical majuscule. The catena is written in upright pointed majuscule. To this we may now add that a third script, sloping pointed majuscule, is used for the preface on folio 1r. The largest work on the development of biblical majuscule is that of Cavallo.<sup>3</sup> While it may be argued that he attributed all difference to chronological progression and overlooked the possibility of regional variation, and that he had too stylised a theory of the hand's growth and decline, he still provides a valuable collection of comparative material. His later, joint work with Maehler provides a similar body of illustration for the early Byzantine period.<sup>4</sup> The use of the upright pointed script in conjunction with another form is a pairing found elsewhere, most notably in Codex Rossanensis (GA 042, Rossano, Museo Diocesano, s.n.). Emerging in the second or third centuries, it was in use for a long period of time. Unfortunately, however, there is a paucity of extant examples from the period in which we are interested.<sup>5</sup> The dating of sloping pointed majuscule is, if anything, even harder.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter, although written by Parker, makes extensive use of observations provided by Amy Myshrall and Georgi Parpulov.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the word 'hand' for script in the article by Birdsall and Parker may have led some to believe that they were claiming that the manuscript was written by two copyists. That was not our intention. Although it is possible that one person could have written each part, it seems highly improbable, given the practical difficulties of aligning the text. There are plenty of examples of scribes using two or more different scripts in producing a manuscript. However, as will become plain below (pages 25–31), the current project has opened up the possibility that more than one copyist was at work.

<sup>3</sup> G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*. Studi e testi di papirologia 2 (Florence: Le Monnier, 1967). See further P. Orsini, *Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts and Books*. Studies in Manuscript Cultures 15 (Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, 2019), 57–97.

<sup>4</sup> G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800*. Bulletin Supplement 47 (London: University of London Institute of Classical Studies, 1987).

<sup>5</sup> For a study, see E. Crisci, 'La maiuscola ogivale diritta. Origini, tipologie, dislocazioni,' *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 (1985): 103–45.

<sup>6</sup> One recalls the debate concerning the dating of the Cologne Mani codex and the Freer Gospels. See Ulrich B. Schmid, 'Reassessing the Palaeography and Codicology of the Freer Gospel

While the use of three scripts is further evidence of the scribal skill and complexity of layering in the codex, it does not at present help us to date it more closely.

### THE DATING OF THE SCRIPTS

Writing in 2004, I suggested that the biblical majuscule of Zacynthius lacks the squareness associated with such models as Codex Vaticanus, the Vienna Dioscorides (ÖNB, Med. Gr. 1) and others:

By contrast, a number of letters in Codex Zacynthius are compressed: *mu*, *epsilon*, *delta*; the crossbar of *tau* is shorter. Secondly, one or two letters depart markedly from the classical shapes of biblical majuscule. *Upsilon* in particular has lost its symmetry, and its descender has become very fine; the junction of the upper strokes can even be below the line. The two strokes of *lambda* sometimes meet at the very apex of the letter.<sup>7</sup>

In the broadest terms, Codex Zacynthius seemed to sit between those models and the far more elaborate forms that began to emerge from the eighth century onwards. But more accurate dating of majuscule hands written between the sixth and ninth centuries is notoriously difficult. The only two securely dated manuscripts give us a framework between about 512 (the Vienna Dioscorides) and 800 AD (a copy of Gregory's *Dialogi de Vita et Miraculis Patrum*, Vat. gr. 1666).<sup>8</sup> This provides an explanation for the variety of dates that has been suggested for Codex Zacynthius.

The problem is clearly set out at the very beginning of research by Tregelles, who wrote that

The *Text* is in round full well-formed Uncial letters, such as I should have had no difficulty in ascribing to the *sixth* century, were it not that the *Catena* of the same age has the round letters (EΘOC) so *cramped* as to appear to belong to the *eighth* century. There are but few occurrences of accents or breathings; and the fact of their omission must be weighed against that of the form of the letters in the *Catena*; for in the eighth century their occurrence might have been expected.

Pocock, writing twenty years later, accepted the same possible age range and then went on to present two arguments in favour of the sixth century.<sup>9</sup> The first was its similarity to Codex Rossanensis (which had been known since 1831); the second was the small number of contractions and their character. But other nineteenth-century scholars preferred the

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Manuscript,' in *The Freer Biblical Manuscripts: Fresh Studies of an American Treasure Trove* (ed. L.W. Hurtado, Text-Critical Studies 6, Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 227–49, esp. 238–48.

<sup>7</sup> Parker and Birdsall, 'The Date of Codex Zacynthius,' 119 (115).

<sup>8</sup> The date of the Dioscorides has itself been challenged: A. Müller, 'Ein vermeintlich fester Anker. Das Jahr 512 als zeitlicher Ansatz des "Wiener Dioskurides",' *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 62 (2012): 103–9.

<sup>9</sup> Nicholas Pocock, 'The Codex Zacynthius,' *The Academy* 19 (1881): 136–7, esp. 137 col. 1.

eighth century, of which Gregory is a notable example.<sup>10</sup> Scrivener also preferred this, although he did draw attention to several features suggesting an earlier date (similarities to 024, paucity of accents and breathings).<sup>11</sup> In 1937, W.H.P. Hatch produced a challenge to this consensus, arguing again for the sixth century.<sup>12</sup> There are weaknesses to his case. One is that he seems only to have considered one of the scripts in which the manuscript is written. The second is the argument that the inclusion of passages from Severus in the catena must indicate a date after 518, while the supposed subsequent erasure of his name must point to a date after his condemnation in 536. Hatch considered that a point between these two dates was most likely. In spite of these problems, subsequent authorities accepted his arguments, and the sixth century continues currently to be given as the date in the *Kurzgefasste Liste*.

It was partly the weaknesses in Hatch's case, and also an observation with regard to the catena, that led the present writer and J.N. Birdsall to take up the question. Birdsall remarked in private correspondence that

Fortunately, from Hatch in F/S Lake, CPG 4 s.v. Catenae put me on the track. The book to look at is Max Rauer, *Der dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebene Lukaskommentar* (NTA VV.2) Münster 1920 ... It is the view of R. that the catena commentary of which Xi is a representative derives from an earlier, which originated in the sixth century. The catena of commentary of Xi was compiled in the seventh or eighth century. You will see that this must have a bearing upon the judgement about the hand of Xi. If R. is correct, Xi could only be seventh century even if it were the autograph of its class.<sup>13</sup>

The subsequent study of this problem from the two angles of palaeography and catena research led to the following conclusion: on the former grounds, a comparison of the two hands with other examples suggests a seventh-century date; on the latter, the eighth century is required by the time needed for the catena type to develop.<sup>14</sup> The balance of probability and the desire to reach a shared conclusion led to the suggestion that a date of around 700 might meet both requirements.

How may this view be assessed today? The further research we have been able to undertake with regard to the catena underlines the accuracy of Birdsall's arguments with regard to Hatch's theories, and the likely date of the manuscript on these grounds. The

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<sup>10</sup> C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. octava critica maior, Vol. 3, *Prolegomena*, scripsit Caspar René Gregory (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1884), 406–8; Caspar René Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900), 90–1.

<sup>11</sup> F.H.A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, Fourth edn. (London, New York, and Cambridge: Bell & Sons, 1894), Vol. 1, 161.

<sup>12</sup> W.H.P. Hatch, 'A Redating of Two Important Uncial Manuscripts of the Gospels – Codex Zacynthius and Codex Cyprius,' in *Quantulacumque. Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* (ed. R.P. Casey, S. Lake and A.K. Lake; London: Christophers, 1937), 333–8.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from Birdsall to Parker, 16 May 1996.

<sup>14</sup> For evidence that Zacynthius is derived from older catenae, see pages 53 and 65.

palaeographical arguments are more complicated, for several reasons. The first has already been mentioned, namely the lack of dated examples of manuscripts in the three hands of the manuscript. The tendency to conservatism in majuscule scripts must also encourage caution. Not even the presence of some diacriticals can be taken as very helpful, since it has recently been pointed out that at least two sixth-century manuscripts, the Florentine copy of Justinian's Digest and GA 015, contain diacritics in the original scribe's hand.<sup>15</sup> So diacritics do not necessarily imply a late date. It may be worth noting that the majority of the diacritics in Codex Zacynthius are restricted to a single letter: of the seventy-four breathings indicated in the gospel text, sixty-five are instances of a rough breathing (*daseia*) on *upsilon*. A *daseia* on *eta* appears just six times; the three other forms are *ἀνεστη* at Luke 10:25, *ὄταν* at Luke 11:2 and *ἐγενετο* at Luke 11:30. The letters *iota* and *upsilon* are often written with a diaeresis, especially when they are in the initial position.

A further manuscript comparable to Codex Zacynthius has been proposed by our colleague Georgi Parpulov. This is Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1291, a manuscript of Ptolemy's *Tabulae astronomicae* containing a list of Byzantine emperors (Folio 17r) that dates it to between 828 and 842. The hand has some similarity to that used in Zacynthius for the catena.

It is further worth noting that the complete set of new images of the undertext have provided evidence not previously available, namely ornamentation in the manuscript.<sup>16</sup> These consist of:

Fol. Ir	Interwoven band under the preface (Image 3.1)
Fol. IIIr	Enlarged initial <i>epsilon</i> with a sun/flower (Image 3.2)
	Penwork initial <i>epsilon</i> beginning gospel (Image 3.3)
Fol. XXIIr	Enlarged initial <i>rho</i> with a leaf (Image 3.4)
Fol. XLv	Four (or five?) dot symbol
Fol. LVr	Hedera decoration at the end of a scholium (see Table 5.2)
Fol. LIXr	Enlarged initial <i>sigma</i> with penwork
Fol. LXv	Hedera decoration at the end of a scholium (see Table 5.2)
Fol. LXIV	Four dot symbol before enlarged initial <i>kappa</i> (see Table 5.2)
Fol. LXIIr	Four dot symbol
Fol. LXVIIv	Four dot symbol
Fol. LXIXr	Four dot symbol (see Table 5.2)
Fol. LXXIIr	Red decoration above OΓ in margin (Image 3.5) <sup>17</sup>
	Further red decoration, very faded but the same pattern
Fol. LXXXv	Enlarged initial <i>alpha</i> with penwork
Fol. LXXXIr	Enlarged initial <i>tau</i> with penwork
Fol. LXXXIVr	Enlarged initial <i>epsilon</i> with penwork

<sup>15</sup> Florence, BML, s.n. and Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 1074: see Nigel G. Wilson, 'A Greek Palaeographer Looks at the Florentine Pandects,' *Subseciva Groningana* 5 (1992), 1–6; Elina Dobrynina, 'Considerations on the dating of *Codex Coislinianus*,' Paper given at the IX<sup>e</sup> Colloque international de Paléographie grec, Paris, September 2018.

<sup>16</sup> There is also rubrication in the overwriting, but there a thicker nib is used.

<sup>17</sup> All references in this chapter to folio numbers in Codex Zacynthius refer to those of the original manuscript.

Such prominent decoration is unknown in sixth- or seventh-century manuscripts: for the seventh century, see the Zürich Psalter<sup>18</sup> or the Sinai manuscript of John Climacus' Ladder discovered in 1975.<sup>19</sup> It does occur, however, in a manuscript attributed to the ninth century, Paris, BnF, Gr. 2389 (a copy of Ptolemy's *Syntaxis mathematica*), where the text is written without diacritics.<sup>20</sup>

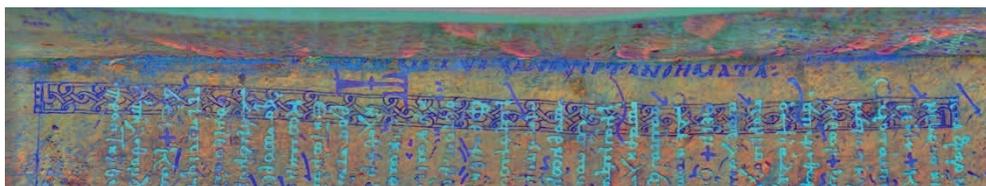


Image 3.1: Interwoven band below catena preface (fol. Ir)



Image 3.2: Sun/flower and enlarged initial at start of catena (fol. IIIr)

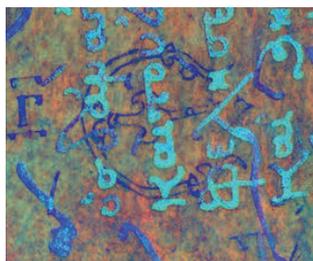


Image 3.3: Enlarged initial with pen work at beginning of biblical text (fol. IIIr)



Image 3.4: Capital rho with leaf design (fol. XXIIr)

<sup>18</sup> Zürich, Zentralbibliothek RP1. Also known as the Psalterium Turicense purpureum.

<sup>19</sup> Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, NE gr. MI 71.

<sup>20</sup> See Marina A. Kurysheva, 'The Oldest Uncial Script Manuscript of the *Mathematike Syntaxis* by Claudius Ptolemy. Paris. Gr. 2389: The Problems of Dating,' *Vestnik drevny istorii (Journal of Ancient History)* 79.2 (2019): 335–42. The ninth-century date argued by Kurysheva is plausible but not certain.

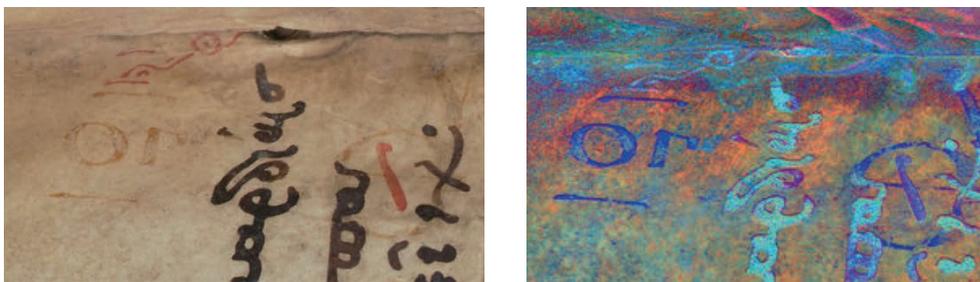
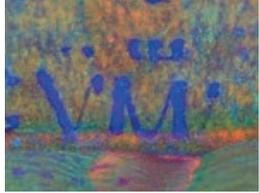


Image 3.5: Traces of red decoration in the gutter above marginal number  $\text{O}\Gamma$  (fol. LXXIIr under normal light and as a multispectral image)

While it is now possible to rule out the sixth and seventh centuries, it is harder to use the ornamentation to provide something more precise. In their size and prominence the tailband and the initial letters (more important to consider than the individual motifs) suggest a ninth-century date but do not preclude an eighth-century one. This style may well have originated in the eighth century, about which we still know very little. Further evidence may or may not be provided by the few abbreviations used (excluding the scholia titles, which are the only part of the manuscript in which text is regularly abbreviated). Myshrall observed these and compiled the examples presented in Table 3.1.

 <p>Fol. Ir <math>\kappa\alpha\iota</math></p>	 <p>Fol. IXr Final <math>nu</math></p>
 <p>Fol. Xv <math>\omega</math> compendium</p>	 <p>Fol. XXVIIr <math>\alpha\iota</math> abbreviation in biblical text</p>
 <p>Fol. XXXVIIr <math>\nu\mu\omega\nu</math> in biblical text</p>	 <p>Fol. XXXVIIIv <math>\omega</math> compendium in biblical text</p>
 <p>Fol. LXXIIIv Superscript <math>\omega</math></p>	 <p>Fol. LXXIVv <math>-\alpha\iota</math></p>

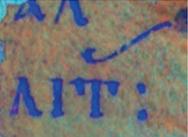
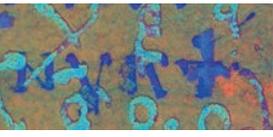
 <p>Fol. LXXIVv -ος written as a compendium</p>	 <p>Fol. LXXVIIIv -αζ</p>
 <p>Fol. LXXXVIr -αζ</p>	 <p>Fol. LXXXVIIIv -αζ</p>

Table 3.1: Abbreviation marks in the undertext.

The  $\alpha\iota$  and  $\alpha\zeta$  abbreviations may suggest, *prima facie*, a relatively late date. But further research would be required to ascertain whether they are found in earlier witnesses such as the Vienna Dioscorides and the Psalterium Turicense. According to Cereteli, the  $\alpha\iota$  abbreviation occurs in the Fragmentum Mathematicum Bobiense (Milan, Ambrosiana L 99 sup. [Martini-Bassi 491]), dated by Cavallo to the middle of the sixth century.<sup>21</sup> Further comparative work on the abbreviations would be required to ascertain whether more precise conclusions could be reached.

### THE CONSISTENCY OF THE PRESENTATION

In addition to permitting the systematic examination of abbreviations and decoration, the new images of all surviving pages of the palimpsest raise a further new research question which enables us to consider the creation of the undertext in a totally fresh light. Myshrall has noted and compiled detailed evidence which suggests that at least two copyists were responsible for the writing of this manuscript. While the same two scripts are used for biblical and catena text throughout, the details of their presentation and style show considerable variation. The following sets of images present seven different types of evidence for variation in scribal practices. These comprise five elements of paratext (decorative strokes on the extract titles; punctuation of extract titles; punctuation at the end of a scholium; the four-dot symbol; the indication of quotations by *diplai*), letter variation in the biblical text (with particular reference to *rho*, *xi*, *phi*, *alpha*, *beta* and *upsilon*) and letter variation in the catena text (especially enlarged *omicron* and *psi*).

<sup>21</sup> G.F. Cereteli, *Sokraščenija v' grečeskich' rukopisjach' preimuščestvenno po datirovannym rukopisjam S.-Peterburga i Moskvy*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (St Petersburg: I.N. Skorokhodova, 1904); for a discussion of the date, see Orsini, *Studies on Greek and Coptic*, 134. The overwriting of the palimpsest fragment provides a *terminus ante quem* of the middle of the eighth century.

### 1. Decorative marks above the extract titles (Image 3.6)



Image 3.6a: Straight strokes (fol. XXXViv)



Image 3.6b: Strokes with serifs (fol. VIIIr)



Image 3.6c: Straight strokes with decorative marks to fill in the gaps (fol. LIVr)

### 2. Punctuation of excerpt headings (Image 3.7)



Image 3.7a: Colon (fol. XIIIr)



Image 3.7b: Colon with long dash (fol. XXIr). Note also the initial cross resembling a *psi*.

### 3. Punctuation at the end of an excerpt (Image 3.8)



Image 3.8a: Colon and dash (fol. XVIIv)

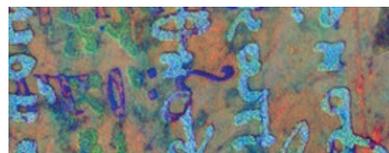


Image 3.8b: Colon and wavy line (fol. LVIv)

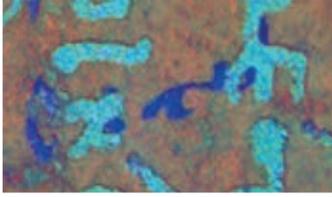


Image 3.8c: Colon and split dash (fol. XLv)

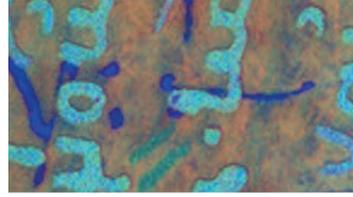
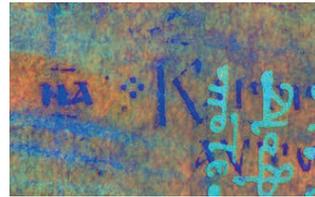


Image 3.8d: Colon and split dash (fol. LXXXr)

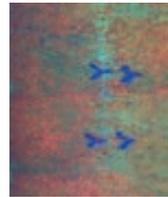


Image 3.8e: Hedera (fol. LVr)

#### 4. Paragraph indicators (Image 3.9)

Image 3.9a: Thin overline  
(from fol. XXXVIr onwards)Image 3.9b: Four dots —  
occasionally used (here fol. LXIV)

#### 5. *Diplai* (Image 3.10)

Image 3.10a:  
Single *diplai*  
(fol. XXIIIv)Image 3.10b:  
Double *diplai*, very  
rare in this  
manuscript  
(fol. XXIIIv)Image 3.10c:  
*Diple* within the text  
(fol. LXXXIir)Image 3.10d: Loose  
marginal *diplai*  
(probably a different  
hand) (fol. XXXVIIv)

## 6. Letter variation in the biblical text (Image 3.11)

Image 3.11a: Large bowl  
on *rbo* (fol. XXVIIIv)



Image 3.11b: Small  
bowl on *rbo* (fol.  
XVIr)

Image 3.11c: Normal *xi*  
(fol. XVIr)



Image 3.11d: Curly *xi*  
(fol. XXIIIv)

Image  
3.11e:  
Balanced  
*phi* (fol.  
XXVIIIv)



Image 3.11f: Round *phi*  
(fol. XLv)



Image 3.11g:  
Asymmetric  
*phi* (fol. IXr)

Image 3.11h: triangular  
*alpha* (fol. XLv)



Image 3.11i:  
*Alpha* with  
pointed bowl  
(fol.  
LXXXVIIv)

Image 3.11j: *Beta*  
with separate bows  
(fol. XXVIIIv)

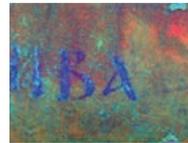


Image 3.11k: *Beta*  
with bows joined  
(fol. LVr)

Image 3.11l: *Upsilon* with base  
(fol. XXXVIIIr)

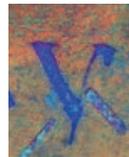
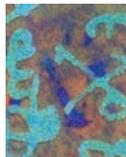


Image 3.11m: *Upsilon*  
without base  
(fol. LXXXVr)

Image 3.11n: *Psi* with  
angled arms (fol. XLv)



Image 3.11o: *Psi*  
with horizontal  
arms (fol. XLIVv)

### 7. Letter variation in the catena (Image 3.12)

Image 3.12a: Oblique enlarged *omicron* (fol. XXIIIv)

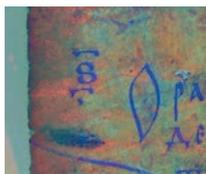


Image 3.12b: Round enlarged *omicron* (fol. XXXVIV)



Image 3.12c: *Psi* with angled arms (fol. XXXVIIr)

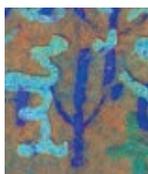


Image 3.12d: *Psi* with horizontal arms (fol. XXIIr)



It will be seen that this evidence is of various kinds. It has not proved possible to provide a theory that takes it all into account. This is a task for the future. But the following observations and questions may provide a start.

1. Most of the changes coincide with changes of page. One example contrary to this appears on folio Xv. The last scholium from Origen at the bottom of the page does not have the same general appearance as the catena text above it. It differs in letter spacing and lacks the slight rightwards lean of text higher on the page. Could an Origen reference have been added to this page later, or did a scribe abandon a partially-copied page and return to it at a different time, resulting in the subtle change?
2. Some evidence corroborates the view (see note 2 above) that the biblical and catena texts were generally written by the same person: occasionally the scribe pens a round enlarged letter instead of a pointed one for the catena (see Image 3.11b for an example of a round o starting the catena text). Exceptionally, on folio XXXVIIv, the final line of biblical text is written in the script used for the catena.
3. There may also be a relation between the scripts of the preface and catena. While the former is in sloping pointed majuscule and the latter in upright, on folio IXv the script of the catena has a distinct hint of a slope. Is this due to distortion of the parchment or a hint of the sloping hand?
4. Accents are not found consistently throughout the manuscript, but appear extensively on some pages (notably Ir, XVIIIv and LXXr) as well as occasionally in the marginalia.<sup>22</sup>
5. The manner of treating runovers of a few characters at the end of a page (or a section of biblical text) differs. On most occasions, these are assigned a line of their

<sup>22</sup> Although Greenlee claims that accents are a regular feature of the marginal notes (page 285 below), Image 5.2 and 5.3 show that this is not the case. Note, however, the suggestion on pages 69–70 that the additional line with accents at the bottom of fol. XXr may be a possible scriptorium correction.

own aligned with the left margin (e.g. folios XXXr, XXXVr, LVIIIr, LXIXr, LXXXIVv). On at least nine folios, the extra letters are tucked under the right-hand end of the final line (folios XVIr, XXXv, XLVIv, XLVIIv, XLIXr, LXIVr, LXVIr, LXXXVv, LXXXVIr). On others still, it is centred (XXXVIr, XXXVIIIv, Lr, LIIIr, LXVIIIr, LXXIIr, LXXXIIIr, LXXXIXr). Unless this was prompted by the practice of the exemplar, might such an otherwise insignificant variation be connected with different scribal hands?

The most compelling evidence for differing forms of presentation is to be seen in the paratext and its layout. While it is not clear whether all of the paratext was written by the main scribe or whether some of it was added later, the combination of multiple features enables the identification of at least two points of disjuncture within the manuscript during the initial stage of the copying process. It remains important to remember that the pages which survive constitute discontinuous portions of the original document: they therefore provide only a part of the evidence for evaluating consistency in its production and it is impossible to tell whether any changes coincide with the beginning of new quires.

In the opening part of the catena, the marginal numerals indicating catena sections are approximately the same size as the letters of the commentary text and a space equivalent to one or two lines separates titles in the top margin from the first line of the text. A change in practice begins from folio XXXVIr, when the catena sections in the left margin of both the commentary and the biblical text suddenly decrease in size (compare Images 3.12a and 3.12b above) and the first *paragraphos* appears (see Image 3.9a), which is then used frequently in the latter part of the manuscript. In addition, titles in the top margin are no longer separated by a blank line from the text below. This paratextual variation is particularly striking given that the main text of the manuscript runs continuously from folio XXXVv to XXXVIr. Nevertheless, after five or six pages the size of the marginal numbers appears to increase again, and several pages further on the space between marginal titles and the main text becomes more variable. The second and most obvious disjunction is on folio LXXr where red ink—which had only previously appeared in the opening line of the gospel text—starts to be used for paratextual features such as the biblical *titloi*, the catena headings and the marginal numbers. This takes a few pages to become consistently established (black is still used for the catena headings on LXXr and LXXIV, as well as some of the marginal numbers on subsequent pages), but continues to the end of the extant manuscript. From folio LXXr, the position of the marginal numbers is also slightly higher in relation to the lines to which they refer.

Further inconsistencies in the paratext, however, militate against an easy separation of stages in the production of the manuscript. For instance, there are variations in the writing of the biblical *titloi*. On folio XVv and folio XVIIr, these are written in larger letters beside the gospel text, while the one on folio XXXr is in the top margin. On folio XLIIIr, the *titlos* appears in tiny letters beside the biblical text. Similarly, while the catena titles are generally written to match the biblical text, being square-shaped and well-spaced, there are a few differences, notably in the *upsilons* (some descend, some do not), and the *rhos* (some have long descenders, while some are shorter and end with a horizontal stroke). Additional kinds of variation may be illustrated from a single page, folio XLVIr (Image 3.13):

- a) the main heading in the top margin, *του αγιου τιτου*, leans left, but is generally in the style of the biblical text;
- b) on line 5 the heading *του αυτου* is written in the same style as that of the top margin;
- c) the heading partway down the thin column of the catena is written in the same style as the catena text, with longer descenders on the *upsilons*.

The Vatican paragraph numbers throughout the manuscript, which may have been added later, are also decorated in different ways.<sup>23</sup>

All told, this evidence suggests that the hierarchy of scripts is not consistent so far as the paratext is concerned. In the end, however, this further evidence may prove valuable in providing further information about the development of biblical and upright pointed majuscule. It may even help us to refine the date range for the production of Codex Zacynthius. Nevertheless, it is beyond the scope of the current project to do more than to record the evidence and suggest its significance.

## CONCLUSION

The evidence is clear that, in the joint article with Birdsall, I was correct to rule out a date before 700. The further palaeographical evidence, however, encourages us to consider anything up to the middle of the ninth century. The comparison made in the earlier piece between the script used for the catena and the Zürich Psalter is clearly weakened by the new evidence of the ornamentation. That article also argued that comparison with a hand such as Patmos 171, a catena on Job dated to the end of the eighth century, supported an earlier date for our manuscript. That may remain true so far as the script used for the biblical text is concerned, but does not apply so obviously to the catena script. Perhaps the form of biblical majuscule used in Codex Zacynthius is intentionally archaising. The use of Patmos 171 must itself be treated with caution, too: even when one considers the style of its miniatures, it remains rather difficult to date with precision.

Whether the development of the catena would encourage us to prefer a date before 800 is another matter. In retrospect, it seems clear that Birdsall would have preferred a date more unequivocally into the eighth century. This factor becomes somewhat less significant in the light of the evidence gathered in the present volume that Codex Zacynthius is not the archetype of this catena, but a copy of another catena manuscript.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, Lamb's account of the theological positions of the commentary suggest that it may have been compiled in the latter part of the sixth or early seventh century.<sup>25</sup>

The conclusion of this survey should therefore be that the material created as part of the Codex Zacynthius Project has provided good reasons for maintaining the suggested date of the eighth century. But the purpose of the project is to provide better resources and to ask further questions. Careful reflection over a longer period will be required before fuller answers can be given about the date of the underwriting.

<sup>23</sup> On the Vatican paragraph numbers, see page 38 below.

<sup>24</sup> See pages 53, 54 and 119.

<sup>25</sup> See page 133–5.

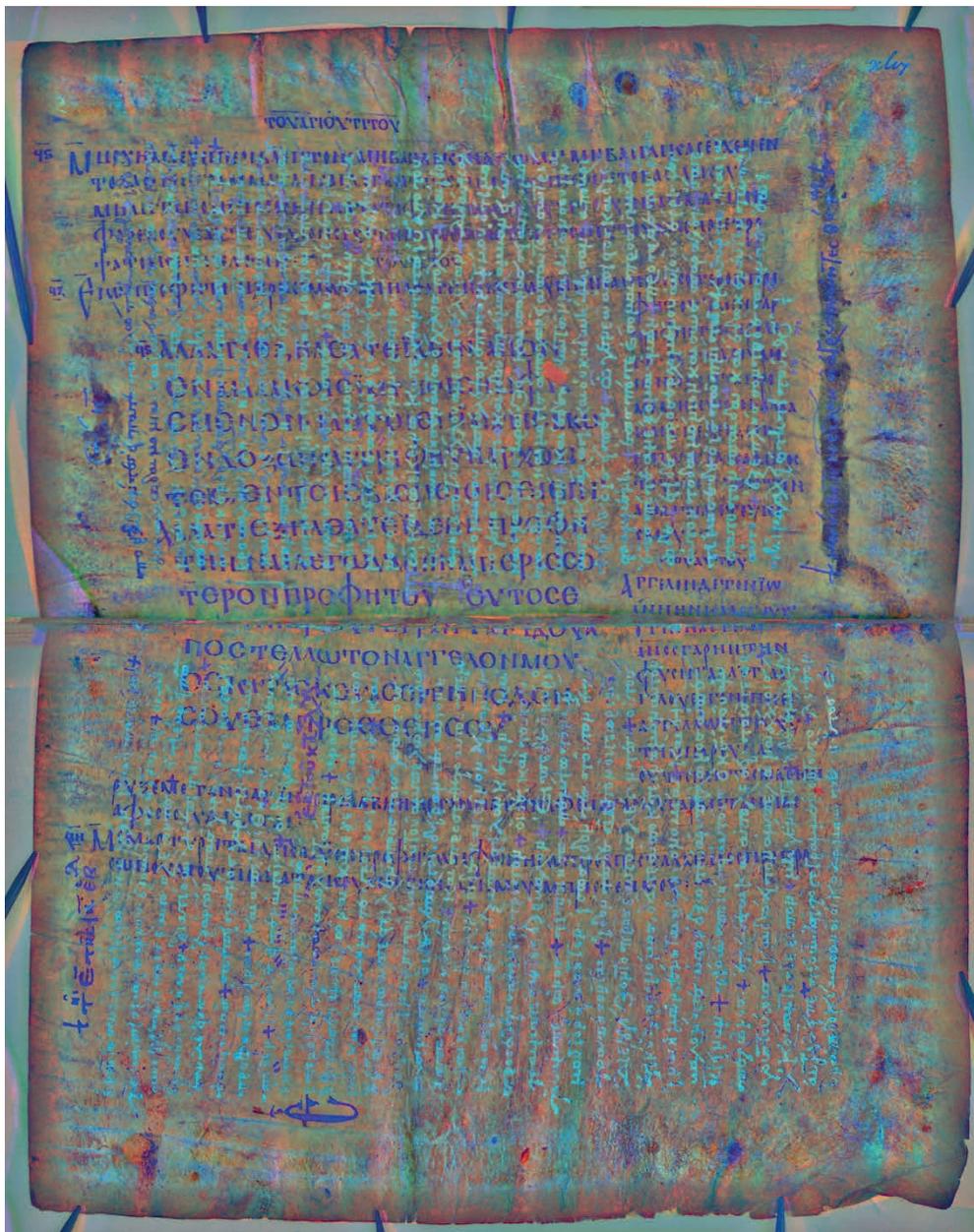


Image 3.13: Folio XLVIr, showing different scripts in the headings.

## CHAPTER 4. THE GOSPEL OF LUKE IN THE PALIMPSEST (H.A.G. HOUGHTON AND D.C. PARKER)

The biblical text of the Gospel according to Luke expounded in the palimpsest catena of Codex Zacynthius appears in larger letters in the middle of each page. The eighty-nine surviving folios of the catena contain much of the first eleven chapters of the gospel, from the beginning to Luke 11:33, although there are three missing half-pages (the top sections of folios VII, LXVIII and LXXXIX) and over twenty other folios absent from this portion, resulting in gaps of several verses at a time in the biblical text and commentary.<sup>1</sup> A total of 359 of the first 545 verses of the gospel are wholly or partially present in the manuscript, a proportion of two-thirds of the text. If the whole of Luke had been treated in a comparable way to the distribution of text on the extant leaves, it would have occupied around 240 folios in total. The presence of the initial introduction and other prefatory material suggests that the original manuscript began with Luke. While this single gospel and its commentary would have made for a fairly substantial volume in itself, it cannot be entirely ruled out that another text may have followed in this document. Equally, while it is possible that the manuscript may have been part of a set treating all four gospels, in the absence of evidence this remains speculation.

The manuscript appears to have contained the full text of the gospel. This is supported by the two folios which only feature biblical text (folios XXXv and LXIv): even though a notional margin is left where the catena normally appears, the unusually large amount of biblical text on these pages suggests that there was no intention of supplying commentary: folio XXXv consists of seventeen lines of text, covering Luke 4:39b–43a, while folio 61r has twenty lines with Luke 9:7–11a. In addition, neither of these passages contains a section number connecting the text to the commentary, even though other reference systems are present.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the surviving leaves bear witness to seventeen occasions on which biblical text was repeated in order to accompany passages of

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<sup>1</sup> For Greenlee's list of folios missing from the manuscript, see page 298 below. As in the previous chapter, all references to folio numbers in Codex Zacynthius in this chapter refer to those of the original manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> On the catena section numbers, see below and Chapter 6; Vatican Paragraph numbers (see page 37) are present on both XXXv and LXIv, while XXXv also features a *kephalaion* (see below).

commentary extending over more than one page: two verses, Luke 2:21 and 9:1, are even written three times because of the space taken up by their exegetical scholia.<sup>3</sup> This practice is not uncommon in frame catenae, although Eberhard Nestle was presumably unaware of it when he suggested that the threefold repetition of the granting of miraculous powers to the disciples in Luke 9:1 had a symbolic meaning.<sup>4</sup>

### TEXTUAL DIVISIONS AND CHAPTER TITLES

The biblical text is preceded by the preface to the catena on folio Ir, followed by a list of the standard eighty-three numbered chapters (*kephalaia*) of Luke on folios Iv–Iiv.<sup>5</sup> The *kephalaia* are common in Byzantine tradition, being first attested in the fifth-century Codex Alexandrinus (GA 02), which has the same heading for this initial list of titles (*titloi*) as Codex Zacynthius (τοῦ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγελίου τὰ κεφαλαία), although in Codex Zacynthius it precedes the titles, whereas in Codex Alexandrinus it comes afterwards.<sup>6</sup> Excluding minor matters of orthography, there are several differences between the text and sequence of this list in these two witnesses, listed in Table 4.1.

<i>Kephalaion</i>	Codex Alexandrinus	Codex Zacynthius
15	χειρα	την χειρα
16	εκλογης	διαταγης
20	αποσταλεντων	απεσταλμενων
24	λεγεωνος	εχοντος τον λεγεωνα
36	περι μαρθας και μαριας	περι του εμπεσοντος εις τους ληστας
37	περι προσευχης	περι μαρθας και μαριας
38	περι του εχοντος δαιμονιον κωφον	περι προσευχης
39	περι του εμπαισοντος εις τους ληστας	περι του εχοντος δαιμονιον κωφον

<sup>3</sup> The following verses are repeated twice: 1:2, 1:36, 1:43, 2:34, 6:24, 6:43, 7:28, 7:37, 9:16, 9:27, 9:28, 9:46, 10:22, 10:25, 10:34.

<sup>4</sup> cf. E. Nestle, *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament*, trans. William Edie (London: Williams and Norgate, New York: Putnam, 1901), 272.

<sup>5</sup> On the preface, see page 67 below. The multispectral images reveal one major correction to Tregelles' transcription of the *kephalaia*: *kephalaion* 20 (κ) reads *περι των απεσταλμενων υπο ιωαννου*, not *περι των αποσταλεντων παρα ιωαννου*. In addition, *kephalaion* 76 (οζ) reads *φιλονικησαντων*, not *φιλονεικησαντων*, while there are differences in breathings and accentuation of certain characters as follows: *ευαγγελιου* in the heading; *των αγραυλωντων* (*sic*) in 2; *εχοντος* in 5; *ιχθυων* in 11; *λευι* in 14; *εμπεσοντος* in 36; *των*<sup>2</sup> in 47; *υδρωπικου* in 52.

<sup>6</sup> See further W.A. Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*. NTTSD 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 156–61, 167–76, which is used as the source for Codex Alexandrinus in the table. Tregelles supplies an apparatus from GA 02, 04, 019, 027 and 037: the majority of variations occur in Codex Alexandrinus and errors in his list have been silently corrected in the table.

40	περι της εκ του οχλου επαρασης φωνην	περι <sup>7</sup>
55	περι	δι
56	περι	δι
57	υιου εις	εις
59	πλουσιου	του πλουσιου
63	πλουσιου	νομικου
67	δεκα μνας	μνας
69	ι(ησου)ν	κ(υριο)ν
70	παραβολη	παραβολη δι
73	εστιν υ(ιο)ς	υ(ιο)ς εστιν
74	λεπτα	δυο λεπτα
75	συντελειας	της συντελειας
82	του σωματος του κ(υριου)	του κυριακου σωματος

Table 4.1: Differences between Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Zacynthius in the *kephalaia*.

As Smith notes, the displacement of *kephalaia* 36–39 in Codex Alexandrinus is erroneous and indicates that this reference system was already established before the production of the manuscript.<sup>8</sup> Codex Zacynthius preserves the correct order. In addition, it consistently has δι(ά) following the singular παραβολή (*kephalaia* 55, 56, 70), which is an intriguing choice of preposition: other manuscripts prefer περί or omit the preposition all together.<sup>9</sup> The *titloi* and *kephalaia* are also provided on the relevant page of the gospel. Twenty-seven of the first forty-one are preserved: some are written above the biblical text but underneath the first portion of commentary, whereas others are written in the top margin of the page.<sup>10</sup> In all cases bar two, their text agrees with that of the initial list. On folio XLIVv, *kephalaion* 20 has ἀποσταλέντων (as found in Codex Alexandrinus and other manuscripts) rather than the unique ἀπεσταλμένων of the initial list, suggesting that the latter may be a copying error. On folio LXXXVIIIr, the full title of *kephalaion* 40 is given in the form present in Codex Alexandrinus despite the incomplete *titlos* in the initial list. In sum, Codex Zacynthius presents a remarkably consistent series of *kephalaia* and *titloi*, both in the initial list and accompanying the gospel text, which also has certain distinctive textual features.

<sup>7</sup> This title has been left incomplete. There is no evidence of any erasure.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, *A Study of the Gospels*, 172–3.

<sup>9</sup> The only manuscript cited by Tregelles which has δι(ά) in any of these titles is GA 019 in *kephalaion* 56; δι(ά) is also found here in the *titlos* above the biblical text in GA 579. The three titles beginning with παραβολή diverge from the grammatical sequence of the majority: all the others begin with περί apart from three with ἐπερώτησις (71, 73, 75) and the death of Herod (79).

<sup>10</sup> The following *kephalaia* and *titloi* from 1–41 are not preserved as the corresponding page is missing: 3, 5, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 23, 25, 26, 31, 36, 39.

What is even more striking in the initial list of *kephalaia*, however, is that they are set out as a synoptic table with cross-references to this type of division in the other gospels (see Image 4.1). Codex Zacynthius is the earliest known example of this use of the *kephalaia* by some distance: such tables only otherwise begin to be transmitted in the late tenth or early eleventh centuries, and are most common in the thirteenth and fourteenth century. It has been estimated that these *capitula parallela* feature in around two hundred Greek manuscripts, including many of the witnesses to the K<sup>1</sup> text: it is less common, however, to find them with a catena and the particular layout of numbers in Codex Zacynthius does not appear to be paralleled in any other witnesses to this type of table.<sup>11</sup> Given that the Eusebian apparatus was created specifically to indicate such parallels, it is surprising to find the *kephalaia* deployed in this manner, as they are far less suited to the task: for instance, there are only fourteen divisions in John. In the complete absence of all elements of the Eusebian apparatus from Codex Zacynthius, however, this system is the only means of cross-reference. After the *kephalaia* number and *titlos*, there are four further columns headed by two-letter abbreviations for Luke, John, Matthew and Mark. The full sequence of *kephalaia* numbers is repeated for Luke, with the corresponding *kephalaia* number entered when there is a parallel in one of the other gospels. On folio Iv, there are at least two additional columns of numbers in the right-hand margin, which have been partly cut off when the page was trimmed. These numbers appear also to have been written by the first hand, although perhaps on a different occasion. They reproduce most of the entries in the columns for Matthew and Mark, although there are also some floating numbers: several of the entries in the main columns for Matthew and Mark have also been corrected, indicating that these numbers had been verified, perhaps by the copyist.<sup>12</sup> Was this an attempt to cross-refer this Lukan table with either a similar synoptic table in one of the other gospels or the marginal *kephalaia* accompanying a biblical text? It is worth noting that although none of the additional numbers appear on the other pages of the *kephalaia*, the four heading abbreviations are repeated in the right margin of folio Iir, while on fol. Iv the headings are duplicated in two pairs in the top margin above the *titloi*. While the initial creation of this synoptic system probably predates Codex Zacynthius, the marginal additions demonstrate that it was actively used as a form of reference.

The scholarly apparatus of the manuscript does not end with these opening leaves and the repetition of the *kephalaia* and *titloi* in the margins of the biblical text. Two further systems of reference are found in the body of the manuscript. One is a series of section numbers which are otherwise only attested in Codex Vaticanus (GA 03), known as the Vatican Paragraphs.<sup>13</sup> Fifty-four of these numbers are present in Codex Zacynthius,

<sup>11</sup> We are grateful to Patrick Andrist and Saskia Dirkse of the ParaTexBib project at the University of Munich for this information: Dr Dirkse is currently preparing an edition of the *capitula parallela*.

<sup>12</sup> It should be observed that Tregelles' transcription of these numbers (and some of the other numbers in these columns) is often erroneous when compared with the new images.

<sup>13</sup> In earlier literature the minuscule manuscript GA 579 is often cited as a third witness to these divisions, but Hill has shown that this is not the case: Charles E. Hill, 'Rightly Dividing the Word:

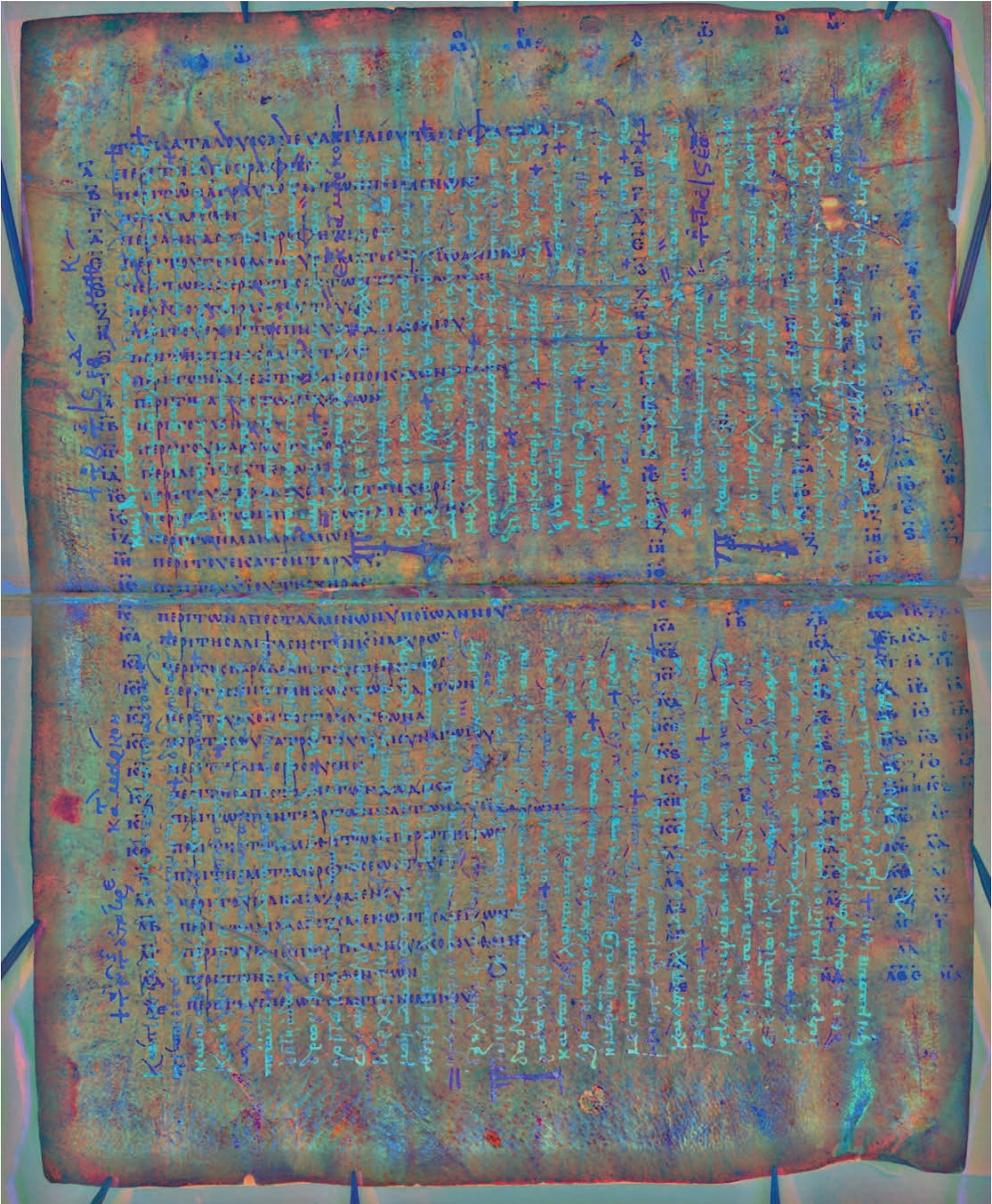


Image 4.1: The Kephalaia, Titloi and Cross-Reference Table on folio iv.

Uncovering an Early Template for Textual Division in John's Gospel,' in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity in Honor of Michael W. Holmes* (ed. Daniel M. Gurtner, Juan Hernández, Jr., Paul Foster. NTTSD 50. Leiden: Brill, 2015), 221–42; especially 228. Jesse R. Grenz, 'Textual Divisions in Codex Vaticanus: A Layered Approach to the Delimiters in B(03),' *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 23 (2018) notes that these paragraph numbers were added to Codex Vaticanus by later hands, but still locates this activity in the fourth or fifth century.

although some of those which Tregelles claimed to be able to see cannot be made out on the new images (e.g. section 11 at 2:21, section 78 at 10:21) or appear on a different page (section 74 on fol. LXXIIIr rather than LXXIIIv). These sections are often marked twice, once in the outer margin of the page in large characters and once in smaller script alongside the biblical text. The marginal indications are normally preceded by a cross symbol with pronounced serifs on the horizontal arms, not dissimilar to the letter *psi* in the manuscript (an example appears in Image 5.2). This is presumably to enable this sequence of numbers to be differentiated from the *kephalaia*: in Codex Vaticanus, there is no need for such differentiation as there are no other section numbers.<sup>14</sup> As the numbering indicates, the Vatican paragraphs occur more frequently than the *kephalaia*, corresponding on average to around one every ten modern verses. The shortest section consists of a single modern verse (section 11; Luke 2:21). In fifty cases, the location of the section number in Codex Zacynthius is identical to that in Codex Vaticanus. On folio XXXVIIv, the smaller Vatican paragraph number from section 46 appears to have been erroneously added at the beginning of the portion of biblical text, five words too early, but there is part of a cross in the gutter which suggests that the larger version of this number corresponded to the expected location at the beginning of Luke 6:28. On folio LXXIIIr, the indication of section 74 next to Luke 9:55 is two verses before its occurrence in Codex Vaticanus.<sup>15</sup> On folio LXXVIIIr, the larger number for section 77 has been added two lines above the beginning of the biblical text in the margin, while the smaller number occurs alongside the fifth word of Luke 10:16 (*ἀκούει*); in Codex Vaticanus, the beginning of this section is the first word of Luke 10:17. Finally, section number 65 is missing from Luke in Codex Vaticanus, although there is a later *paragraphos* at 9:7 and perhaps also at 9:5. In Codex Zacynthius, the number 65 is clearly visible alongside the beginning of Luke 9:3 on folio LXv.<sup>16</sup> Despite their similarity with the hand of the main text, it seems that the Vatican paragraphs may have been added at a later stage of production. On folio XXXv and LXIr, these numbers are written in the space which would normally be taken up by the catena: the difference between the two numerals on folio XXXv is typical of the variation in spacing and decoration in this sequence of numbers.<sup>17</sup> It is also telling that on folio

<sup>14</sup> Although the parallel is not exact, the early Ethiopian translation of the *Letter to Carpianus* refers to the placing of a cross next to a set of numbers in the margin, probably the *kephalaia*: Judith S. McKenzie and Francis Watson, *The Garima Gospels. Early Illuminated Gospel Books from Ethiopia* (Oxford: Manar-Al-Athar, 2016), 192, 227 and fig. 256: the actual sign used in Abba Garima III is a red *chi-rho* symbol.

<sup>15</sup> Tregelles claims to have been able to discern two faint indications of section 74 alongside 9:57 on folio XXIIIv, but these cannot be made out on the new images: given his omission of the Vatican number in the right margin of folio LXXIIIr (and his misinterpretation of the section 74 in the biblical text on this page as a catena section rather than a Vatican paragraph), we believe that his edition is in error.

<sup>16</sup> Tregelles states that the number alongside 9:3 in Codex Zacynthius has been erased, and that section 65 has also been written at Luke 9:7 on folio LXIr. There is no evidence on the new images either for the erasure or for a number at 9:7, in contrast to the clear Vatican paragraph 66 at Luke 9:10 on the same page.

<sup>17</sup> See also page 31 above.

LXXVIv, there is extensive offset ink from the Vatican paragraph on the following page, despite its being written on the fourth line, which would have allowed plenty of time for the ink to dry as the page was completed.

The third system of division in the biblical text consists of the catena sections. These are mentioned in the preface to the catena.<sup>18</sup> The numbers for each of the sets of scholia are also found alongside the biblical text, either in the margin or above the line, in order to connect the relevant gospel passage with the commentary. These are the most frequently occurring numbers, with 328 sections in the extant portion of Luke. In the last twenty pages of the manuscript (beginning with folio LXXr), most of the *kephalaia* and catena section numbers are written in red ink, along with all of the *titloi* plus the catena source indications from folio LXXIV onwards.<sup>19</sup> The only Vatican paragraph number in red is the last one (number 83 on folio LXXXVIIIv). In addition, there are several outsize capital letters in the biblical text which are likely to be connected with divisions of the text. The most prominent are at Luke 1:1, 1:3, 2:1, 2:18, 8:50 and 9:28. The first and the last of these, both *epsilons*, are decorated in a simple phytomorphic manner (see Image 3.3). As noted in Chapter 3, the *paragraphos* symbol is occasionally used from folio XXXVIr onwards (Luke 6:36) to indicate the beginning of sense units in the biblical text and the catena.

#### EARLIER CHARACTERISATIONS OF THE GOSPEL TEXT AND THE EVALUATION OF *TEXT UND TEXTWERT*<sup>20</sup>

Initial observations by Tregelles suggested that the gospel text of Codex Zacynthius was of great value. He considered that in the three oldest known catena manuscripts

is found that class of text which Comparative Criticism proves to be the oldest; and in  $\Xi$  and the Moscow Fragments its purity is such that it may be compared to the extant Codices of the fourth century, B and  $\aleph$  (Tischendorf's Codex Sinaiticus). Thus, as far as facts and Codices are now known, we may form what might be termed a provisional conclusion, that the oldest MSS. with Catenae or Scholia (and those of three successive centuries) are monuments of the older text.<sup>21</sup>

Nevertheless, Tregelles did not contribute a full study of or commentary on the biblical text in his edition of 1861. Twenty years later Pocock, reliant on Tregelles' edition,

<sup>18</sup> See pages 67–8 below. Tregelles occasionally confuses the numerals of the catena sections and *kephalaia* (e.g. folios XXIIIv and XXIVr).

<sup>19</sup> See page 30 above.

<sup>20</sup> In what follows, most references to Greek New Testament manuscripts apart from Codex Zacynthius are by their Gregory-Aland numbers (in which Codex Zacynthius has the siglum GA 040); earlier literature also uses alphabetical sigla (in which Codex Zacynthius is indicated as  $\Xi$ ).

<sup>21</sup> Tregelles, *Codex Zacynthius*, iv. The other two manuscripts are Codex Monacensis (GA 033) and GA 050.

compared the manuscript favourably to Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.<sup>22</sup> Hort's description of the text of Codex Zacynthius, originally published in the same year, characterised it as similar to that of the fifth-century GA 029:

The Greek text of the Graeco-Thebaic fragments of St Luke and St John (T, Cent. V) is entirely Pre-Syrian and almost entirely Non-Western. That of the considerable fragments of St Luke called  $\Xi$  has a similar foundation, with a larger share of Alexandrian corrections, and also a sprinkling of Western and Syrian readings: this character is the more remarkable as the date seems to be Cent. VIII.<sup>23</sup>

This statement may be somewhat confusing, since these two manuscripts overlap in content for just nine verses: Hort is rather drawing attention to a similarity of affiliation. One searches in vain for an account of Codex Zacynthius in von Soden. Kenyon put forward a different view, writing that: 'Its text belongs to the same class as L [019], having a large number of Alexandrian readings, and also some of Western type.'<sup>24</sup> The Alands placed it in their Category III, among the 'manuscripts of a distinctive character with an independent text, usually important for establishing the original text, but particularly important for the history of the text'.<sup>25</sup> It has been a 'consistently cited' (or 'constant') witness in all recent editions of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece*, appearing no fewer than 258 times in the critical apparatus of NA28.

The *Text und Textwert* collation of all available continuous-text manuscripts permits us to locate the text of Codex Zacynthius within the broader tradition of the Greek New Testament.<sup>26</sup> In the two volumes on the Gospel according to Luke published in this series in 1999, Codex Zacynthius is extant at sixteen of the fifty-four test passages (*Teststellen*).<sup>27</sup> These passages are shown in Table 4.2, where the reading of Codex Zacynthius is highlighted.

TS	Luke	Reading 1 (Majority)	Reading 2 (Nestle-Aland)	Reading 3
1	2:14	ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία	ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας	
2	2:15	καὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι οἱ ποιμένες	οἱ ποιμένες (19)	
6	5:17	αὐτοῦς	αὐτόν (15)	

<sup>22</sup> See the quotations on page 3 above.

<sup>23</sup> B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*. Vol. 2. Second edn. (London: Macmillan, 1896), 153.

<sup>24</sup> Frederic G. Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*. Fifth edn. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1958), 217.

<sup>25</sup> K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*. Second edn. trans. Erroll F. Rhodes, (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1989); quotation from 106.

<sup>26</sup> For an introduction, see Aland & Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 317–37.

<sup>27</sup> K. Aland†, B. Aland, K. Wachtel, with Klaus Witte, ed., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*. IV. *Die Synoptischen Evangelien 3. Das Lukasevangelium*. ANTF 30–31 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1999). Our transcription in every place confirms the reading reported in the printed volume. It should be noted that the data reported here differs slightly from the summary of the readings for Codex Zacynthius presented in Aland & Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 118, prior to the publication of *Text und Textwert*.

9	6:26 (1)	καλῶς ὑμᾶς εἶπωσιν	ὑμᾶς καλῶς εἶπωσιν	
10	6:26 (2)	οἱ ἄνθρωποι	πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι (648)	
11	6:38	τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ ᾧ	ᾧ γὰρ μέτρῳ (19)	
12	7:11	αὐτοὶ ἱκανοί	αὐτοῦ (18)	
13	8:27	ἐκ χρόνων ἱκανῶν καὶ	καὶ χρόνῳ ἱκανῶ (13)	
15	9:2	ἰᾶσθαι τοὺς ἀσθενούντας	ἰᾶσθαι τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς (22)	
16	9:3	(Reading 1/2) ἀνὰ δύο		δύο (17)
17	9:54	αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ Ἥλιος ἐποίησεν	αὐτοῦς (16)	
18	9:55	αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν οὐκ ... ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς	αὐτοῖς (446)	
19	9:56	ὁ γὰρ υἱός ... ἄλλα σῶσαι	omitted (451)	
20	10:21	τῷ πνεύματι ὁ Ἰησοῦς	ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ (6)	
21	10:22	καὶ στραφεῖς ... εἶπεν πάντα	πάντα (160)	
22	10:38	αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῆς	αὐτόν	αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν (8)

Table 4.2: Codex Zacynthius in *Text und Textwert*.

This distribution confirms the importance of the text of the manuscript. In only two of the sixteen variants does Codex Zacynthius side with the majority of witnesses against the Nestle-Aland editorial text (*Teststellen* 1 and 9). In twelve of the variants, the agreement is with this text against the later tradition (2, 6, 10–13, 15, 17–21). On two occasions, the manuscript differs from both these traditions, with a *Sonderlesart* (16, 22). It is also instructive to consider how many witnesses support the reading of this manuscript where it is not the majority. These are the numbers given in parentheses in Table 4.2. Three of these (10, 18, 19) look like a place where the Byzantine text is divided, so the *Teststellen* do not present a binary distinction between an early and a late form of text. At the same time, for both of the *Sonderlesarten* a case might be constructed for preferring this reading to the one currently adopted in the Nestle-Aland edition. It is therefore important not to regard the figures that emerge from this information as conclusive: they are better treated as hints to be followed up.

The online ‘Manuscript Clusters’ tool builds on the printed *Text und Textwert* data to provide information about a witness’s closest relatives.<sup>28</sup> The data may be reviewed in several different ways. The first, known as the Simple Grouping, lists all manuscripts that agree with the selected witness more often than that witness agrees with the majority text. The option ‘Further Relations’ has also been selected. This shows the highest ranked of one or more witnesses that agree with a comparator witness more than it agrees with the selected witness. Below are the first twenty comparator witnesses with the highest percentage agreement with Codex Zacynthius. The columns from left to right indicate (1)

<sup>28</sup> [http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT\\_PP/](http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/).

the ranking, (2) the siglum of the comparator witness, (3) the level of agreement between the witnesses as a percentage and also the absolute number of readings and (4) the highest rank further relation, where it exists, along with its percentage agreement.

#### 040, Simple Grouping, Showing Further Relations

040 agrees with the MT at 12.5%

1)	01	(75.0% - 12/16)	
2)	019	(75.0% - 12/16)	
3)	1241	(73.3% - 11/15)	
4)	P75	(70.0% - 7/10)	
5)	03	(68.8% - 11/16)	
6)	579	(66.7% - 10/15)	
7)	1342	(62.5)	95 (96.9)
8)	1612	(57.1)	771 (71.0)
9)	33	(53.3% - 8/15)	
10)	157	(50.0)	749 (70.6)
11)	05	(43.8% - 7/16)	
12)	032	(43.8)	166 (82.4)
13)	1	(43.8)	2300 (65.5)
14)	1582	(43.8)	2300 (65.5)
15)	1627	(43.8)	2398 (93.8)
16)	2193	(43.8)	2172 (70.4)
17)	118	(40.0)	2147 (73.2)
18)	0211	(37.5)	771 (92.7)
19)	131	(37.5)	485 (69.2)
20)	205	(37.5)	485 (69.2)

This shows that the witnesses closest to Codex Zacynthius are Codex Sinaiticus (GA 01) and the eighth-century Codex Regius (GA 019), followed by GA 1241, P75, Codex Vaticanus and GA 579. A more distinguished group of witnesses to the earliest text of Luke would be hard to imagine! A second analysis is known as the Strict Grouping. This criterion includes all witnesses that agree with the selected witness more often than both it and a comparator witness agree with the Majority Text. This list is usually shorter. The second number in the first column indicates the witness's ranking in the simple grouping.

#### 040, Strict Grouping, Showing Further Relations

040 agrees with the MT at 12.5%

1 - 1)	01	75.0% - 12/16
2 - 2)	019	75.0% - 12/16
3 - 3)	1241	73.3% - 11/15
4 - 4)	P75	70.0% - 7/10
5 - 5)	03	68.8% - 11/16
6 - 6)	579	66.7% - 10/15

7 - 9)	33	53.3% - 8/15
8 - 11)	05	43.8% - 7/16

Again, the six closest witnesses remain unchanged, all with an agreement of more than 66%. To get a sense of how close these affiliations are, let us take some comparisons. First, the strict grouping for Codex Vaticanus in Luke:

### 03, Strict Grouping, Showing Further Relations

03 agrees with the MT at 1.9%

1 - 1)	P75	(86.1% - 31/36)
2 - 2)	01	(67.9% - 36/53)
3 - 3)	019	(63.0% - 34/54)
4 - 4)	1241	(54.7% - 29/53)
5 - 5)	579	(45.3% - 24/53)

Evidence for a close relationship between GA 03 and P75 was presented by Martini, and the data seems to bear this out.<sup>29</sup> If we take Family 1, a set of manuscripts where there is plenty of evidence for a close affinity, then we find a far higher level of agreement. The following is the data for GA 1582, a key member of the family:

### 1582, Strict Grouping, Showing Further Relations

1582 agrees with the MT at 51.9%

1 - 1)	1	(98.2% - 53/54)
2 - 2)	2193	(92.5% - 49/53)
3 - 3)	131	(88.9% - 48/54)
4 - 4)	209	(87.0% - 47/54)
5 - 5)	205	(85.2% - 46/54)
6 - 6)	118	(80.0% - 40/50)

An equally close comparison is found between 18 and 35, two leading members of the K<sup>r</sup> Group, which agree at 98.2%, that is in 53 out of 54 test passages. At the other extreme, Codex Bezae (GA 05) returns these figures:

### 05, Strict Grouping, Showing Further Relations

05 agrees with the MT at 32.1%

1 - 32)	1241	(36.5% - 19/52)	P75 (58.3)
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Thus there is only one witness to which Codex Bezae is closer than its agreement with the Majority Text, and even this witness (GA 1241) agrees more with a third witness (P75).

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<sup>29</sup> Carlo Maria Martini, *Il problema della recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV*. Analecta Biblica 26 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1966).

The agreement of Codex Zacynthius with the six other manuscripts, led by Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Regius, is therefore quite high, but not so high as to indicate a very close relationship. It should also be remembered that in this analysis we are only dealing with sixteen readings, so that percentages can be changed dramatically by a few differences.<sup>30</sup>

If we consider the tables of agreement of all manuscripts with the Majority and the Nestle-Aland texts, we gain a further insight about the affiliations of Codex Zacynthius. In the table showing agreements with the Majority text, this witness stands ninth from the bottom at 12.5%. The witnesses below it are P75, 01, 03, P3, P4, 029, 079 and 0291. The last five of these, however, are only present in a few *Teststellen*. The figures for the other three (with a few above it as well) are:

019	14.8%	(8/54)
070	14.3%	(2/14)
<b>040</b>	<b>12.5%</b>	<b>(2/16)</b>
P75	8.3%	(3/36)
01	7.6%	(4/53)
03	1.9%	(1/54)

In the table showing agreement with the Nestle-Aland text, Codex Zacynthius comes fourth. Here the order is:

P75	86.1%	(31/36)
03	85.2%	(46/54)
070	78.6%	(11/14)
<b>040</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>(12/16)</b>
019	66.7%	(36/54)
01	64.2%	(34/53)

Codex Zacynthius is thus not only distant from the Majority text in the *Teststellen* for Luke, but also close to the reconstruction of the earliest attainable text in Nestle-Aland rather than presenting an independent set of readings. Indeed, if we compare its proportion of *Sonderlesarten* (readings labelled as 3 or higher in *Text und Textwert*) with the witnesses with which it is grouped in these tables, we find that it is below the mean, although with a lower number of available readings the figures should be treated with particular caution.

01	43.8%	(16/48)
019	24.5%	(12/49)
03	16.3%	(8/49)
<b>040</b>	<b>14.3%</b>	<b>(2/14)</b>
P75	9.4%	(3/32)
070	8.1%	(1/12)

We can also use these figures to evaluate the suggestions by Hort and by Kenyon regarding the character of the manuscript's text. Hort's description, as is usually the case, appears precise but is drawn with quite a broad brush. 'Pre-Syrian' might be said to be supported

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<sup>30</sup> For example, the *Hauptliste* in the printed volumes of *Text und Textwert* (p. 160) gives the agreement of 01 and 040 as 85.7%, because it excludes the *Sonderlesarten*, so that the two are recorded as agreeing in 12 out of 14 readings.

by the low degree of agreement with the Majority; the ‘larger share of Alexandrian corrections’ is the Hortian way of saying that it is not quite as old as his Neutral manuscripts (Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus). This is less clearly borne out, since we can now see that these two manuscripts are not as similar as was once thought. Kenyon’s suggestion is more strongly supported, since the data indicates that, along with GA 01, GA 019 is 040’s closest relative, agreeing in three-quarters of the test passages.

### THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE MULTISPECTRAL IMAGING

As noted in Chapter 1, Greenlee published a list of corrections to Tregelles’ edition based on his examination of the manuscript in 1950.<sup>31</sup> Most of Greenlee’s readings have subsequently been adopted in the Nestle-Aland and United Bible Societies hand editions as well as the extensive apparatus of textual evidence for Luke published by the International Greek New Testament project (hereafter IGNTP Luke).<sup>32</sup> The transcription made by the Codex Zacynthius Project from the multispectral images confirms almost all of Greenlee’s corrections to Tregelles. In particular, we agree with Greenlee that there is no sign of a correction in Luke 8:43.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, there are two occasions on which Tregelles’ reading has been upheld. At Luke 7:33, Greenlee was not able to see the supralinear stroke for *nu* at the end of *αρτον*, but it is visible on the new images; these also confirm Tregelles’ *σοι* rather than Greenlee’s *σε* at Luke 10:21. On two further occasions, an alternative reading is preferred to both these authorities, albeit with some hesitation. At Luke 6:36, where Tregelles had *εστιν* and Greenlee proposed a correction to *εστιν*, we suggest that the manuscript has *εστην*. Similarly, in Luke 10:33, Codex Zacynthius appears to read *σαμαρητης* rather than Tregelles’ *σαμαρειτης* or Greenlee’s *σαμαριτης*.

The new transcription offers eleven further corrections to Tregelles’ transcription which were not spotted by Greenlee:

- 1:6 *ενωπιον* ] *εναντιον*
- 1:22 *εωρακεν* ] *εορακεν*
- 2:36 *αννης* ] *αννας* (in the *titlos*)
- 5:27 *του* ] *τον* (in the *titlos*)
- 7:21 *αυτη δε* ] *εκεινη*
- 8:30 *οτι* : no erasure
- 8:46 *εξελθουσαν* ] *εξεληλυθειαν*

<sup>31</sup> J. Harold Greenlee, ‘A Corrected Collation of Codex Zacynthius (Cod. Ξ)’ *JBL* 76.3 (1957): 237–41. See also Appendix 2 in the present volume, pp. 281–99.

<sup>32</sup> The American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project, *The New Testament in Greek. The Gospel according to St Luke*. 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984, 1987).

<sup>33</sup> Both NA28 and IGNTP Luke record a first-hand reading of *απ* here. However, the space between the two letters is inconsistent with an initial *α* and the downstroke which might have been considered the main part of the *α* is more in keeping with the thick downstroke of the *υ* as shown elsewhere on this page.

9:3 μητε δυο ] μηδε δυο  
 10:1 ετερους ] ετερου  
 10:1 ημελλεν ] εμελλεν  
 10:33 κατ αυτον ] κατ.εν.<sup>34</sup>

There are a number of other minor alterations to Tregelles regarding marginal section numbers alongside the biblical text (as well as in the initial tables), the division of words between lines and the use of a supralinear stroke for *nu*, but as these do not affect the reading of the biblical text they have not been reported here.<sup>35</sup> The most significant of the new readings are at Luke 1:6, 7:21 and 8:46, all of which take this witness away from the reading of the Majority text to support instead the editorial text of NA28. While the latter two may be clearly discerned on the corresponding image, the reading at Luke 1:6 requires some justification. Here, much of the word is hidden in the gutter and only the lowest 20–30% of each letter is visible (see Image 4.2). The bow of the initial *epsilon* and descenders of *nu* can be made out. These are followed by some small strokes which correspond best to the bow and tail of *alpha*: although the match is not perfect, an *omega* would have a large flat base line rather than these small curved marks. In addition, descenders can subsequently be seen which correspond to the expected spacing for *nu*, *tau* and *iota*. Had the descenders for *tau* and *iota* been part of a *pi* (as in *ενωπιον*), they would have left an excessively large gap for the previous *omega*. Unlike *pi*, but in keeping with *tau* and *iota*, these two lines also appear to be at a slightly different angle to each other. The curved base of *omicron* is then clearly visible, as is the base of the following two words. In Image 4.2, samples of letters from this or one of the neighbouring pages have been added immediately above the visible marks to match the options for reconstruction.<sup>36</sup>



Image 4.2: Folio Vr, lower part of gutter with reconstructed characters

<sup>34</sup> The available space in the manuscript is not sufficient for Tregelles' reading: while the opening characters are visible, the rest of the reading is very unclear.

<sup>35</sup> In addition to the readings at 1:6, 7:21 and 8:46, there are three further occasions when the new transcription indicates a change to the citation of Zacynthus (Ξ) in NA28: confirmation of the reading *ἐμέ* at 1:43 (present in both attestations of this verse); the absence of the article *αί* at 5:23; the reading *ὄπ* at 8:43 (no first hand or correction). These are expected to be incorporated in the next printing of this edition.

<sup>36</sup> For textual matters which remain unresolved despite the new images, see page 70 below.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND CORRECTIONS

The biblical text contains few abbreviations, apart from *nomina sacra*.<sup>37</sup> The nouns θεός, κύριος, Ἰησοῦς and Χριστός are always abbreviated using the standard *nomina sacra*, as are the Greek proper nouns for Israel (as ΙΗΛ) and Jerusalem (as ΙΑΗΜ).<sup>38</sup> Πνεῦμα is always abbreviated when it refers to the Holy Spirit, but normally written in full for evil spirits (e.g. Luke 4:33, 7:21, 8:29, 11:26): the sole exception is the use of a *nomen sacrum* for an unclean spirit at Luke 9:42. The word ἀνθρωπος is always abbreviated. The treatment of other words is less consistent: πατήρ is normally written in full, but appears as a *nomen sacrum* in five verses including a reference to the forefathers (Luke 6:26; see also 6:36, 9:26, 10:21 and 10:22); μήτηρ is also occasionally abbreviated, once when not referring to Mary (Luke 7:15; see also 1:43, 8:19, 8:20). David is once written as a *nomen sacrum* (Luke 2:11; contrast 1:32 and 2:4), as is σωτήρ (Luke 1:41; contrast 2:11).<sup>39</sup> The most surprising variation appears in the treatment of υἱός. The twelve occurrences of this word before Luke 9:22 are all written in full; *nomina sacra* are found in Luke 9:22, 9:35, 9:58 and 10:22 (on all occasions), whereas in 9:26 (in the phrase ‘son of man’), 9:41, 9:44 and 10:6 it is written in full.<sup>40</sup> This pattern appears to suggest that there was a change in practice somewhere between Luke 8:28 and 9:22, probably in an antigraph; the irregular *nomen sacrum* for πνεῦμα at 9:42 might also be a symptom of this. It may be noted that this precedes the codicological discontinuity in Zacynthius itself with the use of red ink from folio 70r, which begins with Luke 9:45.<sup>41</sup>

The transcription produced by the Codex Zacynthius Project identifies thirteen corrections to the gospel text. Most of these are minor adjustments of obvious first hand errors: the erasure of a *tau* at 6:26 and an *alpha* at 9:7; the addition of a missing *gamma* in 7:13 and *sigma* in 8:25; the provision of articles omitted from 7:18, 7:24 and 8:33; the erasure of the duplicated ωσει at 9:14.<sup>42</sup> The correction of κλαντε to κλαυσετε *in scribendo* at 6:26 is clearly by the first hand, as is the repositioning of the biblical text on folio XLIIIv. The only extensive correction occurs at Luke 9:10.<sup>43</sup> Here, the main text of Codex Zacynthius has the rare reading εἰς πολιν καλουμενην, adopted as the editorial text in NA28

<sup>37</sup> A supralinear stroke is used in place of final -ν on seventy-nine occasions; the commonest abbreviation is for ου, often in the pronoun μου, but there are two examples of abbreviations for α (Luke 4:6, 7:47) and one for ων (Luke 6:27); there are two instances of the και compendium (Luke 8:19 and 9:42). See Chapter 3 above for illustrations; the copying practice in the catena text is considered on pages 116–9 below.

<sup>38</sup> Tregelles reads τησους in full in 9:62, but this is erroneous. The spelling χριστος for χρηστος in 6:35 is noted below.

<sup>39</sup> Σωτηρ is also abbreviated in the *kephalaion* on fol. XXVIIr.

<sup>40</sup> Tregelles erroneously has a *nomen sacrum* in 9:26.

<sup>41</sup> See further page 30.

<sup>42</sup> We are reliant on Tregelles for the corrections at 8:33 and 9:7. In addition, a later hand appears to have added a catena section number at Luke 1:78 and a Vatican Paragraph number at 6:27.

<sup>43</sup> This was first reported in Greenlee, ‘A Corrected Collation’.

(supported by P75, the corrector ‘ca’ to Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus, although the first two appear to read  $\beta\eta\delta\sigma\alpha\iota\delta\alpha$  rather than  $\beta\eta\theta\sigma\alpha\iota\delta\alpha$ ). To the right of this, in the column left blank where the catena would normally be, is written the alternative reading  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\rho\eta\mu\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\pi\omicron\nu\ \pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$  which is a variant of the Majority text, also attested in Codex Alexandrinus and Family 13. This, too, may be the work of the first hand: the ink colour appears to match that of the rest of the page, and the script corresponds to that used for the catena. A parallel to this is provided by the addition to the catena written by the first hand in the margin of folio XVIIIv.<sup>44</sup>

On at least one occasion, the copyist made an error in the distribution of the gospel text which has not been corrected: folio XLv begins in the middle of the word  $\delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\nu$  of Luke 6:42 despite the complete word (and several following) being provided on the previous page. On folio XLIIIv, the copyist initial began the biblical section one line higher, and decided to start lower in order to make for a better distribution of the text in the available space.<sup>45</sup> It is also worth observing that on folio XXXVIIv, the final line of biblical text is written in the script used for the commentary.

### A FULL EXAMINATION OF THE GOSPEL TEXT

A collation of the entire surviving text of the Gospel according to Luke in Codex Zacynthius against the editorial text of NA28 and the Robinson-Pierpont (RP) edition of the Majority text provides the following overview:

Total number of variation units	516
Total agreements between Zacynthius and NA28	261
Total agreements between Zacynthius and RP	86
Variants where Zacynthius differs from both RP and NA28	168
Variants where RP and NA28 agree against Zacynthius	156

Table 4.3: Affiliations of Full Collation of Codex Zacynthius Gospel Text.

These figures confirm the character of the witness proposed above based on the analysis of *Text und Textwert*.<sup>46</sup> Codex Zacynthius is clearly closer to the earliest text of Luke as reconstructed in NA28, rather than the later Majority text. While the agreement with the current editorial text is only just above 50% (261/516 units), the Majority text agreement of 16.7% (86/516 units) is comparable with the figure of 12.5% from the sixteen passages in *Text und Textwert*. These figures would be differentiated still further once some of the differences from both texts have been filtered out. At least half of the of the 168 differences from both editions (32.6% of the total variants) are insignificant for the affiliation of the text, because they comprise orthographic alternatives and copying errors; such variants are also included in the figure of 156 variants where NA28 and the Majority text agree against

<sup>44</sup> See further pages 68–9 below.

<sup>45</sup> There are similar examples of the repositioning of the text of the catena on folios LIVr and LXr.

<sup>46</sup> We would expect percentages based on a larger amount of text to be less extreme than the very small sample size of *Text und Textwert*.

Codex Zacynthius. While there is a core of readings where Codex Zacynthius agrees with the Majority text against the current critical edition, there are over three times more agreements with NA28 against the Majority which confirm the early and distinctive character of the gospel text in this manuscript.

With regard to orthography, fifty-nine differences are common spelling variants in later Greek, such as alternation between *ει*, *ι* and *η* or between *αι* and *ε*. While eleven of these instances of later spellings find parallels in RP and there is one preference for the form in NA28 (the first hand reading at 9:7), on forty-seven occasions the manuscript differs from both editions (27.8% of these 168 variants). The spelling of David throughout the manuscript is *δανειδ* (1:32), while Quirinius is *κυρινιου* (2:2); *χρηστός* in 6:35 is written as *χριστος* (followed by *ἀχριστους* for *ἀχαριστους*). Final *-ν* appears to be omitted on several occasions (although supralinear strokes are not always easy to make out on the palimpsest), while *ἐν* is twice assimilated to *ἐμ* before labials (8:7 and 10:3). Nazareth is written as *ναζαρετ* in 2:4 and 2:39 but as *ναζαρα* in 4:16, a pattern matching GA 03. Both versions of 10:34 have *πανδοκιον* rather than *πανδοχεϊον*, a reading otherwise only found in the tenth-century GA 028.<sup>47</sup> In certain cases, the orthography might provide information as to the date at which the manuscript was produced. For example, at Luke 2:16, Codex Zacynthius reads *ευραν*, a form only otherwise present in a correction to GA 01 and 019.

Nine variants from both editions are simple copying errors involving the duplication of a letter, syllable or word (2:1, 2:16, 6:26, 9:14) or the omission of one or two letters (6:27, 6:34, 7:13, 11:27). Two of these are corrected by a later hand (6:26, 7:13), while an entire line is duplicated at 6:42. Other errors may be identified through grammatical incongruity, such as *καρπος* for *κάρφος* in 6:42 and *καταβαινον* for *κατέβαινε* in 10:30. The majority of the thirty-four occasions when Zacynthius lacks one or two, usually short, words present in both editions are likely to be scribal oversights: even so, several of these are paralleled in other manuscripts and are mentioned below. There are only two omissions of three words or more: *πρὸ προσώπου σου* from 7:27 and *οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸ μῦθον* from 11:33. While the first of these is unique to Zacynthius (and is therefore probably an error), the latter is shared with a number of witnesses including P45, P75, GA 019 and Family 1.

This leaves a total of 156 places where Codex Zacynthius differs from NA28, of which seventy-one are paralleled in RP. Twelve of these are differences in word order, normally the inversion of a pair of words.<sup>48</sup> Twenty involve additional words such as articles or pronouns. The addition of *καὶ ὑμεῖς* in 6:31 is found in several early majuscule manuscripts, and there is also early support for *πρὸς αὐτόν* in 7:6. In the middle of 6:45, Zacynthius has *ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος*, corresponding to *ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος* at the beginning of the verse. The longest addition is the repetition of *καὶ λέγει[ς] τίς ὁ ἀνήμενος μου* at the end of 8:45, in harmony with the synoptic parallel, again matched by a number of early

<sup>47</sup> IGNTP Luke has been used as well as NA28 to provide readings of other manuscripts in the present analysis and establish the attestation of variants.

<sup>48</sup> Differences in word order occur at 3:16, 6:26, 6:42, 7:6, 7:35, 8:30, 9:13, 10:2, 10:5, 10:6, 10:35, 11:27.

witnesses. Among the other parallels with the Majority text, the following may be noted: Codex Zacynthius consistently has seventy rather than seventy-two disciples (10:1 and 10:17); it reads *μεγαλ(ε)ία* rather than *μεγάλα* at 1:49, the aorist tense in 1:78 and the nominative *εὐδοκία* in 2:14; all verbs in 3:17 are in the future tense; 4:1 has *εἰς τὸν ἔρημον*; it supports *κραυγάζοντα* in 4:41 and omits *γάρ* from 6:33; in 8:19 it has the plural *παρεγέροντο*, but the singular *παρεκαλεῖ* in 8:31; it prefers the relative clause *ὃς εἶχεν* to *ἔχων* in 8:27; in 9:47 it reads *ιδῶν* for *εἰδῶς*, along with the genitive *παιδίου*; the form of the last verb in 10:1 appears to be *ἔμελλεν* rather than *ἤμελλεν*; in 10:15, *καταβιβασθήση* is preferred to *καταβήση*. With the exception of 10:1, all of these and the other readings of this nature are attested in earlier majuscules such as GA 02 and, occasionally, GA 01.

Among the numerous places at which Codex Zacynthius supports the reconstructed text of NA28 against the Majority text, the most significant are those which are only supported by a few other witnesses. These include: the absence of *τοῦ* in 1:5; *ἐναντίον* rather than *ἐνώπιον* in 1:6; *ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτόν* in 1:21; *συνείληφεν* in 1:36; *κραυγῆ* rather than *φωνῆ* in 1:42; *με* in 1:43; the absence of *τό* from 2:12; *ἐπέστρεψαν* in 2:39; *Ναζαρά* at 4:16; *αὐτόν* at the end of 5:17 and the inclusion of the same word in the next verse; the word order *ἀμαρτίας ἀφείναι* in 5:21; *ἠκολούθει* in 5:28; *ποιῆσαι νηστεῦσαι* in 5:34; the absence of *γάρ* from 6:34; the word order *μονογενῆς υἱὸς* in 7:12; *μήτε* rather than *μή* followed by a long variant in word order in 7:33; the word order *ἦτις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει* in 7:37; the absence of *δέ* in 7:42 and 7:43; the word order *ιδεῖν θέλοντές σε* in 8:20; variations involving *ἱκανῶ* and *ἐνεδύσατο* in 8:27; the absence of *αὐτῷ* from 8:49 and *λέγων* from 8:50; *πίστευσον* in 8:50; *ἐκωλύομεν* rather than the weak aorist in 9:49; the initial word order and the dative *τῇ βασιλείᾳ* in 9:62; *ὑψώθηση* in 10:15; the absence of *ἐν* and *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* from 10:21; the datives with *ἐν ἔλῃ* in 10:27; *ἐν δέ* at the beginning of 10:38 followed by the absence of *καί*. The antiquity of these readings is confirmed by their attestation: almost all are paralleled in GA 03, with some also found in P45 and P75 (e.g. 10:15, 10:21, 10:27) and GA 01 (e.g. 4:16, 5:34, 7:33). Indeed, Zacynthius and GA 03 are the only two majuscules missing *τό* in 2:12, while the variants in 5:21 and 8:20 are restricted to these two manuscripts and, respectively, GA 05 and P75. Many readings are shared by Zacynthius, GA 03 and the eighth-century Codex Regius (GA 019), including the rare forms adopted in the NA28 text at 7:43 and 8:50.

After accounting for orthographic differences and probable errors, there remain around eighty occasions on which Codex Zacynthius differs from both NA28 and RP. The majority of these are paralleled in other manuscripts, although in some cases the attestation is very scarce. For example, according to IGNTP Luke, the word order *καλεῖτε με* in 6:46 is restricted to Codex Zacynthius, GA 544 and the Latin tradition; the addition of *αὐτοὺς* in 7:19 is only otherwise found in GA 1604 and some versional evidence; GA 579 is the sole other witness to omit *χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσι* from 7:22; in 7:32 *λέγοντα* is only otherwise found in GA 01<sup>c</sup>, 032 and 157; GA 565 alone matches the lack of *πρός* in 9:33. An aorist, *ἤκουσεν*, in 10:39 appears solely in P3, P45, 019, Codex Zacynthius and L253.<sup>49</sup>

A number of the variants are harmonisations to other biblical passages or to the immediate context. Among the readings influenced by synoptic parallels are *παραλυτικῶ* for *παραλελυμένῳ* in 5:24, *ἀμῆν λέγω* at the beginning of 7:28, *ιδῶσιν* rather than *βλέπωσιν*

<sup>49</sup> IGNTP Luke does not record P3 here, but it is listed in NA28 and has been verified from images.

in 8:10 and the sequence of James and John at 9:28. The reading *έτερον* for *άλλον* in both 7:19 and 7:20 is a harmonisation to Matthew 11:3 found in both GA 01 and 05, while P45 offers the earliest evidence for *διδάσκαλε* in place of *έπιστάτα* in 9:49 (*cf.* Mark 9:38). The addition of *σκολάζοντα* in 11:25, apparently under the influence of Matthew 12:44, is matched by GA 03 and numerous other early witnesses. Harmonisations to the more immediate Lukan context include *ήρωτών* for *παρεκάλουν* in 7:4, a repetition of the verb from the previous verse as also attested in GA 01, 05, 019 and Family 13. Similarly, *παρά* for *έπί* in 8:6 duplicates the preposition in 8:5, while *τελεσφοροῦσιν* in 8:15, repeated from the previous verse, is only otherwise found in GA 019.

Some of the readings not found in either NA28 or RP may be seen as stages in the development of the Byzantine text, such as *καί οι σὺν αὐτῷ* in 8:45, the word order *δύο ιχθύες* in 9:13, the addition of *ήμῶν* after *πόδας* in 10:11, or the addition of *εις τήν οικίαν* at the end of 10:38. The variation *αὐτοῖς* rather than *πρὸς αὐτούς* is found in 5:31 and 9:13: on both occasions it is also attested in 019, joined by a number of lectionary manuscripts in 5:31; the readings *ίασατο* in 9:11 and *τρεις σκηνάς* in 9:33 also have extensive lectionary support. The expansion after *κωλύετε* in 9:50, which in Codex Zacynthius takes the form *οὐ γάρ ἔστιν καθ' ὑμῶν*, appears as early as P45 and is also found in some lectionaries. A large number of witnesses, including GA 01, 04\* and 019, include *ἀποστόλους* after *δώδεκα* in 9:1: this is present in all three instances of this verse in Zacynthius. This manuscript provides the earliest surviving witness to *ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ* in 9:54, found in two minuscules (GA 1071 and 2643) and several lectionaries.

Several of the more substantial of these variants have early or widespread support. At 1:20, *πλησθήσονται* for *πληρωθήσονται* is paralleled in Origen as well as GA 05 and 044\*; the plural *ταῖς καρδίαις* in 1:66 is matched by GA 05, 019, 032 and 038 as well as two Old Latin manuscripts; there are extensive manuscript and patristic parallels for *ἀνατεθραμμένος* rather than *τεθραμμένος* in 4:16; the indicative *μισήσουσιν* at 6:22 also appears in GA 05, 024, 033, 037 and 047, in addition to featuring in reconstructions of Marcion's text; *μηδένα* for *μηδέν* in 6:35 is paralleled in GA 01, 032, 041 and four minuscules (489, 1071, 1079, 1219). Codex Zacynthius is one of the witnesses which refers to Gergesenes rather than Gaderenes or Gerasenes in 8:26. In 8:27, *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* for *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is only otherwise present in GA 019, 33, 954, 1424 and 1675. The imperative *ἔχετε* in place of the infinitive at the end of 9:3 is also found in GA 01<sup>c</sup>, 019, some minuscules (including 33, 892, 1071 and 1241) and Latin tradition; most of these appear (along with early Coptic and Syriac versions) in support of the addition of *μοι* in 9:41. The omission of a phrase from 11:33, in company with P45, P75, 019 and Family 1, has already been mentioned above.

On a number of occasions, Codex Zacynthius agrees with GA 03 in a reading which is not adopted in the NA28 editorial text. These include *εὐθείας* in 3:5, the absence of *καί* from 3:20 and 6:36, *ἀνοιξας* for *ἀναπτύξας* in 4:17, *ὁ* before *προφήτης* in 7:39, *ἀπό* for *ὑπό* in 8:28, the omission of *ἀνά* from 9:3, *ὁ* before *Ἡρώδης* in 9:9, and the word order *οἱ ὄχλοι λέγουσιν* in 9:18. Indeed, the absence of the first *τῆς* in 10:27 and of *γενόμενος* in 10:32 are paralleled in both P75 and 03, while the lack of *ἦ* from 10:39 is only attested in P45, P75,

01, 03<sup>c</sup>, 019, Codex Zacynthius and 579. Even so, such short omissions provide weak evidence for textual relationships. The form *βαστασα* in 11:27, which also appears in GA 03, looks like an independent instance of haplography for *βαστάσασα*.

The most sustained parallels for the readings of Codex Zacynthius appear in the contemporary GA 019. This manuscript has often been mentioned already, but further examples may be adduced, including the omission of the first *ὕμν* from 6:25 (matched by GA 019, 038 and Family 1), a reordering of the end of 7:17 (also in GA 09, 019, 1342, 2542 and two Old Latin witnesses), *ταῦτα* rather than *τοιαῦτα* in 9:9 (cf. GA 019, 033, 044, and various minuscules including 713 and 1071) and *εἶπον* for the second *εἶπέ* in 10:40 (GA 05, 019, 032, 1, 33, 579, 713). The omission of *αὐτῶ* from 4:9 is only paralleled in GA 019 and a couple of Latin witnesses. There are also several instances of GA 019 and a single minuscule manuscript providing the sole match for Codex Zacynthius, as in the word order *αὐτὸν προσεύχεσθαι* in 9:29 (with GA 33), *ἐστήρισεν τὸ πρόσωπον* in 9:51 (with GA 892) and the aorist *ἤκούσατε* in 10:24 (with GA 1071). The last two minuscules have appeared on several occasions in the preceding discussion, and both feature in the rare variant *καὶ ὁ* in place of *ὁ δέ* in 10:16, only found in GA 019, 892, 1071, 2643 and Zacynthius. A striking match with GA 892 alone is seen in *ἤγγισεν* rather than *ἤγγικεν* in 10:9, particularly as both manuscripts have the latter form two verses later.

A handful of readings are—according to the IGNTLP Luke apparatus—unique to Codex Zacynthius.<sup>50</sup> The majority of these are copying errors, as noted above, including omissions (e.g. *κάρπος* in 6:42, the missing *τάς* in 7:1 and *οἱ* in 10:23, *επαρας* for *ἐπάρασα* in 11:27).<sup>51</sup> Even when there are patristic or versional parallels for readings only directly attested in Zacynthius, such as the absence of *τῆς νυκτός* from 2:8 or *σεσαλευμένον* from 6:38, these are likely to be independent errors. There are just three variants which offer plausible alternative forms. At 8:47, Codex Zacynthius alone has *εὐθέως* in place of *ὤς*: this may be a subconscious harmonisation to other healing stories (e.g. Luke 5:41). In the middle of 9:8, *ἄλλων δέ* is replaced by *ὑπό τινων*, a phrase repeated from the beginning of the verse. The third and most substantial variant peculiar to Codex Zacynthius is the line *οὐκέτι ἐκείνοις διελέγετο ἀλλὰ τοῖς μαθηταῖς* at the beginning of Luke 7:31, in place of the introduction *εἶπε δὲ ὁ κύριος*.<sup>52</sup> This explanatory phrase is precisely the sort of indication which is found in catena commentaries (e.g. Chrysostom's homiletic comments on

<sup>50</sup> It is a shame that GA 747, the only other witness to the catena type of Codex Zacynthius, was not selected for inclusion in IGNTLP Luke. Its agreement of 94.6% with the Majority text in *Text und Textwert* indicates that it is a strongly Byzantine witness. Nevertheless, Greenlee notes that despite the different affiliation of the biblical text, some similarities with Codex Zacynthius remain (see page 292 below).

<sup>51</sup> IGNTLP Luke erroneously gives the reading of Zacynthius at 11:27 as *επασας*.

<sup>52</sup> On folio XLVIIv, the direct speech in 7:31 is marked by *ekthesis*, as if beginning a new section, but in our versification we have followed the pattern set by IGNTLP Luke. The same *ekthesis* is found in GA 747, which is lacking any introduction in its biblical text to the direct speech in 7:31. While it may be coincidence that this direct speech begins a new page in GA 747, the missing text offers a strong suggestion that there was some issue at this point with the biblical text in an antigraph of this catena type.

Matthew 10:27 and John 6:60, both integrated into the catena of GA 39). It therefore seems that this observation has been erroneously introduced into the biblical text from a scholium, implying that Codex Zacynthius was copied from an existing catena manuscript rather than being a new compilation.<sup>53</sup>

### THE GOSPEL TEXT IN THE CATENA

The scholia of the catena often contain quotations of the Gospel according to Luke, in addition to other illustrative material especially from the Psalms, other Gospels and Pauline Epistles. In contrast to Payne-Smith's observation on the Syriac translation of the *Homilies on Luke* that Cyril of Alexandria "was evidently most familiar with S. Matthew's Gospel, and not only does he make his ordinary quotations from it, but even introduces its readings into the Commentary, after correctly giving S. Luke's text at the head of the Sermon",<sup>54</sup> the quotations of Luke in scholia from Cyril usually correspond to the main biblical text in Codex Zacynthius, even in rare forms. For example, on fol. XVIIv, both the extract from Cyril's *Homily 2* (scholium 079-1) and Codex Zacynthius read δόξα θεοῦ rather than δόξα κυρίου in Luke 2:9, a poorly attested reading found also in a correction to Codex Sinaiticus, GA 044 and GA 892. Similarly, the additional phrase οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν καθ' ὑμῶν in Luke 9:50 is restricted to GA 019, 044, 33 and 892 (cf. a longer addition in P45) as well as Codex Zacynthius and the first scholium from Cyril on fol. LXXIir, where it is the subject of a specific comment. There is a variant in Cyril's longer citation of Luke 3:16 on fol. XXIVv, but this is not towards Matthew: in place of the standard οὐκ εἰμι ἰκανὸς λῦσαι, found on the following page of Codex Zacynthius, Cyril reads οὐκ εἰμι ἄξιος ἵνα κύψας λύσω, a harmonisation combining John 1:27 and Mark 1:7. The rest of the verse matches the combination of elements as found in Luke, with the exception of the otherwise unparalleled οὗτος for αὐτός.

Differences in the gospel quotations in scholia from other authors indicate that there has not been a thoroughgoing attempt to conform the text of Luke in the catena to the main text of the manuscript. On fol. Xv, for example, the form of Luke 1:41 quoted by Eusebius has the introduction of ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει from three verses later, a harmonisation attested in the first hand of GA 01 and a corrector to GA 565, despite the standard text of Luke in Codex Zacynthius a few lines lower on the same page. Again, Severus of Antioch has ἀνεκλίθη (the Majority reading) and ἀνάκειται in his quotation of Luke 7:35–36 (fol. XLIXv, scholium 204-2) against κατεκλίθη and κατάκειται in Codex Zacynthius. This may in part be due to the influence of Matthew 26:6–7 and John 12:2 (with συνανακειμένων)

<sup>53</sup> There is a fine horizontal line above the initial ο of ουκετι, which is most likely to be a *paragraphos*: although it could be an indication of deletion, there is nothing on the following line which corresponds to it to mark the end of a deleted section.

<sup>54</sup> R. Payne-Smith, *A Commentary upon the Gospel according to S. Luke by S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria. Now first translated into English from an Ancient Syriac Version*. 2 vols. (Oxford, OUP, 1859), vol. 1, x.

quoted a few lines earlier by Severus. Even the inconsistency in the two spellings of Capernaum in four lines in a single scholium from Titus of Bostra (fol. XLIIv) tells against extensive editorial intervention. In the light of this, not only may the scholia be used as independent secondary evidence for the text of Luke but the distinctive features shared between the gospel text of Codex Zacynthius and the scholia from Cyril of Alexandria provide a further indication of the very close connection between the two, shown also in the preface to the catena and the preponderance of material from Cyril.<sup>55</sup>

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Codex Zacynthius preserves an excellent text of the first part of the Gospel according to Luke in its continuous—and repeated—biblical text. On many occasions it is found alongside Codex Vaticanus (as well as the other earliest majuscules and papyri of the gospel) as evidence for the earliest form of text as reconstructed in NA28. It also contains a number of ancient variant readings, as well as some forms characteristic of different stages leading to the Byzantine text. A number of the latter also appear in the lectionary tradition. Among Greek manuscripts, the closest match to the text of Codex Zacynthius is the contemporary majuscule Codex Regius (GA 019), although there are also some noteworthy similarities with minuscule manuscripts, especially GA 892. The biblical text appears to have been carefully and accurately copied, with a relatively low number of scribal errors: most of these fall into the category of small omissions or harmonisations, some of which may have been inherited from the exemplar. The incorporation of the gloss at 7:31 indicates that Codex Zacynthius is a copy of a catena manuscript. Nevertheless, it still seems to be close to the source of this commentary tradition, with several features linking both gospel text and catena to Cyril of Alexandria. The variety of readings in the biblical quotations in other scholia suggest that these may continue to reflect readings known to other early Christian writers, as secondary evidence for the scriptural text.

The presence of the Vatican paragraph numbers and the reference table of *kephalaia* at the beginning of the manuscript in addition to the numbered sections of the commentary bear witness to a learned scholarly tradition underpinning the production of this manuscript and, indeed, the concept itself of the catena form. This is clearly also manifested in the quality of the biblical text provided to accompany the commentary. Codex Zacynthius appears thus to be as important a witness to the paratextual elements it transmits as it is to the transmission of the Gospel according to Luke. Indeed, it seems likely that, when the detailed evidence is assembled for the *Editio Critica Maior* of this writing, this manuscript will be one of the most important witnesses to the Initial Text.

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<sup>55</sup> See further pages 67–8 and 108–13 below.

***LIST: COLLATION OF CODEX ZACYNTHIUS WITH THE EDITORIAL TEXT OF NA28***

All textual variants are presented, including orthographic differences. No indication is given of abbreviations, breathings, diacritics or forms of punctuation. Where parts of words have been reconstructed or individual letters are tagged as illegible in the transcription, this is not indicated in the collation in order to save space. If a first hand reading is specified without a corrector, the correction is to the reading of NA28. Information is also given about textual differences when a verse has been copied multiple times. A general indication of missing portions of biblical text is provided in italics.

1:3 εδοξεν ] εδοξε	2:13 εξαιφνης ] εξεφνης
1:6 εναντιον ] ενωπιον	2:14 ευδοκιας ] ευδοκια
1:10 to 1:18 <i>absent</i>	2:15 ελαλουν ] ειπαν
1:20 πληρωθησονται ] πλησθησονται	2:15 δη ] omitted
1:22 εδυνατο ] ηδυνατο	2:16 σπευσαντες ] πισπευσαντες
1:22 εωρακεν ] εορακεν	2:16 ανευραν ] ευραν
1:24 to 1:27a <i>absent</i>	2:17 δε ] omitted
1:28b to 1:30a <i>absent</i>	2:20 <i>absent</i>
1:32 δαυιδ ] δαυειδ	2:22b to 2:33a <i>absent</i>
1:33 to 1:35 <i>absent</i>	2:35 δε ] omitted
1:36 συγγενις ] συγγενη (first time), συγγενης (second time)	2:35 αν ] omitted
1:39 ορεινην ] ορινην	2:37 ουκ ] ουχ
1:43 μου ] <i>absent</i> (first time), μου (second time)	2:39 πολιν ] την πολιν
1:49 μεγαλα ] μεγαλια	2:39 ναζαρεθ ] ναζαρετ
1:62 το ] ο	2:40 to 3:5a <i>absent</i>
1:62 αυτο ] αυτον	3:5 ευθειαν ] ευθειας
1:65 ορεινην ] ορινην	3:8b to 3:11a <i>absent</i>
1:66 τη καρδια ] ταις καρδιαις	3:12 ειπαν ] ειπον
1:66c to 1:76 <i>absent</i>	3:13 πρασσετε ] πρασσεται
1:78 επισκεψεται ] επεσκεψατο	3:15 του ιωαννου ] ιωαννου
1:80 ηυξανεν ] ηυξανε	3:16 λεγων πασιν ο ιωαννης ] ο ιωαννης πασιν λεγων
2:1 δε ] omitted	3:17 αυτου (1) ] + και
2:1 αυγουστου ] αυγουστου του	3:17 διακαθαραι ] διακαθαριει
2:2 αυτη ] + η	3:17 συναγαγειν ] συναξει
2:2 κυρηγιου ] κυριγιου	3:19 τετραρχης ] τετραρχης
2:4 ναζαρεθ ] ναζαρετ	3:20 και ] omitted
2:8 της νυκτος ] omitted	3:21 to 3:38 <i>absent</i>
2:9 κ(υριο)υ ] θ(εο)υ	4:1 εν τη ερημω ] εις την ερημον
2:12 το ] omitted	4:2 τεσσαρακοντα ] τεσσαρακοντα
	4:2b to 4:5 <i>absent</i>

- 4:12 ειπεν αυτω ο Ιησους ] ο Ιησους ειπεν αυτω  
 4:16 τεθραμμενος ] ανατεθραμμενος  
 4:17 αναπτυξας ] ανοιξας  
 4:17 τον τοπον ] τοπον  
 4:20*b* to 4:31 *absent*  
 4:40 απαντες ] παντες  
 4:40 εθεραπευεν ] εθεραπευσεν  
 4:41 κραυγαζοντα ] κραζοντα  
 4:43*c* to 5:17*a* *absent*  
 5:22 διαλογιζεσθε ] διαλογιζεσθαι  
 5:23 αι ] omitted  
 5:24 παραλελυμενω ] παραλυτικω  
 5:27 λευιν ] λευειν  
 5:29 λευεις ] λευεις  
 5:31 προς αυτους ] αυτοις  
 5:31 αλλ ] αλλα  
 5:32 εληλυθα ] ηλληλυθα  
 5:36*b* to 6:20 *absent*  
 6:22 μισησωσιν ] μισησουσιν  
 6:25 υμιν ] omitted  
 6:26 υμας καλως ] καλως υμας  
 6:26 αυτων ] αυττων (first hand)  
 6:27 αλλ ] αλλα  
 6:27 εχθρους ] εχρους  
 6:28 επηρεαζοντων ] επερεαζοντων  
 6:30 παντι ] + δε τω  
 6:31 ανθρωποι ] + και υμεις  
 6:33 και [γαρ] ] και  
 6:33 και (2) ] + γαρ  
 6:34 ων ] ω  
 6:34 αμαρτωλοι ] οι αμαρτωλοι  
 6:35 μηδεν ] μηδενα  
 6:35 χρηστος ] χριστος  
 6:35 αχαριστους ] αχριστους  
 6:36 οικτιρμονες ] οικτειρμονες  
 6:36 και ] omitted  
 6:36 οικτιρμων ] οικτειρμων  
 6:38 δοθησεται ] δοθησετε  
 6:38 σεσαλευμενον ] omitted  
 6:38 υπερεκχυνομενον ] υπερεκχυνομενον  
 6:39 εμπесουνται ] πεσουνται  
 6:40 δε ] omitted
- 6:42 πως ] η πως  
 6:42 καρφος ] καρπος  
 6:42 κον εκ του οφθαλμου ] duplicated  
 6:42 διαβλεψεις ... σου εκβαλειν ] διαβλεψεις εκβαλειν ... σου  
 6:45 καρδιας ] + αυτου  
 6:45 πονηρος ] + ανθρωπος  
 6:46 με καλειτε ] καλειτε με  
 6:48 προσερηξεν ] προσερρηξεν  
 6:49 εστιν ] εστην  
 6:49 προσερηξεν ] προσερρηξεν  
 7:1 επειδη ] επειδε  
 7:1 τας ] omitted  
 7:4 παρεκαλουν ] ηρωτων  
 7:6 επεμψεν ] + προς αυτον  
 7:6 εκατονταρχης ] εκατονταρχος  
 7:6 ικανος ειμι ] ειμι ικανος  
 7:6 υπο την στεγην μου ] μου υπο την στεγην  
 7:7 to 7:11*a* *absent*  
 7:13 εσπλαγχνισθη ] εσπλαγχνισθη (first hand)  
 7:16 παντας ] απαντας  
 7:17 περι αυτου και παση τη περιχωρω ] και παση τη περιχωρω περι αυτου  
 7:18 ο ] omitted (first hand)  
 7:19 επεμψεν ] + αυτους  
 7:19 αλλον ] ετερον  
 7:20 απεστειλεν ] απεσταλκεν  
 7:20 αλλον ] ετερον  
 7:21 εχαρισατο ] εχαρισατο το  
 7:22 χωλοι περιπατουσιν ] omitted  
 7:22 και (2) ] omitted  
 7:24 τους ] omitted (first hand)  
 7:25 τρυφη ] τριφη  
 7:27 προ προσωπου σου ] omitted  
 7:28 λεγω ] αμην λεγω (both times)  
 7:30 αυτου ] + ουκετι εκεινοις διελεγετο αλλα τοις μαθηταις  
 7:32 α λεγει ] λεγοντα  
 7:35 παντων των τεκνων αυτης ] των τεκνων αυτης παντων  
 7:37 και (2) ] omitted (both times)  
 7:37*c* to 7:39*a* *absent*

- 7:39 προφητης ] ο προφητης  
 7:40 ο Ιησους ειπεν ] ειπεν ο Ιησους  
 7:41 χρεοφειλεται ] χρεοφιλεται  
 7:41 ωφειλεν ] ωφιλεν  
 7:41 πεντηκοντα ] πεντικοντα  
 7:44 μοι ] μου  
 7:44 ποδας ] τους ποδας  
 7:45 διελιπεν ] διελειπεν  
 7:46 ηλειψεν τους ποδας μου ] τους ποδας μου ηλειψεν  
 7:47 ω ] ο  
 7:47c to 8:4b absent  
 8:6 επι ] παρα  
 8:7 εν ] εμ  
 8:9 ειη ] omitted  
 8:10 βλεπωσιν ] ιδωσιν  
 8:15 καρποφορουσιν ] τελεσφορουσιν  
 8:16 κλινης ] κληνης  
 8:19 παρεγενετο ] παρεγενοντο  
 8:19 ηδυναντο ] ηδυνοντο  
 8:20 αυτω ] + οτι  
 8:22 to 8:25a absent  
 8:25 λεγοντες προς αλληλους ] προ αλληλους λεγοντες first hand , προς αλληλους λεγοντες corrector  
 8:26 γερασηνων ] γεργεσηνων  
 8:27 εχων ] ος ειχεν  
 8:28 του θεου ] omitted  
 8:28 δεομαι ] δεομε  
 8:29 απο του ανθρωπου ] απ αυτου  
 8:29 υπο του ] απο του  
 8:30 τι ] λεγων οτι  
 8:30 λεγιων ] λεγεων  
 8:30 εισηλθεν πολλα δαιμονια ] δαιμονια πολλα εισηλθεν  
 8:31 παρεκαλουν ] παρεκαλει  
 8:32 βοσκομενη ] βοσκομενων  
 8:32 επιτρεψη αυτοις ] αυτοις επιτρεψη  
 8:33 η ] omitted (first hand)  
 8:35 εξηλθεν ] εξεληλυθει  
 8:35c to 8:42 absent  
 8:43 απ ] υπ
- 8:45 πετρος ] + και οι συν εαυτω  
 8:45 αποθλιβουσιν ] + και λεγει τις ο αψαμενος μου  
 8:46 ιησους ] omitted  
 8:47 ως ] ευθεως  
 8:48 θυγατηρ ] θυγατερ  
 8:49 μηκει ] μη  
 8:51 to 8:56 absent  
 9:1 δωδεκα ] + αποστολους (all three times)  
 9:3 μητε ] μηδε  
 9:3 ανα ] omitted  
 9:3 εχειν ] εχετε  
 9:5 αν ] εαν  
 9:5 αποτινασσετε ] αποτιναξατε  
 9:7 τετρααρχης ] sic first hand , τετραρχης corrector  
 9:8 αλλων δε ] υπο τινων  
 9:9 ηρωδης ] ο ηρωδης  
 9:9 τοιαυτα ] ταυτα  
 9:10 εις πολιν καλουμενην ] sic first hand, εις ερημον τοπον πολεως καλουμενης corrector  
 9:11 ιατο ] ιασατο  
 9:12 αγρους ] τους αγρους  
 9:13 προς αυτοις ] αυτοις  
 9:13 αρτοι πεντε ] πεντε αρτοι  
 9:13 ιχθυες δυο ] δυο ιχθυες  
 9:14 ωσει ] ωσει ωσει first hand  
 9:14 κλισιας ] κλησιας  
 9:15 κατεκλιναν ] κατεκλειναν  
 9:15 απαντας ] παντας  
 9:16 μαθητας ] + αυτου  
 9:16 παραθειναι ] παρατιθεναι  
 9:18 λεγουσιν οι οχλοι ] οι οχλοι λεγουσιν  
 9:19 ειπαν ] ειπον  
 9:24 αν ] εαν  
 9:25 η ] omitted  
 9:26 αν ] εαν  
 9:27 τινες ] omitted first time, present second time

9:28 πετρον και ιωαννην και ιακωβον ] πετρον και ιακωβον και ιωαννην (both times)	10:12 λεγω ] + δε
9:29 προσευχεσθαι αυτον ] αυτον προσευχεσθαι	10:13 χοραζιν ] χοραζειν
9:29b to 9:32a absent	10:15 ουρανου ] του ουρανου
9:32 ειδον ] ειδαν	10:15 του αδου ] αδου
9:33 προς ] omitted	10:15 καταβηση ] καταβιβασθηση
9:33 σκηνας τρεις ] τρεις σκηνας	10:16 ο δε ] και ο
9:33c to 9:34 absent	10:17 εβδομηκοντα δυο ] εβδομηκοντα
9:36 to 9:40 absent	10:19 to 10:20 absent
9:41 προσαγαγε ] + μοι	10:23 οι οφθαλμοι ] οφθαλμοι
9:43 μεγαλειοτητι ] μεγαλιωτητι	10:24 ειδαν ] ιδαν
9:45 αισθωνται ] εσθωνται	10:24 ακουετε ] ηκουσατε
9:47 ειδως ] ιδων	10:27 της ] omitted
9:47 παιδιον ] παιδιου	10:30 υπολαβον ] + δε
9:48 εαν ] αν	10:30 κατεβαινεν ] καταβαινον
9:49 ιωαννης ] ο ιωαννης	10:30 ιεριχω ] ιιεριχω
9:49 επιστατα ] διδασκαλε	10:32 γενομενος ] omitted
9:49 ειδομεν ] ειδαμεν	10:33 σαμαριτης ] σαμαρητης
9:50 κωλυετε ] + ου γαρ εστιν καθ υμων	10:33 κατ αυτον ] κατ.εν.
9:51 το προσωπον εστηρισεν ] εστηρισεν το προσωπον	10:34 πανδοχειον ] πανδοκιον (both times)
9:52 ως ] ωστε	10:35 εδωκεν δυο δηναρια ] δυο δηναρια εδωκεν
9:54 μαθηται ] + αυτου	10:38 αυτον ] + εις την οικιαν
9:54 απο του ] απ	10:39 η ] omitted
9:58 εχουσιν ] εχουσι	10:39 ηκουεν ] ηκουσεν
9:62 χειρα ] + αυτου	10:40 με κατελιπεν ] κατελειπεν με
10:1 ετερους ] ετερου	10:40 ειπε ] ειπον
10:1 εβδομηκοντα δυο ] εβδομηκοντα	10:41 to 10:42 absent
10:1 δυο δυο ] δυο	11:2b absent
10:1 ημελλεν ] εμελλεν	11:4 αφιομεν ] αφιεμεν
10:2 εργατας εκβαλλη ] εκβαλλη εργατας	11:4 οφειλοντι ] οφιλοντι
10:3 ιδου ] + εγω	11:4c to 11:24b absent
10:3 εν ] εμ	11:25 ευρισκει ] + σχολαζοντα
10:4 ασπασησθε ] ασπασησθαι	11:27 επαρασα ] επαρας
10:5 εισελθητε οικιαν ] οικιαν εισελθητε	11:27 φωνην γυνη ] γυνη φωνην
10:6 εκει η ] η εκει	11:27 βαστασασα ] βαστασα
10:6 επαναπαησεται ] επαναπαυσεται	11:30b to 11:31c absent
10:9 ηγγικεν ] ηγγισεν	11:32a to 11:32c absent
10:11 ποδας ] + ημων	11:33 ουδε υπο τον μοδιον ] omitted
	11:33 λυχνιαν ... end of manuscript

## CHAPTER 5. THE LAYOUT AND STRUCTURE OF THE CATENA (H.A.G. HOUGHTON)<sup>1</sup>

Codex Zacynthius is the only known catena manuscript of the Greek New Testament in which both the biblical text and commentary are written in majuscule script. For this reason it has generally been considered to be the earliest surviving catena manuscript by at least a century, despite the uncertainty about its exact date (see Chapter 3). There are numerous witnesses from the ninth century onwards in which only the biblical text is in majuscules, as well as one surprising exception in which the catena text is written in small majuscules even though the biblical text is in minuscule script.<sup>2</sup> The use of two different types of script in Codex Zacynthius serves the same function in distinguishing the biblical source from its exegesis. Whether or not the origins of New Testament catena tradition go back to the sixth-century Procopius of Gaza, who compiled exegetical extracts on books of the Old Testament, or even further (the catena on Luke is traditionally attributed to Titus of Bostra, a commentator of the late fourth century), majuscule script would undoubtedly have been used for the first manuscripts in this genre, with minuscule only being adopted from the late eighth century onwards.<sup>3</sup>

### FORMAT

The format of Codex Zacynthius, as a frame catena (*Rahmenkatene* or *Randkatene* in German) also appears to go back to the earliest strand of catena tradition. The biblical text is in a single block in the middle of each page, bounded on the three outer sides by the

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is written in conjunction with, and draws on the findings of, the CATENA project, which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme (grant agreement no. 770816).

<sup>2</sup> This is GA 1900 (Athos, Pantokratoros 28), also from the ninth century. See further 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, Catena and Biblical Tradition*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton. T&S 3.13 (Piscataway NJ: Gorgias, 2016), 1–35, especially 11.

<sup>3</sup> On Procopius and Titus, see Houghton and Parker, 'An Introduction,' 17–18, as well as page 124 below.

commentary, with the fourth margin provided by the central gutter of the open book (see Image 5.1). In theory, this enables the biblical text to be read continuously, independent of the commentary, although the practice in certain frame catenae—including Codex Zacynthius—of repeating passages for which the commentary extends over more than a single page means that such duplications (which are not indicated) would have to be ignored by anyone wishing to use the manuscript in this way. It is tempting to imagine that the origins of the frame catena were as a set of marginal comments added to a biblical exemplar, but there is no firm evidence for this.<sup>4</sup> Dorival suggests that the initial layout of catenae assembled from short extracts (scholia) consisted of two separate columns, one for the commentary and one for the biblical text, but the greater volume of commentary meant that the scholia encroached into blank space on the biblical side.<sup>5</sup> A comparison of the layout of surviving gospel catena manuscripts is shown in Table 5.1, based on the catalogue being compiled by Georgi Parpulov for the CATENA project.<sup>6</sup>

Century	Frame Catenae	Alternating Catenae
VII/VIII	1 <sup>7</sup>	0
IX	0	1
X	24	33
XI	61	23
XII	6	25
XIII	2	6
XIV	3	11
XV	0	7
XVI	3	28

Table 5.1: Layout of Gospel Catena Manuscripts.

These figures, which are only indicative, show that the frame layout is predominant among surviving gospel catenae from the tenth and eleventh centuries, but afterwards diminishes sharply. The alternating catena layout, in which the text is written across the entire page with biblical passages preceding each section of commentary, is attested from the late ninth century. Of course, this is also the standard mis-en-page for single-author biblical commentaries and is present in much earlier manuscripts, such as the sixth or seventh-century Tura Papyri of exegetical works by Origen and Didymus. Alternating

<sup>4</sup> For investigations of the layout of Latin commentary tradition, compare H.A.G. Houghton, ‘The Layout of Early Latin Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles and their Oldest Manuscripts,’ in *Studia Patristica vol. XCI. Papers presented at the Seventeenth International Patristics Conference*, ed. M. Vinzent. (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 71–112.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Gilles Dorival, ‘Biblical Catenae: Between Philology and History,’ in *Commentaries, Catenae and Biblical Tradition*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton. T&S 3.13. (Piscataway NJ: Gorgias, 2016), 65–81, especially 76–7.

<sup>6</sup> An early version of the data assembled for this catalogue is available online at <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/3086/>. Table 5.1 is based on a later stage of the information regarding gospel catenae, which remains subject to further adjustment: entries spanning more than one century have been allocated the earliest date assigned to them.

<sup>7</sup> This entry is Codex Zacynthius.

catenae appear more consistently throughout the subsequent period despite the supplanting of catenae by different types of biblical exposition between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

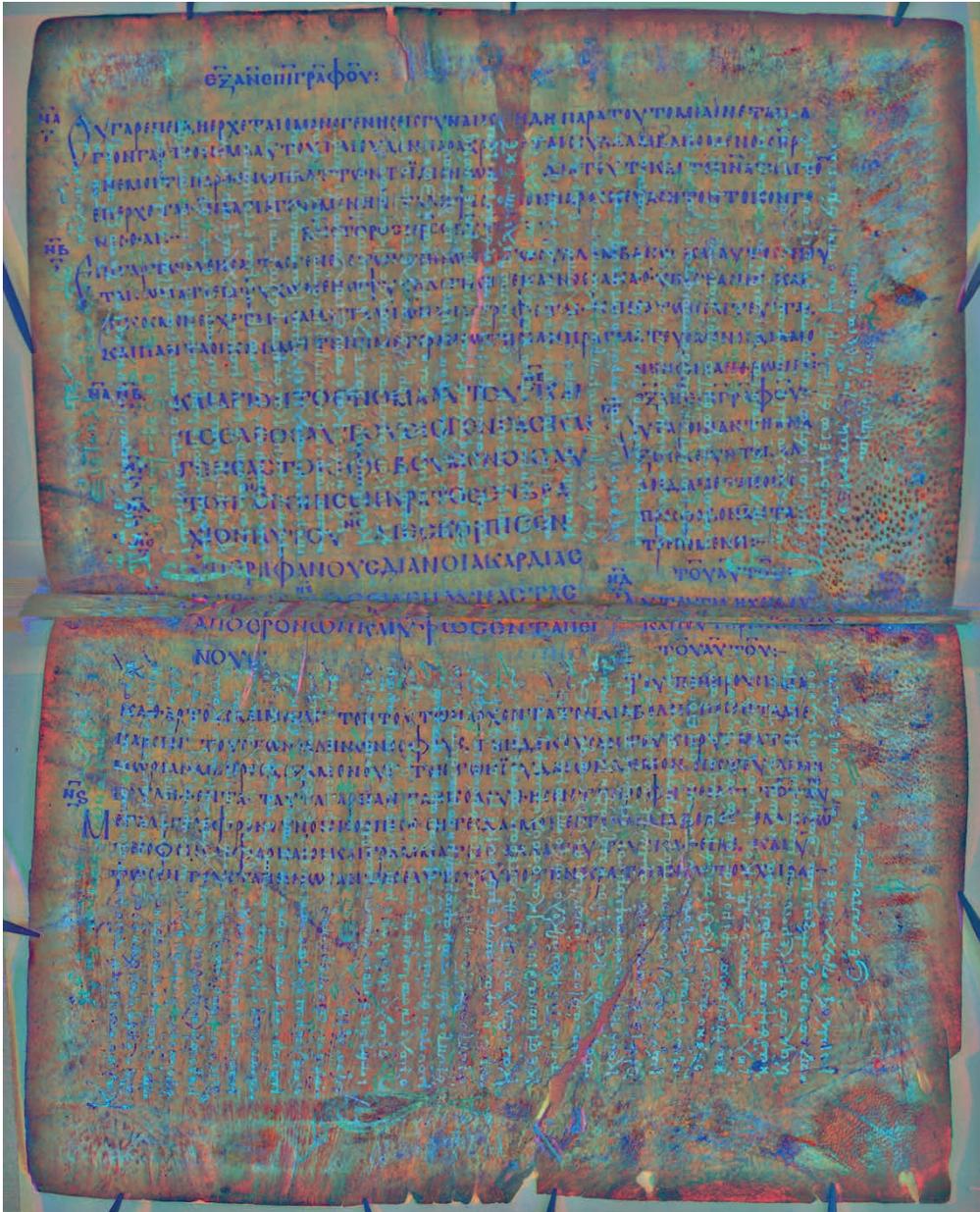


Image 5.1: Folio XIIIr of the undertext

## NUMBERS AND TITLES

The physical distinction between the biblical text and the commentary in frame catenae means that some form of cross-reference is often supplied to assist users in connecting the two: this is not required for alternating catenae, because all the comments appear below the relevant biblical passage. In Codex Zacynthius, a series of numerals is employed for cross-reference. In the extant portion of the manuscript, up to Luke 11:30, the biblical text is divided into 329 numbered sections in order to relate it to groups of scholia. Although the length of these portions varies considerably, this suggests overall that the divisions occupied approximately two sections for every three modern verses. In total, however, there are 333 scholia in the 223 extant sections in the remaining pages of the palimpsest, which gives an average of three extracts for every two catena sections. The most commented sections—in the surviving portion, at any rate—are on Luke 1:2, 1:43 and 9:29 (sections 5, 45, and 260), which each have five scholia. The first two section numbers are allocated to the title (one for ‘gospel’ and one for ‘Luke’).

The numbers are placed prominently in the gospel portion of the page. If the section begins with a new line, they are written to the left of the text, like the *kephalaia* and the Vatican paragraph numbers.<sup>8</sup> However, if the section begins in the middle of a line of biblical text, the number is not only inserted immediately before the first word, above the line of writing, but often appears in the left margin as well. The corresponding number is also written to the left of the initial word of each scholium which comments on that portion of text. So, for example, on Folio XIIIr (Image 5.1), which features sections 51–56, the numbers can clearly be seen in the left margin of the catena text alongside enlarged initial letters marking the start of each scholium, as well as to the left of the biblical text in the middle of the page. The first line of biblical text features two sections, NA (51) and NB (52): both numbers are present in the left margin, but NB is repeated at the top left of the final word of the line where this section begins. Similarly, in the fourth and fifth lines of biblical text, the numbers NΔ (54) and NE (55) may be seen in the left margin and in the middle of the line. The numbering restarts every time one hundred is reached (e.g. on folios XLVIIv and LXXXIIIv). This means that, unlike the Eusebian apparatus for the gospels, it is not possible to use these sections as self-standing references.

The use of numerals to connect biblical text and commentary is found in other catena traditions, such as the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on the Pauline Epistles, which was probably compiled in the sixth century. In this work, the initial series of scholia are allocated numbers, while a later set of additions (the *Corpus Extravagantium*) are identified by means of symbols, and a further series of comments (the *Scholia Photiana*) are added with an indication of the name of their source.<sup>9</sup> However, in certain manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena these independent sequences are harmonised, with numbers (or symbols) used throughout, sometimes beginning afresh on each page. Some copyists even omit the cross-references completely, leaving users to rely on their own ingenuity to connect the comments with their biblical source. It is worth noting that in the catena which appears to be a descendant of the tradition found in Codex Zacynthius

<sup>8</sup> For these divisions of the gospel text, see pages 36–9.

<sup>9</sup> See Karl Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1926), 184–7.

(C137.7: Paris, BnF, supplément grec 612; see Chapter 8 below), a series of symbols rather than numerals is used to connect biblical text and scholia.

It should be emphasised that the catena section numbers in Codex Zacynthius refer to portions of the gospel rather than to individual scholia.<sup>10</sup> It is relatively common to find multiple extracts provided in Codex Zacynthius for the same portion of biblical text. On folios XIr to XIIr, for example, there are four scholia assigned the number 44 (ΜΔ), commenting on the latter part of Luke 1:42, followed by four more scholia each with the number 45 (ΜΕ) which expound the next verse. As might be expected with this amount of commentary, the biblical text of Luke 1:43 is repeated on folio XIIr before the continuation of the rest of the passage. In this instance, however, the repetition has led to an error of numbering: section 46 (ΜΖ) is written twice on folio XIIr, both at Luke 1:43 and in the expected place at Luke 1:46. In order to create a unique reference for each scholium, the Codex Zacynthius Project not only translated the sequential numbers in the manuscript into a three-digit sequence, but also added a suffix to distinguish sequences of multiple scholia. Thus the final comment on folio XLVIv, preceded by the number 99 (ϠΘ), is identified as extract 199-3: it occurs within the second hundred of catena sections (hence 199 rather than 99) and it is the third scholium on this passage. There are also a few cases where our research has shown that what the manuscript presents as a single scholium actually derives from multiple sources: these have been indicated by the addition of the letters a, b etc. to the suffix.

In addition to the numbers connecting them to the biblical text, most of the scholia are preceded by a title which identifies the source from which they have been taken. This is normally the author's name, such as Ὠριγένους ('from Origen') or τοῦ ἁγίου Τίτου ('from Saint Titus'). Others are more specific. Three scholia from the letters of Isidore of Pelusium specify the number of the letter from which they are taken, while the extracts from Severus of Antioch provide detailed information about the original work.<sup>11</sup> Thirty-two of the scholia have the heading ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου ('from an unattributed source'), an instance of which may be seen at the top of Image 5.1. The consistency of this attribution suggests that all these derive from the same collection in which the authors of the extracts were not specified.<sup>12</sup> Ten do not have titles, although they are marked by an initial capital.<sup>13</sup> This information may have been missing from the exemplar or overlooked by the copyist.

<sup>10</sup> This does not appear to be the case in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on the Pauline Epistles: as the numbers are not repeated, each appears to correspond to a single scholium. The more complex system in Codex Zacynthius may therefore represent an earlier approach which was later simplified. However, further research is necessary to establish this.

<sup>11</sup> For Isidore, see scholia 045-3, 075-3 and 298-2 and page 106 below; on Severus, see pages 114–16 and 129–31.

<sup>12</sup> Rauer characterised these as coming from 'eine anonyme Scholiensammlung, eine Art "Urkatene"' (Max Rauer, *Origenes: Werke. Neunter Band. Die Homilien zu Lukas*. Second edn. [Berlin: Hinrichs, 1959], lvii). See further page 100 below.

<sup>13</sup> Scholia 002-1, 041-2, 129-1.

Four are marked as ‘other’.<sup>14</sup> When two extracts from the same source follow in sequence, the title of the second is often abbreviated as τοῦ αὐτοῦ (‘from the same’, as seen on Image 5.1) or καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα (‘and a little later’); πάλιν (‘again’) features in five scholia, while καὶ μεθ’ ἕτερα occurs once.<sup>15</sup> It is worth observing that, with one exception (294-1), scholia introduced by καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα, καὶ μεθ’ ἕτερα and καὶ πάλιν are not allocated a section number; τοῦ αὐτοῦ and τοῦ αὐτοῦ πάλιν always have a section number. Table 5.2 provides a list of the attributions as they appear in the manuscript; ‘continuation’ indicates one of the abbreviated headings. It should be noted that the attributions in the manuscript are not universally accurate: for more information, compare the list of scholia at the end of the present chapter. The attributions and sources of the scholia are considered in detail in Chapter 6.

<b>Author</b>	<b>Total occurrences</b>
Cyril of Alexandria	83
Cyril of Alexandria (continuation)	26
Origen	29
Origen (continuation)	5
Titus of Bostra	38
Titus of Bostra (continuation)	11
Severus of Antioch	24
Severus of Antioch (continuation)	7
Victor the Presbyter	5
Victor the Presbyter (continuation)	2
John Chrysostom	4
John Chrysostom (continuation)	1
Isidore of Pelusium	4
Eusebius of Caesarea	4
Eusebius of Caesarea (continuation)	2
Basil of Caesarea	3
Apollinarius	1
‘Unattributed’	32
‘Unattributed’ (continuation)	10
No title / “Other”	14
Continuation (previous title missing)	5
Title missing	23
<b>Total</b>	<b>333</b>

Table 5.2: Scholia titles as they are presented in Codex Zacynthius.

<sup>14</sup> These are ἀλλως: 001-3, 001-4; ἀλλος: 199-2, 200-1

<sup>15</sup> καὶ παλιν: 086-3, 104-2 and 306-2. του αυτου παλιν: 081-2, 262-1; καὶ μεθ ετερα: 296-2.

The designation of Severus is of particular interest. In the first part of the manuscript, he is identified as ‘Archbishop of Antioch’. However, after fol. XXXVI, he is always given the title ‘Saint’ (ἅγιος)—with one exception (259-3)—and often just called ‘St Severus of Antioch’ with no reference to his position as archbishop.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, the only description of Titus as Bishop of Bostra rather than simply ‘St Titus’ comes early in the manuscript: 074-2 on fol. XVv. Given the possible indications of a change in hand from folio XXXVIr onwards (see page 30 above), the variation in the treatment of Severus may simply be the practice of a different copyist rather than a matter of ecclesiastical allegiance or theological significance. Nevertheless, neither Origen nor Victor the Presbyter is ever designated as ἅγιος in the latter part of the manuscript (e.g. 183-1, 222-1), nor is Apollinarius on his one occurrence (221-3). An alternative possibility might be that the title of Severus had been adjusted for the first few scholia in an antegraph of Codex Zacynthius, but not with regard to the latter part of the manuscript. At any rate, as Greenlee asserted against Tregelles and Hatch, there is no evidence for the deliberate erasure of any ascription to Severus in Codex Zacynthius, and it is perilous to use these titles as evidence for the date of copying of the manuscript or the compilation of the catena.<sup>17</sup>

Evidence from the biblical text has already indicated that Codex Zacynthius is a copy of another catena manuscript.<sup>18</sup> The position of the scholium titles also offers evidence for this, suggesting that the copyist(s) of Codex Zacynthius introduced a change to the layout. The majority of the scholium titles are presented on their own line, centred above the catena text. An exception to this is provided by the titles without numbers (καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα etc.), which are sometimes found in the middle of the line, with catena text on either side (e.g. folios XVIIv, LIXv, LXXv, LXXXIIIv, LXXXIv, LXXXVIv). In fact, after the introduction of rubrication on fol. LXXr, a much higher proportion of the scholium titles do not appear on their own line. On folio LXXIIv, the title for Cyril actually appears in the middle of the first line of commentary, interrupting the word ἐσόμενον (see also fol. LXXIVv, LXXVr, LXXVIIIv, although no words are broken). Evidence for the change is seen on fol. Vr, where the copyist wrote the first three letters of ἐκατέρωθεν, the initial word of scholium 011-1, on the same line as the title, and then erased them and began again on the next line. Again, on fol. XIIIv, the copyist began the title for scholium 058-1 on the same line as the previous scholium, erased it after two letters and started a new line. Other erasures reflecting adjustment of the layout may be seen on folios XLIIIv (biblical text), LIVr and LXr.

<sup>16</sup> Scholia 203-2, 204-1, 241-3, 252-2, 260-3, 268-3, 300-1, 301-1; see also page 124.

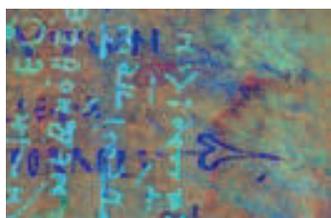
<sup>17</sup> Greenlee, ‘The Catena of Codex Zacynthius,’ 999. With regard to the exceptional later scholium in which Severus is not designated as ἅγιος (259-3 on fol. LXVIv), it may be significant that the first line of the title is slightly indented (contrast the multi-line titles of 204-1 on fol. XLIXr and 252-2 on fol. LXIIv). There would be sufficient space for the title του αγ(ιου) in this gap, although there is no obvious trace of ink here to indicate that it has been erased.

<sup>18</sup> See page 53 above, and also 119 below.

## PUNCTUATION AND DECORATION

The punctuation of the catena text is relatively consistent, despite the changes in practice observed in Chapter 3.<sup>19</sup> Most of the scholia begin with an enlarged letter and end with either a colon (: ) or a symbol consisting of a colon followed by a dash (: -). This is a standard feature in other commentary manuscripts, which is sometimes developed into a symbol in the shape of an ivy leaf, known as a *hedera*.<sup>20</sup> There are two examples of this in Codex Zacynthius itself, on fol. LVr and LXv (shown in Table 5.3). A colon and dash are sometimes used at the end of the scholium heading, but this is less consistent. Biblical quotations in the commentary are indicated in the left margin by a *diple*, in the shape of a single arrow-head (>). The *paragraphos* symbol in this manuscript takes the form of a long horizontal bar above the line, normally overlapping with the first letter of the text. This is also used in the biblical text to mark the beginning of a sense unit. However, these only appear in the manuscript from folio 38v onwards (Luke 6:36), after which they occur relatively frequently up to the end of the extant portion. On five occasions, four dots in the shape of a diamond are found in the left margin at the beginning of a scholium (fol. XLv, LXiv, LXIir, LXVIIv, LXIXr; see Table 5.3). It is not clear what this signifies and whether it was written by the first hand or a later user.

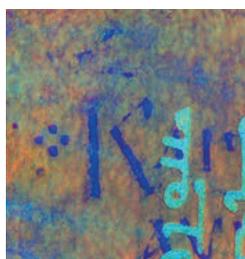
There are relatively few abbreviations in the catena text (as illustrated in Table 3.1 above; see also pages 116–7 below). *Nomina sacra* are used, indicated with an overline. Final *nu* is often replaced by a supralinear stroke, and the *καὶ*-compendium is also used. Apart from these, abbreviations only appear with any frequency in the extract titles. Breathings and diareses are distributed similarly to those in the biblical text.<sup>21</sup>



Hedera on  
fol. LVr



Hedera on  
fol. LXv



Four-dot symbol  
before initial  
*kappa* with faint  
*paragraphos* (fol.  
LXIV)



Four-dot symbol  
before initial *epsilon*  
with *paragraphos*  
(fol. LXIXr)

Table 5.3: Punctuation symbols in the undertext.

<sup>19</sup> See pages 26–30 above.

<sup>20</sup> Compare Houghton, ‘The Layout of Early Latin Commentaries,’ 93–4.

<sup>21</sup> See page 22 above.

## THE PREFACE TO THE CATENA

The first page of the undertext of Codex Zacynthius features a brief preface to the catena. Although it provides no information about the origin or history of the compilation, it explains to the user that the inclusion of extracts from authors now deemed to be heretical was a deliberate choice (see further Chapter 7 below). Support for this decision is provided by a quotation from Cyril of Alexandria's *Letter to Eulogius*, marked with *diplai* in the left margin, like the biblical quotations in the catena itself.<sup>22</sup> The compiler, who uses the first-person (πεποίηκα, 'I have made', line 6), also notes the differing ways in which the expositors divide the biblical text. The catena section numbers, described as 'the numbers which are assigned to the chapters' (οἱ ἀριθμοὶ οἱ τοῖς κεφαλαίοις ἐπικείμενοι, line 17), are held up as a means of harmonising this inconsistency: users are exhorted 'to read the first and the second or even the third chapter of the text of the Divine Scripture and the accompanying interpretations' (ἕνα καὶ δεύτερον ἢ καὶ τρίτον κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἐδάφους τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἀναγινώσκειν καὶ οὕτω τὰς ἐγκειμένας ἐρμηνείας lines 19–20) in order to understand the exposition fully. Such an explanation also makes sense of the multiple scholia on the same portion of biblical text.

This preface seems perfectly fitted to the context of the catena of Codex Zacynthius. Nevertheless, it is also found in a variety of other manuscripts with a different catena on Luke, and even found preceding the Gospel according to John: the Pinakes database currently lists twelve witnesses to the *Explanatio de catenarum redactione*.<sup>23</sup> Cramer presents it before his text of the catena on Matthew with the heading πρόλογος εἰς τὴν ἐρμηνείαν τῶν ἐξηγητῶν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, based on his source manuscript (Paris, BnF, Coislin 23 [GA 39]), even though this witness uses symbols rather than numbers to connect the biblical text and commentary.<sup>24</sup> It also appears largely verbatim as the introduction to a collection of extracts on the Book of Daniel edited by Mai.<sup>25</sup> Further research is therefore required on the nature of this preface, whether it was originally composed for the catena found in Codex Zacynthius and how it became attached to so many works.

The language of the opening line of the preface (χρή δε τὸν ἐντύγχανοντα τῆδε τῆ βιβλίῳ) is very similar to a line in a sermon attributed to Cyril of Alexandria.<sup>26</sup> The extensive

<sup>22</sup> For the quotation, see page 122 below.

<sup>23</sup> <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/16587/>. See also page 123 below.

<sup>24</sup> John Anthony Cramer, *Catenarum Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum. Tomus I in Evangelia S. Matthaei et S. Marci* (Oxford: OUP, 1844), 4. He notes in a footnote on this page that the same preface is found in Corderius' edition of the Catena on John.

<sup>25</sup> Angelo Mai, ed., *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus. Tomus I, Pars tertia*. (Rome: Vatican, 1825/31), 27; see also examples II and III in M. Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen nach Römischen Handschriften*. Biblische Studien IV.3 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1899), 192–6.

<sup>26</sup> Χρή γὰρ τὸν τοῖς θείοις λόγοις ἐντύγχανοντα ... (Cyril, *Homilia De Sanctissima Virgine Deipara*); see Angelo Mai, ed., *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus. Tomus VIII, Pars secunda* (Rome: Vatican, 1833), 123.

use of Cyril's *Commentary on Luke* in the catena of Codex Zacynthius is entirely consonant with an original preface which featured a double reference to this author. Nevertheless, there is also a resemblance to the preface to the only surviving book of the collection of the letters of Severus of Antioch, translated by Brooks from the Syriac as follows:<sup>27</sup>

He that meets with this book must know that it is not only the topics mentioned in the sectional titles that are included in the letters arranged under these, but that most of them also contain or set forth matter relating to various other subjects. However, they have been arranged under each of the sections in accordance with the larger part of the matter expressed in them.

In addition to the opening line of the preface, this parallels the description of the ordering of material in the catena. While such introductions may have been commonplace and perhaps formulaic, this overlap with two of the authors featured in the commentary is striking. At the least, the context in which the collected edition of the letters of Severus was produced would also be a plausible setting for the creation of a catena on Luke in which extracts from a number of those letters were deployed, particularly as Severus is the latest author to be cited in the catena and an unusual amount of information is given about the works from which the Severan scholia are taken.<sup>28</sup>

It should be noted in passing that Tregelles thought that this preface was incomplete.<sup>29</sup> The extensive external evidence for this preface, however, indicates that this is not the case, while the decorative border under the final line followed by the blank space (see Image 3.1) on the rest of the first folio confirms that this was the end of the text known to the copyist.

### MARGINAL MATERIAL

One intriguing feature in the catena are a few additional comments in the margin, most if not all of which seem to have been written by the first hand. The most prominent occurs in the left margin of folio XVIIIv (Image 5.2). This has a decorative border on the left and bottom, featuring a symbol similar to a *hedera*. It does not appear to be supplying an omission from the commentary, as there is no indication of where it should be added. Furthermore, it is almost identical in sense to the first statement of the scholium two lines earlier that 'Bethlehem is interpreted as house of bread.' The best explanation is that this is a gloss on the occurrence of Bethlehem in the biblical text or on the word *ἄρτον* in the scholium, which was copied directly from the exemplar. Similarly, in the right margin of fol. VIIIv there is a brief comment written in the shape of an inverted triangle with a small

<sup>27</sup> E. W. Brooks, ed. and trans., *The Sixth Book of Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1902–4), vol. 2.1, 1.

<sup>28</sup> For an alternative view that the extracts from Severus were integrated into catenae at a later date, see page 130 below.

<sup>29</sup> Tregelles, *Codex Zacynthius*, ii. In his 1844 edition (see above), Cramer also hypothesised that a page was missing from the Paris manuscript following the text of this preface, yet there is no textual support for this. Greenlee, 'The Catena of Codex Zacynthius', 1000, affirms the completeness of the extant text.

decorative line at the beginning and end (Image 5.3). This is an adaptation of a comment from Origen which glosses the words  $\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$  in Luke 1:32. It appears alongside the biblical text rather than the other scholia, next to the word  $\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota$  to which it relates. It therefore seems to be another scholium added, without number, to the exemplar for Codex Zacynthius and reproduced by the copyist in its original location, without any attempt to integrate it into the catena. These marginal comments (along with those on folios XXr and LXXIVr discussed in the following section) offer support for the conclusion that the exemplar of Codex Zacynthius was another catena manuscript also in frame catena format which the copyist endeavoured faithfully to reproduce.



Image 5.2: The marginal addition on folio XVIIIv, below the markers for catena section 81 (IIA) and Vatican paragraph 10 (I).



Image 5.3: The addition in the right margin of folio VIIIv. (The thick stroke to the left of the first two lines is rubrication in the overtext.)

In the left margin of folio XIXv, alongside a line of scholium 082-1 in which Severus of Antioch discusses the nature of Christ's resurrection body, a symbol is found consisting of an *eta* within the bow of a *sigma* (see Image 5.4). This is the standard abbreviation for  $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$  (or  $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$ ), an annotation used by readers to mark passages of particular interest. However, as with the marginal scholia discussed above, the majuscule script and ink colour suggest that this may have been written by the first hand rather than a later user. This seems to be borne out by the recurrence of the sign on the following page (fol. XXr; Image 5.5). Here, it is not in the left margin but at the beginning of a mostly illegible line

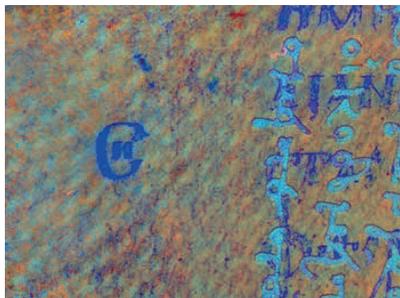


Image 5.4: Marginal annotation on fol. XIXv.



Image 5.5: Beginning of additional line at bottom of fol. XXr, apparently beginning with the same symbol as Image 5.4.

which is written after blank space at the end of the scholium. The letter forms which can be made out and the two final *diploi* are consistent with the script of the catena, although it should be noted that—unlike the rest of this page—this line has accents on the Greek. The same scholium is present in Codex Palatinus, although this indication is absent: this confirms that there is no text missing at the initial occurrence of the *σημείωσαι* symbol, suggesting that this comment, ending with a reference to “the question”, is an exegetical observation added by an early user either to Codex Zacynthius itself or to its exemplar.

### ILLEGIBLE MATERIAL

Despite the remarkable clarity provided by the multispectral images produced for the Codex Zacynthius Project, improving significantly on what was legible to Greenlee several decades earlier, there remained a few places where it was impossible for the Project to establish the text of the underwriting with any degree of confidence in passages which appear to be unique to this catena. Pages particularly affected by the deterioration of the ink are folios VIIIv and XXr, both of which preserve material from Severus of Antioch, while portions of the *ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου* scholium on fol. Vr and the extract from Victor the Presbyter on XVr are also illegible. The subsequent identification by Panagiotis Manafis of the same scholia in Codex Palatinus (Vatican City, BAV, Palatinus graecus 273) made it possible to fill in all of the gaps up to folio XXv of the catena in time for the publication of the printed edition of the manuscript (accompanied by a revision of the online transcription). This witness, however, is only of limited assistance in reading the two annotations in the right margin of folio XXr: underneath the final line (*ἐπὶ στέργης*), however, there appears to be the remains of a decorative border similar to folio XVIIIv. In the bottom margin of folio LXXIVr, there are two very faint lines of text which do not appear to be offset ink or bleedthrough. It is hoped that the release of the raw spectral images taken for the Project will enable these files to be used to develop additional processing techniques leading to the retrieval of this text.

A further tantalising conundrum involves the lower part of fol. IIv (fol. 45r of the lectionary). This appears to have been left blank underneath the synoptic table of kephalaia, prior to the start of the catena on the next page. However, on the ‘triple’ images

traces appear of five or six widely spaced lines of text, possibly in a minuscule script rather than the majuscule of the catena. Might this blank space have been used to provide an indication of the manuscript's owner, or some other record of its otherwise obscure early history? The extensive gap under the decorative band below the preface on fol. 1r might have been a more logical place for such a note, but no traces of ink can be discerned there. Given that the ink used for this note may have been of a different consistency to that of the rest of the undertext, this leaf underwent additional processing by Roger Easton in order to try to retrieve the undertext. The clearest of these alternatives is given as Image 5.6, but beyond confirming the presence of underwriting, it so far remains illegible, inviting others to continue after the conclusion of the Codex Zacynthius Project.

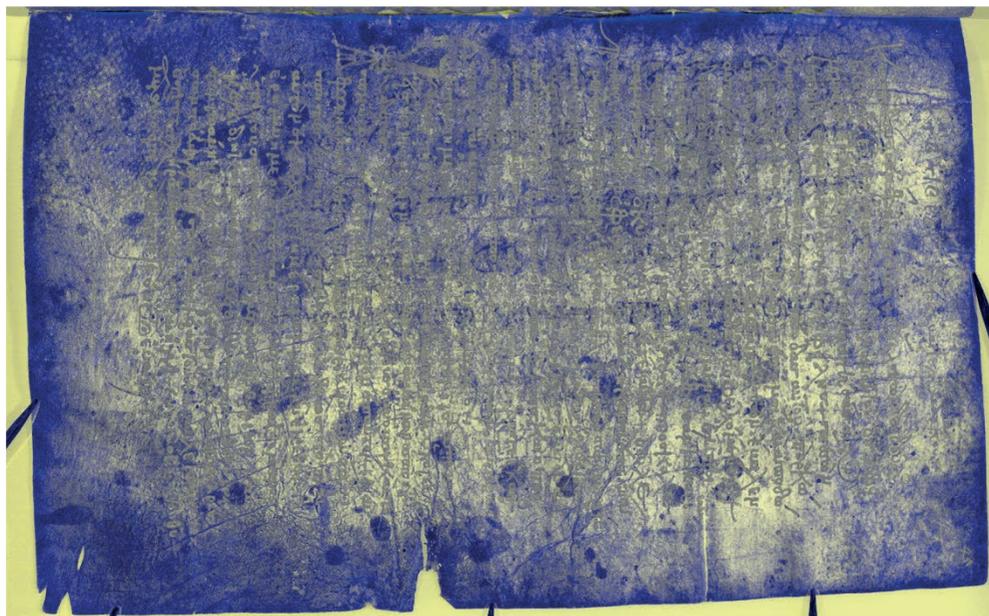


Image 5.6: Reprocessed image of folio IIv, showing traces of underwriting.

## CONCLUSION

The frame catena format of Codex Zacynthius is what might be expected for an early manuscript with this type of commentary, even though this is the only surviving catena in which both biblical text and surrounding exegesis are written in majuscule script. The use of numbers to relate the scholia to the biblical text is an integral part of this catena, and the Codex Zacynthius Project has used these to develop a numbering system to identify each extract. For many scholia, the source is also identified by name: ten authors are mentioned, the most common by far being Cyril of Alexandria, followed by Origen, Titus of Bostra and Severus of Antioch. The other six authors all have fewer than ten extracts each, but thirty-two scholia are described as *ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφοι*, apparently from an earlier exegetical compilation in which sources were not mentioned.

Although the brief preface before the catena is found in numerous other contexts, there are several features which suggest that it may have originally been composed for this compilation. Chief among these are the explanation of the catena numbers, the quotation from Cyril of Alexandria and the verbal parallels both with Cyril and with a preface to the collected letters of Severus. If this is the case, it may offer some indication of the context in which this particular catena was created, yet it would also raise the question of how this preface became so widespread when the catena itself—which does not appear to be the earliest form of catena on Luke—remains poorly attested.

Several features of the presentation support the observation that Codex Zacynthius was copied from another frame catena manuscript. Minor adjustments to the layout can be seen from erasures made *in scribendo*, while several marginal additions appear to have been copied by the first hand in the same location as they were written in the exemplar. There is relatively little obvious indication of later use of the manuscript: the σημείωσαι symbol on folio XIXv, connected to a short note on the following page at the end of the scholium, is in a similar script to the catena: if this was not also copied from the exemplar, it is likely to have been added at an early point. While most of the manuscript can be read clearly from the new images or restored from other sources, there remain a few places where it is still not possible to make text out, particularly in margins or where it is obscured in the central gutter. In the case of a possible ownership note under the table of *kephalaia* on folio 2v, this may shed light on the later history of the manuscript.

**LIST: CONTENTS OF THE CATENA**

The following table lists all the scholia in Codex Zacynthius. The second column provides the number assigned by the Codex Zacynthius project (see p. 63; the scholia in Codex Palatinus have also been taken into account). This is followed by the exact form of the number and the title given in the manuscript, including punctuation and with abbreviations expanded. Where there is no such indication, ‘-’ is used; if the manuscript is lacunose or text may have been obscured in the gutter, this is shown by ‘[...]’. The indication ‘(continuous)’ means that there is no indication of the beginning of a new scholium (e.g. by a blank space or enlarged letter). The final column gives the source of each scholium, so far as it has been possible to identify it. In addition to standard abbreviations used elsewhere in this book, the following abbreviations are employed:

- Cramer J.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum. Vol. II: In Evangelia S. Lucae et S. Joannis* (Oxford: OUP, 1849).
- Mai 1838 Angelo Mai, *Classicorum Auctorum e Vaticanis Codicibus Editorum. Tomus X* (Rome: Collegium Urbanum, 1838).
- Rauer Max Rauer, *Origenes: Werke. Neunter Band. Die Homilien zu Lukas*. (Second edn. GCS 49 [35]. Berlin: Hinrichs, 1959).
- Reuss Joseph Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der Griechischen Kirche*. TU 130 (Berlin: Akademie, 1984).
- Sickenberger Joseph Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra. Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien*. TU 21.1 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1901).
- Sickenberger 1909 Joseph Sickenberger, *Fragmente der Homilien des Cyrill von Alexandrien zum Lukasevangelium*. TU 34 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909).

The majority of scholia were identified using the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. The numeration of Cyril of Alexandria’s *Homilies on Luke* is taken from Reuss based on the Syriac; fragments which have not been assigned to one of these homilies are simply indicated as fragments.<sup>1</sup>

Folio	Scholium	Number and Title in Codex		Identification
IIIr	001-1	α	† του αγιου ιωαννου επισκο(που) κωσταντινουπολ(εως)	Chrysostom, Homily 1 on Matthew [PG 57: 16, 19–23]

<sup>1</sup> See further R. Payne Smith, *The Gospel according to S. Luke by S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria* (Oxford: OUP, 1859).

Folio	Scholium	Number and Title in Codex		Identification
IIIr	<b>001-2</b>	α	–	Origen, Commentary on John [Cramer p.6, 7–10]
IIIr	<b>001-3</b>	α	αλλως	Origen, Commentary on John [SC 1, 5, 27, 8–9]
IIIr	<b>001-4</b>	α	αλλως	Origen, Commentary on John [SC 1, 5 27.9–10]
IIIr	<b>002-1</b>	β	–	Anon., Catena on Luke [Cramer p.6, 12–17]
IIIr	<b>003-1</b>	–	–	Origen, Homily 1 on Luke [Rauer, p.3]
IIIv	<b>004-1a</b>	δ	του αυτου :- ωρ(ιγενους)	Origen, Homily 1 on Luke [Rauer, p.6]
IIIv	<b>004-1b</b>	–	(continuous)	Origen, Fragment 1c on Luke [Rauer, p.227]
IIIv	<b>005-1a</b>	ε	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Origen, Fragment 5 on Luke [Rauer, p.228]
IIIv	<b>005-1b</b>	–	(continuous)	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [PG 72: 476.11–18]
IVr	<b>005-2a</b>	ε	ωριγενους	Origen, Homily 1 on Luke [Rauer, pp.7-9]
IVr	<b>005-2b</b>	–	(continuous)	Origen, Fragment 4 on Luke [Rauer, p.228]
IVr	<b>005-3</b>	[...]	σευηρου αρχιεπισκοπου αντιοχ(ειας) απο λογου λγ	Severus, Sermon 33 [ <i>cf.</i> Mai 1838, p.410]
IVv	<b>006-1</b>	ς	ωριγενους	Origen, Homily 1 on Luke [Rauer, p.9]
IVv	<b>007-1a</b>	ζ	του αυτου	Origen, Homily 1 on Luke [Rauer, pp.10–11]
IVv	<b>007-1b</b>	–	(continuous)	Origen, Fragment 8 on Luke [Rauer, p.229]
IVv	<b>008-1</b>	η	εξ ανεπιγραφου	Anon., Catena on Luke [Cramer p.7, 9–12]
Vr	<b>009-1</b>	θ	εξ ανεπιγραφου	Anon., Catena on Luke [Cramer p.7, 14–18]
Vr	<b>010-1</b>	ι	βικτορος	Victor, unknown work

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Scholium</b>	<b>Number and Title in Codex</b>		<b>Identification</b>
Vr	<b>011-1</b>	ια	εξ ανεπιγραφου	Anon., Catena on Luke [Cramer p.7, 24–25]
Vr	<b>012-1</b>	ιβ	ωριγενους	Origen, Homily 2 on Luke [Rauer, p.14]
Vv	<b>013-1</b>	ιγ	ωριγενους	Origen, Homily 2 on Luke [Rauer, p.16]
Vv	<b>014-1</b>	ιδ	εξ ανεπιγραφ(ου)	Unknown [ <i>cf.</i> Cramer, p.8, 1–3]
VIr	<b>023-1</b>	κγ'	εξ ανεπιγραφου	Eusebius, Fragments on Luke [PG 24: 532.11–17]
VIr	<b>024-1</b>	κδ	ωριγενους	Origen, Homily 5 on Luke [Rauer, p.29]
VIr	<b>024-2</b>	κδ	σευηρου αρχιεπισκ(οπου) αντιοχ(ειας) απο λο(γου) λβ:-	Severus, Sermon 32 [Mai 1838, p.409]
VIr-v	<b>024-3</b>	κδ	ϊσιδωρου πρεσβυτ(ερου) πηλουσιωτου :-	Isidore, Epistle on Divine Interpretation [PG 78: 1, 131.3–12]
VIv	<b>025-1</b>	κε	ωρ(ιγενους)	Origen, Homily 5 on Luke [Rauer, pp.29–31]
VIIr	<b>027-1</b>	[...]	[...]	Origen, Homily 6 on Luke [Rauer, p.33]
VIIv	<b>029-1</b>	[...]	[...]	Severus, Fragments on Luke [Mai 1838, p.412]
VIIIr	<b>030-1</b>	λ	ωριγενους :-	Origen, Fragments 22b and 23 on Luke [Rauer, p.236]
VIIIr	<b>030-2</b>	λ	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) απο λο(γου) β	Severus, Sermon 2 [Mai 1838, pp.470–1]
VIIIr	<b>031-1</b>	λα	του αυτου εκ του αυτου λογου :-	Severus, Sermon 2 [Cramer, p.11, 30–2]
VIIIv	<b>032-1</b>	λβ	ωριγενους :-	Origen, Homily 6 on Luke [Rauer, pp.38–41]

Folio	Scholium	Number and Title in Codex		Identification
VIIIv	<b>032-2</b>	λβ	σευηρου αρχιεπισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) απο λο(γου) β	Severus, Sermon 2 [Mai 1838, p.411; <i>cf.</i> PG 72: 549, 21–22]. See also Origen, Fragments 24 and 25 on Luke [Rauer, pp.236–7]
VIIIv	<b>032-3<sup>2</sup></b>	–	–	Origen? [Cramer p.12, 11]
VIIIv	<b>033-1</b>	λγ	του αυτου εκ του αυτου λογου :	Severus, Sermon 2 [Mai 1838, p.411]
VIIIv	<b>033-2</b>	λγ	ευσεβειου καισαρειας :-	Eusebius, Fragments on Luke [PG 24: 532, 20–27]
IXr	<b>037-1</b>	[...]	[...]	Severus, Sermon 115
IXr	<b>038-1</b>	λη	ευσεβειου καισαρειας :-	Eusebius, Fragments on Luke [PG 24: 532.53–55]
IXr	<b>038-2</b>	λη	σευηρου απο λογου ξγ :-	Severus, Sermon 63
IXr–v	<b>038-3</b>	–	και μετ ολιγα :-	Severus, Sermon 63 [Mai 1838, p.451–2]
Xr	<b>039-1</b>	λθ	ευσεβιου :-	Eusebius, Fragments on Luke [PG 24: 532.57–533.2]
Xr	<b>040-1</b>	μ	του αυτου :-	Origen, Fragment 27b on Luke [Rauer, p.237]
Xr	<b>041-1</b>	μα	του αυτου :-	Origen, Homily 7 on Luke [Rauer, p.41]
Xr	<b>041-2</b>	μα	–	Origen, Homily 7 on Luke [Rauer, p.42]
Xv	<b>042-1</b>	μβ	ευσεβιου :-	Origen, Homily 7 on Luke [Rauer pp.41–2]
Xv	<b>043-1</b>	μγ	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Severus, Fragments on Luke [Mai 1838, p.413–4]
Xv	<b>043-2</b>	μγ	ωριγενους :-	Origen, Fragments 31 and 32c on Luke [Rauer, p.239]
XIr	<b>044-1</b>	μδ	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Origen, Fragments 32 and 33 on Luke [Rauer, pp.239–40]
XIr	<b>044-2</b>	μδ	ωριγενους :-	Origen, Fragment 33b on Luke [Rauer, p.240]
XIr	<b>044-3</b>	[...]	[...]	Severus, Fragments on Luke [Mai 1838, p.413]

<sup>2</sup> This is an additional short scholium in the margin of fol. 8v. See Image 5.3.

Folio	Scholium	Number and Title in Codex		Identification
XI <sup>r</sup> -v	<b>044-4</b>	μδ	του αυτου απο λογου	Severus, Fragments on Luke [Mai 1838, p.412-3]
XI <sup>v</sup>	<b>045-1</b>	με	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Origen, Fragment 34 on Luke [Rauer, p.241]
XI <sup>v</sup>	<b>045-2</b>	με	ωριγενους :-	Origen, Fragments 35 and 36 on Luke [Rauer, pp.241-2]
XII <sup>r</sup>	<b>045-3</b>	με	ισιδωρου πρεσβυτ(ερου) πηλουσιωτου επιστολ(ης) τξγ :	Isidore, Epistle 363 [PG 78: 1, 363.4-12]
XII <sup>r</sup>	<b>046-1a</b>	μς	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Origen, Fragment 38 on Luke [Rauer, p.243]
XII <sup>r</sup>	<b>046-1b</b>	-	(continuous)	Origen, Fragments on Luke (in catenae) [Cramer, p.14, 24-26]
XII <sup>r</sup> -v	<b>046-2</b>	μς	ωριγεν(ους) :-	Origen, Homily 8 on Luke [Rauer, pp.47-50]
XII <sup>v</sup>	<b>047-1</b>	μζ	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Origen, Fragment 39 on Luke [Rauer, p.243]
XII <sup>v</sup>	<b>048-1</b>	μη	του αυτου	Origen, Fragment 40b on Luke [Rauer, p.243]
XII <sup>v</sup>	<b>049-1</b>	μθ	του αυτου	Origen, Fragment 41a on Luke [Rauer, p.244]
XII <sup>v</sup>	<b>050-1</b>	ν	του αυτου	Origen, Catena fragment and Fragment 42 on Luke [Cramer p.14, 33-15, 4 / Rauer p.244]
XIII <sup>r</sup>	<b>051-1</b>	να	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.145-6]
XIII <sup>r</sup>	<b>052-1</b>	νβ	βικτορος πρεσβυτερ(ου) :-	Victor, Catena on Luke [Cramer p.15, 8]
XIII <sup>r</sup>	<b>053-1</b>	νγ	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Cyril? <sup>3</sup> [Cramer p.15, 9-10]
XIII <sup>r</sup>	<b>054-1</b>	νδ	του αυτου :-	Cyril? [Cramer p.15, 12-13]
XIII <sup>r</sup>	<b>055-1</b>	νε	του αυτου :-	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [PG 72: 477, 40-53; cf. Reuss p.279, 4]

<sup>3</sup> The suggestion of Cyril for 053-1 and 054-1 is based on the identification of 055-1 and 056-1.

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Scholium</b>	<b>Number and Title in Codex</b>		<b>Identification</b>
XIIIr	<b>056-1</b>	νς	του αυτ(ου) :-	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [PG 72: 480, 1–4 <i>cf.</i> Reuss p.279, 6]
XIIIv	<b>057-1</b>	νζ	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [PG 72: 480, 15–16]
XIIIv	<b>058-1</b>	νη	του αυτου :-	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [PG 72: 480, 16–24]
XIIIv	<b>059-1</b>	νθ	του αυτου :-	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [PG 72: 480, 40–42]
XIIIv	<b>060-1</b>	ξ	του αυτου :-	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [PG 72: 480, 51–53]
XIIIv	<b>061-1</b>	ξα	του αυτ(ου) :-	Unknown
XIIIv–XIVr	<b>061-2</b>	ξα	βικτορος πρεσβυτερ(ου) :-	Origen, Fragments 46 and 47a on Luke [Rauer, pp.245–6]
XIVr	<b>062-1</b>	ξβ	ωριγενους :-	Origen, Homily 9 on Luke [Rauer, p.54]
XIVr	<b>063-1</b>	ξγ	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Origen, Homily 9 on Luke [Rauer pp.55–6]
XIVv	<b>064-1</b>	ξδ	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Origen, Homilies 9–10 on Luke [Rauer pp.56–8]
XIVv	<b>064-2</b>	ξδ	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) απο λο(γου) λβ	Severus, Sermon 32 [Mai 1838, p.410]
XVr	<b>070-1</b>	ο	βικτορος πρεσβυτερος :-	Victor, unknown work
XVr	<b>071-1</b>	οα	του αυτου :	Victor, unknown work
XVr	<b>072-1</b>	οβ	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Severus, Fragments on Luke [ <i>cf.</i> Mai 1838, p.471]
XVr–v	<b>072-2</b>	οβ	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) απο αριθ(μων) :-	Severus, On Numbers [Mai 1838, p.471–2]
XVv	<b>073-1</b>	ογ	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Origen, Fragment 54 on Luke [Rauer, p.249]
XVv	<b>074-1</b>	οδ	ωριγενους :-	Origen, Homily 11 on Luke [Rauer, p.71]

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Scholium</b>	<b>Number and Title in Codex</b>		<b>Identification</b>
XVv	<b>074-2</b>	οδ	του αγιου τιτου επισκ(οπου) βοστρ(ων) :-	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Cramer p.19, 10–11; Sickenberger p.148]
XVv–XVIr	<b>074-3</b>	–	και μετ ολιγα :-	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.148]
XVIr	<b>075-1</b>	οε	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :-	Cyril, Fragment II.1 on Luke [Reuss p.225, 1.2–8]
XVIr	<b>075-2</b>	–	και μετ ολιγα :-	Cyril, Fragment II.1 on Luke [Reuss p.225, 1.9–12]
XVIr	<b>075-3</b>	οε	ισιδωρου πρεσβυ(τερου) επιστολ(ης) μη :-	Isidore, Letter 48 [PG 78: 1, 48.4–10; also Cramer]
XVIv	<b>076-1</b>	ος	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Cyril, Fragments on Luke/Homily 1 on Luke [PG 72: 485, 24–45]
XVIv– XVIIr	<b>076-2</b>	ος	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που)	Severus, unknown work (title may be in gutter)
XVIIr	<b>077-1</b>	οζ	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [PG 72: 488, 46–50]
XVIIr	<b>077-2</b>	οζ	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) απο λογου λς :-	Severus, Sermon 36
XVIIr	<b>078-1a</b>	οη	– (in gutter?)	Origen, Homily 12 on Luke [Rauer, p.72]
XVIIr	<b>078-1b</b>	–	(continuation)	Origen, Fragment 57 on Luke [Rauer, p.251]
XVIIr–v	<b>078-2</b>	οη	του αγιου κυριλλου :-	Cyril, Homily 2 on Luke [Reuss p.54, 2; cf. Reuss p.280, 11]
XVIIv	<b>079-1</b>	οθ	του αυτου αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 2 on Luke [Reuss p.54, 3.1–7]
XVIIv	<b>079-2</b>	–	και μετ' ολιγα	Cyril, Homily 2 on Luke [Reuss p.56, 6.1–3]
XVIIIr	<b>080-1</b>	π	του αγιου κυριλλου :-	Cyril, Homily 2 on Luke [Reuss p.56, 6.5–16]

Folio	Scholium	Number and Title in Codex		Identification
XVIIIr-v	<b>080-2</b>	π	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) απο λογου λς :-	Severus, Sermon 36 (?) [Origen, Fragment 58 on Luke in Rauer, p.251]
XVIIIv	<b>081-1</b>	πα	σευηρου εκ του αυτου λογου :-	Severus, Sermon 36 (?) [Origen, Fragment 60 on Luke in Rauer, p.252]
XVIIIv	<b>081-2</b>	πα	του αυτου παλιν εν υπακοη :-	Severus, Fragments on Luke [Mai 1838, p.414; see also Cramer p.21, 3- 10]
XIXr	<b>081-4</b>	[...]	[...]	Cyril, Homily 3 on Luke [Reuss p.57, 8.15-21]
XIXr-IIr	<b>082-1</b>	πβ	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) απο επιστολ(ης) της προς καισαριαν πατρικιαν :-	Severus, Letter III.74 to Caesaria the Noblewoman (Select Letters 97) [Mai 1838, p.414]
XXv	<b>083-1</b>	πγ	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.151]
XXv	<b>083-2</b>	πγ	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [PG 72: 501.51-504.3]
XXIr-v	<b>086-1</b>	πς	† του αγιου βασιλειου ομοιως ωριγενους :-	Basil, Letter 260, To Optimus the Bishop [7.1-8, 14]
XXIv	<b>086-2</b>	πς	του αγιου κυριλλου :-	Cyril, Homily 4 on Luke [Reuss p.58, 11]
XXIv	<b>086-3</b>	-	και παλιν :-	Cyril, Homily 4 on Luke [Reuss p.59, 13]
XXIIr	<b>087-1</b>	πζ	† του αγιου βασιλειου :-	Basil, Letter 260, To Optimus the Bishop [9.1-16; cf. Reuss p.281, 20?]
XXIIr	<b>087-2</b>	πζ	του αγιου κυριλλου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αλεξανδ(ρειας) εκ του εις τον ζαχαριαν :-	Cyril, Commentary On Zechariah/Fragments on Luke [PG 72: 505, 36-45; cf. Reuss p.282, 21]
XXIIv	<b>088-1</b>	πη	του αγιου βασιλειου :-	Basil, Letter 260, To Optimus the Bishop [9.18-25]
XXIIIr	<b>104-1</b>	δ	ωριγενους :-	Origen, Homily 22 on Luke [Rauer, pp.133-4]

Folio	Scholium	Number and Title in Codex		Identification
XXIIIr	<b>104-2</b>	–	και παλιν	Origen, Homily 22 on Luke [Rauer, pp.134, 133]
XXIIIr	<b>105-1</b>	ε	του αγιου ιωαννου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) κωνσ(ταντινοπολεως) :-	Chrysostom, Homily 10 on Matthew [PG 57: 187, 44–54]
XXIIIr	<b>105-2</b>	–	και μετ' ολιγα :-	Chrysostom, Homily 10 on Matthew [PG 57: 188, 4–10]
XXIIIr–v	<b>105-3</b>	ε	του αγ(ιου) κυριλλ(ου)	Cyril, Fragment II.13 on Luke [Reuss p.229, 13]
XXIIIv	<b>106-1</b>	ς	ωριγενους :-	Origen, Homily 22 on Luke [Rauer, pp.136–7]
XXIIIv	<b>106-2</b>	ς	του αγ(ιου) κυριλλ(ου) :-	Cyril, Homily 7 on Luke [Reuss p.60, 18; p.229, 14]
XXIVr	<b>110-1</b>	[...]	[...]	Origen, Homily 23 on Luke [Rauer, pp.142–3] <sup>4</sup>
XXIVr	<b>111-1</b>	ια	του αυτου ωριγενους :-	Origen, Homily 23 on Luke [Rauer, p.144]
XXIVr	<b>112-1</b>	ιβ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Fragment II.20 on Luke [Reuss p.231, 20]
XXIVv	<b>113-1</b>	ιγ	του αγιου κυριλλου :-	Cyril, Homily 10 on Luke [Reuss p.61, 20.1–5]
XXIVv– XXVr	<b>114-1</b>	ιδ	του αυτου :-	Cyril, Homily 10 on Luke [Reuss p.61, 21.7–19]
XXVr	<b>115-1</b>	ιε	ωριγενους :-	Origen, Homily 26 on Luke [Rauer, pp.154–5]
XXVr–v	<b>115-2</b>	ιε	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :-	Cyril, Homily 10 on Luke [Reuss p.62, 22]
XXVv	<b>116-1</b>	ις	ωριγενους :	Origen, Homily 27 on Luke [Rauer, pp.157–8]
XXVv	<b>117-1</b>	ιζ	του αυτου	Origen, Homily 27 on Luke [Rauer, p.158]

<sup>4</sup> Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, 283 no. 29 treats the last word of fol. 23v and 110–1 as a single unit ascribed to Cyril, not noticing the probable loss of at least one leaf because of the discontinuity in the biblical text.

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Scholium</b>	<b>Number and Title in Codex</b>		<b>Identification</b>
XXVIr	<b>122-1</b>	κβ	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αλεξ(ανδρειας) :	Cyril, Homily 12 on Luke [Reuss p.64, 24]
XXVIv	<b>123-1</b>	κγ	του αγιου κυριλλου :-	Cyril, Homily 12 on Luke [Reuss p.64, 25]
XXVIv	<b>123-2</b>	κγ	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) εκ του κατα της διαθηκης λαμπετιου συνταγματος :	Severus, Against the Testament of Lampetius [Mai 1838, p.417]
XXVIIr	<b>125-1</b>	[...]	[...]	Cyril, Fragment II.25 on Luke [Reuss p.233, 25.13–15]
XXVIIr-v	<b>126-1</b>	κς	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :-	Cyril, Fragment II.26 on Luke [Reuss p.233, 26]
XXVIIv	<b>127-1</b>	κζ	του αγιου τιτου :-	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.156]
XXVIIIr	<b>128-1</b>	κη	ωριγενους :	Origen, Homily 32 on Luke [Rauer, p.181]
XXVIIIr	<b>128-2</b>	κη	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου)	Cyril, Fragment II.27 on Luke [Reuss p.233, 27]
XXVIIIv	<b>129-1</b>	κθ	–	Cyril, Fragment II.28 on Luke [Reuss p.234, 28.1–5]
XXVIIIv	<b>130-1</b>	λ	του αυτου :	Cyril, Fragment II.28 on Luke [Reuss p.234, 28.7–9]
XXIXr	<b>138-1</b>	λη	–	Cyril, Fragments II.39–40 on Luke [Reuss p.239, 39.16–20, p.240, 40.1]
XXIXr	<b>138-2</b>	λη	του αυτου :	Cyril, Fragment II.41 on Luke [Reuss p.240, 41]
XXIXv	<b>140-1</b>	μ	του αγιου τιτου :	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.157]
XXIXv	<b>141-1</b>	μα	του αυτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.157]
XXXr	<b>142-1</b>	μβ	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	Cyril, Fragments II.42–44 on Luke [Reuss p.241, 42; 43.17–20; 44]
XXXr	<b>143-1</b>	μγ	του αγιου τιτου :	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.157]

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Scholium</b>	<b>Number and Title in Codex</b>		<b>Identification</b>
XXXIr	<b>149-1</b>	[...]	[...]	Cyril, Fragment II.55 on Luke [Reuss p.247, 55.15–23]
XXXIr–v	<b>150-1</b>	ν	του αγιου τιτου :	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.159]
XXXIv	<b>151-1</b>	να	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	Cyril, Fragment II.56 on Luke [Reuss p.247, 56]
XXXIIr	<b>152-1</b>	νβ	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	Cyril, Fragment II.57 on Luke [Reuss p.248, 57]
XXXIIr	<b>153-1</b>	νγ	του αυτου :	Cyril, Fragment II.58 on Luke [Reuss p.248, 58.1–9]
XXXIIr– XXXIIIr	<b>154-1</b>	νδ	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	Cyril, Fragments II.59–60 on Luke [Reuss p.248, 59; p.259, 60]
XXXIIIr	<b>155-1</b>	νε	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου)	Cyril, Fragment II.62 on Luke [Reuss p.249, 62]
XXXIIIv	<b>156-1</b>	νς	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	Cyril, Fragment II.63 on Luke [Reuss p.250, 63.1–13]
XXXIVr	<b>157-1</b>	νζ	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	Cyril, Fragment II.64 on Luke [Reuss p.251, 64]
XXXIVv	<b>158-1a</b>	νη	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	Cyril, Fragment II.65 on Luke (Homily 22) [Reuss p.251, 65]
XXXIVv	<b>158-1b</b>	–	(continuous)	Cyril, Homily 22 on Luke [Reuss p.65, 26]
XXXVr	<b>171-1</b>	[...]	[...]	Severus, Fragments on Luke [Mai 1838, p.421]
XXXVr	<b>171-2</b>	οα	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου)	Cyril, Fragment II.80 on Luke (Homily 27) [Reuss p.259, 80]
XXXVv	<b>172-1</b>	οβ	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	Cyril, Homily 27 on Luke [Reuss p.66, 28]
XXXVv– XXXVIr	<b>173-1</b>	ογ	του αυτου :	Cyril, Homily 28 on Luke [Reuss p.66, 29.1–13]
XXXVIr	<b>174-1</b>	οδ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 29 on Luke [Reuss p.67, 30]
XXXVIv	<b>174-2</b>	οδ	σευηρου αρχιεπισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) απο λογου ριγ	Severus, Sermon 113 [Mai 1838, p.452–3]

Folio	Scholium	Number and Title in Codex		Identification
XXXVIIr	<b>175-1</b>	οε	του αγιου τιτου θ <sup>5</sup>	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.162]
XXXVIIr	<b>175-2</b>	οε	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Fragment II.81 on Luke [Reuss p.259, 81.1–20]
XXXVIIv– XXXVIIIr	<b>176-1</b>	ος	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Fragment II.82 on Luke [Reuss p.260, 82]
XXXVIIIr	<b>177-1</b>	οζ	του αγιου κηρυλλου (sic)	Cyril, Fragment II.83 on Luke [Reuss p.261, 83]
XXXVIIIv	<b>178-1</b>	οη	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 32 on Luke [Reuss, p.68, 31.2–5]
XXXIXr	<b>179-1</b>	οθ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Fragment II.85 on Luke [Reuss p.262, 85]
XXXIXv	<b>180-1</b>	π	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 32 on Luke [Reuss, p.68, 31.6–17]
XXXIXv	<b>181-1</b>	πα	του αυτου	Cyril, Homily 32 on Luke [Reuss, p.68, 32.1–12]
XLr	<b>182-1</b>	πβ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 33 on Luke [Reuss, p.69, 33.1–11]
XLv	<b>183-1</b>	πγ	ωρ(ιγενους)	Origen, Fragment 112 on Luke [Rauer p.273]
XLv	<b>183-2</b>	πγ	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.163]
XLIr	<b>183-3a</b>	πγ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 33 on Luke [Reuss, p.70, 36]
XLIr	<b>183-3b</b>	–	(continuous)	Cyril, Homily 33 on Luke [Reuss, p.70, 35]
XLIV	<b>184-1</b>	πδ	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, unknown work
XLIV	<b>184-2</b>	πδ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 34 on Luke [Reuss, p.71, 38.1–6]
XLIV	<b>184-3</b>	–	και μετ ολιγα	Cyril, Homily 34 on Luke [Reuss, p.71, 38.10–15]
XLIIr	<b>185-1</b>	[πε]	εξ ανεπιγραφου	Anon., Catena on Luke [Cramer p.55, 6–16]
XLIIr	<b>185-2</b>	[πε]	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου)	Cyril, Homily 34 on Luke [Reuss, p.71, 39]

<sup>5</sup> It is not clear whether θ (presumably the numeral 9) is part of the source indication.

Folio	Scholium	Number and Title in Codex		Identification
XLIIv	<b>186-1</b>	πς	του αγιου τιτου	Cyril, Homily 35 on Luke [Reuss, p.72, 40.1–10; <i>cf.</i> Sickenberger p.163–4]
XLIIv	<b>186-2</b>	–	και μετ ολιγα	Cyril, Homily 35 on Luke [Reuss, p.72, 41.1–5; <i>cf.</i> Sickenberger p.164]
XLIIIr	<b>187-1</b>	πζ	εξ ανεπιγραφου	Unknown
XLIIIv	<b>188-1</b>	πη	εξ ανεπιγραφου	Unknown
XLIIIv	<b>188-2</b>	πη	του αγιου τιτου	Cyril, Homily 35 on Luke [Reuss, p.72, 41.10–14 & p.73, 42]. <sup>6</sup>
XLIVr	<b>190-1a</b>	ρ	εξ ανεπιγραφου	Titus, Homilies on Luke, followed by Romans 6:9 [Sickenberger p.166]
XLIVr	<b>190-1b</b>	–	(continuous)	Cyril, Homily 36 on Luke [Reuss, p.74, 45.1–16]
XLIVv	<b>191-1</b>	ρα	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [PG 72: 609, 54–58; <i>cf.</i> Reuss p.286, 47]
XLIVv	<b>192-1</b>	ρβ	του αυτου	Cyril, Homily 37 on Luke [Reuss, p.74, 46.1–3]
XLIVv	<b>193-1</b>	ργ	του αυτου	Cyril, Homily 37 on Luke [Reuss, p.74, 46.5–11]
XLIVv– XLVr	<b>193-2</b>	–	και μετ ολιγα	Cyril, Homily 37 on Luke [Reuss, p.75, 46.42–48]
XLVr	<b>194-1</b>	ρδ	του αυτου αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 37 on Luke [Reuss, p.76, 47.1–13]
XLVv	<b>195-1</b>	ρε	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.166–7]
XLVr	<b>196-1</b>	ρς	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.167]
XLVr	<b>197-1</b>	ρζ	του αυτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.167–8]
XLVr	<b>197-2</b>	ρζ	του αυτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.168]

<sup>6</sup> Although Reuss splits this scholium into two and omits a small portion from the middle, the Syriac version of this sermon (Payne Smith, *The Gospel according to Luke*, 130) shows that this is a single continuous extract.

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Scholium</b>	<b>Number and Title in Codex</b>		<b>Identification</b>
XLVIr	<b>198-1</b>	ρη	–	Cyril, Homily 38 on Luke [Payne-Smith 1859, p.146; not in Reuss]
XLVIv	<b>199-1</b>	ρθ	ἐξ ανεπιγραφου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.168]
XLVIv	<b>199-2</b>	ρθ	αλλος	Anon., Catena on Luke [Cramer p.59, 20–29]
XLVIv–XLVIIr	<b>199-3</b>	ρθ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 38 on Luke [Reuss, p.76, 48]
XLVIIv	<b>200-1</b>	ρ	αλλος	Unknown
XLVIIv	<b>201-1</b>	α	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 39 on Luke [Reuss, p.77, 49]
XLVIIIr	<b>202-1</b>	β	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.169]
XLVIIIr	<b>202-2</b>	β	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 39 on Luke [Reuss, p.77, 50.1–13]
XLVIIIv	<b>203-1</b>	γ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 40 on Luke [Reuss, p.78, 51.1–6]
XLVIIIv	<b>203-2</b>	γ	του αγιου σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκοπου αντιστοιχειας απο λ(ογου) ριη	Severus, Sermon 118 [Mai 1838, p.422]
XLVIIIv	<b>203-3</b>	–	και μετ ολιγα	Severus, Sermon 118 [Mai 1838, p.422]
XLIXr–v	<b>204-1</b>	δ	του αγιου σευηρου αρχιεπισκο(που) αντιστοιχειας απο λ(ογου) εκ της προς αναστασιαν διακονον επιστολης :-	Severus, Letter to Anastasia the Deacon [cf. Mai 1838, p.421]
XLIXv	<b>204-2</b>	–	και μετ ολιγα	Severus, Letter to Anastasia the Deacon [cf. Mai 1838, p.421–2]
Lr	<b>208-1</b>	η	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.169–70]
Lv	<b>209-1</b>	θ	του αγ(ιου) τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.170]
Lv	<b>210-1</b>	ι	του αυτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.170]

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Scholium</b>	<b>Number and Title in Codex</b>		<b>Identification</b>
Llr	<b>216-1</b>	[...]	[...]	Cyril, Homily 41 on Luke [Reuss, p.79, 52.11–16, 53:1–5]
Llr–v	<b>216-2</b>	ις	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.172–3]
Llv	<b>217-1</b>	ιζ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 41 on Luke [Reuss, p.80, 54]
LlIr	<b>218-1</b>	ιη	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 41 on Luke [Reuss, p.80, 55.1–9]
LlIv	<b>219-1</b>	ιθ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 41 on Luke [Reuss, p.80, 55.10–29]
LlIIr	<b>220-1</b>	κ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 41 on Luke [Reuss, p.80, 55.31–36; p.81, 56]
LlIIv	<b>221-1</b>	κα	του αγιου ιωάννου επισκ(ο)π(ου) κω(ν)σταντινουπολ(εως)	Chrysostom, Homily 15 on Matthew [PG 57: 232, 32–37]
LlIIv	<b>221-2</b>	κα	ωρ(ιγενους)	Origen, Fragment 121c–d on Luke [Rauer, pp.275–6]
LlIIv	<b>221-3</b>	κα	απολιναριου	Apollinarius, Commentary on Matthew(?) [Reuss p.7, 1.7–11]
LlIVr	<b>222-1</b>	κβ	βικτορος πρεσβυτερ(ου)	Victor, Fragments in catenae [Cramer p.66, 25–26]
LlIVr	<b>223-1</b>	κγ	του αυτου	Victor, Fragments in catenae [Cramer p.66, 26–28]
LlIVr	<b>224-1</b>	κδ	του αυτου	Victor, Fragments in catenae [Cramer p.66, 29–32]
LlIVr–v	<b>225-1</b>	κε	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.174–5]
LlIVv	<b>226-1</b>	κς	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.175–6]
LlIVv	<b>226-2</b>	κς	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 42 on Luke [Reuss, p.81, 57.1–14]
LVR	<b>230-1</b>	[...]	[...]	Cyril, Homily 43 on Luke [Reuss, p.83, 59.23–24, PG 72:632, 34–42]
LVR	<b>231-1</b>	–	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 44 on Luke [Reuss, p.83, 60.1–3]

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Scholium</b>	<b>Number and Title in Codex</b>		<b>Identification</b>
LVr	<b>231-2</b>	–	και μετ ολιγα .	Cyril, Homily 44 on Luke [Reuss, p.83, 60.5–8]
LVv	<b>232-1</b>	λβ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 44 on Luke [Reuss, p.84, 60.10–24]
LVIr	<b>233-1</b>	λγ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 44 on Luke [Reuss, p.84, 61.1–5]
LVIr	<b>234-1</b>	λδ	του αυτου	Cyril, Homily 44 on Luke [Reuss, p.84, 62]
LVIr–v	<b>234-2</b>	λδ	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.177]
LVIv	<b>235-1</b>	λε	του αυτου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.178]
LVIv	<b>235-2</b>	–	–	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.178]
LVIIr	<b>240-1</b>	[...]	[...]	Origen, Fragment 125 on Luke [Rauer, pp.278–9]; sometimes ascribed to Cyril [ <i>cf.</i> Reuss p.287, 55]
LVIv	<b>241-1</b>	μα	εξ ανεπιγραφου	Anon., Catena on Luke [Cramer p.71, 17–31]
LVIv	<b>241-2a</b>	μα	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 45 on Luke [Reuss, p.85, 63.4–11]
LVIv	<b>241-2b</b>	–	(continuous)	Unknown <sup>7</sup>
LVIv	<b>241-3</b>	μα	του αγ(ιου) σευηρου αρχιεπισκοπ(ου) αντιοχ(ειας) απο λογ(ου) να	Severus, Sermon 51 [Mai 1838, p.423–4]
LVIIr	<b>242-1</b>	μβ	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.181–2]
LVIIr	<b>242-2</b>	μβ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 45 on Luke [Reuss, p.85, 64]
LVIv	<b>244-1</b>	μδ	εξ ανεπιγραφου	Origen, Fragment 127b–c on Luke [Rauer, p.280]
LVIv	<b>245-1</b>	με	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Cramer p.72, 11–16; Sickenberger p.182]

<sup>7</sup> The source of this sentence cannot be securely identified: it has no parallel in the Syriac tradition of Cyril's Homily 45, and γινωσκομεν is not used in any other scholium by Cyril in this manuscript.

Folio	Scholium	Number and Title in Codex		Identification
LIXr-v	<b>249-1</b>	μθ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 47 on Luke [Reuss, p.86, 65.1-27]
LIXv-LXr	<b>249-2</b>	-	και μετ ολιγα	Cyril, Homily 47 on Luke [Reuss, p.86, 66; p.87, 67; 68.1-10]
LXv	<b>250-1</b>	ν	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 47 on Luke [Reuss, p.88, 68.16-19]
LXIV	<b>251-1</b>	να	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 48 on Luke [Reuss, p.88, 70.1-7]
LXIIr	<b>252-1</b>	νβ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 48 on Luke [Reuss, p.88, 70.13-30]
LXIIv	<b>252-2</b>	νβ	του αγιου σευηρου αντιο(χειας) εκ του κατ(α) της απολογιας ϊουλιανου συνταγματος κεφαλαιο(ν) <sup>8</sup>	Severus, Against the Apology of Julian [Mai 1838, p.425]
LXIIv-LXIIIr	<b>252-3</b>	νβ	του αυτου εκ της προς κυριακον' και λοιπους ορθοδοξους εν κω(ν)σταντινου- (πολει) επισκο(πους)	Severus, To Kyriakos and the Other Orthodox Bishops in Constantinople [Mai 1838, p.425-7]
LXIIIv	<b>253-1</b>	νγ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 49 on Luke [Reuss, p.90, 72.1-25]
LXIVr	<b>254-1</b>	νδ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 49 on Luke [Reuss, p.91, 73.2-17]
LXIVv	<b>255-1</b>	νε	του αγιου κυριλλου .	Cyril, Homily 50 on Luke [Reuss, p.91, 74.1-8]
LXIVv	<b>255-2</b>	-	και μετ ολιγα	Cyril, Homily 50 on Luke [Reuss, p.92, 74.15-20]
LXVr	<b>256-1</b>	νε	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 50 on Luke [Reuss, p.92, 76]
LXVr	<b>257-1</b>	νζ	του αυτου	Cyril, Homily 50 on Luke [Reuss, p.93, 78]
LXVv-LXVIr	<b>258-1</b>	νη	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 51 on Luke [Reuss, p.93, 79; p.94, 80; 81]

<sup>8</sup> The chapter number is illegible, but may be ιε or ιθ.

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Scholium</b>	<b>Number and Title in Codex</b>		<b>Identification</b>
LXVIv	<b>259-1</b>	νθ	του αγιου ιωαννου επισκο(που) κω(ν)σταντινου-πολ(εως)	Chrysostom, Homily 56 on Matthew [PG 58: 549.55–550.15]
LXVIv	<b>259-2</b>	νθ	ωρ(ιγενους)	Origen, Fragment 139 on Luke [Rauer, p.283]
LXVIv–LXVIIIr	<b>259-3</b>	νθ	σευηρου αντιοχειας· εκ της προς σεργιον αρχιατρον επιστολ(ης) ερωτησαντα τινος ενεκεν ο κ(υριος) πετρον και ιακωβον και ιωαννην μονον παρελαβεν :	Severus, Letter II.27 to Sergius the Chief Physician (Select Letters 85) [Mai 1838, p.453]
LXVIIv	<b>260-1</b>	ξ	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.183]
LXVIIv	<b>260-2</b>	ξ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [Sickenberger 1909 p.80, 18–81, 3; <i>cf.</i> Reuss p.287, 57]
LXVIIv	<b>260-3</b>	ξ	του αγ(ιου) σευηρου αντιοχειας εκ της απολογιας του φιλαλ(ηθους)	Severus, Apology of Philalethes [Mai 1838, p.522, attributed there to Cyril]
LXVIIIr	<b>261-1</b>	[ξα]	[...]	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p. 185]
LXVIIIv	<b>261-2</b>	[...]	[...]	Cyril, Homily 51 on Luke [Reuss, p.95, 83.7–8]
LXVIIIv	<b>262-1</b>	ξβ	του αυτου παλι(ν)	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [Sickenberger 1909 p.84, 11–14; <i>cf.</i> Reuss p.288, 58]
LXIXr	<b>265-1</b>	[...]	[...]	Cyril, Homily 52 on Luke [Reuss, p.96, 85.15–17]
LXIXr	<b>265-2</b>	–	και μετ ολιγα	Cyril, Homily 52 on Luke [Reuss, p.97, 86.1–7]
LXIXv	<b>266-1</b>	ξς	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p. 185]
LXIXv	<b>266-2</b>	ξς	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 53 on Luke [Reuss, p.97, 87.5–22]

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Scholium</b>	<b>Number and Title in Codex</b>		<b>Identification</b>
LXXr	<b>267-1</b>	ξζ	του αγιου κυριλλου ·	Cyril, Homily 53 on Luke [Reuss, p.98, 88]
LXXr-v	<b>268-1</b>	ξη	του αυτου	Cyril, Homily 54 on Luke [Reuss, p.98, 89.1-20]
LXXv- LXXIr	<b>268-2</b>	-	και μετ ολιγα	Cyril, Homily 54 on Luke [Reuss, p.99, 89.21-42; p.100, 90]
LXXIr	<b>268-3</b>	-	του αγιου σευηρου αντιοχ(ειας) απο λογ(ου) πβ	Severus, Sermon 82 [Mai 1838, pp.453-4]
LXXIv- LXXIIr	<b>270-1</b>	ο	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 55 on Luke [Reuss, p.100, 91]
LXXIIr	<b>270-2</b>	-	του αυτου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 56 on Luke [Reuss, p.101, 92.3-5]
LXXIIr	<b>270-3</b>	-	του αγ(ιου) τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.185]
LXXIIv	<b>271-1</b>	οα	του αγ(ιου) τιτου	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [Sickenberger 1909, p.92, 5-8; cf. Reuss p.288, 59]
LXXIIv	<b>271-2</b>	οα	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 56 on Luke [Reuss, p.101, 94.2-6]
LXXIIv- LXXIIIr	<b>271-3</b>	-	και μετ ολιγα	Cyril, Homily 56 on Luke [Reuss, p.102, 94.15-26; 95.1-12]
LXXIIIv	<b>272-1</b>	οβ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 57 on Luke [Reuss, p.103, 96.1-6]
LXXIIIv- LXXIVr	<b>272-2</b>	-	και μετ ολιγα	Cyril, Homily 57 on Luke [Reuss, p.103, 96.20-25; 97:1-15]
LXXIVr	<b>273-1</b>	ογ	του αγ(ιου) τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.186]
LXXIVr-v	<b>274-1</b>	οδ	εξ ανεπιγραφου	Cyril, Homily 58 on Luke [Reuss, p.104, 98.1-13] (with some textual variants)
LXXIVv- LXXVr	<b>275-1</b>	οε	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 59 on Luke [Reuss, p.105, 99]
LXXVr	<b>276-1</b>	ος	του αγι(ου) τιτου	Cyril, Homily 60 on Luke [Reuss, p.106, 100.11-24]

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Scholium</b>	<b>Number and Title in Codex</b>		<b>Identification</b>
LXXVr-v	<b>276-2</b>	ος	του αγιου κυριλλου :-	Cyril, Homily 60 on Luke [Reuss, p.106, 100.1-11]
LXXVv	<b>277-1</b>	οζ	του αγιου τιτου :	Cyril, Homily 60 on Luke [Reuss, p.106, 101.5-17]
LXXVIr	<b>278-1</b>	οη	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 61 on Luke [Reuss, p.107, 103]
LXXVIr	<b>279-1</b>	οθ	του αγιου τιτου :	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.188]
LXXVIr-v	<b>279-2</b>	οθ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 62 on Luke [Reuss, p.108, 105 (plus addition), 106; cf. Sickenberger 1909, p.102, 1-16]
LXXVIv	<b>280-1</b>	π	του αγιου τιτου :	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p. 189]
LXXVIv	<b>281-1</b>	πα	του αυτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.189]
LXXVIv	<b>281-2</b>	-	και μετ ολιγα	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.189]
LXXVIIr	<b>282-1</b>	πβ	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.190]
LXXVIIr	<b>283-1</b>	πγ	ωρ(ιγενους)	Origen, Fragment 159 on Luke [Rauer, pp.290-1]
LXXVIIr	<b>284-1</b>	πδ	του αυτου	Origen, Fragments 160-161a on Luke [Rauer, p.291]
LXXVIIv	<b>285-1</b>	πε	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.190]
LXXVIIv	<b>286-1</b>	πς	του αυτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.190-1]
LXXVIIv	<b>287-1</b>	πζ	του αυτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.191]
LXXVIIIr	<b>288-1</b>	πη	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.191]
LXXVIIIr	<b>288-2</b>	πη	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 63 on Luke [Reuss, p.108, 107]
LXXVIIIr-v	<b>289-1</b>	[πθ]	του αυτου	Cyril, Homily 64 on Luke [Reuss, p.109, 108.1-5]
LXXVIIIv	<b>289-2</b>	-	και μετ ολιγα	Cyril, Homily 64 on Luke [Reuss, p.109, 108.12-15, 21-22]

Folio	Scholium	Number and Title in Codex		Identification
LXXVIIIv	<b>290-1</b>	ρ	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.192]
LXXVIIIv	<b>290-2</b>	ρ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 64 on Luke [Reuss, p.110, 109.1–7]
LXXIXr	<b>293-1</b>	ργ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 65 on Luke [Reuss, p.110, 112.1–10]
LXXIXr–v	<b>293-2</b>	–	και μετ ολιγα	Cyril, Homily 65 on Luke [Reuss, p.111, 112.14; 113]
LXXIXv	<b>294-1</b>	ρδ	και μετ ολιγα <sup>9</sup>	Cyril, Homily 65 on Luke [Reuss, p.112, 115.1–4]
LXXIXv	<b>294-2</b>	–	ωρ(ιγενους)	Origen, Fragment 164 on Luke [Rauer, p.293]
LXXXr	<b>294-3</b>	ρδ	του αγιου κυριλλου :	Cyril, Homily 66 on Luke [Reuss, p.113, 116; 117]
LXXXv	<b>295-1</b>	ρε	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.196]
LXXXv	<b>295-2</b>	ρε	ωρ(ιγενους)	Origen, Fragment 162 on Luke [Rauer, p.292]
LXXXIr	<b>296-1</b>	ρς	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 67 on Luke [Reuss, p.114, 118.1–12]
LXXXIr–v	<b>296-2</b>	–	και μεθ ετερα	Cyril, Homily 67 on Luke [Reuss, p.115, 118.50–56]
LXXXIv	<b>297-1a</b>	ρζ	ωρ(ιγενους)	Origen, Homily 34 [Rauer, pp.188–9; <i>cf.</i> Reuss p.288, 61]
LXXXIv	<b>297-1b</b>	–	(continuous)	Origen, Fragment 166 on Luke [Rauer, pp.294–5; <i>cf.</i> Reuss p.288, 61]
LXXXIv–LXXXIIr	<b>297-2</b>	ρζ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 68 on Luke [Reuss, p.115, 119.8–24; 120; 121]
LXXXIIv	<b>298-1</b>	ρη	εξ ανεπιγραφ(ου)	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [PG 72: 680.44–681.2]

<sup>9</sup> This is the only instance in which a scholium beginning *και μετ ολιγα* is also assigned a number in the manuscript.

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Scholium</b>	<b>Number and Title in Codex</b>		<b>Identification</b>
LXXXIIv	<b>298-2</b>	ρη	ἰσιδωρου πηλουσιωτου · επιστολ(ης) αφινθ	Isidore, Epistle 1759 [Cramer p.86, 26–33]
LXXXIIIr	<b>299-1</b>	[...]	[...]	Severus, Fragments on Luke [Mai 1838, pp.428–9; Cramer pp.87, 32– 88, 10]
LXXXIIIv	<b>300-1</b>	ρ	του αγιου σευηρου αρχιεπισκ(οπου) αντιοχειας απο λογ(ου) πθ	Severus, Sermon 89 [Mai 1838, p.429]
LXXXIIIv	<b>300-2</b>	–	και μετ ολιγα	Severus, Sermon 89 [Mai 1838, pp. 429–30, Cramer p.88, 15–25]
LXXXIVr– v	<b>301-1</b>	α	του αγιου σευηρου αρχιεπισκ(οπου) αντιοχειας απο λογου πθ	Cyril? Despite the attribution to Severus (Sermon 89), this scholium is ascribed to Cyril in Cramer [Cramer p.88, 26–89, 19; Reuss, p.288, 60]
LXXXVr	<b>302-1</b>	β	εξ ανεπιγραφ(ου)	Cyril, Homily 68 on Luke [Reuss, p.117, 123]
LXXXVr	<b>302-2</b>	β	ωρ(ιγενους)	Origen, Homily 34 on Luke [Rauer, pp.189–190]
LXXXVv	<b>303-1</b>	γ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 69 on Luke [Reuss, p.117, 124.1–5]
LXXXVIr	<b>305-1</b>	ε	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 70 on Luke [Reuss, p.117, 125]
LXXXVIv	<b>306-1</b>	ς	του αγιου τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.197]
LXXXVIv	<b>306-2</b>	–	και παλιν	Basil, Ascetic Constitutions [Vol. 31 p.1328, 46]
LXXXVIv	<b>307-1</b>	ζ	ωρ(ιγενους)	Origen, Fragment 174 on Luke [Rauer, pp.299–300]
LXXXVIIr	<b>310-1</b>	[...]	[...]	Cyril, Homily 74 on Luke [Reuss, p.121, 129.4–12]
LXXXVIIr	<b>311-1</b>	ια	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 75 on Luke [Reuss, p.121, 130.1–4]
LXXXVIIr– v	<b>311-2</b>	–	και μετ ολιγα	Cyril, Homily 75 on Luke [Reuss, p.121, 130.4–20]
LXXXVIIv	<b>311-3</b>	–	–	Origen, Fragment 180 on Luke [Rauer, p.302; cf. Reuss p.288, 63]

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Scholium</b>	<b>Number and Title in Codex</b>		<b>Identification</b>
LXXXVIIv	<b>312-1</b>	ιβ	του αγιου κυριλλου	Cyril, Homily 76 on Luke [Reuss, p.122, 131.1–9]
LXXXVIIIr	<b>326-1</b>	κς	[...]	Anon., Catena on Luke [Cramer p.94, 23–30]
LXXXVIIIv	<b>327-1</b>	κζ	του αγι(ου) τιτου	Titus, Homilies on Luke [Sickenberger p.205]
LXXXVIIIv	<b>328-1</b>	κη	τ(ου) αγι(ου) κυρ(ιλλου)	Cyril, Homily 82 on Luke [Reuss, p.128, 146.1–8]
LXXXIXr	<b>328-2</b>	[...]	[...]	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [PG 72:708, 37–49; cf. Reuss p.289, 67]
LXXXIXv	<b>329-1</b>	[...]	[...]	Cyril, Fragments on Luke [PG 72:709, 22–40]



## CHAPTER 6.

# THE SOURCES OF CODEX ZACYNTHIUS AND THEIR TREATMENT (PANAGIOTIS MANAFIS)

The focus of this chapter is on the identification of the sources of the scholia transmitted in the catena of Codex Zacynthius. The detailed analysis of the individual extracts and their comparison both with the direct tradition of relevant authors and with their appearance in other catena traditions yields interesting results with regard to their source and textual transmission. The examination of differences, omissions and additions enables us to develop an understanding of how the sources have been employed and adjusted by the compilers of catenae as well as to gain some insight into their subsequent history. Copying practice in Codex Zacynthius is also considered.

### THE COLLECTION OF EXEGETICAL PASSAGES

Catenae are chains of extracted exegetical comments on the books of the Bible.<sup>1</sup> In the past, scholarship has disputed the originality of texts consisting of selections, deeming the cut-and-paste technique employed in these works to be a sign of intellectual decline.<sup>2</sup> Collections of extracted exegetical passages were only studied as sources for the patristic authorities that they preserved. More recently, however, there has been a shift towards considering such compilations as texts in their own right, seeking their originality in the new combination of extracts into a fresh work.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, scholarship of the last decade has begun to view collections of excerpts as a particular way of ordering, organising and disseminating knowledge in Byzantium. Odorico has described Byzantine society as ‘a

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<sup>1</sup> On catenae manuscripts see Robert Devreese, ‘Chaînes exégétiques grecques,’ in *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément*, ed. A. Pirot (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1928) cols. 1084–1233; Nigel G. Wilson, ‘A Chapter in the History of Scholia,’ *Classical Quarterly* 17.2 (1967): 244–56; Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes: contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*. 4 vols. (Leuven: Peeters, 1986–95); Jean-Marie Auwers, ed., *Procopii Gazaei Epitome in Canticum Cantorum*. CCSG 67 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); 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. T&S 3.13. Piscataway NJ: Gorgias, 2016), 1–35.

<sup>2</sup> S. Dusil, G. Swedler, R. Schwitter, ed., *Exzerpieren–Kompilieren–Tradieren. Transformationen des Wissens zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

<sup>3</sup> See the special issue of *Byzantinoslavica* 75 (2017) edited by Paolo Odorico; also, P. Manafis, *(Re)writing History in Byzantium: A Critical Study of Collections of Historical Excerpts* (Abingdon & New York: Routledge, 2020).

culture of sylloge<sup>3, 4</sup> and scholars have begun to consider sylloges of excerpts in their individuality and within the particular context they appeared. Such an approach has been promoted by the recent turn to study manuscripts in their own right, rather than as mere sources for the ancient texts they preserve.<sup>5</sup> Collections of patristic citations, however, have long attracted particular scholarly attention. On one hand, citations from authoritative sources undoubtedly enhanced the validity of arguments in religious rivalries and dogmatical disputes.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, such collections of extracts offered a unified and cogent vision of the present on the basis of extant pieces of representations of the past. Yet textual interventions in the original were involved in the creation of a work in a new format which provided a compilation of exegetical comments.<sup>7</sup> Besides, certain chains of exegetical extracts became fixed texts and continued to be copied as independent works throughout the Byzantine millennium and beyond. Considering catenae as autonomous pieces of literature, therefore, Codex Zacynthius is of great value in reconstructing the oldest recoverable text of patristic extracts transmitted in the tradition of catenae on Luke.<sup>8</sup> In other words, catenae manuscripts can be helpful in retrieving original commentaries on the Bible but they should be studied with extreme caution, for a catena was intended to create a new commentary on the basis of various extracts rather than to preserve an existing commentary.

## THE SOURCES

While the previous chapter considered the way in which the scholia are presented in Codex Zacynthius, the examination of their text in the light of the writings which have been preserved from antiquity enables us to consider their sources in greater detail. As a result of the work of identification undertaken by the Codex Zacynthius Project (presented in the *List of Catena Contents* on pp. 73–95). Table 6.1 summarises the contents of the catena based on the textual analysis of each extract. Because there are a few occasions when what is presented as a single scholium in the manuscript actually consists of a combination of multiple sources, there are more items listed here than in Table 5.2; scholia where the attribution is doubtful have provisionally been assigned to the author.

<sup>4</sup> Paolo Odorico, 'La cultura della Συλλογή: 1) Il cosiddetto enciclopedismo bizantino. 2) Le tavole del sapere di Giovanni Damasceno,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83.1 (1990): 1-21.

<sup>5</sup> Filippo Ronconi, *I manoscritti greci miscellanei. Ricerche su esemplari dei secoli IX-XII*. (Spoleto: CISAM, 2007); Eva Nyström, *Containing Multitudes: Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8 in Perspective*. *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 11 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2009); Alessandro Bausi, ed., *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Hamburg: COMSt, 2015).

<sup>6</sup> On this see Thomas Graumann, *Die Kirche der Väter. Vätertheologie und Väterbeweis in den Kirchen des Ostens bis zum Konzil von Ephesus (431)*. *Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie* 118 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck: 2002).

<sup>7</sup> See the examples presented below.

<sup>8</sup> This observation is also made by Reuss, who describes Codex Zacynthius as 'die wohl älteste Lukas-Katene' (Joseph Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*. TU 130 [Berlin: Akademie, 1984], xv).

Author	Total extracts	Direct tradition	Other catenae	Unpublished
Cyril of Alexandria	151	1	150	0
Origen	67	29	38	0
Titus of Bostra	48	0	47	1
Severus of Antioch	38	0	33	5
Victor the Presbyter	7	0	4	3
John Chrysostom	5	5	0	0
Isidore of Pelusium	4	4	0	0
Eusebius of Caesarea	4	0	4	0
Basil of Caesarea	4	4	0	0
Apollinarius	1	0	1	0
Unidentified	14	0	9	12
Total	343	43 (12.5%)	286 (83.4%)	14 (4.1%)

Table 6.1: Identification of scholia sources.

The first observation to be drawn from this overview is that the examination of the text results in the attribution of the extracts to the same ten writers as are named in the titles of the extracts. While there are twelve titles in the manuscript which appear to be inaccurate, no additional authors have been identified.<sup>9</sup> This indicates a relatively fixed corpus of writings from which the scholia in this catena were drawn, in contrast to the appearance of other sources such as Athanasius of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa in other catenae.<sup>10</sup> What is more, the fact that the vast majority of attributions in Codex Zacynthius appear to be correct suggests that this manuscript is a faithful witness to the catena tradition it transmits, as might also be surmised from its early date. The information about the tradition of the scholia serves to demonstrate the importance of the catena tradition in preserving writings which have otherwise been lost: only 12.5% of the scholia in Codex Zacynthius are known today through the direct tradition of an author's work, although over 83% are present in other editions of catenae. At the same time, this reliance on catenae alone means that some of the identifications should be treated with caution. Fortunately, in the case of Cyril of Alexandria, the preservation of extensive portions of his *Homilies on Luke* in a literal Syriac translation provides confirmation for the attribution of the majority of the extracts in this catena as well as shedding light on the compiler's patterns of excerpting.

<sup>9</sup> The inaccurate titles are for scholia 040-1, 041-1, 042-1, 061-2, 186-1, 186-2, 188-2, 271-1, 276-1, 277-1, 301-1, 306-2. These are discussed further below.

<sup>10</sup> These authors feature heavily in type C130 of the Catenae on Luke; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, xi; see also pages 140–2 below.

In the following part of this chapter, the sources for the scholia are considered in roughly chronological order. The ‘unattributed collection’ (ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου) is taken first, on the assumption that it precedes the rest of the compilation of Codex Zacynthius. This is followed by Origen, Eusebius and Basil of Caesarea, Apollinarius of Laodicea, John Chrysostom, Isidore of Pelusium, Titus of Bostra, Cyril of Alexandria, Victor the Presbyter, and Severus of Antioch. References to other catenae on Luke use the designations in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (C130–C139) or the individual manuscript shelfmark.<sup>11</sup>

### The ‘Unattributed Collection’ (Ἐξ Ἀνεπιγράφου) and Scholia without Titles

Thirty-two scholia in Codex Zacynthius were copied with the heading ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου, with a further ten attributed by implication to this source. It is probable that these comments come from a collection in which extracts were not attributed to any patristic authority, given that they derive from a variety of authors and yet are all identified in this similar way. A considerable number of them can be securely identified, although nine remain unidentified.<sup>12</sup> Fourteen come from Cyril of Alexandria, twelve from Origen, four from Titus of Bostra, and one is attributed to Eusebius in other catenae (023-1). Two of them correspond to extracts from Severus of Antioch in Mai’s collection (043-1, 072-1).<sup>13</sup> Ten extracts in Codex Zacynthius have been transmitted without any source identification in the heading.<sup>14</sup> In many cases this is likely to be through scribal oversight, although it is striking that five of the first six scholia have no formal identification. Four of the scholia are described as ‘other’. The adverb ἄλλως is used for two extracts from Origen’s Commentary on John, which follow another excerpt from this work (001-3 and 001-4). The two scholia designated as ἄλλος cannot be identified (199-2, 200-1), but they do not appear to derive from the same source as the preceding comment. It is interesting that they occur so close to each other and that, unlike the other scholia, the title is in the nominative rather than the genitive. Nevertheless, as 200-1 is the only comment on this numbered catena section, it is clearly part of the original compilation. Twenty further passages lack any source identification due to the fact that the initial portion of the scholium is missing. In keeping with the general pattern of this compilation, eleven of these may securely be assigned to Cyril’s commentary on Luke while three are by Origen, three from Severus and one each from Victor and Titus. The sole remaining one also appears in the catena printed by Cramer (326-1).

<sup>11</sup> On these catena types see further Chapter 8 below. The use of C137.7 to designate the catena in Paris, BnF, Suppl. grec 612, and C139.1 for the catena of four manuscripts (some of which were previously listed under C137 without a catena type) are innovations of the CATENA project in conjunction with the *Clavis Clavium* database.

<sup>12</sup> Scholia 008-1, 009-1, 011-1, 014-1, 061-1, 185-1, 187-1, 188-1, 241-1.

<sup>13</sup> Scholium 072-1 is attributed to Peter of Laodicea by C.F.G. Heinrici, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testaments. III.2 Aus der Hinterlassenschaft des Petrus von Laodicea* (Leipzig: Dürr, 1905), 114, but this is based on a very late manuscript and the Severan identification takes precedence.

<sup>14</sup> Scholia 001-2, 002-1, 003-1, 032-3, 041-2, 129-1, 138-1, 198-1, 235-2, 311-3.

## Origen

Thirty-four passages in Codex Zacynthius are presented under the name of Origen (c.185–c.253). This is frequently given in abbreviation, as ὦρ(τηένους). A further thirty-three may be assigned to Origen, either because of their attribution in other catenae or in the direct tradition of his works. Origen wrote exegetical comments on most of the books of the New Testament. His *Homilies on Luke* survive in Greek fragments and in a Latin translation by Jerome, which are followed in Rauer’s edition by a lengthy appendix of scholia on Luke attributed to Origen.<sup>15</sup> Twenty-six of the extracts in Codex Zacynthius can be securely identified as originating from Origen’s *Homilies on Luke*, while many of the others appear among Rauer’s fragments.<sup>16</sup> As noted above, there are three extracts from his *Commentary on John* at the opening of the Gospel, defining the word εὐαγγέλιον, two of which have the title ἄλλως.<sup>17</sup> In the first of these, extract 001-2, Codex Zacynthius (C137.3) and the catena on Luke known as C131 share two readings against the direct tradition of Origen, as indicated by the underlined text in Table 6.2.<sup>18</sup> In Codex Zacynthius, the original text was supplemented with an introduction apparently from the compiler himself (in bold in Table 6.2). The possibility that Origen’s text was reworked by the compiler of Codex Zacynthius and then made its way into the broader Lukan catena tradition cannot be excluded, although the absence of the introductory phrase elsewhere suggests rather that both Codex Zacynthius and C131 were drawing on a shared source.

C137.3	C131 <sup>19</sup>	Origen
<b>ὀριζουσι τινες οὕτως τὸ</b> <b>Εὐαγγέλιον.</b> Εὐαγγέλιον ἐστὶν λόγος περιέχων ἀπαγγελίαν πραγμάτων κατὰ τὸ <u>Εὐαγγέλιον</u> διὰ τὸ ὠφελεῖν <u>εὐφραίνων τὸν</u> ἀκούοντα. ἐπὶ παραδέξεται τὸ ἐπαγγελλόμενον.	Εὐαγγέλιον δὲ ἐστὶ λόγος περιέχων ἐπαγγελίαν πραγμάτων κατὰ τὸ <u>Εὐαγγέλιον</u> , διὰ τὸ ὠφελεῖν <u>εὐφραίνων τὸν</u> ἀκούοντα, ἐπὶ παραδέξεται τὸ ἐπαγγελλόμενον.	"Ἔστι τοίνυν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον λόγος περιέχων ἀπαγγελίαν πραγμάτων κατὰ τὸ <u>εὐλογον</u> διὰ τὸ ὠφελεῖν <u>εὐφραίνόντων τὸν</u> ἀκούοντα, ἐπὶ παραδέξεται τὸ ἀπαγγελλόμενον.

Table 6.2: The text of scholium 001-2.

<sup>15</sup> See Max Rauer, *Origenes: Werke IX. Die Homilien zu Lukas*. Second edn. GCS 49 (Berlin: Hinrichs, 1959); this is the basis for Joseph T. Lienhard, trans., *Origen: Homilies on Luke, Fragments on Luke* (Fathers of the Church 94. Washington DC: Catholic University of America, 1996). See also H. Crouzel, F. Fournier and P. Périchon, *Origène. Homélie sur saint Luc*. SC 87 (Paris: Cerf, 1962).

<sup>16</sup> 006-1, 014-1, 024-1, 025-1, 027-1, 032-1, 041-1, 041-2, 042-1, 046-2, 047-1, 062-1, 063-1, 064-1, 074-1, 078-1, 104-1, 106-1, 106-3, 111-1, 115-1, 116-1, 117-1, 128-1, 297-1, 302-2.

<sup>17</sup> 001-2, 001-3 and 001-4; cf. Cécile Blanc, *Origène. Commentaire sur saint Jean*, I. SC 120 (Paris: Cerf, 1966), 1.5.7.1–6, and 1.5.27.8–10.

<sup>18</sup> On C131, see pages 147–53 below; in fact, it attributes this scholium to John Chrysostom, as noted on page 105.

<sup>19</sup> The sources for C131 here are Paris, BnF, Coislin grec 23 (fol. 149r); Coislin grec 195 (fol. 241r).

Twelve of the passages indicated as ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου can be securely identified as Origen.<sup>20</sup> A short passage copied in the right margin of folio 8v is a reworked version of a fragment attributed to Origen: τὸ δώσει αὐτῷ ἀρμόττει τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ.<sup>21</sup> The text is copied next to a scholium on Luke 1:32 attributed to Severus of Antioch (032-2). The nature of this extra comment, apparently copied by the first hand, is uncertain, but it occurs as an independent extract in C131. We may note that this scholium is not found in the single witness to C137.7, a catena which appears to be a descendant of the type found in Codex Zacynthius (Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 612, discussed in Chapter 8). All that can be said is that it is a comment on Luke that circulated in the catena tradition. It might have been copied as an additional comment on Luke 1:32 or as an addition to the quotation from Severus in the catena text.

Scholium 046-1 transmits a comment on Luke 1:43 under the heading ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου. The passage reads as follows:

Ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ σώματι θαυμαστὰ ὁ θεὸς ἐπαγγελόμενος ἐνεργήσῃ. ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι φησὶν, ἡ ψυχὴ οὐκ ἔσται ἄκαρπος πρὸς τὸν κύριον· ὁ γὰρ τοῦ σώματος καρπὸς οὐ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐστὶ προαιρέσεως, κατόρθωμα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ θαυματουργοῦντος ἐν ἐμοὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν, χρὴ δέ με καὶ προαιρέσεως καρπὸν προενέγκαι. **ὅσον γὰρ ὑπηρετοῦμαι μεγάλα θαύματα· τοσοῦτον ὀφείλω δοξάζειν τὸν ἐν ἐμοὶ παράδοξα ἐνεργοῦντα.**

The first part of this scholium (identified as 046-1a) comes from Origen's *Homilies on Luke*.<sup>22</sup> The additional text, marked in bold and indicated as 046-1b in our transcription, can be found in two sources: 1) at the end of a scholium on Luke 1:46 labelled as ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in the catena-type C133 (e.g. Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 1076, fol. 212r); 2) as part of an anonymous comment on Luke 1:43 in the catena-type C131 (e.g. Paris, BnF, Coislin grec 23, fol. 151r and Coislin grec 195, fol. 245r).

The ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου extract in C133 follows a comment on Luke 1:46 based on Origen, but the text of the Origen scholium in Codex Zacynthius is not included. The text of this unpublished excerpt from the unattributed collection is as follows:

ὁ Κύριος ἔσεσθαι πανταχόθεν εὐαγγελισθεῖσα ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἔκβασιν καὶ σιωπὴν οὐκ ἀνέχεται, ἀλλ' ἤδη τὸ γεῦμα καὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ ἐπελθόντος αὐτῇ ἁγίου Πνεύματος δίδωσι, δι' ὧν φθέγγεται· δοξολογεῖ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ κληθέντα θεικὸν λόγον, καὶ τὴν ἄφατον αὐτοῦ ἰσχὺν ὑπερεκπλήττειται. πῶς ἠδυνήθη ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος χωρηθῆναι ἐν μήτρᾳ· καὶ ὁ ἀσώματος ἀσυγχύτως καὶ ἀτρέπτως ἐνώσαι ἐαυτῷ σάρκα ἀνθρωπίνην καθ' ὑπόστασιν· οὕτως οὖν ἐποιήσατο τὴν δοξολογίαν· Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ἠγαλλίασε τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπὶ τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ σωτήρῳ μου. Πρῶτον δείκνυσιν, ὅτι πιστεύει τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν αὐτῇ διὰ τοῦ μακαρία ἢ πιστεύσασα, ὅτι ἔσται τελειωσις τοῖς λαληθεῖσιν αὐτῇ παρὰ κυρίου, φάσκουσα· μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν κύριον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παρθένος οὖσα ἐν γαστρὶ σωματικῶς παρὰ τὴν κοινὴν συνελάμβανε φύσιν, σωματικῶς μὲν ὡς ἐν σώματι, πνευματικῶς δὲ ὅτι ἄνευ

<sup>20</sup> 005-1, 014-1, 044-1, 045-1, 046-1ab, 047-1, 048-1, 049-1, 050-1, 063-1, 064-1, 073-1, 244-1.

<sup>21</sup> Rauer, *Die Homilien*, 25.1–2: δώσει δὲ αὐτῷ κύριος τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ ἀρμόττει.

<sup>22</sup> Rauer, *Die Homilien*, 38a, 38b.

κοινωνίας, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ ἐν σώματι ἐγένετο τὸ παραδόξως οἰκονομούμενον, φησὶν·  
μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον. ὅσον γὰρ ὑπηρετοῦμαι μεγάλῳ θαύματι, τοσοῦτον  
ὀφείλω δοξάζειν τὸν ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐνεργούντα παράδοξα.<sup>23</sup>

This scholium is a compilation. It has not been possible to assign the initial portion (ὁ Κύριος ἔσεσθαι πανταχόθεν ... ἐαυτῷ σάρκα ἀνθρωπίνην καθ' ὑπόστασιν) to any patristic authority. The next phrase, underlined above (οὕτως οὖν ... τῷ σωτήρι μου), is a quotation of Luke 1:46–47. The next two sentences (Πρῶτον δείκνυσιν μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον) are from Origen's *Homilies*, followed by a slightly different version of the extra line in Codex Zacynthius.<sup>24</sup> The comment in C131 reads:

Εἰποῦσα δὲ 'μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον,' ἡ παναγία παρθένος, ἔδειξεν ἑαυτὴν καρπὸν  
δοξολογίας προσφέρουσαν. ὅσον γὰρ, φησιν, ὑπηρετοῦμαι μεγάλῳ θαύματι, τοσοῦτον  
ὀφείλω δοξάζειν τὸν ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐνεργούντα παράδοξα. διὸ καὶ ἡγαλλιάσατο τὸ πνεῦμά μου,  
τουτέστιν ἐτέρφθη καὶ ἠδύνθη ἐπὶ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ Σωτήρι μου. Σωτὴρ μου γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ Θεός·  
σωτηρίαν τῷ κόσμῳ δι' ἐμοῦ χαριζόμενος. πνεῦμα δὲ καὶ ψυχὴν τὸ αὐτὸ λέγει.<sup>25</sup>

This too is a composite text, which appears to come from the same source as the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholium in C133, because the text in bold corresponds exactly to that form rather than the version in extract 046-1b. It thus seems that the compiler of the catena in Codex Zacynthius drew on the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου passage as preserved in C133, singling out the short final section and adding this to a different ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου extract, thus creating a new comment on Luke 1:46. C137.7 does not contain scholium 046-1.

A compiler has also intervened in scholium 044-1, another ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου text which derives from Origen. This extract is made up of the following passages: a) Rauer's fragment 32b, copied verbatim; b) Rauer's fragment 33b, abbreviated; c) Rauer's fragment 32a, copied verbatim; d) a citation of Luke 1:42; and e) Rauer's fragment 33a, slightly altered (Codex Zacynthius reads καρπὸν κοιλίας εἰποῦσα instead of καρπὸν δὲ κοιλίας εἶπεν). It is impossible to say whether this redactional activity is that of the compiler of Codex Zacynthius or the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου collection. Similarly, what is presented as a single scholium for catena section 297 combines two different texts from Origen: a portion from *Homily* 34 on Luke into which Rauer's fragment 166 has been inserted.

In the catena classified as C131, a paraphrased text clearly related to scholium 050-1 appears as the second part of a longer comment on Luke 1:49 by Origen.<sup>26</sup> The extract in Codex Zacynthius amplifies the comment by repeating the biblical quotation: ἐποίησέν μοι μεγάλα ὁ δυνατός.

In later scholia, the attribution to Origen is indicated by an ωρ monogram rather than the full name (e.g. scholia 295-2, 297-1, 302-2, 307-1). Scholium 311-3 on folio LXXXVIIv lacks any source indication: the initial paragraphos and enlarged capital appear to have

<sup>23</sup> This is transcribed from Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 1076, fol. 212r.

<sup>24</sup> Rauer, *Die Homilien*, 37.

<sup>25</sup> C131 (Paris, BnF, Coislin grec 23, fol. 245r; Coislin grec 195, fol. 151r).

<sup>26</sup> John Anthony Cramer, *Catenarum Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum. Tomus II in Evangelia S. Lucae et S. Joannis* (Oxford: OUP, 1844) 14.33–15.4.

been put two sentences too early, as these are a continuation of the previous scholium from Cyril while Origen's text (fragment 180 in Rauer) begins *ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος*.

### Eusebius and Basil

Four scholia in Codex Zacynthius (033-2, 038-1, 039-1, 042-1) are attributed to Eusebius of Caesarea (c.263–339/40) and three extracts (086-1, 087-1, 088-1) bear the name of Basil of Caesarea (329/30–379). It is striking that these appear as two relatively self-contained groups, suggesting that each derives from a work which commented on a single passage. In the case of Basil, this is definitely the case: all three come from his Letter 260, addressed to Optimus the Bishop of Antioch.<sup>27</sup> The exact source for the comments from Eusebius is less clear: a series of fragments on Luke ascribed to him is published in PG 28 (col. 529–605), which includes scholia 033-1, 038-1 and 039-1. Scholium 023-1, which has the title *ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου*, is also found in this series and may accordingly be identified as Eusebius. The attribution of 042-1 to Eusebius is, however, false: this derives from a homily on Luke by Origen.<sup>28</sup> Scholium 306-2, which has the heading *καὶ πάλιν* and follows an extract from Titus of Bostra, is from Basil's ascetic sermon on prayer.<sup>29</sup>

### Apollinarius

A single extract in the catena of Codex Zacynthius, namely 221-3, is attributed to Apollinarius of Laodicea (c.315–c.392). Apollinarius wrote commentaries on several books of the Old and New Testament, which survive in fragments through catena manuscripts. Reuss includes twenty excerpts from Apollinarius from catenae on Luke, nineteen of which are encountered in the manuscript Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1611, i.e. the catena by Nicetas of Heraclea (C135).<sup>30</sup> It is noteworthy that 221-3, a short extract from the middle of Reuss's fragment 1, is not contained in the catena of Nicetas. As Reuss has shown that at least thirteen of these twenty excerpts can be ascribed to Apollinarius' commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew, it is quite likely that the rest of the surviving fragments by Apollinarius which are preserved in catenae manuscripts on Luke also come from this work.<sup>31</sup> This is certainly the case for 221-3, because it is also transmitted in catenae manuscripts of the Gospel according to Matthew as a scholium on

<sup>27</sup> Basil, *Letters, Volume IV: Letters 249–368. On Greek Literature*. Translated by Roy J. Deferrari and M.R.P. McGuire. Loeb Classical Library 270 (Cambridge MA: Heinemann, 1934).

<sup>28</sup> Rauer, *Die Homilien*, 7.41.16–42.7.

<sup>29</sup> PG 31, 1328.

<sup>30</sup> Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, 3–10; Joseph Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia*. TU 22.4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902); Christos Krikonis, *Συναγωγή πατέρων εις το κατά Λουκάν ευαγγέλιον υπό Νικήτα Ηρακλείας (κατά τον κώδικα Ιβήρων 371)*. Second edn. (Thessaloniki: Centre for Byzantine Studies, 1976), 47 identifies fifteen extracts from Apollinarius in Iviron 371.

<sup>31</sup> Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, xxi. See also the critical apparatus accompanying the passages from Apollinarius in that volume.

Matthew 5:15.<sup>32</sup> There are two minor differences between the text of the Matthaean scholium as edited by Reuss and the text of Codex Zacynthius: the latter has *φυσικόν* instead of *φυσικῶς* and omits the article before *θεοῦ*, matching the text given by Reuss for the Lukan version of this scholium.<sup>33</sup>

The extract which precedes 221-3 is from Origen. In the catena type C132, Origen's comment on Luke 8:16 and Apollinarius' comment on Matthew 5:15 are joined together as a single passage without any indication of the author, thereby obscuring their separate sources.<sup>34</sup> In contrast, 221-3 appears in the catena C134 as part of a longer scholium attributed to Apollinarius.<sup>35</sup> This must therefore have been taken from a different source to that of the catena of Codex Zacynthius.

### John Chrysostom

Five scholia in Codex Zacynthius are attributed to John Chrysostom (c.347–407). There is a slight variation in Chrysostom's titles: he is referred to as bishop (*ἐπισκόπου*) in 001-1, 221-1 and 259-1, but as archbishop (*ἀρχιεπισκόπου*) in 105-1; the latter is followed by 105-2 with the heading *καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα*. Chrysostom was among the most prolific early Church Fathers. His expositions of the books of the Bible have been transmitted in the form of homilies through a very rich manuscript tradition, and were heavily extracted in collections of exegetical passages. Given that Chrysostom is the most frequently quoted author by far in the catena on Luke by Nicetas of Heraclea (C135), the small number of comments in Codex Zacynthius is striking.<sup>36</sup> It is also notable that all five excerpts come from John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew* rather than his exposition of Luke.<sup>37</sup>

No additional scholia have been identified as from Chrysostom, although it may be noted that extract 001-2, which has no title, is ascribed to John Chrysostom in the manuscripts of the catena C131.<sup>38</sup> In that catena, this extract is joined to the previous scholium which is universally assigned to John Chrysostom (001-1 in Codex Zacynthius). Nevertheless, as discussed above, this brief sentence is taken from Origen's commentary

<sup>32</sup> See Joseph Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*. TU 61 (Berlin: Akademie, 1957), 5. As noted below, the extracts transmitted under the name of John Chrysostom in Codex Zacynthius also appear to have been taken from his *Homilies on Matthew*.

<sup>33</sup> The text of Codex Zacynthius is identical to this scholium in Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 612, fol. 226r.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 117, fol. 146v (saec. x); Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 358, fol. 206 (saec. xi) and Vat. gr. 758, fol. 31r (saec. xii); Paris, BAV, Coisl. gr. 20, fol. 269 (saec. x). On the catena type C132, see further Chapter 8.

<sup>35</sup> This is the whole of Reuss's fragment 1 on Luke. The two manuscripts of C134 are Vatican, BAV, Pal. gr. 20, fol. 79 (saec. xiv) and Vat. gr. 1933, pp. 199–200 (saec. xvii).

<sup>36</sup> See page 124 below.

<sup>37</sup> *PG* 57: 16.19–23; *PG* 57: 187.44–54; *PG* 57: 232.32–37; *PG* 58: 549.55–550.15; *PG* 57: 188.4–10.

<sup>38</sup> E.g. Paris, BnF, Coisl. grec 23, fol. 149r; Coisl. grec 195, fol. 241r; see page 101 above.

on the Gospel according to John and the variations between the text in both catenae and the direct tradition of Origen suggest that it was taken from a common secondary source.

The portion of Chrysostom's *Homily 1 (De cruce et latrone)* quoted by Severus of Antioch in his *Letter to Caesaria the Noblewoman* (scholium 082-1) is worthy of mention. Its text is almost identical to that of Montfaucon's edition, the variants being σφάζεται and καθαρή for ἐκκαθάρη. This quotation is marked with the same *diplai* as biblical references: the only other instance of this for a patristic text is the quotation of Cyril of Alexandria in the catena preface.

### Isidore of Pelusium

Four extracts in Codex Zacynthius are attributed to Isidore of Pelusium (360–449/50?). Isidore's biblical commentaries took the form of letters, of which a corpus of no fewer than 2,012 survive.<sup>39</sup> Three of the scholia specify the number of the letter from which they are taken: Epistle 363 in 045-3; Epistle 48 in 075-3 and Epistle 1759 in 298-2. Scholium 024-3 simply gives the author as 'Isidore the presbyter of Pelusium', and comes from an *Epistle on Divine Interpretation*. All four scholia are also included in the catena of Nicetas (C135). The final scholium, 298-2, is worthy of further attention. Isidore's text is abridged in C135 and paraphrased in C131, but C137.3 and C137.7 are identical and correspond very closely to the direct tradition of Isidore as shown in Table 6.3. This also illustrates how the passage in C131 derives from a different exegetical tradition.<sup>40</sup>

Isidore, Epistle 1759	C137.3, C137.7 (Cod. Zacynthius)	C135 (Ivion 371)	C131 (Cramer, 2.87.32–88.10)
τί ἐστιν ἔφης τὸ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις εἰρημένον· περὶ τοῦ νομικοῦ· ὁ δὲ θέλων ἑαυτὸν δικαιῶσαι· εἶπε καὶ τίς ἐστὶ μου πλησίον; <b>ἄκουε τοίνυν· ὁ νομικὸς μόνον πλησίον ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τὸν δίκαιον τῷ δικαίῳ.</b>	τί ἐστιν ἔφης τὸ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις εἰρημένον· περὶ τοῦ νομικοῦ ὁ δὲ θέλων ἑαυτὸν δικαιῶσαι· εἶπεν καὶ τίς ἐστὶ(ν) μου πλησίον· μόνον ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τὸν δίκαιον τῷ δικαίῳ·	τί δε ἐστιν δ εἶπεν ὁ νομικὸς· τίς ἐστὶ μου πλησίον· <b>πλησίον ἐκεῖνος μόνον ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τὸν δίκαιον τῷ δικαίῳ.</b>	τοῦτο γὰρ ἐδείκνυτο ὁ Εὐαγγελιστῆς εἰπὼν, ὁ δὲ θέλων δικαιῶσαι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἶπε, τίς ἐστὶ μου πλησίον; ὁ <b>νομικὸς πλησίον μόνον ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τὸν δίκαιον τῷ δικαίῳ.</b>

Table 6.3: Scholium 298-2 (Isidore, Epistle 1759).

<sup>39</sup> The entire *corpus epistularum* is published in PG 78, 177–1048. See further P. Évieux, *Isidore de Péluse. Lettres, I: Lettres 1214–1413*. SC 422 (Paris: Cerf, 1997); P. Évieux, *Isidore de Péluse, Lettres, II, Lettres 1414–1700*. SC 454 (Paris: Cerf, 2000); P. Évieux and N. Vinel, *Isidore de Péluse III, Lettres 1701–2000*. SC 586 (Paris: Cerf, 2017). On the manuscript transmission of Isidore's letters see also Madalina Toca, 'The Greek Manuscript Reception of Isidore of Pelusium's Epistolary Corpus,' *Biblische Notizen* 175 (2017): 133–43.

<sup>40</sup> On the relationship between C131 and the catena of Codex Zacynthius, see further pages 147–53 below.

### Titus of Bostra

Forty-nine extracts in Codex Zacynthius are attributed to Titus of Bostra. In the latter part of the fourth century he composed a commentary on the Gospel of Luke which is now only preserved in fragments in catenae.<sup>41</sup> Textual analysis reduces the number of genuine scholia from Titus to forty-eight: on six occasions Titus is incorrectly identified in Codex Zacynthius as the source of an extract from the commentary by Cyril of Alexandria (186-1 [and by implication 186-2], 188-2, 271-1, 276-1 and 277-1), although he is the author of four of the ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου scholia (051-1, 083-1, 190-1a, 199-1) and one without a title (261-1). As noted in Table 6.1, all of the extracts from Titus are transmitted in other catenae except one. This is scholium 184-1, a single sentence at the top of folio XLIV commenting on Luke 6:46:

τότε γὰρ οὐκ ἔκαλεῖτο κύριος, πλὴν ὑπὸ ὀλίγων· μετὰ δὲ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τὴν πίστιν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔμελλεν ἡ ἐκκλησία κύριον καλεῖν τὸν ὄντως κύριον :-

It has not been possible to identify this text and it could be an otherwise unattested extract from Titus: Sickenberger's collection has no comment from Titus between Luke 6:44 and 7:1.<sup>42</sup> At the same time, Reuss includes it in the third series of his scholia from Cyril of Alexandria because of its appearance in a single manuscript of the catena C133.<sup>43</sup> Sickenberger's ascription to Titus of the comments on Luke 7:1 (186-1 and 186-2) and Luke 10:2 (277-1) is now rendered doubtful by the exact match of these extracts with the Syriac version of Cyril's *Commentary on Luke*: only if Cyril were making an unacknowledged verbatim citation of Titus could this be upheld (see also the analysis of scholium 188-2 in the next section, on Cyril of Alexandria). Sickenberger notes, however, that scholium 276-1 on Luke 10:1 is from Cyril even though it is also identified as Titus in C131 (and appears without any attribution in C135).<sup>44</sup>

Given the importance of his commentary, it is striking that the first comment from Titus does not occur until Luke 1:50 (051-1), which is not expressly attributed to him but is instead marked as ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου. The next extract of his is scholium 074-2 on Luke 2:1. Here, uniquely, Titus is identified as τοῦ ἁγίου Τίτου ἐπισκόπου Βόστρων ('Saint Titus, Bishop of Bostra') and one might speculate that there is a connection between this full introduction and the fact that this is the first scholium attributed to Titus. In the latter part of Codex Zacynthius, the scholia from Titus become more frequent: between fol. XL and LXXXVIII Titus represents just under one in four of the total scholia, being the source of thirty-seven extracts. One textual variant may be noted: in scholium 225-1, Codex

<sup>41</sup> Many are collected in Joseph Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra. Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien*. TU 21.1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901) 140–245. Manuscripts of the earliest catena on Luke (C130) often attribute it to Titus, although it is a sixth-century creation which draws heavily on Titus's commentary as well as Cyril, John Chrysostom and Origen: see Chapter 8.

<sup>42</sup> It is also found in Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 612, fol. 177v.

<sup>43</sup> Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, 285 (frag. 44): Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 1076, fol. 242r.

<sup>44</sup> Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 186–7; for C131 see Paris, BnF, Coisl. gr. 23, fol. 173v; Coisl. gr. 195, fol. 285r, while for C135 see Iviron 371, fol. 368v; Paris, BnF Coisl. gr. 201, fol. 266; Paris, BnF, gr. 208, fol. 319r. This extract is fr. 100 in Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, 106.

Zacynthius reads *συγγενῶν* whereas the reading *ἐγγενῶν* occurs in the same extract preserved in manuscripts bearing the catena classified as C131.

### Cyril of Alexandria

A total of one hundred and nine comments in Codex Zacynthius are assigned by name to Cyril of Alexandria (c.375–444). All of these appear to be correctly assigned, and Cyril is also the source for fourteen of the scholia marked as *ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου* and twenty-eight extracts whose title is missing, resulting in a total of one hundred and fifty-one extracts. This makes him the most frequently quoted author in the catena (not to forget the quotation from this *Letter to Eulogius* in the preface).<sup>45</sup> Almost all of the scholia appear to be from Cyril's *Commentary on Luke* or other fragments related to this gospel. The one definite exception is extract 087-2, which is explicitly identified as coming from his *Commentary on Zechariah* and also gives him his full title: τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου ἀρχ(ι)επισκ(όπου) Ἀλεξανδ(ρείας) ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸν Ζαχαρίαν (fol. XXIIr). The one other occasion on which Cyril is identified as Archbishop of Alexandria is in the heading of 122-1. Cyril's *Commentary on Luke* in Greek, preached as a series of homilies, survives in fragments, most of which are in catenae: only the text of Homilies 3 and 4 is directly transmitted in a single Greek manuscript.<sup>46</sup> A much fuller text of the Homilies is, as has been noted above, extant in Syriac, edited and translated by Payne Smith.<sup>47</sup> However, Homily 1 in Syriac begins at Luke 2:1, suggesting that the commentary did not include the first chapter of the gospel. Cyril's exegetical fragments on Luke 1, and those elsewhere which do not match the Syriac tradition, must come from other writings which have not been preserved. The most extensive source for these is the collection by Reuss, superseding earlier publications by Mai and Sickenberger.<sup>48</sup>

The Syriac text—which appears to be a very literal translation of the Greek—shows that many of the scholia in Codex Zacynthius consist of abbreviated passages from Cyril's homilies, occasionally with minor editorial adjustments. The indication *καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα* is used on several occasions to indicate that a section has been omitted. There are a few instances where the catena contains material not present in the Syriac, either through omission in that tradition or because it may have been added by a compiler or commentator. One example of this is an extra line in scholium 294-3, commenting on the interpretation of Luke 10:22 ('No-one knows who the Son is except the Father ...', fol. LXXXr):

<sup>45</sup> See page 67 above.

<sup>46</sup> Paris, BnF, Coisl. gr. 274, fol. 180v–187r, printed in PG 77, 1040–9.

<sup>47</sup> The majority of the commentary is in two volumes from the eighth century, London, British Library, MS Add. 14551–2, which may be supplemented by other homiliaries also in the British Library. See Robert Payne Smith, *The Gospel according to S. Luke by S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria. Now first translated into English from an Ancient Syriac Version*. 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 1859).

<sup>48</sup> Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*; Joseph Sickenberger, *Fragmente der Homilien des Cyrill von Alexandrien zum Lukasevangelium*. TU 34 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909); Angelo Mai, *Bibliotheca nova Patrum. Tomus IV* (Rome: Vatican, 1847).

οἱ τοίνυν τὰς πρώτας λέξεις εἰς ὕφεσιν ἐκλαμβάνοντες τοῦ υἱοῦ μανθανέτωσαν διὰ τούτων τὴν κατὰ πᾶν ὅτιοῦν τοῦ υἱοῦ [π]ρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα τὴν ἀπαρραλλάξιν<sup>49</sup>

Accordingly, let those who take the first phrase as a subordination of the Son learn through these words the indistinguishability in every single thing of the Son with regard to his Father.

The entire scholium 279-2, with a reference to Elisha to illustrate Luke 10:4, cannot be found in Syriac but is relatively widespread in Greek catenae. In contrast, scholium 296-1 ends unexpectedly (there is no clause with a postpositive δέ following the initial clause with μέν) and it is only in the Syriac version of Homily 67 that the logical conclusion of the comment may be seen. Comparison of Codex Zacynthius and the Syriac homilies has resulted in the new attribution of three fragments to specific homilies (171-2, 198-1 and 329-1), none of which appears in Reuss.

The complexity of the material and the significance of the Syriac may be seen in scholium 188-2 on Luke 7:6. Sickenberger edited this passage as a fragment from Titus' *Commentary on Luke*, but Reuss—who splits the extract into two—assigns it to Cyril.<sup>49</sup> Not only is the first part preserved under Cyril's name in a manuscript of the catena C132, but the whole scholium in Codex Zacynthius is an abbreviated version of a passage in the Syriac text of Cyril's Homily 35 on Luke.<sup>50</sup> In the catena by Nicetas of Heraclea (C135), the first half of the extract (ἄθρει ὅπως οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ... τὴν κρείττονα ψῆφον δικαίως ἤρπασεν) is embedded in a comment attributed to Titus of Bostra, while the latter part of the scholium (ὁσία δὴ οὖν ψῆφω θεοῦ ... καὶ ἔσονται πλανῆται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) appears as an independent extract from Cyril (see Table 6.4).<sup>51</sup> Between these two extracts, the catena in Codex Zacynthius (and in Paris, BnF, suppl. gr 612) has a quotation of Luke 7:9 and an additional comment, both of which are marked in bold in Table 6.4. The only parallel in Greek for the additional comment (ἀπειλάττετο δὲ παραχρῆμα τοῦ νοσεῖν, ὁ παρὰ βραχὺ τῷ θανάτῳ κατησχημένος) is a fragment attributed to Eusebius' *De Theophania* (ἀπαλλάξαι παραχρῆμα τοῦ νοσεῖν τὸν παρὰ βραχὺ τῷ θανάτῳ κατεσχημένον).<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, both the biblical quotation and this extra sentence appear between the two extracts in the Syriac version of Cyril's homily: the only difference between this and the scholium in Codex Zacynthius is the omission of two sentences (marked in italics in Table 6.4). At the same time, the fact that the scholia in both Codex Zacynthius and Nicetas' catena go on to omit the same lengthy portion present in the Syriac text of this sermon before resuming with

<sup>49</sup> Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 164–5; Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, 72–3.

<sup>50</sup> The manuscript is Vienna, ÖNB, theol. gr. 117 (fol. 142v). For the Syriac version, see Payne Smith, *The Gospel according to S. Luke*, 130.

<sup>51</sup> See Iviron 371, fol. 282v–283r. The latter part is also printed in PG 72, cols. 608–9, which relies on Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1611, ff. 114r–114v (saec. xiii). Krikonis, *Συναγωγή πατέρων*, 228 indicates erroneously that the passage is on f. 114v in Vaticanus gr. 1611.

<sup>52</sup> Fragment 5 in H. Gressmann, *Eusebius: Werke, Band 3.2: Die Theophanie*. GCS 11.2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904), 3\*–35\*.

C137.3 (Codex Zacynthius)	C135 (Iviron 371)	Syriac text of Cyril (trans. Payne-Smith)
<p>ἄθρει ὅπως οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρεσβύτεροι εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ παρακαλοῦντος ἐστὶαν ἤθελον παραγενέσθαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν· ὡς οὐχ ἐτέρως δυνάμενον ἀναστήσαι τὸν κείμενον· εἰ μὴ ἀφοίκοιτο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ δὲ πεπίστευκεν· ὅτι καὶ ἄπων ἐνεργήσει· καὶ ῥήματι κατορθοῖ οὐκοῦν τὴν κρείττονα ψήφον δικαίως ἤρπασεν· <b>ἔφη γὰρ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἁμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ τοιαύτην πίστιν εὔρον· ἀπείλαττετο δὲ παραχρήμα τοῦ νοσεῖν· ὁ παρὰ βραχὺ τῷ θανάτῳ κατασχήμενος·</b> ὅσῃα δὴ οὖν ψήφῳ θεοῦ τῆς μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκειότητος ἀπόλισθεν ὁ Ἰσραὴλ· ἀντισκέκληται δὲ καὶ προσελήφθη τὰ ἔθνη· ἐτοιμοτέραν ἔχοντα τὴν καρδίαν· εἰς γε τὸ <u>χρηναί</u> πιστεύειν εἰς αὐτόν· καὶ πιστώσεται πάλιν ἡμᾶς τοῦτο λέγων ὁ θεσπέσιος Μελωδὸς περὶ αὐτῶν· ποτὲ μὲν· «ὅτι τὴν ἐτοιμασίαν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν προσέσχε τὸ οὖς σου·» ποτὲ δὲ <u>πάλιν</u>· «Ἐπληθύνθησαν αἱ ἀσθένειαι αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτάχυναν·» εἰ γὰρ καὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἦσαν βεβαρημένοι· ἀλλ’</p>	<p>(f. 283r) [...] ἄθρει ὅπως οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρεσβύτεροι εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ παρακαλοῦντος ἐστὶαν ἤθελον παραγενέσθαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν· ὡς οὐχ ἐτέρως δυνάμενον ἀναστήσαι τὸν κείμενον· εἰ μὴ ἀφοίκοιτο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ δὲ πεπίστευκεν· ὅτι καὶ ἄπων ἐνεργήσει· καὶ ῥήματι κατορθοῖ οὐκοῦν τὴν κρείττονα ψήφον δικαίως ἤρπασεν·</p> <p>(f. 286r) Ὅσῃα δὴ οὖν ψήφῳ Θεοῦ τῆς μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκειότητος ἀπόλισθεν ὁ Ἰσραὴλ· ἀντισκέκληται δὲ καὶ προσελήφθη τὰ ἔθνη, ἐτοιμοτέραν ἔχοντα τὴν καρδίαν εἰς τὸ πιστεύειν εἰς αὐτόν· Καὶ πιστώσεται πάλιν ἡμᾶς τοῦτο λέγων ὁ θεσπέσιος Μελωδὸς περὶ αὐτῶν· ποτὲ μὲν· «ὅτι τὴν ἐτοιμασίαν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν, προσέσχε τὸ οὖς σου·» ποτὲ δέ· «Ἐπληθύνθησαν αἱ ἀσθένειαι αὐτῶν, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτάχυναν·» Εἰ γὰρ καὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις</p>	<p>Consider then, that these elders of the Jews begged Jesus to go to the house of him who requested his aid, as not being able in any other way to raise him up who was lying ill, except by going to his side:— whereas the other believed that he could do it even at a distance, and effect it by the inclination of his will. He asked for the saving word, the loving assent, the all mighty utterance; and justly therefore did he win a sentence of surpassing worth: <b>for Jesus said, "Verily I say unto you, that not even in Israel have I found so great faith."</b> <i>The proof then and demonstration, follows closely and immediately from what we have now said. Finally, he delivered that same hour from his sickness him who a little before had been the prey of death: for he who willed the undoing of what had happened was God. As I said then at the beginning of this discourse, by God's holy decree Israel fell from his relationship unto him, and in his stead the heathen were called and admitted, as having a heart better prepared for that faith in him, which justly is required. And of this the divine Psalmist shall again be our proof, where he says concerning them; at one time, "Thou hast inclined thine ear because of the preparation of their heart;" and at another, "Many were their infirmities, and afterwards they went quickly." For many indeed were the offences laid to their</i></p>

<p>ὁμως ἐτάχυναν πρὸς παραδοχὴν τῶν διὰ Χριστοῦ παιδευμάτων· <u>περὶ δὲ γε τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ προφητικός φησιν λόγος</u>· ἀπώσεται αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι οὐκ εἰσήκουσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσονται πλανῆται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.</p>	<p>ἦσαν βεβαρημένοι, ἀλλ' ὁμως ἐτάχυναν πρὸς παραδοχὴν τῶν Χριστοῦ παιδευμάτων. <u>Περὶ δὲ γε τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ προφητικός φησι λόγος</u>· «Ἀπώσεται αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι οὐκ εἰσήκουσαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται πλανῆται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.</p>	<p>charge, to which he gently gives the name of infirmities: for they were wandering in error, and guilty of abominable crimes, not merely in one way, but in many: but they went quickly to the faith, that is, they were not slow in accepting the commands of Christ, but very readily embraced the faith. [Seven sentences omitted by both catena extracts.] And again; "God hath rejected them, because they have not heard him: and they shall be wanderers among the heathen."</p>
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Table 6.4: Scholium 188-2 and parallels.

the same final quotation, introduced by the identical editorial comment which does not have a parallel in the Syriac, indicates that—for the latter part of the scholium at least—the catena of Nicetas shares a source with Codex Zacynthius.

A similar situation in a passage attributed to Cyril but not extant in Syriac is seen in the comment on Luke 5:46 (scholium 158-1, fol. XXXIVv). Again, this scholium is found in a shorter form in the catena of Nicetas (C135), which is lacking a portion of text including two biblical quotations:

καὶ πιστῶσεται γράφων ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος περὶ αὐτῆς· εἰ γὰρ ἐκείνη ἡ πρώτη ἦν ἄμεμπτος οὐκ ἂν δευτέρας ἐξητήθη τόπος· προσάγει δὲ τούτοις· ὅτι τὸ παλαιούμενον καὶ γηράσκον ἐγγὺς ἀφανισμοῦ.

These citations of Hebrews 8:7 and 8:13 present the context for the previous reference in the scholium to the first covenant as growing old. The question is whether they might originally have been in Cyril's text and omitted by Nicetas, or whether they are an addition by the compiler of the Zacynthian catena (as they are also present in C137.7). Cyril quotes these verses elsewhere, such as in his *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum*.<sup>53</sup> The introduction is a common phrase, variants of which are embedded in Cyril's commentaries such as καὶ πιστῶσεται γράφων ὁ θεσπέσιος Παῦλος,<sup>54</sup> καὶ πιστῶσεται γράφων ὁ ἱερώτατος Παῦλος,<sup>55</sup> καὶ πιστῶσεται γράφων Παῦλος,<sup>56</sup> or καὶ πιστῶσεται γράφων αὐτός.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, the passage in the Zacynthian catena differs from all of these in using the adjective μακάριος of Paul,

<sup>53</sup> PG 69, 9–678.

<sup>54</sup> *Commentarius in epistulam ad Hebraeos*; J.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, VII (Oxford: OUP, 1843), 159.

<sup>55</sup> *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam*; PG 70, 892.

<sup>56</sup> *Commentarii in Lucam*; PG 72, 837.

<sup>57</sup> *Catena in epistulam I ad Corinthios*; J.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum V*, (Oxford: OUP, 1841), 231.

which casts doubt on this as being from the pen of Cyril. There are further differences between the witnesses to these catenae, as shown in Table 6.5:

C135	λέγων	δύνασθαι	—	γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ καινά	—	—	εὐθύ
C137.3	—	δύναται	παλαιού	γέγονεν αὐτῷ καινά	μακάριος	οὕτω λέγων	εὐθές
C137.7							

Table 6.5: Textual variants in scholium 158-1.

This table shows that the Zacynthian catena C137.3 and its descendant C137.7 also include the adjective μακάριος before the name David preceding the quotation from Psalm 51. This may tip the balance towards an insertion by the compiler, but it remains possible that this adjective was omitted by Nicetas.

In scholium 219-1, on Luke 8:13, there is some overlap between the different Synoptic accounts:

εἰσὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ τινες ἀπεριεργάστως ἔχοντες τὴν πίστιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ὡς ἐν ἀπλότῃ λόγων· τὸν δὲ νοῦν οὐ καθιέντες εἰς τὴν τοῦ μυστηρίου βάσανον· οὗτοι κούφην τε καὶ ἄριζον ἔχουσι τὴν εἰς θεὸν εὐσέβειαν· εἰσειόντες γὰρ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις· ἐπιγάννυται μὲν τῷ πλήθει τῶν συναγηγεμένων, καὶ ἀσμένως προσίενται τὰς μυσταγωγίας· πλὴν οὐ κεκριμένως, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐλαφρῶν θελημάτων· ἀποφοιτησαντες δὲ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, εἰς λήθην εὐθυὺς ἀποφέρονται τῶν ἱερῶν μαθημάτων· κὰν μὲν ἐξ οὐρίας φέρεται τὰ χριστιανῶν πράγματα· οὐδενὸς αὐτὰ οὗτοι κούφην τε καὶ πειρασμοῦ· σώζουσι τὰ τηλικάδε μόλις ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι τὴν πίστιν θορυβήσαντος δὲ διωγμοῦ· ἀφιλοπολεμον ἔχουσι τὴν καρδιαν· καὶ φυγάδα τὸν νοῦν· ... μὴ φοβήθητε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα· τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτείνειν· φοβήθητε δὲ μάλλον τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν γέεννῃ· ...

The first section of this scholium corresponds verbatim to a continuous passage in the Syriac version of Cyril's Homily 41 on Luke. However, the two sections in bold type in the quotation above also appear within a scholium from Cyril on Matthew 13:19–22, which is actually a much longer excerpt from Homily 41.<sup>58</sup> In addition, the biblical verse at the end of the extract is not from Luke (despite its identification by Payne-Smith as Luke 12:4), but is rather Matthew 10:28. This shift is not surprising given that Cyril appears to have delivered these homilies verbally, and there are frequent discrepancies in the biblical quotations.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, the use of text from a Lukan homily in a catena on Matthew is striking. The extra material in the Zacynthian catena, plus several minor textual differences, suggests that the two scholia were drawn from the *Homilies on Luke* independently.<sup>60</sup> This passage is not found in manuscripts of the catena C131; an abridged form is present in C132, C133 and C134, and a slightly different abbreviation of it is

<sup>58</sup> Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*, 207–8 (frag. 168), where it is correctly identified as coming from the *Homilies on Luke*.

<sup>59</sup> See further Payne-Smith's observations quoted on page 53 above.

<sup>60</sup> The text in Codex Zacynthius is also present in C137.7 (Paris, BnF suppl. gr. 612, fol. 225v).

found in C135, in which the latter part of the quotation from Matthew is replaced by the phrase *καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς* ('and what follows').<sup>61</sup>

In addition to the examples of textual differences already given, we may note several instances where the catena in Codex Zacynthius transmits a different reading to that of the other witnesses to the text of Cyril's commentary, which is a synonym. These are presented in Table 6.6:

Scholium	Other witnesses	Codex Zacynthius
128-2	λαβών	λαχών
152-1	πολλάκις	ἔσθ' ὅτε
182-1	εὐαγγελικῆς ... ἐνστήσαντες	εὐαγοῦς ... ἀναστήσοντες
219-1	καρδίαν	ψυχὴν
249-2	ἐκτελεσμάτων	ἀποτελεσμάτων
271-3	ἐδιδάσκοντο	ἐπαιδεύοντο
278-1	θεῖος	θεσπέσιος
296-1	ἐγνώρισα	ἀνήγγειλα

Table 6.6: Synonymous readings in Cyril scholia.

The Syriac homilies cannot be used in order to judge between these variants. Other types of catena vary: for example, C131 has *λαβών* in the passage equivalent to 128-2, but sides with Codex Zacynthius in reading *εὐαγοῦς ... ἀναστήσοντες* in scholium 182-1. These different readings need to be considered in the light of Cyril's usage to determine whether Codex Zacynthius preserves a more ancient text of Cyril which was adjusted by other compilers in different catena traditions, or whether the re-writing is a characteristic of this catena. For example, the use of *θεσπέσιος* only in four other extracts from Cyril (188-2, 219-1, 258-1, 262-2) and nowhere else in this catena, along with no examples of *θεῖος* as an epithet for Paul, suggests that Codex Zacynthius may be closer to the original. One stylistic trait of Cyril evident in these scholia is a repeated verb separated by *γάρ*: in addition to the opening words of scholium 219 quoted above (*εἰσὶ γάρ εἰσὶ*), the phrase *ἐδεῖ γὰρ ἐδεῖ* is found in scholia 142-1, 249-2 and 255-2.

### Victor the Presbyter

Seven short scholia in Codex Zacynthius are attributed to the fifth-century Victor the Presbyter.<sup>62</sup> Although scholium 037-1 is transmitted under the name of Victor of Antioch in the catena by Nicetas of Heraclea (C135), it actually appears to be from Severus (see

<sup>61</sup> On these different catena types, see Chapter 8 below. It may be observed that Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, 81 does not present all of the variant readings in the manuscripts of this scholium.

<sup>62</sup> 010-1 on Luke 1:5; 052-1 on Luke 1:50; 070-1 and 071-1 on Luke 1:77; 222-1 on Luke 8:17; 223-1 and 224-1 on Luke 8:18.

below).<sup>63</sup> Victor is better known for his commentary on Matthew, and it is not clear from which of his works these passages have been taken. The majority are encountered in the catena on Luke by Nicetas of Heraclea (C135), in which Sickenberger identified twenty-four passages from Victor; four are also present in Cramer's edition of the catena on Luke (C131).<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, three of the scholia appear not to be present in other published catenae, namely 010-1, 070-1 and 071-1: in the case of the last two, folio XVr is too poorly preserved to permit reading them in their entirety.

### Severus of Antioch

Thirty-one extracts in Codex Zacynthius are nominally assigned to Severus of Antioch (c.465–538). As noted in Chapter Five, there is some inconsistency in whether or not Severus is given the title ἅγιος ('saint'), but there is no evidence of any attempt to erase Severus' name.<sup>65</sup> Although Severus never wrote a commentary on any book of the Bible, his homilies and letters were popular with the compilers of catenae. In common with other catena collections, many of the extracts from Severus in Codex Zacynthius include details of the work from which they are taken.<sup>66</sup> It has been possible to identify six other passages from Severus based on Mai's collection: despite the age of this collection and its reliance on just two Vatican manuscripts, the fact that it coincides with most of the scholia identified as Severus in Codex Zacynthius lends credence to its other attributions.<sup>67</sup> Given the rarity of Severus' writings, the attributions of the scholia are given in Table 6.7.

Work	Scholia
Sermon 2	030-2, 031-1, 032-2, 033-1
Sermon 32	024-2, 064-2
Sermon 33	005-3
Sermon 36	077-2, 080-2, 081-1
Sermon 51	241-3
Sermon 63	038-2, 038-3
Sermon 82	268-3
Sermon 89	300-1, 300-2, 301-1

<sup>63</sup> See, for example, Ivron 371, fol. 38v; Krikonis, *Συναγωγή πατέρων*, 91.

<sup>64</sup> Joseph Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia*. TU 22.4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902), 97. The passages are published in Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio, Tomus IX* (Rome: Vatican, 1837), 626–720. Lamb has convincingly argued against Smith's proposition that Victor of Antioch was a compiler of a catena on Luke (W.R.S. Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Commentary on Mark*. TENT 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), esp. 40–47).

<sup>65</sup> See pages 21 and 65; on the erasure claimed by Tregelles, see J.H. Greenlee, 'The Catena of Codex Zacynthius,' *Biblica* 40 (1959): 992–1001, esp. 998–9.

<sup>66</sup> On the use of Severus' writings, in particular in exegetical collections on the Catholic Epistles, see Karl Staab, 'Die griechischen Katenenkommentare zu den katholischen Briefen,' *Biblica* 5 (1924): 269–353; J.H. Ropes, 'The Greek Catena to the Catholic Epistles,' *Harvard Theological Review* 19 (1926): 383–8; Yonatan Moss, 'Saving Severus: How Severus of Antioch's Writings Survived in Greek,' *GRBS* 56 (2016): 785–808, and the discussion in Chapter 7 below.

<sup>67</sup> Angelo Mai, *Classicorum auctorum e Vaticanis codicibus editorum. Tomus X* (Rome: Collegium Urbanum, 1838) 408–457, 470–3.

Sermon 113	174-2
Sermon 115	037-1
Sermon 118	203-2, 203-3
Against the Apology of Julian	252-2
Against the Testament of Lampetius	123-2
Apology of Philalethes	260-3
Letter to Anastasia the Deacon	204-1, 204-2
Letter to Caesaria the Noblewoman	082-1
Letter to Kyriakos and the other Orthodox Bishops in Constantinople	252-3
Letter to Sergius the Chief Physician, who asked why the Lord only took Peter and James and John	259-3
On Numbers	072-2
<i>No work title</i>	029-1, 044-3, 044-4, 076-2, 171-1, 299-1
ἔξ ἀνεπιγράφοι	043-1, 072-1

Table 6.7: Attribution of scholia from Severus of Antioch.

Only two of these attributions can be verified from outside the catena tradition: the letters to Caesaria and Sergius are preserved in Syriac, which also includes four letters to Anastasia the Deacon but not the one cited in Codex Zacynthius.<sup>68</sup> The identification of others is plausible from characteristic vocabulary in Mai's collection: for example, Severus is responsible for four of the five occurrences of the word φαντασία in Codex Zacynthius (folios XIr, XVr, XIXv and LXXXIIIv; the exception is Basil on fol. XXIr) and the only instance of φάντασμα (fol. XIV). Similarly colourful terms include χαμαιζήλος (fol. LXVIr) and βδελυρός (fol. XIr).

Other attributions are problematic. It is surprising to find two extracts from Severus with the title ἔξ ἀνεπιγράφοι, as he is considerably later than the other scholia identified by this heading.<sup>69</sup> While some scholia correspond almost verbatim to the texts printed by Mai, others are much looser. Despite the clear indication of scholium 260-3 as from Severus in Codex Zacynthius, it appears among the extracts from Cyril in Mai's collection.<sup>70</sup> Although scholium 032-2 on fol. VIIIv is identified as Severus, Sermon 2, it has clear verbal overlap with fragments 24 and 25 of Origen in Rauer and a scholium attributed elsewhere

<sup>68</sup> See E.W. Brooks, ed. and trans. *The Sixth Book of Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1902-4) and *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch from Numerous Syriac Manuscripts* (Patrologia Orientalis 12 and 14. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1919-20).

<sup>69</sup> As noted in the earlier section on this collection, scholium 072-1 (which occurs in the Severan section in Mai) is attributed by Heinrici to the even later Peter of Laodicea.

<sup>70</sup> Mai, *Classicorum auctorum; Tomus X*, 522.

to Cyril.<sup>71</sup> The attribution of the following scholium, τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου ('from the same author from the same sermon'), implies that it is also from Severus, but it does not appear in Mai's collection, only in Cramer. Again, scholia 080-2 and 081-1, although attributed to Severus by Codex Zacynthius, are absent from Mai but match Rauer's fragments 58 and 60 of Origen.<sup>72</sup> The title of the following scholium, τοῦ αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἐν ὑπακοῇ ('from the same, again, in response'), appears to identify 081-2 (which also appears in Mai's collection) as Severan but it is attributed to Origen in the catena C131.<sup>73</sup> Scholia 300-2 and 301-1, both indicated in Codex Zacynthius as Severus, also appear in the catena C131, where the latter is ascribed to Cyril.<sup>74</sup> The identification of 037-1 is based on Codex Palatinus and the information given there about the sermon number.

Codex Zacynthius is clearly an important source for the Greek text of these extracts from Severus, some of which are lengthy: scholium 082-1 covers almost three pages of the manuscript, while 259-3 and 301-1 occupy two pages. Further comparison of these with the Severan scholia in Mai and other sources, including a more detailed examination of his characteristic vocabulary is required to resolve questions of authorship.

### OBSERVATIONS ON COPYING PRACTICE IN THE CATENA

The examination of the texts of the scholia has also provided the occasion to make some observations regarding the copying of the catena. First, it may be noted that the use of accents and breathings is not consistent throughout the catena text.<sup>75</sup> A large part of the preface to the catena (f. Ir) as well as long passages on f. XVIIIv and f. LXXr are accented. In the rest of the manuscript the catena text is only occasionally accented: an angular-shaped *daseia* (') is often placed over initial *upsilon* and a *varia* (˘) is placed above the word *καί*. Greek *dialytika* (¨) are often placed over initial *iota*. This provides yet another instance of the discontinuities in presentation observed in Chapter 3.

Images of the abbreviations used in the catena text have already been presented in Table 3.1. These include the replacement of the final *nu* at the end of a line by a supralinear stroke and the occasional use of a line for *αι* and *ας*. Commas occur infrequently: the majority of these follow one of two words: γάρ (folios Ir, XIIv, XVIv, XVIIIr, XVIIIv, XXIIr, XXIXr [thrice], XXXIV, XXXIVv, XXXVr, LXIVr and LXXv) and Ἐλισάβετ (folios IXr [twice], IXv [four times], Xv [twice], XIv [twice], XIIr, XIIIv [thrice], XIVr).<sup>76</sup> The *nomina sacra*

<sup>71</sup> Cf. PG 72, 549, 21–2.

<sup>72</sup> These excerpts are copied under the name of John Chrysostom in Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 612, fol. 191v.

<sup>73</sup> Cramer, *Catenarum Graecorum II*, 21, lines 3–10. Ὑπακοή is the title of a homily by Severus in a papyrus fragment (CPG 7039).

<sup>74</sup> Cramer, *Catenarum Graecorum II*, 88, lines 15–25 and 88, line 29–89, line 19. The passage which is scholium 301-1 also appears in Theophylact's catena.

<sup>75</sup> On accents and breathings in the gospel text, see page 22 above.

<sup>76</sup> A comma is also found after the following words: οὕτω (fol. IVv); ἐντολαῖς (fol. Vv); ἀγγίον, ὦν (fol. Vv); γέγονεν (fol. VIr); κοινόν (fol. VIIIr); μέτροις (fol. VIIIv); προσταγμάτων, Ἰωσήφ, Δαυίδ (fol. IXr); προφήτην, φησίν, προτραπῶσιν (fol. XIIr); ἐάν, ἡμῖν (fol. XIIv); δακνόμενον (fol. LXXv), εὐαγγελικὴν (fol. LXXIVr); αἰτούντων (fol. LXXVIIIr), λαλοῦντες (fol. LXXVIIIr); ἐστίν (fol. LXXIXr),

abbreviations are in frequent use, but there are occasions on which these words are written in full even in a sacred context: Ἰησοῦς appears *plene* on fol. LXXIV.<sup>77</sup> The word πατήρ and its derivatives occur in full when they do not refer to God: the words πατέρα on fol. Vr, πατρός on XIVr and πατήρ on XIVv refer to Zechariah, the father of John; the πατέρα on fol. XXIIIv identifies Abraham; the πατέρα and πατρός on fol. LXIXr refer to the father of a boy with a demon (Luke 9:37); the πατήρ and πατέρα on fol. LXXIVr refer to the father of one of Jesus' disciples (Luke 9:59); the πατήρ on fol. LXXXIXv identifies Satan; the πατέρων on folios Ir and LXXIIv refer to the Holy Fathers; the πατρὶ on fol. Ir refers to Cyril of Alexandria. Πνεῦμα is always abbreviated.<sup>78</sup> The words πνευμάτων on folios XVIIIv and XXIXr, and πνεύμασιν on f. XXIXr are written in full and refer to evil spirits.<sup>79</sup> The words υἱός, σωτήρ, Δαυίδ, ἄνθρωπος and μήτηρ always occur as *nomina sacra*.<sup>80</sup>

As to the orthography, there are a variety of simple copying errors which may be divided into several categories. The first comprises the **omission or repetition of a letter**, which is often gemination or haplography of a doubled consonant (ερίζομενοι for ἐρίζομενοι [IIIv], ομος for νόμος [VIr], προρησεις for προρήσεις [VIv], επιρωννυς for ἐπιρωννύς [IXr], εροσολυμα for Ἱεροσόλυμα [XVIIIr], ὦ for ὡς [XIXv], επιτατει instead of ἐπιτάττει [XLIr], τικουσαν for τίκτουσαν [XLVIv], νοσιαν for νοσιάν [LIXr], επιριψον for ἐπίρριψον [LIXv], απαλλαττεσθαι for ἀπαλάττεσθαι [LIXv, cf. απηλλαττετο for ἀπειλάττετο XLIIIv], αρουμεθα for ἀρρρύμεθα [LXXVr], χοι for ἔχοι [LXXXVIr]). There are two instances of **transposition** (κιρυλλου for Κυρίλλου [XXXVIIIr], νεμοντος for μένοντος [LIXr]). **Nasal consonants** are sometimes switched or otherwise unstable (σεραφιν for Σεραφίμ [XVIIv], ενχωννυται for ἐγχωννύται [LIIr], εμμεσω for ἐν μέσω [LIVv]).

Most of the **errors in vowel length** involve *omicron* and *omega* (θεορητος for θεωρητός [IIIv], ω for ὀ [XIXv], ομονυμως for ὀμωνύμως [XXv], διεφθαριμενων for διεφθαριμένον [XXIIIr], αγαθοσυνη for ἀγαθωσύνη [XXIIIv], οικωθεν for οἰκοθεν [XXIVv], αλονα for ἄλωνα [XXVIr], απολισθε for ἀπώλισθε [XXXVIr; also XLIIIv], αρχωντι for ἄρχοντι [XLIIV], ανομαλον for ἀνώμαλον [XLVIIv], προσορμισθη for προσωρμίσθη [LVIr], ηγνωκως for ἡγνωκώς [LVIr], ζηλωτυπια for ζήλοτυπία [LXXIr], γηροκομησαι for γηροκομήσαι

<sup>77</sup> Ἰησοῦ (fol. LXXIXv) χάριτος, τηρικάδε (fol. LXXXv); αὐτούς (fol. LXXXIr); ἐντολάς, νομικός (fol. LXXXIV), δικαιοσύνην, ἐστίν (fol. LXXXIIv); εἰπών (fol. LXXXVIIIr).

<sup>78</sup> Greenlee mistakenly gives as an example the occurrence Ἰησοῦν on f. LXXIIv (see page 286 below).

<sup>79</sup> Folios XIIv, XIIIr, XVv, XXIVv, XXVr, XXVIr, XXVIIIr, XXXIVv, XLv, XLVv, XLVIv, XLVIIIr, LXIIv, LXXIIr, LXXVr, LXXVIIIr, LXXXIVv.

<sup>80</sup> It is worth noting that πνεῦμα normally occurs in full for evil spirits in the Gospel text: see page 47 above.

<sup>80</sup> Σωτήρ: folios IVr, Xr, XIIIr, XXIIIr, XXXIr, XXXIIIr, XXXVr, XXXVv, XXXVIr, XLv, LIr, LIIv, LIIIr, LIVr, LVr, LVIIIv, LXVIv, LXXv, LXXIIv, LXXIIIv, LXXIVv, LXXVIv, LXXXv, LXXXIVv, LXXXIIv, LXXXVIIIr, LXXXVIIIv; Δαυίδ: VIIIv, IXr, XIr, XVIv, XXVIIIr, XXXIVv, XXXIVv; ἄνθρωπος: folios IXv, XVIv, XXIVv, XXVr, XXVIr, XXVIv, XXXIIIr, XLVIr, XLVIIIr, LIXr, LXIIr, LXVIIv, LXXIXv, LXXXr, LXXXIIv, LXXXIVr, LXXXVIIv (the φιλόανθρωπος on f. 48v is given in full); μήτηρ folios Vv, XIv, XIIr, XIIIv, XVv, LIVr, LIVv. On the *nomina sacra* in the Gospel text, see page 47 above.

[LXXIVv], ημεροτερος for ημερώτερος [LXXVIIr], ειδος for ειδώς [LXXIXr], δικαιωτατα for δικαιότατα [LXXIXv], πνευματικός for πνευματικώς [LXXXVIIv]).<sup>81</sup> This also occurs twice between *epsilon* and *eta* (περιστραψεν for περιήστραψεν [XVIIv] and ευγενες for εύγενής [XLIVv]).

The **interchange** between *ai* and *ε* reflects a common sound change (γυνεκος for γυναικός [Vv], συνειρε for συνείραι [XVIIIr], ακρογωνιος for ακρογωνιαίος [XXIV], καταισφάζετο for κατεσφάζετο [XXIIr], υπεθρον for υπαιθρον [XXXIV], κε for και [XLIVr], ανεσθητω for αναισθήτω [XLIVv], αρπαζεται for αρπάζετε [LIIr], ποιμνικην for ποιμνικήν [LXIV], αιλιεμ for Ἐλείμ [LXXVr], τιθεσθαι for τίθεσθε [LXXXVIr]). Less expected interchanges include *ou* for *ω* (αγερουχίαν for άγερωχίαν [XXXIIIr]), *α* for *η* (εφαπτοντο for έφήπτοντο [LVIIv]), *α* for *ε* (πεπονθαναι for πεπονθέναι [XLVIIv]) and *η* for *υ* (κατησχημενος for κατησχυμένος [XLIIIv]).

The most common errors by far are of **itacism** involving *ει*, *η*, *ι* and *οι* in the following words: Βασιλείδης [βασιλιδης, βασιλιδην IIIr; βασιλιδου LXXXIV]; διατηρή [διατηρει IVv]; στείρα [στιρα XXXIVr; στιρας VIr; στιρωσεως VIv]; πτωχείας [πτωχιας VIIIv]; Εύσεβίου [ευσεβειου VIIIv, IXr]; Λευϊτικής [λευϊτικης IXr]; ειμί [ειμη Xr, XIr]; όρεινή [ορινη Xr]; συνείδησιν [συνιδισιν Xv, LXXXIIIr]; ενεργήσει [ενεργηση XIIr]; μεγαλεία [μεγαλια XIIv]; προφήτις [προφητης XIVr]; άνάβηθι [αναβηθει XVIIv]; θεωρήσεις [θεωρησης XVIIv]; εύρείν [ευριν XVIIIVv]; άληθινός [αληθεινον XIIIv; αληθεινης XXv, αληθεινου LIIIv, αληθεινος LXIVr]; περικλείειν [περικλειειν XIXv]; όφθήσεται [ωφθησεται XXr]; άφελείας [αφελιας XXv]; κινουμένη [κινουμενη XXv]; δικνούμενον [διηκνουμενον XXIIR]; είδομεν [ιδομεν XXIIv; ιδεν LXXXv; εφιδεν LXXXIIIr]; καταλείματι [καταλιματι XXIIIv]; είκος [εοικος XXIVr]; άποκλείων [αποκλιων XXIVr]; ασφαλείας [ασφαλιας XXVv]; άχρηστος [αχριστος XXVv]; όφειλομεν [οφιλομεν XXVIIr]; έξέλιπον [εξελειπον XXVIIIr]; έπίγειον [επιγιον XXXVIr]; φιλοπτωχίας [φιλοπτωχιας XXXVIIr]; θέλης [θελεις XXXVIIIr]; κατακριθήση [κατακριθησει XXXIXr]; πολιτείας [πολιτειας XXXIXv]; εύπειθής [ευπιθης XLIIr]; άφίκοιτο [αφοικοιτο XLIIIv]; άντισκέκληται [αντισκεκληται XLIIIv]; ασθένειαι [ασθεναι XLIIIv]; άπειλάττετο [απηλλαττετο XLIIIv]; χρείαν [χριοιαν XLIVr]; εισιόντες [εισειοντες LIIV]; καταχειμάζοντος [καταχιμαζοντος LIIV]; Ίερεμίας [ιερεμειας LIIV]; έξανθήση [εξανθησει LIIIr]; ενεργείας [ενεργιας LIVv]; ώφελίας [ωφελειας LVIr]; ένειλημμένους [ενιλημμενους LIXr]; καταλελειμμένα [καταλελιμμενα LIXr]; άντίπη [αντιπη LIXr]; είναι for ιέναι [LIXr]; ύπάρχη [υπαρχει LXr]; άπίθανον [απειθανον LXv, LXXr]; μεμαρτύρηται [μεμαρτυριται LXIVr]; φιλονικεΐν [φιλονικειν LXXIIR]; Σαμαρείτης [Σαμαριτης LXXIIv, LXXXVr]; πορείαν [ποριαν LXXIVv]; οίονεί [οιονι LXXVr, LXXVIIIv, LXXXVIIv]; κρατήση [κρατησει LXXVIr]; άπώλειαν [απωλιαν LXXVIv]; κάμψη [καμψει LXXIXv]; άνεισιν [ανισιν LXXXr]; μαθητείας [μαθητιας LXXXIIR]; τί [τη LXXXIVv]; πειράζεις [πειραζης LXXXIIr]. In terms of distinguishing different copyists, it may be significant that the spelling *μονονουχι* is found on XXVIv, XXXVv, XLIIv and LIXv but *μονονουχη* on LXIVv (twice) and LXVr.

The following errors do not fit into any of the categories above: βεβυωμενα for βεβυσμένα [Xv]; ομβλυοπουντες for άμβλυοπούντες [Xv]; ευαιαγους for εύαγούς [XXXIXv]; εκπνοιας for έκπνοαίς [XLIIIv]; ευφραθα for Έφραθά [XVIr]; κουφινοι for κόφινοι [LXIIr]. As in the biblical text, the catena uses *πανδοκιον* for *πανδοχείον* (fol. LXXXIVr), while the

<sup>81</sup> Greenlee, 'The Catena of Codex Zacynthius,' 996 erroneously records that the catena at Luke 1:57 (fol. XIVr) gives Όριγένους instead of Όριγένους.

aspirated form *ναζαρεθ* is used for *Ναζαρέτ* on fol. XIIIv and XXVIIIv and both *καπερναουμ* and *καφαρναουμ* for *Καφαρναούμ* on fol. XLIIv.

Several readings in which Codex Zacynthius differs from other catenae or the direct tradition of the patristic sources have already been noted in the first part of this chapter, especially in the section on Cyril of Alexandria. Most of these should probably be attributed to the compiler rather than the copyist. Nevertheless, we may note that at the end of scholium 302-1 on folio LXXXVr, Codex Zacynthius reads *ἐργάτας*—in keeping with the text of the catena tradition of Acts—where Cyril’s commentary has *ἐραστάς*. It is not clear whether this closer correspondence with Acts material is due to the compiler or the copyist.

There is one instance on which it appears that the copyist of Codex Zacynthius has omitted a phrase due to homoeoteleuton. Folio LXr line 7 offers a nonsense reading without a main verb. Comparison with Reuss’s extract 68 from Cyril of Alexandria reveals that a simple explanation is a skip from *αὐτούς* to the following *τούς*, as follows:

*ἐν οἰκίᾳ δὲ μιᾷ μένειν τε αὐτούς <προστέταχε καὶ μὴ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἐξέρχεσθαι. εἶδει γὰρ  
μήτε τούς> ἅπαξ λαβόντας ἀποστειροῦσθαι τῆς δωρεᾶς ...*

Although such a common form of omission cannot be used to determine the length of a line in the exemplar, it provides further evidence confirming the observations in earlier chapters that Codex Zacynthius is copied from another catena manuscript.<sup>82</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

The catena in Codex Zacynthius comprises exegetical passages on verses of the Gospel of Luke taken from ten named authors as well as what seems to be an early collection in which the passages were not identified by author (to which the heading *ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου* is given). The majority of the scholia are from Cyril of Alexandria’s commentary on Luke, originally preached as homilies, followed by the commentaries of Titus of Bostra and Origen. Severus of Antioch is quoted relatively frequently, sometimes at length, with detailed information about the works from which his extracts are taken. Basil of Caesarea, Eusebius of Caesarea, Isidore of Pelusium and Victor the Presbyter are quoted less frequently: the sources for their exegetical comments are shorter works, such as letters. A single extract is identified as from Apollinarius of Laodicea, which originally comes from his exegesis of a passage in Matthew. Similarly, the extracts from Chrysostom also originate in his exposition of Matthew while three of the scholia from Origen are from his Commentary on John. A scholium derived from Cyril’s Homily 41 on Luke was also used independently in catenae on Matthew. This variety in the material deployed between gospels is noteworthy. At the same time, the selection of sources for Codex Zacynthius is remarkably narrow in comparison with some of the later catena traditions, such as that of Nicetas of Heraclea, with several well-known authors not represented at all.

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<sup>82</sup> See pages 53 and 65 above.

The majority of the scholia appear to be correctly identified, suggesting that Codex Zacynthius is a reliable witness to its compilation. Nevertheless, the high proportion of material which is only known through catena tradition means that it is not always possible to confirm the source, even though stylistic analysis may be of assistance. There are some errors in Codex Zacynthius, with attributions to Titus of Bostra of passages which derive from Cyril of Alexandria and overlaps between Origen and scholia assigned to Severus. Parallels elsewhere have enabled the project to identify the source of extracts whose title is missing or obscured, but there remain twenty-one passages which cannot be identified. Eleven of these are designated as ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφοι. Codex Zacynthius is an important source for the Greek text of Severus of Antioch, but there is also material from Titus of Bostra and Victor the Presbyter which has not yet been identified elsewhere. Most of the titles of the scholia are similar in form, which means that inconsistencies such as the first attribution to Titus of Bostra may be significant for the manner in which the catena was compiled.

More detailed analysis of the text of the scholia of Codex Zacynthius and comparison with other sources for the same passages has shown how these have often been reworked by the compilers. There are several occasions where Codex Zacynthius features additional biblical quotations not present in other catena types. More common, however, is the omission of material and the abbreviation of the original source. It frequently seems to be the case that catenae drew independently on the same sources: there are no indications that the catena of Codex Zacynthius derives from any of the other major types. Textual variations suggest that, particularly in the case of Cyril of Alexandria, Codex Zacynthius may preserve a text closer to the original source than other catenae, but fuller investigation of this is needed. Support for the reading in Codex Zacynthius is usually provided by the catena in Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 612, a descendant of the same catena on Luke. This manuscript is considered in further detail in Chapter 8, along with the relationship of Codex Zacynthius to the principal types of catena on Luke. The copying of the catena text has many similarities with that of the Gospel according to Luke, as might be expected: there are some discontinuities in practice which may be related to the activity of different copyists, as suggested in Chapter 3.

## CHAPTER 7. A QUESTION OF ATTRIBUTION: THE THEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CATENA IN CODEX ZACYNTHIUS (WILLIAM LAMB)

Written by John Moschos around the year 600 AD, *The Spiritual Meadow* provides a delightful collection of stories about monks and ascetics living in the late sixth and early seventh centuries. Moschos, along with his pupil Sophronius the Sophist, encountered many of these characters in their travels through Syria, Palestine, Sinai and Egypt. While providing a fascinating range of insights into the religious and political complexities of the sixth and seventh centuries, *The Spiritual Meadow* is not only ‘the great masterpiece of Byzantine travel writing’:<sup>1</sup> it also presents another example of a familiar Byzantine literary device, the anthology. Moschos introduces this curious and sometimes humorous account of eccentrics and saints with the words: ‘In my opinion, the meadows in spring present a particularly delightful prospect. They display to the beholder a rich diversity of flowers which arrests him with its charm, for it brings delight to his eyes and perfume to his nostrils’.<sup>2</sup> He goes on to describe the roses, lilies and violets, which he discovers in this imagined meadow: ‘From among these I have plucked the finest flowers of the unmown meadow and worked them into a crown which I now offer to you’. With this striking image, Moschos invites the reader ‘to think of this present work in the same way’. While a spray of flowers may bring delight to the recipient, Moschos intended this collection of stories to excite a life of virtue and piety in the reader.

The work of John Moschos is a suitable starting point for considering the theological significance of the catena in Codex Zacynthius: first, his work provides a fitting backdrop to the period in which the catena was compiled. Secondly, while admittedly his work is not a collection of extracts from existing authorities, characteristic of a *catena* or a *florilegium*, his words alert us to the etymological significance of the Greek word from which the English word ‘anthology’ is derived. Thirdly, although a ‘meadow’ presents the reader with a rather irenic and charming scene, we should not ignore the fact that the

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<sup>1</sup> William Dalrymple, *From the Holy Mountain: A Journey in the Shadow of Byzantium* (London: Harper Press, 1997), 3.

<sup>2</sup> John Moschos, *The Spiritual Meadow*, trans. John Wortley (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1992), 3.

stories which Moschos recounts and the period in which he lived betray the marks of the Christological controversies which continued to rage during the sixth and seventh centuries. We can see evidence of this discord in the numerous references in *The Spiritual Meadow* to the ‘Severan sect’, i.e. those who followed Severus of Antioch.<sup>3</sup> The fact that members of the Chalcedonian, imperial state church referred to ‘anti-Chalcedonians’ as members of the ‘Severan sect’ is perhaps a measure of the extent to which Severus had come to be feared and despised. In his account of the life of Theophanes, John Moschos describes Theophanes, a Nestorian monk, who sought guidance from the great elder, Kyriakos. Hearing that he was a Nestorian, Kyriakos was concerned for the man’s soul and impressed upon him the importance of believing that ‘the holy Virgin Mary’ was in truth ‘the Mother of God’ (Theotokos) for this was the only way to salvation. When the brother said that ‘all the sects speak like that’ and as a simple soul he had no way of knowing where the truth lay, he asked for a vision. Eventually he was taken to a cave by the Dead Sea where the elder showed the brother a vision of ‘a dark and disagreeable place where there was fire – and showed him Nestorius, Theodore, Eutyches, Apollinarius, Evagrius and Didymus, Dioscorus and Severus, Arius and Origen and some others, there in that fire’. The brother was told: ‘This place is prepared for heretics and for those who blaspheme against the Holy Mother of God and for those who follow their teachings’.<sup>4</sup> For John Moschos at least, there was no ambiguity about the reputation of Severus of Antioch. The lines between ‘orthodox’ and ‘heretic’ were sharply and clearly drawn.

There is a striking contrast between John Moschos’ rather unsympathetic description of the ‘Severan sect’ and the correspondence that we find recorded in the preface at the beginning of the *Catena in Lucam* in Codex Zacynthius.<sup>5</sup> The compilation includes a remarkable reference to Cyril of Alexandria’s *Letter to Eulogius*: ‘One ought not to avoid and refuse everything which heretics say. For they grant many things which we also grant’ (preface, lines 8–9). The compiler, who uses the first person singular (πεποιήκα, line 6), begins by remarking that those who encounter this particular volume should know that it comes from many works of holy and orthodox fathers, and also from ‘discredited exegetes’ (ἀδοκίμων ἐξηγητῶν). While the compiler acknowledges that there may be material which is ‘unharmonious with church tradition’ (τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς παραδόσεως ἀπάδοντα), he includes a quotation from Cyril of Alexandria in order to make it clear to the reader that there may be some value in the things which those regarded as heretics have to say.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The followers of ‘Severus’, the ‘Severans’ or the ‘Severites’ are described in a number of passages: Moschos, *The Spiritual Meadow*, 20–21, 39, 63–64, 85, 161, 191.

<sup>4</sup> Moschos, *The Spiritual Meadow*, 18.

<sup>5</sup> For more on the preface, see pages 67–8.

<sup>6</sup> It is worth noting that Jerome, in his *Letter to Tranquillinus*, makes very similar comments in responding to his correspondent’s concerns about reading Origen and those whose orthodoxy had become suspect: ‘You ask me, insignificant though I am, for an opinion as to the advisability of reading Origen’s works. Are we, you say, to reject him altogether with our brother Faustinus, or are we, as others tell us, to read him in part? My opinion is that we should sometimes read him for his learning just as we read Tertullian, Novatus, Arnobius, Apollinarius and some other church writers both Greek and Latin, and that we should select what is good and avoid what is bad in their writings

It is perhaps significant that we find this same preface elsewhere within the manuscript tradition.<sup>7</sup> It is connected with Matthew's Gospel, with John's Gospel, and more commonly with Luke's Gospel. While it is tempting to assert that the more common association with Luke suggests that this preface belongs to the compilation of catenae on Luke, such a proposal remains tentative given the paucity of evidence available. Nevertheless, whatever their provenance, these words certainly serve to illuminate our reading of the material within this particular catena.

There are over 300 scholia in the margins of the undertext of Codex Zacynthius. Just over ten per cent are unattributed (or at least attributed to 'an unattributed source'), while the others are attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, Origen, Titus of Bostra, Severus of Antioch, Victor the Presbyter, John Chrysostom, Eusebius of Caesarea, Isidore of Pelusium, Basil of Caesarea and Apollinarius.<sup>8</sup> When we consider John Moschos' list of heretics burning in the fire, it is perhaps noteworthy that Origen and Severus are two of the most prominent authorities in the catena of Codex Zacynthius.

The fact that a catena can include material from writers like Apollinarius, Origen and Severus of Antioch has long fascinated commentators. Robert Devreesse suggested that the inclusion of material from figures deemed heretical within the imperial state church reflects the 'liberal spirit' of the Greek catenae.<sup>9</sup> The quotation from Cyril's *Letter to Eulogius* would only serve to confirm that catena compilers regarded writers like Origen, Apollinarius and Severus as heretical. While they might hesitate to accept the Christological formulations of these writers, they were content to accept and include aspects of their exegesis.

This 'liberal spirit' has served to reinforce a dominant perspective in recent scholarship, which has tended to emphasise the 'doctrinal neutrality' of catenae. Manlio Simonetti speaks of the 'progressive sterility' of catenae.<sup>10</sup> The compilers of catenae were so fearful of straying into the doctrinal controversies of previous centuries that they were content simply to repeat the teachings of the fathers. Evidence of their neutrality is

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according to the words of the Apostle, "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good". (Jerome, *Epistula* 62.2).

<sup>7</sup> See also the discussion on page 67 above. We also find evidence of this preface in the fourteenth-century manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden Supra 29 (GA 54), on folios 115–115v. The material is placed immediately before an excerpt of Titus of Bostra on Luke's Gospel, alongside a number of other sources, before the Gospel of Luke begins on folio 120. Similarly, a fragment from this preface occurs in the tenth-century manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cromwell 15 (GA 527), on folio 112. This is followed by a couple of extracts from John Chrysostom and others before the Gospel of Luke begins (ff. 116–174).

<sup>8</sup> See Chapters 5 and 6.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs de l'Octateuque et des Rois: fragments tirés des chaînes* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1959), viii.

<sup>10</sup> Manlio Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*, trans. John A. Hughes (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 111.

adduced in the comprehensive range of different sources from Philo of Alexandria to Severus of Antioch. In his study of Procopius of Gaza (often associated with the origins of catenae), Bas ter Haar Romeny notes that the choice of sources and the comparison between the full commentaries and the fragments chosen offer some insight into ‘the kind of exegesis Procopius and his predecessors were interested in’.<sup>11</sup> Procopius’ choice of ‘Antiochene’ exegetes alongside ‘Alexandrians’ suggests that ‘the different schools of exegesis were treated equally, and that doctrinal issues played no role’.<sup>12</sup> Ter Haar Romeny reinforces this perspective of ‘doctrinal neutrality’ when he offers the following comment:

The catenists and Procopius were mostly interested in the solution of problems and questions posed by the text: ... There is hardly room for the philosophical, spiritual, and doctrinal here. As Petit remarks, on the basis of the *Catena on the Octateuch* one would not suspect that the majority of the exegetes quoted were involved in the Trinitarian and Christological debates of their era.<sup>13</sup>

However, one of the fascinating things about Codex Zacynthius is the fact that a number of voices, particularly those associated with ‘Antiochene’ patterns of exegesis, are completely missing from this particular anthology. While in other catenae on Luke’s gospel, we find material from writers such as Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret of Cyrrihus, they do not feature in Codex Zacynthius. Moreover, as Harold Greenlee points out, ‘the title ἅγιος is applied regularly to John, Basil, Cyril, and Titus, and sometimes to Severus’.<sup>14</sup> Greenlee remarks that ‘since Severus was declared a heretic, it may seem strange that he is sometimes designated “Saint”; and the fact that he is so designated regularly (with one exception) in the second half of the existing portions of the catena and not at all in the first half may seem stranger still. Severus is usually designated “Archbishop of Antioch,” although a few times merely “of Antioch” and sometimes without any title.’<sup>15</sup> Although it is possible that this is the careless attribution of a copyist, the description of Severus as ἅγιος appears to suggest that not all those responsible for producing this catena regarded him as heretical.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Bas ter Haar Romeny, ‘Procopius of Gaza and his Library,’ in *From Rome to Constantinople* ed. Hagit Amirav and Bas ter Haar Romeny (Louvain: Peeters, 2007), 173–90, here 189.

<sup>12</sup> Ter Haar Romeny, ‘Procopius of Gaza and his Library,’ 189.

<sup>13</sup> Ter Haar Romeny, ‘Procopius of Gaza and his Library,’ 189.

<sup>14</sup> J. H. Greenlee, ‘Codex Zacynthius: The Catena and the Text of Luke’ (pages 281–99 of the present volume).

<sup>15</sup> Page 288 below (see also page 65). Greenlee notes that Tregelles had raised the possibility, and Hatch had advanced as a definite theory, the idea that the name of Severus had been erased soon after the manuscript was written. They had speculated that the document had been written during the lifetime of Severus, before the edict of Justinian in 536 which ordered his writings to be burned and that the owner of the manuscript erased the name of Severus soon after the edict was issued in order to protect himself and the manuscript. However, neither Greenlee nor the Codex Zacynthius Project has detected any evidence that any names had been erased, other than as ‘part of the erasure of the entire manuscript after several centuries of use’ (p. 289 below; see also p. 114).

<sup>16</sup> The eight instances of τοῦ ἁγίου σευήρου ἀρχιεπισκο(σπου) ἀντιοχείας are: 203-2, 204-1, 241-3, 252-2, 260-3, 268-3, 300-1, 301-1.

The evidence of these marginal comments provokes a number of questions which require further exploration: what does the pattern of selection and attribution tell us about the compiler's understanding of the authoritative status of their sources? Does the material contained within the catena of Codex Zacynthius betray a 'liberal spirit', as Devreesse suggests? Or does the material, particularly the material relating to Severus of Antioch, provide evidence of a more distinctive theological and ideological perspective?

### AUTHORITY, ATTRIBUTION AND ANONYMITY

In 'Scholiasts and Commentators', Nigel Wilson notes that one of the distinctive characteristics of catenae is that 'it is very common to cite at the beginning of each excerpt the name of the author from whose work it is taken'.<sup>17</sup> Wilson suggests that biblical scholars made this innovation, in contrast to the anonymity which characterises the scholia of classical tradition, because they wished to be 'precise in these matters, especially as the orthodoxy of individual authors might be questioned'.<sup>18</sup> This insight is shared with the editors of a more recent collection of essays in the volume, *On Good Authority*. Noting that 'respect for authoritative voices is sometimes considered an essential characteristic of all premodern intellectual activity', they recognise that this phenomenon 'is not as uniform as it might seem at first glance'.<sup>19</sup> The essays in this volume deal with 'the questions of how texts attempt to gain authority and if so how they use—or abuse—earlier writings in the construction of their own authority'.<sup>20</sup> They give special attention to compilations and anthologies. They note that 'a first and rather self-evident aspect related to the authority of a certain literary work is its authorship. Quite often it is the name of an author that provides a work with an authoritative status'.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, they suggest that 'it is the denial of an author's involvement in a text that deprives it of this status'.<sup>22</sup> Certainly, modern scholarship betrays a preoccupation with the identification of authors of anonymous works, and we might well conclude from the fact that so many scholia in the biblical catenae are introduced with a citation naming the author that ancient editors were also concerned to identify their sources with a certain degree of precision.<sup>23</sup> Ceulemans

<sup>17</sup> Nigel G. Wilson, 'Scholiasts and Commentators,' *GRBS* 47 (2007): 39–70, here 47.

<sup>18</sup> Wilson, 'Scholiasts and Commentators', 47.

<sup>19</sup> Reinhart Ceulemans and Pieter De Leemans, ed., *On Good Authority: Tradition, Compilation and the Construction of Authority in Literature from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 11.

<sup>20</sup> Ceulemans and De Leemans, *On Good Authority*, 11.

<sup>21</sup> Ceulemans and De Leemans, *On Good Authority*, 12.

<sup>22</sup> Ceulemans and De Leemans, *On Good Authority*, 12.

<sup>23</sup> Of course, there are instances where authors are misattributed in the tradition. In the course of comparing various citations in the *Patrologia Graeca*, one may discover relatively frequently that a passage attributed to Origen in one fragment is attributed to Cyril of Alexandria in another. Indeed, it is not uncommon in ancient literature to discover that a text has been wrongly attributed to an authoritative voice retrospectively. I am grateful for the observations about pseudepigrapha in

and De Leemans contend that the identification of ‘an author in the manuscripts undoubtedly influences the authoritative level of the text and consequently also its transmission’.<sup>24</sup> The attribution makes a difference to the way in which the reader pays attention to it. Thus, although on the first fourteen occasions Severus is mentioned he is given a simple introduction, when he is referred to as ἅγιος in eight out of the nine subsequent occasions that he is cited, we begin to pay attention to his words in a more acute way. His authority has been given greater weight.

Ceulemans and De Leemans argue that in reading these texts, we need to pay attention to the importance of tradition: ‘Authors were expected to reckon with and to respect earlier voices since they were considered not only informative but in some cases even normative’.<sup>25</sup> The appeal to established earlier voices served to increase the text’s authority.<sup>26</sup> For Ceulemans and De Leemans, any form of anthology or compilation literature plays a part ‘not only in transmitting authoritative voices but also in shaping them’.<sup>27</sup>

While these more general comments about the use of anthology present a number of resonances with the way in which sources are used in biblical catenae, these observations provoke a number of questions in relation to Codex Zacynthius: first, a significant number of the scholia contained in Codex Zacynthius are recorded as unattributed: ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφοι.<sup>28</sup> This seems to be at odds with the practice of quoting established authorities. Secondly, we need to consider the fact that while tradition may be important, a tradition can also embody an ongoing argument. We need to interrogate carefully the use of the word ‘normative’ in relation to a tradition, particularly if that tradition, in the words of Alasdair MacIntyre, embodies ‘continuities of conflict’.<sup>29</sup>

As part of this project, we have been industrious in identifying this unattributed material, but why was this material anonymised in the first place? Given that many scholars infer from the use of these attributions that the compilers of the catenae were seeking to offer some assurances about the provenance and authority of these extracts, one might conclude that the process of anonymising these texts is driven by a desire to conceal their more heterodox origins. This is certainly the argument presented by Peter

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Hindy Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future: An Analysis of 4 Ezra* (Cambridge: CUP, 2014).

<sup>24</sup> Ceulemans and De Leemans, *On Good Authority*, 12.

<sup>25</sup> Ceulemans and De Leemans, *On Good Authority*, 13.

<sup>26</sup> In some cases, the selection of excerpts from earlier sources aimed at enhancing the authority of the author or compiler. In other cases, the authority of a compiler is completely secondary to the selection of excerpts from earlier sources. The anthology derives its authority not so much from itself but from the reputation of the authors and texts being quoted.

<sup>27</sup> Ceulemans and De Leemans, *On Good Authority*, 15.

<sup>28</sup> See also page 100 above.

<sup>29</sup> ‘Traditions, when vital, embody continuities of conflict’ (Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue* [London: Duckworth, 1981], 221); quoted in the frontispiece of Rowan Williams, *Arius: Heresy and Tradition* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1987).

Tzamalikos, in a recent study of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*,<sup>30</sup> which he places amidst the tensions between imperial Christian orthodoxy and certain monastic circles in the sixth century. Tzamalikos argues that the reason the scholia on the book of Revelation are anonymised was precisely to ensure that the comments did not provoke the scrutiny of their detractors.<sup>31</sup> He asserts that the scholia conceal elements of monastic dissent, subverting the authority of the imperial state church.

We might imagine that the process of anonymising these texts serves a similar function in Codex Zacynthius. Certainly, in the case of a couple of unattributed passages (014-1 and 076-1), the ‘new’ or ‘different’ nature attributed to Christ betrays a Christological perspective which is at odds with the ‘two natures’ embraced by the Council of Chalcedon. And yet, the majority of the comments under the heading ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου are neither controversial in terms of content nor remarkable in terms of attribution. Our research reveals that most of the material comes from the following writers: Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Titus of Bostra (see Table 6.1). A number of scholia remain anonymous, and it is possible that, like 014-1 and 076-1, this material is drawn from more heterodox sources. Nevertheless, it is striking that these anonymised sources mirror almost exactly the named sources within the catena.

The fact that this material is unattributed may not be a result of a deliberate editorial policy by the editor to anonymise material. It may be that along with the attributed material, one of the sources which the compiler drew on was an existing anonymised catena. Given that it was common for scholia to be assembled without attribution, it may be that this earlier anthology simply adopted the broader convention of the commentators of the time. But it does not necessarily follow that we should infer that a source comes from a dissenting voice simply because it is anonymous. As recent work on anonymity and pseudonymity suggests, the concealment of an author’s identity does not necessarily betray some embarrassment or diffidence about the text’s authority. In some cases, uncertainty about authorship can give a work of literature ‘a special voltage’.<sup>32</sup> In *Author Unknown: The Power of Anonymity in Ancient Rome*, Tom Geue suggests that scholars, hardwired by the conventions of historicism to identify the authorship and context of individual works, are not always alert to the impact of texts which have been anonymised.

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<sup>30</sup> P. Tzamalikos, *An Ancient Commentary on the Book of Revelation: A Critical Edition of the Scholia in Apocalypsin* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013).

<sup>31</sup> ‘These scholia are mostly extensive quotations from Didymus’ lost Commentary on the Apocalypse, and in the second place quotations from Theodoret and Clement of Alexandria. None of these persons was a darling to the imperial cliques of the mid-sixth century. To the orthodox, the authors on which the compiler (as well as author) Cassian draws are mostly either condemned or suspicious or distrustful. This is why Cassian left these Scholia without attribution, yet he was himself aware of their spiritual origin.’ P. Tzamalikos, *The Real Cassian Revisited* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 287–8.

<sup>32</sup> John Mullan, *Anonymity: A Secret History of English Literature* (London: Faber & Faber, 2007), 7.

He argues that anonymity is not a problem to be solved. It is simply one of the effects of the text which we need to take seriously. Moreover, while we are acculturated ‘to thinking about authority as a property of names’, Geue argues that ‘there is an equally trenchant authority to namelessness’.<sup>33</sup> Anonymity may serve to ‘universalise’ the text. The text may be furnished with an impersonality which ‘seems to kit the text out for use as something *transpersonal*: ... an authoritative bearer of witness to something bigger than itself’.<sup>34</sup> Alternatively, the process of anonymisation may permit the compiler of the catena to select and coordinate a vast array of different texts and sources into a ‘reauthored’ running commentary.<sup>35</sup> Given that within the tradition there are catenae which are anonymised, these observations help us to see that both attribution and anonymity can serve to accentuate the ‘authority’ of the text. Nevertheless, it is curious that the catena in Codex Zacynthius appears to use both attribution and anonymity within the same text. There is a curious precision about the phrase *ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου* in attributing the material to an ‘unattributed’ source. The fact that in other places material is attributed not just to the author but also to specific works within the corpus of the author betrays a rather careful and cautious approach to the question of attribution. The catena in Codex Zacynthius shows its workings with a patient and persistent determination.

### A ‘LIBERAL SPIRIT’?

The selection of sources within the catena of Codex Zacynthius draws heavily on Cyril of Alexandria, Origen, Titus of Bostra and Severus of Antioch. There are also shorter extracts from John Chrysostom, Apollinarius, Eusebius, Basil of Caesarea, Victor the Presbyter and Isidore of Pelusium. Intriguingly, three of the passages attributed to Isidore of Pelusium are attributed specifically to Letters 48, 363 and 1759.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, passages attributed to Severus of Antioch are attributed with great precision. There are extracts from a series of his homilies: 2, 32, 33, 36, 51, 63, 82, 89, 113, 115, and 118. There is reference to a commentary on the Book of Numbers. There are quotations from his correspondence: an extract from a letter to Caesaria the Noblewoman on the topic of Christ’s circumcision, an extract from a letter to Sergius the Chief Physician, a couple of extracts from a letter to Anastasia the Deacon, as well as an encyclical letter to Kyriakos and the Bishops. There are elements from his more polemical writings, including a tract ‘Against the Testament of Lampetius’, a tract ‘Against the Apology of Julian’, and an ‘Apology of Philalethes’. There is also one passage attributed by the catenist to one of Severus’ homilies which appears in fact to come from Cyril of Alexandria (301-1).<sup>37</sup>

While much of this material attributed to Severus may also be found in the *Patrologia Orientalis*, the distinguishing characteristic of the material in Codex Zacynthius is that it

<sup>33</sup> Tom Geue, *Author Unknown: The Power of Anonymity in Ancient Rome* (London: Harvard University Press, 2019), 16.

<sup>34</sup> Geue, *Author Unknown*, 16.

<sup>35</sup> Note Marie-Dominique Chenu’s comment that the *Catena aurea* constitutes a ‘concatenation of patristic texts cleverly coordinated into a running commentary’ (M.-D. Chenu, *Introduction à l’étude de St. Thomas d’Aquin* (Paris: Vrin, 1974), 279–80).

<sup>36</sup> See p. 106 above.

<sup>37</sup> See also p. 115 above.

is written in Greek. This is striking because most of his writings have come down to us in Syriac and Coptic. One significant reason for this is that in the year 536, the Emperor Justinian had issued an edict that all the works of Severus should be burned. Severus, who had become a leading anti-Chalcedonian voice in his unwavering commitment to promote Cyril of Alexandria's Christology, had already been driven into exile in 518 by the Emperor Justin. This was largely due to the lobbying of his nephew, Justinian. At his accession in 527, Justinian sought to resolve the disputes that had emerged in the East following the Council of Chalcedon. Eventually, after tortuous negotiations and debates, he came down firmly on the Chalcedonian side.

In *Exegesis and Empire in the Early Byzantine Mediterranean*, Michael Maas argued persuasively that from the beginning of the sixth century, biblical exegesis became increasingly a matter of imperial interest. Explaining why a senior legal officer of the Emperor Justinian, Junillus Africanus, should take time to write the *Instituta Regularia*<sup>38</sup> and issue guidance about biblical interpretation, Maas suggests that: 'In the theological hothouse of Justinian's Mediterranean, biblical exegesis carried significant political force'.<sup>39</sup> Maas shares with Manlio Simonetti the sense that the enterprise of biblical interpretation had become more pedestrian during the sixth century in the light of the Christological controversies of late antiquity. Where they differ is that while Simonetti seems to imply that this was a consequence of intellectual indolence, Maas argues that the Emperor Justinian attempted to impose his own limits and constraints on those engaged in the interpretation of Scripture. He achieved this in a number of ways: first, by defining the limits of orthodoxy; secondly, by ensuring that the officials of his court conformed with the emperor's definition of faith; and thirdly, by initiating a number of reforms of the education system and placing restrictions on those who were allowed to teach. It is perhaps remarkable that the contents of this catena provide some evidence of dissent from these strictures of imperial orthodoxy. Indeed, with so many scholia from Cyril of Alexandria and comments from Severus, which have a bearing on Christological questions, it is arguable whether the contents are consistent with a spirit of 'doctrinal neutrality'.

In a fascinating article, Yonatan Moss notes the fact that while much of Severus' writings can be found in Syriac and Coptic, one can find quotations of his writings in Greek among many of his critics and detractors in the sixth and seventh centuries.<sup>40</sup> One can also find extracts from his works in the catenae of the Old and New Testaments. In spite of what Moss calls 'Justinian's harsh and unequivocal decree' (p. 788), this material is extensive. Karl Staab was the first to note the curious presence of Severus' writings in the

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<sup>38</sup> English translation: 'The Handbook of the Basic Principles of Divine Law'.

<sup>39</sup> Michael Maas, *Exegesis and Empire in the Early Byzantine Mediterranean: Junillus Africanus and the Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 112.

<sup>40</sup> Yonatan Moss, 'Saving Severus: How Severus of Antioch's Writings Survived in Greek,' *GRBS* 56 (2016), 785–808.

catenae on the Catholic epistles:<sup>41</sup> ‘With the exception of John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria, Severus is quoted in the catenae on the Catholic Epistles more than any other Church father’.<sup>42</sup> As an intriguing contrast, the catenae on the Pauline epistles contain almost nothing from Severus. Françoise Petit notes that in the earliest recension of the catenae on the Octateuch there is no evidence of Severus’ writings, but she suggests that a later branch of the tradition, possibly after Severus’ death in 538, ‘was expanded to include a host of scholia culled from the works of Severus’.<sup>43</sup> While Moss notes Devreesse’s suggestion that the inclusion of Severan material could reflect the ‘liberal spirit’ of the catenae, he suggests that this neat ecumenical solution does not satisfactorily address three significant difficulties: first, there is the simple fact of Justinian’s decree; how did people have access to Severus’ works given the ban? Tregelles had attempted to address this question by suggesting that the material had been compiled before the ban, a view endorsed by Hatch. Secondly, Moss notes that, in describing the catena on Isaiah, Devreesse observes that most of the ninety-seven scholia attributed to Severus are introduced with the words: τοῦ ἀγιώτατου Σευήρου (‘the most saintly Severus’).<sup>44</sup> In addition, we see references to Severus in the Catena on Acts, published by John Cramer and drawing on the twelfth-century manuscript Oxford, New College 58 (GA 2818). An extract from Severus on Acts 2:24 is introduced with the words: τοῦ ἁγίου Σευήρου Ἐπίσκοπου Ἀντιοχείας, and on Acts 2:28, with the words: τοῦ ἁγίου Σευήρου Ἀντιοχείας. Moss was not aware of the material in Codex Zacynthius, but his question applies with exactly the same force: why do these Byzantine scribes refer to Severus in this way? The third difficulty is the disproportionately large place given to Severus in many catenae. Moss notes that material from Severus is often extensive, and that these passages are regularly introduced with a precise reference to where exactly in Severus’ writings they might be found. Again, we find this phenomenon in Codex Zacynthius. Moss seeks to address these difficulties by proposing a slightly different solution: he says that the inclusion of this material from Severus, rather than being the work of a group of liberally minded Chalcedonian editors, as Devreesse would suggest, was in fact the work of a group of anti-Chalcedonian editors, who sought to take advantage of the ‘liberal spirit’ of the catenae, by inserting as many of Severus’ writings as they could include:

Fearing, after Justinian’s novella of 536, that their master’s works faced extinction, Severus’ adherents attempted to save what they could by incorporating selections from the corpus into an already existing framework. It is possible that they operated in Egypt, where much of the early work on the catenae is thought by some scholars to have taken place, and where imperial persecution of anti-Chalcedonians had historically been less severe.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Karl Staab, ‘Die griechischen Katenenkommentare zu den Katholischen Briefen,’ *Biblica* 5 (1924): 296–353.

<sup>42</sup> Moss, ‘Saving Severus,’ 791.

<sup>43</sup> Cited in Moss, ‘Saving Severus,’ 791.

<sup>44</sup> Robert Devreesse, ‘Chaînes exégétiques grecques,’ in *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément* (ed. A. Pirot. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1928), 1151, quoted by Moss, ‘Saving Severus,’ 795.

<sup>45</sup> Moss, ‘Saving Severus,’ 798.

In Moss's view, these anti-Chalcedonian editors took advantage of the 'ecumenical character' of catenae in order to preserve material from Severus of Antioch.

It is an ingenious proposal, and it serves to explain both the reverence shown to Severus and the detailed attribution of sources. And yet, Moss' proposal takes Justinian's condemnation of Severus and the banning of his books as the final word on the rather vexatious Christological controversy which had rumbled on for the first four decades of the sixth century. Codex Zacynthius, like other catenae, also contains a number of scholia from Origen, whose writings were also condemned by Justinian at some point between 536 and 543. Moss does not consider the inclusion of material from Origen in the catenae of the Old and New Testaments, but this evidence may help us to consider the merits of the hypothesis he presents.

The truth is that, in spite of these condemnations, attempts to court the adherence of members of the *miaphysite* party continued during Justinian's reign up until and then beyond the Second Council of Constantinople in 553. One of the curious innovations of Justinian's reign was to handle theological controversy by anathematising theologians and biblical commentators who were already dead. Origen of Alexandria has the dubious privilege of already belonging to this number but, at some point in the winter of 544, Justinian provoked the Three Chapters Controversy by condemning the works of three leading fifth-century theologians, who had influenced Nestorius: Theodore of Mopsuestia (c.350–428), Theodoret of Cyrrhus (c.393–c.468), and Ibas of Essa (d.457). This innovation was the source of some discomfort and disturbance in some parts of the empire because it appeared to undermine the Council of Chalcedon, which had exonerated Theodoret and Ibas. Moreover, it also appeared to undermine a basic principle that you only anathematized those who were able to recant. The Three Chapters Controversy suggests that Justinian had not completely given up on resolving the differences between Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians after the condemnation of Severus in 536. Moreover, it is perhaps striking that whereas Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret of Cyrrhus are quoted extensively in some of the other catenae on the New Testament, they are nowhere to be found in Codex Zacynthius.

Does this suggest that the material within the margins betrays a more anti-Chalcedonian emphasis? Or, in the omission of Theodore and Theodoret, can we detect the influence of the deliberations of the Second Council of Constantinople in 553? We need to take some care in drawing conclusions from the admittedly partial evidence provided by the comments on portions of the first eleven chapters of Luke's gospel. Nevertheless, the fact that these chapters include Luke's infancy narratives, the account of the temptation, the beginning of Jesus' public ministry, various healings, miracles and exorcisms, the Sermon on the Plain, and the Transfiguration, there is probably sufficient material to assess whether we can detect the presence of the ongoing Christological controversies of the sixth and seventh centuries.

Certainly, the material within the catena emphasises the unity of the identity of Jesus Christ, in a way which is entirely consistent with Cyril of Alexandria's Christology. Severus and others were loyal adherents of Cyril and they sought to conserve and protect

his inheritance. Indeed, we should not underestimate the influence of Cyril. He is far and away the most dominant voice among the scholia conserved within the Codex Zacynthius.<sup>46</sup> We see clear examples of this emphasis on the unity of Christ's identity in a range of sources, e.g. Cyril of Alexandria (114-1), Severus of Antioch (005-5), one of the 'unattributed' scholia elsewhere identified as Origen (044-1), and Victor the Presbyter (052-1). It is a perspective which is emphasised again and again in the consistent use of the term 'Theotokos' or 'God-bearer' to describe Mary. In an early extract, Severus of Antioch refers to Mary as 'the holy God-bearer (Theotokos) and ever-virgin Mary' (005-5). At the Visitation, when Elizabeth says 'Why has this happened to me, that the mother of my Lord comes to me?' (Luke 1:43), the catenist includes an 'unattributed' scholium (045-1), elsewhere assigned to Origen: Elizabeth says that she 'is unworthy of the presence of the God-bearing Virgin'. A little later, Severus describes Elizabeth as 'the relative of Mary the God-bearer' (038-3).<sup>47</sup> Subsequent examples show a preponderance of passages from Origen. Even though Origen himself had become the subject of some suspicion by the middle of the sixth century, the use of this term was endorsed by the Second Council of Constantinople and its adoption was seen as something of a victory for the *miaphysite* party.

At the same time, other extracts emphasise that Christ is both fully human and fully divine. Commenting on Luke's reference to 'servants of the Word' (Luke 1:2), the passage from Severus of Antioch avoids the language of a single φύσις, emphasising the unity of humanity and divinity in a single ὑπόστασις. Nevertheless, there is also perhaps a studious avoidance of the language of 'two natures', the touchstone of Chalcedonian orthodoxy. While there is no ambiguity about the idea that Christ was both fully human and fully divine, the real area of contention between Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians lay in spelling out exactly how this was so. In one 'unattributed' scholium (014-1), the commentator contemplates the miraculous birth of Christ: in the Virgin birth, 'there was the introduction of a totally new nature which did not exist previously'.<sup>48</sup> In another scholium, again 'unattributed', on Luke 2:6, the writer—who appears to be Cyril of Alexandria—suggests that Christ 'is different in respect of his nature from those who are throughout the inhabited world' (076-1). The inference is that Christ was incarnate in one nature.

While the *miaphysite* sympathies of these passages are evident, it is also worth noting that there is a curious absence of any polemic directed towards the defenders of Chalcedon. Commenting on Luke's description of the Presentation, when Simeon remarks that 'This child is destined for the falling and the rising of many in Israel, and to be a sign that will be opposed' (Luke 2:34), the catena includes a scholium from Basil of Caesarea's Letter to Bishop Optimus (086-1), which refers directly to the controversies surrounding the doctrine of the incarnation:

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<sup>46</sup> See Tables 5.2 and 6.1, and note also the comments about Cyril's biblical text on page 53.

<sup>47</sup> Further examples of the use of the term 'Theotokos' include: 044-3 (Origen), 045-1 (Origen), 081-2 (possibly Origen), 083-2 (Severus).

<sup>48</sup> It is possible that the same sentiment is expressed, albeit in a more abbreviated form in an extract from Eusebius of Caesarea (038-1).

They do not cease quarreling about the incarnation of the Lord: some assert that the body was assumed, and others that his dwelling here was bodiless; some claim that his body could experience suffering, and others that in some way an illusion fulfilled the bodily dispensation; others still say that the body was earthly, and others that it was heavenly; some say that he existed before time began, while others say that he took his beginning from Mary. For this reason, he is ‘a sign that will be opposed’ (Luke 2:34).

The passage condemns some of the earlier Christological heresies, such as Docetism and Adoptionism, but there is nothing here that would cause a defender of Chalcedon to dissent. At the same time, it is intriguing to note that the reference to ‘an illusion’ (φαντασία) echoes an earlier scholium in the catena in which Severus of Antioch refutes ‘the objectionable belief of Eutyches’ (044-4) and his invention of ‘the appearance of some non-existent phantasm’ (φάντασμα). Eutychianism, which had been so roundly condemned at the Council of Chalcedon, is dismissed in no uncertain terms. Nevertheless, with perhaps the exception of these two passages, in contrast to the more uncompromising and polemical views of John Moschos, the scholia selected in Codex Zacynthius tend to present a rather more irenic and conciliatory tone.

Much of the material in the catena is consistent with the settlement characteristic of the Second Council of Constantinople in 553. It embraces the title ‘Theotokos’ for Mary. It omits the writings of Theodore and Theodoret, which had been condemned at the Council. It also emphasises the essential unity of the person of Christ. But the truth is that the measures introduced by Justinian did not bring the resolution he so desired. Christological controversies continued with just as much enthusiasm after 553. Justinian’s attempt to find some accommodation between the two sides had failed. By the beginning of the seventh century, in the face of internal political and external military threats, there were renewed efforts by the Emperor Heraclius (610–641), under the guidance of Sergius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, to see if these differences might be resolved.<sup>49</sup> Recognising that previous attempts at compromise had foundered on the language of φύσις, they tried to seek out more common ground by emphasising a single ἐνέργεια—‘energy’, ‘operation’ or ‘activity’—in order to describe Christ’s divine agency.

The emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople sought to achieve what had so far proved to be ‘an elusive doctrinal consensus’<sup>50</sup> by promoting the doctrine of ‘Monenergism’. They sought ‘to reconcile the supporters and the adversaries of Chalcedon on the basis of the formula *two natures—one activity (energeia)*’.<sup>51</sup> Cyril Hovorun has argued that this ‘Monenergism’ owed much to the theological legacy of Severus of Antioch. He argues that ‘Severus was first among the principal teachers of anti-

<sup>49</sup> For a detailed account of the challenges faced by Heraclius, see C. Hovorun, *Will, Action and Freedom: Christological Controversies in the Seventh Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 53f.

<sup>50</sup> P. Booth, *Crisis of Empire: Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity* (London: University of California Press, 2014), 5.

<sup>51</sup> Hovorun, *Will, Action and Freedom*, 55.

Chalcedonian Christology who explicitly dealt with the issue of Christ's activities'.<sup>52</sup> He notes that although this 'was not the focal point of Severus' theology',<sup>53</sup> he did use this terminology when referring to Christ's activity. For Severus, 'Christ's *energeia* was primarily single: "There is only one single activity, only one single operative motion".'<sup>54</sup> Hovorun illustrates this point with reference to Severus' comments on the Cleansing of the Leper in Matthew 8: 'While the incarnate God spoke with human tongue and said with human and clear voice to the leper: "I will, be clean" (Matthew 8:3), he showed through the effect that the voice, in keeping with the mixing worthy of God, has gone forth from the incarnate God: for the healing of the leper went together with the heard word'.<sup>55</sup> While we do not find a similar passage quoted in the catena of Codex Zacynthius on the cleansing of the leper (Luke 5:12-14), we do find occasional references to the Greek word *energeia*.<sup>56</sup> Although the majority of instances do not appear to be using the term in a technical Christological sense (in many cases it is used to describe the activity of the Holy Spirit), the term comes into particular focus in the comments on the miraculous healing of the woman who touched Jesus' garment (Luke 8:42b-48). The passage includes the comment that Jesus 'noticed that power (*δύναμις*) had gone out of him' (Luke 8:46). A comment from Cyril notes that the Lord 'did not allow the display of divine activity (*ἐνέργεια*) to go unnoticed' (241-2). According to Cyril, Jesus allows this to happen in order to benefit all those 'called to grace through faith' and to provide a little encouragement to Jairus, as they travel to his home to attend to his daughter. This comment is followed immediately by another comment of Severus, who suggests that the 'power' described by Luke is the *ἐνέργεια* or energy of healing. While the use of this term provides evidence of the way in which Severus' thinking may have influenced subsequent debate, as Hovorun argues, the fact that we see only this one example suggests that 'Monenergism' does not appear to be a dominant motif in the theological imagination of the catenist. In spite of its extensive use of material from Severus of Antioch, the contents of the catena do not appear to speak directly into this particular debate.

## CONCLUSIONS

In evaluating the theological significance of the catena, it appears that the Christological assertions characteristic of the commentary in Codex Zacynthius would place its compilation at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries. With the extensive use of the title 'Theotokos', the absence of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, the emphasis on the unity of Christ's identity and the eschewal of

<sup>52</sup> Hovorun, *Will, Action and Freedom*, 16.

<sup>53</sup> Hovorun, *Will, Action and Freedom*, 16.

<sup>54</sup> Hovorun, *Will, Action and Freedom*, 16.

<sup>55</sup> Severus, *Liber contra impium Grammaticum* (CPG 7024), quoted in Hovorun, *Will, Action and Freedom*, 18.

<sup>56</sup> For example, 005-4 (Origen), 050-1 (Origen), 128-2 (Cyril of Alexandria), 220-1 (Cyril of Alexandria), 226-1 (Titus of Bostra), 241-2 (Cyril of Alexandria), 241-3 (Severus of Antioch), 252-1 (Cyril of Alexandria), 293-1 (Cyril of Alexandria).

the language of ‘two natures’, it bears the marks of the debates which had led to the various *Acta* of the Second Council of Constantinople. But in evaluating the contents of the scholia against subsequent Christological controversies, I have also suggested that there is little evidence that the compilers of this catena are responding to the ‘Monenergist’ debate of the mid-seventh century. The fact that it contains a number of comments sympathetic to the *miaphysite* position and makes extensive use of the writings of Severus of Antioch, describing him in the later sections of the catena as ἄγιος, suggests that the catena was compiled at a time when the Christian church was continuing to wrestle with the legacy of the Council and mediate between the Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian factions.<sup>57</sup>

Such a conclusion is consistent with the ‘liberal spirit’ introduced in the preface to the catena with its reference to Cyril’s letter to Eulogius. Although we might infer from Robert Devreesse’s use of this term that the compilers of catenae were content to use material from more heterodox sources while at the same time disowning the Christological heresies which they embraced, it is evident that this does not mean that they simply ignored or avoided doctrinal questions. Luke’s account of the birth of Jesus presents questions about the character of the incarnation at almost every turn. To suggest that the catena adopts a position of ‘doctrinal neutrality’ is not entirely accurate. While containing elements which are sympathetic to an anti-Chalcedonian position, the catena embodies ongoing Christological controversy and debate during the sixth and early seventh centuries. It represents a concerted attempt to present Luke’s Christology in a way which is consistent with the legacy of Cyril of Alexandria and the deliberations of the Second Council of Constantinople in 553. At the same time, the catena only hints at the Monenergist debates which were to dominate the middle of the seventh century.

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<sup>57</sup> In his study of Christology in late antiquity, Yonatan Moss notes that Severus of Antioch is often regarded as ‘the founding father of the independent anti-Chalcedonian Syriac Orthodox Church’ (Yonatan Moss, *Incorruptible Bodies: Christology, Society and Authority in Late Antiquity* [Oakland: University of California Press, 2016], 1). He argues that Severus himself was opposed to leaving the imperial state church. Although deprived of his see and exiled by Justinian in 536, the latter years of Justinian’s reign were characterised by repeated efforts to find a way of accommodating the views of the Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian factions.



## CHAPTER 8.

### CATENAE ON LUKE AND THE CATENA OF CODEX ZACYNTHIUS (PANAGIOTIS MANAFIS)<sup>1</sup>

This chapter argues that the examination of the relationship between Codex Zacynthius and other catenae on Luke opens a new window on the understanding of the textual transmission of certain exegetical comments extracted from earlier patristic texts and on how various types of catenae on Luke relate to each other. The catena found in a single manuscript in Paris (BnF, suppl. gr. 612) exhibits striking textual similarities with Codex Zacynthius in content and structure. The consideration of the relationship of these two manuscripts reveals patterns of compilation practice in exegetical collections and specific criteria employed for the selection of passages to be included in a catena on Luke.

#### CATENAE ON LUKE

The only complete printed edition of a Greek catena on Luke remains that produced by Cramer in 1841 as the second of his eight volumes of New Testament catenae.<sup>2</sup> Cramer's edition was based on two manuscripts, one in Paris (BnF, Coislin grec 23) supplemented by another in Oxford (Bodleian Library, Auctarium T. 1. 4 [Misc. 182]). Two centuries earlier, Corderius had published a Latin translation of the catena on Luke by Nicetas of Heraclea.<sup>3</sup> This was based on Venice, BNM, gr. Z.494 (331), ff. 1–58, which Corderius compared with one manuscript from Vienna and two from Munich.<sup>4</sup> A few years before Cramer, Mai edited the comments on Luke transmitted in a Vatican manuscript (BAV, Vat. gr. 1611), the earliest extant witness to the catena of Nicetas, under the title *συναγωγή*

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is written in conjunction with, and draws on the findings of, the CATENA project, which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme (grant agreement no. 770816).

<sup>2</sup> John Anthony Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: OUP, 1844).

<sup>3</sup> Balthasar Corderius, *Catena Sexaginta Quinque Graecorum Patrum in Lucam* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1628).

<sup>4</sup> These were identified as Vienna, ÖNB, theol. gr. 71, Munich, BSB, Gr. 473 and Gr. 33: see Joseph Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia*. TU 22.4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902), 69–71.

ἐξηγήσεων εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ διαφόρων ἐρμηνευτῶν · παρὰ Νικήτα διακόνου τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καὶ διδασκάλου ('Compilation of Expositions on the Holy Gospel of Luke from Various Commentators by Nicetas, the Deacon and Teacher of the Church of God').<sup>5</sup> Mai also published a considerable number of exegetical excerpts on Luke by Origen and Eusebius transmitted in catena manuscripts.<sup>6</sup>

The first to undertake a thorough analysis of catena manuscripts of Luke was Joseph Sickenberger. He collected and published collections of exegetical fragments on this gospel from Titus of Bostra and Cyrill of Alexandria.<sup>7</sup> Sickenberger was also the first to attempt a classification of catena manuscripts on Luke. In 1898 and 1902 he published two surveys of the catena on Luke by Nicetas of Heraclea. Sickenberger grouped the manuscript tradition of the catena by Nicetas into three main clusters: Italian, Byzantine and interpolated.<sup>8</sup> Karo and Lietzmann's *Catalogue of Greek Catenae* built on Cramer and identified six types of catena on Luke:

- i) the catena edited by Cramer;
- ii) the catena assigned to Peter of Laodicea;
- iii) the catena transmitted in two Vatican manuscripts, Palatinus gr. 20 and Vaticanus gr. 1933 (epitomes of the catena of Nicetas);
- iv) the catena by Nicetas of Heraclea;
- v) the catena by Macarius Chrysocephalus;
- vi) the catena preserved in Vienna, ÖNB, theol. gr. 301 and Oxford, Bodl., Auctarium E. 2. 2 (Misc. 30).<sup>9</sup>

These were subsequently refined and expanded by Rauer in his examination of the sources for Origen's *Homilies on Luke*.<sup>10</sup> Rauer's types underlie the presentation of the Lukan catenae by Geerard in the first edition of his catena volume in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (CPG), published in 1980.<sup>11</sup> This comprises seven Greek catenae, identified by number and type, and two individual manuscripts, as well as a Coptic Catena, which are listed in Table 8.2.

<sup>5</sup> Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus. Tomus IX* (Rome: Vatican, 1837), 626–722.

<sup>6</sup> Angelo Mai, *Bibliotheca nova Patrum. Tomus IV* (Rome: Vatican, 1847), 159ff. The fragments are reprinted in PG 13, 1801–1902 and PG 24, 529–604.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra. Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien*. TU 21 (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1901); Josef Sickenberger, *Fragmente der Homilien des Cyrill von Alexandrien zum Lukasevangelium*. TU 34.1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), esp. 63–108. See further pages 5–6.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph Sickenberger, 'Aus römischen Handschriften über die Lukaskatene des Niketas,' *Römische Quartalschrift* 12 (1898): 55–84; Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas*.

<sup>9</sup> G. Karo & J. Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus* (Göttingen: Hörstmann, 1902).

<sup>10</sup> Max Rauer, ed., *Origenes: Werke, Neunter Band. Die Homilien zu Lukas*. Second edn. GCS 42 (Berlin: Hinrichs, 1959).

<sup>11</sup> Maurits Geerard, ed., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. IV Concilia. Catenae*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1980).

<b>C130 (Typus A)</b>	The Catena attributed to Titus of Bostra	Rauer I/a
<b>C131 (Typus B)</b>	An expanded form of C130	Cramer's catena; Karo-Lietzmann (i); Sickenberger c; Rauer I/b
<b>C132 (Typus C)</b>	The Commentary of Peter of Laodicea	Rauer II/(c)
<b>C133 (Typus D)</b>	An expanded form of C132	Karo-Lietzmann (ii); Sickenberger r; Rauer II/d
<b>C134 (Typus E)</b>		Karo-Lietzmann (iii); Sickenberger p; Rauer W
<b>C135 (Typus F)</b>	The Catena of Nicetas of Heraclea	Karo-Lietzmann (iv); Rauer III/k
<b>C136</b>	The Catena of Macarius Chrysocephalus	Karo-Lietzmann (v); Rauer IV/m
<b>C137.1</b>	Vienna, ÖNB, theol. gr. 301	Karo-Lietzmann (vi); Rauer Y
<b>C137.2</b>	Munich, BSB, gr. 208	Rauer X; only contains Luke 1:1–2:40
<b>C138</b>	The Coptic Catena	

Table 8.1: The Catenae on Luke in the first edition of the CPG.

Despite Rauer's mention of Codex Zacynthius in his list (with the siglum  $\Xi$ ), this manuscript was not included by Geerard in the CPG.

Just two years after Geerard's list in the CPG, there appeared Reuss's edition of the extracts from selected authors in catenae on Luke.<sup>12</sup> Although Reuss had not included Luke in his earlier examination of gospel catenae, in the introduction to his edition he identified six types of Lukan catenae. Frustratingly, he used the same nomenclature as the CPG, designating them as A–F, yet with a different division of texts. Reuss's type A comprises both C130 (which he called the *Erweiterte Grundform*) and C131 (the *Vollkatene*). Similarly, Reuss's type B consists of C132 (*Grundform*) and C133 (*Erweiterte Grundform*) as well as a *Vollkatene*. The catena of Nicetas of Heraclea corresponds to Reuss's type C, while C134 is his type D. Codex Zacynthius is identified as type E by Reuss, while his type F is the Vienna catena (C137.1).

The second edition of the CPG volume on catenae, updated by Jacques Noret in 2018 reproduced the seven main types (with additional information from Reuss), and added four additional individual manuscripts to the *codices singuli* section.<sup>13</sup> The first of

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*. TU 130 (Berlin: Akademie, 1984).

<sup>13</sup> Maurits Geerard & Jacques Noret, ed., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. IV Concilia. Catenae*. Editio aucta (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

these was Codex Zacynthius (C137.3), followed by Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 349 (C137.4); Vatican, BAV, Pal. gr. 273 (C137.5); Florence, BML, Conv. soppr. 159 (C137.6). This revised edition also refers on several occasions to Parker's initial checklist of catena manuscripts published two years earlier.<sup>14</sup> Subsequent to this, however, the CATENA project at the University of Birmingham has begun the compilation of a new catalogue of catenae, which has already resulted in two new entries in the CPG, C137.7 and C139.1 (described below). An updated checklist has already been released, which contains 215 manuscripts of Lukan catenae.<sup>15</sup> The present writer has been responsible for comparing these witnesses in the same test passage used by Karo and Lietzmann, Luke 10:1–6, in order to identify their catena type. Although it has so far only been possible to examine 177 manuscripts, an indication of the total number currently assigned to each type gives some indication of the extent of the surviving evidence. For the sake of clarity, the CPG numbers will be used in the rest of this chapter to designate the individual types of catenae.

Reuss identifies **C130** as the oldest type of catena, going back to the sixth century. It is not by Titus of Bostra himself, but contains numerous extracts from his commentary. The compiler of this catena also seems to have been responsible for the earliest forms of the catena on Matthew (C110.1) and John (C140.1). A number of manuscripts with this type of catena bear the title τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Τίτου Ἐπισκόπου Βόστρων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν πατέρων ἁγίων ἐρμηνεία εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον ('Interpretation of the Holy Gospel of Luke by Saint Titus, Bishop of Bostra, and Several Other Holy Fathers').<sup>16</sup> Thirty-two manuscripts of this type have been identified for the CATENA catalogue (18% of the total). **C131** is an expansion of this catena, which includes extracts from fifteen named authors. In addition to Titus's *Commentary on Luke*, it also draws extensively on Cyril of Alexandria's *Homilies on Luke*, Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew*, and Origen's *Commentary on Luke* and *Homilies on Luke*. It is less well preserved than C130, with only eight manuscripts.

**C132** is by far the best attested catena, appearing in 60 of the 177 manuscripts (34%). Although Reuss does not exclude the possibility that it was compiled by Peter of Laodicea, its authorship has been disputed.<sup>17</sup> It is noteworthy that, like Codex Zacynthius, C132 contains scholia with the heading ἀνεπιγράφοι and a substantial number of extracts from Severus of Antioch. It has three times more scholia by Cyril than by any other author, although Origen and Titus both feature at least one hundred times. In the test passage, C132 contains two comments, one from Cyril (on Luke 10:1 and 10:2) and one from Titus of Bostra (on Luke 10:4 and 10:6). The beginnings and endings of the two comments read as follows:

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<sup>14</sup> See page 7 above.

<sup>15</sup> <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/3086>.

<sup>16</sup> This heading (or a slightly changed version of it) is encountered in Paris, BnF, grec 702 (*saec.* x); Athens, NLG, 1 (*saec.* xiv); Vatican City, BAV, Vaticanus gr. 1618 (*saec.* xvi). It should be noted that headings in catena manuscripts can often be misleading (cf. H.A.G. Houghton & 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, T&S 3.13 [Piscataway NJ: Gorgias, 2016], 18 and Gilles Dorival, 'Biblical Catenae: Between Philology and History,' *ibid.*, 67).

<sup>17</sup> See Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, xiii; Dorival, 'Biblical Catenae,' 67; D.C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and their Texts* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 331.

(1) Τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἢ αἰτία τοιαύτη, πολλή τις ἔμελλεν ... καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα στελέχη φοινίκων (Luke 10:1); ἐβάδιζον σὺν ἀνὰ δύο πεμπόμενοι ... τοῦτο πέπραχεν αὐτός. ὡς τοῦ θερισμοῦ κύριος τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς (Luke 10:2)

(2) οὐ πάντως τὰ σκεύη τὰ ὀνομάσμενα παραιτῆσθαι διδάσκει ... ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀδεύειν οἰκίας λαβέσθαι (Luke 10:4); εἶτα οὐ κατ' ἀποκλήρωσιν δώσετε ... ἀλλὰ κρίσει τῆ ἐμῆ βάλλεται (Luke 10:6).

In **C133**, this sequence is amplified by two further comments from Titus of Bostra placed between the two comments of C132: (1) Τίτου. Τοῦτου ὁ τύπος ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως ἐγράφετο λόγοις ... ἀνέδειξεν τοίνυν ὁ κύριος ἑτέρους ἐβδομήκοντα (Luke 10:1), and (2) Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ πῶς ἂν πρόβατον κατισχύσειε λύκου ... καὶ προβάτου γέγονεν ἡμερώτερος (Luke 10:3). Sickenberger observed that the extra scholia inserted in C133 derive from C131 and C134.<sup>18</sup> There are currently nine manuscripts of C133 in the CATENA checklist.

**C134** is transmitted in just two manuscripts, both in the Vatican Library: the tenth-century Palatinus graecus 20 and a seventeenth-century copy of this, Vaticanus graecus 1933.<sup>19</sup> Most of the passages come from Cyril's commentary on Luke, along with the same principal authors found in C131. C134 contains a small number of extracts which are not found in any other catena of Luke, such as a comment by Modestus of Jerusalem on Luke 24:40 and a passage on Luke 6:1 attributed to Caesarius.<sup>20</sup>

The catena of Nicetas of Heraclea, **C135**, was compiled at the beginning of the twelfth century. It is currently transmitted by nineteen manuscripts, the most important of which are Vaticanus graecus 1611, copied in 1116/7 AD (a decade or so after the compilation), and Iviron 371 (13<sup>th</sup> century). The latter comprises 3,302 comments on Luke, taken from seventy authors.<sup>21</sup> The majority of the extracts are from John Chrysostom: Sickenberger counts 877 scholia from him in Vat. gr. 1611, while Krikonis gives a total of 859 in Iviron 371.<sup>22</sup> At the other end of the scale, there are nineteen authors which are only quoted once in C135.<sup>23</sup> In the test passage of Luke 10:1–6 (given in Table

<sup>18</sup> Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 73–6.

<sup>19</sup> Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, xv notes that it is also found in two portions of Vatican, BAV, Reginensis graecus 3.

<sup>20</sup> Reuss mentions that it also transmits unique *scholia* also by Theodore of Mopsuestia, Cyril of Alexandria and Photius (Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, xv).

<sup>21</sup> The incipits and explicits of each are transcribed by Christos Krikonis (Χρήστος Θ. Κρικώνης), *Συναγωγή πατέρων εἰς το κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιον ὑπὸ Νικήτα Ηρακλείας (κατὰ τον κώδικα Ιβήρων 371)*. Second edn. (Thessaloniki: Centre for Byzantine Studies, 1976).

<sup>22</sup> Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas*, esp. 92; Krikonis, *Συναγωγή πατέρων*, 58.

<sup>23</sup> Alexander the monk on Luke 2:1; Anastasius, the disciple of Maximus the Confessor, on Luke 2:20; Andrew of Crete on Luke 1:3; Flavian I of Antioch on Like 1:35; Phostorius on Luke 23:32; Gennadius of Constantinople on Luke 6:3; John the Carpathian on Luke 8:56; Julius Africanus on Luke 3:24; Josephus against Luke 6:3; Ignatius on Luke 3:21; Isaiah of Scete on Luke 14:26; Methodius of Olympus on Luke 11:32; Paul of Emesa on Luke 23:33; Synesius of Cyrene on Luke 11:4; Theodore of Heraclea on Luke 10:13; Cyprian on Luke 23:40; John Cassian on Luke 18:10;

8.3 below), type C135 features thirty-three passages from various authors: Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Origen, Macarius of Egypt,<sup>24</sup> John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Eusebius of Caesarea, Isidore of Pelusium, Gregory of Nazianzus, Titus of Bostra, Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius of Alexandria.

Table 8.2: The sequence of comments in Luke 10:1–6 in the majority of catena types:

C130	C131	C132	C133
Ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν, οὐχ ἀπλῶς δὲ ἀνέδειξεν ὁ Κύριος καὶ ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα ... πρὸς τοὺς δύο καὶ δέκα καὶ ἕτεροι ἑβδομήκοντα. (Luke 10:1).	Τούτου ὁ τύπος ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως ἐγράφετο λόγοις ... ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν μαθητῶν παντὸς εἰδησιν ἀγαθοῦ (Luke 10:1) Καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολλή τις ἔμελλεν ... δύο καὶ δέκα καὶ ἕτεροι ἑβδομήκοντα (Luke 10:1)	Τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἡ αἰτία τοιαύτη, πολλή τις ἔμελλεν...καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα στελέχη φοινίκων (Luke 10:1)	Τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἡ αἰτία τοιαύτη, πολλή τις ἔμελλεν...καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα στελέχη φοινίκων (Luke 10:1)
Τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτων οἷον “ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολὺς ... ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ τὸν ἀποστειλαντά με (Luke 10:2)	Τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτων οἷον ὁ μὲν “θερισμὸς πολὺς ... ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ τὸν ἀποστειλαντά με (Luke 10:2). Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἀγροὶ κομῶντες πλουσίω ... ἂ μὴ ἔστι καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ (Luke 10:2)	ἐβάδιζον οὖν ἀνὰ δύο πεμπόμενοι ... τοῦτο πέπραχεν αὐτός. ὡς τοῦ θερισμοῦ κύριος τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (Luke 10:2)	ἐβάδιζον οὖν ἀνὰ δύο πεμπόμενοι ... τοῦτο πέπραχεν αὐτός. ὡς τοῦ θερισμοῦ κύριος τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (Luke 10:2) Τούτου ὁ τύπος ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως ἐγράφετο λόγοις ... ἀνέδειξεν τοίνυν ὁ κύριος ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα (Luke 10:2)
—	—	—	Καὶ πῶς ἂν πρόβατον κατισχύσει λύκου ... καὶ προβάτου γέγονεν ἡμερώτερος (Luke 10:3)
—	Προλέγει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν διωγμὸν... κακουργία ὑμᾶς ἀποσπάσει (Luke 10:4)	οὐ πάντως τὰ σκευὴ τὰ ὀνομασμένα παραιτεῖσθαι διδάσκει ... ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀδεύειν οἰκίας λαβέσθαι (Luke 10:4)	οὐ πάντως τὰ σκευὴ τὰ ὀνομασμένα παραιτεῖσθαι διδάσκει ... δ' ἂν οἰκίας λαβέσθαι (Luke 10:4)
—	οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἀποκλήρωσιν δώσετε ... ἀλλὰ κρίσει τῆ ἡμῆ βάλλεται (Luke 10:6)	εἶτα οὐ κατ' ἀποκλήρωσιν δώσετε ... ἀλλὰ κρίσει τῆ ἡμῆ βάλλεται (Luke 10:6) ἔαν γὰρ τις ... ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν (Luke 10:7)	εἶτα οὐ κατ' ἀποκλήρωσιν δώσετε ... ἀλλὰ κρίσει τῆ ἡμῆ βάλλεται (Luke 10:6) ἔαν γὰρ τις ... ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν (Luke 10:7)

Pope Sylvester on Luke 23:33; Pope Leo I on Luke 23:33; see the *lemmata* in Krikonis, *Συναγωγή πατέρων*.

<sup>24</sup> This comment is originally from Origen. On other passages that are mistakenly ascribed to Macarius in Iviron 371 see Krikonis, *Συναγωγή πατέρων*, 61.

C137.3	C137.4	C137.6	C137.7	C139.1
<p>Τούτου ὁ τύπος ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως ἐγράφετο λόγοις ... ἀνέδειξε τοίνυν Κύριος ἕτερου ἐβδομήκοντα. Τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἡ αἰτία αὕτη ... τοῖς δύο καὶ δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες ἐβδομήκοντα (Luke 10:1)</p>	<p>[No entries for Luke 10:1–3]</p> <p>ὅτι δέον τὸν τῆς ὑψηλῆς κατὰ τὴν γνώσιν πορείας ἐπειλημμένον παντὸς μὲν ὑλικού βάρους ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, πάσης δὲ τῆς κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ θυμὸν ἐμπαθοῦς διαθέσεως καθαρὸν, ὡς δηλοῖ ἢ τε πῆρα καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος, ἢ μὲν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἢ δὲ τὸν θυμὸν ἐπισημαίνουσα, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς καθ' ὑπόκρισιν γυμνὸν κακουργίας, καὶ τῆς οἷον ὑποδήματος δίκην τοῦ βίου τὸ ἴχνος ἐπικαλυπτούσης καὶ τὸ ἐμπαθές</p>	<p>Τῆς δ' τῆς ἐβδ(ο)μ(ά)δ(ο)ς). Τῶ κ(αι)ρ(ῶ) ἐκείν(ω) ἀνέδειξ(εν) ὁ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς κ(αι) ἑτέρ(ους) ὁ κ(αι). Κ(αι) εἰς τ(οὺς) ὁ ἀποστό(λους) εἰς τ(ὴν) συναξιν (Luke 10:1)</p>	<p>Τούτου ὁ τύπος ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως ἐγράφετο λόγοις ... ἀνέδειξε τοίνυν Κύριος ἕτερου ἐβδομήκοντα. Τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἡ αἰτία αὕτη ... τοῖς δύο καὶ δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες ἐβδομήκοντα (Luke 10:1)</p>	<p>μεθ' ὧν ἦν ὁ αὐτὸς Λουκᾶς καὶ Μάρκος καὶ Βαρνάβας ... μετὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἀναληψιν (Luke 10:1) ἀρχαῖον καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνά δύο · ὡς Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἀαρῶν · Ἰησοῦς καὶ Χαλεβ (Luke 10:1)</p>
<p>ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀγροὶ κομώντες πλουσίως εὐρεῖς τε καὶ μακροὶ ... καὶ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὧν ἂν ἔχειν ὁ Πατὴρ λέγοιτο, ἂ μὴ ἐστι καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ (Luke 10:2)</p>		—	—	—
<p>Καὶ πῶς ἂν πρόβατον κατισχύσει λύκου ... καὶ προβάτου γέγονεν ἡμερώτερος (Luke 10:3)</p>		—	<p>Καὶ πῶς ἂν πρόβατον κατισχύσει λύκου ... καὶ προβάτου γέγονεν ἡμερώτερος (Luke 10:3)</p>	—
<p>Προλέγει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν διωγμὸν ... μηδεμία τις διαβολικὴ κακουργία ὑμᾶς ἀποσπάσει. Ὅστε οὐδὲ τὴν περὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐπέτρεπεν ... μηδὲ χαρίζεσθαι φιλίαις τὸν ἀνωφελῆ μελλησμόν. (Luke 10:4)</p>		—	<p>Ὅστε οὐδὲ τὴν περὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐπέτρεπεν...μηδὲ χαρίζεσθαι φιλίαις τὸν ἀνωφελῆ μελλησμόν. (Luke 10:4)</p>	<p>οὐ πάντως τὰ σκευὴ τὰ ἄνομάσιμα παραιτεῖσθαι διδάσκει ... πράγμασιν οὐκ ἐπ' ἀναγκαιοῖς (Luke 10:4)</p>
<p>Ἔχει τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ὄνομα ... μικροῦς τε καὶ μεγάλους (Luke 10:5)</p>		—	<p>Ἔχει τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ὄνομα ... μικροῦς τε καὶ μεγάλους (Luke 10:5)</p>	—
<p>Οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἀποκλήρωσιν δώσετε τὴν προσηγορίαν ... ἀλλὰ κρίσει τῆ ἐμῆ βάλλεται. οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἀποκλήρωσιν δώσετε τὴν προσηγορίαν ... ἐγὼ γὰρ κριτὴς ἔσομαι (Luke 10:6)</p>	<p>τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπικρυπτούσης ἐπεικειάς πλάσματι· ἦν ὑποδησάμενοι ἀφρόνως οἱ Φαρισαῖοι, μόρφωσιν εὐσεβείας, ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐσέβειαν ἔχοντες, ἐλεγχθέντες ἐδιδάχθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου καὶ ἐλαθεῖν ἐνόμιζον (Luke 10:4)</p>	—	<p>Οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἀποκλήρωσιν δώσετε τὴν προσηγορίαν ... ἀλλὰ κρίσει τῆ ἐμῆ βάλλεται. οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἀποκλήρωσιν δώσετε τὴν προσηγορίαν ... ἐγὼ γὰρ κριτὴς ἔσομαι (Luke 10:6)</p>	<p>ἡ εἰρήνη· δι' αὐτοὺς ἀξιούς... ἀλλὰ κρίσει τῆ ἐμῆ (Luke 10:6)</p>

**C136** appears in just three manuscripts: although it is attributed to Macarius Chrysocephalus, it is an expanded form of the catena of Nicetas. The CATENA catalogue also classifies twenty-seven manuscripts (15% of the total) as the catena by Theophylact, which does not feature in CPG. In addition to these, the project has already assigned two further numbers in the CPG series, in conjunction with the online *Clavis Clavium* database. **C137.7** has been allocated to the unique catena in Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 612 (copied in the year 1164), which Greenlee had already noted as having ‘a remarkably close similarity’ to Codex Zacynthius (**C137.3**):<sup>25</sup> despite this overlap, the differences between them warrant the description of the Paris manuscript as a separate *codex unicus*. **C139**, the last number in the Lukan series, will be subdivided for other catenae preserved in multiple manuscripts: **C139.1** is a catena on Luke attested in four manuscripts: Rome, Accademia dei Lincei, Corsin. 41.G.16; Athens, EBE 2364; Athens, Sarros 1; Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Taphou 28.

Table 8.2 presents the sequence of comments for the test passage of Luke 10:1–6 in the catena types C130, C131, C132, C133, C137.3, C137.4, C137.6, C137.7 and C139.1 (the passage is not extant in C137.2 or C137.5, while images were not available for C137.1).<sup>26</sup> The table illustrates clearly how C133 is an expansion of C132 and, to a lesser extent, how C131 derives from C130. In this passage C137.7 appears simply to be an abbreviation of C137.3, although this is not the case. The other types (C137.4, C137.6 and C139.1) largely stand by themselves. A few textual observations may be made. In the first of the two comments in C130, four manuscripts read ἄλλοι instead of ἕτεροι, while another has ἄλλοις.<sup>27</sup> At the end of the second comment, one witness adds καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.<sup>28</sup> In C132 and C133, the comments on Luke 10:1 and 10:2 are joined together in a single extract. In two manuscripts, the comment on Luke 10:1 (Τούτου ὁ τύπος ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως ἐγράφετο λόγοις ... ἀνέδειξεν τοίνυν ὁ κύριος ἐτέρους ἐβδομήκοντα) is copied together with the previous two comments.<sup>29</sup>

Table 8.3 gives the text of the two other major types, C134 and C135 (the Catena of Nicetas), in Luke 10:1–6. These types are notably different from the other traditions.

In the latter part of this chapter, I shall consider the relationship of the catena of Codex Zacynthius (C137.3) first with the catena C131, and then with C137.7. This examination reveals a shifting pattern of contents which shed light on the origin of the catena on Luke and its transmission.

<sup>25</sup> J.H. Greenlee, ‘The Catena of Codex Zacynthius,’ *Biblica* 40 (1959): 992–1001, 1000.

<sup>26</sup> On the importance of Codex Palatinus (BAV, Palat. gr. 273, the only witness to C137.5) and its relationship to Codex Zacynthius, which was only discovered after this volume had been delivered to the publisher, see the forthcoming article by Manafis.

<sup>27</sup> ἄλλοι occurs in Florence, BML, Plut. 8.24; Paris, BnF, gr. 231; Vatican, BAV, Ottob. gr. 113 and Pietro B.59; ἄλλοις is in Florence, BML, Plut. 6.5/Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. G.157.

<sup>28</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. gr. 33.

<sup>29</sup> Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale, A I 3 (GA 2482) and Paris, BnF, Coisl. gr. 19 (GA 329).

C134	C135
<p>οὐχ ἀπλῶς δὲ ἀνέδειξεν ὁ Κύριος καὶ ἐτέρους ἐβδομήκοντα ... καὶ ἀναριθμητος πολλῶν ἐδεῖτο μυσταγωγῶν (Luke 10:1-2)</p> <p><b>Τίτου.</b> ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς ἀνὰ δύο, ἀρχαῖον καὶ τοῦτο ... τουτέστι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ φύσει θεός (Luke 10:1)</p> <p>ζητεῖται παρὰ πολλοῖς· διατὶ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ... τοῦ πνεύματος κολαφίζοντες ἀσυνέτους (Luke 10:1)</p> <p><b>εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ Κυρίλλου.</b> τοῦτου ὁ τύπος καὶ ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως προεγράφετο λόγοις .... καὶ αἰε τοῖς ὕδασι ἐντεθλός. (Luke 10:1)</p>	<p>Τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἡ αἰτία αὐτῆ· πολλή τις ἐμελλεν ... εὐμέγεθές τε καὶ ὑψίκομον (Luke 10:1)</p> <p><b>Γρηγορίου Νύσης. περὶ ἀρετῆς.</b> Μακάριος οὖν ὁ καταλειπῶς μὲν τὰς Αἰγυπτιακὰς ἡδονὰς ... ὅσους εἶναι φησιν ἡ ἱστορία τοὺς φοίνικας (Luke 10:1)</p> <p><b>Ωριγενους.</b> Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν Λουκᾶς ταῦτα περὶ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντά φησιν ... κατὰ συζυγίαν αὐτοὺς τάξας (Luke 10:1)</p> <p><b>Μακαρίου.</b> Ὡσπερ δὲ ὁ γεωργὸς ζεύγος βοῶν ... ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ πιστευόντων (Luke 10:1)</p> <p><b>Βασιλείου ἀσκητοῦ.</b> ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἔδειξεν ... οὐκ ἀφῆκε κρατεῖν (Luke 10:1)</p>
<p>θερισμὸν μὲν λέγειν ... παρὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν (Luke 10:2)</p> <p>τοῦτο καὶ τὸ πρὸ τοῦτου ῥητὸν εἶπε ... χώρας ἐπισκόπων καὶ διδασκάλων (Luke 10:2)</p>	<p><b>Χρυσοστόμου.</b> ποῖος θερισμὸς, εἰπέ μοι, ... ἀλλὰ τὰ παρ' ἐαυτῶν συνεισφέρωμεν (Luke 10:2)</p> <p><b>κατὰ Ματθαῖον.</b> σὺ δέ μοι ὄρα τοῦ Κυρίου τὸ ἀκενόδοξον ... αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς εὐθέως χειροτονεῖ (Luke 10:2)</p> <p><b>Κυρίλλου.</b> Ἄλλ' ἦν εἰκὸς ὑπονοῆσαι τινὰς ἀποκεκινήσθαι ... τὸ χρῆναι μυσταγωγεῖν τοῖς ἀγίοις ἀποστόλοις ἀπονέμων (Luke 10:2)</p> <p><b>(Κυρίλλου) Θησαυρῶν.</b> σκόπει δὴ οὖν ... δι' αὐτοῦ καταληφθεὶς τοῦ πράγματος (Luke 10:2)</p> <p><b>Εὐσεβίου.</b> Αὐτοῦ δὲ εἶναι τὴν ἄλω καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Ἰωάννης ... εἰς ἐνότητα τῆς ἀμφοῖν οὐσίας· οὐκ, ἔγω γε οἶμαι (Luke 10:2)</p> <p><b>Βασιλείου. ἐν Ἡσαΐᾳ.</b> ὅτι γε μὲν ἔστι τι καὶ λογικὸν θέρος ... εἰς οὓς ἂν εἰσέλθωσιν (Luke 10:2)</p> <p><b>Εὐσεβίου. (περὶ) Θεοφαν(είας).</b> ἐβδομήκοντα δὲ ἀνεδείκνυ μαθητὰς ... λόγος ἀληθῆς γέγονεναι κατέχει (Luke 10:2)</p>
<p>ἐν τῷ ἔννεακαιδεκάτῳ κεφαλαίῳ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ... ἄρνας δὲ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα (Luke 10:3)</p> <p><b>εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου.</b> προλέγει τοὺς διωγμοὺς, ἵνα ἐνέγκωσι τὴν πείραν ... προβάτου πεποίηκεν ἡμερώτερον (Luke 10:3)</p>	<p><b>Κυρίλλου.</b> Διηγεῖται δὲ ἐφεξῆς ὁ Λουκᾶς καὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν ... μὴ καταπτοιεῖσθε τῶν διωγμῶν τὴν ἔφοδον (Luke 10:3)</p> <p><b>Κυρίλλου.</b> καὶ πῶς ἂν πρόβατον κατισχύσειε λύκου ... προβάτου γέγονεν ἡμερώτερος (Luke 10:3)</p> <p><b>Χρυσοστόμου κατὰ Ματθαῖον.</b> οὕτως ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἰσχύει δείκνυται, ὅταν πρόβατα λύκων</p>

	<p>περιγένηται ... τὸ μεταθεῖναι τὴν γνώμην (Luke 10:3)</p> <p><b>(εἰς τὸν) Ψαλμὸν.</b> τοῦτο τεκμήριον τῆς λαμπρᾶς νίκης ... καὶ πέμπων αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν (Luke 10:3)</p> <p><b>Ἰσιδώρου.</b> τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ ἀνεξικακίαν αἰνιττόμενος ... οὐκ ἄρνας ἀλλ' ἐρίφους ὀνομάζει (Luke 10:3)</p> <p><b>Γρηγορίου Θεολόγου εἰς τὸν πατέρα.</b> βούλεται δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὄφραως φρόνιμον ... ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπηκριβώσασθαι (Luke 10:3)</p> <p><b>Ἰωάννου Χρυσοστόμου κατὰ Ματθαῖον.</b> σὺ δε μοι σκόπει τίνες εἰσὶν ... τὸ κήρυγμα πέμπων νομοθετεῖ (Luke 10:3)</p> <p><b>Γρηγορίου Θεολόγου.</b> ὦν τὸ κεφάλαιον ... διὰ τὸν λόγον τρέχειν τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, ἵνα δὲ ᾗν τὰ ἐπιτάγματα (Luke 10:3)</p>
<p>οὐ πάντως τὰ σκεύη τὰ ὀνομαζόμενα παραιτεῖσθαι διδάσκει .... τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης, διὸ ἐπιφέρει (Luke 10:4)</p> <p><b>ἄλλο.</b> συμβολικῶς δὲ οὐ θέλει ὁ λόγος ἔχειν τοὺς μαθητὰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἄρχοντος ... ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀδεύειν οἰκίας λαβέσθαι (Luke 10:4)</p> <p><b>τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου.</b> Οὐδὲ τὴν περὶ τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν φροντίδα ἐπιτρέπει, ... διαβολικὴ κακουργία ὑμᾶς ἀποσπάση (Luke 10:4)</p>	<p><b>Κυρίλλου.</b> Ὡστε οὐδὲ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος ... ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τίθεσθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα (Luke 10:4)</p> <p><b>Τίτου.</b> προλέγει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν διωγμὸν ... τίθεσθε καὶ τὴν τροφήν (Luke 10:4)</p> <p><b>Κλήμεντος Στρωματέως.</b> Τὸ δὲ πᾶν τοιοῦτον μὴ βαστάζετε βαλάντιον... τῶν πλουσιῶν ἀχθοφοροῦντες ἀλληγορικῶς εἰρηνταί (Luke 10:4)</p> <p><b>(Κυρίλλου) Τίτου.</b> μὴ τοῦτο ἐμπόδιον τοῦ κηρύγματος γένηται ... διαβολικὴ κακουργία ὑμᾶς ἀποσπάση (Luke 10:4)</p> <p><b>Κυρίλλου.</b> οὐ γὰρ μόνον πήραν καὶ βαλάντιον ... μὴδὲ χαρίζεσθαι φιλίαις τὸν ἀνωφελεῖ μελλησιμὸν (Luke 10:4)</p> <p><b>Γρηγορίου Θεολόγου.</b> πτωχοὺς δὲ τάξας τοῦ λόγου διαγγέλους ... μὴδ' ἀσχολεῖσθαι πρὸς λόγους ἄλλοτρίους (Luke 10:4)</p> <p>Ὁριγένην δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἡ περιεργία ... ἡ τοιαύτη ἐκδοχὴ (Luke 10:4)</p> <p><b>Γρηγορίου Θεολόγου.</b> τάγε μὴν ὑποδήματα, ὁ μὲν τῆς ἁγίας γῆς ... παρὰ τῶν τηρούντων τὴν πτέρναν, οὓς πατεῖν ἐκελεύσθημεν (Luke 10:4)</p>
<p><b>Τίτου.</b> ἔχει τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ὄνομα ... ἵνα τοὺς πάντας προσήπει μικροὺς τε καὶ μεγάλους (Luke 10:5)</p> <p>τὸ ἄνωθεν εἰρημένον πρόσρημα ... καὶ φίλοι παραγεγονασί (Luke 10:5)</p>	<p><b>Χρυσοστόμου πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς ἡθικὸν γ'.</b> οὐδὲν εἰρήνης ἴσον· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμᾶς πανταχοῦ εἰρήνην αἰτοῦμεν ... μηδεὶς ἐμοῦ ἀκούετω, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀξιώματος (Luke 10:5)</p>

	<p><b>Χρυσστόμου.</b> (εἰς τὸ) <i>χήρα καταλεγέσθω</i> χρῆ μέντοι ἀμφοτέρα ἰδεῖν ... ὥστε μείζονα λαμβάνεις, ἢ δίδως (Luke 10:5)</p> <p><b>Τίτου.</b> ἔχει τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ὄνομα ... ἵνα τοὺς πάντας προσήπει μικροὺς τε καὶ μεγάλους (Luke 10:5)</p>
<p><b>Τίτου.</b> οὐ γὰρ κατὰ ἀποκλήρωσιν τὴν <i>προσαγόρευσιν δώσετε</i> ... ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀναστρέφει (Luke 10:6)</p>	<p><b>Τίτου.</b> οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἀποκλήρωσιν δώσετε τὴν προσηγορείαν ... ἐγὼ γὰρ κριτῆς ἔσομαι (Luke 10:6)</p> <p><b>Εὐσεβίου.</b> Ὁρᾶς ὅπως προεξετάζειν καὶ μὴ πᾶσιν ἀνέδην ἑαυτοὺς ἐκιδιδόναι παρήνει ... ὅτι δὴ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν πεληρώκατε (Luke 10:6)</p>

Table 8.3: The sequence of comments in Luke 10:1–6 in C134 and C135.

### CODEx ZACYNTHIUS AND C131

The initial comparison in Table 8.2 indicates that the sequence of comments in the catena of Codex Zacynthius (C137.3) resembles that of type C131, but has been augmented with additional scholia. In addition, eighteen of the comments transmitted under the heading ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in Codex Zacynthius are also preserved in the manuscripts of the catena C131 (Paris, BnF, Coislin grec 23 and 195), although only six of these scholia are designated by the title ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in C131. The details of these are given in Table 8.4.

	C137.3 <sup>30</sup>	C131	Identification
1	008-1 (f. IVv)	MS 23, f. 149r; MS 195, f. 241r–v	Unknown
2	009-1 (f. Vr)	MS 23, f. 149r; MS 195, f. 241v	Unknown
3	185-1 (f. XLIIr)	MS 23, ff. 164r–v; MS 195, ff. 268v–269r	Unknown
4	199-1 (f. XLVIv)	MS 23, f. 165v; MS 195, f. 271v	Titus of Bostra
5	241-1 (f. LVIIv)	MS 23, f. 170r; MS 195, f. 278r	Unknown
6	244-1 (f. LVIIIv)	MS 23, f. 170r; MS 195, ff. 278r–v	Origen

Table 8.4: Scholia designated as ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in C131.

In manuscripts of the catena by Nicetas of Heraclea (C135), the fourth of these appears as a comment from Titus of Bostra, while the sixth originally comes from Origen.<sup>31</sup> The source of the rest of these scholia remains unknown. Nonetheless, the presence of the identification ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in both C137.3 and C131 raises the likelihood of a shared origin for this material, as may be seen in the following comparison of their text.

<sup>30</sup> For details of the system of identifying scholia in Codex Zacynthius, see page 63 above.

<sup>31</sup> Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra*, 168.

The fourth scholium (199-1) is a comment on Luke 7:28. As shown in Table 8.5, an abridged version is preserved in manuscripts transmitting the catena of Nicetas (C135: e.g. Vaticanus graecus 1611, f. 118r; Iviron 371, f. 295v) as well as type C134 (e.g. Vatican, Palat. gr. 20, f. 72r). Not only do C131 and C137.3 share the heading *ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου*, but they also contain additional text, marked in bold below. C135 transmits the comment under the name of Titus of Bostra, while in C134 the passage stands unidentified: the shared reading *ὑπὲρ φύσιν* rather than *παρὰ φύσιν* suggests, however, that they are related.

C137.3	C131	C135	C134
<p><b>ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου.</b> ὅρα τὴν ἀκρίβειαν· μείζων ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν λέγει· ἵνα ἐξέλη τὴν παρθένον· <b>ἐγεννήθη μὲν γὰρ ἐκ γυναικός· καὶ κατηξίωσε σῶμα ἐκ τοῦ ἡμετέρου φυράματος λαβεῖν· ἵνα τὸ ὄλον ἀγιασθῆ διὰ τῆς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς·</b> γεννητῶν δὲ φησι γυναικῶν, τῶν κατὰ φύσιν τικτούσων· ἵνα ἰδίᾳ θῆ τὴν <u>παρὰ φύσιν</u> τίκουσαν παρθένον.</p>	<p><b>ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου.</b> Ὅρα τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, μείζων ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν λέγει, ἵνα ἐξέλη τὴν παρθένον· <b>ἐγεννήθη μὲν γὰρ ἐκ γυναικός, καὶ κατηξίωσε σῶμα ἐκ τοῦ ἡμετέρου φυράματος λαβεῖν, ἵνα τὸ ὄλον ἀγιασθῆ διὰ τῆς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.</b> Γεννητῶν δὲ φησι γυναικῶν τῶν κατὰ φύσιν τικτούσων, ἵνα ἰδίᾳ θῆ τὴν <u>παρὰ φύσιν</u> παρθεναίαν.</p>	<p>ὅρα τὴν ἀκρίβειαν· μείζων ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν λέγει· ἵνα ἐξέλη τὴν παρθένον καὶ ἰδίᾳ θῆ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν τικτούσων τὴν <u>ὑπὲρ φύσιν</u> τεκούσαν.</p>	<p>ὅρα τὴν ἀκρίβειαν· μείζων φησι γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν, ἵνα ἐξέλη τὴν παρθένο(ν), γυναῖκες γὰρ αἱ κατὰ φύσιν τίκτουςαι, ἢ δὲ <u>ὑπὲρ φύσιν</u> ἔτεκεν οὕσα παρθένον.</p>

Table 8.5: Scholium on Luke 7:28 from Titus of Bostra (199-1).

The sixth of these scholia, on Luke 8:47, is from Origen. Table 8.6 shows that both C137.3 and C131 correspond to Rauer's text of this extract apart from the shared omissions of *κάνταυθα* and *ἡ γυνή*.

C137.3	C131	Origen (Rauer, fragment 127b-c)
<p><b>ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου.</b> πρότερον μὲν· οὐκ ἐτόλμα δι' εὐλάβειαν ἀντικρυς ἀπαντᾶν καὶ περὶ θεραπείας ἀξιοῦν· ζητουμένη δὲ ἅπαντα πρεπόντως, ἔμφοβός τε καὶ εὐλαβῆς· καὶ τὸ σέβας ἀρμόττον προσφέρουσα· καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἰάσεως εἰς ἐμφανές πᾶσι ποιεῖται· οὐ τῷ πάντα εἰδότει ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν αἰσθήσει τὴν ἴασιν</p>	<p><b>ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου.</b> Πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμα δι' εὐλάβειαν ἀντικρυς ἀπαντᾶν, καὶ περὶ θεραπείας ἀξιοῦν, ζητουμένη δὲ ἅπαντα πρεπόντως, ἔμφοβός τε καὶ εὐλαβῆς καὶ τὸ σέβας ἀρμόττον προσφέρουσα· καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἰάσεως εἰς ἐμφανές πᾶσι ποιεῖται, οὐ τῷ πάντα εἰδότει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν, αἰσθήσει τὴν</p>	<p>(127b) πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμα δι' εὐλάβειαν ἀντικρυς ἀπαντᾶν καὶ περὶ θεραπείας ἀξιοῦν, ζητουμένη δὲ ἅπαντα πρεπόντως, ἔμφοβός τε καὶ εὐλαβῆς καὶ τὸ σέβας ἀρμόττον προσφέρουσα· καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἰάσεως εἰς ἐμφανές πᾶσι ποιεῖται, οὐ τῷ πάντα εἰδότει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν, αἰσθήσει τὴν</p>

<p>ἐπεγνωκυῖα λέγει γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Μάρκος ὅτι ἔγνω τῷ σώματι, ὅτι ἰάται ἀπὸ τῆς μάλιστα. ἦν δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐπαφῆς ἔλαβε θεραπείαν· ταύτην καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐβεβαίωσεν ὁ Σωτὴρ εἰπὼν πορεύου ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἴσθι ὑγιῆς ἀπὸ τῆς μάλιστα σου καὶ ὑγίαινε πρῶτον τῇ πίστει τὴν ψυχὴν· εἶτα δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα.</p>	<p>ἴασιν ἐπεγνωκυῖα. λέγει γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Μάρκος ὅτι ἔγνω τῷ σώματι, ὅτι ἰάται ἀπὸ τῆς μάλιστα. ἦν δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐπαφῆς ἔλαβε θεραπείαν, ταύτην καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐβεβαίωσεν ὁ Σωτὴρ εἰπὼν, πορεύου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ ἴσθι ὑγιῆς ἀπὸ τῆς μάλιστα σου, καὶ ὑγίαινε πρῶτον τῇ πίστει τὴν ψυχὴν· εἶτα δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα.</p>	<p>ἴασιν ἐπεγνωκυῖα. λέγει γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Μάρκος, ὅτι ἔγνω τῷ σώματι, ὅτι ἰάται ἀπὸ τῆς μάλιστα. (127c) <b>κἀνταῦθα</b> δὲ ἦν ἐκ τῆς ἐπαφῆς ἔλαβεν ἡ <b>γυνὴ</b> θεραπείαν ταύτην καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐβεβαίωσεν ὁ σωτὴρ εἰπὼν· πορεύου εἰς εἰρήνην· καὶ ἴσθι ὑγιῆς ἀπὸ τῆς μάλιστα σου. καὶ ὑγίαινε πρῶτον τῇ πίστει τὴν ψυχὴν, εἶτα δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα.</p>
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Table 8.6: Scholium on Luke 8:47 from Origen (244-1).

There are three occasions when a passage identified as ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in Codex Zacynthius is transmitted under the name of Origen in C131: scholia 023-1, 044-1 and 045-1. The first of these, a comment on Luke 1:19, actually derives from Eusebius of Caesarea. Table 8.7 shows that the text of Codex Zacynthius is almost identical to that of Eusebius. Additional text is found at the beginning of the extract in C131, yet both this and Codex Zacynthius share the addition οὐδὲ λογίζη τὴν τοῦ λέγοντος δύναμιν. This text cannot be attributed to any patristic authority. The best explanation appears to be that Eusebius' text was copied at some point in a collection of exegetical passages—possibly without attribution—and that a version of this passage made its way, via different paths, to the two catenae. The rewriting of the beginning of the Eusebian text in C131, in order to integrate it with the additional material attributed to Origen, indicates that this is a secondary development. At any rate, it demonstrates that Codex Zacynthius is not dependent on C131 as the source of its scholia, as well as providing an example of the editorial intervention of the compiler of C131.

C137.3	C131 <sup>32</sup>	Eusebius (PG 24:532, 11–17)
<p>ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου. Ἀγγέλω φησὶν ἀπιστεῖς· ὃς παρέστηκεν Θεῷ· καὶ οὐ πιστεύεις τῷ ἀποστείλαντι τὸν ἄγγελον· οὐδὲ λογίζη τὴν τοῦ λέγοντος δύναμιν· τοῦ πράγματος ἀδυναμίαν.</p>	<p><b>Ὀριγένους.</b> Καὶ ἐπειδήπερ ἀπιστήσας ὁ Ζαχαρίας, κατὰ τί γινώσομαι τοῦτό, φησιν, ἐπιτιμᾶται κωφότητα καὶ ἀφωνίαν, ὡσανεὶ τοῦ Ἀγγέλου λέγοντος ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐπειδὴ ἀπιστεῖς Ἀγγέλω παρεστηκότι Θεῷ, καὶ οὐ πιστεύεις τῷ ἀποστείλαντι</p>	<p>Τί οὖν φησι πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ ἄγγελος; Ἀγγέλω, φησὶν, ἀπιστεῖς, ὃς παρέστηκε Θεῷ; καὶ οὐ πιστεύεις τῷ ἀποστείλαντι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀδυναμίαν βλέπεις;</p>

<sup>32</sup> The sources for C131 here are Paris, BnF, Coislin grec 23 (f. 149v) and 195 (f. 242v).

οὐκ οὖν διὰ τὴν ἄπιστον ταύτην φωνὴν ἀφαιρεθῆσθαι τῆς φωνῆς· ἕως ἂν τῷ πράγματι πληρωθῆντι· γινῶς καὶ τὸ σὸν ἄπιστον· καὶ τὸ Θεοῦ δυνατόν.	αὐτὸν, οὐδὲ λογίζῃ τὴν τοῦ λέγοντος δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀδυναμίαν, διὰ τὴν ἄπιστόν σου ταύτην φωνήν, ἀφαιρεθῆσθαι τῆς φωνῆς· ἕως ἂν τοῦ πράγματος πληρωθῆντος, γινῶς καὶ τὸ σὸν ἄπιστον καὶ τὸ δυνατόν τοῦ Θεοῦ.	Οὐκ οὖν διὰ τὴν ἄπιστον ταύτην φωνὴν ἀφαιρεθῆσθαι τῆς φωνῆς ἕως τοῦ πράγματος πληρωθῆντος, γινῶς καὶ τὸ σὸν ἄπιστον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνατόν.
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Table 8.7: Scholium on Luke 1:19 from Eusebius (023-1).

The second of these three scholia, 044-1 in Codex Zacynthius, is a comment on Luke 1:42 which originally stems from Origen.<sup>33</sup> In fact, the comment is a compilation of extracts from Origen. The comment on this verse in C131 differs markedly from that found in Codex Zacynthius, with just one sentence of overlap (33a). As shown in Table 8.8, the compiler of C131 appears to have drawn directly from Origen, unlike the rearranged unattributed scholium in Codex Zacynthius.

C137.3	C131 <sup>34</sup>	Origen (Rauer fragment 32a–33b)
ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου. (32b) οὐδεμία γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης χάριτος κοινωνός· οὔτε γέγονεν· οὔτε γενέσθαι δύναται· ἐν γὰρ τὸ θεῖον κύημα καὶ εἷς ὁ θεῖος τοκετὸς καὶ μία ἡ γεννήσασα. (32a) τί μοι τοίνυν πρώτη προσαγορεύεις· μὴ γὰρ ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ τὸν σ(ωτῆ)ρα τίκτουσα· ἐμὲ ἐχρῆν ἔλθειν πρὸς σέ· εὐλογημένη γὰρ σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου· (33a) καρπὸν κοιλίας εἰπούσα κατὰ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς τὸν Δαβιδ ἐπαγγελίαν τὴν λέγουσαν ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς κοιλίας σου θήσομαι ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον σου.	ὠριγένους. (33a) Καρπὸν δὲ κοιλίας εἶπε, κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς τὸν Δαβιδ ἐπαγγελίαν τὴν λέγουσαν, ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς κοιλίας σου θήσομαι <sup>35</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον σου. (33b) καλῶς δὲ καρπὸν κοιλίας τῆς παναγίας παρθένου ἢ Ἐλισάβετ ὠνόμασε, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐκ μόνης τῆς παναγίας θεοτόκου Μαρίας, Πνεύματος Ἁγίου ἐνοικήσαντος ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Ὑψίστου δυνάμεως ἐπισκiasάσης αὐτῇ. οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πατέρων τὴν σπορὰν ἔχοντες, ἐκείνων εἰσὶ καρποὶ, (33c) καθὼς καὶ τῷ Δαβιδ ἐρέθη, ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς κοιλίας, τουτέστιν οἱ πρόγονοι τῆς παναγίας	(32a) Οἶονεὶ γὰρ τοῦτο φησιν ἢ Ἐλισάβετ πρὸς τὴν παρθένον· τί μοι τοίνυν πρώτη προσαγορεύεις; μὴ γὰρ ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ τὸν σωτῆρα τίκτουσα; ἐμὲ ἐχρῆν ἔλθειν πρὸς σέ. (32b) οὐδεμία γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης χάριτος κοινωνός οὔτε γέγονεν οὔτε γενέσθαι δύναται. (33a) Καρπὸν δὲ κοιλίας εἶπεν κατὰ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς τὸν Δαβιδ ἐπαγγελίαν τὴν λέγουσαν· ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς κοιλίας σου θήσομαι ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον σου· (33b) καλῶς δὲ καρπὸν κοιλίας τὸ κύημα τῆς παρθένου ἢ Ἐλισάβετ ὠνόμασε διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι τὸ κυοφορούμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκ μόνης τῆς Μαρίας πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐνοικήσαντος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὑψίστου δυνάμεως ἐπισκiasάσης αὐτῇ· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πατέρων τὴν σπορὰν

<sup>33</sup> On this comment see also page 103.

<sup>34</sup> The sources for C131 here are Paris, BnF, Coislin grec 23 (f. 151r) and 195 (ff. 244v–245r).

<sup>35</sup> Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum Tomus II*, 14.7 wrongly gives σωθήσομαι.

	θεοτόκου, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ σποράς ἀνδρῶν γεννηθέντες.	ἔχοντες ἐκείνων εἰσὶ καρποί, (33c) καθὼς καὶ τῷ Δαβὶδ ἐρρήθη· ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς κοιλίας σου, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οἱ πρόγονοι τῆς παρθένου καὶ ἡ παρθένος ἐκ σποράς ἀνδρῶν τοῦ γένους σου γεννηθέντες.
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Table 8.8: Scholium on Luke 1:42 from Origen (044-1).

The third of these scholia, 045-1, transmits a comment on Luke 1:43. In this example, Codex Zacynthius is closer to an extract on this verse in C133, as it shares the words Ἰωάννης and παραστάσεως in place of ἐκεῖνος and παρουσίας in C131. As in the case of the scholium on Luke 1:19, the editorial alteration of the beginning of the extract by the compiler of C131 may also be observed in Table 8.9.

<b>C137.3</b>	<b>C131<sup>36</sup></b>	<b>C133,<sup>37</sup> Origen</b> (Rauer fragment 34)
σύμφωνα τῷ υἱῷ φθέγγεται· καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀναξίου αὐτὸν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν παραστάσεως ἔλεγεν· καὶ ἡ Ἐλισάβετ, ἀναξίαν ἑαυτὴν παρουσίας· τῆς Θεοτόκου παρθένου.	Σύμφωνα δὲ τῶν μελλόντων ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου λέγεσθαι, ἢ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἀπεφθέγγετο· ὡς περ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνάξιον ἑαυτὸν τῆς παρουσίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἔλεγεν, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὴ ἀναξίαν ἑαυτὴν τῆς παρουσίας τῆς παρθένου ὡσανεὶ λέγουσα.	Σύμφωνα τῷ υἱῷ φθέγγεται ἢ Ἐλισάβετ, ἀναξίαν ἑαυτὴν τῆς παρουσίας τῆς Θεοτόκου λέγουσα, ὡς περ καὶ Ἰωάννης τῆς πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν παραστάσεως.

Table 8.9: Scholium on Luke 1:43 from Origen (045-1).

There are eight passages identified as ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφοι in Codex Zacynthius which either have no attribution in C131 or are missing from the latter type of catena. These comprise the Zacynthian scholia 011-1, 053-1, 063-1, 064-1, 076-1, 190-1, 298-1 and 302-1. For example, the first of these is a comment on Luke 1:5, presented in Table 8.10. In the catena-type C131 this extract is presented as part of the preceding comment, which is attributed to Victor the Presbyter. As has been observed elsewhere in this catena, the

<sup>36</sup> The sources for C131 here are Paris, BnF, Coislin grec 23 (f. 151r) and 195 (f. 245r).

<sup>37</sup> The manuscript used for C133 here is Venice, BNM, Gr. Z. 28 (364).

compiler of C131 appears to have adjusted the beginning of the passage; it also has a different ending.

C137.3	C131 <sup>38</sup>
ἐκατέρωθεν φησὶν νομίμως ἐτύγγανεν ἱερεὺς. ἐκ τε τοῦ Ἀαρών καὶ μητρῶ οὐ γένους Ἀαρών τι ὑπάρχων.	<b>δείξαι δὲ θέλων</b> ὅτι ἐκατέρωθεν νομίμως ἐτύγγανεν ἱερεὺς ὁ Ζαχαρίας, φησὶ, <b>καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων Ἀαρών.</b>

Table 8.10: Anonymous Scholium on Luke 1:5 (011-1).

A second example concerns the comment on Luke 2:6. In Codex Zacynthius, extract 076-1 is an abridged form of Cyril's *Commentary on Luke*. Parts of the original text have been omitted, yet the sequence and the original wording are preserved apart from some minor additions, as shown in Table 8.11.

C137.3	Cyril (PG 72, 485.24–47)
ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου. Ποῖον, ἄρα πρωτότοκον. ἕτερον γὰρ οὐκ ἔσχεν υἱὸν. ἀλλ' ἦν ἔτι παρθένος καίτοι τεκοῦσα Χριστὸν ἐκεῖνόν που πάντως περὶ οὗ φησὶν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ διὰ φωνῆς τοῦ Δαβίδ· Κἀγὼ πρωτότοκον θήσομαι αὐτὸν ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλευσὶ τῆς γῆς· τούτου καὶ ὁ πάνσοφος Παῦλος διαμνημονεύει λέγων· δὲ εἰσαγάγη τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην λέγει· καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ· ἴτα πῶς εἰσβέβηκεν εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην· ἔξω γὰρ ὑπάρχων αὐτῆς οὐ τοπικῶς μᾶλλον ἀλλὰ φυσικῶς· ἕτερος γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστίν· παρὰ γε τοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην· εἰσβέβηκε εἰς αὐτὴν γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος· καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς χρηματίσας διὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν· καίτοι μονογενὴς ὑπάρχων θεϊκῶς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ γέγονεν ἡμῶν ἀδελφός· ταύτη τοι καὶ ὠνομάσθη πρωτότοκος· <b>πρωτεύει γὰρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς.</b>	Ποῖον ἄρα πρωτότοκον; <u>Πρωτότοκον λέγει νῦν, οὐ τὸν πρῶτον ἐν ἀδελφοῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸν καὶ πρῶτον καὶ μόνον· ἔστι γὰρ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον εἶδος ἐν ταῖς σημασίαις τοῦ πρωτότοκου· καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρῶτόν ἐστιν ὅτε τὸν μόνον ἢ Γραφὴ καλεῖ· ὡς τό· Ἐγὼ εἰμι Θεὸς πρῶτος, καὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερος.</u> Ἴνα οὖν δείξῃ, ὅτι οὐ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγέννησεν ἢ Παρθένος, ἐπήγαγεν τὸν πρωτότοκον· ἕτερον γὰρ οὐκ ἔσχεν υἱὸν, <u>μείνασα παρθένος, ἀλλὰ τὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς·</u> περὶ οὗ καὶ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ διὰ φωνῆς τοῦ Δαβίδ <u>βοᾷ·</u> Κἀγὼ πρωτότοκον θήσομαι αὐτὸν ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλευσὶ τῆς γῆς· Τούτου καὶ ὁ πάνσοφος Παῦλος διαμνημονεύει λέγων· Ὅταν δὲ εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, λέγει· Καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ· Εἴτα πῶς εἰσβέβηκεν εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην; Ἐξω γὰρ ὑπάρχει αὐτῆς, οὐ τοπικῶς μᾶλλον, ἀλλὰ φυσικῶς· ἕτερος γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ παρὰ γε τοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην· Εἰσβέβηκε δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς χρηματίσας διὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν· καίτοι γὰρ μονογενὴς ὑπάρχων θεϊκῶς, ἐπειδὴ γέγονεν ἡμῶν ἀδελφός, ταύτη τοι καὶ ὠνομάσθη πρωτότοκος, <u>ἵνα ὡς ἀπαρχὴ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων υἰοθεσίας γεγωνός, καὶ ἡμᾶς υἱοὺς Θεοῦ γενέσθαι παρασκευάσῃ.</u>

Table 8.11: Anonymous Scholium on Luke 2:6 in Codex Zacynthius (076-1).

<sup>38</sup> The source for C131 here is Paris, BnF, Coislin grec 195 (f. 241v).

In C131, the compiler of the catena has instead included a comment on Luke 2:6 from a different source, namely the *Quaestiones* attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria:

C131 <sup>39</sup>	Athanasius, <i>Quaestiones in Evangelia</i> [Sp.] 28, 705.50–708.2
<p>διατί εἶπεν ὁ Εὐαγγελιστῆς “τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον.” οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλον ἔσχεν υἱὸν ἢ Παναγία θεοτόκος καὶ ἀειπαρθένος; ἐπειδὴ Θεὸς ὑπάρχει ἀληθινὸς ὁ ἐξ αὐτῆς σαρκωθείς Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. γέγονεν ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν ἀδελφός, τούτου χάριν ὠνομάσθη πρωτότοκος, ὡς πρωτεύων ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτός.</p>	<p>Ἐρώτ. κη'. Καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον. Διὰ τί εἶπε πρωτότοκον; Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔσχεν ἄλλον υἱὸν ἢ Παναγία Ἀπόκ. Ἐπειδὴ Θεὸς ὑπάρχων ἀληθινὸς ὁ ἐξ αὐτῆς σαρκωθείς Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, γέγονεν ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν ἀδελφός, τούτου χάριν ὠνομάσθη πρωτότοκος, ὡς πρωτεύων ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτός.</p>

Table 8.12: Anonymous Scholium on Luke 2:6 in C131.

It may be noted that the additional line at the end of scholium 076–1 in Codex Zacynthius (shown in Table 8.11) is a variant of the final phrase from these *Quaestiones*.

To summarise, there are six extracts with the heading ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in both C131 and C137.3. The identical text and common attribution of these passages indicates that they come from the same source. However, other scholia with this title in Codex Zacynthius are either ascribed to a named author in C131, often with slight textual differences, or lack any correspondence in the other catena. In the light of this, despite their similarity in the test passage, the catena type C131 cannot be the source for the catena of Codex Zacynthius. The source for the extracts marked as unattributed must have been a sylloge of exegetical passages used by both compilers.

### CODEx ZACYNTHIUS AND THE PARIS CATENA ON LUKE

As noted above, the manuscript Paris, BnF, supplément grec 612 (henceforth Parisinus; it also has the siglum GA 747), copied in 1164, transmits a frame catena on Luke on folios 184r–296v now classified as C137.7. Both the biblical verses and the comments are written in minuscule script, although the *lemmata* are slightly larger and marked by enlarged initial letters and *ekthesis*. Alongside the gospel text are kephalaia numbers and the Eusebian apparatus, but not the section numbers of Codex Zacynthius or the Vatican paragraphs. The scholia are identified by a series of symbols used to link them with the biblical text. No headings are provided, but author names are often given in an abbreviated form in the margin. Twenty-two folia in Parisinus do not bear any catena text, and it is immediately striking that two of these correspond to the passages in Codex Zacynthius

<sup>39</sup> The source for C131 here is Paris, BnF, Coislin grec 195 (f. 247v).

which also have no commentary (Luke 4:39–43 on Zacynthius fol. 30v and Parisinus fol. 206; Luke 9:7–11 on Zacynthius fol. 61r and Parisinus fol. 232r).<sup>40</sup>

Greenlee followed Bickersteth in noting the textual similarity between the two manuscripts, which is confirmed by the analysis of the test-passage of Luke 10:1–6.<sup>41</sup> In this section, Codex Zacynthius features eight scholia: six of these are found in Parisinus, in the same sequence. The two missing scholia are both by Titus of Bostra (277-1 and 279-1). Greenlee also proposed a relationship between Codex Zacynthius and Cleveland, Ohio Museum of Art, 42.152 (GA 2381) in terms of the sequence of excerpts and the selection of patristic authors to be included in the commentary.<sup>42</sup> However, the test-passage and other investigations by the CATENA project have instead identified the Cleveland manuscript as a catena of type C132.

Of the 335 comments extant in Codex Zacynthius, 197 are included in Parisinus. These are detailed in the List of Scholia at the end of this chapter. The sequence of extracts in Parisinus coincides to a great extent with that in Codex Zacynthius. There are four exceptions to this:

1. Scholium 024-2 on Luke 1:20, attributed to Severus of Antioch in Codex Zacynthius, was erroneously copied in Parisinus after 025-1 on Luke 1:22;
2. Scholium 079-1 on Luke 2:12 with the heading *καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα* was copied in Parisinus before 078-1 on Luke 2:8;
3. Scholium 262-1 on Luke 9:35 with the heading *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* is placed before 260-5 on Luke 9:29 in Parisinus;
4. Scholium 271-1 on Luke 9:52, erroneously attributed to Titus of Bostra in Codex Zacynthius, was copied in Parisinus after 271-2 from Cyril on the same verse.<sup>43</sup>

In addition, two excerpts in Codex Zacynthius (006-2 and 007-1) were copied as a single scholium in Parisinus (fol. 184v). The scholium which appears in the margin of fol. XVIIIv of Codex Zacynthius, *ὅτι Βηθλεέμ οἶκος ἄρτου ἐρμηνεύεται*, is incorporated into the body of the commentary in Parisinus. The unusual reading of scholium 081-1, *Βηθλεέμ γὰρ οἶκος ἄρτου διερμηνεύεται*, is peculiar to both these manuscripts.<sup>44</sup>

The attribution of the scholia in Parisinus shows some interesting differences from Codex Zacynthius. Of the twenty-seven scholia in Codex Zacynthius which are expressly attributed to Severus of Antioch, only eleven appear in Parisinus. In none of these, however, is this controversial author identified by name. Eight of these have no attribution (folios 189r, 190r, 190v, 214v, 222r–v, 233v, 244v–245r, 245r–v); on fol. 186r the

<sup>40</sup> The other folios of Parisinus without any commentary are fol. 192v (Luke 2:23ff.), 200r–201r (Luke 3:23ff.), 212v (Luke 6:10ff.), 216r (Luke 6:32ff.), 219r (Luke 7:8ff.), 224r (Luke 7:47ff): 254v–255r (Luke 12:13 ff.), 263v (Luke 14:7ff.), 264v (Luke 14:21ff.), 265v (Luke 14:30ff.), 267v (Luke 15:22ff.), 285v (Luke 21:20ff.), 290v (Luke 22:56ff.), 291v–292r (Luke 23:7ff.), 294r–295v (Luke 24:1ff.). None of these portions are extant in Codex Zacynthius.

<sup>41</sup> See Table 8.2 above and page 295.

<sup>42</sup> Greenlee, 'The Catena of Codex Zacynthius,' 1000; see also page 290 below.

<sup>43</sup> It is worth noting that Scholium 271-1 is actually from Cyril of Alexandria as well.

<sup>44</sup> The standard text of Cyril's *Homilies on Luke* has *ἐρμηνεύεται* (PG 72, 489.16), while C131 here reads *μεθερμηνεύεται* (cf. Cramer *ad loc.*).

comment is introduced as *ἄλλως* ('otherwise'); the two scholia on f. 191v are identified as excerpts from John Chrysostom. This is a striking change which may reflect later concern about the orthodoxy of this source and demonstrates how the attribution of scholia could be altered during transmission.<sup>45</sup> There is also a reduction in the number of scholia which in Codex Zacynthius have the heading *ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου*: only seven of the forty-two are found in Parisinus and none of these scholia bears a source indication. In general, Parisinus exhibits a preference for Origen above Cyril: it includes thirty of the thirty-two comments attributed to Origen in Codex Zacynthius as well as a marked number of additional excerpts from Origen's *Homilies on Luke*.<sup>46</sup> There is also extra material from John Chrysostom in Parisinus.<sup>47</sup>

There are numerous readings shared by Codex Zacynthius and Parisinus which indicate that they represent a common tradition of the catena on Luke. Table 8.13 details occasions when these two witnesses differ from the text of the direct tradition of that writer or from another catena.

Scholium	Source	Source reading	Zacynthius/Parisinus reading
046-2	Origen (in Theophylact)	ἀπεντραπῶσιν	προτραπῶσιν
062-1	Origen (in Theophylact)	ἁμαρτωλῶν	ἁμαρτωλοῦ
080-2	Severus (PG 72, 489.4)	ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων	διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων
087-2	Cyril (Reuss, 59)	οὕτως	τε οὕτω
105-3	Cyril (PG 72, 513.51)	προανεφώνηκεν	προαναπεφώνηκεν
152-1	Cyril (PG 72, 568.31)	πολλάκις	ἔσθ' ὅτε
182-1	Cyril (PG 72, 604.1)	εὐαγγελικῆς	εὐαγοῦς
182-1	Cyril (PG 72, 604.2)	ἐνστήσαντες	ἀναστήσοντες
219-1	Cyril (On Matthew; Reuss fr. 168)	ψυχὴν	καρδίαν
249-2	Cyril (PG 72, 641.19)	ἐπιδεδειγμένους	ἀναδεδειγμένους

<sup>45</sup> This contrasts with the 'liberal spirit' shown in earlier catenae; see pages 128–34 above.

<sup>46</sup> To give but a few examples, passages from Origen not transmitted in Codex Zacynthius are found on folios 185r, 185v and 194r in Parisinus.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, the passage from John Chrysostom's *Κατὰ Ἄνομοίων* (*Contra Anomoeas*) on f. 185r in Parisinus; cf. A.M. Malingrey, *Jean Chrysostome. Sur l'incompréhensibilité de Dieu*. SC 28 (Paris: Cerf, 1970), 2.94–100. For an English translation see P.W. Harkins, *St. John Chrysostom: On the Incomprehensible Nature of God*. Fathers of the Church 72 (Washington DC: CUA, 1984).

271-3	Cyril (Sickenberger 1909, 94.1)	ἐδιδάσκοντο	ἐπαιδεύοντο
274-1	Cyril (Sickenberger 1909, 98.24)	ἐπαινετοῖς	ἐπαίνοις
278-1	Cyril (Sickenberger 1909, 101.23)	θεῖος	θεσπέσιος

Table 8.13: Variant readings in Zacynthius and Parisinus.

Similarly, Table 8.14 lists passages when these two manuscripts have additional material not transmitted in direct tradition, while Table 8.15 notes shared absences of text.

Scholium	Source	Text added in Zacynthius/Parisinus
086-1	Basil, Epistulae 260.9.13	ὦ συνέπεσεν
123-1	Cyril, PG 72, 528.25	καὶ ζάλῃς
123-1	Cyril PG 72, 528.31 <sup>48</sup>	τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν θώρακα τῆς πίστεως· τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου
151-1	C131 (Cramer, 46.5)	ὁ διὰ τοῦ Μωϋσέως
152-1	Cyril, PG 72, 568.35 <sup>49</sup>	διό φησιν
158-1	Cyril, PG 72, 573.43 <sup>50</sup>	παλαιοῦ
171-2	Cyril, PG 72, 589.46 <sup>51</sup>	πάλιν
171-2	Cyril, PG 72, 589. 55 <sup>52</sup>	ἀλλ' ἔδει πάντως τοῖς οὕτω πτωχευομένοις · καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀκολουθήσαι σπάνιν καὶ μόλις εὐπορήσαι τροφῆς
271-3	Cyril, Sickenberger (1909), 93.14	ἀπαράβλητον ἔχων πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν ἡμερότητα τε καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν

Table 8.14: Additional text in Zacynthius and Parisinus.

<sup>48</sup> See also the critical apparatus of Cyril's fr. 25 in Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, 65.

<sup>49</sup> This excerpt is also edited as fr. 57 in Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, 248. Reuss, however, fails to mention that διό φησιν occurs only in Codex Zacynthius and that C135 that also contains the passage from Cyril has a different text at that point.

<sup>50</sup> See also fr. 65 in Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, 251. C135 which also transmits this passage from Cyril does not give παλαιοῦ at this point.

<sup>51</sup> See also fr. 80 in Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, 259. C135 which also transmits this passage from Cyril does not give πάλιν at this point.

<sup>52</sup> The phrase is also found in C135; cf. fr. 80 in Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, 259.

Scholium	Source	Text missing from Zacynthius/Parisinus
106-1	Origen, GCS 9.137.18	ἐν ἑαυτοῖς
126-1	Cyril, PG 72, 532.44	πειράται
158-1	Cyril, PG 72, 573.42	ὁ Κύριος
295-2	Origen, GCS 9.162.5	τις

Table 8.15: Shared omissions in Zacynthius and Parisinus.

Chapter Six above has described examples of composite scholia in Codex Zacynthius, such as 158-1, 188-2 and 219-1.<sup>53</sup> These also feature in Parisinus, demonstrating that these were not created by the scribe of Codex Zacynthius but rather form part of the shared catena tradition represented by both these manuscripts.

Given the very close relationship between Codex Zacynthius and Parisinus, the latter can be used not only to assist with the reading of difficult sections of the palimpsest but also to provide an indication of the likely content of certain leaves which are now lost. For instance, where the top half of fol. VIIr is missing from Codex Zacynthius, Parisinus fol. 186v provides a complete scholium from Origen which concludes with the same text found on the lower part of the page in Codex Zacynthius. Similarly, Parisinus fol. 250v probably corresponds to the missing top half of Codex Zacynthius fol. LXXIXr.

Another similarity between the two manuscripts is the confusion in the treatment of Luke 7:31.<sup>54</sup> Although Parisinus does not have the gloss incorporated into the gospel text in Codex Zacynthius, the unexpected *ekthesis* at this point hints at confusion in a shared antegraph further up the tradition. Despite this, the gospel text of Parisinus (GA 747) has clearly been updated in order to bring it closer to the standard Byzantine tradition. The replacement of the biblical text in catena manuscripts must have been a common occurrence: otherwise, there would be far more similarity between witnesses of this type. If the exemplar for Parisinus was close to Codex Zacynthius, it provides us with an opportunity to see this sort of updating in progress. It may be significant, in the light of this, to note that the date at which Parisinus was copied (1164) is probably within twenty years of the time when Codex Zacynthius was palimpsested.<sup>55</sup> Could Parisinus have been an attempt to copy for a later generation the catena found in a manuscript produced around the same time as Codex Zacynthius, which was also coming to the end of its usable life?

<sup>53</sup> See pages 103 and 109–13 above.

<sup>54</sup> See page 52 above.

<sup>55</sup> See page 201 below.

## CONCLUSIONS

The examinations of the textual relationship of Codex Zacynthius and the catena-type C131 and of the similarities between Zacynthius and Parisinus have shed some light on the way in which catenae on Luke were compiled and reworked. These textual changes are similar to those in other thematic collections produced throughout the Byzantine millennium.<sup>56</sup> The compilation process in all exegetical collections was determined by comparable principles and methods. The prime goal of the compilers was the thematic arrangement of the material selected, presenting it with accuracy and brevity while following the sequence of the narrative. There is a remarkable variety in the types of catenae on the Gospel according to Luke, the study of which has yet to be fully explored. The choice of layout, the significance of the passages selected and the sources used by compilers could all be important in reconstructing different stages in the development of Christian exegesis and the tradition of this particular type of commentary. Shifting patterns of contents, including the addition, omission or alteration of extracts, are one of the fascinating aspects of Greek New Testament catenae.

Although the present chapter has not surveyed the catena tradition in sufficient breadth to make general statements about the development of the genre and the extent to which there may have been a tendency in later times to abbreviate or expand these compilations, it has provided detailed information about the catena of Codex Zacynthius. This has been shown to be a distinctive form of catena which stands apart from the main catena types identified by previous scholarship. The age of the manuscript indicates that this tradition is of considerable importance for the early history of catenae and the extent to which this had already developed by the time Codex Zacynthius and the exemplar for the related catena in Parisinus were copied. In common with other compilations, Codex Zacynthius drew on an earlier collection of unattributed scholia, identified by the title *ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφων*, yet its selection and transmission of these extracts differs markedly from that in other catenae. Even though Parisinus transmits a sequence of exegetical scholia which is very close to that of Codex Zacynthius, numerous editorial changes have been made affecting both the catena and the biblical text. Not only has the reference system been altered but, more significantly, the contents of the catena and the attributions of certain scholia have undergone extensive revision. It is possible that in the case of the extracts from Severus of Antioch a theological motive lay behind this. At the same time, this catena manuscript from the twelfth century has been shown in part to be a witness to an early compilation known only from the pages of a palimpsest. Indeed, perhaps one of the most important tasks awaiting future research is to determine how the Paris manuscript may provide information about this catena in the portions of the gospel which no longer survive in Codex Zacynthius.

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<sup>56</sup> See for instance collections such as the *Excerpta Constantiniana* and the *Excerpta Anonymi*, discussed in P. Manafis, *(Re)writing History in Byzantium: A Critical Study of Collections of Historical Excerpts* (Abingdon & New York: Routledge, 2020).

**LIST: THE SCHOLIA IN CODEX ZACYNTHIUS AND CODEX PARISINUS**

<b>Scholium</b>	<b>Attribution in Zacynthius</b>	<b>Paris fol.</b>	<b>Paris attribution</b>
001-1	† του αγιου ιωαννου επισκο(που) κωσταντινουπολ(εως)	–	
001-2	–	184r	
001-3	αλλως	184r	αλλως
001-4	αλλως	184r	
002-1	–	184r	
003-1	–	184r	Ωρ(ιγένους)
004-1a	του αυτου :- ωρ(ιγένους)	184r	Ωρ(ιγένους)
004-1b	(continuous)	184r	
005-1a	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
005-1b	(continuous)	–	
005-2a	ωριγενους	184r–184v	
005-2b	(continuous)	184r–184v	
005-3	σευηρου αρχιεπισκοπου αντιοχ(ειας) απο λογου λγ	–	
006-1	ωριγενους	184v	Ωρ(ιγένους)
007-1a	του αυτου	184v	
007-1b	(continuous)	184v	
008-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου	184v	
009-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου	–	
010-1	βικτορος	184v	
011-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου	–	
012-1	ωριγενους	184v	
013-1	ωριγενους	185r	Ωρ(ιγένους)
014-1	εξ ανεπιγραφ(ου)	–	
023-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου	–	
024-1	ωριγενους	186r	
024-2	σευηρου αρχιεπισκ(οπου) αντιοχ(ειας) απο λο(γου) λβ:-	186r	
024-3	ϊσιδωρου πρεσβυτ(ερου) πηλουσιωτου :-	–	
025-1	ωρ(ιγένους)	186r	
027-1	[...]	186v	Ωρ(ιγένους)
029-1	[...]	–	
030-1	ωριγενους :-	187r	
030-2	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) απο λο(γου) β	–	
031-1	του αυτου εκ του αυτου λογου :-	–	

Scholium	Attribution in Zacynthius	Paris fol.	Paris attribution
032-1	ωριγενους :-	187r	
032-2	σευηρου αρχιεπισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) απο λο(γου) β	–	
032-3 <sup>1</sup>	–	–	
033-1	του αυτου εκ του αυτου λογου :	–	
033-2	ευσεβειου καισαρειας :-	187r	
037-1	[...]	–	
038-1	ευσεβειου καισαρειας :-	–	
038-2	σευηρου απο λογου ξγ :-	–	
038-3	και μετ' ολιγα :-	–	
039-1	ευσεβιου :-	–	
040-1	του αυτου :-	–	
041-1	του αυτου :-	–	
041-2	–	187v	
042-1	ευσεβιου :-	–	
043-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
043-2	ωριγενους :-	187v	Ωρ(ιγένους)
044-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	187v	
044-2	ωριγενους :-	–	
044-3	[...]	188r	
044-4	του αυτου απο λογου *	–	
045-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
045-2	ωριγενους :-	188r	Ωρ(ιγένους)
045-3	ϊσιδωρου πρεσβυτ(ερου) πηλουσιωτου επιστολ(ης) τξγ :	–	
046-1a	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
046-1b	(continuous)	–	
046-2	ωριγεν(ους) :-	–	
047-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
048-1	του αυτου	–	
049-1	του αυτου	–	
050-1	του αυτου	–	
051-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
052-1	βικτορος πρεσβυτερ(ου) :-	–	
053-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	188v	
054-1	του αυτου :-	–	
055-1	του αυτου :-	–	
056-1	του αυτ(ου) :-	–	
057-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
058-1	του αυτου :-	–	

<sup>1</sup> This is an additional short scholium in the margin of fol. 8v.

Scholium	Attribution in Zacynthius	Paris fol.	Paris attribution
059-1	του αυτου :-	–	
060-1	του αυτου :-	–	
061-1	του αυτ(ου) :-	–	
061-2	βικτορος πρεσβυτερ(ου) :-	–	
062-1	ωριγενους :-	188v	
063-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
064-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
064-2	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) απο λο(γου) λβ	189r	
070-1	βικτορος πρεσβυτερος :-	–	
071-1	του αυτου :	–	
072-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
072-2	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) απο αριθ(μων) :-	190r	
073-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
074-1	ωριγενους :-	190v	
074-2	του αγιου τιτου επισκ(οπου) βοστρ(ων) :-	–	
074-3	και μετ' ολιγα :-	–	
075-1	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :-	190v	
075-2	και μετ' ολιγα :-	190v	
075-3	ισιδωρου πρεσβυ(τερου) επιστολ(ης) μη :-	–	
076-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
076-2	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που)	–	
077-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
077-2	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) απο λογου λς :-	190v	
078-1a	– (in gutter?)	191r	
078-1b	(continuous)	191r	
078-2	του αγιου κυριλλου :-	191r	
079-1	του αυτου αγιου κυριλλου	–	
079-2	και μετ' ολιγα	191r	
080-1	του αγιου κυριλλου :-	–	
080-2	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) απο λογου λς :-	191v	Χρ(υσοστόμου)
081-1	σευηρου εκ του αυτου λογου :-	191v	
081-2	του αυτου παλιν εν υπακοη :-	–	
081-4	[...]	–	

Scholium	Attribution in Zacynthius	Paris fol.	Paris attribution
082-1	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) απο επιστολ(ης) της προς καισαριαν πατρικιαν :-	–	
083-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
083-2	εξ ανεπιγραφου :-	–	
086-1	† του αγιου βασιλειου ομοιως ωριγενους :-	193r	
086-2	του αγιου κυριλλου :-	–	
086-3	και παλιν :-	–	
087-1	† του αγιου βασιλειου :-	193r	
087-2	του αγιου κυριλλου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αλεξανδ(ρειας) εκ του εις τον ζαχαριαν :-	193v	ἄλλο
088-1	του αγιου βασιλειου :-	193v	
104-1	ωριγενους :-	–	
104-2	και παλιν	–	
105-1	του αγιου ἰωαννου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) κωνσ(ταντινοπολεως) :-	–	
105-2	και μετ' ολιγα :-	–	
105-3	του αγ(ιου) κυριλλ(ου)	195v	
106-1	ωριγενους :-	196r <sup>2</sup>	
106-2	του αγ(ιου) κυριλλ(ου) :-	–	
110-1	[...]	196v	
111-1	του αυτου ωριγενους :-	196v	
112-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	197r	
113-1	του αγιου κυριλλου :-	–	
114-1	του αυτου :-	–	
115-1	ωριγενους :-	197r	
115-2	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :-	197r	
116-1	ωριγενους :	197v	
117-1	του αυτου	197v	
122-1	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αλεξ(ανδρειας) :	–	
123-1	του αγιου κυριλλου :-	201v	
123-2	σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) εκ του κατα της διαθηκης λαμπειου συνταγματος :	–	
124-1	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :-	203r	
127-1	του αγιου τιτου :-	203v	

<sup>2</sup> In Parisinus the extract is split into two comments.

Scholium	Attribution in Zacynthius	Paris fol.	Paris attribution
128-1	ωριγενους :	203v	
128-2	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου)	–	
129-1	–	–	
130-1	του αυτου :	–	
138-1	–	205v	
138-2	του αυτου :	205v	
140-1	του αγιου τιτου :	206r	
141-1	του αυτου	–	
142-1	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	–	
143-1	του αγιου τιτου :	–	
149-1	[...]	208v	
150-1	του αγιου τιτου :	208v–209r	
151-1	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	209r	
152-1	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	209v	
153-1	του αυτου :	–	
154-1	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	–	
155-1	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου)	–	
156-1	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	–	
157-1	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	210v	
158-1a	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	210v–211r	
158-1b	(continuous)	211r	
171-1	[...]	213v	
171-2	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου)	213v	
172-1	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου) :	214r	
173-1	του αυτου :	214r	
174-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	214r–214v	
174-2	σευηρου αρχιεπισκο(που) αντιοχ(ειας) απο λογου ριγ	214v	
175-1	του αγιου τιτου θ	215r	
175-2	του αγιου κυριλλου	215r	
176-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	–	
177-1	του αγιου κυριλλου (sic)	215v	
178-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	215v	
179-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	216v	
180-1a	του αγιου κυριλλου	216v	
180-1b	(continuous)	216v	
181-1	του αυτου	–	
182-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	217r	
183-1	ωρ(ιγενους)	217r	
183-2	του αγιου τιτου	–	

Scholium	Attribution in Zacynthius	Paris fol.	Paris attribution
183-3	του αγιου κυριλλου	217v	
184-1	του αγιου τιτου	217v	
184-2	του αγιου κυριλλου	–	
184-3	και μετ' ολιγα	–	
185-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου	217v–218r	
185-2	του αγιου κυριλλ(ου)	218r	
186-1	του αγιου τιτου	–	
186-2	και μετ ολιγα	–	
187-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου	–	
188-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου	–	
188-2	του αγιου τιτου	218v	
190-1a	εξ ανεπιγραφου	–	
190-1b	(continuous)	–	
191-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	–	
192-1	του αυτου	–	
193-1	του αυτου	219v	
193-2	και μετ ολιγα	219v	
194-1	του αυτου αγιου κυριλλου	220r	
195-1	του αγιου τιτου	220r	
196-1	του αγιου τιτου	220v	
197-1	του αυτου	220v	
197-2	του αυτου	220v	
198-1	–	220v	
199-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου	220v	
199-2	αλλος	220v	
199-3	του αγιου κυριλλου	221r	
200-1	αλλος	–	
201-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	221v	
202-1	του αγιου τιτου	–	
202-2	του αγιου κυριλλου	222r	
203-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	–	
203-2	του αγιου σευηρου αρχ(ι)επισκοπου αντιοχ(ειας) απο λ(ογου) ριη	222r	
203-3	και μετ ολιγα	–	
204-1	του αγιου σευηρου αρχιεπισκο(που) αντιοχειας απο λ(ογου) εκ της προς αναστασιαν διακονον επιστολης :-	222v	
204-2	και μετ ολιγα	–	
208-1	του αγιου τιτου	223r	
209-1	του αγ(ιου) τιτου	223v	
210-1	του αυτου	–	
216-1	[...]	224v	

Scholium	Attribution in Zacynthius	Paris fol.	Paris attribution
216-2	του αγιου τιτου	224v	
217-1	του αγιου κυριλλου ·	225r	
218-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	225r	
219-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	225v	
220-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	–	
221-1	του αγιου ἰωάννου επισκ(ο)π(ου) κω(ν)σταντινουπολ(εως)	226r	τοῦ Χρ(υσοστόμου)
221-2	ωρ(ιγενους)	226r	
221-3	απολιναριου	226r	
222-1	βικτορος πρεσβυτερ(ου)	226r	
223-1	του αυτου	226r	
224-1	του αυτου	226r	
225-1	του αγιου τιτου	–	
226-1	του αγιου τιτου	226v	
226-2	του αγιου κυριλλου	226v	
230-1	[...]	227r	
231-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	227v	
231-2	και μετ ολιγα ·	227v	
232-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	–	
233-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	227v	
234-1	του αυτου	228r	
234-2	του αγιου τιτου	228r	
235-1	του αυτου τιτου	228v	
235-2	–	229v	
240-1	[...]	229v	
241-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου	230r	
241-2	του αγιου τιτου	230r	
241-3	του αγ(ιου) σευηρου αρχιεπισκοπ(ου) αντισχ(ειας) απο λογ(ου) να	–	
242-1	του αγιου τιτου	230r	
242-2	του αγιου κυριλλου	230r	
244-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου	230v	
245-1	του αγιου τιτου	230v	
249-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	231r	
249-2	και μετ' ολιγα	231v	
250-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	231v	
251-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	232v	
252-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	233r	

Scholium	Attribution in Zacynthius	Paris fol.	Paris attribution
252-2	του αγιου σευηρου αντιο(χειας) εκ του κατ(α) της απολογιας ιουλιανου συνταγματος κεφαλαιο(ν)	–	
252-3	του αυτου εκ της προς κυριακον' και λοιπους ορθοδοξους εν κω(ν)σταντινου(πολει) επισκο(πους)	233v	
253-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	234r	
254-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	234v	
255-1	του αγιου κυριλλου .	234v	
255-2	και μετ ολιγα	235r	
256-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	–	
257-1	του αυτου	235r	
258-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	235v	
259-1	του αγιου ιωαννου επισκο(που) κω(ν)σταντινου πολ(εως)	236r	
259-2	ωρ(ιγενους)	236r	
259-3	σευηρου αντιοχειας· εκ της προς σεργιον αρχιατρον επιστολ(ης) ερωτησαντα τινος ενεκεν ο κ(υριος) πετρον και ιακωβον και ιωαννην μονον παρελαβεν :	–	
260-1	του αγιου τιτου	–	
260-2	του αγιου κυριλλου	236r	
260-3	του αγ(ιου) σευηρου αντιοχειας εκ της απολογιας του φιλαλ(ηθους)	–	
261-1	[...]	–	
261-2	[...]	237r	
262-1	του αυτου παλι(ν)	236v	
265-1	[...]	237v	
265-2	και μετ ολιγα	–	
266-1	του αγιου τιτου	238r	
266-2	του αγιου κυριλλου	238r	
267-1	του αγιου κυριλλου .	–	
268-1	του αυτου	–	
268-2	και μετ ολιγα	238v	
268-3	του αγιου σευηρου αντιοχ(ειας) απο λογ(ου) πβ	–	
270-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	239r	
270-2	του αυτου κυριλλου	239r	
270-3	του αγ(ιου) τιτου	–	

Scholium	Attribution in Zacynthius	Paris fol.	Paris attribution
271-1	του αγ(ιου) τιτου	239v	
271-2	του αγιου κυριλλου	239v	
271-3	και μετ ολιγα	239v	
272-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	240r	Κυ(ρι)λλ(ου)
272-2	και μετ ολιγα	240r	
273-1	του αγ(ιου) τιτου	–	
274-1	εξ ανεπιγραφου	240r–v	
275-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	240v	
276-1	του αγι(ου) τιτου	240v–241r	
276-2	του αγιου κυριλλου :-	241r	
277-1	του αγιου τιτου :	–	
278-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	241r	
279-1	του αγιου τιτου :	–	
279-2	του αγιου κυριλλου	241v	
280-1	του αγιου τιτου :	241v	
281-1	του αυτου	241v	
281-2	και μετ' ολιγα	–	
282-1	του αγιου τιτου	241v	
283-1	ωρ(ιγενους)	241v	
284-1	του αυτου	241v	
285-1	του αγιου τιτου	241v	
286-1	του αυτου	241v	
287-1	του αυτου	242r	
288-1	του αγιου τιτου	–	
288-2	του αγιου κυριλλου	242r	
289-1	του αυτου	–	
289-2	και μετ ολιγα	–	
290-1	του αγιου τιτου	242v	
290-2	του αγιου κυριλλου	–	
293-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	242v	
293-2	και μετ ολιγα	–	
294-1	και μετ ολιγα	–	
294-2	ωρ(ιγενους)	243r	
294-3	του αγιου κυριλλου :	–	
295-1	του αγιου τιτου	–	
295-2	ωρ(ιγενους)	243r	
296-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	–	
296-2	και μεθ ετερα	–	
297-1a	ωρ(ιγενους)	243v	Ωρ(ιγένους)
297-1b	(continuation)	243v	

Scholium	Attribution in Zacynthius	Paris fol.	Paris attribution
297-2	του αγιου κυριλλου	243v-244r	Κυ(ρι)λλ(ου)
298-1	εξ ανεπιγραφ(ου)	–	
298-2	ἰσιδωρου πηλουσιωτου · επιστολ(ης) αψνθ	244r	Ἰσιδ(ώ)ρ(ου) Πηλουσιώτ(ου)
299-1	[...]	244v	
300-1	του αγιου σευηρου αρχιεπισκ(οπου) αντιοχειας απο λογ(ου) πθ	244v-245r	
300-2	και μετ ολιγα	245r	
301-1	του αγιου σευηρου αρχιεπισκ(οπου) αντιοχειας απο λογου πθ	245r-245v	
302-1	εξ ανεπιγραφ(ου)	–	
302-2	ωρ(ιγενους)	245v	
303-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	245v	
305-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	246r	Κυ(ρι)λλ(ου)
306-1	του αγιου τιτου	–	
306-2	και παλιν	–	
307-1	ωρ(ιγενους)	246r	Ἦρ(ιγένους)
310-1	[...]	247r	τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) <sup>3</sup>
311-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	–	
311-2	και μετ ολιγα	247r-247v	
311-3	–	247v	
312-1	του αγιου κυριλλου	247v	Κυ(ρι)λλ(ου)
326-1	[...]	–	
327-1	του αγι(ου) τιτου ·	250v	
328-1	τ(ου) αγι(ου) κυρ(ιλλου)	–	
328-2	[...]	250v	
329-1	[...]	251r	Κυ(ρι)λλ(ου)

<sup>3</sup> The preceding extract in Parisinus is attributed by name to Cyril of Alexandria.

## CHAPTER 9. AN INTRODUCTION TO LECTIONARY 299 (A.C. MYSHRALL)

Codex Zacynthius, as it is currently bound, is a near-complete Greek gospel lectionary dating to the late twelfth century. Very little work has been done on this lectionary because of the intense interest in the text written underneath. Indeed, New Testament scholars have generally neglected most lectionaries in favour of working on continuous text manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> This is largely down to the late date of most of the available lectionaries as well as the assumption that they form a separate, secondary, textual tradition. However, the study of Byzantine lectionaries is vital to understand the development of the use of the New Testament text. Nearly half of the catalogued New Testament manuscripts are lectionaries.<sup>2</sup> These manuscripts show us how, in the words of Krueger and Nelson, ‘Christianity is not so much the religion of the New Testament as the religion of its use’.<sup>3</sup> These lectionaries were how the Byzantine faithful heard the Bible throughout the Church year, how they interacted with the Scriptures, and they open a window for us to see the worship of a particular community in a particular time and place.

### THE LECTIONARY

A lectionary is a book containing selected scripture readings for use in Christian worship on a given day. The biblical text is thus arranged not in the traditional order of the Bible, but in the order of how the readings appear throughout the year of worship. So, not all of the Bible is included (the Book of Revelation never appears in a Greek lectionary) and the

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<sup>1</sup> Exceptions to this include the Chicago Lectionary Project (for an overview of the project see Carroll Osburn, ‘The Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament,’ in *The Text of the New Testament. Essays on the Status Quaestionis* [ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes. Second edn. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014], 93–113, esp. 100–4, and also Gregory S. Paulson, ‘A Proposal for a Critical Edition of the Greek New Testament Lectionary,’ in *Liturgy and the Living Text of the New Testament*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton. T&S 3.15 [Piscataway NJ: Gorgias, 2018], 121–50, esp. 131–3), the inclusion of lectionaries in UBS4 with Karavidopoulos (see Paulson, ‘A Proposal,’ 135–7), and the recent works by Jordan (C.R.D. Jordan, ‘The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John in Greek Gospel Lectionaries from the Middle Byzantine Period (8th-11th century),’ Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2009) and Gibson (Samuel J. Gibson, *The Apostolos. The Acts and Epistles in Byzantine Liturgical Manuscripts*. T&S 3.18 [Piscataway NJ: Gorgias, 2018]).

<sup>2</sup> Paulson, ‘A Proposal,’ 121.

<sup>3</sup> Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson, ‘New Testaments of Byzantium. Seen, Heard, Written, Excerpted, Interpreted,’ in *The New Testament in Byzantium* (ed. D. Krueger and R.S. Nelson. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2016), 1–20, here 2.

order of the lections reflects the calendar. Some readings were particularly appropriate for certain times of the year, such as the resurrection narratives at Easter, the infancy narratives at Christmas and so forth.

There are several types of lectionary:

- An *Evangelion* contains only readings from the Gospels. This can also be referred to as an *Evangelistarion* (a term generally used before the twentieth century).
- An *Apostolos* is a manuscript containing only Acts and the Epistles.
- An *Evangelion-Apostolos*, or *Apostolo-Evangelion* depending on the order of the contents, contains lections from the Gospels, Acts and Epistles.

There is also variation in the days for which a lectionary has readings. Some contain lections for every day (*ἐβδομάδες* or *καθημερινὰ εὐαγγέλια*), some for only weekends (*σαββατοκυριακαί*), some for Sundays alone (*κυριακαί*). Rarely, we find lectionaries which read weekday readings and Sundays. There are also some lectionaries known as Select lectionaries, which are highly individual manuscripts, each with its own purpose.<sup>4</sup>

Most complete lectionaries are divided into two distinct sections; a Synaxarion and a Menologion. The Synaxarion is a lectionary text which follows the moveable ecclesiastical calendar, beginning with Easter Sunday and ending on Holy Saturday. The Menologion follows the fixed civil calendar beginning on September 1 and finishing on August 31. Thus, for any day in the year there are normally two readings in the lectionary, one from the Synaxarion and another from the Menologion.

There are two known cycles of readings; the Constantinople schema and the Jerusalem schema. Due to the process known as Byzantinization, the Jerusalem liturgy came to broadly reflect the Constantinople liturgy over a period of time.<sup>5</sup> This chapter will focus on the Constantinople type of lectionaries, as this was the most common at the time the Zacynthius lectionary was written. However, it should be remembered that lectionaries do exist with alternative Gospel orders and varying lections.

The Constantinople Synaxarion has five main sections.

- Section 1 reads John from Easter Sunday to Pentecost.
- Section 2 reads Matthew from Pentecost to the Raising of the Cross in September.
- Section 3 reads Luke from Holy Cross Day to Lent.
- Section 4 reads Mark for the Lent weekend readings (the weekday readings are from the Old Testament).
- Section 5 is Holy Week, where readings are taken from all four Gospels.

Small numbers of lections from other Gospels appear in each section, so for instance, the Johannine portion of the Synaxarion is not exclusively all from John.

The Menologion portion of a lectionary contains complementary readings to commemorate various Saints, particular events in the lives of Jesus and Mary, festivals for apostles and great church leaders, earthquakes and dedications of churches. The

<sup>4</sup> Gibson, *The Apostolos*, 4.

<sup>5</sup> For an overview of Jerusalem lectionaries, see Daniel Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem*, Oxford: OUP, 2018.

Menologion has a tendency to demonstrate far more variation in the choice of biblical text for each day and the specific commemorations. Some of these variations are geographical, so, for example, lectionaries prepared according to the Constantinople schema often reference the great fire of 465 AD in Constantinople on September 1.

Upon opening Codex Zacynthius, one immediately encounters a problem of terminology. Neither the Synaxarion nor the Menologion are actually identified as such in the manuscript. The term Synaxarion (*συναξάριον*) is frequently used by scholars, yet is not written as a title at the beginning of most lectionaries. Contrary to this, we do find the title Menologion (*μηνολόγιον*) written at the beginning of the second cycle of readings in some manuscripts. The opening of the Synaxarion frequently begins with the details for the Easter Sunday reading and the evangelist, as we find in Codex Zacynthius. We do however find the term Eklogadion (*ἐκλογάδιον*) in several manuscripts to describe the Synaxarion portion. The modern printed Eklogadion is a lectionary with Sunday readings, but the name probably comes from the earlier lectionary tradition.<sup>6</sup> The term Synaxarion is found however, in lectionary tables, tables which list what to read on each day.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The Codex Zacynthius lectionary is a daily Gospel lectionary containing both Synaxarion and Menologion, and is identified as Lectionary 299 in the Gregory-Aland system used in the *Kurzgefasste Liste*.<sup>7</sup> The Synaxarion has all five sections present, so covers the entire liturgical year with readings for nearly every day. The Menologion is also complete, with readings again for every day, and for some days, multiple readings. The only section which is missing is that of the Resurrection readings. These are eleven readings for Sunday Matins beginning on All Saints' Day, normally either found at the end of the Synaxarion, the end of the Menologion or in between Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. Although there are cross-references to these readings throughout Codex Zacynthius, the actual readings themselves are not written.<sup>8</sup> Commonly, after the Menologion there are also a few lections for special occasions, such as funerals and times of penance. The Zacynthius lectionary does not have any of these. One wonders whether the end of the manuscript is missing and the Resurrection readings should have appeared at the end of the codex.

The manuscript as we have it now measures 28 cm by 18 cm, an average size for a lectionary.<sup>9</sup> When the manuscript was palimpsested, the original sheets of the catena were prepared by removing the ink and cut in half to form new sheets of half the size, which in turn were folded in half as quires and rewritten as a lectionary. The size of the pages probably needed to be reduced for ease of use for the lector in service. The re-use of

<sup>6</sup> Jordan, 'The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John,' 67.

<sup>7</sup> Its shelfmark is Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 10062. In the online Diktyon catalogue, it has the number 73427.

<sup>8</sup> Cross-references can be seen on folia 1v, 17v, 18r, 21r, 163v and 168r. On fol. 7r the scribe has added marginal rubrics to mark the beginning of Resurrection reading 2 within the lection for Synaxarion 1 Week 3 Day 1.

<sup>9</sup> Jordan, 'The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John,' 122.

parchment to make a new book is not unusual for this time period, especially within a provincial setting with less available funds for new parchment. During the ink removal process, more effort was made to remove the red ink of the catena titles than the brown ink of the catena text; the additional scraping of the parchment in these places can still be seen. Perhaps the red ink was seen as more of a distraction to reading the overtext than the subtle brown ink of the catena undertext, or was less faded due to age.

The manuscript is bound in a sixteenth-century Greek-style goatskin cover, which bears the traces of a cross and four circular decorated motifs (see Image 9.1). On the right-hand side of the cover towards the top a peg sticks out, where originally a small strip of leather was attached to the back cover and fixed round to the front to keep the book closed. It looks like a second peg may have been lost from the bottom of the cover, leaving a small hole. The rebinding, or re-covering, of a late twelfth-century manuscript in the sixteenth century shows that this manuscript was still being used, or considered valuable, several hundred years after it was written. The main cover to the manuscript has also been repaired, with small stitches visible across the top left of the front cover and across the back cover. This suggests ongoing use after the sixteenth-century cover was added. A number of marginal notes in later hands confirm the use of the manuscript over several centuries.<sup>10</sup>



Image 9.1: The front cover of Codex Zacynthius showing decorations and repair work

The manuscript is quite thick, containing 175 parchment leaves. One further leaf (folio 173) is a paper supplement making 176 folia in total, and several leaves on either side of this have repairs.<sup>11</sup> These repairs may be dated to the fourteenth century by the

<sup>10</sup> See folia 51r, 90v, 120v and 130v.

<sup>11</sup> Folia 171, 172 and 174 are patched.

watermark of folio 173, which consists of a bow and arrow pointing vertically upwards. Although the device is relatively common, the closest match for it is found in paper used in Pisa and Florence dated 1364.<sup>12</sup> Occasional holes can be found throughout the lectionary, many of which must have occurred before the palimpsesting of the manuscript because the scribe of the lectionary has written around them. An example of the copyist avoiding places of corrosion is shown in Image 9.2. Deterioration like this is common in parchment manuscripts, and in this case must pre-date the lectionary. It seems that the ink of the undertext continued to corrode after the palimpsesting process because it had not been sufficiently well-removed: writing in the lectionary overtext has sometimes been partly lost due to this.

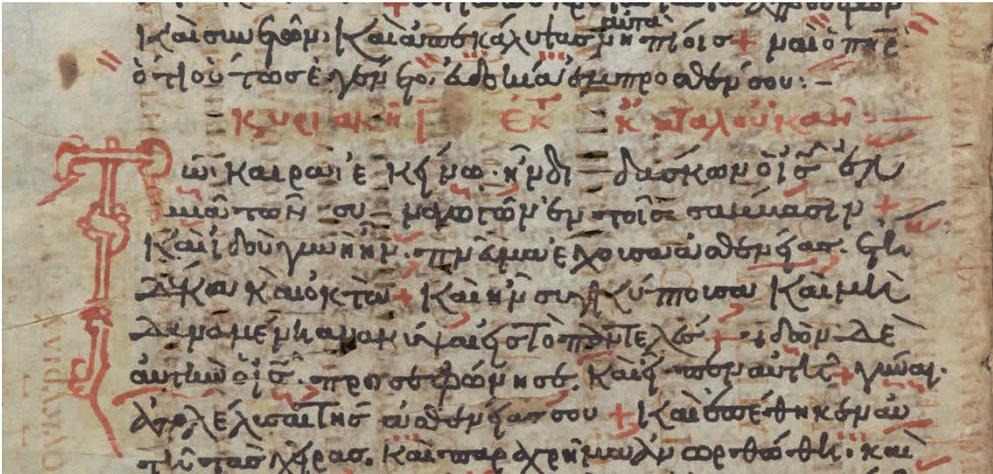


Image 9.2: Folio 78v showing how the lectionary was written around ink corrosion from the catena undertext

The text of the lectionary is the work of a single scribe, written in a single column of normally between 33 and 36 lines. The hand itself is similar to the ‘epsilon style’ common to the Eastern Mediterranean region.<sup>13</sup> Lectionaries are commonly written in two columns, which aided the reader in moving from line to line. The single column format of Zacynthius is not unusual for a lectionary, but it is less common than the two-column format.<sup>14</sup> The text block itself is reasonably compressed so is not like the large format display lectionaries which have few lines per page and large letters.<sup>15</sup> Nor is it illustrated in

<sup>12</sup> Vladimir A. Mošin and Seid M. Traljić, *Filigranes des XIIIe et XIVe siècle/Vodeni znakovi XIII i XIV vijeka* (Zagreb: Yugoslavian Academy, 1957), no. 351. We are grateful to Nigel Wilson for this identification. The design is also very similar to BOW.099.1, record no. 5884 in the online Gravell Watermark Archive, on paper used in Palermo in 1312 (see <https://www.gravell.org/record.php?action=GET&RECID=5884>).

<sup>13</sup> For the identification of the copyist, see pages 196–203 below.

<sup>14</sup> Jordan, ‘The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John,’ 130.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 351 (GA L35), a select lectionary in display format.

any way. In a practical working text, illuminated pictures would not have been necessary. The appearance of the text hints at a need to use parchment sparingly, by not wasting space between columns or by spreading out the text.

### Decoration and Rubrics

Both red and black ink are used; black for the main text and red for the enlarged initials, headings, decorations, ekphonic notation (or neumes) used in chanting and some marginal notes. There is little embellishment to the main text other than extending some strokes into the margins, and the occasional use of red crosses to decorate some letters (see Image 9.3). The use of a cross on the centre stroke of an epsilon was also employed in the catena undertext, showing how little decorations had changed in the period between the writing of the two texts.

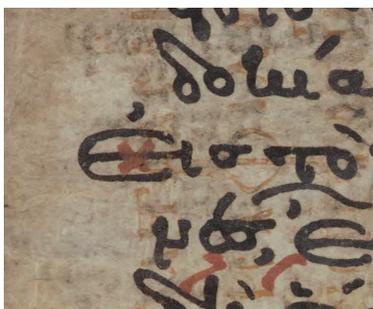


Image 9.3: Folio 157r from L299 and folio 15v from 040, epsilon with cross decoration

Each section of the lectionary begins with a decorative headpiece. The only exception is the start of Synaxarion period 5, which is not decorated or separated in any way: instead, a separation is found later with the Gospels of the Passions between Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. The Hours readings of Good Friday and the Vespers readings are also decorated. Of the large headpieces for Synaxarion periods 1 to 4, the first, for John, is drawn using only red ink (fol. 1r, see Image 9.4). Drawn in the shape of a *pi* and filled with twisting tendrils, it is not completely symmetrical and looks slightly experimental. This could suggest either an inexperienced scribe, or that this manuscript was not produced at a major scribal centre where drawing headpieces like this would have been commonplace. The second one for Matthew has a much simpler design (fol. 21v, see Image 9.5). This is a band headpiece drawn in red and black ink, with an intertwined wave design. The third headpiece for Luke on folio 57r uses a smaller *pi* headpiece with a similar tendrill design to that of John (see Image 9.6). The Lent headpiece on folio 105r combines the *pi* headpiece of John with the intertwined wave design of Matthew (see Image 9.7).



Image 9.4: Folio 1r, John headpiece



Image 9.5: Folio 21v, Matthew headpiece



Image 9.6: Folio 57r, Luke headpiece



Image 9.7: Folio 105r Lent headpiece



Image 9.8: Folio 144v Menologion headpiece

The headpiece beginning the Menologion on folio 144v (Image 9.8) is a simplified version of the previous design for Lent (Synaxarion period 4, Image 9.7). All of the headpiece designs feature leaf-shaped finials extending from the corners (palmettes) as was typical for Byzantine decoration. The variation may be prompted by different exemplars. Each Menologion month is separated by a simple decoration of tilde shapes and dots in a repeating pattern. Only May and October are exceptions to this. May has small T shapes on either side of a wavy line, which matches the decoration for the Good Friday Night Vigil readings. October is similar to this, featuring a wavy line with dots. If the decoration was not added during the writing of the lections, the amount of space calculated for these was exact. Two of the other decorations are probably space fillers, that on folio 27r to make the *κυριακή* reading begin on a new page, and on folio 104v to fill the space at the end of Synaxarion 3.

Another feature of the lectionary is the enlarged initials beginning each lection (see Image 9.9). The enlarged letters project into the margins (*ekthesis*) and are written in red ink. It is likely that they were penned at the same time as the main text in black was written, because the text wraps around them with precision: unlike other Greek biblical manuscripts, the enlarged initials do not sit by themselves in the margin, there are no small

prompts to guide the rubricator and no absent letters.<sup>16</sup> Even when the red initials extend into the text area, the black text fits them with precision. Furthermore, the spacing of the lectionary text also seems to be accommodated to the red ekphonic signs above them (see pages 178–9 below). It may therefore be concluded that the scribe had access to both inks as he wrote.

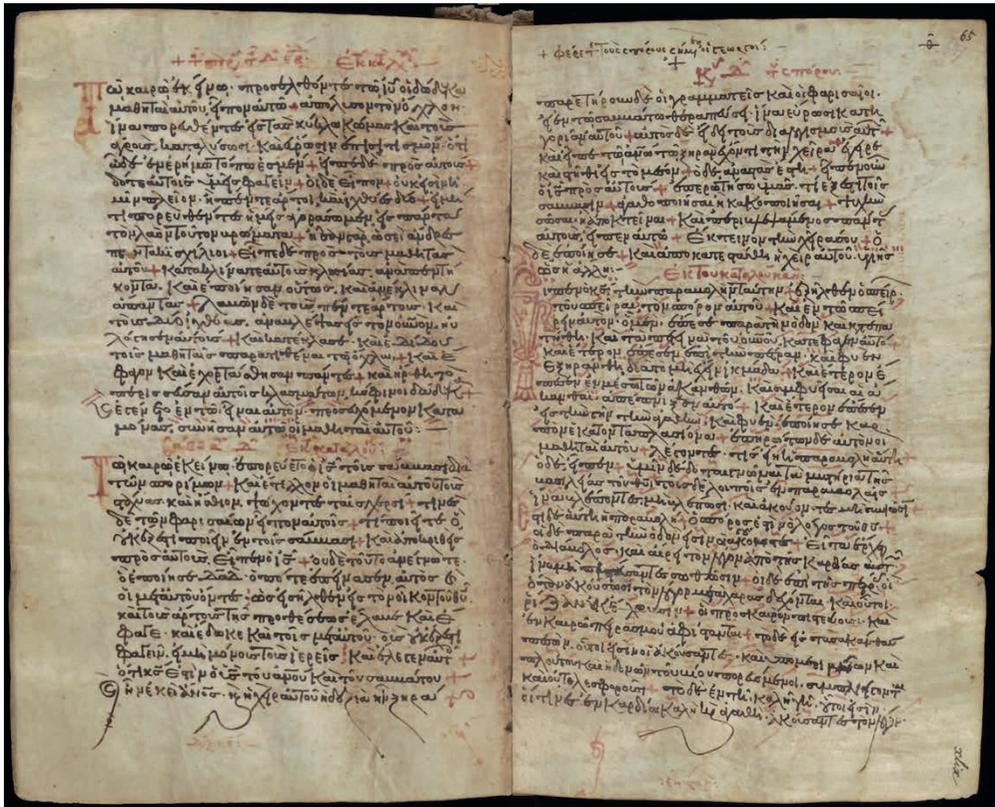


Image 9.9: Folia 64v and 65r, showing different types of enlarged initials

Weekday lections tend to have smaller, simpler initials, but Sunday lections are given prominence with larger and more decorated initials. This pattern continues throughout the lectionary.<sup>17</sup> This subtle difference makes it easier for the lector to locate where he is in the lectionary and gives prominence to the Sunday lesson. This can be seen on Image 9.9 where the red initials for the weekdays on folio 64v are simple designs corresponding in height to around three lines of text; opposite them, the Sunday reading on folio 65r has a

<sup>16</sup> Examples of the small letters left in the margin as prompts for the rubricator may be seen in the manuscript Vatican City, BAV, Ott. gr. 298 (GA 629).

<sup>17</sup> Anderson identifies a similar pattern in GA L1635 with plain gold initials and painted gold initials: J.C. Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 25.

red initial which is far more ornate and extends over ten lines. The same letters appear throughout, commonly E and T, because each lection begins with a standard incipit. The incipits in Codex Zacynthius are:

- τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ
- ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις
- εἶπεν ὁ κύριος
- εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην
- εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς
- εἶπεν ὁ κύριος πρὸς τοὺς ἐλληλυθότας πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰουδαίους
- and twice, εἶπεν ὁ κύριος πρὸς τοὺς πεπιστευκότας αὐτὸν Ἰουδαίους.

There are some instances of lections which do not include an incipit, leading to other enlarged initials within the codex. An example of this is the first Sunday after Easter, where John 20:19 begins the lection with οὔσης ὀψίας (fol. 3v). Occasionally a new paragraph within a lection begins with a much smaller red initial. These often coincide with the beginning of a new lection within the main lection. Also, there are occasions when a new lection begins with the word τῷ, and the whole word is rubricated and enlarged rather than just the initial letter, e.g. on folio 52v.

Lections written in full in the Menologion still display enlarged initials in red with *ekthesis*. However, in this part of the manuscript a great number of lections are simply listed with instructions on where to locate them. This leads to an abundance of red letters within the text, not just down the margins where the days are listed. Each new part of a reference begins with a red letter, such as the beginning of the commemoration, the beginning of the cross-reference, the beginning of the service and *prokeimena* and *stichoi*.<sup>18</sup> Many of these letters are repeated as with the main lections; a red *tau* is found for τοῦ ἁγίου or τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα, a red *zeta* for ζῆται, and a red *epsilon* for εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον or εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν. Thus, although each new part of a reference does not begin on a new line, the appearance of the text is still easily navigable. (See Image 9.10 for the layout of a page of Menologion instructions.)

In addition to the rubricated initials, Lectionary 299 features an extensive set of red markings above the words, which are part of the ekphonic notation system, or neumes. These are visible in a number of the photographs in this chapter, such as Image 9.5. The colour and shape of these marks distinguish them from the Greek accents which are written in the same black ink as the text. While accents assist with reading the text, neumes provide the intonation for chanting. The presence of this system, written by the scribe, indicates that Codex Zacynthius was intended to be used for public recitation, with these signs aiding with sense division and cantillation.<sup>19</sup> The *teleia* (red marks in the text in the shape of a +) have been included in the transcription as they mark the end of passages and sometimes replace the standard punctuation. As already noted, the biblical text is often spaced to allow for the addition of these markings: many of the *teleia* are written in blank space, although there are also a great number of places where they are squeezed above the last word of a phrase. This suggests that the exemplar used for transcription may not have

<sup>18</sup> See pages 189–92 below.

<sup>19</sup> Gibson, *The Apostolos*, 169.

been the same as the one for the addition of the neumes, if, indeed, the latter were copied from another manuscript and not simply added through tradition. Some passages are not marked with this notation: it is unlikely that they were not read aloud, so they may have simply been overlooked.<sup>20</sup> It appears that the text in black writing was copied first and the ekphonic notation added subsequently, as occasional corrections have been made in red ink.

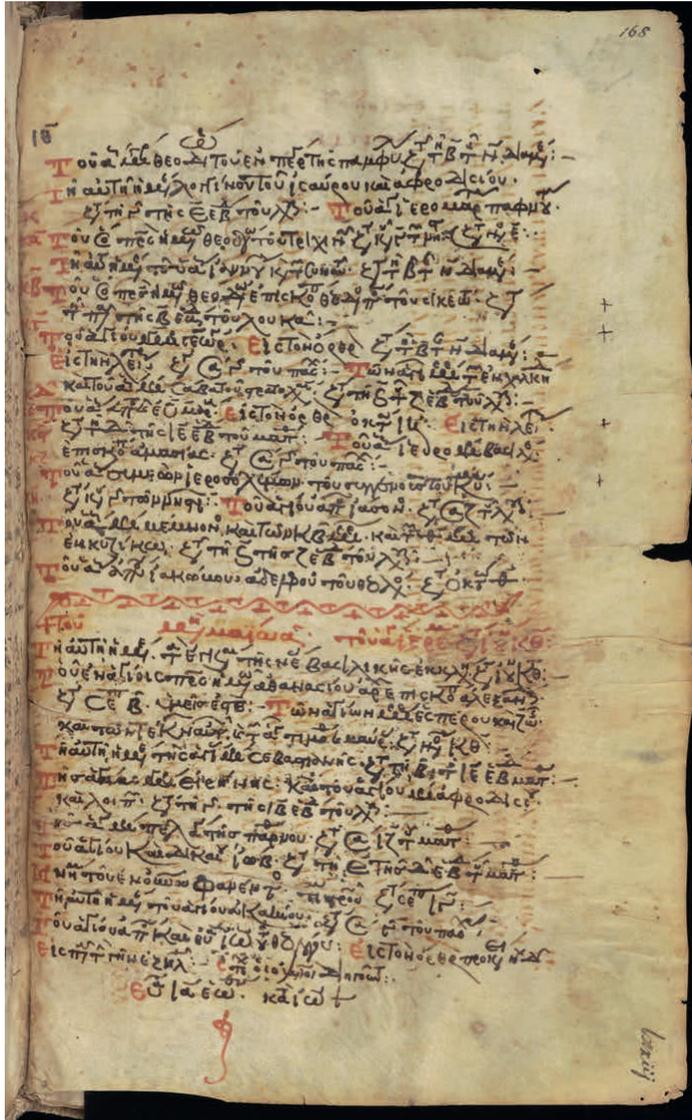


Image 9.10: Folio 168r, showing the lists of readings in the Menologion

<sup>20</sup> For an example, see fol. 11v where the lection at the top of the page lacks neumes, but the lection beginning lower down on the same page has them.

Like many other New Testament manuscripts, the lectionary features *diplai* in the left margin. These arrow-shaped marks (>) identify quotations, enabling the reader to distinguish passages quoted from the Old Testament from the words of the evangelist. A good example can be seen on folio 32r, where a long quote from Isaiah is marked with *diplai*. In most lections, the selection of text is so short as to not require additional paragraphing. However, some of the longer lections have paragraphs, to assist the lector with the sense and with keeping their place whilst reading aloud. It has already been noted that the scribe begins new mini-lections within the larger lection with a small red letter in *ekthesis*. There are also numerous places where the scribe puts a black letter in *ekthesis* in order to break up the text. In some places, this appears rather experimental, such as the lower half of folio 103r, where there are six new paragraphs in only twenty lines (compare also the bottom of folio 114v). Although this text does lend itself to being broken into sections, these passages stand out as written in a different way to other lections.

### Pagination and Quires

The first and last pages of the manuscript are particularly worn and hard to read where the ink and parchment have rubbed against the wooden covers. The last page, fol. 176, is particularly interesting because it should come after folio 168: it contains part of the Menologion for May and June and features the quire number 22. It must have come loose at some point and been rebound at the back of the manuscript. Although the date of this is not certain, the wear on this page implies that it has been in its current position for some time. In other places, the binding is rather tight and makes it hard to read some of the text where it sits close to the centre of the book. This can be seen at the bottom left of the very first page. In other places, such as folio 97r, the sheet is becoming detached and the sewing of the binding can be seen at the bottom.

Folio 169r has been heavily trimmed, presumably in order to supply a strip of parchment for another purpose. Indeed, there is evidence of trimming throughout the codex, such as at the bottom of folio 26r, where a crease has caused a small fold of parchment to escape trimming. Although this has had little effect on the lectionary other than the loss of quire number 17 on folio 129r (see Image 9.11), it may have had a greater effect on the undertext: although the surviving margins of the catena are generous, the original quire numbers have probably been lost, possibly with further marginal material.<sup>21</sup>



Image 9.11: Folio 129r showing quire number 129 almost entirely trimmed off

<sup>21</sup> For example, the right-hand rows of columns on fol. 1v of the undertext (fol. 95v of the lectionary).

There are three sets of pagination in Codex Zacynthius. Tregelles writes that the manuscript was not previously numerated, and he added Roman numerals for the catena pages and Arabic numbers for the lectionary.<sup>22</sup> The Roman numerals are in black ink at what would have been the top right-hand corner of the original leaves and thus appear at 90 degrees to the current lectionary. Tregelles' numeration of the lectionary is therefore also likely to be the series in ink, which is correct throughout. Another hand, however, has added a series of pencil numbers to the lectionary in the same place. These are identical until folio 22, where the pencil number 21 is erroneously repeated and all subsequent pencil numbers are out by one (although those on folios 22–26 have been corrected). It is surprising that an error crept into the pencil numeration when the existing set of ink numbers was correct. For the lectionary transcription the ink numbers have been used.



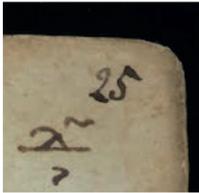
Fol. 9r



Fol. 96v



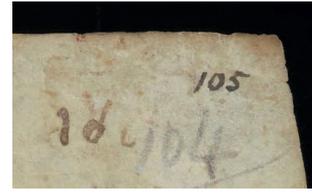
Fol. 89r



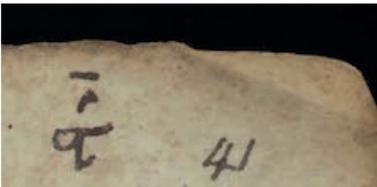
Fol. 25r



Fol. 112v



Fol. 105r



Fol. 41r



Fol. 48v



Fol. 128v

Image 9.12: Quire signatures showing letters β, δ and ζ

The lectionary also contains quire numbers, in order to assist the binder in keeping each quire of material in order. In the lectionary, initial quire signatures in Greek numerals appear at the top right of the first recto page and final quire signatures at the bottom right of the last verso page. Codex Zacynthius employs the system in which the start and end quire numbers match, rather than the end number matching the following quire. There are twenty-two quires of eight pages each. As noted above, the last quire signature is out of order because folio 176 was bound at the end of the codex. At least two hands add the quire numbers, one of whom is the main scribe of the lectionary. This hand uses red and

<sup>22</sup> S.P. Tregelles, *Codex Zacynthius* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1861), ii.

black ink and regularly adds a numeral hook to the right of the number and decoration underneath, especially for the final signature. It is probable that the same hand was responsible for some of the initial markers, but these are plainer. Some of the numbers display such differences in shape and ink colour that it is clear that at least one additional hand contributed to the numeration (see Image 9.12). The *beta* at the start of quire 2 (fol. 9r) and quire 12 (fol. 96v) has an enlarged lower bowl, and is distinctly different to the cursive *beta* at the start of quire 12 (fol. 89r). There is also a cursive *delta* at the start of quire 14 (fol. 105r) which contrasts with other majuscule examples of *delta*. The differences in the writing of *stigma* (the numeral 6) are interesting. This is written three times as  $\sigma\tau$  (quire 6 start and end, and quire 26 start) but once as  $\zeta$  (quire 16 end, fol. 128v). It is possible that some of the numbers were added during the rebinding of the manuscript, although it was definitely trimmed after the addition of the quire numbers, as is evidenced by the almost total loss of quire number 17.

A new section of the liturgical calendar does not necessarily start on a new quire. The beginning of Synaxarion section 2, the portion from Matthew, follows John within the same quire and indeed on the same page (quire 3, fol. 21v). Synaxarion section 3, the Lukan section, begins on a new quire and a new page (quire 8, fol. 57r) but this could be coincidence. The first weekday readings of Synaxarion 4 are all instructions to locate the lections elsewhere and appear at the end of folio 104v, the end of quire 13. This puts the first full reading of Lent on a new page and quire. However, there is no indication of a break between Synaxarion sections 4 and 5 on folio 111v at all, and the lections continue without interruption. The beginning of the Menologion occurs on the last page of quire 18 (fol. 144v) and is not separated. Each month then follows on, saving as much space as possible. This supports Jordan's theory that sections of a lectionary do not have to begin on a new gathering, although there is some evidence of some sections beginning on fresh quires.<sup>23</sup> It may also suggest that the scholarly segmentation of the Synaxarion into sections may not have been the way the church year was understood during Byzantine times.

## THE CONTENTS OF LECTIONARY 299

The contents of the lectionary in Codex Zacynthius are summarised for easy reference in Table 9.1 (more detailed listings are provided in the lists at the end of this chapter).

Folio number	Contents
1r	The beginning of Synaxarion section 1: John. (Easter.) <i>Pi</i> headpiece.
21v	The beginning of Synaxarion section 2: Matthew. (Pentecost.) Band headpiece.
57r	The beginning of Synaxarion section 3: Luke. (Elevation of the Cross.) <i>Pi</i> headpiece.
83r	The beginning of Mark within Synaxarion 3. No decoration.
104v	The beginning of Synaxarion section 4: Mark. Initial lections are all cross-references.
105r	First full lection of Synaxarion 4: Mark. (Lent.) <i>Pi</i> headpiece.

<sup>23</sup> Jordan, 'The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John,' 9.

111v	The beginning of Synaxarion section 5: Holy Week. No decoration.
126r	The beginning of the twelve Gospels of the Passions. These were read during a vigil from Maundy Thursday to Good Friday. Decoration.
137v	The beginning of the four lections of the canonical hours on Good Friday. Decoration.
140v	Good Friday Vespers reading. Decoration.
143r	Sabbath Vespers reading. Decoration.
144v	The beginning of the Menologion. Band headpiece. September.
149r	Start of October.
151v	Start of November.
154r	Start of December.
159r	Start of January.
164r	Start of February.
166r	Start of March.
167v	Start of April.
168r	Start of May.
171r	Start of July.
172v	Start of August.
176r	Start of June. This leaf is displaced and should follow fol. 168v.

Table 9.1: Summary of Contents of Lectionary 299.

Each lection in Zacynthius can be navigated by associating the correct text with the correct heading. The lection heading at the top of the page goes with the first new lection on that page, and any subsequent lections beginning on the same page have their headings written next to them. In addition, the evangelist is normally specified, allowing the reader to locate the day within the correct Synaxarion period. These headings are often heavily abbreviated, giving the day, the week and the evangelist. An example of this would be *τη πα της γ εβδ κατ λουκ*, which is the reading for the Friday (*παρασκευή*) of the (*τῆς*) third (*γ*) week (*ἐβδομάδος*) according to (*κατά*) Luke (*Λούκαν*): Synaxarion 3 Week 3 Day 6 (abbreviated as S3W3D6 in tables and transcriptions). Typical abbreviations in this manuscript include:

- *σα* for *σαββάτω* (Saturday)
- *κυ* for *κυριακή* (Sunday)
- *πα* for *παρασκευή* (Friday)
- *εβδ* for *ἐβδομάδος* (week)
- *ν* for *πεντηκοστής* (Pentecost)
- *μεσον* for *μεσοπεντηκοστής* (Mid-Pentecost)
- *νηστει* for *νηστειῶν* (Lent)
- *κατ* for *κατά* (according to)
- *ματθ* for *ματθαῖον* (Matthew)
- *μαρ* for *μάρκον* (Mark)

- λουκ for λούκαν (Luke)
- ιω for ιωάννην (John)

The service is not normally specified in the heading, as most Gospel lectionaries were read during Divine Liturgy. Only on days with more than one reading are service identifiers written. These are also sometimes abbreviated:

- ορθ for ὄρθρος (Matins, sometimes also written as πρωί)
- λειτ for λειτουργίαν (Liturgy)
- εσπ for ἑσπέρας (Vespers)
- απο δειπ for ἀπὸ δείπνον (Literally ‘after dinner’, so Compline)
- ωρ for ὥρα (Hours).

On occasion, specific days have their own titles which would have been known to the lectors. Examples include κυριακή τῆς σαμαρείτιδος, ‘Sunday of the Samaritan Woman’, or κυριακή τοῦ τελώνου καὶ τοῦ φαρισαίου, ‘Sunday of the Tax-Collector and the Pharisee’. Other titles seen more than once in this lectionary include:

- διακαινήσιμου (Easter Week or Bright Week)
- πάσχα (Easter)
- προεόρτιον (forefeast)
- μεθεόρτιον (after-feast)
- τα φώτα (divine lights; Theophany or Epiphany).

The Synaxarion readings follow two patterns of lections. Weekend readings follow each other (Saturdays to Saturdays and Sundays to Sundays) in a relatively sequential pattern, while the weekday readings follow a separate sequence. This is quite normal for a Byzantine lectionary, but when the lections are listed by contents, the jumps backwards within a gospel for the weekend readings can be quite striking. Krueger and Nelson suggest that this was caused by combining an older system for weekend readings with a newer arrangement for weekdays.<sup>24</sup> As would be expected for a twelfth-century manuscript, Codex Zacynthius follows this combined system.

Many lections are repeated by having two different calendars of readings. To avoid duplication, scribes came up with a system of cross-referencing which saved both time and space. On numerous occasions, largely in the Menologion, the lection heading is given and then, after the word ζῆται meaning ‘seek’, the reference of where the full text of that passage can be found in the lectionary. These cross-references are often heavily abbreviated.

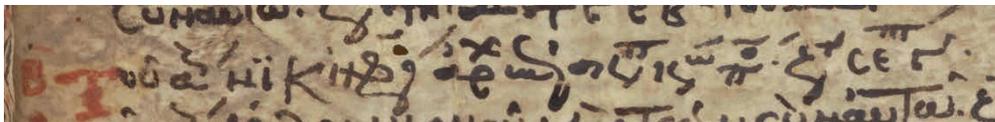


Image 9.13: Folio 176r June 2 abbreviations

For example, on June 2, Lectionary 299 reads του αγ νικηφο αρχεπισκπ κωπο ζτ σεπτ γ (see Image 9.13). This may be expanded as τοῦ ἀγίου νικηφόρου ἀρχιεπίσκοπου

<sup>24</sup> Krueger and Nelson, ‘New Testaments of Byzantium,’ 11. See also Osburn, ‘The Greek Lectionaries,’ 105.

κωνσταντινουπόλεως. ζήτει σεπτεμβρίω γ' ('Saint Nicephorus, Archbishop of Constantinople. Seek September 3.'). A full list of the Menologion headings for this manuscript is provided at the end of this chapter to assist with navigating these abbreviations.

The lections given in full in the Menologion do not have any particular liturgical significance. They are written out either because that passage had not previously occurred in the codex so needed a full lection, or because the verse spread needed was complex and indicating it by the addition of ἀρχή and τέλος marks within an existing lection may have caused confusion. The texts written in full in the Menologion are listed in Table 9.2. Specific services for the day are noted if appropriate. Errors in the evangelist ascriptions in the titles are recorded in quotation marks, with the correct source given in the reference. There are more incorrect ascriptions in the Menologion than the Synaxarion, probably because of the regularity of the sequence of the gospels within the Synaxarion which contrasts with the lack of order in the Menologion.<sup>25</sup> Lections with only the initial words of the first verse are not included in Table 9.2, as these initial incipits are simply a marker. For example, references to Matthew 5:14–19 include the words ὑμεῖς ἐστε after the instruction to seek the passage for September 2. This shows the reader that the lection required is the second one on that day, from Matthew, not the first one (John 15:1–7).

Day	Text
Sept. 2	Matthew 5:14–19
Sept. 3	John 10:9–16
Sept. 8 Matins	Luke 1:39–49, 56
Sept. 8 Liturgy	Luke 10:38–42; 11:27–28
Sept. 13	John 12:25–36
Sunday before the Elevation of the Cross	John 3:13–17
Sept. 14	John 19:6, 9–11, 13–20, 25–28, 30–35
Sept. 30	Matthew 24:42–47
Oct. 8	John 8:3–11
Oct. 9	Matthew 10:1–7, 14–15
Oct. 11	Mark 13:33–37; 14:3–9 ('Luke')
Oct. 13	Matthew 7:12–21
Oct. 18	Luke 10:16–21
Nov. 1 Liturgy	Matthew 10:1–8
Nov. 5	Mark 8:34–35; 10:29–31
Nov. 6	Luke 12:8–12 ('Matthew')
Nov. 10 Liturgy	Luke 14:25–27, 33–35 ('Matthew')
Nov. 13 Matins	John 10:1–9

<sup>25</sup> See also L1635 for this ascription problem in the Menologion: Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary*, 72.

Nov. 29	Matthew 10:17–18, 23–25, 28–31 (‘Mark’)
Dec. 17	Luke 11:44–50
Sunday before Christmas Day	Matthew 1:1–25
Dec. 24 (3rd hour)	Luke 2:1–20
Dec. 25 Liturgy	Matthew 2:1–12
Dec. 26	Matthew 2:13–23
Saturday after Christmas Day	Matthew 12:15–21
Jan. 1 Liturgy	Luke 2:20–21, 40–52
Jan. 3	Matthew 3:1, 5–11
Saturday before Epiphany	Matthew 3:1–6
Sunday before Epiphany	Mark 1:1–8
Jan. 5	Luke 3:1–18
Jan. 6 Matins	Mark 1:9–11
Jan. 6 Liturgy	Matthew 3:13–17
Jan. 7	John 1:29–34 (‘Matthew’)
Saturday after Epiphany	Matthew 4:1–11
Sunday after Epiphany	Matthew 4:12–17
Jan. 9	Luke 3:21–22; 4:1–2, 14–15
Jan. 12	John 10:39–42
Feb. 2 Liturgy	Luke 2:22–40
Feb. 15	Luke 10:3–9
Feb. 23	John 12:24–26, 35–36
Mar. 25 Liturgy	Luke 1:24–38
May 8 Liturgy	John 19:25–27; 21:24–25
June 19	Luke 6:20–26; 10:23–24; 11:33
June 24 Liturgy	Luke 1:1–25, 57–68, 76–80
June 29 Liturgy	Matthew 16:13–19
July 8	Luke 6:17–19; 9:1–2; 10:16–21
Aug. 6 Matins	Luke 9:28–36
Aug. 6 Liturgy	Matthew 17:1–9
Aug. 7	Mark 9:2–9
Aug. 29 Liturgy	Mark 6:14–30

Table 9.2: Gospel Texts Written in Full in the Menologion in Lectionary 299.

A comparison with a similar table for the Jaharis Lectionary (Lectionary 351) shows that fewer passages are written in full in Codex Zacynthius.<sup>26</sup> The Jaharis Lectionary was written for Hagia Sophia, the cathedral of Constantinople and seat of the Patriarch. While sixty-five lections are given in full in Jaharis, Zacynthius by contrast cites fifty. From an entire year’s worth of lections, including multiple readings for many days, this illustrates how few lections were actually penned in full in the Menologion of both manuscripts.

<sup>26</sup> John Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary: The Story of a Byzantine Book* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), Appendix 2 on 116–7.

The majority of readings for each day correspond exactly, but Zacynthius consistently saves parchment by writing cross-references. On September 1, the first lection of the year, Luke 4:16–22, is written in full in Jaharis, but Zacynthius refers to Synaxarion 3 Week 1 Day 5. On September 6, Mark 12:28–37 in full appears in Jaharis and Zacynthius refers to Synaxarion 3 Week 16 Day 4 after a short incipit. As a general rule, in the earlier part of the year the two manuscripts cite the same lections in full. However, towards the latter part of the year Zacynthius uses cross-references more freely. These cross-references correspond with the same passage as Jaharis with three exceptions:

- June 30: Zacynthius refers to Matthew 10:23–31; Jaharis has the text of Matthew 9:36–10:8
- August 12: Zacynthius refers to Luke 9:1–6; Jaharis has John 12:35–36, 44–50
- August 16: Zacynthius refers to John 15:1–7; Jaharis has the text of Luke 9:51–56, 10:22–24, 13:22.

This suggests that the decision to cross-refer in Zacynthius rather than write texts in full was not because of a difference in the expected text but because of a need to save parchment. This may be explained by observing that Jaharis was written for the cathedral of the patriarch, whereas Codex Zacynthius bears the marks of a more provincial production.

The markings for lections used in continuous text manuscripts can also be found in lectionaries themselves. Within longer lections, there are *ἀρχή* and *τέλος* marks signalling the beginnings and ends of shorter lections.<sup>27</sup> This occurs when a cross-reference points to a subsection of a longer lection, and the copyist has noted the start and end of this shorter reading to aid the reader. A good example of these markings is found on folio 130r, where the start and end of the reading for July 16, in memory of the Fifth Synod, are noted part-way through a lection. Also attached to the marginal notes here is the required incipit for the lection, *εἶπεν ὁ κύριος*. It is clear that the copyist was aware of this shorter lection when copying the original passage, as its beginning is marked by a new paragraph and red letter in *ekthesis*. At first appearance, an additional lection marked like this could be presumed to be a secondary addition, but this may not necessarily be the case. The scribe may have followed an exemplar in the way the lections were laid out.

In the lectionary of Codex Zacynthius the cross-references do not always refer backwards to a passage already written. Some are found very early in the Synaxarion and point forwards in the codex to a lection which was yet to be copied. The first example of this is Week 1 Day 3 in John, right at the beginning of the Synaxarion, which instructs the reader to locate this passage from Luke in Resurrection reading 5. However, as mentioned above, the Resurrection pericopes are not extant in this manuscript, so a lector would search in vain. Also, on the very first day, Easter Sunday, there is traditionally a second reading of John 20:19–25. This is not written or referenced at all here in Lectionary 299,

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<sup>27</sup> For other lectionary abbreviations commonly found, see Teunis Van Lopik, ‘Some Notes on the *Pericope Adulterae* in Byzantine Liturgy,’ in *Liturgy and the Living Text of the New Testament* (ed. H.A.G. Houghton. T&S 3.16. Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2018), 151–76, esp. 160.

yet where John 20 is written later in the Synaxarion, the end of this first reading is marked in the margin with a τέλος sign. There is some confusion in double readings, where a cross-reference points the reader to one lection, but a marginal note alongside another lection offers an alternative. For example, the cross-reference for September 5th points the reader to Synaxarion 2 Week 11 Day 4 (Matthew 23:29–39), yet we find a heading for the beginning of the Saint Zechariah reading beside the same text in Synaxarion 5 Week 1 Day 3a. Or, on folio 116r, the heading of a lection has been changed and additional rubrics added to alter the occasion on which this text should be read, causing confusion over what to read here.<sup>28</sup> There are even examples of alternative texts for lections, such as on folio 130r where a lection heading in the margin marks the text for July 16 as John 17:11–21, yet the cross-reference in the Menologion list for July 16 (fol. 172r) suggests reading Synaxarion 1 Week 3 Day 7, John 15:17–16:2. The system in Zacynthius is not straightforward, and often relies on the knowledge of the lector to enable use of the manuscript. There are cross-references to days which also have cross-references, leading the reader on a chase around the lectionary to locate the correct reading. By the end of the Menologion, almost entire months are written as headings and instructions, because by this point in the codex most lections have been penned already (compare Image 9.10). This lectionary was written to save space and cost, not to be easy to use.

On some occasions, the instructions are quite complicated. In the middle of the lection for Synaxarion 5 Week 1 Day 6b on folio 138v, there are instructions to read the text for the middle portion of the lection elsewhere and then to carry on reading the end of the lection as is written. The instructions after Mark 15:15 may be roughly translated as: ‘Seek the sixth Gospel reading of the Passions and read until the end. And again, come back here and begin again with this until the end’. The text then resumes with Mark 15:32. Similarly, on folio 174v for August 15, the lector is instructed to read two readings together, those of the Matins and the Liturgy on September 8 to make one longer lection. Christmas is a particularly complicated time for this lectionary. On the Saturday before Christmas Day, which elsewhere is normally Matthew 1:1–25, Codex Zacynthius instead has the full text of this passage on the following day (the Sunday before Christmas), and the Saturday has a cross-reference to Synaxarion 3 Week 12 Day 7 (Luke 13:19–29). On December 24th, the Matins reading is marked in the middle of the Matthew 1:1–25 text of this reading for the Sunday before Christmas, and this additional marker apparently also serves for the Christmas Day Matins reading. The additional hours readings for Christmas Eve are not cross-referenced using ζῆται, but are found in the margins to the readings of Christmas Day Liturgy and the Boxing Day reading. Was this confusion caused by the desire to save parchment or were different strands of lectionary tradition being incorporated into this lectionary?

While lectionaries were used mainly for daily Divine Liturgy and Sunday Matins services, the lectionary system in Codex Zacynthius shows that this book was also used for the monastic hours of Good Friday, throughout Christmas Day, and also for occasional Vigils and Vespers services.<sup>29</sup> The extra services and lections in this manuscript suggest a

<sup>28</sup> See the discussion in the list of selected corrections later in this chapter.

<sup>29</sup> Services for monasteries include Divine Liturgy, Vespers, Compline, Vigils, Matins, 1st, 3rd, 6th and 9th hour services. We find evidence for all of these in Zacynthius.

monastic background either for its provenance or for its intended use. During the Divine Liturgy, the lectionary codex would be carried in procession by the deacon during the Little Entrance; the readings were recited from a lectern outside the *bema* by a priest or deacon; and the book was placed on the altar.<sup>30</sup> Weitzmann is the only advocate of the position that decorated lectionaries were for display only and were placed on the altar without being read.<sup>31</sup> The repair to the cover of Zacynthus, as well as its contents, bears witness to the fact that it was not a display lectionary but a working book.

### *Prokeimena and Stichoi*

Further evidence for the use of Lectionary 299 during the liturgy is seen in the *prokeimena* (responsories) and *stichoi* (Psalm verses) attached to some of the lections. These are the Psalms chanted before and after the lection, with instructions for the chanting tone. Some of these are copied by the original scribe, presumably from an exemplar containing the same information. Others are marginal notes added by later hands to aid in the use of the book, for example on folio 60r beside the lection for Synaxarion 3 Week 2 Day 6. References like these are largely restricted to working texts. There are fewer examples in the Synaxarion of this manuscript, although one is found on folio 110r, the Matins reading for Palm Sunday with text from Psalms 8:2 and 9 (see Image 9.14); instead, they are much more common in the Menologion. Table 9.3 lists the text for each *prokeimenon* and *stichos* in the Menologion in Codex Zacynthus, along with a translation and the verse reference both in the Septuagint and in modern Bibles.<sup>32</sup>

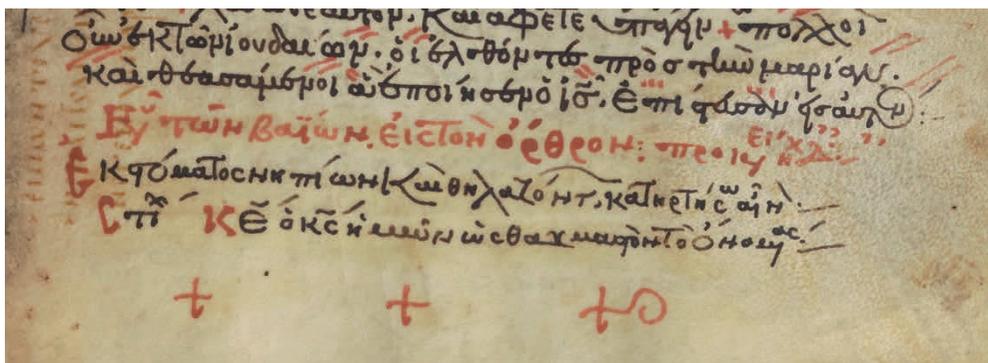


Image 9.14: Folio 110r *prokeimenon* and *stichos* readings

<sup>30</sup> Jordan, 'The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John,' 79. On Easter Sunday the readings were recited from the altar table inside the *bema* by a senior priest.

<sup>31</sup> Jordan, 'The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John,' 35.

<sup>32</sup> The translation is based on the New English Translation of the Septuagint, Psalms section translated by A. Pietsma. Available online from: <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/> [Accessed 30.10.2019].

Sept. 8	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	μνησθήσομ(αι) τοῦ ὀνόμ(α)τ(ος) (I will remember [your] name.)	Ps 44:18 (Ps 45:17)
	<i>Stichos</i>	ἄκουσον θύγατερ (Hear O daughter.)	Ps 44:11 (Ps 45:10)
Sept. 14	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	ὁ θε(εὸς) βασιλεὺς ἡμ(ῶν) πρὸ αἰῶνο(ς) εἰργά(σα)τ(ο) (Yet God is our King from of old, he worked [deliverance].)	Ps 73:12 (Ps 74:12)
	<i>Stichos</i>	μνησθητι τῆς συναγωγῆς σου ἧς ἐκτίσω ἀπ' ἀρχ(ῆς) (Remember your congregation, which you acquired long ago.)	Ps 73:2 (Ps 74:2)
Oct. 22	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	τίμι(ος) ἐναντίον κ(υρί)ου (Precious before the Lord.)	Ps 115:6 (Ps 116:15)
	<i>Stichos</i>	τί ἀνταποδώ(σω) τῷ κ(υρί)ῳ (What shall I return to the Lord.)	Ps 115:3 (Ps 116:12)
Nov. 1	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	(θαυμαστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τ)οῖς ἀγ(ιοις) αὐτ(οῦ) ὁ θε(εὸς) ἰ(σρα)ήλ (Admirable is God among his saints, the God of Israel.)	Ps 67:36 (Ps 68:35)
	<i>Stichos</i>	ἐν ἐκκλησίαις εὐ(λογεῖτε) (Bless [God] in assemblies.)	Ps 67:27 (Ps 68:26)
Nov. 8	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	(ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς) ἀγγέλ(ους) αὐτ(οῦ) (He who makes spirits his messengers.)	Ps 103:4 (Ps 104:4)
	<i>Stichos</i>	εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχὴ μ(ου) τ(ὸν) (Bless the [Lord], O my soul.)	Ps 103:1 (Ps 104:1)
Nov. 10	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	τίμι(ος) ἐναντί(ον) (Precious before [the Lord].)	Ps 115:6 (Ps 116:15)
	<i>Stichos</i>	τί ἀνταποδώ(σω) (What shall I return.)	Ps 115:3 (Ps 116:12)
Nov. 13	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	τίμι(ος) ἐναντί(ον) κ(υρί)ου (Precious before the Lord.)	Ps 115:6 (Ps 116:15)
	<i>Stichos</i>	τί ἀνταποδώ(σω) τῷ κ(υρί)ῳ (What shall I return to the Lord.)	Ps 115:3 (Ps 116:12)
Nov. 21	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	μνησθήσομ(αι) τοῦ ὀνόματο(ς) (I will remember [your] name.)	Ps 44:18 (Ps 45:17)
	<i>Stichos</i>	ἄκουσον θύγατ(ερ) (Hear O daughter.)	Ps 44:11 (Ps 45:10)
Dec. 25	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγεννησά σε ω (From the womb, before Morning-star, I brought you forth.)	Ps 109:3 (Ps 110:3)
	<i>Stichos</i>	εἶπεν ὁ κ(ύρι)ος τῷ κ(υρί)ῳ μου κάθ(ου) ἐκ (The Lord said to my lord, "Sit [on my right]".)	Ps 109:1 (Ps 110:1)
Jan. 1	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	τίμι(ος) ἐναντ(ιον) κ(υρί)ου (Precious before the Lord.)	Ps 115:6 (Ps 116:15)
	<i>Stichos</i>	τί ἀνταποδ(ώσω) (What shall I return.)	Ps 115:3 (Ps 116:12)

Jan. 6	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	φωνή κ(υρίο)υ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτ(ων) (The Lord's voice is over the waters.)	Ps 28:3 (Ps 29:3)
	<i>Stichos</i>	ἐνέγκατε τῷ κ(υρί)ῳ υἱοὶ θε(ο)ῦ (Bring to the Lord, O divine sons.)	Ps 28:1 (Ps 29:1)
Feb. 2	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	ἐγνώρισε κ(ύριο)ς τὸ σ(ωτή)ριον αὐτ(οῦ) ἐναντίον τῶν ἔθν(ων) ἀπεκάλυ(ψεν) τ(ήν) δι(καιο)σύνην αὐτ(οῦ) (The Lord made known his deliverance; before the nations he revealed his righteousness.)	Ps 97:2 (Ps 98:2)
	<i>Stichos</i>	εἶδοσαν πάντα τὰ πέρατ(α) τῆς γ(ῆ)ς (All the ends of the earth saw.)	Ps 97:3 (Ps 98:3)
Mar. 25	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	καταβήσεται κ(ύριο)ς ὡς ὑετὸς ἐπὶ πόκον καὶ ὡσεὶ σταγῶν(ες) ἢ στά(ζουσαι) (He will descend like rain on a fleece, and like drops dripping [on the earth].)	Ps 71:6 (Ps 72:6)
	<i>Stichos</i>	ἀνατελεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέ(ραι)ς αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύ(νη) καὶ πλήθ(ος) (In his days righteousness will sprout, and an abundance [of peace].)	Ps 71:7 (Ps 72:7)
May 8	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	εἰς πᾶ(σαν) τ(ήν) γῆν ἐξῆλθ(εν) ([Their sound] went out to all the earth.)	Ps 18:5 (Ps 19:4)
	<i>Stichos</i>	οἱ οὐ(ρα)νοὶ διηγούντ(αι) (The heavens are telling [of divine glory].)	Ps 18:2 (Ps 19:1)
June 24	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	ἐκεῖ ἐξανατελῶ κέρ(ας) τῷ δα(υ)ῖδ ἡτοίμασα λύχνον τῷ χ(ριστ)ῷ μου (There I will cause a horn to sprout up for David; I prepared a lamp for my anointed one.)	Ps 131:17 (Ps 132:17)
	<i>Stichos</i>	μνησθητι κ(ύρι)ε τοῦ δα(υ)ῖδ κ(αι) πᾶ(σης) (O Lord, remember David and all [his meekness].)	Ps 131:1 (Ps 132:1)
June 29	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθ(εν) ὁ φθόγγος (Their sound went out to all the earth.)	Ps 18:5 (Ps 19:4)
	<i>Stichos</i>	οἱ οὐ(ρα)νοὶ διηγούνται (The heavens are telling [of divine glory].)	Ps 18:2 (Ps 19:1)
Aug. 6	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	θαβῶρ καὶ ἔρμων ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἀγαλλιάσονται (Thabor and Hermon will rejoice in your name.)	Ps 88:13 (Ps 89:12)
	<i>Stichos</i>	μακάριος ὁ λαὸς ὁ γινώσκων ἀλλαλαγμὸν κ(ύρι)ε ἐν τῷ φωτὶ τῆς δόξης τοῦ προσώπου σου πορεύσονται (Happy are the people who know a shout for joy; O Lord, in the light of your countenance they will walk.)	Ps 88:16 (Ps 89:15)
Aug. 15	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	μνησθήσομ(αι) τοῦ ὀνόμ(ατος) (I will remember your name.)	Ps 44:18 (Ps 45:17)
	<i>Stichos</i>	ἄκουσ(ον) θύγατ(ερ) (Hear O daughter.)	Ps 44:11 (Ps 45:10)

Aug. 29	<i>Prokeimenon</i>	τίμιος ἐναντίον κυρίου ὁ θάνατος (Precious before the Lord is the death [of his devout ones].)	Ps 115:6 (Ps 116:15)
	<i>Stichos</i>	τί ἀνταποδώ(σω) τῷ κυρίῳ (What shall I return to the Lord.)	Ps 115:3 (Ps 116:12)

Table 9.3: *Prokeimena* and *stichoi* texts from Psalms in the Menologion of L299.

There are nineteen examples of *prokeimena* and *stichoi* in the Menologion of Codex Zacynthius. Lowden suggests that these commemorations are for feasts with higher status in the calendar, possibly when the Patriarch himself read the Gospel in Constantinople.<sup>33</sup> All but three lections in Codex Zacynthius have instructions to sing in the fourth tone (ἦχος δ'): September 14th lacks any tonal instructions; August 15th indicates a non-specific plagal tone; August 29th the grave (*barys*) tone. The addition of these rubrics is a key link to the Constantinopolitan rite. A comparison with the Jaharis Lectionary, an illuminated Patriarchal lectionary known to have been produced in Constantinople, shows a very close relationship in the application of these rubrics. The Jaharis Lectionary lacks the expected rubrics for January 25, Gregory the Theologian, and February 24, the discovery of the head of John the Baptist. For both of these lections, Zacynthius has a Matins reading and a Liturgy reading, but likewise no *prokeimenon* or *stichos*. Of the seventeen lections listed as having special status with *prokeimena* and *stichoi* by Lowden, all are present in Codex Zacynthius.<sup>34</sup> The Psalm references are also remarkably close, including agreeing with the Jaharis Lectionary against the text published by Mateos.<sup>35</sup> The only exception is August 15th, where Jaharis has Luke 1:46 and 1:48 but Zacynthius contains text from Psalm 44 which corresponds to 'another *prokeimenon*' at this point in the Jaharis Lectionary.

In addition, however, a *prokeimenon* and *stichos* occur in Codex Zacynthius on four further days when they would not normally be expected. These days are:

- November 1 (Cosmas and Damian)
- November 10 (Neilos)
- January 1 (Circumcision of Christ and Basil the Great)
- May 8 (John the Theologian, apostle and evangelist).

Given that it is likely that these rubrics add status to a particular commemoration, these days are unusual and may shed light on the provenance of the manuscript or, if not the place of production, its intended recipient. We will return to these commemorations.

### References to Constantinople and Patriarchs

The rite of Constantinople was far reaching in the Byzantine period, so we would expect to see many references to the city in a Menologion from this period. However, the sum of Constantinople references in Zacynthius is significant. Table 9.4 contains the notable

<sup>33</sup> Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary*, 37.

<sup>34</sup> Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary*, 37, Table 6.

<sup>35</sup> Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary*, 120, referring to Juan Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise* (Rome: Edizioni Orientalia Christiana, 1962–3).

Constantinopolitan references and their day of commemoration, and also references considered key by Lowden to categorise his illuminated Patriarchal manuscripts.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Commemoration</b>
Sept. 1	Service in the church of the Theotokos Chalkoprateion and after in the great Church. The Great Fire of Constantinople in 465 AD.
Sept. 11	Dedication of the Church of Christ's Resurrection in Jerusalem (The Holy Sepulchre). This commemoration is found in the patriarchal lectionaries.
Sept. 14	Sixth Church Synod.
Sept. 21	The Church of the Theotokos in Petra, part of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.
Sept. 25	Processional liturgy of the Kampos.
Oct. 11	Seventh Church Synod. Generally held on Oct. 12; L299 is ambiguous regarding the commemoration date.
Oct. 22	Abercius, Bishop of Hierapolis. The Patriarchate dedicated a chapel to him.
Oct. 26	The great earthquake of 740 AD in Constantinople.
Nov. 1	Cosmas and Damian. Relics held in Constantinople.
Nov. 6	Service in the Great Church and procession in memory of the ashes (rain of cinders).
Nov. 10	Neilos. Prefect of Constantinople, before becoming a monk of Sinai.
Dec. 22	Opening of the Great Church.
Dec. 23	Dedication of the Great Church.
Jan. 1	Basil the Great. Trained at Constantinople.
Jan. 9	The great earthquake of 869 AD in Constantinople.
Jan. 12	Stephen Abbot of Khenolakkos Monastery, Chalcedon (often remembered on Jan. 14). Geographically opposite Constantinople.
Jan. 27	Translation of the relics of John Chrysostom to Constantinople.
Feb. 22	Uncovering of the relics of the Holy Martyrs at the Gate of Eugenius at Constantinople.
Mar. 13	Translation of the relics of Nicephorus to Constantinople.
Mar. 15	John of Roushinianai, a Monastery in Constantinople.
May 1	Dedication of the New Imperial Church (in 881 AD).
May 11	Birthday of Constantinople.
June 5	Procession of the Kampos. Defeat of the Barbarians. Church of Saint Babylas.
July 2	Deposition of the robe of the Theotokos at Blachernae, Constantinople.
July 15	Fourth and Fifth Church Synods.
Aug. 31	Deposition of the Holy Girdle of the Theotokos (at Chalkoprateion).

Table 9.4: Notable Constantinople references in the Menologion of Lectionary 299.

Of the twenty-five references given in Lowden as significant, Zacynthius has fourteen, plus extra mentions of Constantinople in other commemorations.<sup>36</sup> It lacks the longer *Taxis* and *Akolouthia* of September 1, but does make reference to the procession. Zacynthius is certainly not grand enough to be one of the Patriarchal lectionaries, but the exemplar may have had additional rubrics reflecting this origin. Many of the references to Constantinople in Table 9.4 are a normal part of the Menologion for Byzantine manuscripts. However, the combination of so many references is striking. Each day has a selection of possible dedications and accompanying texts, and to see so many based around Constantinople raises questions regarding the exemplar.

A great number of Patriarchs is found throughout the Menologion in Zacynthius. Table 9.5 lists the commemorations of Patriarchs, providing a further link to Constantinople.

<b>Commemoration date</b>	<b>Patriarch</b>	<b>Reign Dates<sup>37</sup></b>	<b>Title in L299</b>
Sept. 2	John the Faster (IV, Nesteutes)	582–595	Patriarch
Sept. 2	Paul the Younger (III)	688–94	Patriarch
Oct. 11	Nectarius	381–97	Patriarch
Oct. 11	Arsacius	404–5	Patriarch
Oct. 11	Atticus	406–25	Patriarch
Oct. 11	Sisinnius (I)	426–27	Patriarch
Oct. 23	Ignatius	847–58, 867–77	Patriarch
Nov. 6	Paul the Confessor (I)	337–339, 341–2, 346– 51	Saint
Nov. 13	John Chrysostom	398–404	Saint, Archbishop
Nov. 20	Proclus	434–46	Patriarch
Nov. 20	Maximianus (Maximian)	431–34	Patriarch
Nov. 20	Anatolius	449–58	Patriarch
Nov. 20	Gennadius (I)	458–71	Patriarch
Jan. 25	Gregory the Theologian (I, Nazianzos)	379–81	Saint
Jan. 27	John Chrysostom (relics)	398–404	Saint
Feb. 12	Meletius of Antioch	-	Patriarch (normally considered a Bishop)
Feb. 12	Anthony (II)	893–901	Patriarch
Feb. 18	Flavian	447–49	Saint
Feb. 22	Thomas (II)	667–69	Patriarch
Feb. 25	Tarasius	784–806	Archbishop

<sup>36</sup> Lowden, *The Jabaris Gospel Lectionary*, 32–4, Table 4.

<sup>37</sup> Reign dates taken from 'Bishops/Patriarchs of Constantinople', Fordham University, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/byzantium/texts/byzpatcp.asp>.

Mar. 13	Nicephorus (I) (relics)	806–15	Holy
Mar. 22	Thomas (I)	607–10	Bishop
Apr. 6	Eutychius	552–65	Archbishop
May 12	Germanus (I)	715–30	Saint
May 31	Eustathius	1019–25	Patriarch
June 2	Nicephorus (I)	806–15	Archbishop
June 4	Metrophanes (I)	306–314	Saint, Archbishop
June 14	Methodius (I)	843–47	Archbishop
Aug. 25	Epiphanius	520–35	Patriarch
Aug. 25	Menas	536–52	Patriarch
Aug. 25	John (II, Kappadokos)	518–20	Patriarch
Aug. 30	Alexander	314–337	Patriarch
Aug. 30	John the Younger (III, Scholastikos)	565–77	Patriarch
(Aug. 30)	(Paul IV may be referenced as ‘and the rest’)	(780–84)	(Patriarch)

Table 9.5: List of Patriarchs of Constantinople included in the Menologion of L299.

The Zacynthius lectionary is missing some of the Patriarchs regularly listed in the Menologion:

1. Cyriacus II, 596–606.
2. Nicholas II, 984–95.
3. Polyeuctus, 956–970.
4. Photius, 858–86.
5. Sergius II, 1001–19.
6. Nicholas I, 901–25.
7. Stephen I, 886–93.
8. Stephen II, 925–28.
9. Euthymius I, 907–12.

At first glance, this could be assumed to reflect the later dates of most of these Patriarchs. However, Zacynthius does include Anthony II (893–901) on February 12 and Eustathius (1019–25) on May 31, so the date appears not to be significant. Of the forty-two patriarchs listed by Lowden, Jaharis has thirty-six; Zacynthius has thirty-two, four fewer than the Patriarchal lectionary, but still a significant number.<sup>38</sup> Zacynthius continues with its space saving techniques even here, simplifying the lists by grouping the Patriarchs. This is why it is unclear whether Paul IV is intended in the reference ‘and the rest’ on August 30. Such grouping of companions can also be seen in the New York Cruciform Lectionary.<sup>39</sup>

The description of the titles of the Patriarchs is also interesting. Those reigning before 451 AD were designated as ‘Archbishop’, while the title ‘Patriarch’ came into effect for

<sup>38</sup> Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary*, Table 5 on 34–5. The figure 32 for L299 does not include Paul IV as his name is not definitively given, nor Bishop Meletius.

<sup>39</sup> Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary*, 69.

Constantinople after the Council of Chalcedon. The commemorations in Zacynthius broadly support this traditional practice. Meletius of Antioch (Feb. 12) is listed as a Patriarch, even though tradition normally places him as a bishop. Tarasius (Feb. 25), although Patriarch was a layman at the time, and the title given by Zacynthius perhaps reflects this. The title bishop for Thomas I is harder to explain. Could the ‘αρχι’ of the exemplar have been overlooked in some way, demoting Thomas from Archbishop to Bishop?

Nelson, after Dolezal, identified an additional feature which ties the Patriarchal lectionaries together. In addition to the *Τάξις και ακολουθία* on September 1, these lectionaries commonly include a second reading for the fourth Sunday in Luke with additional rubrics concerning a church synod.<sup>40</sup> The appearance of this second lection is thus a strong pointer to a text influenced by a Constantinopolitan exemplar. The Zacynthius lectionary does not contain the double reading for the fourth Sunday in Luke. Of the fourteen entries listed as specific to Hagia Sophia by Nelson, Zacynthius includes nine. Nelson writes that ‘most Byzantine lectionaries were thought to follow the rite of Constantinople no matter where they were made and examples can be deduced of provincial manuscripts with rubrics detailing processions in the capital’.<sup>41</sup> The Zacynthius lectionary thus appears to be one of those provincial manuscripts. Indeed, the same lection that proves pivotal for Constantinopolitan affiliation may be used to demonstrate the rural production of Zacynthius: the fourth Sunday reading in Luke in this manuscript features a marginal note praying for the harvest (*φέρετε τοὺς σπόρους, σήμερον οἱ γεωργοί*, ‘Bring the harvest today, farmers’: see Image 9.9, folio 65r top margin).

As mentioned above, the lections of Cosmas and Damian (Nov. 1), Neilos (Nov. 10), the Circumcision of Christ and Basil the Great (Jan. 1), and John the Theologian (May 8) are unexpectedly highlighted. A link to Constantinople for these lections with additional rubrics may be posited in several cases. Cosmas and Damian had their relics brought to Constantinople by the Emperor Justinian, with a basilica erected in their honour. Saint Neilos is usually celebrated on November 12, but in several manuscripts directly associated with Constantinople that date becomes November 10: before he became a monk of Sinai, Neilos was prefect of Constantinople. Basil the Great is considered the father of Eastern monasticism, and he also trained in Constantinople. Specific links between Constantinople and the Circumcision of Christ (although this is undoubtedly a major feast) and John the Theologian are more difficult to establish. It is possible that these are in some way connected with the provenance of Codex Zacynthius.

### THE SCRIBE OF THE LECTIONARY AND HIS MARGINAL NOTES

Despite the absence of a colophon, it has been possible to identify the scribe of this lectionary during the course of the Codex Zacynthius Project thanks to the expertise of our colleague Georgi Parpulov. Fourteen notes in the manuscript, as part of a series of comments added by the scribe, mention the name Neilos. Some of these are markers of

<sup>40</sup> Robert S. Nelson, ‘Patriarchal Lectionaries of Constantinople’, in *The New Testament in Byzantium* (ed. D. Krueger, and R.S. Nelson. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2016), 87–115, esp. 91.

<sup>41</sup> Nelson, ‘Patriarchal Lectionaries of Constantinople,’ 89.

conventional piety such as ‘Glory to God’ and injunctions for priests to remember Neilos during an all-night vigil, but others are more unusual. The notes are written in a dodecasyllabic format, as was common at the time, in both red and black ink. What is unusual about the scribal practice in this manuscript, and the others copied by Neilos which are listed below, is that such notes appear not simply at the beginning and end of the text, but throughout the document. Table 9.6 contains a transcription and translation of the marginal notes written by the first hand. Those in bold feature the name Neilos.

Folio	Text	Translation
1r	χ(ριστ)έ προηγού τών ἐμών πονημάτων	Christ, guide my works.
5r	κ(αι) εις κοιμηθ(έν)τ(ας)	And for those who have fallen asleep.
5r	και αὐτὸ εις κοιμηθ(έν)τ(ας) νεκρούς	And the same for the dead who have fallen asleep.
7v	εις κοιμηθ(έν)τ(ας)	For those who have fallen asleep.
8r	νέκρωμ(α)	For the lifeless.
<b>9r</b>	<b>ὦ κ(υρι)έ μου θεράπευσον και νεϊλον</b>	<b>O my Lord, heal also Neilos.</b>
<b>11r</b>	<b>νεϊλος ἀληθῶς ἀμαρτίας οἰκέτης</b>	<b>Neilos is truly a slave to sin.</b>
16v	χείραι μιαιραι τοῦ ὑπεραγίου γράφουν φείσαι κ(ύρι)ε φείσαι	Unclean hands: spare, Lord, spare this most holy writing.
17r	κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέ(ησον)	Lord have mercy.
24v	κ(ύρι)ε σώσον μ(έ) κατὰ χάριν	Lord save me by grace.
27v	δόξα σοι κ(ύρι)ε	Glory to you Lord.
35r	κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέ(ησον)	Lord have mercy.
39r	φείσαι κ(ύρι)ε φείσαι τὸν ὄλ(ως) ἄργόν	Spare, Lord, spare the one who is completely slow.
<b>40r</b>	<b>μνήσθ(η)τ(ι) θύτα ἐν ἀγρυπνία νεϊλον</b>	<b>Priest, remember Neilos in an all-night vigil.</b>
43v	κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέ(ησον)	Lord have mercy.
46v	δόξ(α) (σοι) κ(ύρι)ε	Glory (to you) Lord.
<b>54r</b>	<b>ἤμαρτον ὁμολογῶ σοι κ(ύρι)ε, ὁ ἄσωτος ἐγὼ νεϊλος</b>	<b>I confess to you Lord I have sinned, I the hopeless Neilos.</b>
61r	κ(ύρι)ε, τίς δύναται σωθῆναι	Lord, who can be saved.
<b>61v</b>	<b>οὐαί σοι πονηρὲ κ(αι) σαπρὲ νεϊλε</b>	<b>Woe to you worthless and evil Neilos.</b>
63v	ἐνύσταξα πολλ(ά) καριβαρηθ(εις), κ(αι) τί γράφ(ω) οὐκ οἶδα	I am very tired with a heavy head, and what I write I do not know.
64r	κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέ(ησον)	Lord have mercy.
64v	δόξ(α) (σοι) κ(ύρι)ε	Glory (to you) Lord.
65r	φέρετε τοὺς σπόρους σήμερ(ον) οἱ γεωργοί	Bring the harvest today, farmers.
65r	ἐνύσταζ(ον)	I am tired.

70v	οὐαὶ κ(αὶ) τ(οῖς) γράφουσι τὰ ἀπαλειφάδ(ια)	Woe also to those writing errors.
72v	δόξ(α) (σοι) κ(ύρι)ε	Glory (to you) Lord.
74r	μνήσθητε νεῖλον οἱ ἀγρυπνοῦντες θύται	<b>Priests, remember Neilos in the all-night vigil.</b>
76v	φείσαι κ(ύρι)ε τοῦ λαοῦ σου	Spare, Lord, your people.
77r	νυσταγμ(ός) πολὺς, κ(αὶ) μωρία	Very drowsy and foolish.
78r	εἰς ἀπαλειφάδ(ια), πύκτης ὁ γράφων	The one who writes tends towards errors.
88r	πρόσεχ(ε) λειτουργ(οὺς) τ(ῶν) ἀπ(οστολῶν), τὸ προπάρ	First of all attend to the ministers of the apostles.
91v	ἐμὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ χηρεύουσα τοῦ νεῖλου	<b>Mine is the soul which is bereaved, of Neilos.</b>
92r	ὁ θε(ὸς) ἰλάσθητί μοι, τῷ ἁμαρτ(ῶ)λ(ω) νεῖλω	<b>God be merciful to me, the sinner Neilos.</b>
94r	κ(ύρι)ε σώσον μ(έ) τὸν πανάσωτ(ον) νεῖλον	<b>Lord save me, the all-hopeless Neilos.</b>
99v	φείσαι φείσαι κ(ύρι)ε τοῦ λαοῦ σου	Spare, spare Lord, your people.
101r	κ(ύρι)ε σώσον μ(έ) ἔνεκεν τοῦ ἐλέ(ου) σου	Lord save me on account of your mercy.
102r	δόξ(α) (σοι) κ(ύρι)ε	Glory (to you) Lord.
104r	μνήσθητε ἀγρυπνοῦντες, τὸν νεῖλον θύται	<b>Priests, remember Neilos in an all-night vigil.</b>
104v	δόξ(α) (σοι) κ(ύρι)ε	Glory (to you) Lord.
106v	τίς δύναται σωθῆναι	Who can be saved?
108v	κ(ύρι)ε κ(ύρι)ε, μὴ ἐγκαταλίπης μ(ε)	Lord, Lord, do not leave me behind.
125r	κ(ύρι)ε σώσον τὸν κόσμον σου κ(αὶ) νεῖλον	<b>Lord save your world and Neilos.</b>
129r	κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέ(ησον)	Lord have mercy.
131v	δόξα τῇ μακροθυμῖα σου κ(ύρι)ε	Glory to your patience Lord.
133v	κ(αὶ) ὀκνῶ καὶ νυστάζω	I shun it and I am drowsy.
136r	μνήσθ(η)τ(ι) νεῖλ(ον) ἐν τῇ βα(σιλεία) σου, εὐσπλαγχνε θε(έ)ε ὡς τ(ὸν) ληστ(ήν) τ(ὸν) τί δε	<b>Remember Neilos in your kingdom, merciful God, just as for the robber who then ...</b>
144r	δόξα σοι ὁ θε(ὸς) πάντων ἔνεκα	Glory to you God, for the sake of all.
144r	μνήσθητι θύτα, τὸν πανάσωτον νεῖλον	<b>Remember priest, the all-hopeless Neilos.</b>
150r	τῇ σπουδ(ῇ), πρὸς ἐστι κ(αὶ) ῥαθυμία συν ἀπροσεξία	In haste, for laziness leads to a lack of attention.
151v	μὴ ἔχ(ων) ἀλλό τι ποιή(σα) τοὺς ἀγ(ίους), ἐποίη(σα) τουτ(οὺς) κέφα(λαιους)	I have nothing else; I have done the saints, I have done these great

	μ(έ)γ(αλας) κ(αι) ἐτόνισα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐ(τοῦ)	chapters and I have intoned his gospel.
153r	τὸ σφάλμ(α) τοῦ στραβοῦ θεοδώ(ρου)	The error of Theodore the squinter.
157r	εἰς τὴν κ(ύρι)ε	For the Lord.
158r	κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέ(ησον)	Lord have mercy.
<b>160r</b>	<b>μνήσθητε θύται ἀγρυπνοῦντ(ες) τὸν νεῖλον</b>	<b>Priests remember Neilos in an all-night vigil.</b>
160v	δόξ(α) (σοι) κ(ύρι)ε	Glory (to you) Lord.
175v	δόξα σοι ὁ θε(ός) πάντων ἕνεκα	Glory to you God, for the sake of all.

Table 9.6: Marginal notes by the copyist of Lectionary 299.

The note at the top of folio 1 was not originally in this position. The invocation, ‘Christ guide my works’, was initially written in the bottom margin of folio 1, the same part of the page as the majority of these notes. This change in position of the prayer only became apparent on the multispectral image (Image 9.15), where the erased note may be seen in the bottom left corner, consisting of a cross followed by  $\chi(\rho\iota\sigma\tau)\acute{\epsilon}\ \pi\rho\omicron(\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon)$ .

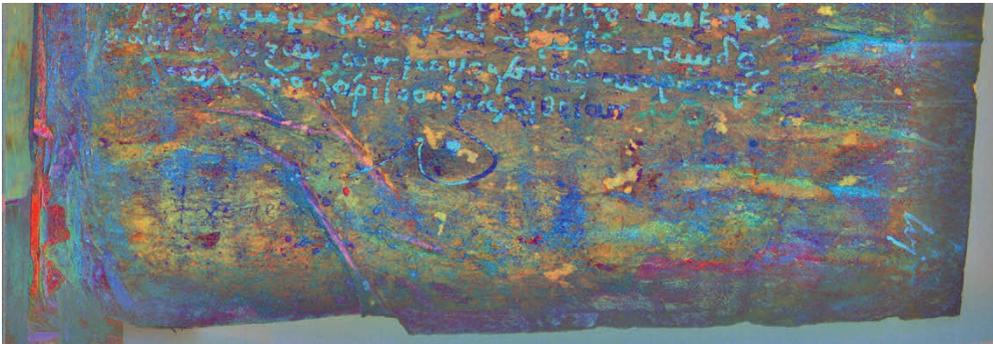


Image 9.15: Folio 1r bottom margin showing the first letters of the erased scribal note

The notes by Neilos include comments with a penitential function such as  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\nu$  and  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\xi\alpha\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\epsilon$ . These, along with the appeals to priests to remember the scribe in prayer, call to mind the purpose of the lectionary and its use in the Divine Liturgy. Kavrus-Hoffmann suggests that monks copying manuscripts for their own monasteries would have wished to add their names in hope of salvation, while lay scribes who were paid for their work may not have felt the same compulsion.<sup>42</sup> Neilos has added his name many times, describing himself as all-hopeless, evil and worthless (e.g. Image 9.16).

<sup>42</sup> Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, ‘Producing New Testament Manuscripts in Byzantium,’ in *The New Testament in Byzantium* (ed. D. Krueger, and R.S. Nelson. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2016), 117–45, esp. 136.

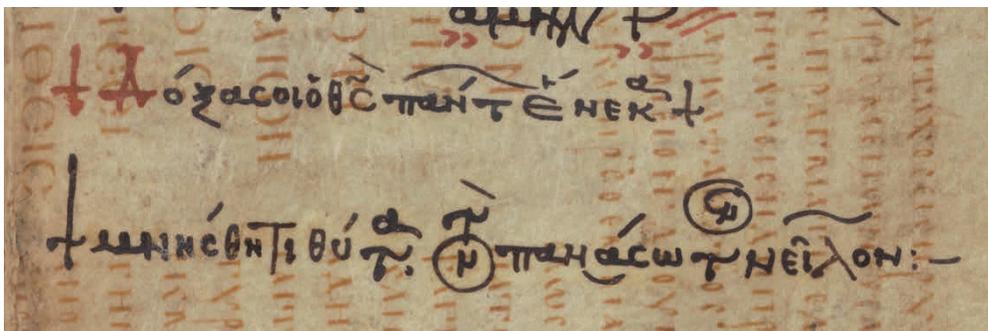


Image 9.16: Folio 144r. Two scribal notes by Neilos

Some of the marginal notes are intriguing for the light they shed on the process of book production. Errors in copying are mentioned on folia 70v, 78r and 150r: the last of these, referring to a lack of attention, follows a section of text which is particularly poorly penned. The note on folio 39r, ‘Lord, spare the one who is completely slow’, presumably refers to the copyist. On folio 153r, a page full of copying errors, the bottom margin contains the words ‘the error of Theodore the squinter’. Might this have been a monk having difficulty when reading the exemplar aloud to the copyist? The note on folio 151v seems to reflect the monotony of ‘doing the saints’ and ‘the great chapters’ of the Menologion lists. Its reference to ‘intoning the gospel’ could be taken literally as making the text known, but also more technically as adding the neumes. Many of the references to tiredness also occur on pages with errors or poor handwriting, such as folio 65r and the unusually long erasure on folio 77r. The most striking of these is the complaint on folio 63v that ‘I am very tired, with a heavy head, and what I write I do not know’ (Image 9.17).

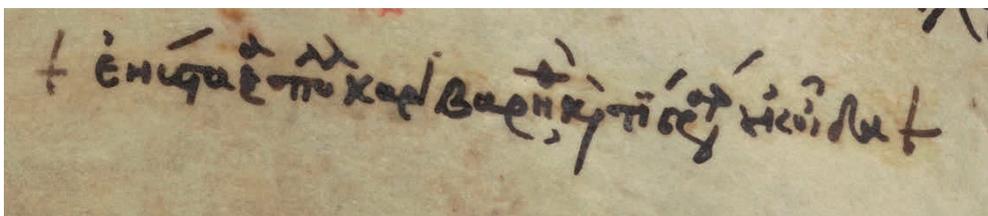


Image 9.17: Folio 63v, Note regarding tiredness

Such notes in the margins of scriptural texts may come as a surprise to modern readers. One wonders what his fellow monks or, indeed, the later users of the lectionary would have made of them. Even at the distance of several centuries, however, they bring to life the copyist of this lectionary as he comments on the challenges he faced in producing this book and reflects on his position in the grand scheme of things.

Parpulov has identified Neilos as the scribe who copied two manuscripts for the Monastery of Patmos whilst on the island of Rhodes, based on palaeographical

comparison with the images available in Kominis' *Facsimiles of Dated Patmian Codices*.<sup>43</sup> Patmos MS 175 was copied by Neilos in the year 1180 AD, the date being given in a note at the bottom of folio 72v. The handwriting is an excellent match, and the identification is further confirmed by dodecasyllabic notes featuring the name Neilos. Patmos MS 743 was also copied by Neilos in the same year, with multiple notes throughout bearing the scribe's name. Neilos added a note in another Greek lectionary which is still in Rhodes, GA L2084.<sup>44</sup> This manuscript is in the Church of the Holy Cross in Apollona, with no shelfmark. Although the main text of L2084 is not by Neilos, the note—dated 1181 AD—is typical of his style. However, while there are also notes featuring the name Neilos in the twelfth-century Lectionary 515 (Messina, Biblioteca Universitaria, 73), the handwriting is different. Given how few scribes have the habit of adding such copious marginalia, one wonders whether a manuscript copied by the same Neilos may have served as the exemplar for this lectionary.

Wilson has added a further manuscript copied by Neilos to this list.<sup>45</sup> Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 788, part A, is a *Pentecostarion* written by Neilos. It features an additional colophon on folio 135r with the date 1170 AD: Ἐπληρώσθη σὺν Θεῷ μηνὶ μαρτίῳ ἰβ' ἰνδ. γ' ἔτους, ςχοη' Νείλου ἀμαρτωλοῦ. The hand of the main text is the same as Codex Zacynthius, the decorative text separators are identical (cf. fol. 16r), and dodecasyllabic notes typical of this copyist can be found, as on folio 137r: Σῶσον κύριε τῷ Νείλῳ κατὰ χάριν ('Lord, save Neilos according to grace'). The second part of this manuscript (Vaticanus graecus 788B) is not by Neilos but is overwritten in a hand of the fourteenth century; although it is a double palimpsest, we do not have here more of the catena undertext of Codex Zacynthius.

A Neilos who may plausibly be identified with this scribe was Abbot of the Monastery of John the Theologian on Rhodes. This monastery, commonly known by the name of the mountain on which it sits, Artamiti, still exists today and refers to Neilos in its history, dating his abbacy as beginning in 1174 AD.<sup>46</sup> The current buildings are all from the nineteenth century, but the location of the monastery has remained unchanged for a millennium. The scribe Neilos is mentioned in Vogel and Gardthausen's *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, where he is described as Νείλος χωρικός παράπαν καὶ ἀμαρτωλὸς μονοχὸς τῆς μονῆς Ἀρταμιτίου.<sup>47</sup> The date given in this volume

<sup>43</sup> A.D. Kominis, D.A. Zakythenos and M. Naoumides, *Facsimiles of Dated Patmian Codices*, (Athens: Royal Hellenic Research Foundation, Center of Byzantine Studies, 1970), Plates 16 and 17; see 26–7.

<sup>44</sup> Pace Kominis et al., *Facsimiles*, 27.

<sup>45</sup> See page 18 above.

<sup>46</sup> Ἱερά Μονή Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου Ἀρταμίτου, <http://www.imr.gr/article/415/iera-monh-artamitoy>.

<sup>47</sup> M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1909), 326, especially footnote 3 for the common name of the Monastery.

of 1174 AD, repeated in Pinakes, seems to be a misunderstanding of the colophon in Patmos MS 175 which places the manuscript in the year  $\zeta\chi\pi\eta$  (6688, equating to 1180 AD). The latter date is assigned by Kominis and the Ghent University Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams.<sup>48</sup>

It is impossible to tell whether Codex Zacynthius was also copied for the monastery on Patmos, but the scribe can at least be identified as a monk active in the late twelfth century on Rhodes. Equally, while we cannot be certain that this lectionary was penned in the same location, it seems likely that, as abbot, Neilos would have been in a good position to produce such a manuscript as this, especially considering his apparent access to other codices. Although the population of this time was highly mobile, the balance of probability is that Neilos was attached to this monastery for some time, and that Codex Zacynthius too may thus be linked with Rhodes.

Returning to the lections where the additional *prokeimena* and *stichoi* seemed unusual, it is now possible to observe that the lections which did not fit well with Constantinople may actually point towards an immediate provenance of the manuscript in Rhodes. The highlighting of John the Theologian gains significance in the light of the dedication of the Artemiti monastery on Rhodes to John the Theologian, who is also the patron saint of the monastery on Patmos for which Neilos copied at least two manuscripts. Similarly, the indication of Neilos on November 10 may be an instance of Neilos the scribe honouring his namesake. The selection of readings for which *prokeimena* and *stichoi* are provided may thus be seen as providing information relating both to the exemplar and to the setting of the production of this manuscript. This shows both the reach of the influence of Constantinople and also the subtle ways a scribe could influence a text to give status to matters he considered of importance.

Two further observations may be made in the light of the identification of the scribe and the date at which the lectionary was copied. The presence of colophons ending the other manuscripts written by Neilos strengthens the suggestion made on page 171 above that the Resurrection readings may originally have been present at the end of the manuscript on pages which had fallen out prior to its rebinding. In addition, it is striking that the date at which Neilos was active is very close to that at which the other manuscript with the same type of catena as Codex Zacynthius was copied: the colophon to Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. gr. 612 indicates that it was written in 1164. Its writing is in the *epsilon* style used at the time in Cyprus.<sup>49</sup> Might the exemplar of this manuscript have been produced contemporaneously with Codex Zacynthius, with both copies of the catena reaching the end of their useful life at around the same time? The fact

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<sup>48</sup> The Ghent University Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams is available online at <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be>.

<sup>49</sup> Paul Canart, 'Les écritures livresques chypriotes du milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle au milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> et le style palestino-chypriote 'epsilon'', *Scrittura e Civiltà* 5 (1981): 17–76; Paul Canart and L. Perria, 'Les écritures livresques des XI et XII siècles,' in *Paleografia e codicologia greca. Atti del II Colloquio internazionale Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17–20 ottobre 1983*, ed. D. Harlfinger and G. Prato (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1991), 67–116, especially 91.

that the the gospel text of the Paris manuscript is unrelated to that of Codex Zacynthius, along with the differences in attribution of some of the scholia as discussed in Chapter 8, means that—even if the intention had been to reproduce the older manuscript for ongoing use—one would have to posit an updating of the text being copied.<sup>50</sup> While this similarity may be entirely coincidental, given the rarity of this type of catena these documents have the potential at least to provide information about the length of time that manuscripts were in use in the mediaeval period.

## CORRECTIONS

Despite the impression given by some of his self-deprecating notes, Neilos the scribe actually made very few errors in writing this codex. A quick look at any page will not reveal many corrections or erasures; the electronic transcription produced by the Codex Zacynthius Project, consisting of well over 90,000 words, has just 290 corrections. Most of these are orthographic changes, often involving vowel shifts, which were often corrected by the main scribe during the process of copying. A few of these change the meaning of the text, such as *χείρων* ('worse') for *χήρων* ('widows') in Matthew 23:14 (fol. 114v). Given that the text would have been read aloud, however, the identical pronunciation of these vowels would have made no difference in sense to the hearers of the gospel. Very few corrections are long additions or deletions. Corrections of particular interest are mentioned below, with \* being the first hand, C being the corrector, om. for omission and del. for deletion.

1. **7v\* illegible, C ἀλλ' ὁ π(ατ)ήρ μου (John 6:32).** It looks as if the copyist jumped from one οὐρανοῦ to the next, writing τὸν ἀληθινόν, then realised his mistake so erased the text and rewrote ἀλλ' ὁ π(ατ)ήρ μου. We cannot be certain of the first hand text because the erasure was thorough.
2. **8r\* ἰδαῖοι, C ἰουδαῖοι (John 6:41).** This correction is hard to see because of the crease in the page. It is slightly offset to the left of the expected place, but the intention is clear.
3. **12r\* om., C οὐ μὴ διψήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ (John 4:14).** The scribe's eye jumped from one ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ to the next, so this text was added in the margin using a decorative caret (✂). The neumes were added to the correction, indicating the presence of the correction before the ekphonic notation was added.
4. **16r\* om., C ἡμεῖς (John 9:21).** This correction is not significant in itself, but the fact that it is added using red ink suggests it was noticed during the addition of the red ekphonic notation. The caret is unusual for this manuscript, being x-shaped.
5. **16v\* om., C ἤκουσεν ὁ ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὅτι ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω (John 9:35).** The scribe jumped between the two instances of ἔξω, omitting the phrase which was later added in the

<sup>50</sup> According to the grouping of the *Text und Textwert* method, the Paris manuscript agrees with the Majority Text in 94.4% of the test passages, and the manuscripts to which it is closest are 344 1281 1417 1520 2362 2396 2442, agreeing with them at 100%. See [http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT\\_PP/Cluster4.php](http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/Cluster4.php).

- left margin. Of more interest is that this correction does not appear to be made by Neilos. The hand is lighter, has a subtle slope to the right, and uses an unusual shape caret to mark the text (a circle with a conical shape attached to the top right).
6. 21r \* om., C ἄλλοι ἔλεγον οὗτό(ς) ἐστὶν ὁ χ(ριστός) (John 7:41). Another longer omission caused by the scribe jumping between two similar words, with the correction text added in the margin and marked by a caret (⌘).
  7. 22v \* ἡμῶν, C ὑμῶν (Matt. 5:20). This change was made by the first hand whilst writing. Changes between these two words are particularly prevalent in this lectionary.
  8. 25r \* ὀφθαλμοῦ σου. μὴ δῶτε, C ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. μὴ δῶτε (Matt. 7:5–6). The correction affects the last words of verse 5, where the scribe omitted ‘the brother’. However, to erase enough text to fit this in, the start of the next verse ended up being rewritten in the margin. This shows that the correction was not made whilst the scribe was writing, thus demonstrating later correction of the text, whether by the main scribe or someone else.
  9. 26v \* αὐτὸν κάγω, C κάγω αὐτὸν (Matt. 10:33). Both sequences are found for these words in the textual tradition, but the method in which they are reordered here is interesting. The copyist writes numerals above the words, β then α, in order to transpose them. These transposition marks can also be seen on folio 72v.
  10. 28v \* ἐθρηνήσαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἐκόψασθε, C del. (Matt. 11:17). In contrast to the omissions, here Neilos wrote the same phrase twice. The first instance was thoroughly erased, leaving almost an entire line blank in the codex which is striking to the eye.
  11. 28v \* πάσαι, C πάλαι (Matt. 11:21). The correction by the scribe as he wrote is only of one letter, yet it changes the meaning from ‘all’ to ‘long ago’.
  12. 37r \* ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὁ χ(ριστός), C ἰ(ησοῦ)ς χ(ριστός) (Matt. 16:20). The article is simply deleted by a stroke. Usually the addition or deletion of the title Jesus is what distinguishes the text, not the addition or deletion of the article.
  13. 42r \* διδραγμα, C διδραγμα (Matt. 17:24). A simple correction by the first hand, adding the correct letter above the one to be replaced. This also serves as a reminder that orthographic changes can be of similar-sounding consonants as well as vowels.
  14. 42v \* ἐκ, C οὐκ (Matt. 17:21). Correction by erasure and overwriting. This is probably done by a later hand, although it is hard to be sure because parchment which is made rough through erasure takes the ink differently.
  15. 47v \* om., C ἡ βασιλεία ἐκείνη. καὶ ἐὰν οἰκία ἐφ’ ἑαυτὴν μερισθῆ οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι (Mark 3:24–25). Another longer marginal correction by the original scribe, marked with a caret (⌘) and caused by jumping from one σταθῆναι to the next. Neilos definitely checked his own work.
  16. 50r \* +, C del. (Mark 5:12). This is an unusual correction because it is not of the main text but of the ekphonic notation. The red cross after εἰσέλθωμεν has been erased by means of a dot in black ink placed above it. This shows that a level of correction happened after the ekphonic notation was added, which included checking the neumes.

17. **56r \* om., C τὸ (Mark 8:10).** This small addition was made by the main scribe above the line of text where it was missing.
18. **63v \* τῆ δ' τῆς δ' ἐβδομάδος C τῆ γ' τῆς δ' ἐβδομάδος (pre-Luke 8:1).** This is an example of a correction to the paratext. The lection heading number is corrected in matching red ink, on the page where Neilos wrote a note stating that he was tired.
19. **65r.** The bottom of this page contains a great number of corrections of minor errors (see Image 9.9). We find five errors in the start of the lection on this page, along with a note referring to tiredness at the bottom. A similar situation can be seen at the bottom of folio 77r, with multiple corrections in a short space, and one long erasure at the end of the page when text was repeated over the folio break. Again, this was marked with a note for tiredness.
20. **67v \* om., C οἱ πεμφθέντες (Luke 7:10).** The omission of these words is understandable as the sentence will function without them. However, to find them added as a correction after ὑποστρέψαντες rather than after οἶκον is unusual.
21. **68v \* ὄντες, C ὑπάρχοντες (Luke 11:13).** The first hand reading is found in very few manuscripts, among which is the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus. The correction is significant only in that a cross-shaped caret is used (+) rather than the usual cross with four dots (✕). This may suggest a separate corrector working here, or that Neilos used multiple forms of caret symbol.
22. **74v \* om., C κ(αι) ἐξ ἄλλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου (Luke 10:27).** This correction is notable for being written in black ink, yet marked by a red caret by the marginal correction, and two corresponding red carets in the text to indicate the addition. It seems the corrector returned to this correction with a different pen in his hand, or had both inks readily available for use.
23. **77v \* γὰρ, C del. (Luke 18:17).** Deleted using red ink, presumably during the addition of the neumes or lection headings.
24. **78r \* om., C εἶχον (Luke 19:20).** A simple addition, but noticeable as the missing word was added both above the text, as expected, and then again in the right margin, presumably for clarity.
25. **82r \* αχρι, C αχρις αν (Luke 21:24).** A simple correction, selected as this was penned by a later hand, showing continued use of the manuscript.
26. **91r \* om., C αὐτὸς γὰρ δα(υι)δ (Mark 12:36).** Again, this may be a secondary hand correcting, using a cross shape (+) for a caret. It is hard to be definite as the hand of the main text is untidy at this point.
27. **98v \* γογγοθᾱ, C γολγοθᾱ (Mark 15:22).** Corrected by adding a simple stroke over the gamma, this remains an unusual mistake with a well-known place name.
28. **166r \* τῆ ἁγία γ', C τῆ ἁγία β' εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν (pre-Matt. 24:3).** The correction of this heading is complex. It seems originally the lection was assigned to be read during Wednesday liturgy, then changed to be read during Tuesday liturgy. It follows Wednesday Matins which begins on folio 113v, so the Wednesday liturgy reading was expected. (A Tuesday liturgy reading was already cross-referenced on folio 113r.) To complicate matters further, underneath part of the final rubrics are

the words in black ἀπὸ δεῖπνον, showing that the position of this reading had already been altered to Compline. Additional rubrics were then added at the end of Matt. 24:35 to mark the end of the additional Tuesday liturgy reading (fol. 117r), before the Wednesday liturgy reading is referenced on folio 117r beginning at Matt. 24:36. This may be evidence for different calendars of readings being incorporated into the one lectionary.

29. **118v.** A long addition by the original scribe at the bottom of the page is erased and rewritten in the margin. The reasons for this are unclear.
30. **129r** \* ὁμεῖς μὲν νῦν λύπην νῦν, C ὁμεῖς οὖν λύπην μὲν νῦν (John 16:22). Interesting not for the text, but for the method. The change of position of μὲν is made using red ink. The change of νῦν to οὖν is made using black ink. The corrector perhaps returned to this correction when he was holding a different pen.
31. **147v** \* om., C δὲ (John 19:16). Another addition above the line using red ink. See also folio 150v, the addition of κ(ύρι)ε.
32. **153r** \* om., C πᾶς οὖν ἐξ ὑμῶν δεσ οὐκ ἀποτάσσεται πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ οὐ δύναται μου εἶναι μαθητῆς (Luke 14:33). The scribe jumped from μαθητῆς at the end of 14:27 to μαθητῆς at the end of 14:33. This may suggest copying from a lectionary: in a continuous-text manuscript this would be a lengthy oversight, whereas in the context of this lection it is simply a difference of a single verse.
33. **171v** \* μάρτυρος, C ἱερομάρτυρος (July 6<sup>th</sup> heading). The martyr Aetios is 'promoted' to the title of Hieromartyr with this addition squeezed over the text.

This selection of corrections shows the complexity of the lectionary. Some corrections were completed by the main scribe whilst he wrote. Others were added by the main scribe both before the ekphonic notation, and also after. We also see evidence of other hands working on the text. We find corrections in both black and red ink, suggesting that some corrections were made during the addition of the red ekphonic notation. However, as the addition of the red enlarged letters to start each lection seems to have been made at the same time as the writing of the main text, it is likely that Neilos had both black and red ink available to use on his desk, so the colour is not an indicator of correction order. Indeed, Anderson suggests that it was common medieval practice to have both inks available, as witnessed by author portraits using both inks.<sup>51</sup> This would explain the correction of black text using red ink, and of red neumes using black ink.

The mistakes are of the usual sort seen in any New Testament manuscript: orthographic variations, repeated words and phrases, and omitted words and phrases. There are also different types of carets being used to mark marginal additions. Standard techniques for correction are employed: erasure and rewriting, adding text above the line, marginal additions, overdots and strike-throughs to delete small amounts of text, and transposition marks. The paratext and even the neumes were corrected. Some corrections were rewritten in the margin for clarity, suggesting this was a working text which needed to be read aloud. The correction of lection order on folio 116r is significant, showing different traditions of readings.

<sup>51</sup> Anderson, *The New York Cruciform Lectionary*, 31.

As noted with regard to the correction on folio 153r, it is likely that the exemplar for Lectionary 299 was another lectionary. This contrasts with the conclusions of recent scholarship that lectionaries were copied from continuous text manuscripts.<sup>52</sup> Further evidence for a lectionary source can be seen in the incorrect gospel attributions, which would be less likely when a continuous-text exemplar was used. One of these, Mark instead of Matthew on November 29<sup>th</sup>, is shared with the Jaharis Gospel lectionary, but this is a one-off and cannot be used as evidence for a particular connection between these two documents. In addition, there are cross-references referring forwards in the codex to lections not yet written, and cross-references to other cross-references, when the actual reading could just as easily have been written if the manuscript was being compiled from a continuous-text manuscript using lection tables. The best explanation is that these were simply copied from a previous lectionary without checking. Furthermore, the notes which mark the ends of lections which were not even mentioned in the place where they belong could hint at different strands of tradition being incorporated into this one lectionary. Nothing can be certain until a full study of the text has been undertaken and compared with many other lectionaries, but for now it may be said that the text behind the lectionary of Codex Zacynthius may have a complicated history.

### OTHER INDICATIONS OF LATER USE

In addition to the corrections made by later hands, there are four marginal notes which are not the work of Neilos. These are presented in Table 9.7:

Folio	Text	Translation
51r	καθηγητῆς ὁ χ(ριστός)	Christ the instructor
90v	νικολάου κοιμήλέωντο(ς) κοιμή σου καλῆς κοιμ(ή) μαρίας κοιμαρκιζήνας κοιμή σου	Your sleeping, Nicholas Komeleon, a fine sleeping, your sleeping Maria Kymarkizinas
120v	καιρος	Time
130v	μνή(σ)θ(η)τ(ι) οἱ ἱερ(οι) κω(νσταντινου)π(όλεως)	Remember, priests of Constantinople

Table 9.7: Marginal notes by later hands in Lectionary 299.

On folio 51r, a later user of the codex has repeated the last words of a lection at the bottom of the page, from Matthew 23:10. The same hand also added some letters in the left margin of the previous page from the word *σύνλλεις*. Neither of these additions appears to be significant. The names on folio 90v, apparently in memory of two of the faithful departed, may be interpreted in a number of ways. The word for time, *καίρος*, is scribbled at an odd angle on 120v, and on folio 130v there is an injunction to priests. These later notes have

<sup>52</sup> For Apostolos manuscripts, see Gibson, *The Apostolos*, 229. For Gospel manuscripts, see Jordan, 'The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John,' 522, although he does also discuss copying from lectionaries on 511–12.

little bearing on the provenance of the manuscript and simply reflect the continued use of the lectionary. There are also indecipherable scribbles on folia 10r, 40v and 55r. Whether this was simply cleaning a pen nib, or random marks from a later user, is unclear. On the inside back cover of the manuscript, written directly onto the wooden board, there appears to be an invocation ‘for the prayers of the holy fathers’ (δῑ εὐχῶν τὸν ἁγγιῶν π[ατέρ]ω[ν]—sic). This is written twice, once with a thinner nib: although the letter shapes resemble those of the first hand, the spelling errors suggest that this is the work of a later imitator. Gibson suggests that the wear and tear lectionaries received in continual use means they were frequently replaced. This particular manuscript, however, seems to have been in constant use for several centuries, judging by the date of the supplemental leaf and the rebinding and repairs to the cover.

## CONCLUSION

The Greek New Testament lectionary tradition remains an underexplored field. Even so, the detailed examination of this one manuscript has resulted in a surprising amount of information about its history, structure, production, copyist and use. We have been able to establish with a reasonable degree of confidence that it was probably written at the very end of the twelfth century on the island of Rhodes by a scribe and monk named Neilos. Not only did he add notes of conventional piety in the margin, but he also upbraided himself and perhaps also his fellow monks for errors during the production process. He may even have been responsible for giving special prominence to the feast of his namesake, in addition to the commemoration of the patron of his monastery. The influence of the Constantinople rite is strong in this lectionary, especially when compared to other Constantinopolitan lectionaries like the Jaharis Gospel lectionary and the New York Cruciform lectionary. The exemplar for Codex Zacynthius seems to have itself been a lectionary, perhaps from Constantinople: this would explain the large number of specific references to this city, its commemorations and patriarchs. However, as many lectionaries were influenced by the rite of Constantinople, it is hard to judge how many of these features would be considered ‘normal’ in a monastery on Rhodes.

The lectionary consists of two parts, the Synaxarion followed by the Menologion. The Resurrection readings are not extant, but may well have formed part of the original production. The manuscript was not written as a display book but as a working text, with the copyist adding ekphonic notation and other rubricated elements. At the same time, it is a highly compressed text, for use by experienced liturgists. Might this also reflect a shortage of writing material which led to the palimpsesting of an earlier document which had reached the end of its useful life? At any rate, this lectionary appears to have served its purpose in the Divine Liturgy for several centuries, and was repaired and treasured for many more years beyond that. Even in the nineteenth century it was a valuable gift from a distinguished antiquarian to a representative of a foreign society for the promotion of the study and use of the Bible. The latest stage in its history, in the form of digital images and complete electronic text, means that it is now available for study and examination on a broader scale than has ever before been possible. This introduction is only the beginning of the new life of this fascinating document, a testament to many generations of tradition,

preservation, and use, not forgetting the key figure of the tired copyist Neilos, who did not do as bad a job of producing this lectionary as he thought.

***LIST: CONTENTS OF THE LECTIONARY***

The original version of this list was produced by W.J. Elliott for the International Greek New Testament Project and subsequently updated by Rachel Kevern before being used by the Codex Zacynthius Project. It is divided into two sections:

1. The Synaxarion: Readings are identified by ‘S’ for ‘Synaxarion’, ‘W’ for ‘Week’ and ‘D’ for ‘Day’
2. The Menologion: Readings are identified by ‘M’ and ‘D’ for ‘Month’ and ‘Day’

The Synaxarion is divided into five periods:

- i. Pascha to Pentecost: S1 W1 D1 – S1 W8 D1
- ii. Pentecost to the Elevation of the Cross: S2 W1 D2 – S2 W18 D2
- iii. Elevation of the Cross to Lent: S3 W1 D2 – S3 W20 D1
- iv. Lent to Holy Week: S4 W1 D2 – S4 W7 D1b
- v. Holy Week: S5 W1 D2a – S5 W1 D7b

The Menologion calendar begins with September, so M1 is September, M2 October etc. The Resurrection readings are identified by ‘R’. These are missing from L299, but are cross-referenced.

Days with multiple readings are numbered a, b, etc.

The folio where the lection begins is listed for reference.

**The Synaxarion**

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
S1W1D1a	John 1:1–17	1r	
S1W1D1b	–	–	Read S1W2D1, John 20:19–25 (Only the end of the lection is marked in the manuscript.)
S1W1D2	John 1:18–28	1v	
S1W1D3	Luke 24:12	1v	Read R5, Luke 24:12–25 (missing)
S1W1D4	John 1:35–51	2r	
S1W1D5	John 3:1–15	2v	
S1W1D6	John 2:12–22	3r	
S1W1D7	John 3:22–33	3v	
S1W2D1	John 20:19–31	3v	
S1W2D2	John 2:1–11	4v	
S1W2D3	John 3:16–21	4v	
S1W2D4	John 5:17–24	5r	
S1W2D5	John 5:24–30	5r	
S1W2D6	John 5:30–6:2	5v	
S1W2D7	John 6:14–27	6r	
S1W3D1	Mark 15:43–16:8	6v	(R2 is marked in the margin for Mark 16:1–8.)

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
S1W3D2	John 4:46–54	7r	
S1W3D3	John 6:27–33	7v	
S1W3D4	John 6:35–39	7v	
S1W3D5	John 6:40–44	8r	
S1W3D6	John 6:48–54	8r	
S1W3D7	John 15:17–16:2	8v	
S1W4D1	John 5:1–15	9r	
S1W4D2	John 6:56–69	9v	
S1W4D3	John 7:1–13	9v	
S1W4D4	John 7:14–30	10r	
S1W4D5	John 8:12–20	10v	
S1W4D6	John 8:21–30	11r	
S1W4D7	John 8:31–42	11r	
S1W5D1	John 4:5–42	11v	
S1W5D2	John 8:42–51	13r	
S1W5D3	John 8:51–59	13v	
S1W5D4	John 6:5–14	13v	
S1W5D5	John 9:39–10:9	14r	
S1W5D6	John 10:17–28	14v	
S1W5D7	John 10:27–38	15r	
S1W6D1	John 9:1–38	15r	
S1W6D2	John 11:47–54	16v	
S1W6D3	John 12:19–36	17r	
S1W6D4	John 12:36–47	17v	
S1W6D5a	Mark 16:9	17v	Read R3, Mark 16:9–20 (missing)
S1W6D5b	Luke 24:36	18r	Read R6, Luke 24:36–53 (missing)
S1W6D6	John 14:1–11	18r	
S1W6D7	John 14:10–21	18r	
S1W7D1	John 17:1–13	18v	
S1W7D2	John 14:27–15:7	19r	
S1W7D3	John 16:2–13	19v	
S1W7D4	John 16:15–23	20r	
S1W7D5	John 16:23–33	20r	
S1W7D6	John 17:18–26	20v	
S1W7D7	–	21r	Read R11, John 21:14–25 (missing)
S1W8D1a	John 20:19	21r	No instructions; expected text John 20:19–23
S1W8D1b	John 7:37–52; 8:12	21r	
S2W1D2	Matt. 18:10–20	21v	
S2W1D3	Matt. 4:23–5:13	22r	

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
S2W1D4	Matt. 5:20–26	22v	
S2W1D5	Matt. 5:27–32	23r	
S2W1D6	Matt. 5:33–41	23r	
S2W1D7	Matt. 5:42–48	23r	
S2W2D1	Matt. 10:32–33, 37–38; 19:27–30	23v	
S2W2D2	Matt. 6:31–34; 7:9–14	24r	
S2W2D3	Matt. 7:15–21	24r	
S2W2D4	Matt. 7:21–23	24v	
S2W2D5	Matt. 8:23–27	24v	
S2W2D6	Matt. 9:14–17	24v	
S2W2D7	Matt. 7:1–8	25r	
S2W3D1	Matt. 4:18–23	25r	
S2W3D2	Matt. 9:36–10:8	25v	
S2W3D3	Matt. 10:9–15	26r	
S2W3D4	Matt. 10:16–22	26r	
S2W3D5	Matt. 10:23–31	26v	
S2W3D6	Matt. 10:32–36; 11:1	26v	
S2W3D7	Matt. 7:24–8:4	27r	
S2W4D1	Matt. 6:22–33	27v	
S2W4D2	Matt. 11:2–15	28r	
S2W4D3	Matt. 11:16–20	28r	
S2W4D4	Matt. 11:20–26	28v	
S2W4D5	Matt. 11:27–30	28v	
S2W4D6	Matt. 12:1–8	29r	
S2W4D7	Matt. 8:14–23	29r	
S2W5D1	Matt. 8:5–13	29v	
S2W5D2	Matt. 12:9–13	30r	
S2W5D3	Matt. 12:14–16, 22–30	30r	
S2W5D4	Matt. 12:38–45	30v	
S2W5D5	Matt. 12:46–13:3	31r	
S2W5D6	Matt. 13:3–12	31r	
S2W5D7	Matt. 9:9–13	31v	
S2W6D1	Matt. 8:28–9:1	31v	
S2W6D2	Matt. 13:10–23	32r	
S2W6D3	Matt. 13:24–30	32v	
S2W6D4	Matt. 13:31–36	32v	
S2W6D5	Matt. 13:36–43	33r	
S2W6D6	Matt. 13:44–54	33r	
S2W6D7	Matt. 9:18–26	33v	

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
S2W7D1	Matt. 9:1–8	34r	
S2W7D2	Matt. 13:54–58	34r	
S2W7D3	Matt. 14:1–13	34v	
S2W7D4	Matt. 14:35–15:11	35r	
S2W7D5	Matt. 15:12–21	35r	
S2W7D6	Matt. 15:29–31	35v	
S2W7D7	Matt. 10:37–11:1	35v	
S2W8D1	Matt. 9:27–35	36r	
S2W8D2	Matt. 16:1–6	36v	
S2W8D3	Matt. 16:6–12	36v	
S2W8D4	Matt. 16:20–24	37r	
S2W8D5	Matt. 16:24–28	37r	
S2W8D6	Matt. 17:10–18	37r	
S2W8D7	Matt. 12:30–37	37v	
S2W9D1	Matt. 14:14–22	37v	
S2W9D2	Matt. 18:1–11	38r	
S2W9D3	Matt. 18:18–22; 19:1–2, 13–15	38v	
S2W9D4	Matt. 20:1–16	39r	
S2W9D5	Matt. 20:17–28	39v	
S2W9D6	Matt. 21:12–14, 17– 20	39v	
S2W9D7	Matt. 15:32–39	40r	
S2W10D1	Matt. 14:22–34	40v	
S2W10D2	Matt. 21:18–22	40v	
S2W10D3	Matt. 21:23–27	41r	
S2W10D4	Matt. 21:28–32	41r	
S2W10D5	Matt. 21:43–46	41v	
S2W10D6	Matt. 22:23–33	41v	
S2W10D7	Matt. 17:24–18:4	42r	
S2W11D1	Matt. 17:14–23	42r	
S2W11D2	Matt. 23:14, 13, 15– 22	42v	
S2W11D3	Matt. 23:23–28	43r	
S2W11D4	Matt. 23:29–39	43r	
S2W11D5	Matt. 24:13–28	43v	
S2W11D6	Matt. 24:27–33, 42– 51	44r	
S2W11D7	Matt. 19:3–12	44v	
S2W12D1	Matt. 18:23–35	44v	

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
S2W12D2	Mark 1:9–15	45r	
S2W12D3	Mark 1:16–22	45v	
S2W12D4	Mark 1:23–28	45v	
S2W12D5	Mark 1:29–35	45v	
S2W12D6	Mark 2:18–22	46r	
S2W12D7	Matt. 20:29–34	46r	
S2W13D1	Matt. 19:16–26	46v	
S2W13D2	Mark 3:6–12	47r	
S2W13D3	Mark 3:13–21	47r	
S2W13D4	Mark 3:20–27	47v	
S2W13D5	Mark 3:28–35	47v	
S2W13D6	Mark 4:1–9	48r	
S2W13D7	Matt. 22:15–22	48r	
S2W14D1	Matt. 21:33–42	48v	
S2W14D2	Mark 4:10–23	48v	
S2W14D3	Mark 4:24–34	49r	
S2W14D4	Mark 4:35–41	49v	
S2W14D5	Mark 5:1–20	50r	
S2W14D6	Mark 5:22–24, 35– 6:1	50v	
S2W14D7	Matt. 23:1–12	51r	
S2W15D1	Matt. 22:2–14	51v	
S2W15D2	Mark 5:24–34	52r	
S2W15D3	Mark 6:1–7	52r	
S2W15D4	Mark 6:7–13	52v	
S2W15D5	Mark 6:30–45	52v	
S2W15D6	Mark 6:45–53	53r	
S2W15D7	Matt. 24:1–13	53v	
S2W16D1	Matt. 22:35–46	54r	
S2W16D2	Mark 6:54–7:8	54v	
S2W16D3	Mark 7:5–16	54v	
S2W16D4	Mark 7:14–24	55r	
S2W16D5	Mark 7:24–30	55v	
S2W16D6	Mark 8:1–10	56r	
S2W16D7	Matt. 24:34–44	56r	
S2W17D1	Matt. 25:14	56v	Read S5W1D3b, Matt. 25:14–29
S2W17D2	–	–	
S2W17D3	–	–	
S2W17D4	–	–	
S2W17D5	–	–	
S2W17D6	–	–	
S2W17D7	Matt. 25:1–13	56v	

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
S2W18D1	–	–	
S3W1D2	Luke 3:19–22	57r	
S3W1D3	Luke 3:23–4:1	57r	
S3W1D4	Luke 4:1–15	57v	
S3W1D5	Luke 4:16–22	58r	
S3W1D6	Luke 4:22–30	58r	
S3W1D7	Luke 4:31–36	58v	
S3W2D1	Luke 5:1–11	58v	
S3W2D2	Luke 4:38–44	59r	
S3W2D3	Luke 5:12–16	59v	
S3W2D4	Luke 5:33–39	59v	
S3W2D5	Luke 6:12–19	60r	
S3W2D6	Luke 6:17–23	60r	
S3W2D7	Luke 5:17–26	60v	
S3W3D1	Luke 6:31–36	61r	
S3W3D2	Luke 6:24–30	61r	
S3W3D3	Luke 6:37–45	61v	
S3W3D4	Luke 6:46–7:1	62r	
S3W3D5	Luke 7:17–30	62r	
S3W3D6	Luke 7:31–35	62v	
S3W3D7	Luke 5:27–32	62v	
S3W4D1	Luke 7:11–16	63r	
S3W4D2	Luke 7:36–50	63r	
S3W4D3	Luke 8:1–3	63v	
S3W4D4	Luke 8:22–25	64r	
S3W4D5	Luke 9:7–11	64r	
S3W4D6	Luke 9:12–18	64v	
S3W4D7	Luke 6:1–10	64v	
S3W5D1	Luke 8:5–15, 8	65r	
S3W5D2	Luke 9:18–22	65v	
S3W5D3	Luke 9:23–27	65v	
S3W5D4	Luke 9:44–50	65v	
S3W5D5	Luke 9:49–56	66r	
S3W5D6	Luke 10:1–15	66v	
S3W5D7	Luke 7:1–10	67r	
S3W6D1	Luke 16:19–31	67v	Plus extra instructions
S3W6D2	Luke 10:22–24	68r	
S3W6D3	Luke 11:1–10	68r	
S3W6D4	Luke 11:9–13	68v	
S3W6D5	Luke 11:14–23	68v	

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
S3W6D6	Luke 11:23–26	69r	
S3W6D7	Luke 8:16–21	69r	
S3W7D1	Luke 8:26–35, 38–39	69v	
S3W7D2	Luke 11:29–33	70r	
S3W7D3	Luke 11:34–41	70v	
S3W7D4	Luke 11:42–46	70v	
S3W7D5	Luke 11:47–12:1	71r	
S3W7D6	Luke 12:2–12	71r	
S3W7D7	Luke 9:1–6	71v	
S3W8D1	Luke 8:41–56	71v	
S3W8D2	Luke 12:13–15, 22–31	72v	
S3W8D3	Luke 12:42–48	72v	
S3W8D4	Luke 12:48–59	73r	
S3W8D5	Luke 13:1–9	73v	
S3W8D6	Luke 13:31–35	73v	
S3W8D7	Luke 9:37–43	74r	
S3W9D1	Luke 10:25–37	74v	
S3W9D2	Luke 14:1, 12–15	75r	
S3W9D3	Luke 14:25–35	75r	
S3W9D4	Luke 15:1–10	75v	
S3W9D5	Luke 16:1–9	75v	
S3W9D6	Luke 16:15–18, 17:1–4	76r	
S3W9D7	Luke 9:57–62	76v	
S3W10D1	Luke 12:16–21	76v	
S3W10D2	Luke 17:20–25	77r	
S3W10D3	Luke 17:26–37; 18:8	77r	
S3W10D4	Luke 18:15–17, 26–30	77v	
S3W10D5	Luke 18:31–34	77v	
S3W10D6	Luke 19:12–28 (plus Matt. 25:24 twice)	77v	
S3W10D7	Luke 10:19–21	78v	
S3W11D1	Luke 13:10–17	78v	
S3W11D2	Luke 19:37–44	79r	
S3W11D3	Luke 19:45–48	79r	
S3W11D4	Luke 20:1–8	79r	
S3W11D5	Luke 20:9–18	79v	
S3W11D6	Luke 20:19–26	80r	
S3W11D7	Luke 12:32–40	80r	
S3W12D1	Luke 14:16–24	80v	

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
S3W12D2	Luke 20:27-44	81r	
S3W12D3	Luke 21:12-19	81v	
S3W12D4	Luke 21:5-8, 10-11, 20-24	81v	
S3W12D5	Luke 21:28-33	82r	
S3W12D6	Luke 21:37-22:8	82r	
S3W12D7	Luke 13:19-29	82v	Plus extra instructions
S3W13D1	Luke 17:12-19	83r	
S3W13D2	Mark 8:11-21	83r	
S3W13D3	Mark 8:22-26	83v	
S3W13D4	Mark 8:30-34	84r	
S2W13D5	Mark 9:10-16	84r	
S3W13D6	Mark 9:33-41	84v	
S3W13D7	Luke 14:1-11	84v	
S3W14D1	Luke 18:18-27	85r	
S3W14D2	Mark 9:42-10:1	85v	
S3W14D3	Mark 10:2-12	86r	
S3W14D4	Mark 10:11-16	86r	
S3W14D5	Mark 10:17-27	86v	
S3W14D6	Mark 10:24-32	87r	
S3W14D7	Luke 16:10-15	87r	
S3W15D1	Luke 18:35-43	87v	
S3W15D2	Mark 10:46-52	87v	
S3W15D3	Mark 11:11-23	88r	
S3W15D4	Mark 11:23-26 (plus Luke 11:9-10)	88v	
S3W15D5	Mark 11:27-33	88v	
S3W15D6	Mark 12:1-12	89r	
S3W15D7	Luke 17:3-10	89v	
S3W16D1	Luke 19:1-10	89v	
S3W16D2	Mark 12:13-17	90r	
S3W16D3	Mark 12:18-27	90r	
S3W16D4	Mark 12:28-37	90v	
S3W16D5	Mark 12:38-44	91r	
S3W16D6	Mark 13:1-8	91r	
S3W16D7	Luke 18:2-8	91v	
S3W17D1a	Matt. 15:21-28	92r	Plus extra instructions
S3W17D1b	Luke 18:10-14	92r	
S3W17D2	Mark 13:9-13	92v	
S3W17D3	Mark 13:14-23	92v	

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
S3W17D4	Mark 13:24–31	93r	
S3W17D5	Mark 13:31–14:2	93r	
S3W17D6	Mark 14:1–11	93v	
S3W17D7	Luke 20:46–21:4	94r	
S3W18D1	Luke 15:11–32	94r	
S3W18D2	Mark 11:1–11	95r	
S3W18D3	Mark 14:10–42	95v	
S3W18D4	Mark 14:43–15:1	96v	
S3W18D5	Mark 15:1–15	98r	
S3W18D6	Mark 15:20, 22, 25, 33–41	98v	
S3W18D7	Luke 21:8–9, 25–27, 33–36	99r	
S3W19D1	Matt. 25:31–46	99r	
S3W19D2	Luke 19:29–40, 22:7–39	100r	
S3W19D3	Luke 22:39–42, 45– 71, 23:1	101v	
S3W19D4	–	–	
S3W19D5	Luke 23:1–31, 33, 44–56	102v	
S3W19D6	–	–	
S3W19D7	Matt. 6:1–13	103v	
S3W20D1	Matt. 6:14–21	104v	
S4W1D2	–	104v	Read S3W18D7, Luke 21:8–9, 25–27, 33– 36
S4W1D3	–	104v	Read S3W19D7, Matt. 6:1–13
S4W1D4	–	104v	Read S3W6D3, Luke 11:1–10
S4W1D5	–	104v	Read S3W8D5, Luke 13:1–9
S4W1D6	John 15:1	104v	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
S4W1D7	Mark 2:23–3:5	105r	
S4W2D1	John 1:43–51	105v	
S4W2D2	–	–	
S4W2D3	–	–	
S4W2D4	–	–	
S4W2D5	–	–	
S4W2D6	–	–	
S4W2D7	Mark 1:35–44	105v	
S4W3D1	Mark 2:1–12	106r	
S4W3D2	–	–	
S4W3D3	–	–	
S4W3D4	–	–	

Day	Text (written)	Folio	Cross-reference text to locate and read
S4W3D5	–	–	
S4W3D6	–	–	
S4W3D7	Mark 2:14–17	106v	
S4W4D1	Mark 8:34–9:1	106v	
S4W4D2	–	–	
S4W4D3	–	–	
S4W4D4	–	–	
S4W4D5	–	–	
S4W4D6	–	–	
S4W4D7	Mark 7:31–37	107r	
S4W5D1	Mark 9:17–31	107r	
S4W5D2	–	–	
S4W5D3	–	–	
S4W5D4	–	–	
S4W5D5	–	–	
S4W5D6	–	–	
S4W5D7	Mark 8:27–31	108r	
S4W6D1	Mark 10:32–45	108r	
S4W6D2	–	–	
S4W6D3	–	–	
S4W6D4	–	–	
S4W6D5	–	–	
S4W6D6	–	–	
S4W6D7	John 11:1–45	109r	
S4W7D1a	Matt. 21:1–11, 15–17 (Matins)	110r	Plus extra instructions
S4W7D1b	John 12:1–18 (Liturgy)	111r	
S5W1D2a	Matt. 21:18–22:14	111v	
S5W1D2b	–	113r	Read S2W9D5, Matt. 20:17–28
S5W1D2c	Mark 10:32	113r	Read S4W6D1, Mark 10:32–45, plus extra instructions
S5W1D3a	Matt. 22:15–24:2	113v	
S5W1D3b	Matt. 24:3–26:2	116r	(Two later corrections change this reading firstly to S5W1D3c Compline, then to S5W1D2b. The S5W1D3b reading is then marked by the later hand at Matt. 24:36, possibly ending 25:13.)
S5W1D3c	–	119r	Read S3W10D6, Luke 19:12–28
S5W1D4a	John 12:17–50	119r	

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
S5W1D4b	Matt. 26:6–16	120v	(Possibly also marked within S5W1D5d.)
S5W1D4c	–	121r	Read S3W4D2, Luke 7:36–50
S5W1D5a	Luke 22:1–39	121r	
S5W1D5d	Matt. 26:2–20	122r	
S5W1D5e	John 13:3–17	122v	(S5W1D5c is marked within this lection, John 13:12–17.)
S5W1D5f	Matt. 26:21–39	123r	
S5W1D5g	Luke 22:43–45	123v	
S5W1D5h	Matt. 26:40–27:2	124r	
S5W1D5h+	Mark 14:12–16	125v	
S5W1D5i	John 13:31–18:1	126r	(John 15:17–16:2 is marked, which corresponds with S1W3D7 and M3D10c.)
S5W1D5j	John 18:1–28	130v	
S5W1D5k	Matt. 26:57–75	131v	
S5W1D5l	John 18:29–19:16	132v	
S5W1D5m	Matt. 27:3–32	133v	
S5W1D5n	Mark 15:16–32	134v	
S5W1D5o	Matt. 27:33–54	135r	
S5W1D5p	Luke 23:32–49	136r	
S5W1D5q	John 19:25–37	136v	
S5W1D5r	Mark 15:43–47	137r	
S5W1D5s	John 19:38–42	137r	
S5W1D5t	Matt. 27:62–66	137v	
S5W1D6a	Matt. 27:1–2, 55–56	137v	Read S5W1D5m, Matt. 27:3–32, and S5W1D5o, Matt. 27:33–54, in the middle of the written verses
S5W1D6b	Mark 15:1–15, 32–41	138r	Read S5W1D5n, Mark 15:16–32 in the middle of the written verses
S5W1D6c	Luke 22:66–23:32	138v	Read S5W1D5p, Luke 23:32–49 to complete the lection
S5W1D6d	John 19:16–25	140r	Read S5W1D5l, John 18:29–19:16 first, then after the written text finish with S5W1D5q, John 19:25–37
S5W1D6e	Matt. 27:1–38	140v	
S5W1D6f	Luke 23:39–43	142r	
S5W1D6g	Matt. 27:39–54	142r	
S5W1D6h	John 19:31–37	142v	
S5W1D6i	Matt. 27:55–61	143r	
S5W1D7a	Matt. 27:62	143r	Read S5W1D5t, Matt. 27:62–66
S5W1D7b	Matt. 28:1–20	143r	

**The Menologion**

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
M1D1a	Luke 4:16	144v	Read S3W1D5, Luke 4:16–22
M1D1b	Luke 1:39	144v	Read M1D8a, Luke 1:39–49, 56, and/or M1D8b, Luke 10:38–42; 11:27–28, and also M5D20a which refers the reader to S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M5D20b which refers the reader to S4W2D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M1D2a	–	144v	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7. (This is also marked within S5W1D5i.)
M1D2b	Matt. 5:14–19	144v	
M1D3	John 10:9–16	145r	(An alternative lection may be offered for this day, at M5D1b, Luke 2:20–21, 40–52.)
M1D4a	–	145r	Read S3W10D7, Luke 10:19–21
M1D4b	–	145r	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M1D4c	–	145r	Read S1W2D6, John 5:30–6:2
M1D5	–	145r	Read S2W11D4, Matt. 23:29–39 (Also marked within S5W1D3a, Matt. 23:27–39).
M1D6a	–	145r	Read M2D18, Luke 10:16–21
M1D6b	–	145r	Read M6D23, John 12:24–26, 35–36
M1D6c	Mark 12:28–29	145v	Read S3W16D4, Mark 12:28–37
M1D7a	–	145v	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M1D7b	–	145v	Read M3D10a which refers the reader to M4D6 and S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M3D10b, Luke 14:25–27, 33–35, and/or M3D10c which refers the reader to S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M1D8a	Luke 1:39–49, 56	145v	
M1D8b	Luke 10:38–42; 11:27–28	146r	
M1D9	–	146r	Read S3W6D7, Luke 8:16–21
M1D10a	–	146r	Read S1W6D2, John 11:47–54
M1D10b	–	146r	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M1D11a	–	146r	Read S1W4D6, John 8:21–30
M1D11b	–	146r	Read M2D8, John 8:3–11
M1D12a	–	146r	Read S1W4D7, John 8:31–42
M1D12b	–	146r	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M1D12c	–	146v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M1D13a	John 12:25–36	146v	

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
M1D13b	–	146v	Read M4D22a which refers the reader to S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13, and/or M4D22b which refers the reader to S1W5D6, John 10:22–28
M1D13c	–	146v	Read S5W1D5o, Matt. 27:33–54
M1D13d	–	147r	Read S2W7D7, Matt. 10:37–11:1
M1D13e	John 3:13–17	147r	
M1D14a	John 12:28	147r	Read M1D13a, John 12:28–36
M1D14b	John 19:6, 9–11, 13–20, 25–28, 30–35	147r	
M1D14c	–	148r	Read S1W3D3, John 6:27–33
M1D14d	–	148r	Read S4W4D1, Mark 8:34–9:1
M1D15a	–	148r	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M1D15b	–	148r	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 15:1–7, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M1D16	–	148r	Read S3W4D2, Luke 7:36–50
M1D17a	–	148r	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M1D17b	–	148r	Read S3W5D3, Luke 9:23–27
M1D18a	–	148r	Read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M1D18b	–	148r	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M1D19	–	148r	Read S2W2D1, Matt. 10:32–33, 37–38; 19:27–30
M1D20	–	148r	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M1D21a	–	148v	Read M1D8a, Luke 1:39–49, 56
M1D21b	–	148v	Read M3D29, Matt. 10:17–18, 23–25, 28–31
M1D22a	–	148v	Read S3W7D2, Luke 11:29–33
M1D22b	–	148v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M1D23	–	148v	Read M10D24b, Luke 1:5–25
M1D24	–	148v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M1D25a	–	148v	Read S3W5D4, Luke 9:44–50
M1D25b	–	148v	Read S3W6D4, Luke 11:9–13
M1D25c	–	148v	Read M3D10a which refers the reader to M4D6 and S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M3D10b, Luke 14:25–27, 33–35, and/or M3D10c which refers the reader to S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M1D25d	–	148v	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M1D25e	–	148v	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 15:1–7, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19

Day	Text (written)	Folio	Cross-reference text to locate and read
M1D26	–	148v	Read S1W7D7, which refers the reader to read R11, John 21:14–25 (missing)
M1D27	–	148v	Read S3W5D6, Luke 10:1–15
M1D28	–	148v	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M1D29	–	148v	Read S3W5D3, Luke 9:23–27
M1D30a	Matt. 24:42–47	148v	
M1D30b	–	149r	Probably a referral to S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M2D1a	–	149r	Read S3W7D7, Luke 9:1–6
M2D1b	–	149r	Read S3W5D3, Luke 9:23–27
M2D2	–	149r	Read M2D13, Matt. 7:12–21
M2D3	–	149r	Read S2W6D6, Matt. 13:44–54
M2D4	–	149r	Read M1D27, which refers the reader to read S3W5D6, Luke 10:1–15
M2D5	–	149r	Read S3W11D1, Luke 13:10–17
M2D6	John 20:19	149r	Read S1W1D1b, John 20:19ff, which may refer to the text in S1W2D1
M2D7	–	149r	Read S3W3D3, Luke 6:37–45
M2D8	John 8:3–11	149r	
M2D9	Matt. 10:1–7, 14–15	149v	
M2D10	–	149v	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22
M2D11a	–	149v	Read M6D15, Luke 10:3–9
M2D11b	–	149v	Read M3D6, Luke 12:8–12
M2D11c	Matt. 5:14	150r	Read M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M2D11d	Mark 13:33–37; 14:3–9	150r	
M2D11e	–	150v	Read S3W5D1, Luke 8:5–15, 8
M2D12	–	150v	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M2D13	Matt. 7:12–21	150v	
M2D14	–	150v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M2D15	–	151r	Read M2D3, which refers the reader to read S2W6D6, Matt. 13:44–54
M2D16a	–	151r	Read S2W2D1, Matt. 10:32–33, 37–38; 19:27–30
M2D16b	–	151r	Read M3D10a which refers the reader to M4D6 and S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M3D10b, Luke 14:25–27, 33–35, and/or M3D10c which refers the reader to S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2;
M2D17a	–	151r	Read S3W8D6, Luke 13:31–35

Day	Text (written)	Folio	Cross-reference text to locate and read
M2D17b	–	151r	Read S2W16D3, Mark 7:5–16
M2D18	Luke 10:16–21	151r	
M2D19	–	151r	Read S3W8D6, Luke 13:31–35
M2D20	–	151r	Read S3W10D7, Luke 10:19–21
M2D21	–	151r	Read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M2D22a	–	151r	Read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M2D22b	–	151v	Read S2W1D3, Matt. 4:23–5:13
M2D23a	–	151v	Read S2W15D3, Mark 6:1–7
M2D23b	–	151v	Read M1D3, John 10:9–16
M2D23c	–	151v	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22
M2D24	–	151v	Read S3W11D7, Luke 12:32–40
M2D25a	–	151v	Read S3W7D6, Luke 12:2–12
M2D25b	–	151v	Read M2D3, which instructs the reader to read S2W6D6, Matt. 13:44–54
M2D26a	–	151v	Read S2W2D5, Matt. 8:23–27
M2D26b	–	151v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M2D27	–	151v	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22
M2D28	–	151v	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M2D29a	–	151v	Read S2W1D3, Matt. 4:23–5:13
M2D29b	–	151v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M2D30	–	151v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M2D31a	–	151v	Read S4W4D1, Mark 8:34–9:1
M2D31b	–	151v	Read S2W15D4, Mark 6:7–13
M3D1a	–	151v	Read Matthew? Reference unclear.
M3D1b	Matt. 10:1–8	151v	
M3D2	–	152r	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M3D3a	–	152r	Read S3W7D6, Luke 12:2–12
M3D3b	–	152r	Read S3W10D3, Luke 17:26–37; 18:8
M3D4a	–	152r	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 15:1–7, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M3D4b	–	152r	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M3D5a	Mark 8:34–35; 10:29–31	152r	
M3D5b	–	152v	Read S3W6D1, Luke 16:19–31
M3D6	Luke 12:8–12	152v	
M3D7a	–	152v	Read S3W11D7, Luke 12:32–40
M3D7b	–	152v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M3D8a	–	152v	Read S2W1D2, Matt. 18:10–20
M3D8b	–	152v	Read M2D12, which instructs the reader to read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M3D9a	John 15:1	152v	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7

Day	Text (written)	Folio	Cross-reference text to locate and read
M3D9b	–	152v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M3D10a	–	152v	Read M4D6, which refers the reader to read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M3D10b	Luke 14:25–27, 33–35	153r	
M3D10c	–	153r	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M3D11a	–	153r	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M3D11b	–	153r	Read M1D3, John 10:9–16
M3D12a	–	153r	Read S2W1D3, Matt. 4:23–5:13
M3D12b	Matt. 5:14	153r	Read M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M3D13a	John 10:1–9	153r	
M3D13b	–	153v	Read M1D3, John 10:9–16
M3D14a	–	153v	Read S4W2D1, John 1:43–51
M3D14b	–	153v	Read M3D13a, John 10:1–9
M3D15	–	153v	Read S3W7D6, Luke 12:2–12
M3D16a	–	153v	Read S2W5D7, Matt. 9:9–13
M3D16b	John 15:1	153v	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M3D17	–	153v	Read M3D1a, Matthew reference unclear, and/or M3D1b, Matt. 10:1–8
M3D18	–	153v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M3D19	–	153v	Read S3W7D2, Luke 11:29–33
M3D20	–	153v	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 15:1–7, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M3D21a	–	153v	Read S3W6D7, Luke 8:16–21
M3D21b	–	153v	Read M1D8a, Luke 1:39–49, 56
M3D22a	–	153v	Read M3D29, Matt. 10:17–18, 23–25, 28–31
M3D22b	–	153v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M3D23	–	153v	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 15:1–7, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M3D24	–	153v	Read M1D30a, Matt. 24:42–47, and/or M1D30b, which probably refers to S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M3D25a	–	153v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M3D25b	–	153v	Read S2W15D2, Mark 5:24–34
M3D26	–	153v	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M3D27	–	154r	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M3D28	–	154r	Read S4W4D1, Mark 8:34–9:1

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
M3D29	Matt. 10:17–18, 23–25, 28–31	154r	
M3D30	–	154r	Read S1W1D4, John 1:35–51
M4D1	–	154r	Read S2W11D4, Matt. 23:29–39
M4D2a	–	154r	Read S3W8D6, Luke 13:31–35
M4D2b	–	154r	Read S3W11D7, Luke 12:32–40
M4D3a	–	154v	Read S3W1D6, Luke 4:22–30
M4D3b	–	154v	Read S2W2D1, Matt. 10:32–33, 37–38; 19:27–30
M4D4a	–	154v	Read S2W15D2, Mark 5:24–34
M4D4b	–	154v	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M4D5	–	154v	Read M5D20a which refers the reader to S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M5D20b which refers to S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M4D6	–	154v	Read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M4D7	–	154v	Read M3D13a, John 10:1–9
M4D8	–	154v	Read S3W5D3, Luke 9:23–27
M4D9	–	154v	Read S3W6D7, Luke 8:16–21
M4D10	–	154v	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22
M4D11	–	154v	Read M3D10a which refers the reader to M4D6 and S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M3D10b, Luke 14:25–27, 33–35, and/or M3D10c which refers the reader to S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M4D12	–	154v	Read M1D3, John 10:9–16
M4D13	–	154v	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M4D14	–	154v	Read S2W5D4, Matt. 12:38–45
M4D15	–	154v	Read M3D5a, Mark 8:34–35; 10:29–31, and/or M3D5b which refers the reader to S3W6D1, Luke 16:19–31
M4D16	–	154v	Read S3W10D3, Luke 17:26–37; 18:8
M4D17	Luke 11:44–50	154v	
M4D18a	–	155r	Read S4W4D1, Mark 8:34–9:1
M4D18b	–	155r	Read S3W5D3, Luke 9:23–27
M4D19	–	155r	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M4D20	–	155r	Read S3W13D6, Mark 9:33–41
M4D21	–	155r	Read S3W4D2, Luke 7:36–50
M4D22a	–	155r	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M4D22b	John 10:22	155r	Read S1W5D6, John 10:22–28
M4D23a	–	155r	Read M10D29a which refers the reader to M2D9, Matt. 10:1–7, 14–15, and/or M10D29b, Matt. 16:13–19

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
M4D23b	–	155r	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M4D23c	–	155r	Read S3W12D7, Luke 13:19–29, plus extra instructions
M4D23d	Matt. 1:1–25	155r	Plus extra instructions after the lection
M4D24a	–	–	No instructions. The lection is marked in the middle of M4D23d, Matt. 1:18–25
M4D24b	Luke 2:1–20	156v	
M4D24c	–	–	No instructions. The lection is marked alongside M4D25b, Luke 2:1–20, possibly ending v. 12.
M4D24d	–	–	No instructions. The lection is marked alongside M4D26a, Matt 2:13–23
M4D24e	–	157r	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M4D25a	Matt. 1:18	157r	Read from the middle of M4D23d, Matt. 1:18–25
M4D25b	Matt 2:1–12	157r	
M4D26a	Matt 2:13–23	158r	
M4D26b	Matt 12:15–21	158v	
M4D26c	–	158v	Instructions about the number of Sundays between Christmas and Epiphany
M4D27	–	158v	Read S2W14D1, Matt. 21:33–42, plus extra instructions
M4D28a	–	159r	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 15:1–7, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M4D28b	–	159r	Read S3W11D7, Luke 12:32–40
M4D29a	–	159r	Read M4D26a, Matt 2:13–18
M4D29b	–	159r	Read M3D10a which refers the reader to M4D6 and S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M3D10b, Luke 14:25–27, 33–35, and/or M3D10c which refers the reader to S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M4D30a	–	159r	Read S2W15D3, Mark 6:1–7
M4D30b	–	159r	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M4D31a	–	159r	Read S2W16D1, Matt. 22:35–46
M4D31b	–	159r	Read S4W4D1, Mark 8:34–9:1
M5D1a	–	159r	Read M4D6, which refers the reader to read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M5D1b	Luke 2:20–21, 40–52	159r	

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
M5D2a	–	159v	Read S1W1D5, John 3:1–15
M5D2b	–	159v	Read M3D13a, John 10:1–9
M5D3a	Matt. 3:1, 5–11	159v	
M5D3b	–	160r	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M5D3c	–	160r	Read S2W11D4, Matt. 23:29–39
M5D4a	John 1:19	160r	Read S1W1D2, John 1:19–28
M5D4b	–	160r	Read S3W5D6, Luke 10:1–15
M5D5a	–	160r	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30. (See also Matt. 3:1, 5–11 in M5D3a where this lection is marked.)
M5D5b	Matt. 3:1–6	160r	
M5D5c	Mark 1:1–8	160v	
M5D5d	Luke 3:1–18	160v	
M5D5e	–	161v	Read M3D5a, Mark 8:34–35; 10:29–31, and/or M3D5b which refers the reader to read S3W6D1, Luke 16:19–31
M5D6a	Mark 1:9–11	161v	
M5D6b	Matt 3:13–17	161v	
M5D7a	John 1:29–34	162r	
M5D7b	Matt 4:1–11	162r	
M5D7c	Matt 4:12–17	162v	
M5D8a	–	163r	Read S1W1D7, John 3:22–33
M5D8b	–	163r	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22
M5D9a	Luke 3:21–22, 4:1–2, 4:14–15	163r	
M5D9b	–	163r	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M5D9c	–	163r	Read S3W4D4, Luke 8:22–25
M5D10a	–	163r	Read S3W3D5, Luke 7:18–30
M5D10b	–	163r	Read S2W1D3, Matt. 4:23–5:13
M5D11a	–	163r	Read S3W11D4, Luke 20:1–8
M5D11b	–	163r	Read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23 (An additional morning reading is added here, instructing the reader to find M5D20b, Matt. 11:27–30.)
M5D12a	John 10:39–42	163v	
M5D12b	–	163v	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M5D12c	–	163v	Read S2W15D2, Mark 5:24–34
M5D13a	–	163v	Read M5D6a, Mark 1:9–11
M5D13b	–	163v	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22
M5D14	–	163v	Read S3W11D7, Luke 12:32–40
M5D15	–	163v	Read S2W1D3, Matt. 4:23–5:13

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
M5D16a	–	163v	Read S1W7D7 or R11, John 21:14–25 (missing)
M5D16b	–	163v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M5D17a	–	163v	Read M2D18, Luke 10:16–21
M5D17b	–	163v	Read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M5D18	Matt. 5:14	163v	Read M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M5D19	–	163v	Read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M5D20a	–	163v	Read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M5D20b	Matt. 11:27	163v	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M5D21a	–	163v	Read M3D6, Luke 12:8–12
M5D21b	John 15:1	163v	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M5D22	–	164r	Read S2W2D1, Matt. 10:32–33, 37–38; 19:27–30
M5D23	–	164r	Read S2W4D6, Matt. 12:1–8
M5D24a	–	164r	Read S2W16D5, Mark 7:24–30
M5D24b	John 15:1	164r	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M5D25a	–	164r	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 14:27–15:7, starting at 15:1, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M5D25b	–	164r	Read S4W4D1, Mark 8:34–9:1
M5D26	–	164r	Read S3W11D7, Luke 12:32–40
M5D27	–	164r	Read M3D13a, John 10:1–9 and/or M3D13b which refers the reader to M1D3, John 10:9–16
M5D28	–	164r	Read S3W2D5, Luke 6:12–19
M5D29	–	164r	Read S3W13D6, Mark 13:1–8
M5D30	–	164r	Read M6D23, John 12:24–26, 35–36
M5D31	–	164r	Read M3D1a, Matthew reference unclear, and/or M3D1b, Matt. 10:1–8
M6D1	–	164r	Read S3W10D7, Luke 10:19–21
M6D2a	Luke 2:25 and 32	164r	Read M6D2b, Luke 2:25–32
M6D2b	Luke 2:22–40	164r	
M6D3	–	165r	Read M6D2b, Luke 2:25–38
M6D4a	–	165r	Read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M6D4b	–	165r	Read M3D10a which refers the reader to M4D6 and S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M3D10b, Luke 14:25–27, 33–35, and/or M3D10c which refers the reader to S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M6D5	–	165r	Read S3W16D5, Mark 12:38–44

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
M6D6	–	165r	Read S3W7D7, Luke 9:1–6
M6D7	Matt. 5:14	165r	Read M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M6D8a	–	165r	Read S2W11D4, Matt. 23:29–39
M6D8b	–	165r	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22
M6D9a	–	165r	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M6D9b	–	165r	Read M1D3, John 10:9–16
M6D10	–	165r	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M6D11	John 15:1	165r	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M6D12	Matt. 5:14	165r	Read M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M6D13	–	165r	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M6D14	–	165r	Read M3D1a, Matthew reference unclear, and/or M3D1b, Matt. 10:1–8
M6D15	Luke 10:3–9	165r	
M6D16	–	165v	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M6D17a	John 15:1	165v	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M6D17b	–	165v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M6D18a	–	165v	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 15:1–7, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M6D18b	–	165v	Read S2W2D1, Matt. 10:32–33, 37–38; 19:27–30
M6D19a	–	165v	Read S2W2D1, Matt. 10:32–33, 37–38; 19:27–30
M6D19b	Matt. 5:14	165v	Read M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M6D20a	–	165v	Read M4D6, which in turn refers the reader to read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M6D20b	–	165v	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 15:1–7, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M6D21	–	165v	Read M3D13a, John 10:1–9
M6D22a	–	165v	Read M1D3, John 10:9–16
M6D22b	–	165v	Read S2W2D1, Matt. 10:32–33, 37–38; 19:27–30
M6D23	John 12:24–26, 35–36	165v	
M6D24a	–	166r	Read S3W3D5, Luke 7:17–30
M6D24b	–	166r	Read S2W4D2, Matt. 11:2–15
M6D25a	–	166r	Read M1D3, John 10:9–16
M6D25b	–	166r	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M6D26	–	166r	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 15:1–7, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
M6D27	–	166r	Read M3D6, Luke 12:8–12
M6D28	–	166r	Read S3W7D6, Luke 12:2–12
M6D29	–	166r	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M7D1	–	166r	Read S2W15D2, Mark 5:24–34
M7D2	–	166r	Read S1W7D2, John 14:27–15:7
M7D3	–	166r	Read S3W10D7, Luke 10:19–21
M7D4	–	166r	Read S3W17D2, Mark 13:9–13
M7D5	–	166r	Read S3W3D4, Luke 6:46–7:1
M7D6	–	166r	Read S2W9D4, Matt. 20:1–16
M7D7	–	166r	Read S2W2D1, Matt. 10:32–33, 37–38; 19:27–30
M7D8	–	166r	Read M3D6, Luke 12:8–12
M7D9	–	166r	Read S2W9D4, Matt. 20:1–16
M7D10	–	166r	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M7D11	–	166r	Read S2W1D3, Matt. 4:23–5:13
M7D12	–	166r	Read M3D6, Luke 12:8–12
M7D13a	–	166r	Read M1D3, John 10:9–16
M7D13b	–	166r	Read S3W11D7, Luke 12:32–40
M7D14	–	166r	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M7D15	–	166r	Read M4D6, which refers the reader to S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M7D16	–	166r	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M7D17	–	166r	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M7D18	–	166r	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 14:27–15:7, starting at 15:1, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M7D19	–	166r	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M7D20a	–	166v	Read S3W11D7, Luke 12:32–40
M7D20b	–	166v	Read M3D10a which refers the reader to M4D6 and S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M3D10b, Luke 14:25–27, 33–35, and/or M3D10c which refers the reader to S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M7D21	–	166v	Read S3W5D3, Luke 9:23–27
M7D22	–	166v	Read M2D3, which refers the reader to read S2W6D6, Matt. 13:44–54
M7D23a	–	166v	Read S3W4D2, Luke 7:36–50
M7D23b	–	166v	Read S3W4D2, Luke 7:36–50
M7D24	–	166v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M7D25a	–	166v	Read M1D8a, Luke 1:39–49, 56

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
M7D25b	Luke 1:24–38	166v	
M7D26a	–	167r	Read M2D18, Luke 10:16–21
M7D26b	–	167r	Read M3D10a which refers the reader to M4D6 and S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M3D10b, Luke 14:25–27, 33–35, and/or M3D10c which refers the reader to S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M7D27	–	167r	Read M2D11a which refers the reader to M6D15, Luke 10:3–9, and/or M2D11b which refers the reader to M3D6, Luke 12:8–12, and/or M2D11c which refers the reader to M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19, and/or M2D11d, Mark 13:33–37; 14:3–9, and/or M2D11e which refers to S3W5D1, Luke 8:5–15, 8
M7D28a	–	167r	Read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M7D28b	–	167r	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M7D29a	–	167r	Read M1D3, John 10:9–16
M7D29b	–	167r	Read S2W1D3, Matt. 4:23–5:13
M7D30	–	167r	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M7D31	–	167r	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M8D1	–	167v	Read M2D8, John 8:3–11
M8D2a	–	167v	Read S3W10D7, Luke 10:19–21
M8D2b	–	167v	Read M3D1a, Matthew reference unclear, and/or M3D1b, Matt. 10:1–8
M8D3	–	167v	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M8D4	–	167v	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M8D5a	–	167v	Read S4W4D1, Mark 8:34–9:1
M8D5b	–	167v	Read S3W11D1, Luke 13:10–17
M8D6a	Matt. 5:14	167v	Read M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M8D6b	–	167v	Read S3W11D7, Luke 12:32–40
M8D7a	–	167v	Read M3D13a, John 10:1–9, and/or M3D13b, which refers the reader to M1D3, John 10:9–16
M8D7b	–	167v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M8D7c	–	167v	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M8D8a	–	167v	Read S3W7D7, Luke 9:1–6
M8D8b	–	167v	Read M1D3, John 10:9–16
M8D9	–	167v	Read S3W10D7, Luke 10:19–21
M8D10	–	167v	Read S3W5D3, Luke 9:23–27
M8D11	–	167v	Read M2D3, which refers the reader to read S2W6D6, Matt. 13:44–54

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
M8D12	–	167v	Read M3D6, Luke 12:8–12
M8D13	–	167v	Read S3W5D3, Luke 9:23–27
M8D14	–	167v	Read M2D18, Luke 10:16–21
M8D15	–	167v	Read S2W2D1, Matt. 10:32–33, 37–38; 19:27–30
M8D16	–	167v	Read S2W1D3, Matt. 4:23–5:13
M8D17	–	167v	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 14:27–15:7, starting at 15:1, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M8D18	–	167v	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30. (The evangelist is not specified, but this is the expected reading in Gregory.)
M8D19a	–	168r	Read S1W7D2, John 14:27–15:7, beginning at 15:1:
M8D19b	–	168r	Read S3W5D3, Luke 9:23–27
M8D20	–	168r	Read M3D5a, Mark 8:34–35; 10:29–31, and/or M3D5b which refers the reader to S3W6D1, Luke 16:19–31
M8D21a	–	168r	Read S4W4D1, Mark 8:34–9:1
M8D21b	–	168r	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M8D22	–	168r	Read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M8D23a	–	168r	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M8D23b	–	168r	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M8D24	–	168r	Read S3W7D6, Luke 12:2–12
M8D25a	–	168r	Read M2D18, Luke 10:16–21
M8D25b	–	168r	Read S2W15D4, Mark 6:7–13
M8D26	–	168r	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M8D27	–	168r	Read S4W4D1, Mark 8:34–9:1
M8D28	–	168r	Read S3W7D7, Luke 9:1–6
M8D29	–	168r	Read S3W7D6, Luke 12:2–12
M8D30	–	168r	Read M2D9, Matt. 10:1–7, 14–15
M9D1a	–	168r	Read M10D29a which refers the reader to M2D9, Matt. 10:1–7, 14–15, and/or M10D29b, Matt. 16:13–19
M9D1b	–	168r	Read M10D29a which refers the reader to M2D9, Matt. 10:1–7, 14–15, and/or M10D29b, Matt. 16:13–19
M9D2	Matt. 5:14	168r	Read M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M9D3a	–	168r	Read M3D29, Matt. 10:17–18, 23–25, 28–31

Day	Text (written)	Folio	Cross-reference text to locate and read
M9D3b	–	168r	Read S2W15D2, Mark 5:24–34
M9D4	–	168r	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M9D5	–	168r	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M9D6	–	168r	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M9D7a	–	168r	Read M1D13a, John 12:25–36, and/or M1D13b which refers the reader to M4D22a/b (references to S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13 and/or S1W5D6, John 10:22–28), and/or M1D13c which refers the reader to S5W1D5o, Matt. 27:33–54, and/or M1D13d which refers to S2W7D7, Matt. 10:37–11:1, and/or M1D13e, John 3:13–17
M9D7b	–	168r	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M9D8a	–	168r	Read R11, John 21:14–21 (missing)
M9D8b	John 19:25–27; 21:24–25	168v	
M9D8c	–	168v	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M9D9a	–	168v	Read S1W6D4, John 12:36–47
M9D9b	–	168v	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M9D10	–	168v	Read M2D9, Matt. 10:1–7, 14–15
M9D11a	–	168v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M9D11b	–	168v	Read a section of S5W1D5i, possibly John 14:21–24
M9D12	–	168v	Read M2D11a which refers the reader to M6D15, Luke 10:3–9, and/or to M2D11b which refers the reader to M3D6, Luke 12:8–12, and/or M2D11c which refers the reader to M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19, and/or M2D11d, Mark 13:33–37; 14:3–9, and/or M2D11e which refers the reader to S3W5D1, Luke 8:5–15, 8
M9D13a	–	168v	Read S3W17D2, Mark 13:9–13
M9D13b	–	168v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M9D14	–	168v	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M9D15	–	168v	Read S2W1D3, Matt. 4:23–5:13
M9D16	–	168v	Read S2W11D4, Matt. 23:29–39
M9D17	–	168v	Read S3W7D7, Luke 9:1–6
M9D18	–	168v	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22
M9D19	–	176r	Read S3W10D7, Luke 10:19–21
M9D20	–	176r	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M9D21	–	176r	Read M3D13a, John 10:1–9
M9D22	–	176r	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
M9D23a	–	176r	Read M3D6, Luke 12:8–12
M9D23b	–	176r	Read M11D8, Luke 6:17–19, 9:1–2, 10:16–21
M9D24	–	176r	Read S2W1D3, Matt. 4:23–5:13
M9D25	–	176r	Read S3W3D5, Luke 7:17–30
M9D26	John 14:21, 24	176r	Read a section of S5W1D5i, John 14:21–24
M9D27	–	176r	Read M6D23, John 12:24–26, 35–36
M9D28	–	176r	Read S3W7D6, Luke 12:2–12
M9D29	–	176r	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M9D30	–	176r	Read S2W1D3, Matt. 4:23–5:13
M9D31a	–	176r	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M9D31b	–	176r	Read M1D3, John 10:9–16
M10D1	–	176r	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22
M10D2	–	176r	Read M1D3, John 10:9–16
M10D3	–	176r	Read S3W10D7, Luke 10:19–21
M10D4	–	176r	Read M1D3, John 10:9–16
M10D5a	Matt. 5:14	176r	Read M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M10D5b	–	176r	Read S2W2D5, Matt. 8:23–27
M10D5c	–	176r	Read S3W6D3 and S3W6D4, Luke 11:1–13
M10D6a	–	176r	Read S3W7D7, Luke 9:1–6
M10D6b	–	176r	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M10D7a	–	176r	Read S3W5D6, Luke 10:1–15
M10D7b	–	176r	Read M3D6, Luke 12:8–12
M10D8	–	176r	Read S3W10D7, Luke 10:19–21
M10D9a	–	176r	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 15:1–7, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M10D9b	–	176r	Read M3D10a which refers the reader to M4D6 and S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M3D10b, Luke 14:25–27, 33–35, and/or M3D10c which refers the reader to S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M10D10a	–	176v	Read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M10D10b	–	176v	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22
M10D11	–	176v	Read S2W15D4, Mark 6:7–13
M10D12a	–	176v	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M10D12b	–	176v	Read S3W10D7, Luke 10:19–21
M10D13	–	176v	Read S2W13D2, Mark 3:6–12
M10D14a	–	176v	Read S3W1D6, Luke 4:22–30
M10D14b	–	176v	Read M1D3, John 10:9–16

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
M10D15	–	176v	Read M4D17, Luke 11:44–50
M10D16	–	176v	Read M3D1a, Matthew reference unclear, and/or M3D1b, Matt. 10:1–8
M10D17	–	176v	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M10D18	–	176v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M10D19	Luke 6:20–26, 10:23–24, 11:33	176v	
M10D20	–	169r	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M10D21	–	169r	Read S3W7D6, Luke 12:2–12
M10D22a	–	169r	Read M3D6, Luke 12:8–12
M10D22b	–	169r	Read M3D10a which refers the reader to M4D6 and S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M3D10b, Luke 14:25–27, 33–35, and/or M3D10c which refers the reader to S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M10D23	–	169r	Read S2W15D2, Mark 5:24–34
M10D24a	–	169r	Read S3W4D5, Luke 9:7–11
M10D24b	Luke 1:1–25, 57–68, 76–80	169r	
M10D25	–	170v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M10D26	–	170v	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M10D27	–	170v	Read S3W11D7, Luke 12:32–40
M10D28a	–	170v	Read M3D1a, Matthew reference unclear, and/or M3D1b, Matt. 10:1–8
M10D28b	–	170v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M10D29a	–	171r	Read M2D9, Matt. 10:1–7, 14–15
M10D29b	Matt. 16:13–19	171r	
M10D30	–	171r	Read S2W3D5, Matt. 10:23–31
M11D1	–	171r	Read M3D1a, Matthew reference unclear, and/or M3D1b, Matt. 10:1–8
M11D2	–	171r	Read M1D8a, Luke 1:39–49, 56
M11D3	–	171r	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22
M11D4	Matt. 5:14	171r	Read M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M11D5a	–	171v	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M11D5b	–	171v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M11D6a	–	171v	Read S3W7D6, Luke 12:2–12
M11D6b	–	171v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M11D6c	–	171v	Read M3D10a which refers the reader to M4D6 and S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M3D10b, Luke 14:25–27, 33–35, and/or M3D10c which refers the reader to S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2

Day	Text (written)	Folio	Cross-reference text to locate and read
M11D7a	–	171v	Read M6D23, John 12:24–26, 35–36
M11D7b	–	171v	Read M2D13, Matt. 7:12–21
M11D8	Luke 6:17–19; 9:1–2; 10:16–21	171v	
M11D9a	–	172r	Read M2D13, Matt. 7:12–21
M11D9b	–	172r	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M11D10	–	172r	Read S2W9D4, Matt. 20:1–16
M11D11	–	172r	Read S3W4D2, Luke 7:36–50
M11D12	–	172r	Read S3W4D2, Luke 7:36–50
M11D13	–	172r	Read S1W7D7, which refers the reader to R11, John 21:14–25 (missing)
M11D14	–	172r	Read M2D18, Luke 10:16–21
M11D15a	–	172r	Read S2W10D7, Matt. 17:24–18:4
M11D15b	Matt. 5:14	172r	Read M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19, plus extra instructions
M11D15c	John 17:1, 21	172r	Read John 17:1–21 (no lection number given)
M11D16	–	172r	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2 (An alternative lection is offered in the margins of S5W1D5i, John 17:11–21.)
M11D17	–	172r	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M11D18a	–	172r	Read M11D8, Luke 6:17–19; 9:1–2; 10:16–21
M11D18b	–	172v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M11D19a	–	172v	Read S4W4D1, Mark 8:34–9:1
M11D19b	–	172v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M11D20a	Matt. 17:5	172v	Read M12D6b, Matt. 17:1–5
M11D20b	Matt. 17:13	172v	Read S2W8D6, Matt. 17:10–13
M11D21a	–	172v	Read M10D19, Luke 6:20–26, 10:23–24, 11:33
M11D21b	–	172v	Read M3D10a which refers the reader to M4D6 and S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M3D10b, Luke 14:25–27, 33–35, and/or M3D10c which refers the reader to S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M11D22a	–	172v	Read S3W10D7, Luke 10:19–21
M11D22b	–	172v	Read R8, John 20:11–18 (missing)
M11D22c	–	172v	Read S3W4D3, Luke 8:1–3
M11D23	–	172v	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22
M11D24a	–	172v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
M11D24b	–	172v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M11D25a	–	172v	Read S3W6D7, Luke 8:16–21
M11D25b	–	172v	Read S2W7D7, Matt. 10:37–11:1
M11D26	–	172v	Read S2W1D3, Matt. 4:23–5:13
M11D27	–	172v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M11D28	–	172v	Read S2W15D4, Mark 6:7–13
M11D29	–	172v	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22
M11D30	–	172v	Read S3W7D7, Luke 9:1–6
M11D31a	–	172v	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M11D31b	–	172v	Read M3D10a which refers the reader to M4D6 and S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23, and/or M3D10b, Luke 14:25–27, 33–35, and/or M3D10c which refers the reader to S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M12D1	–	172v	Read S2W3D4, Matt. 10:16–22
M12D2a	–	172v	Read S3W11D5, Luke 20:9–18
M12D2b	–	172v	Read S2W14D1, Matt. 21:33–42
M12D2c	–	172v	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M12D3	–	172v	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M12D4	–	173r	Read S3W4D3, Luke 8:1–3
M12D5a	–	173r	Read S4W4D1, Mark 8:34–9:1
M12D5b	–	173r	Uncertain Sabbath reading in Matthew
M12D6a	Luke 9:28–36	173r	
M12D6b	Matt. 17:1–9	173v	
M12D7	Mark 9:2–9	174r	
M12D8	–	174v	Read S4W4D1, Mark 8:34–9:1
M12D9	–	174v	Read S2W15D4, Mark 6:7–13
M12D10	–	174v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M12D11	–	174v	Read M6D23, John 12:24–26, 35–36
M12D12	–	174v	Read S3W7D7, Luke 9:1–6
M12D13	–	174v	Read M3D6, Luke 12:8–12
M12D14	–	174v	Read S3W11D7, Luke 12:32–40
M12D15	–	174v	Read M1D8a and b, Luke 1:39–49, 56 and Luke 10:38–42; 11:27–28
M12D16	John 15:1	174v	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M12D17	–	174v	Read S3W2D3, Luke 5:12–16
M12D18	–	174v	Read S3W7D6, Luke 12:2–12
M12D19	–	174v	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M12D20a	–	174v	Read M2D9, Matt. 10:1–7, 14–15
M12D20b	–	174v	Read M10D29a which refers the reader to M2D9, Matt. 10:1–7, 14–15, and/or M10D29b, Matt. 16:13–19

<b>Day</b>	<b>Text (written)</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Cross-reference text to locate and read</b>
M12D21a	–	174v	Read S2W10D7, Matt. 17:24–18:4
M12D21b	–	174v	Read S2W17D7, Matt. 25:1–13
M12D22	–	174v	Read S1W3D7, John 15:17–16:2
M12D23	–	174v	Read S1W7D2, John 15:1–7
M12D24	–	174v	Read M2D9, Matt. 10:1–7, 14–15
M12D25	–	174v	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 15:1–7, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M12D26	–	174v	Read S3W12D3, Luke 21:12–19
M12D27	–	175r	Read S3W2D6, Luke 6:17–23
M12D28	–	175r	Read S2W4D5, Matt. 11:27–30
M12D29a	–	175r	Read S2W7D3, Matt. 14:1–13
M12D29b	Mark 6:14–30	175r	
M12D30	–	175v	Read M1D2a which refers the reader to S1W7D2, John 15:1–7, and/or M1D2b, Matt. 5:14–19
M12D31	–	175v	Read M11D2, which refers the reader to read M1D8a, Luke 1:39–49, 56

**LIST: COMMEMORATIONS AND RUBRICS IN THE MENOLOGION OF CODEx  
ZACYNTHIUS**

Days with multiple readings have their headings combined for each day, except where moveable feasts interrupt a day's lections and the order of the manuscript is retained. Commemorations with additional *prokeimena* and *stichoi* are in bold. Separate readings for Matins and Liturgy are noted in square brackets.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Sept. 1	<p>αρχη της ινδικτου και μνημη του οσιου πατρος ημων συμεων του στυλιτου και του μεγαλου εμπρισμου.</p> <p>γινεται δε και συναξις της υπεραγιας θεοτοκου εν τοις χαλκοπρατειοις υπερ μiasινων. και εν μεν τω φορω και εις την λειτουργιαν της μεγαλης εκκλησιας αναγιγνωσκειται ευαγγελιον...</p> <p>ληθη γεγονε γραφη ενταυθα. εν δε τοις χαλκοπρατειοις αναγιγνωσκειται...</p>	<p>Beginning of the Indiction<sup>1</sup> and commemoration of our holy father Simeon Stylites, and of the Great Fire.<sup>2</sup></p> <p>The service of the all-holy Mother of God takes place in the Chalkoprataia Monastery above Miasenoi, and also in the Forum, and in the Liturgy of the Great Church is read the Gospel...</p> <p>Next, the scripture has been passed over. In the Chalkoprataia is read...</p>
Sept. 2	<p>του αγιου μαρτυρος μαμαντος. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων πατριαρχων ιωαννου του νηστευτου και παυλου του νεου.</p>	<p>St Mamas the martyr. On the same day the Patriarchs St John the Faster and St Paul the Younger.</p>
Sept. 3	<p>του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος ανθιμου επισκοπου νικομηδειας. και εις λοιποις ιεραρχαις.</p>	<p>St Anthimus the Hieromartyr, bishop of Nicomedia. And the other high-priests.</p>
Sept. 4	<p>αθλησις του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος βαβυλα και των νηπιων. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιαμαρτυρος ερμιονης θυγατρος του αγιου φιλιππου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου προφητου μωσεως του θεοπτου.</p>	<p>The trial of St Babylas the Hieromartyr and children. On the same day the holy martyr Hermione, daughter of St Philip. On the same day the holy Prophet and God-seer Moses.</p>
Sept. 5	<p>του αγιου προφητου ζαχαριου του πατρος του προδρομου.</p>	<p>The sainted Prophet Zechariah, father of the Forerunner.</p>
Sept. 6	<p>του αρχιστρατηγου μιχαηλ το θαυμα.</p>	<p>The miracle of the Archangel Michael.</p>

<sup>1</sup> This indicates the beginning of the Church Year.

<sup>2</sup> The Great Fire of Constantinople began on 1 September 465.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
	τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου κυριλλου επισκοπου γορτυνης. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μαρτυρος ευδοξιου και των συν αυτω.	On the same day St Cyril, bishop of Gortyna. On the same day St Eudoxius the Martyr and those with him.
Sept. 7	του αγιου μαρτυρος σωζοντος. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου πατρος ημων δανιηλ ηγουμενος του θασιου.	St Sozon the martyr. On the same day our holy father Daniel, abbot of Thasos.
<b>Sept. 8</b>	<b>το γενεσιον της υπεραγιας θεοτοκου [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].</b>	<b>The birth of the most-holy Mother of God.</b>
Sept. 9	των αγιων και δικαιων ιωακειμ και αννης.	The sainted and righteous Joachim and Anna.
Sept. 10	εις την προσκυνησιν των τιμιων ξυλων. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων μαρτυρων μηροδωρας και νυμοδωρας.	For the adoration of the precious wood. <sup>3</sup> On the same day the martyrs St Menadora, Metrodora and Nymphodora.
Sept. 11	εις την προσκυνησιν των τιμιων ξυλων. τη αυτη ημερα της οσιας θεοδωρας.	For the adoration of the precious wood. On the same day St Theodora.
Sept. 12	εις την προσκυνησιν των τιμιων ξυλων. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων μαρτυρων αυτονομου και κουρνοντου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου ιουλιανου του εν αγκυρα.	For the adoration of the precious wood. On the same day the martyrs St Autonomus and Coronatus. On the same day St Julian of Ancyra.
Sept. 13	εις την προσκυνησιν των τιμιων ξυλων. τη αυτη ημερα των εγκαινιων της αγιας χριστου του θεου ημων αναστασεως. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου κορνηλιου του εκατονταρχου.	For the adoration of the precious wood. On the same day the Dedication of the Church of the Holy Resurrection of Christ our God <sup>4</sup> . On the same day St Cornelius the centurion.
	σαββατω προ της υψωσεως.	Saturday before the Elevation.
	κυριακη προ της υψωσεως.	Sunday before the Elevation.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to the anticipation of Holy Cross Day on September 14th.

<sup>4</sup> This is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Sept. 14	η υψωσις του τιμιου και ζωοποιου σταυρου [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].	<b>Elevation of the precious and life-giving Cross.</b>
	σαββατω μετα την υψωσιν.	Saturday after the Elevation.
	κυριακη μετα την υψωσιν. και μνημη του αγιου σιμεων του συγγενους του κυριου. επιτελει δε η μεγαλη εκκλησια τη αυτη κυριακη και την μνημη της 5' συνοδου.	Sunday after the Elevation. Also memorial of St Simeon kinsman of the Lord. The Great Church also celebrates on this Sunday the commemoration of the 6th Synod.
Sept. 15	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος νικητα και ακακιου. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων πατερων των εν τη 5' συνοδω.	St Nicetas the great martyr and Acacius. On the same day the sainted fathers of the 6th Synod.
Sept. 16	της αγιας μεγαλομαρτυρος ευφημιας και της αγιας μαρτυρος αγαθοκλιας.	St Euphemia the Great Martyr and St Agathocleia the holy martyr.
Sept. 17	των αγιων μαρτυρων σοφιας πιστεως ελπιδος και αγαπης και των αγιων μαρτυρων ευλαμπιου παντολεοντος και των λοιπων. ετερον των μαρτυρων.	The martyrs St Sophia, Pistis, Elpis and Agape, and the martyrs St Eulampius, Pantaleon and the others. An alternative for martyrs.
Sept. 18	του αγιου ευμενιου επισκοπος γορτυνης. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας οσιομαρτυρος σωσαννης.	St Eumenius, Bishop of Gortyna. On the same day St Susanna the blessed martyr.
Sept. 19	των αγιων μαρτυρων τροφιμου σαββατιου και δορυμεδοντος.	The martyrs St Trophimus, Sabbatius and Dorymedon.
Sept. 20	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος ευσταθιου και των συν αυτω.	St Eustathius the Great Martyr and those with him.
Sept. 21	της υπεραγιας θεοτοκου εν τη πετρα. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου αποστολου κοδρατου του εν μαγνησια.	The church of the most holy Mother of God in Petra. On the same day St Quadratus the Apostle in Magnesia.
Sept. 22	του αγιου προφητου ιωνα και ιωνα πρεσβυτερος πατρος θεοφανου του ποιητου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος φωκα.	The sainted prophet Jonah and Jonah the priest, father of Theophanes the hymnographer. On the same day the St Phocas the Hieromartyr.
Sept. 23	η συλληψις του αγιου ιωαννου του προδρομου και βαπτιστου.	The Conception of St John the Forerunner and Baptist.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Sept. 24	της αγιας πρωτομαρτυρος θεκλης.	St Thekla the Protomartyr.
Sept. 25	η λιτη του καμπου δια το τρισαγιον εν μεν τω τριβουναλιω λεγεται ευαγγελιον κατα λουκαν. εις δε την λειτουργιαν κατω εν τω ναω του θεολογου αναγινωσκειται ευαγγελιον. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου παφνουτιου και της οσιας ευφροσυνης. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων μαρτυρων σαβινιανου παυλου και ταττης. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου θεοφιλου επισκοπου εφεσου.	In the Litany of the Kampos during the Trisagion in the Tribunal is read the Gospel of Luke. <sup>5</sup> In the liturgy below in the Church of the Theologian is read the Gospel. On the same day St Paphnutius and the holy Euphrosyne. On the same day the martyrs St Sabinian, Paul and Tatta. On the same day St Theophilus, Bishop of Ephesus.
Sept. 26	η μεταστασις του αγιου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου ιωαννου του θεολογου.	The Repose of the Apostle and Evangelist St John the Theologian.
Sept. 27	των αγιων μαρτυρων καλλιστρατου και των συν αυτω και της αγιας μαρτυρος επιχαρεως.	The martyrs St Callistratus and those with him and St Epicharis the Martyr.
Sept. 28	του οσιου πατρος ημων χαριτωνος.	Our holy father Chariton.
Sept. 29	του οσιου πατρος ημων κυριακου του αναχωρητου.	Our holy father Cyriacus the anchorite.
Sept. 30	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος γρηγοριου της μεγαλης αρμενιας. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων μαρτυρων ριψιμης και γαιανης και των συν αυτω.	The Hieromartyr St Gregory of Greater Armenia. On the same day the martyrs St Rhipsima and Gaiana and those with them.
Oct. 1	μηνος οκτωβριος α' του αγιου αποστολου και μαρτυρος ανανιου. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου ρωμανου του μελωδου.	October 1, the Apostle and martyr St Ananias. On the same day the holy Romanos the Melodist.
Oct. 2	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος κυπριανου και ιουστινης.	St Cyprian the Hieromartyr and Justina.
Oct. 3	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος διονυσιου του αρεωπαγιτου.	St Dionysius the Areopagite, the Hieromartyr.
Oct. 4	του αγιου ιεροθεου και πετρου ιερομαρτυρος.	St Hierotheus and the Hieromartyr Peter.
Oct. 5	των αγιων μαρτυρων χαριτινης και μαμελχθης.	The martyrs St Charitina and Mamelchtha.

<sup>5</sup> This refers to a processional liturgy.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Oct. 6	του αγιου αποστολου θωμα.	St Thomas the Apostle.
Oct. 7	των αγιων μαρτυρων σεργιου και βακχου.	The martyrs St Sergius and Bacchus.
Oct. 8	της αγιας πελαγιας.	St Pelagia.
Oct. 9	του αγιου αποστολου ιακωβου του αλφαιου.	St James the Apostle, son of Alphaeus.
Oct. 10	των αγιων μαρτυρων ευλαμπιου και ευλαμπιας.	St Eulampius and Eulampia the martyrs.
Oct. 11	του αγιου αποστολου φιλιππου ενος των επτα διακωνων. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου πατρος ημων και ομολογητου θεοφανου του ποιητου των κανωνων. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων πατριαρχων νεκταριου αρσακιου αττικου και σισιννιου. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας οσιομαρτυρος ζηναιδος και της αγιας θεοφανω της βασιλισσης.	St Philip the Apostle, one of the seven deacons. On the same day our holy father and confessor Theophanes the writer of the canons. On the same day the Patriarchs St Nectarius, Arsacius, Atticus and Sisinnius. On the same day the Hieromartyr St Zenais and St Theophanou the empress.
	η δε μεγαλη εκκλησια επιτελει τη μνημην της ζ συνοδου εν ημερα κυριακη και αναγιωσκετε ευαγγελιον το του σπορου.	The Great Church celebrates the memorial of the Seventh Synod on Sunday, and the gospel of the sowing is read.
Oct. 12	των αγιων μαρτυρων ταραχου προβου και ανδρονικου.	The martyrs St Tarachus, Probus and Andronicus.
Oct. 13	των αγιων μαρτυρων καρπου και παπυλου.	The martyrs St Carpus and Papyrus.
Oct. 14	των αγιων μαρτυρων ναζαριου γερβασιου και των συν αυτω.	The martyrs St Nazarius, Gervasius and those with him.
Oct. 15	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος λουκιανου.	St Lucian the Hieromartyr.
Oct. 16	του αγιου μαρτυρος λογγινου του εκατονταρχου. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου πατρος ημων και θαυματουργου μαλου.	St Longinus the centurion and martyr. On the same day our holy father and wonderworker Malus.
Oct. 17	του αγιου προφητου ωσηε. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων μαρτυρων ισιδωρας και νεοφυτης.	The sainted Prophet Hosea. On the same day the martyrs St Isidora and Neophyte.
Oct. 18	του αγιου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου λουκα.	St Luke the apostle and evangelist.
Oct. 19	του αγιου προφητου ιωηλ και του αγιου μαρτυρος ουαρου και των συν αυτω.	The sainted Prophet Joel and St Varus the Martyr and those with him.
Oct. 20	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος αρτεμιου και του αγιου οσιομαρτυρος ανδρεου της κρισεως.	St Artemius the Great Martyr and St Andrew of Crete the Hieromartyr.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Oct. 21	του οσιου πατρος ημων ιλαριωνος.	Our holy father Hilarion.
<b>Oct. 22</b>	<b>του εν αγιοις πατρος ημων αβερκιου [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].</b>	<b>Our father Abercius among the saints.<sup>6</sup></b>
Oct. 23	του αγιου αποστολου ιακωβου του αδελφοθεου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου ιγνατιου πατριαρχου κωνσταντινουπολεως. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων επτα παιδων των εν εφεσω.	St James the Apostle, the brother of the Lord. On the same day St Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople. On the same day the seven sainted children in Ephesus.
Oct. 24	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος αρεθα και των συν αυτω.	St Arethas the great martyr and those with him.
Oct. 25	των αγιων νοταριων μαρκιανου και μαρτυριου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μαρτυρος αναστασιου του εν σαλωναις.	St Marcian and Martyrius the notaries. On the same day St Anastasius the Martyr of Salona.
Oct. 26	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος δημητριου και μνημη του μεγαλου σεισμου. ετερον.	St Demetrius the Great Martyr and the commemoration of the Great Earthquake. <sup>7</sup> An alternative.
Oct. 27	του αγιου μαρτυρος νεστορος και αρτεμιδωρου.	St Nestor the Martyr and Artemidorus
Oct. 28	των αγιων μαρτυρων τερεντιου νεονιλλης και των τεκνων αυτων.	The martyrs St Terence, Neonilla and their children.
Oct. 29	του αγιου αβραμιου. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μαρτυρος αναστασιας της ρωμαιας.	St Abramius. On the same day St Anastasia the Roman martyr.
Oct. 30	των αγιων μαρτυρων ζηνοβιου και ζηνοβιας.	St Zenobius and Zenobia the martyrs.
Oct. 31	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος μαρκιανου επισκοπου συρακουσης και του αγιου μαρτυρος επιμαχου. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων αποστολων σταχυος αμπλια αριστοβουλου και των συν αυτω.	St Marcian the Hieromartyr, Bishop of Syracuse, and St Epimachus the Martyr. On the same day the apostles St Stachys, Amplias, Aristobulus and those with him.
<b>Nov. 1</b>	<b>μηνη νοεμβριω α' των αγιων αναργυρων κοσμα και δαμιανου [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].</b>	<b>November 1. St Cosmas and Damian the Unmercenarys.<sup>8</sup></b>

<sup>6</sup> Bishop of Hierapolis.

<sup>7</sup> The Great Earthquake of Constantinople took place in 740 AD.

<sup>8</sup> The term 'unmercenary' refers to physicians who refused payment for their services.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Nov. 2	των αγιων μαρτυρων ακινδυνου πηγασιου ανεμποδιστου αφθονιου και ελπιδιφορου.	St Acindynus, Pegasus, Anempodistus, Aphthonius and Elpidephorus the martyrs.
Nov. 3	των αγιων μαρτυρων ακεψιμα ιωσηφ και αιθαλα. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου ιωαννικιου.	St Acepsimas, Joseph and Aeithalas the martyrs. On the same day the holy Joannicius.
Nov. 4	των αγιων μαρτυρων νικανδρου και ερμαιου. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μαρτυρας θεοδοτης.	St Nicander and Hermas the martyrs. On the same day St Theodota the Martyr.
Nov. 5	των αγιων μαρτυρων γαλακτιωνος και επιστημης.	St Galacteon and Episteme the martyrs.
	τη κυριακη προ της ς' του νοεμβριου μηνος. ηγουν προ της μνημης του αγιου παυλου του ομολογητου, τελουμενην εν τη μεγαλη εκκλησια εν ημερα κυριακη κατα τον τυπον της μεγαλης εκκλησιας αναγινωσκεται ευαγγελιον το του πλουσιου. το αυτο αναγινωσκεται και τη ς' του αυτου μηνος εις την λειτουργιαν υπερ της μνημης της κονεως.	On the Sunday before November 6, before the commemoration of St Paul the Confessor, in the Great Church on Sunday according to the rite of the Great Church, is read the Gospel of the Rich Man.  The same is read also on the 6th of the same month in the liturgy for the commemoration of the Rain of Cinders. <sup>9</sup>
Nov. 6	του εν αγιοις πατρος ημων παυλου του ομολογητου.	Our father Paul the confessor among the saints.
Nov. 7	των αγιων λγ' μαρτυρων των εν μελετινη. τη αυτη ημερα της οσιας ματρωνας.	The 33 martyrs of Melitene. On the same day the holy Matrona.
<b>Nov. 8</b>	<b>η συναξις των αρχαγγελων [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].</b>	<b>The celebration of the archangels.</b>
Nov. 9	των αγιων μαρτυρων ονησιφορου και πορφυριου. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας ευστολιας.	St Onesiphorus and Porphyrius the martyrs. On the same day St Eustolia.
<b>Nov. 10</b>	<b>του αγιου πατρος ημων νειλου [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].</b> τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μαρτυρου ορεστου.	<b>Our father St Neilus.</b> On the same day St Orestes the Martyr.
Nov. 11	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος μηνα βικτορος και βικεντιου. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου πατρος ημων και ομολογητου θεοδωρου του στουδιου.	St Menas the Great Martyr, Victor and Vincent. On the same day our holy father and confessor Theodore the Studite.
Nov. 12	του αγιου ιωαννου του ελεημονας.	St John the Almsgiver.

<sup>9</sup> The Rain of Cinders took place in 472 AD.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
	τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος αρτεμωνος.	On the same day St Artemon the Hieromartyr.
<b>Nov. 13</b>	<b>του εν αγιοις πατρος ημων ιωαννου αρχιεπισκοπου κωνσταντινουπολεως του χρυσοστομου [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].</b>	<b>Our father among the saints John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople.</b>
Nov. 14	του αγιου αποστολου φιλιππου. τη αυτη ημερα μνημη ιουστινιανου και θεοδωρας των βασιλεων.	St Philip the Apostle. On the same day the commemoration of the emperors Justinian and Theodora.
Nov. 15	των αγιων ομολογητων σαμωνα γουρια και αβιβου.	St Samonas, Gurias and Abibus the confessors.
Nov. 16	του αγιου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου ματθαιου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου βαρλααμ.	St Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist. On the same day St Barlaam.
Nov. 17	του αγιου γρηγοριου του θαυματουργου.	St Gregory the Wonderworker.
Nov. 18	των αγιων μαρτυρων πλατωνος και ρωμανου.	St Platon and Romanus the martyrs.
Nov. 19	του αγιου μαρτυρος δασιου και λοιπων, και του αγιου προφητου αβδιου.	St Dasius the Martyr and the others, and the holy prophet Obadiah.
Nov. 20	των αγιων πατριαρχων προκλου μαξιμου ανατολιου και γενναδιου.	St Proclus, Maximus, Anatolius and Gennadius the Patriarchs.
<b>Nov. 21</b>	<b>τα αγια των αγιων [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].</b>	<b>The Holy of Holies.<sup>10</sup></b>
Nov. 22	του αγιου αποστολου φιλημωνος. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μαρτυρος κικιλιας.	St Philemon the Apostle. On the same day St Cecilia the Martyr.
Nov. 23	του αγιου αμφιλοχιου και του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος σισινιου.	St Amphilochius and St Sisinius the Hieromartyr.
Nov. 24	του αγιου γρηγοριου του ακραγαντινου.	St Gregory of Agrigentum.
Nov. 25	των αγιων ιερομαρτυρων κλημεντου ρωμης και πετρου αλεξανδρειας και του αγιου μαρτυρος μερκουριου. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μεγαλομαρτυρος αικατερινης.	St Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria the Hieromartyrs, and St Mercurius the Martyr. On the same day St Catherine the Great Martyr.

<sup>10</sup> Feast of the Dedication of the Theotokos in the Temple.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Nov. 26	του οσιου πατρος ημων αλυπτιου του κιονιτου και ακακιου του της κλιμακος.	Our holy father Alypius the Stylite and Acacius of the Ladder.
Nov. 27	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος ιακωβου του περσου.	St James of Persia the Great Martyr.
Nov. 28	του αγιου μαρτυρος ειρηναρχου και του αγιου οσιομαρτυρος στεφανου του νεου.	St Irenarchus the Martyr and St Stephen the Younger the Hieromartyr.
Nov. 29	του αγιου αποστολου σιλα και του αγιου μαρτυρου παραμονου.	St Silas the Apostle and St Paramon the Martyr.
Nov. 30	του αγιου αποστολου ανδρεου.	St Andrew the Apostle.
Dec. 1	μηνη δεκεμβριω α' του αγιου προφητου ναουμ.	December 1, The sainted Prophet Nahum.
Dec. 2	του αγιου προφητου αββακουμ. τη αυτη ημερα μνημη του δικαιου φιλαρετου του ελεημωνας.	The sainted Prophet Habbakuk. On the same day, commemoration of the righteous Philaretos the Almsgiver.
Dec. 3	του αγιου προφητου σοφονιου. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων μαρτυρων ινδης και δομνας και των συν αυτων δισμυριων.	The sainted Prophet Zephaniah. On the same day the martyrs St Indus, Domna and the Twenty Thousand with them.
Dec. 4	της αγιας μεγαλομαρτυρος βαρβαρας. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου πατρος ημων ιωαννου του δαμασκηνου.	St Barbara the Great Martyr. On the same day our holy father John Damascene.
Dec. 5	του οσιου πατρος ημων σαβα.	Our holy father Sabbas.
Dec. 6	του εν αγιοις πατρος ημων και θαυματοργου νικολαου.	Our father Nicholas the wonderworker among the saints.
Dec. 7	του οσιου πατρος ημων αμβροσιου.	Our holy father Ambrose.
Dec. 8	του οσιου πατρος ημων παταπιου.	Our holy father Patapius.
Dec. 9	η συλληψις της αγιας αννης.	The Conception of St Anne.
Dec. 10	των αγιων μαρτυρων μηνα ερμογενους και ευγραφου.	St Menas, Hermogenes and Eugraphus the martyrs.
Dec. 11	του οσιου πατρος ημων δανιηλ του στυλιτου.	Our holy father Daniel the Stylite.
Dec. 12	του οσιου πατρος ημων σπυριδωνου.	Our holy father Spyridon.
Dec. 13	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος ευστρατιου και των συν αυτω.	St Eustratius the Great Martyr and those with him.
Dec. 14	του αγιου μαρτυρος θυρσου και των συν αυτω.	St Thyrsus the Martyr and those with him.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Dec. 15	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος ελευθεριου.	St Eleutherius the Hieromartyr.
Dec. 16	του αγιου προφητου αγγαιου και του αγιου μαρτυρος μαρινου και βακχου του νεου.	The sainted Prophet Haggai, St Marinus the Martyr and Bacchus the Younger.
Dec. 17	των αγιων γ' παιδων και δανιηλ του προφητου.	The three sainted children and Daniel the prophet.
Dec. 18	των αγιων μεγαλομαρτυρων αθηνοδωρου φιλετερου και ευβιωτου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μαρτυρος σεβαστιανου και της συνοδιας αυτου.	St Athenodorus, Phileteros and Eubiotus the great-martyrs. On the same day St Sebastian the Martyr and his companions.
Dec. 19	του αγιου μαρτυρου βοιφιατιου.	St Boniface the Martyr.
Dec. 20	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος ιγνατιου του θεοφορου.	St Ignatius the God-bearer the Hieromartyr.
Dec. 21	της αγιας μαρτυρος ιουλιανης.	St Juliana the Martyr.
Dec. 22	της αγιας μαρτυρος αναστασιας. τη αυτη ημερα τα ανοιξια της μεγαλης εκκλησιας.	St Anastasia the Martyr. On the same day the opening of the Great Church. <sup>11</sup>
Dec. 23	τα εγκαινια της μεγαλης εκκλησιας. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων ι' μαρτυρων των εν κρητη.	The Dedication of the Great Church. On the same day the 10 martyrs of Crete.
	σαββατω προ της χριστου γεννησεως. ουκ αναγιγνωσκειται δε εν ορδινω ει μη αρα προ της χριστου γεννησεως ως ειρηται.	The Saturday before the birth of Christ. This is not read sequentially except before the birth of Christ as is stated. <sup>12</sup>
	κυριακη προ της χριστου γεννησεως. δεον γινωσκειν οτι εαν η εορτη της αγιας χριστου γεννησεως εν κυριακη φθαση, επειδη το οπισθεν σαββατον και η κυριακη, το προ της χριστου γεννησεως σαββατοκυριακον εστι και εχει τα ιδια ευαγγελια. Το δε της παραμονας σαββατον ευαγγελιον δειται αναγιγνωσκειται τουτο εις την λειτουργιαν.	Sunday before the birth of Christ. It must be known that if the feast of Christ's holy birth falls on a Sunday, since the preceding Saturday and Sunday (the weekend before the birth of Christ) have the same Gospels, then the Gospel of the Vigil on Saturday should be read in the Liturgy.
Dec. 24	εις την παραμονην της αγιας χριστου γεννησεως, ωρα α' των χριστου γεννων, ωρα γ', ωρα ζ', ωρα θ'.	The Vigil of Christ's holy birth, hour 1 of Christ's birth, hour 3, hour 6, hour 9. On the same day St Eugenia the Martyr.

<sup>11</sup> In Constantinople.

<sup>12</sup> See further the following entry.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
	τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μαρτυρος ευγενιας.	
Dec. 25	της αγιας του κυριου και θεου ημων ιησου χριστου γεννησεως [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].	<b>The Holy Birth of Jesus Christ our Lord and God.</b>
Dec. 26	συναξις εις τα επιλοχια της υπεραγιας θεοτοκου	Service of the lying-in of the all-holy Mother of God.
	σαββατω μετα την χριστου γεννησιν	Saturday after the birth of Christ.
	κυριακη μετα την χριστου γεννησιν	Sunday after the birth of Christ.
Dec. 27	του αγιου πρωτομαρτυρος και αρχidiaκονου στεφανου.	St Stephen protomartyr and archdeacon.
Dec. 28	μεθεορτα της χριστου γεννησεως. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων δισμυριων μαρτυρων και του αγιου θεοδωρου του γραπτου.	The afterfeast of the birth of Christ. On the same day the Twenty Thousand martyrs and St Theodore the writer.
Dec. 29	μεθεορτα και των αγιων νηπιων. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μαρκελλου.	The afterfeast and the sainted children. On the same day St Marcellus.
Dec. 30	μεθεορτα. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας ανυσιας.	Afterfeast. On the same day St Anysia.
Dec. 31	μεθεορτα. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μελανης της ρωμαιας και του οσιου ζωτικου του ορφανοτροφου.	Afterfeast. On the same day St Melania of Rome and the holy Zoticus guardian of orphans.
Jan. 1	μηνη ιαννουαριω α' εις την περιτομην του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου και του εν αγιοις πατρος ημων και μεγαλου βασιλειου [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].	<b>January 1. The Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ and our father among the saints Basil the Great.</b>
Jan. 2	προεορτιον των φωτων. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου σιλβεστρου παπα ρωμης.	Forefeast of divine lights. On the same day St Sylvester Pope of Rome.
Jan. 3	προεορτιον των φωτων. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μαρτυρος γορδιου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου προφητου μαλαχιου.	Forefeast of divine lights. On the same day St Gordius the Martyr. On the same day the holy Prophet Malachi.
Jan. 4	προεορτιον των φωτων. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων ο' αποστολων.	Forefeast of divine lights. On the same day the sainted 70 Apostles.
Jan. 5	του αγιου παυλου του θηβαιου.	St Paul of Thebes.
	σαββατω προ των φωτων.	Saturday before divine lights.
	κυριακη προ των φωτων.	Sunday before divine lights.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Jan. 5 cont.	εις την παραμονην των αγιων των θεοφανιων. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου γρηγοριου του εν τω ακριτα.	Vigil of the holy Theophany. On the same day St Gregory of Akrita. <sup>13</sup>
<b>Jan. 6</b>	<b>εις τα αγια θεοφανεια ειτουν εις τα φωτα [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].</b>	<b>The holy Theophany or the divine lights</b>
Jan. 7	εις την συναξιν του αγιου ιωαννου του προφητου προδρομου και βαπτιστου.	For the service of St John, the Prophet, Forerunner and Baptist.
	σαββατω μετα τα φωτα.	Saturday after divine lights.
	κυριακη μετα τα φωτα.	Sunday after divine lights.
Jan. 8	μεθεορτα των φωτων. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων μαρτυρων ιουλιανου και βασιλισσης και της αγιας δομνικας.	Afterfeast of divine lights. On the same day St Julian and Basilissa the martyrs, and St Domnica.
Jan. 9	μεθεορτα των φωτων. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος πολυευκτου. τη αυτη ημερα μνημη σεισμου.	Afterfeast of divine lights. On the same day St Polyeuctus the great-martyr. On the same day commemoration of the Earthquake.
Jan. 10	μεθεορτα των φωτων. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου γρηγοριου νυσσης και δομετιανου μελιτινης.	Afterfeast of divine lights. On the same day St Gregory of Nyssa and Dometian of Melitene.
Jan. 11	μεθεορτα των φωτων. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου θεοδοσιου του κοινοβιαρχου [ορθρος, λειτουργιαν].	Afterfeast of divine lights. On the same day St Theodosius the Cenobiarch.
Jan. 12	μεθεορτα των φωτων. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου στεφανου του χινολακκου. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μαρτυρος τατιανης.	Afterfeast of divine lights. On the same day the Holy Stephen of Khenolakkos Monastery. On the same day St Tatiana the Martyr.
Jan. 13	μεθεορτα των φωτων. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων μαρτυρων ερμυλου και στρατονικου.	Afterfeast of divine lights. On the same day St Hermylus and Stratonicus the martyrs.
Jan. 14	των αγιων αββαδων.	The sainted Abbots. <sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Also known as Gregory of Crete.

<sup>14</sup> This refers to those slain at Sinai and Raithu.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Jan. 15	των οσιων πατερων ημων παυλου του θηβαιου και ιωαννου του καλυβιτου και του αγιου μαρτυρος πανσοφιου.	Our holy fathers Paul of Thebes and John Calabytes and St Pansophius the Martyr.
Jan. 16	εις την προσκυνησιν της τιμιας αλυσεως του αγιου αποστολου πετρου. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων μαρτυρων σπευσιππου και βελεσιππου.	The adoration of the precious chain of St Peter the Apostle. On the same day St Speusippus and Belesippus the martyrs.
Jan. 17	του οσιου πατρος ημων αντωνιου [ορθρον, λειτουργιαν].	Our holy father Anthony.
Jan. 18	των οσιων πατερων ημων αθανασιου και κυριλλου.	Our holy fathers Athanasius and Cyril.
Jan. 19	του οσιου μακαριου του αιγυπτιου και θεοδοτου αγκυρας.	The holy Macarius of Egypt and Theodotus of Ancyra.
Jan. 20	του οσιου πατρος ημων ευθυμιου του μεγαλου [ορθρον, λειτουργιαν].	Our holy father Euthymius the Great.
Jan. 21	του οσιου μαξιμου του ομολογητου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μαρτυρος νεοφυτου.	The holy Maximus the Confessor. On the same day St Neophytus the Martyr.
Jan. 22	του αγιου αποστολου τιμοθεου και του αγιου μαρτυρος αναστασιου του περσου.	St Timothy the Apostle and St Anastasius of Persia the Martyr.
Jan. 23	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος κλημεντος αγκυρας και αγαθαγγελου.	St Clement of Ancyra the Hieromartyr, and Agathangelus.
Jan. 24	της οσιας ξενιας. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μαρτυρος βικεντιου.	The holy Xenia. On the same day St Vincent the Martyr.
Jan. 25	του εν αγιοις πατρος ημων γρηγοριου του θεολογου [ορθρον, λειτουργιαν].	Our father among the saints Gregory the Theologian.
Jan. 26	του οσιου ξενοφωντος και της συνοδιας αυτου.	The holy Xenophon and his companions.
Jan. 27	η επανοδος του λειψανου του εν αγιοις πατρος ημων ιωαννου του χρυσοστομου.	The translation of the relics of our father among the saints John Chrysostom.
Jan. 28	του οσιου πατρος ημων εφραιμ του συρου.	Our holy father Ephraim the Syrian.
Jan. 29	η επανοδος του λειψανου του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος ιγνατιου του θεοφορου.	The translation of the relics of St Ignatius the God-bearer, the Hieromartyr.
Jan. 30	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος ιππολυτου.	St Hippolytus the Hieromartyr.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Jan. 31	των αγιων και θαυματουργων αναργυρων κυρου και ιωαννου	The holy wonderworkers and unmercenaries Cyrus and John. <sup>15</sup>
Feb. 1	μηνη φεβρουαριω α' του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος τρυφωνος.	February 1. St Tryphon the great-martyr.
<b>Feb. 2</b>	<b>η υπαπαντη του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].</b>	<b>The Presentation of our Lord Jesus Christ.</b>
Feb. 3	του αγιου και δικαιου συμεων του θεοδοχου και αννης.	The sainted and just Symeon the God-receiver and Anna.
Feb. 4	του αγιου ισιδωρου του πηλουσιωτης. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου νικητα του εν τοις πυθιοις.	St Isidore of Pelusium. On the same day the Holy Nicetas of Pythiae.
Feb. 5	της αγιας αγαθης.	St Agatha.
Feb. 6	του αγιου βουκολου επισκοπου σμυρνης.	St Bucolus, Bishop of Smyrna.
Feb. 7	του αγιου παρθενιου επισκοπου λαμψακου.	St Parthenius, Bishop of Lampsacus.
Feb. 8	του αγιου προφητου ζαχαριου ενος των ις'. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος θεοδωρου του στρατηλατου.	The sainted Prophet Zechariah, one of the 16. On the same day St Theodore Stratelates the great-martyr.
Feb. 9	του αγιου μαρτυρος νικηφορου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου φιλαγριου επισκοπου κυπρου.	St Nicephorus the Martyr. On the same day St Philagrius, Bishop of Cyprus.
Feb. 10	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος χαραλαμπου.	St Charalampus the Hieromartyr.
Feb. 11	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος βλασιου.	St Blaise the Hieromartyr.
Feb. 12	των αγιων πατριαρχων μελετιου αντιοχειας και αντωνιου κωνσταντινουπολεως.	The Patriarchs St Meletius of Antioch and Anthony of Constantinople.
Feb. 13	του οσιου μαρτινιανου.	The holy Martinian.
Feb. 14	του οσιου πατρος ημων αυξεντιου.	Our holy father Auxentius.
Feb. 15	του αγιου αποστολου ονησιμου.	St Onesimus the Apostle.
Feb. 16	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος παμφιλου και της συνοδιας αυτου.	St Pamphilus the Hieromartyr and his companions.

<sup>15</sup> For 'unmercenaries', see note on November 1.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Feb. 17	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος θεοδωρου του τηρωνος. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μαριαμνης αδελφης του αγιου φιλιππου του αποστολου.	St Theodore Tyro, the Great-martyr. On the same day St Mariamne, sister of St Philip the Apostle.
Feb. 18	του εν αγιοις πατρος ημων λεοντος ρωμης και φλαβιανου κωνσταντινουπολεως. τη αυτη ημερα του εν αγιοις πατρος ημων και θαυματουργου αγαπητου επισκοπου συναου.	Our father among the saints Leo of Rome and Flavian of Constantinople. On the same day our father among the saints Agapitus, Bishop of Synnada and wonderworker.
Feb. 19	των αγιων μαρτυρων μαξιμου θεοδοτου και ασκληπιοδοτης και του αγιου μαρτυρος σαδωθ επισκοπου. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου αυξηβιου επισκοπου σολωνος κυπρου.	St Maximus, Theodotus and Asclepiodota the martyrs, and the St Sadoth, bishop and martyr. On the same day the holy Auxebius, Bishop of Solia in Cyprus.
Feb. 20	του οσιου πατρος ημων παφνουτιου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου αποστολου αρχιππου και του αγιου λεοντος επισκοπου κατανης.	Our holy father Paphnutius. On the same day St Archippus the Apostle and St Leo Bishop of Catania.
Feb. 21	του αγιου ευσταθιου αντιοχειας και του οσιου τιμοθεου του εν συμβολοις.	St Eustathius of Antioch and the holy Timothy of Symbola.
Feb. 22	του οσιου πατρος ημων θωμα πατριαρχου κωνσταντινουπολεως και προτεριου αλεξανδρειας. τη αυτη ημερα η ευρεσις των λειψανων των αγιων μαρτυρων των εν τοις ευγενιου.	Our holy father Thomas Patriarch of Constantinople and Proterius of Alexandria. On the same day the discovery of the relics of the sainted martyrs at the Gate of Eugenius.
Feb. 23	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος πολυκαρπου.	St Polycarp the Hieromartyr.
Feb. 24	η ευρεσις της τιμιας κεφαλης του προδρομου [ορθρον, λειτουργιαν].	The discovery of the precious head of the Forerunner.
Feb. 25	του αγιου ταρασιου αρχιεπισκοπου κωνσταντινουπολεως. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος μαρκελλου.	St Tarasius Archbishop of Constantinople. On the same day St Marcellus the Hieromartyr.
Feb. 26	του αγιου πορφυριου επισκοπου γαζης και μακαριου ιεροσολυμων.	St Porphyry Bishop of Gaza and Macarius of Jerusalem.
Feb. 27	του οσιου πατρος ημων προκοπιου του δεκαπολιτου.	Our holy father Procopius of Decapolis.
Feb. 28	του αγιου και ομολογητου βασιλειου.	St Basil the Confessor.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Feb. 29	των αγιων μαρτυρων παπια διοδωρου και κλαυδιου.	St Papias, Diadorus and Claudius the martyrs.
Mar. 1	μηνη μαρτιω α' της αγιας οσιομαρτυρος ευδοκιας.	March 1, St Eudokia the holy martyr.
Mar. 2	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος θεοδοτου επισκοπου κυρηνιας.	St Theodotus the Hieromartyr and Bishop of Cyrenia.
Mar. 3	των αγιων μαρτυρων ευτροπιου κλεονικου και βασιλισκου.	St Eutropius, Cleonicus and Basiliscus the martyrs.
Mar. 4	των αγιων μαρτυρων παυλου και ιουλιανης.	St Paul and Juliana the martyrs.
Mar. 5	των αγιων μαρτυρων κονονου και ησυχιου πρεσβυτερων ιεροσολυμων.	St Conon and Hesychius the martyrs, elders of Jerusalem.
Mar. 6	των αγιω(ν) μβ' μαρτυρων των εν τω αμωριω.	The sainted 42 martyrs of Amorium.
Mar. 7	των αγιων επτα των εχερσων επισκοπησαντων βασιλεας εφραιμ και λοιπων.	The sainted seven acting as Bishops in Cherson, Basil, Ephraim and the others.
Mar. 8	του αγιου θεοφυλακτου επισκοπου νικομηδειας.	St Theophylact, Bishop of Nicomedia.
Mar. 9	των αγιων μ' μαρτυρων των εν σεβαστια.	The sainted 40 martyrs in Sebaste.
Mar. 10	του αγιου μαρτυρος κοδρατου του εν κορινθω.	St Quadratus of Corinth, martyr.
Mar. 11	του αγιου σωφρωνιου αρχιεπισκοπου ιεροσολυμων.	St Sophronius, Archbishop of Jerusalem.
Mar. 12	του οσιου θεοφανης του ομολογητου.	The holy Theophanes the Confessor.
Mar. 13	η ανακομιδη του λειψανου του αγιου νικηφορου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μαρτυρος σαβινου και της συνοδιας αυτου.	The translation of the relics of St Nicephorus. On the same day St Sabinus the Martyr and companions.
Mar. 14	του αγιου μαρτυρος αλεξανδρου του εν πυδνη.	St Alexander of Pydnus, martyr.
Mar. 15	του αγιου ιωαννου του εν ρουφινιαναις και του οσιου βενεδικτου επισκοπου ρωμης και του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος πιονιου.	St John of Rousphinianai, <sup>16</sup> Benedict Bishop of Rome, St Pionius the Hieromartyr.
Mar. 16	των αγιων μαρτυρων τροφημου και θαλλου.	St Trophimus and Thallus the martyrs.

<sup>16</sup> This monastery in Constantinople is also known as Rufinians.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Mar. 17	του ανθρωπου του θεου αλεξιου και η αναστασις λαζαρου του φιλου του χριστου.	Alexios the man of God, and the resurrection of Lazarus the friend of Christ.
Mar. 18	του αγιου κυριλλου αρχιεπισκοπου ιεροσολυμων.	St Cyril Archbishop of Jerusalem.
Mar. 19	των αγιων μαρτυρων χρυσανθου και δαριας.	St Chrysanthus and Daria the martyrs.
Mar. 20	των οσιων πατερων των αναιρεθεντων εν τη μονη του οσιου πατρος ημων σαβα. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου μαλχου.	The holy fathers killed in the monastery of our holy father Sabbas. On the same day the holy Malchus.
Mar. 21	του οσιου ιακωβου επισκοπου και του οσιου ανανιου και μαρτυρος αρτεμονος.	The holy James the bishop, the holy Ananias and the martyr Artemon.
Mar. 22	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος βασιλειου και θωμα επισκοπου.	St Basil the Hieromartyr and Thomas the Bishop.
Mar. 23	του οσιου και μαρτυρος νικωνος και των σ' μαθητων αυτου. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μαρτυρος χριστινης της περσινης.	The holy Nikon the Martyr and his 200 disciples. On the same day St Christina of Persia, martyr.
Mar. 24	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος αρτεμονος.	St Artemon the Hieromartyr.
<b>Mar. 25</b>	<b>ο ευαγγελισμος της υπεραγιας θεοτοκου [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].</b>	<b>The Annunciation of the all-holy Mother of God.</b>
Mar. 26	του αρχιστρατηγου γαβριηλ. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου ισαακιου.	The Archangel Gabriel. On the same day the Holy Isaac.
Mar. 27	της αγιας ματρωνας της εν θεσσαλωνικη.	St Matrona of Thessaloniki.
Mar. 28	του οσιου και θαυματουργου ιλαριωνος. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μαρτυρος φιλιτου και των συν αυτω.	The holy Hilarion the wonderworker. On the same day St Philetus the Martyr and those with him.
Mar. 29	του οσιου πατρος ημων ιωαννου ιεροσολυμων. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου ευσταθιου επισκοπου βηθυνιας.	Our holy father John of Jerusalem. On the same day the holy Eustathius Bishop of Bithynia.
Mar. 30	του οσιου πατρος ημων ιωαννου του συγγραφεως του κλιμακος.	Our holy father John who wrote the Ladder. <sup>17</sup>
Mar. 31	των αγιων μαρτυρων μενανδρου και νεοφυτου.	St Menander and Neophytus, martyrs.
Apr. 1	μηνη απριλιω α' της οσιας μαριας της αιγυπτιας.	April 1, The holy Mary of Egypt.

<sup>17</sup>i.e. John Climacus.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Apr. 2	των αγιων μαρτυρων επιφανιου και αιδεσιου και των συν αυτων. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου πατρος ημων και θαυματουργου τιτου.	St Epiphanius and Aedesius, martyrs, and those with them. On the same day our holy father Titus the wonderworker.
Apr. 3	του οσιου πατρος ημων νικητα ηγουμενου του μηδικιου.	Our holy father Nicetas abbot of Medikion.
Apr. 4	των αγιων μαρτυρων θεοδουλου και αγαθοποδος και του οσιου ιωσηφ του υμνογραφου.	St Theodulus and Agathapodes the martyrs and the holy Joseph the Hymnographer.
Apr. 5	του οσιου γεωργιου του εν τω μαλαιω. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μαρτυρος υπομονης.	The holy George of Malaion. On the same day St Hypomene the Martyr.
Apr. 6	του αγιου ευτυχιου αρχιεπισκοπου κωνσταντινουπολεως. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων ρκ' μαρτυρων εν περσιδι.	St Eutychius Archbishop of Constantinople. On the same day the sainted 120 martyrs in Persia.
Apr. 7	του αγιου γεωργιου επισκοπου μυτληνης. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μαρτυρος ερηνης αγαπης και χιονιας. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων μαρτυρων ρουφινου διακονου ακυλινης και των λοιπων.	St George Bishop of Mytilene. On the same day St Irene, Agape and Chionia, martyr. On the same day St Rufinus the deacon, Aquilina and the others, martyrs.
Apr. 8	των αγιων αποστολων ηρωδιωνος αγαβου ρουφου φλεγοντος και επαφρα. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου κελεστινου παπα ρωμης.	St Herodion, Agabus, Rufus, Phlegon and Epaphre, Apostles. On the same day St Celestine Pope of Rome.
Apr. 9	των οσιων πατερων ημων πατερμουθιου και κοπρη και του αγιου μαρτυρος ευψυχιου.	Our holy fathers Patermouthios and Kopres, and St Eupsychius the Martyr.
Apr. 10	των αγιων μαρτυρων τερεντιου και των συν αυτω.	St Terence and those with him, martyrs.
Apr. 11	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος αντιπα.	St Antipas the Hieromartyr.
Apr. 12	του οσιου πατρος ημων και ομολογητου βασιλειου επισκοπου παρειου και γεροντιου μαρτυρος.	Our holy father Basil the Confessor, Bishop of Parium and Gerontius the Martyr.
Apr. 13	των αγιων μαρτυρων κρισκεντος και θεοδοσιου παυσιλυπιου ιακωβου και λοιπων.	St Kriskes, Theodosius, Pausilypos, James and the others, martyrs.
Apr. 14	των αγιων αποστολων αρισταρχου πουδη και τρυφημου.	St Aristarchus, Pudens and Trophimus, apostles.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Apr. 15	των αγιων μαρτυρων σαβα του γοθθου λεονιδου νικοδημου και των συν αυτων.	St Sabbas the Goth, Leonidas, Nicodemus and those with them, martyrs.
Apr. 16	του αγιου ακακιου επισκοπου μελετινης.	St Acacius Bishop of Melitene.
Apr. 17	του οσιου πατρος ημων κοσμα χαλκηδονος και αγαπιου ρωμης.	Our holy father Cosmas of Chalcedon and Agapius of Rome.
Apr. 18	του οσιου πατρος ημων ιωαννου του παλμολαβριτου (παλαιολαβριτου).	Our holy father John of Old Lavra.
Apr. 19	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος θεοδωρου του εν περγη της παμφυλιας. τη αυτη ημερα λογγινου του ισαυρου και αφροδισιου.	St Theodore of Perge in Pamphylia, the great-martyr. On the same day Longinus the Isaurian and Aphrodisius.
Apr. 20	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος παφνουτιου.	St Paphnutius the Hieromartyr.
Apr. 21	του οσιου πατρος ημων θεοδωρου του τριχινα. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου ιαννουαριου και των συν αυτω.	Our holy father Theodore Trichinas. On the same day St Januarius and those with him.
Apr. 22	του οσιου πατρος ημων θεοδωρου επισκοπου θεοδοσιουπολεως του σικεωτου.	Our holy father Theodore the Sykeote, Bishop of Theodosiupolis.
Apr. 23	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος γεωργιου [ορθρον, λειτουργιαν].	St George the Great Martyr.
Apr. 24	των αγιων μαρτυρων των εν χαλκηδονα και του αγιου μαρτυρος σαβα του στρατηλατου.	The sainted Martyrs in Chalcedon, St Sabbas Stratelates the Martyr.
Apr. 25	του αγιου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου μαρκου [ορθρον, λειτουργιαν].	St Mark the Apostle and Evangelist.
Apr. 26	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος βασιλειως επισκοπου αμασιας.	St Basil Bishop of Amasea, Hieromartyr.
Apr. 27	του αγιου συμεων ιεροσολυμων του συγγενους του κυριου.	St Symeon of Jerusalem, kinsman of the Lord.
Apr. 28	του αγιου αποστολου ιασονος.	St Jason the Apostle.
Apr. 29	του αγιου μαρτυρος μεμνονος και των κβ' μαρτυρων και των θ' μαρτυρων των εν κυζικω.	St Memnon the Martyr and 22 martyrs, and 9 martyrs in Kyzikos.
Apr. 30	του αγιου αποστολου ιακωβου αδελφου του θεολογου.	St James the Apostle, brother of the Theologian.
May 1	του μηνος μαια α' του αγιου ιερεμιου. τη αυτη ημερα τα εγκαινια της νεας βασιλικης εκκλησιας.	May 1, St Jeremiah. On the same day the dedication of the new imperial Church.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
May 2	του εν αγιοις πατρος ημων αθανασιου αρχιεπισκοπου αλεξανδρειας.	Our father among the saints Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria.
May 3	των αγιων μαρτυρων εσπερου και ζωης και των τεκνων αυτων και των αγιων τιμοθεου και μαυρας. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας σεβαστιανης.	St Hesperos and Zoe and their children, martyrs, and St Timothy and Maura. On the same day St Sebastiana.
May 4	της αγιας μεγαλομαρτυρος ειρηνης και του αγιου μαρτυρος αφροδισιου και λοιπων.	St Irene the Great Martyr and St Aphrodisius the Martyr and the others.
May 5	της αγιας μαρτυρος πελαγιας της παρθενου.	St Pelagia the Virgin, martyr.
May 6	του αγιου και δικαιου ιωβ.	The sainted and righteous.
May 7	μνημη του εν ουρανω φανεντος τιμιου σταυρου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου ακακιου.	Commemoration of the appearance in heaven of the Precious Cross. On the same day St Acacius.
<b>May 8</b>	<b>του αγιου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου ιωαννου του θεολογου [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].</b> τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου πατρος ημων αρσενιου.	<b>St John the Theologian, apostle and evangelist.</b> On the same day our holy father Arsenius.
May 9	του αγιου προφητου ησαιου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος χριστοφορου.	The sainted Prophet Isaiah. On the same day St Christopher, Great Martyr.
May 10	του αγιου αποστολου σιμωνος του ζηλωτου.	St Simon the Zealot, Apostle.
May 11	του αγιου μαρτυρος μωκιου και παχωμιου. τη αυτη ημερα το γενεθλιον της πολεως και του αγιου μωκιου.	St Mocius the Martyr and Pachomius. On the same day the founding of the City <sup>18</sup> and St Mocius.
May 12	των οσιων πατερων ημων επιφανιου και γερμανου.	Our holy fathers Epiphanius and Germanus.
May 13	του αγιου αλεξανδρου. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας γλυκεριας.	St Alexander. On the same day St Glyceria.
May 14	του αγιου μαρτυρος ισιδωρου.	St Isidore the Martyr.
May 15	του οσιου πατρος ημων παχωμιου και θεοδωρου του ηγιασμενου.	Our holy father Pachomius and Theodore the sanctified.

<sup>18</sup> i.e. Constantinople.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
May 16	του αγιου προφητου ζαχαριου ενος των ις'.	The sainted Prophet Zachariah, one of the 16.
May 17	του αγιου αποστολου ανδρονικου και σολωνος.	St Andronicus the Apostle and Solon.
May 18	των αγιων μαρτυρων πετρου διονυσιου και φιλεταιρου και των συν αυτω.	St Peter, Dionysius, Philetairus and those with him, martyrs.
May 19	του αγιου πατρικιου και των συν αυτω.	St Patrick and those with him.
May 20	του αγιου μαρτυρος θαλελαιου.	St Thalelaeus the Martyr.
May 21	των εν αγιοις βασιλειων ημων κωνσταντινου ελενης.	Our emperors Constantine and Helena among the saints.
May 22	του αγιου μαρτυρος βασιλiscου και της συνοδος αυτου.	St Basiliscus the Martyr and his companions.
May 23	του αγιου μιχαηλ επισκοπου συναδων και συγγελλου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος μελεττου στρατηλατου και της συνοδος αυτου.	St Michael Bishop of Synnada and Synkellos. On the same day St Meletius Stratelates the Great Martyr and companions.
May 24	του οσιου πατρος ημων συμεων του εν τω θαυμαστω ορει.	Our holy father Symeon of the wonderful mountain.
May 25	η τριτη ευρεσις της τιμιας κεφαλης του προδρομου.	The third discovery of the precious head of the Forerunner.
May 26	του αγιου αποστολου ιουδα.	St Jude the Apostle.
May 27	του αγιου αποστολου καρπου ενος των ο' και του αγιου μαρτυρος θεραποντος.	St Carpius the Apostle, one of the 70 and St Therapon the Martyr.
May 28	του αγιου μαρτυρος ελλαδιου και μαρτυρος κρισκεντος και νικητα επισκοπου χαλκηδονος.	St Helladius and Kriskes, martyrs, and Nicetas Bishop of Chalcedon.
May 29	της αγιας μαρτυρος θεοδωσιας.	St Theodosia the Martyr.
May 30	του οσιου ισαακιου της δαλματης.	The holy Isaac the Dalmatian.
May 31	του αγιου μαρτυρος ερμιου. τη αυτη ημερα μνημη ευσταθιου πατριαρχου κωνσταντινουπολεως.	St Hermes the Martyr. On the same day commemoration of Eustathius Patriarch of Constantinople.
June 1	μηνι ιουνιω α' του αγιου μαρτυρος ιουστινου και των συν αυτω.	June 1. St Justin the Martyr and those with him.
June 2	του αγιου νικηφορου αρχιεπισκοπου κωνσταντινουπολεως.	St Nicephorus Archbishop of Constantinople.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
June 3	του αγιου μαρτυρος λουκιανου και των συν αυτω.	St Lucian the Martyr and those with him.
June 4	του εν αγιοις πατρος ημων μητροφανης αρχιεπισκοπου κωνσταντινουπολεως.	Our father among the saints Metrophanes Archbishop of Constantinople.
June 5	του εν αγιοις πατρος ημων ευσταθιου πατριαρχου αντιοχειας. τη αυτη ημερα εις την λιτην του καμπου δια την επελευσιν των βαρβαρων εν μεν τω τριβουνανιω (sic) λεγεται ευαγγελιον. εις δε τον ναον του αγιου βαβυλα αναγιωσκεται....	Our father among the saints Eustathius Archbishop of Antioch. On the same day in the Litany of the Kampos, on account of the attack of the Barbarians, in the Tribunal is read the Gospel. <sup>19</sup> In the church of St Babylas is read...
June 6	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος δωροθεου. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας ζηναιδος και μαμελχθης.	St Dorotheus the Hieromartyr. On the same day St Zenais and Mamelchtha.
June 7	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος θεοδοτου αγκυρας. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου και ομολογητου παυλου του καιουμα.	St Theodotus of Ancyra, Hieromartyr. On the same day the holy confessor Paul of Kaiouma.
June 8	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος θεοδωρου του στρατηλατου.	St Theodore Stratelates the Great Martyr.
June 9	του αγιου κυριλλου αλεξανδρειας. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου πατρος ημων και θαυματουργου υπατιου του εν ρουφινιανου.	St Cyril of Alexandria. On the same day our holy father Hypatius of Rousphinianai the wonderworker.
June 10	του αγιου τιμοθεου επισκοπου προυσης. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων μαρτυρων αλεξανδρου και αντωνινης.	St Timothy Bishop of Prusa. On the same day St Alexander and Antonina the martyrs.
June 11	των αγιων αποστολων βαρθολομαιου και βαρναβα.	St Bartholomew and Barnabas, Apostles.
June 12	του οσιου πατρος ημων ονουφριου του μεγαλου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μαρτυρος κοδρατου του εν τω ρυνδακι.	Our holy father Onuphrius the Great. On the same day St Quadratus the martyr of the Rhyndacus.
June 13	της αγιας μαρτυρος ακυλινης.	St Aquilina the Martyr.
June 14	του αγιου προφητου ελισσαιου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου μεθοδιου αρχιεπισκοπου κωνσταντινουπολεως.	The sainted Prophet Elisha. On the same day St Methodius Archbishop of Constantinople.

<sup>19</sup> This refers to a processional liturgy.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
June 15	του αγιου προφητου αμως και μαρτυρος δουλα.	The sainted Prophet Amos and Doulas the Martyr.
June 16	του αγιου και θαυματουργου τυχωνος.	St Tychon the wonderworker.
June 17	των αγιων μαρτυρων μανουηλ σαβελ και ισμαηλ.	St Manuel, Sabel and Ismael, martyrs.
June 18	του αγιου μαρτυρος λεοντιου και των συν αυτω.	St Leontius the Martyr and those with him.
June 19	του αγιου προφητου ιζεκιηλ και μαρτυρος ζωσιμου.	The sainted Prophet Ezekiel, Zosimus the Martyr.
June 20	του αγιου μαρτυρος ασυγκριτου και του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος μεθοδιου επισκοπου παταρων.	St Asynkritos the Martyr and St Methodius Bishop of Patara, Hieromartyr.
June 21	του αγιου μαρτυρος ιουλιανου και των αγιων μαρτυρων ιουστου τροφημου και θεοφιλου.	St Julian the Martyr and St Justus, Trophimus and Theophilus, martyrs.
June 22	του οσιου πατρος ημων και ομολογητου ευσεβιου επισκοπου σαμωσατων. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου πατρος ημων βασιλειου μερων πατελαριας.	Our holy father Eusebius, confessor, Bishop of Samosata. On the same day our holy father Basil, Abbot of Patalaria monastery.
June 23	της αγιας μαρτυρος αγριππινης.	St Agrippina the Martyr.
<b>June 24</b>	<b>το γενεσιον του αγιου ιωαννου του προφητου προδρομου και βαπτιστου [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].</b>	<b>The Birth of St John the Prophet, Forerunner and Baptist.</b>
June 25	της αγιας οσιας μαρτυρος φεβρονιας.	St Febronia the holy martyr.
June 26	του οσιου δαυιδ θεσσαλονικης.	The holy David of Thessaloniki.
June 27	του οσιου πατρος ημων σαμψων του ξενοδοχου.	Our holy father Sampson the hospitable.
June 28	η ανακομιδη των λειψανων των αγιων και θαυματουργων αναργυρων κυρου και ιωαννου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος υπατιου επισκοπου γαγγρων.	The translation of the relics of the wonderworking and unmercenary St Cyrus and John. On the same day St Hypatius the Hieromartyr, Bishop of Gangra.
<b>June 29</b>	<b>των αγιων και κορυφαιων αποστολων πετρου και παυλου [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].</b>	<b>St Peter and Paul, leaders of the apostles.</b>
June 30	των αγιων αποστολων των ιβ'.	The 12 sainted Apostles.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
July 1	των αγιων αναργυριων κοσμα και δαμιανου. μην ιουλιω.	St Cosmas and Damian the unmercenaries. <sup>20</sup> The month of July.
July 2	τα καταθεσια της τιμιας εσθητος της υπεραγιας θεοτοκου.	The deposition of the precious mantle of the all-holy Mother of God.
July 3	των αγιων μαρτυρων υακινθου κοιντου μαρκου και θεοδοτου.	St Hyacinth, Quintus, Mark and Theodotus, martyrs.
July 4	των οσιων πατερων ημων ανδρεου κρητης θεοδωρου κυρηνης και δονατου λιβυης.	Our holy fathers Andrew of Crete, Theodore of Cyrene and Donatus of Libya.
July 5	του οσιου πατρος ημων λαμπαδου. τη αυτη ημερα της οσιας μαρθας της μητρος του αγιου συμεων.	Our holy father Lampadus. On the same day the holy Martha, mother of St Symeon.
July 6	του αγιου ιερομαρτυροσ αετιου φιλημονοσ και των συν αυτω. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων μαρτυρων κυριακις αγνης λουκιας και ανθουσης. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου θωμα του εν τω μαλαιω.	St Aetios the Hieromartyr, Philemon and those with them. On the same day St Kyriaki, Agnes, Lucia and Anthousa, martyrs. On the same day the holy Thomas of Maleon.
July 7	των αγιων μαρτυρων ισαυρου ευσταθιου πολυκαρπου και ευαγγελου. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου σισση του μεγαλου.	St Isauros, Eustathius, Polycarp and Evangelos, martyrs. On the same day the holy Sisoes the Great.
July 8	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυροσ προκοπιου.	St Procopius the Great Martyr.
July 9	του αγιου ιερομαρτυροσ παγκρατιου ταυρομενιτων. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων μαρτυρων ισαυρου περεγρηνου και των συν αυτω.	St Pancratius of Taormina, Hieromartyr. On the same day St Isaurus, Peregrenus and those with them, martyrs.
July 10	των αγιων με' μαρτυρων των εν νικοπολει.	The sainted 45 martyrs of Nicopolis.
July 11	της αγιας μαρτυροσ ευφημιας του ορου.	St Euphemia of the Mountain, martyr.
July 12	των αγιων μαρτυρων προκλου και ιλαριου και της αγιας δολινδουχ (γολινδουχ).	St Proclus and Hilary, martyrs, and St Golinduc.
July 13	του αγιου μαρτυροσ σαραπιωνοσ.	St Serapion the Martyr.

<sup>20</sup> See the note on November 1.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
July 14	του αγιου αποστολου ακυλα.	St Aquila the Apostle.
July 15	των αγιων μαρτυρων κηρυκου και ιουλιττης.	St Cyricus <sup>21</sup> and Julitta, martyrs.
	<p>ει τ ουν κυριακη προ των αλλακτων μνημη των χλ' αγιων πατερων της εν χαλκηδονι συνοδου. λαγχανει δε η τοιαυτη κυριακη απο της ιγ' του μηνος και αυτης μεχρι τας ιθ' και αυτη γινωσκειν εστε εξωθεν ουτε εσωθεν ουτε εσωθεν (sic) των ρηθεντων τουτων ζ' ημερας υπερβαινουσα κατα τον της εκκλησιας τυπον ον ο αναγινωσκων νοειτω ευαγγελιον.</p> <p>και μετα ταυτην την μνημην της δ' συνοδου τη επερχομενη κυριακη επιτελουμεν την μνημην των εν τη ε' συνοδω συνελθοντων αγιων πατερων κατα σευηρου του δυσσεβους.</p>	<p>On the Sunday before the commemoration of the 630 fathers appointed to the Synod in Chalcedon. This Sunday falls between the 13th of the month until the 19th, and you are to read these words outside, not inside, for seven days, stepping over according to the rite of the Great Church, which the Gospel reader should understand.</p> <p>And after this commemoration of the 4th Synod, on the following Sunday we celebrate the commemoration of the holy fathers who gathered in the 5th Synod against Severus the impious.</p>
July 16	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος αθηνογενους και των συν αυτω και του αγιου μαρτυρος αντιοχιου.	St Athenogenes the Hieromartyr and those with him, and St Antiochus the Martyr.
July 17	της αγιας μεγαλομαρτυρος μαρινας.	St Marina the Great Martyr.
July 18	<p>του αγιου μαρτυρος αιμιλιανου και υακινθου του εν αμαστριδα.</p> <p>τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας οσιας μαρτυρος θεοδοσιας μαρτυρησασης υπο των αγιων και σεπτων εικονων επι του δυσσεβους κωνσταντινου του κοπρονημου.</p>	<p>St Emilian the Martyr and Hyacinth of Amastris.</p> <p>On the same day St Theodosia the holy martyr, martyred on account of the holy and venerated icons by the impious Constantine Copronymus.</p>
July 19	<p>του οσιου πατρος ημων διου.</p> <p>τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μακρινης αδελφης του μεγαλου βασιλειου.</p>	<p>Our holy father Dios.</p> <p>On the same day St Macrina sister of Basil the Great.</p>
July 20	των αγιων προφητων ηλιου και ελισσαιου, ετερον εαν θελεις. ειπε εις τον ορθρον του αγιου ηλιου.	<p>The sainted Prophet Elijah and Elisha.</p> <p>An alternative if desired. Read for the Matins of the sainted Elijah.</p>
July 21	<p>του αγιου προφητου ιζεκιηλ.</p> <p>τη αυτη ημερα των οσιων πατερων ημων συμεων του δια χριστον σαλου και ιωαννου.</p>	<p>The sainted Prophet Ezekiel.</p> <p>On the same day our holy fathers Symeon the fool for Christ and John.</p>
July 22	του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος φωκα.	St Phocas the Hieromartyr.

<sup>21</sup> Sometimes written Quiricus.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
	τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μυροφορου μαριας της μαγδαληνης. ετερον.	On the same day St Mary Magdalene the Myrrh-bearer. An alternative.
July 23	των αγιων μαρτυρων τροφημου θεοφιλου και των συν αυτοις,	St Trophimos, Theophilos and those with them, martyrs.
July 24	της αγιας μαρτυρος χριστινης. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου ανατολιου.	St Christina the Martyr. On the same day St Anatolius.
July 25	η κοιμησις της αγιας αννης της μητρος της θεοτοκου. τη αυτη ημερα των οσιων γυναικων ευπραξιας και ολυμπιαδος.	The dormition of St Anne, mother of the Mother of God. On the same day the holy women Eupraxia and Olympias.
July 26	του οσιου συμεων του εις μανδρα και του αγιου ιερομαρτυρος ερμολαου και των συν αυτω.	The holy Symeon of Mandra and St Hermolaus the Hieromartyr and those with him.
July 27	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος παντελεημονος.	St Panteleimon the Great Martyr.
July 28	των αγιων αποστολων προχωρου νικανωρος τιμονος και και παρμενα.	St Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon and Parmenas, Apostles.
July 29	του αγιου μαρτυρος καλλινικου και θεοδοτης.	St Kallinikos the Martyr and Theodota.
July 30	των αγιων αποστολων σιλα και σιλουανου επαινετου και ανδρονικου.	St Silas and Silvanus, Epenetus and Andronicus, Apostles.
July 31	του αγιου μαρτυρος ιωαννου του στρατιωτου. τη αυτη ημερα του οσιου ευδοκιμου.	St John Stratiotes, martyr. On the same day the holy Eudocimus.
Aug. 1	μηνη αυγουστω α' των αγιων μακκαβαιων.	August 1. The sainted Maccabees.
Aug. 2	η ανακομιδη του λειψανου του αγιου πρωτομαρτυρος στεφανου [ορθρον, λειτουργιαν]. τη αυτη ημερα των αγιων επτα παιδων των εν εφεσω.	The deposition of the relics of St Stephen the protomartyr. On the same day the seven sainted children of Ephesus.
Aug. 3	των οσιων πατερων ημων ισακιου δαλματου και φαυστου.	Our holy fathers Isaac, Dalmatius and Faustus.
Aug. 4	της αγιας μαρτυρος ευδοκιας.	St Eudokia the Martyr.
Aug. 5	του αγιου ευσιγνιου. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μαρτυρος ιας.	St Eusignius. On the same day St Ia the Martyr.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Aug. 6	μηνη τω αυτω ζ' η μεταμορφωσις του κυριου και θεου σωτηρος ημων ιησου χριστου. [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].	<b>In the same 6th month, the Transfiguration of the Lord and God, Our Saviour Jesus Christ.</b>
Aug. 7	τη επαυριον της μεταμορφωσεως μεθεορτον.	On the morrow of the Transfiguration afterfeast.
Aug. 8	του οσιου πατρος ημων αιμιλιανου και των λοιπων.	Our holy father Emilian and the others.
Aug. 9	του αγιου αποστολου μαθθια.	St Matthias the Apostle.
Aug. 10	του αγιου μαρτυρος λαυρεντιου.	St Laurence the Martyr.
Aug. 11	του αγιου μαρτυρος ευπλου.	St Euplus the Martyr.
Aug. 12	των αγιων μαρτυρων φωτιου και ανικητου.	St Photius and Anicetus the martyrs.
Aug. 13	του οσιου και ομολογητου μαξιμου.	The holy Maximus the Confessor.
Aug. 14	του αγιου μαρτυρος μαρκελλου και των ο' μαθητων αυτου.	St Marcellus the Martyr and his 70 disciples.
Aug. 15	η κοιμησις της υπεραγιας δεσποινης ημων θεοτοκου [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος].	<b>The Dormition of our most holy Queen, the Mother of God.</b>
Aug. 16	του αγιου διομηδους.	St Diomedes.
Aug. 17	των αγιων μαρτυρων μυρωνος στρατοινικου και παυλου.	St Myron, Stratonicus and Paul, martyrs.
Aug. 18	των αγιων μαρτυρων φλορου και λαυρου.	St Florus and Laurus, martyrs.
Aug. 19	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος ανδρεου του στρατηλατου.	St Andrew Stratelates, the Great Martyr.
Aug. 20	του αγιου αποστολου θαδδαιου. τη αυτη ημερα του αγιου προφητου σαμουηλ.	St Thaddeus the Apostle. On the same day the sainted Prophet Samuel.
Aug. 21	της αγιας μαρτυρος βασσης. τη αυτη ημερα της αγιας μαρτυρος ιας.	St Bassa the Martyr. On the same day St Ia the Martyr.
Aug. 22	του αγιου μεγαλομαρτυρος αγαθονικου.	St Agathonicus the Great Martyr.
Aug. 23	του αγιου μαρτυρος λουπου.	St Lupus the Martyr.
Aug. 24	του αγιου αποστολου βαρθολομαιου.	St Bartholomew the Apostle.
Aug. 25	του αγιου αποστολου τιτου και των αγιων πατριαρχων κωνσταντινουπολεως επιφανους, μηννα και ιωαννου.	St Titus the Apostle and the sainted Patriarchs of Constantinople Epiphanius, Menas and John.

Day	Heading	Commemoration
Aug. 26	των αγιων μαρτυρων αδριανου και ναταλιας.	St Adrian and Natalia, martyrs.
Aug. 27	του οσιου πατρος ημων λιβεριου παπα ρωμης και του οσιου κορδουβης.	Our holy father Liberius Pope of Rome and Hosius of Cordoba.
Aug. 28	των οσιων πατερων ημων ποιμενος και μωσεως του αιθιοπος.	Our holy fathers Poemen and Moses of Ethiopia.
<b>Aug. 29</b>	<b>η αποτομη του αγιου ιωαννου του προδρομου [ορθρος, προκειμενον, στιχος, λειτουργιαν].</b>	<b>The beheading of St John the Forerunner.</b>
Aug. 30	των αγιων πατριαρχων κωνσταντινουπολεως αλεξανδρου και ιωαννου του νεου και λοιπων.	The sainted Patriarchs of Constantinople Alexander, John the Younger and the others.
Aug. 31	τα καταθεσια της τιμιας ζωνης.	The deposition of the precious girdle. <sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Believed to belong to the Theotokos.



**APPENDIX I.**  
**CONCORDANCE OF OVERTEXT AND UNDERTEXT PAGES**

**OVERTEXT–UNDERTEXT**

<b>Overtext</b>	<b>Undertext</b>
1r	LVIr (top)
1v	LVIv (top)
2r	LXVIr (top)
2v	LXVIv (top)
3r	LXIIIr (top)
3v	LXIIIv (top)
4r	LXr (top)
4v	LXv (top)
5r	LXv (bottom)
5v	LXr (bottom)
6r	LXIIIv (bottom)
6v	LXIIIr (bottom)
7r	LXVIv (bottom)
7v	LXVIr (bottom)
8r	LVIv (bottom)
8v	LVIr (bottom)
9r	XIv (bottom)
9v	XIr (bottom)
10r	XXVr (top)
10v	XXVv (top)
11r	LXXXIr (top)
11v	LXXXIv (top)
12r	LXXXr (top)

<b>Overtext</b>	<b>Undertext</b>
12v	LXXXv (top)
13r	LXXXv (bottom)
13v	LXXXr (bottom)
14r	LXXXIv (bottom)
14v	LXXXIr (bottom)
15r	XXVv (bottom)
15v	XXVr (bottom)
16r	XIr (top)
16v	XIv (top)
17r	LVv (bottom)
17v	LVr (bottom)
18r	XIIIr (top)
18v	XIIIv (top)
19r	Lr (top)
19v	Lv (top)
20r	XVIr (top)
20v	XVIv (top)
21r	XVIv (bottom)
21v	XVIr (bottom)
22r (pencil 21 corrected to 22)	Lv (bottom)
22v	Lr (bottom)

Overtext	Undertext
23r (pencil 22 corrected to 23)	XIIIv (bottom)
23v	XIIIr (bottom)
24r (pencil 23 corrected to 24)	LVr (top)
24v	LVv (top)
25r (pencil 24 corrected to 25)	LXXXIVr (top)
25v	LXXXIVv (top)
26r (pencil 25)	LXXXVr (top)
26v	LXXXVv (top)
27r (pencil 26)	LXXXIVr (bottom)
27v	LXXXVr (bottom)
28r (pencil 26 corrected to 27)	LXXXVIIv (bottom)
28v	LXXXVIIr (bottom)
29r (pencil 28)	LXXXVIIr (top)
29v	LXXXVIIv (top)
30r (pencil 29)	LXXXVr (top)
30v	LXXXIVv (top)
31r (pencil 30)	LXXXVv (bottom)
31v	LXXXVr (bottom)
32r (pencil 31)	LXXXIVv (bottom)
32v	LXXXIVr (bottom)
33r (pencil 32)	XIIr (top)
33v	XIIv (top)
34r (pencil 33)	LVIIIv (bottom)
34v	LVIIIr (bottom)
35r (pencil 34)	LVIIv (bottom)
35v	LVIIr (bottom)
36r (pencil 35)	XXVIV (bottom)
36v	XXVIR (bottom)
37r (pencil 36)	XXVIR (top)
37v	XXVIV (top)
38r (pencil 37)	LVIIr (top)

Overtext	Undertext
38v	LVIIv (top)
39r (pencil 38)	LVIIIr (top)
39v	LVIIIv (top)
40r (pencil 39)	XIIv (bottom)
40v	XIIr (bottom)
41r (pencil 40)	XXr (top)
41v	XXv (top)
42r (pencil 41)	XLIIv (bottom)
42v	XLIIr (bottom)
43r (pencil 42)	XXXVIIv (bottom)
43v	XXXVIIr (bottom)
44r (pencil 43)	Iir (top)
44v	Iiv (top)
45r (pencil 44)	Iiv (bottom)
45v	Iir (bottom)
46r (pencil 45)	XXXVIIr (top)
46v	XXXVIIv (top)
47r (pencil 46)	XLIIr (top)
47v	XLIIv (top)
48r (pencil 47)	XXv (bottom)
48v	XXr (bottom)
49r (pencil 48)	XXVIIv (bottom)
49v	XXVIIr (bottom)
50r (pencil 49)	XXXv (bottom)
50v	XXXr (bottom)
51r (pencil 50)	XVr (top)
51v	XVv (top)
52r (pencil 51)	VIr (top)
52v	VIv (top)
53r (pencil 52)	VIv (bottom)
53v	VIr (bottom)
54r (pencil 53)	XVv (bottom)
54v	XVr (bottom)

Overtext	Undertext
55r (pencil 54)	XXXr (top)
55v	XXXv (top)
56r (pencil 55)	XXVIIr (top)
56v	XXVIIv (top)
57r (pencil 56)	LXIr (top)
57v	LXIv (top)
58r (pencil 57)	LXXVIr (bottom)
58v	LXXVIv (bottom)
59r (pencil 58)	LXXIV (bottom)
59v	LXXIV (bottom)
60r (pencil 59)	XXXIV (bottom)
60v	XXXIV (bottom)
61r (pencil 60)	XXXIV (top)
61v	XXXIV (top)
62r (pencil 61)	LXXIV (top)
62v	LXXIV (top)
63r (pencil 62)	LXXVIr (top)
63v	LXXVIv (top)
64r (pencil 63)	LXIv (bottom)
64v	LXIv (bottom)
65r (pencil 64)	XLIXr (top)
65v	XLIXv (top)
66r (pencil 65)	XLIVr (bottom)
66v	XLIVv (bottom)
67r (pencil 66)	XXXVIr (top)
67v	XXXVIv (top)
68r (pencil 67)	XLIIIr (top)
68v	XLIIIv (top)
69r (pencil 68)	XLIIIv (bottom)
69v	XLIIIv (bottom)
70r (pencil 69)	XXXVIr (bottom)
70v	XXXVIv (bottom)

Overtext	Undertext
71r (pencil 70)	XLIVv (top)
71v	XLIVr (top)
72r (71 pencil)	XLIXv (bottom)
72v	XLIXr (bottom)
73r (pencil 72)	XLVIIIr (top)
73v	XLVIIv (top)
74r (pencil 73)	XLVIr (top)
74v	XLVIv (top)
75r (pencil 74)	XXXIVv (bottom)
75v	XXXIVr (bottom)
76r (pencil 75)	Xv (bottom)
76v	Xr (bottom)
77r (pencil 76)	Xr (top)
77v	Xv (top)
78r (pencil 77)	XXXIVr (top)
78v	XXXIVv (top)
79r (pencil 78)	XLIVv (bottom)
79v	XLIVr (bottom)
80r (pencil 79)	XLVIIv (bottom)
80v	XLVIIr (bottom)
81r (pencil 80)	Vr (top)
81v	Vv (top)
82r (pencil 81)	LIIIv (bottom)
82v	LIIIr (bottom)
83r (pencil 82)	LIIv (bottom)
83v	LIIr (bottom)
84r (pencil 83)	LXXVIIr (top)
84v	LXXVIIv (top)
85r (pencil 84)	LXXVIIv (bottom)
85v	LXXVIIr (bottom)
86r (pencil 85)	LIIr (top)
86v	LIIv (top)

Overtext	Undertext
87r (pencil 86)	LIIIr (top)
87v	LIIIv (top)
88r (pencil 87)	Vv (bottom)
88v	Vr (bottom)
89r (pencil 88)	LXIXr (bottom)
89v	LXIXv (bottom)
90r (pencil 89)	Iv (top)
90v	Ir (top)
91r (pencil 90)	LIXr (bottom)
91v	LIXv (bottom)
92r (pencil 91)	LIV (bottom)
92v	LIVr (bottom)
93r (pencil 92)	LIVr (top)
93v	LIV (top)
94r (pencil 93)	LIXv (top)
94v	LIXr (top)
95r	Ir (bottom)
95v	Iv (bottom)
96r (pencil 95)	LXIXv (top)
96v	LXIXr (top)
97r (pencil 96)	XXXVIIIr (top)
97v	XXXVIIIv (top)
98r (pencil 97)	XLIr (top)
98v	XLIv (top)
99r (pencil 98)	LXXVIIIr (top)
99v	LXXVIIIv (top)
100r (pencil 99)	XXIV (bottom)
100v	XXIVr (bottom)
101r (pencil 100)	XXIV (top)
101v	XXIV (top)
102r (pencil 101)	LXXVIIIv (bottom)
102v	LXXVIIIr (bottom)
103r (pencil 102)	XLIv (bottom)

Overtext	Undertext
103v	XLIr (bottom)
104r (pencil 103)	XXXVIIIv (bottom)
104v	XXXVIIIr (bottom)
105r (pencil 104)	LXXVv (bottom)
105v	LXXVr (bottom)
106r (pencil 105)	LXXIIv (bottom)
106v	LXXIIr (bottom)
107r (pencil 106)	IIIr (top)
107v	IIIv (top)
108r (pencil 107)	VIIIr (top)
108v	VIIIv (top)
109r (pencil 108)	VIIIv (bottom)
109v	VIIIr (bottom)
110r (pencil 109)	IIIv (bottom)
110v	IIIr (bottom)
111r (pencil 110)	LXXIIIr (top)
111v	LXXIIIv (top)
112r (pencil 111)	LXXVr (top)
112v	LXXVv (top)
113r (pencil 112)	XXIXv (bottom)
113v	XXIXr (bottom)
114r (pencil 113)	XXVIIIv (bottom)
114v	XXVIIIr (bottom)
115r (pencil 114)	XIXv (bottom)
115v	XIXr (bottom)
116r (pencil 115)	XVIIv (bottom)
116v	XVIIr (bottom)
117r (pencil 116)	XVIIr (top)
117v	XVIIv (top)
118r (pencil 117)	XIXr (top)
118v	XIXv (top)
119r (pencil 118)	XXVIIIr (top)
119v	XXVIIIv (top)

Overtext	Undertext
120r (pencil 119)	XXIXr (top)
120v	XXIXv (top)
121r (pencil 120)	XLr (top)
121v	XLv (top)
122r (pencil 121)	XXXIXr (top)
122v	XXXIXv (top)
123r (pencil 122)	XXIIv (bottom)
123v	XXIIr (bottom)
124r (pencil 123)	XXIIIv (bottom)
124v	XXIIIr (bottom)
125r (pencil 124)	XXIIIr (top)
125v	XXIIIv (top)
126r (pencil 125)	XXIIr (top)
126v	XXIIv (top)
127r (pencil 126)	XXXIXv (bottom)
127v	XXXIXr (bottom)
128r (pencil 127)	XLv (bottom)
128v	XLr (bottom)
129r (pencil 128)	LXXIXr (top)
129v	LXXIXv (top)
130r (pencil 129)	LXXXIIr (top)
130v	LXXXIIv (top)
131r (pencil 130)	XIVr (top)
131v	XIVv (top)
132r (pencil 131)	IXr (top)
132v	IXv (top)
133r (pencil 132)	IXv (bottom)
133v	IXr (bottom)
134r (pencil 133)	XIVv (bottom)
134v	XIVr (bottom)
135r (pencil 134)	LXXXIIv (bottom)
135v	LXXXIIr (bottom)

Overtext	Undertext
136r (pencil 135)	LXXIXv (bottom)
136v	LXXIXr (bottom)
137r (pencil 136)	LXIVv (bottom)
137v	LXIVr (bottom)
138r (pencil 137)	LIVr (top)
138v	LIVv (top)
139r (pencil 138)	LXVr (top)
139v	LXVv (top)
140r (pencil 139)	XVIIIr (top)
140v	XVIIIv (top)
141r (pencil 140)	XVIIIv (bottom)
141v	XVIIIr (bottom)
142r (pencil 141)	LXVv (bottom)
142v	LXVr (bottom)
143r (pencil 142)	LIVv (bottom)
143v	LIVr (bottom)
144r (pencil 143)	LXIVr (top)
144v	LXIVv (top)
145r (pencil 144)	XXXIIIr (top)
145v	XXXIIIv (top)
146r (pencil 145)	XXXIIr (top)
146v	XXXIIv (top)
147r (pencil 146)	LXIIv (bottom)
147v	LXIIr (bottom)
148r (pencil 147)	LXVIIv (bottom)
148v	LXVIIr (bottom)
149r (pencil 148)	LXVIIr (top)
149v	LXVIIv (top)
150r (pencil 149)	LXIIr (top)
150v	LXIIv (top)
151r (pencil 150)	XXXIIv (bottom)
151v	XXXIIr (bottom)

Overtext	Undertext
152r (pencil 151)	XXXIIIv (bottom)
152v	XXXIIIr (bottom)
153r (pencil 152)	XLVr (top)
153v	XLVv (top)
154r (pencil 153)	XLVIIIr (top)
154v	XLVIIIv (top)
155r (pencil 154)	LXXr (top)
155v	LXXv (top)
156r (pencil 155)	XXXVr (top)
156v	XXXVv (top)
157r (pencil 156)	XXXVv (bottom)
157v	XXXVr (bottom)
158r (pencil 157)	LXXv (bottom)
158v	LXXr (bottom)
159r (pencil 158)	XLVIIIv (bottom)
159v	XLVIIIr (bottom)
160r (pencil 159)	XLVv (bottom)
160v	XLVr (bottom)
161r (pencil 160)	LXXIIIv (bottom)
161v	LXXIIIr (bottom)
162r (pencil 161)	LXXIVv (bottom)
162v	LXXIVr (bottom)
163r (pencil 162?)	XXIVr (top)
163v	XXIVv (top)
164r (pencil 163)	LXXXIIIr (top)

Overtext	Undertext
164v	LXXXIIIv (top)
165r (pencil 164)	LXXXIIIv (bottom)
165v	LXXXIIIr (bottom)
166r (pencil 165)	XXIVv (bottom)
166v	XXIVr (bottom)
167r (pencil 166)	LXXIVr (top)
167v	LXXIVv (top)
168r (pencil 167)	LXXIIIr (top)
168v	LXXIIIv (top)
169r (pencil 168)	VIIIr (bottom)
169v	VIIv (bottom)
170r (pencil 169)	IVr (top)
170v	IVv (top)
171r (pencil 170)	LXXXVIIIr (top)
171v	LXXXVIIIv (top)
172r (pencil 171)	LXVIIIr (bottom)
172v	LXVIIIv (bottom)
173r (pencil 172)	LXVIIIv (top - stub)
173v	LXVIIIr (top - stub)
174r (pencil 173)	LXXXVIIIv (bottom)
174v	LXXXVIIIr (bottom)
175r (pencil 174)	IVv (bottom)
175v	IVr (bottom)
176r (pencil 175)	LXXXIXv (bottom)
176v	LXXXIXr (bottom)

**UNDERTEXT—OVERTEXT**

<b>Undertext</b>	<b>Overtext</b>
Ir (top)	90v
Ir (bottom)	95r
Iv (top)	90r (pencil 89)
Iv (bottom)	95v
Iir (top)	44r (pencil 43)
Iir (bottom)	45v
Iiv (top)	44v
Iiv (bottom)	45r (pencil 44)
IIIr (top)	107r (pencil 106)
IIIr (bottom)	110v
IIIv (top)	107v
IIIv (bottom)	110r (pencil 109)
IVr (top)	170r (pencil 169)
IVr (bottom)	175v
IVv (top)	170v
IVv (bottom)	175r (pencil 174)
Vr (top)	81r (pencil 80)
Vr (bottom)	88v
Vv (top)	81v
Vv (bottom)	88r (pencil 87)
VIr (top)	52r (pencil 51)
VIr (bottom)	53v
VIv (top)	52v
VIv (bottom)	53r (pencil 52)
VIIr (bottom; top missing, sewn onto LXXXIXr)	169r (pencil 168)
VIIv (bottom; top missing, sewn onto LXXIXv)	169v
VIIIr (top)	108r (pencil 107)

<b>Undertext</b>	<b>Overtext</b>
VIIIr (bottom)	109v
VIIIv (top)	108v
VIIIv (bottom)	109r (pencil 108)
IXr (top)	132r (pencil 131)
IXr (bottom)	133v
IXv (top)	132v
IXv (bottom)	133r (pencil 132)
Xr (top)	77r (pencil 76)
Xr (bottom)	76v
Xv (top)	77v
Xv (bottom)	76r (pencil 75)
XIr (top)	16r
XIr (bottom)	9v
XIv (top)	16v
XIv (bottom)	9r
XIIr (top)	33r (pencil 32)
XIIr (bottom)	40v
XIiv (top)	33v
XIiv (bottom)	40r (pencil 39)
XIIIr (top)	18r
XIIIr (bottom)	23v
XIIIv (top)	18v
XIIIv (bottom)	23r (pencil 22 corrected to 23)
XIVr (top)	131r (pencil 130)
XIVr (bottom)	134v
XIVv (top)	131v
XIVv (bottom)	134r (pencil 133)
XVr (top)	51r (pencil 50)
XVr (bottom)	54v

<b>Undertext</b>	<b>Overtext</b>
XVv (top)	51v
XVv (bottom)	54r (pencil 53)
XVIr (top)	20r
XVIr (bottom)	21v
XVIv (top)	20v
XVIv (bottom)	21r
XVIIr (top)	117r (pencil 116)
XVIIr (bottom)	116v
XVIIv (top)	117v
XVIIv (bottom)	116r (pencil 115)
XVIIIr (top)	140r (pencil 139)
XVIIIr (bottom)	141v
XVIIIv (top)	140v
XVIIIv (bottom)	141r (pencil 140)
XIXr (top)	118r (pencil 117)
XIXr (bottom)	115v
XIXv (top)	118v
XIXv (bottom)	115r (pencil 114)
XXr (top)	41r (pencil 40)
XXr (bottom)	48v
XXv (top)	41v
XXv (bottom)	48r (pencil 47)
XXIr (top)	101r (pencil 100)
XXIr (bottom)	100v
XXIv (top)	101v
XXIv (bottom)	100r (pencil 99)
XXIIr (top)	126r (pencil 125)
XXIIr (bottom)	123v
XXIIv (top)	126v
XXIIv (bottom)	123r (pencil 122)
XXIIIr (top)	125r (pencil 124)
XXIIIr (bottom)	124v
XXIIIv (top)	125v

<b>Undertext</b>	<b>Overtext</b>
XXIIIv (bottom)	124r (pencil 123)
XXIVr (top)	163r (pencil 162?)
XXIVr (bottom)	166v
XXIVv (top)	163v
XXIVv (bottom)	166r (pencil 165)
XXVr (top)	10r
XXVr (bottom)	15v
XXVv (top)	10v
XXVv (bottom)	15r
XXVIr (top)	37r (pencil 36)
XXVIr (bottom)	36v
XXVIv (top)	37v
XXVIv (bottom)	36r (pencil 35)
XXVIIr (top)	56r (pencil 55)
XXVIIr (bottom)	49v
XXVIIv (top)	56v
XXVIIv (bottom)	49r (pencil 48)
XXVIIIr (top)	119r (pencil 118)
XXVIIIr (bottom)	114v
XXVIIIv (top)	119v
XXVIIIv (bottom)	114r (pencil 113)
XXIXr (top)	120r (pencil 119)
XXIXr (bottom)	113v
XXIXv (top)	120v
XXIXv (bottom)	113r (pencil 112)
XXXr (top)	55r (pencil 54)
XXXr (bottom)	50v
XXXv (top)	55v
XXXv (bottom)	50r (pencil 49)
XXXIr (top)	61r (pencil 60)
XXXIr (bottom)	60v
XXXIv (top)	61v
XXXIv (bottom)	60r (pencil 59)

Undertext	Overtext
XXXIIr (top)	146r (pencil 145)
XXXIIr (bottom)	151v
XXXIIv (top)	146v
XXXIIv (bottom)	151r (pencil 150)
XXXIIIr (top)	145r (pencil 144)
XXXIIIr (bottom)	152v
XXXIIIv (top)	145v
XXXIIIv (bottom)	152r (pencil 151)
XXXIVr (top)	78r (pencil 77)
XXXIVr (bottom)	75v
XXXIVv (top)	78v
XXXIVv (bottom)	75r (pencil 74)
XXXVr (top)	156r (pencil 155)
XXXVr (bottom)	157v
XXXVv (top)	156v
XXXVv (bottom)	157r (pencil 156)
XXXVIr (top)	67r (pencil 66)
XXXVIr (bottom)	70r (pencil 69)
XXXVIv (top)	67v
XXXVIv (bottom)	70v
XXXVIIr (top)	46r (pencil 45)
XXXVIIr (bottom)	43v
XXXVIIv (top)	46v
XXXVIIv (bottom)	43r (pencil 42)
XXXVIIIr (top)	97r (pencil 96)
XXXVIIIr (bottom)	104v
XXXVIIIv (top)	97v
XXXVIIIv (bottom)	104r (pencil 103)
XXXIXr (top)	122r (pencil 121)
XXXIXr (bottom)	127v
XXXIXv (top)	122v
XXXIXv (bottom)	127r (pencil 126)

Undertext	Overtext
XLr (top)	121r (pencil 120)
XLr (bottom)	128v
XLv (top)	121v
XLv (bottom)	128r (pencil 127)
XLIr (top)	98r (pencil 97)
XLIr (bottom)	103v
XLIV (top)	98v
XLIV (bottom)	103r (pencil 102)
XLIIr (top)	47r (pencil 46)
XLIIr (bottom)	42v
XLIIv (top)	47v
XLIIv (bottom)	42r (pencil 41)
XLIIIr (top)	68r (pencil 67)
XLIIIr (bottom)	69v
XLIIIv (top)	68v
XLIIIv (bottom)	69r (pencil 68)
XLIVr (top)	71v
XLIVr (bottom)	66r (pencil 65)
XLIVv (top)	71r (pencil 70)
XLIVv (bottom)	66v
XLVr (top)	153r (pencil 152)
XLVr (bottom)	160v
XLVv (top)	153v
XLVv (bottom)	160r (pencil 159)
XLVIr (top)	74r (pencil 73)
XLVIr (bottom)	79v
XLVIv (top)	74v
XLVIv (bottom)	79r (pencil 78)
XLVIIr (top)	73r (pencil 72)
XLVIIr (bottom)	80v
XLVIIv (top)	73v
XLVIIv (bottom)	80r (pencil 79)

Undertext	Overtext
XLVIIIr (top)	154r (pencil 153)
XLVIIIr (bottom)	159v
XLVIIIv (top)	154v
XLVIIIv (bottom)	159r (pencil 158)
XLIXr (top)	65r (pencil 64)
XLIXr (bottom)	72v
XLIXv (top)	65v
XLIXv (bottom)	72r (71 pencil)
Lr (top)	19r
Lr (bottom)	22v
Lv (top)	19v
Lv (bottom)	22r (pencil 21, corrected to 22)
Llr (top)	93r (pencil 92)
Llr (bottom)	92v
Llv (top)	93v
Llv (bottom)	92r (pencil 91)
LlIr (top)	86r (pencil 85)
LlIr (bottom)	83v
LlIv (top)	86v
LlIv (bottom)	83r (pencil 82)
LlIIr (top)	87r (pencil 86)
LlIIr (bottom)	82v
LlIIv (top)	87v
LlIIv (bottom)	82r (pencil 81)
LlIVr (top)	138r (pencil 137)
LlIVr (bottom)	143v
LlIVv (top)	138v
LlIVv (bottom)	143r (pencil 142)
LlVr (top)	24r (pencil 23 corrected to 24)
LlVr (bottom)	17v
LlVv (top)	24v
LlVv (bottom)	17r

Undertext	Overtext
LVIr (top)	1r
LVIr (bottom)	8v
LVIv (top)	1v
LVIv (bottom)	8r
LVIr (top)	38r (pencil 37)
LVIr (bottom)	35v
LVIv (top)	38v
LVIv (bottom)	35r (pencil 34)
LXIIIr (top)	3r
LXIIIr (top)	39r (pencil 38)
LXIIIr (bottom)	6v
LXIIIr (bottom)	34v
LXIIIv (top)	3v
LXIIIv (top)	39v
LXIIIv (bottom)	6r
LXIIIv (bottom)	34r (pencil 33)
LIXr (top)	94v
LIXr (bottom)	91r (pencil 90)
LIXv (top)	94r (pencil 93)
LIXv (bottom)	91v
LXr (top)	4r
LXr (bottom)	5v
LXv (top)	4v
LXv (bottom)	5r
LXIr (top)	57r (pencil 56)
LXIr (bottom)	64v
LXIV (top)	57v
LXIV (bottom)	64r (pencil 63)
LXIIr (top)	150r (pencil 149)
LXIIr (bottom)	147v
LXIIv (top)	150v
LXIIv (bottom)	147r (pencil 146)
LXIVr (top)	144r (pencil 143)

Undertext	Overtext
LXIVr (bottom)	137v
LXIVv (top)	144v
LXIVv (bottom)	137r (pencil 136)
LXVr (top)	139r (pencil 138)
LXVr (bottom)	142v
LXVv (top)	139v
LXVv (bottom)	142r (pencil 141)
LXVIr (top)	2r
LXVIr (bottom)	7v
LXVIv (top)	2v
LXVIv (bottom)	7r
LXVIIr (top)	149r (pencil 148)
LXVIIr (bottom)	148v
LXVIIv (top)	149v
LXVIIv (bottom)	148r (pencil 147)
LXVIIIr Only stub of original (top) half left.	173v
LXVIIIr (bottom)	172r (pencil 171)
LXVIIIv Only stub of original (top) half left.	173r (pencil 172)
LXVIIIv (bottom)	172v
LXIXr (top)	96v
LXIXr (bottom)	89r (pencil 88)
LXIXv (top)	96r (pencil 95)
LXIXv (bottom)	89v
LXXr (top)	155r (pencil 154)
LXXr (bottom)	158v
LXXv (top)	155v
LXXv (bottom)	158r (pencil 157)
LXXIr (top)	62r (pencil 61)
LXXIr (bottom)	59v

Undertext	Overtext
LXXIV (top)	62v
LXXIV (bottom)	59r (pencil 58)
LXXIIr (top)	111r (pencil 110)
LXXIIr (bottom)	106v
LXXIIv (top)	111v
LXXIIv (bottom)	106r (pencil 105)
LXXIIIr (top)	168r (pencil 167)
LXXIIIr (bottom)	161v
LXXIIIv (top)	168v
LXXIIIv (bottom)	161r (pencil 160)
LXXIVr (top)	167r (pencil 166)
LXXIVr (bottom)	162v
LXXIVv (top)	167v
LXXIVv (bottom)	162r (pencil 161)
LXXVr (top)	112r (pencil 111)
LXXVr (bottom)	105v
LXXVv (top)	112v
LXXVv (bottom)	105r (pencil 104)
LXXVIr (top)	63r (pencil 62)
LXXVIr (bottom)	58v
LXXVIv (top)	63v
LXXVIv (bottom)	58r (pencil 57)
LXXVIIr (top)	84r (pencil 83)
LXXVIIr (bottom)	85v
LXXVIIv (top)	84v
LXXVIIv (bottom)	85r (pencil 84)
LXXVIIIr (top)	99r (pencil 98)
LXXVIIIr (bottom)	102v
LXXVIIIv (top)	99v
LXXVIIIv (bottom)	102r (pencil 101)
LXXIXr (top)	129r (pencil 128)
LXXIXr (bottom)	136v

Undertext	Overtext
LXXIXv (top)	129v
LXXIXv (bottom)	136r (pencil 135)
LXXXr (top)	12r
LXXXr (bottom)	13v
LXXXv (top)	12v
LXXXv (bottom)	13r
LXXXIr (top)	11r
LXXXIr (bottom)	14v
LXXXIv (top)	11v
LXXXIv (bottom)	14r
LXXXIIr (top)	130r (pencil 129)
LXXXIIr (bottom)	135v
LXXXIIv (top)	130v
LXXXIIv (bottom)	135r (pencil 134)
LXXXIIIr (top)	164r (pencil 163)
LXXXIIIr (bottom)	165v
LXXXIIIv (top)	164v
LXXXIIIv (bottom)	165r (pencil 164)
LXXXIVr (top)	25r (pencil 24 corrected to 25)
LXXXIVr (bottom)	32v
LXXXIVv (top)	25v
LXXXIVv (bottom)	32r (pencil 31)

Undertext	Overtext
LXXXVr (top)	26r (pencil 25)
LXXXVr (bottom)	31v
LXXXVv (top)	26v
LXXXVv (bottom)	31r (pencil 30)
LXXXVIr (top)	30r (pencil 29)
LXXXVIr (bottom)	27v
LXXXVIv (top)	30v
LXXXVIv (bottom)	27r (pencil 26)
LXXXVIIr (top)	29r (pencil 28)
LXXXVIIr (bottom)	28v
LXXXVIIv (top)	29v
LXXXVIIv (bottom)	28r (pencil 26 corrected to 27)
LXXXVIIIr (top)	171r (pencil 170)
LXXXVIIIr (bottom)	174v
LXXXVIIIv (top)	171v
LXXXVIIIv (bottom)	174r (pencil 173)
LXXXIXr (bottom) (top missing, sewn onto VIIr)	176v
LXXXIXv (bottom) (top missing, sewn onto VIIv)	176r (pencil 175)

## APPENDIX 2. CODEX ZACYNTHIUS: THE CATENA AND THE TEXT OF LUKE (J.H. GREENLEE)

Codex Zacynthius (Cod. Z), owned by the British and Foreign Bible Society, is the older (erased) text of a palimpsest manuscript of Luke accompanied by an extensive patristic commentary or catena. The manuscript is fragmentary, with many pages missing and nothing beyond Luke 11:33.

In spite of its fragmentary form and obscure condition, Cod. Zacynthius is an important manuscript. It is apparently the oldest known New Testament manuscript accompanied by a catena and the only one in which both the Biblical text and the catena are written in uncial letters.<sup>1</sup>

The date of Cod. Zacynthius is debated; it is assigned to either the eighth or the sixth century. Two inter-related problems, therefore, are among the factors which make a study of this manuscript desirable: 1) the date of the manuscript may have a significant bearing upon theories which have been put forth concerning the development of catenae; and 2) material in this catena may furnish clues for the more accurate dating of the manuscript. Yet although the codex was brought to London from the Greek island of Zante in 1821, forty years passed before the text of Luke from the manuscript was published, edited by S. P. Tregelles.<sup>2</sup>

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\* As noted above (p. 17), this introductory article was found by J.K. Elliott in 2019 among the papers of G.D. Kilpatrick. It is here made available for the first time as a contribution to the history of research on the manuscript and in recognition of Greenlee's significant unpublished research on Codex Zacynthius. Greenlee gave Birdsall 'my full permission to make whatever use you wish of my work', including publication, in his letter of 6 January 1998. We are grateful to Dr Megan Davies for transcribing the text; typographical errors in the original have been corrected, but apart from two internal references the text and numbered footnotes are unchanged (including references to Greenlee's own transcription). All folio numbers relate to the undertext.

<sup>1</sup> One such Old Testament manuscript is the ninth-century Vat. gr. 749 of Job, a page of which is reproduced in *Specimina Codicum Graecorum Vaticanorum*, ed. by Pius Franchi de' Cavalieri and Johannes Lietzmann, p. 8. The only N.T. manuscripts in which the Biblical text is in uncials and the catena is in a cursive hand may be Codd. X and 018.

<sup>2</sup> *Codex Zacynthius*. London: Bagster, 1861.

Further, although certain data supposedly relating to this catena have been used in discussions of the date of the manuscript and discussions of the development of catenae,<sup>3</sup> the catena has apparently never been read except for the briefest extracts and one full page which was reproduced by Tregelles as the frontispiece for his volume.

It was the present writer's privilege to undertake the task of deciphering the catena of Cod. Zacynthius in the autumn of 1950, during a leave of absence from professorial duties in Asbury Theological Seminary. Approximately six months of work was involved in the task, yielding an estimated thirty thousand words from legible portions of the text. The text of Luke in the manuscript was also re-examined during this period, and a number of changes in the readings as given by Tregelles are given in Appendix I below.

The present writer is not prepared to offer final answers to the questions of the date of the manuscript or of its relation to the question of the origin of catenae.

Some tentative suggestions may be put forward, but the primary purpose of the present article is to present the data which the study had revealed. The writer hopes that these data will be useful in solving the problems of the manuscript and in shedding light upon the question of the origin and development of catenae.

The work of deciphering the catena was done entirely by sunlight. Some experimental photographs were made, using ordinary, ultra-violet, and infra-red light, and sample pages were examined directly under ultra-violet light. In all these instances the facilities available at the Bodleian Library were used. Under none of these conditions did the text prove to be appreciably more legible than when it was read by sunlight. Some pages, however, although fortunately not a large number, remain sufficiently illegible that it may prove to be worth while to have these pages subjected to further experimental photography.

The task of reading the erased catena was made considerably easier by the fact that printed texts were available for most of the passages in the catena. This does not mean, of course, that the passages in the manuscript were identical with the printed texts. There were a multitude of variants, but the agreement was sufficient to make the reading of the manuscript considerably easier. A list of printed works used is given in Appendix III below.

## THE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE CATENA

There is of course no word division in the manuscript. All letters in the text are the same size except for the larger initial letters. In the accompanying printed transcription, except for making divisions and capitalizing proper nouns, an effort has been made to show in the transcription the forms—abbreviations, corrections, etc.—used in the catena.

Dots under letters indicate that the letter is only partially visible, and its identity is therefore less than certain. After the first few pages of the transcription, if a large number

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum Catalogus*, in *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Göttingen, 1902); R. Devreesse, 'Chaines Exegetiques,' in Pirot, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supp. I (1928), col. 1092 ff.; Tregelles, *op. cit.*, pp. xvi-xvii; and W. H. P. Hatch, 'A Redating of Two Important Uncial Manuscripts of the Gospels--Codex Zacynthius and Codex Cyprius,' in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake*, ed. by R. P. Casey, S. Lake, and A. K. Lake (London, 1937), pp. 333-38.

of letters are doubtful these dots are not used but the words 'obscure' or 'partially obscure' are written in the right-hand margin. The present writer's personal notes, however, have these doubtful letters specifically indicated throughout the text.

Square brackets enclose words or letters which are wholly illegible in the manuscript but which are conjectured because they are found in a printed text of the same work. These conjectures take into consideration the size of the space and the number of letters required to fill the space.

A question mark following the section number of the catena indicates that the symbol itself was obscure and therefore uncertain. A question mark following the chapter and verse reference (chapter and verse references are of course not in the original manuscript but are included here for convenience) indicates that the symbol was not definitely located in the accompanying text of Luke and the reference was therefore not certain.

In the present transcription, when it was necessary to use a second page for the catena of one page of the manuscript, the page number was repeated, in parentheses, with 'cont.' written below the number. Since the Greek typewriter had no 'r' and 'v,' '4' signifies '4 recto' and '4a' signifies '4 verso.'

The catena sections often do not end at the bottom of a page in the manuscript. If a passage at the top of a page of the manuscript does not begin with a capital letter and has no title line, that passage is continued from the preceding page. If it is a continuation from the preceding *extant* page, the continuation has been indicated on both pages of the transcription. With few exceptions, if a page does not end with the symbol (:-) that passage is continued on the next page (either extant or missing).

#### PALAEOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS<sup>4</sup>

Tregelles's facsimile volume and introductory material are very helpful and worthwhile. It should be observed, however, that the text as printed by Tregelles does not exactly reproduce the letters of Cod. Zacynthius, since he merely used the 'Alexandrian types' owned by the British Museum.<sup>5</sup> These letters give a fairly good idea of the neatness and appearance of the text of Luke in the manuscript, although they are smaller than the text of Luke in Cod. Zacynthius, and the letters of Cod. Zacynthius are actually neater in form. There are also certain specific differences from Tregelles's volume in the form of some letters, including *upsilon*, *lambda*, *xi*, the numerical letter *stigma*, and *upsilon* as occasionally written over *omicron* at the end of a line. The form of these letters is in general more even and rounded than the facsimile volume indicates. As a frontispiece to his volume, Tregelles reproduced by hand-tracing one complete page of the manuscript,

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<sup>4</sup> The following observations apply in general to the text of Luke as well as to the catena, except where reference to the catena is specific.

<sup>5</sup> Tregelles, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

giving both Lucan text and catena. The above-mentioned letters are given there in their proper form. Even this page does not, however, adequately illustrate the neatness and beauty of the manuscript itself, as Tregelles himself points out,<sup>6</sup> since he merely traced the page in its present and rather distorted form.

The original size of the parchment pages of Cod. Zacynthius was evidently approximately 11 by 14 inches. Eighty-nine leaves, including three half-leaves, remain. It probably is not possible to determine how many pages were in a quire, since the sheets have all been cut along the original binding and separated, with some pages missing. The pages were almost certainly placed with like sides facing each other, as was customary; this furnishes one clue for determining the points at which original pages are now missing.

There seems to be little reason to doubt that the manuscript originally contained none of the New Testament except Luke: the introduction clearly stood at the beginning of this Gospel, the list of sections are those of Luke with a table listing parallel sections in other Gospels, and there are no pages from any Gospel other than Luke.

There is very little ornamentation on the pages, and the letters are relatively plain. The ink is a rusty brown as the manuscript now stands, except for some headings and section numbers of bright red.

There are five kinds of letters in the manuscript, all uncials:

- 1) The text of Luke is written in round letters 5 mm. in height.
- 2) The text of the catena is in letters 2.5 mm. in height and very compressed laterally.
- 3) Section numbers found within the lines of the text of Luke, and the section numbers and titles for the catena, are all approximately the same height as those of the text of the catena but are round instead of being laterally compressed. On some obscure pages section headings in the catena might easily have been overlooked if they had not been in letters thus differing from those of the catena itself. Occasionally the scribe apparently forgot and wrote a section number in the laterally compressed letters instead of the rounded form.<sup>7</sup>

- 4) The introduction (1r.) is written in a more sloping and seemingly less careful style, in letters slightly larger than those of the catena and not laterally compressed.

- 5) Paragraphs of Luke and sections of the catena are generally introduced by an initial letter 7 or 8 mm. in height.

Accents, breathings, and other diacritical marks are not regularly used in the manuscript.<sup>8</sup> Initial *upsilon* and *iota* do, however, often have breathings indicated by the angular breathing (†) and the two dots (··) respectively, but sometimes with the usage reversed.<sup>9</sup> Within words, the same symbols over these letters indicate diaeresis. The angular breathings, (†) and (··), are also infrequently found on other initial vowels. In the text of Luke these marks with *upsilon* and *iota* are less frequent than in the catena, and the

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<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. xxi, xxiii.

<sup>7</sup> E. g., on 5r. (not indicated in the transcription).

<sup>8</sup> Details of the usage may be observed from the present transcription, in which the usage of the manuscript has been carefully followed.

<sup>9</sup> E. g., 54v. ff.

angular breathings over the letters seem to be limited to perhaps no more than a half dozen examples, including a rough breathing over *omicron* in Luke 11:2 (86v.) and a smooth breathing over *alpha* in Luke 10:25 (81v.). An apostrophe is occasionally found in Luke and in the catena.

Accents, too, are not regularly used either in the text of Luke or in the catena, as Tregelles points out.<sup>10</sup> Dating the manuscript, however, requires a consideration of the entire manuscript; and the absence of breathings and accents is not so complete as to permit the manuscript to be dated prior to the period when such marks were used. The present writer recalls no certain instance of an accent in the text of Luke; but in the catena there are occasional brief portions in which breathings and accents are used rather freely: e.g., 18v. (line 1), 70, and a few other passages. Accents and breathings, moreover, are used freely in the introduction to the catena (1r.) and to some extent in the three marginal notes of the manuscript referred to below. It therefore appears possible that Cod. Zacynthius was written when breathings and accents were commonly used, but that the scribe of this manuscript had an exemplar from an older period; and although he chose to copy his exemplar as exactly as possible he occasionally fell into his more customary habit of using breathings and accents. In this connection, the blank space on 18r., line 23, may be due to a similar blank or defect at this point in the exemplar.

Punctuation, too, is limited in variety. A single point, placed at varying heights above the line and answering approximately to the upper point of a semicolon, is common in the catena and is more common in the text of Luke than Tregelles's facsimile indicates. Single points placed *on* the line like a period are rare. Commas and colons are occasionally found in the catena, less often in the text of Luke.

Sections of the catena are apparently intended to end with the symbol (:), rarely with a colon (:); and the absence of such a symbol at the bottom of a page indicates that the section is continued on the next page.

Quotations from scripture in the catena are often indicated by a symbol (>) in the left margin of each line containing the quotation, beginning with the line in which the quotation is introduced. This symbol is also used in the text of Luke to indicate the O.T. quotation in Luke 3:5-6 and 4:18-19.<sup>11</sup> On 23v., this symbol is twice found written double, and on 37v. it is several times written as (4). Often no symbol at all is used to indicate quotations.

When *nu* is the final letter in a line, it is often omitted and indicated by the familiar horizontal line above and slightly to the right of the preceding letter.<sup>12</sup> In the present transcription this abbreviation has been retained where it occurs in the manuscript, although these occurrences do not necessarily fall at the end of the line in the present transcription. In Luke 6:27 (37r.), *νμων* is abbreviated by omitting the final letter and writing *omega* over *mu*. (There is no line over the *omega* to stand for *nu*, *contra* Tregelles.) The only other use of a symbol is the form *ϛ*, which stands for *καὶ* at the end of a line.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. ii, xvii.

<sup>11</sup> Tregelles failed to include these symbols in the former.

<sup>12</sup> Tregelles's edition is slightly inaccurate in showing this line directly *above* the preceding letter.

When the letters *ov* fall at the end of a line, the *upsilon* is sometimes written directly above the *omicron*, but not as a single ligature as Tregelles's facsimile indicates.

The common *nomina sacra* are found in the manuscript, and their use is almost completely confined to their special sense—e.g.,  $\overline{\pi\rho\varsigma}$  is rarely used except in reference to God. Exceptions include  $\overline{\pi\nu\iota\kappa\eta}$  (54v., 84v.) and  $\overline{\sigma\rho\iota\alpha}$  (88v.). Words normally indicated by *nomina sacra* are sometimes written fully—e.g.,  $\overline{\text{I}\eta\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\nu}$ , 72v.

In section headings, suspensions are frequently used in the names and titles of the writers. These suspensions may be indicated by a period or by an oblique line after the last letter written, or by writing the last two or three letters of the suspension one above the other. These suspensions have been retained in the transcription (see 3r., 19r.). On 3v., and from 40v, Origen is generally designated in the titles by the symbol  $\Phi$ .

There are occasional scribal errors in this as in any manuscript, but not enough to affect the generally excellent character of the manuscript. On 14r. 'Origen' is spelled with initial *omicron* instead of *omega*. Other such slips, including the omission of horizontal lines over an abbreviation or with section numbers, may be observed in the transcription, in which these errors have purposely been retained. There are also occasional scribal errors in the text of Luke, doubtless including the use of  $\overline{\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma}$  for  $\overline{\kappa\alpha\rho\phi\omicron\varsigma}$  in Luke 6:42 (40r.) and an extra *iota* in  $\overline{\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu}$  in Luke 6:49 (42v.), neither of which was observed by Tregelles.<sup>13</sup>

Beginning at 71v., red ink is used for section titles and numbers, but it is not always used thereafter. The title of the gospel on 3r. is also in red ink.

While it is difficult to visualize fully the original appearance of the manuscript, because of its present condition, it is evident that it was a manuscript of simple and dignified beauty.

## CONSIDERATIONS CONCERNING THE CATENA

Since Cod.  $\Xi$  is the oldest known N.T. manuscript with a catena, it deserves special consideration for any light it may shed upon the history and development of catena.

Although the present writer is not prepared to draw final conclusions on this subject, Cod. Zacynthius may point to a need of re-examining some theories which have been advanced concerning their origin and development.<sup>14</sup> It is to be hoped that the transcription of this catena will prove to be of some assistance in further study.

Tregelles in his volume gives a list of the writers and the titles for the catena of Codex Zacynthius as he found them while reading the Gospel text of the manuscript.<sup>15</sup> He states that he is listing names found 'at the head of the pages,'<sup>16</sup> seemingly assuming that all sections began at the top of a page. This assumption is, of course, quite incorrect, as may be seen from the transcription; for one section may cover two or more pages, and in other instances one page may have as many as five separate sections. Nor is there the slightest apparent concern to have the sections begin at the top of a page or to end at the bottom of a page; a section may extend only one or two lines onto the next page, or a new section may

<sup>13</sup> Since there is no difference between medial and final *sigma* in uncial letters, any confusion of these forms in the transcription should be considered as typographical errors in the transcription.

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., R. Devreesse, *op. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. iii-vii.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. iii.

begin one or two lines from the bottom of a page. The facsimile page which serves as a frontispiece for Tregelles's volume is therefore quite untypical, since it shows a page in which the catena section begins at the top and ends at the bottom of the page.

Throughout the Gospel text, in the margin and within the lines of the text, there are found section numbers which refer to the accompanying catena. These sections are numbered consecutively from 1 through 100 (α'-ρ') then begin again with 1. The numbering begins with 1 at the beginning of the Gospel, begins the second time at Luke 7:31 (?), and again at Luke 10:34. The last legible section number is 28, at Luke 11:30. The catena often repeats a number two or more times, as it is given for each writer's comment on the passage. When the amount of catena is small the portion of Gospel text on a page is usually correspondingly large, and vice versa. In a few instances the comments on a passage are so extensive that the same Gospel portion is repeated on the next page; Luke 2:21, for example, is given three times, on 19r., 19v., and 20r. There are two pages which contain the Lucan text but no catena, 30v. and 61r.; but there are no pages occupied entirely by catena with no Lucan text (except 7v., the top half of which is missing and probably contained the text of Luke for this page.)

If two passages from the same writer are quoted on the same Gospel passage, the section number is not given again, and the second passage is headed *και μετ ολιγα, και παλιν* or something similar. If the same writer is quoted on two successive gospel passages, the second has the new section number and the heading reads *του αυτου*, sometimes followed by the writer's name.

The title *αγιος* is applied regularly to John, Basil, Cyril, and Titus, and sometimes to Severus. Because of the 'pattern' of selections used, *αγιος* is thus found in the first title of the catena ('The Holy John, Bishop of Constantinople,' 3r.) and not again until 15v. ('The Holy Titus, Bishop of Bostra'), the first reference to Titus. Within these first pages the most frequently occurring writers and titles are Origen, Severus, Eusebius (Eusebius is quoted only within the first fifteen pages), and the anonymous passages (*εξ ανεπιγραφου*). With folio 15 or 16 a change in 'type' seems to occur, Titus and Cyril being quoted for the first time. From this point on, these two writers become the most frequently quoted.

Ordinarily only the name, or the name and title, of a writer is given at the beginning of a section of the catena. In three of the four quotations from Isidore, however, and in every observable quotation from Severus, the work from which the quotation is made is named as well.

Tregelles's list of occurrences of each ecclesiastical writer is very incomplete. By a coincidence, however, he found all the writers of the catena except one, Apollinarius, who is quoted only once (53v.). The full list of writers and their occurrences follows, in the order of their first mention, together with the number of these occurrences within pp. 3-15. For purposes of comparison, the totals given by Tregelles are also given.

Writer	Occurrences	Included in pp.3–15	Tregelles's List
Chrysostom	5	1	4
Origen	33	16	9
'Anonymous'	42	28	
Severus	27	9	5
Victor	8	5	2
Isidore	4	2	1
Eusebius	6	6	1
Titus	45	1	19
Cyril	93	0	38
Basil	3	0	3
Apollinarius	1	0	0

There are also four passages listed as *αλλως* or *αλλος* and six which seem to have no title, plus numerous passages the beginning and title of which are on a missing page.

In most instances the printed text corresponding to a given passage in the catena is found in the works of the writer named in the title of the passage of the catena. 'Anonymous' passages of the catena, however, are often found in the printed works of Origen, Cyril, and others. Occasionally, too, there is a definite disagreement between the catena and the printed text concerning authorship, as on 10r., where the catena attributes three brief passages on Luke 1:38 to Eusebius, and three passages on Luke 2:34, 35, 38 attributed to Basil, all of which are found in the printed works of Origen.

Since Severus was declared a heretic, it may seem strange that he is sometimes designated 'Saint'; and the fact that he is so designated regularly (with one exception) in the second half of the existing portions of the catena and not at all in the first half may seem stranger still.<sup>17</sup> Severus is usually designated 'Archbishop of Antioch,' although a few times merely 'of Antioch' and sometimes without any such title.

Tregelles is apparently mistaken, however, in assuming that these references to Severus *necessarily* indicate an acceptance of his heretical views.<sup>18</sup> The author of the introduction to the catena (1r.) tells the reader that the catena is taken from many works of orthodox fathers but includes also some quotations from 'rejected exegetes' and heretics. These latter quotations he justifies by appealing to Cyril of Alexandria, whom he quotes as having said in his epistle to Eulogias that 'it is not necessary to avoid everything which the heretics say, for they confess many things which we also confess.'

Tregelles raises the possibility,<sup>19</sup> and Hatch advances it as a definite theory,<sup>20</sup> that there are several instances where the name of Severus was erased soon after the manuscript

<sup>17</sup> Tregelles seems to imply, pp. iv, xvi, that Severus was always designated 'Saint' in the manuscript. This is erroneous, but it is true that he is so designated in all but one instance where his name appears at the top of pages, the source of Tregelles's information.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xvi.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xvii.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 336–37.

was written as distinct from the much later time when the entire manuscript was erased. This, they point out, suggests that Cod. Zacynthius was written during the lifetime of Severus, who died in 540, but before the edict of Justinian in 536 which ordered his writings to be burned; and that the owner of the manuscript erased the name of Severus soon after the edict was issued in order to protect himself and the manuscript.

The present writer, however, was unable to conclude that the erasures referred to are anything more than a part of the erasure of the entire manuscript after several centuries of use. Moreover, Severus is quoted twenty-two additional times which Tregelles and Hatch did not find, and he is designated 'the Holy Severus' in a large number of these instances. An examination of these examples makes it virtually certain that there was no such consistent attempt to erase the name of Severus at an early date.

Aside from the question of the erasure of the name of Severus, the fact that the catena is so well-developed is in itself almost necessarily fatal to the theory of a sixth century date for the manuscript, especially a date before 536 as suggested by Tregelles and Hatch.

That the catena of Cod. Zacynthius is a copy of a well-developed form can hardly be questioned. The introduction is stylized, similar examples being known in other manuscripts.<sup>21</sup> The ἐξ ἀνεπιγραφῶν passages, with no church writer's name to give them individual authority, certainly must have been copied into this manuscript with the authority of previous quotation. Even the way in which the catena fits in with the portions of Luke on the pages suggests that the catena was not compiled especially for this manuscript.

Even on the unlikely hypothesis that the catena of Cod. Zacynthius was an original compilation for this manuscript, the proposed early date for the manuscript presupposes that the writings of Severus and Victor had become so well-known and popular as to be placed into a catena within five to twenty years after they were written, and that they were so used along with and on a parallel with church writers whose works had been recognized for from one to three centuries.

Since Victor was apparently still writing after Severus had died, the date of his writings quoted in Cod. Zacynthius should be determined, if possible. Apart from the criticism made above, the theory of the early date would immediately collapse if it should be found that any of the quotations from Victor are from a work written after 536AD.

## TEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

The fact that the text of the catena of Cod. Zacynthius has been largely recovered is due to the fact that most of the material in it is found in printed texts of catenae and in printed texts of the works of the writers quoted. This means that this catena, in its extant portions, contains no large amount of otherwise unknown material. Some passages and parts of others have not been found in a printed text, and these may or may not prove to be new material. The catena is nevertheless textually significant, since it contains a considerable number of variants from the printed texts with which it has been compared. In addition

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<sup>21</sup> See the following section ('Textual Considerations').

to variations of words and phrases, the catena has often been found to contain material which was not in the printed text, this additional material sometimes being in the midst of the passage. One such passage (84v., Luke 10:34–35) is a denunciation by Severus of the allegorical interpretation of ‘Manes, and before him Marcion, those most godless men,’ of the two coins which the Good Samaritan gave to the innkeeper, an interpretation in accordance with their own heretical views.

The text of the catena has some peculiarities of spelling, but apparently none which would mark it as of inferior quality. The scribe frequently writes ι for ει (e.g., φιλομεν, 27r.), and often ει for ε (e.g., απειθανον, 70r.). On 17r., Jerusalem is spelled Εροσολυμα.

It may also be that when the Lucan passage under comment is quoted in the catena, its text in the catena may vary from the text of Luke in the manuscript; e.g., 31v., ει μη εις ο θεος (Lucan text, ει μη μονος ο θεος); and 40v., δενδρον αγαθον (Lucan text, δενδρον καλον).

The text of the catena is evidently related to the text given by Cramer.<sup>22</sup> A remarkably close similarity, however, is found in the text of the apparently unpublished catena on Luke in Cod. 747 (Suppl. Gr. 612, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), a cursive manuscript of the four Gospels with a cursive catena, dated 1164 AD. While the latter catena is not identical throughout with that of Cod. Zacynthius, the extent of similarity clearly indicates a definite relationship between them. In a number of instances, including the passage from Severus on Luke 10:34–35 mentioned above, Cod. 747 includes a passage found in Cod. Zacynthius of which no printed text was found by the present writer. One of the two pages in Cod. Zacynthius containing no catena is 61r., Luke 9:7–11; and Cod. 747 is also without a catena on this passage. The extent of this close relationship may be observed by noting the references cited for the various sections of the catena in the present transcription. A further detailed comparison of the catena of Cod. 747 with that of Cod. Zacynthius seems to be a desideratum.

The introduction to the catena (1r.) is evidently complete, not merely part of an introduction as Tregelles suggests,<sup>23</sup> although it does begin with the conjunction δε. The handwriting of this page has been described above.<sup>24</sup> The introduction is apparently basically the same as examples II and III given by M. Faulhaber.<sup>25</sup> It is also similar to the introduction to the catena of the four Gospels given by Cramer.<sup>26</sup>

## CONSIDERATIONS CONCERNING THE TEXT OF LUKE

It was thought advisable to re-read the Lucan text of Cod. Zacynthius in addition to transcribing the catena, checking the text of Luke against Tregelles's edition. The present writer, aided by having the results of Tregelles's work as a starting point as well as by having read thousands of words of the accompanying catena, and perhaps by having younger eyes, was able to make a number of corrections and additions of textual importance, a much

<sup>22</sup> J.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, Tomus II, Oxford, Univ. Press, 1844.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. ii.

<sup>24</sup> See the section *Palaeographical Considerations*.

<sup>25</sup> *Die Propheten-Catenaen nach Römischen Handschriften. Biblische Studien*, IV. Band, 3 Heft (1899), pp. 192–196.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, Tomus I.

larger number of palaeographical significance, and various others affecting only the format of the text.

Tregelles's volume for some reason fails to include the Lucan text as found on 11v., 46v., and 67v. (In addition, the Lucan text of 7v. was apparently on the missing upper half of the folio.) The text of the first two of these is repeated on the next page, so no text was lost by these omissions; but 67v. contains Luke 9:29, which is not given by Tregelles at all. On 57r., Tregelles does not give the first line of Lucan text, the first six words of Luke 8:43.

The only certain instance where the text of Luke has been supplemented by an alternate reading in the margin is on 61r., one of the two pages without a catena. That this alternate reading was overlooked by Tregelles will occasion no surprise to anyone who attempts to locate and read it even now. This marginal reading, in laterally compressed letters like those of the catena rather than those of the Lucan text, occurs in Luke 9:10. A curved line over the first word answers to a similar line over the first word in the main text for which this reading is an alternate: the text reads 'into a city called'; while the marginal reading is the reading of the *Textus Receptus*, 'into a desert place of a city called.'

Another marginal note is found on 8v., but the nature of this note is uncertain. It is found in the right margin and reads approximately *τι δώσει αυτο αρμοσσει τη οικονομια* and might be an additional comment on Luke 1:32 or a comment upon or an addition to the quotation from Severus in the catena. The only other such note is a variant reading for a clause in the catena itself.<sup>27</sup>

Some rather surprising errors of Tregelles's edition were revealed by the present study, although the tedious nature of the work he was required to do calls for generous allowance for such errors. He sometimes overlooked section numbers, referring to the catena, which were written within the Lucan text and in the margins. His text sometimes includes words or letters which are not in the manuscript; as for example a title for the Gospel section 13, 'Concerning the Paralytic' (31r., preceding Luke 5:17), of which the present writer found no trace in spite of the closest scrutiny of the page. On 42v., Tregelles gives *εις τας* as the last two words on the page (Luke 7:1) but *τας* is not found in the manuscript. On 85v. he gives *συναντιλαβε* as the last word (Luke 10:4), whereas the form is actually *συναντιλαβεται*.

Tregelles occasionally found that a letter or part of a word was illegible for some reason and properly omitted it from his edition. The present writer has supplied some of these missing letters. This was not done by mere conjecture, although in most instances the letters could easily be so supplied. Where a letter has been supplied it has been done by being able to read enough of the letter to make its identity reasonably certain.<sup>28</sup>

There are other errors which may have arisen between Tregelles's notes and the finished publication. A complete list of corrections may be seen in the present writer's copy of Tregelles's volume; in Appendix I of the present study only textual corrections and others of significance are given.

<sup>27</sup> See 18v., Severus on Luke 2:15.

<sup>28</sup> See, e.g., at Luke 1:77-78.

On 1v., 2r., and 2v. there is a list of section titles for Luke together with a list of parallel passages in the other Gospels. This list, since it includes the remaining part of the Gospel of which the text is now missing, makes it clear that the manuscript did originally include the entire Gospel of Luke. These pages were also re-examined and some corrections were made, mostly of minor significance. The only material correction made was in section κ (1v., bottom line), which Tregelles gives as *περι των αποσταλεντων παρα Ιωαννου*, but which actually reads *περι των αποσταλμενων υπο Ιωαννου*. On 44v., where this title appears in the Gospel text, Tregelles gives it in the same form as before, but it actually reads *πε. των αποσταλεντων υπο Ιωαννου*.

The text type of Luke in Cod. Zacynthus is Alexandrian, related to Codd. BL etc., although it has some unique readings. Included among these is the variant in Luke 7:31 given in Appendix I below. Tregelles raises the question (p. iv) as to whether ‘the oldest Manuscripts with Catenae or Scholia (and those of three successive centuries) are monuments of the older text.’ This question may be extended to include Cod. 747, since its catena has such a close relationship to Cod. Zacynthus. The present writer does not know of a complete collation of Cod. 747, but two of his students, Mr. Harry Wulfcamp and Mr. John Pearsall, have collated the manuscript for Luke. A cursory examination of a small portion of this collation, comparing it with Cod. Zacynthus, seems to suggest that Cod. 747 is primarily Byzantine but agrees with Zacynthus against the Textus Receptus in a number of points. A further study of the relationship between these two manuscripts is desirable.

### CONSIDERATIONS CONCERNING THE MANUSCRIPT AS A PALIMPSEST

The later text of Cod. Zacynthus is a Gospel lectionary, Greg. 299 (Scrivener 200),<sup>29</sup> commonly dated as of the thirteenth century. Some centuries after Cod. Zacynthus was written it became worn and fell into disuse, and was subsequently erased. Pages too damaged for further use were discarded; the remaining pages were cut in half where they were folded in the original binding. Consequently, the original text is fragmentary in the present volume, with occasional pages missing throughout and nothing extant beyond Luke 11:33. Except for two half-leaves, the pages of the present volume are made up entirely of pages from Cod. Zacynthus.<sup>30</sup> Since there is no practice of beginning sections of the catena at the top of a page, there are many incomplete sections in the catena as it now exists, with either the first or the last part missing.

The pages of the manuscript in its present form are half as large as the original codex. It was probably further trimmed slightly after being bound. Four sheets form a quire in the present volume. The lower right-hand corner of folio 43r. is dog-eared and escaped being trimmed, and probably shows the size of the page before it was trimmed. At the top of folio 24 a hole has been worn through the parchment. This evidently took place while the manuscript was in its original form, because a hole is worn through folio 25 as well although the two are separated in the present binding.

<sup>29</sup> Hatch, (*op. cit.*, p.333) refers to it as Cod. 229, apparently a typographical error.

<sup>30</sup> Hatch, (*loc. cit.*,) erroneously states that there are ninety additional leaves in the present volume, apparently failing to observe that one page of Cod. Zacynthus made two pages of the present volume, whose pages are only half as large.

There is of course no relationship between the pagination of the later text and that of the earlier writing. In copying the Lucan text of the earlier writing Tregelles numbered the pages in Roman numerals in the order of the earlier text (without of course, allowing for missing pages) and printed in his volume<sup>31</sup> a helpful index locating these pages with reference to the pages in the present binding.

Tregelles suggests<sup>32</sup> that when a manuscript was erased for reuse the original writing was completely obliterated, and that if the original writing in a palimpsest is now legible it is due to oxidation over the centuries of the iron in the ink which had remained impregnated in the parchment. This, he says, is true in the case of black ink (containing iron), while red ink does not become legible again after having been erased. He recognizes that in this respect the red ink of Cod. Zacynthius is an exception; for the red titles used on a number of pages of this manuscript are sometimes the most legible part of a page, and the ink is in general quite brilliant. At the top of the page, indeed, it may be observed that the red ink from the title has faded onto the opposite page. In fact, the very brilliance of the red ink suggests the improbability that it was ever erased so completely as to be less legible than it is at present, but on the other hand raises the question as to whether a scribe would have been willing to use the pages for the later text with the former writing so clearly in evidence. It may be remotely possible that an ink was used in these portions of such composition that its oxidation would produce the brilliant red of Cod. Zacynthius; this could be determined by chemical analysis of a micro-sample of the ink. Yet it seems more probable that the scribe simply did not demand complete erasure of the former writing. As would be expected, the original writing is generally more legible on the smoother flesh sides of the parchment than on the hair sides. For anyone who may have the opportunity to examine the manuscript, folio 23v., the top half of which forms the verso of page 125 in the present binding, is one of the more legible pages.

There are three ways in which it may be determined where a page of the original manuscript is missing. First, a page or more is obviously missing if the text of Luke is not continuous. Second, where a section of the catena was continued from one page to another, as was often the case, if either the first or the last portion of the catena section is missing, it indicates that a page is missing. In view of the fact that sometimes the Lucan portion was printed on more than one page, a page may be missing from the manuscript even where nothing is missing from the Lucan text.<sup>33</sup> Finally, since the regular custom of placing parchment sheets hair side to hair side and flesh side to flesh side was followed in this manuscript, it is possible to determine when one page (or an odd number of pages) is missing by observing this sequence. A combination of these three methods is fairly certain to locate every instance of missing pages.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit* p. xii.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit* p. xxii–xxiii.

<sup>33</sup> E.g., following p. 46 and p. 82.

<sup>34</sup> See Appendix II.

### CONCLUSION CONCERNING THE DATE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The present writer is not prepared to draw a final conclusion as to the date of Cod. Zacynthius. Nevertheless, it would be an obvious anachronism to assign to the manuscript a date earlier than is permissible for any of the characteristics shown in the manuscript, either in the catena or in the Lucan text. It is out of the question, therefore, to assign to it a date earlier than the time at which laterally compressed letters came into usage, even though the Lucan text and section headings are in the supposedly earlier rounded letters. Neither may it be assigned to a date earlier than the use of the sloping, informal style of letters found in the introduction to the catena; for the introduction is certainly a part of the original manuscript and was probably written by the same scribe. Further, the free use of accents and breathings in the introduction and the occasional passages in which accents are freely used in the catena require that the manuscript be assigned to a date no earlier than this usage permits, even though they are found only rarely in the manuscript.

It is the present writer's belief, therefore, that this manuscript itself may be from a somewhat later date than a first inspection of its appearance and style of writing might indicate. Since the hypothesis for assigning a sixth century date to Cod. Zacynthius on the basis of a very early erasure of the name of Severus is apparently mistaken, there seems to be no reason for rejecting whatever date is indicated by the latest palaeographical features found in the manuscript. If it is true that these features, particularly the sloping hand of the introduction and the well-developed system of accents and breathings, are assumed by palaeographers to be no earlier than the eighth century, it would follow that no date earlier than this should be assigned to Cod. Zacynthius. Such a date would allow time for the sixth-century writings of Severus and Victor to become well-known enough to have excerpts included in catenae of established forms. It is to be hoped that a small fragment from the manuscript may be submitted to the radioactive carbon test for further evidence concerning the date of its origin.

Making some allowances for the human factor, therefore, Cod. Zacynthius is apparently to be dated no earlier than the latter part of the seventh century and probably no later than the latter part of the eighth century.

Even so, this manuscript establishes the existence of well-developed catenae, presumably in a set form, at the time when the manuscript was written. If this manuscript is a careful copy of an appreciably earlier manuscript, as was tentatively suggested above, the existence of the catena-form at a correspondingly earlier date would be concluded.

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**Appendix I. Collation listing the more significant corrections made in the readings of Codex Zacynthius as given in Tregelles's facsimile**

(Abbreviations are generally indicated only when Tregelles gives an abbreviation which is actually a fully-written word in the manuscript, or when he gives a fully-written word which is actually an abbreviation in the manuscript.)

First the reading of the Textus Receptus is given, then the correct reading of Cod. Zacynthius. At the right, in parentheses, is given the reading of Tregelles's facsimile.

1:2	αυτοπται και ] same εωρακεν] εορακεν	(αυτοπται και και) (εωρακεν)
1:36	υιον] υιον	( <u>υ</u> )
1:43	entire verse] given twice, 11v., 12r.	(11v. omitted)
	κυριου μου] <u>κ</u> υ 11v. ; <u>κ</u> υ μου, 12r.	( <u>κ</u> υ, μου, 12r.; verse omitted, 11v.)
	προς με] προς εμε, 11v., 12r.	(προς με, 12r.; verse omitted, 11v.)
1:77	εν αφεσει] same	([ ] αφεσει)
1:78	επεσκεψατο same	(επεσκεψατ[ ])
2:2	Κυρηνιου] κυρινιου	(κυριιιου)
Title preceding 2:36		
	ms.: δ̄ περι Αννας της προφητιδος	(δ̄ περι Αννης της προφητιδος)
2:39	Ναζαρετ] same	Ναζαρεθ
3:5	παν ορος] same	(π̄λν ορος)
4:11	αρουσι] same	(αρουσιν)
4:32	εξουσια] same	(εξο[ ]σια)
4:33	και εν τη] same	([ ]αι εν τη)
4:35	εξηλθεν	(εξηλθ[ ])
4:36	πνευμασι] same (?)	(πνευμασιν)
Title preceding 5:17		
	ms.: nothing	( <u>ι</u> ῡ περι του παραλυτικου)
Title preceding 5:24		
	ms.: ιδ̄ περι Λευιν τον τελωνην	( <u>ι</u> δ̄ περι Λευει του τελωνην)
6:22	μισησωσιν] μισησουσιν	(μισησωσιν)
6:34	δανειζουσιν] δανιζουσιν	(δανειζουσιν)
6:42	καρφος] καρπος	(καρφος)
6:49	εστιν] εστιν	(εστιν)
7:1	τας ακοας] ακοας	(τας ακοας)
Title preceding 7:16		
	ms.: πε. των αποσταλεντων υπο Ιωαννου	(π. των αποσταλεντων παρα Ιωαννου)

7:21	εχαρισατο το βλεπειν] same	εχαρισατο βλεπειν
7:25	ημφιεσμενον] ημφιεσμενον (?)	(ημφιεσμενον)
7:31	ειπε δε ο κυριος] ουκετι εχεινοις διελεγετο αλλα τοις μαθηταις	ουκετι εκεινοις ελεγετο αλλα τοις μαθηταις
7:41	πεντηχοντα] πεντιχοντα	(πεντηχοντα)
8:28	υιε] υιε	υε
8:29	απο του ανθρωπου] απ αυτου	(απο του ανου)
8:43	και γυνη ουσα εν ρυσει αιματος] same	(omitted)
8:43	υπ ουδενος] same	(απ ουδενος)
8:45	αρνουμενων δε παντων] same, 48r.	(same twice, 47v., 48r.)
	συνεχουσι] συνεχουσιν	(συννεχουσιν)
9:3	εχειν] εχετε	(εχειν)
9:10	εις τοπον ερημον πολεως καλουμενης] εις πολιν καλουμενην – mg., εις ερημον τοπον πολεως καλουμενης	(text same, mg. reading omitted)
9:25	απολεσας η ζημ.] απολεσας ζημ.	(απολεσας η ζημ.)
9:26	γαρ αν] γαρ εαν	(γαρ αν)
	ο υιος του ανθρωπου] ο υιος του ανου	(ο υς του ανου)
9:29	και εγενετο εν τω προσευχεσθαι αυτον το ειδος του προσωπου αυτου ετερον] και εγενετο εν τω αυτον προσευχεσθαι το ειδος του προσωπου αυτου ετερον	(omitted)
9:32	ειδον] ειδαν	(ειδον)
9:58	εχουσι] same	εχουσιν
Title preceding 9:61		
	ms.: λδ περι των αναδειχθεντων ο >	(λδ των ανα δειχθεντων ο)
9:62	Ιησους] ις	(ιησους)
10:1	ετερους] ετερου	(ετερους)
10:21	εξομολ. σοι] εξομολ. σε	(εξομολ. σοι)
10:30	κατεβαινεν] κατεβαινον	(κατεβαινον)
10:33	Σαμαρειτης] Σαμαριτης	(Σαμαρειτης)
	κατ αυτον] καταν	(κατ αυτον)
10:34	ελαιον] same	(ελεον)
10:40	συναντιλαβηται] same	(συναντιλαβη)
11:27	επαρασα] επαρας	(επαρασα)

**Appendix II: List of Pages Missing from Codex Zacynthius**

Determined by missing portion of Luke (A), missing portion of a catena section (B), or wrong sequence of hair sides and flesh sides of vellum sheets (C).

Following	3(?)		B	
“	5	A		
“	6	A	B	
“	7	A		
“	8	A	B	C
“	14	A	B	
“	18	A	B	C
“	20	A	B(?)	C
“	22	A		
“	23	A	B	C
“	25	A		
“	26	A	B	
“	28	A		
“	30	A	B	C
“	34	A	B	C
“	43	A		C
“	46		B	
“	49	A	B(?)	C
“	50	A	B	C
“	54	A	B	C
“	56	A	B	
“	58	A		C
“	67	Top half of 68 and 68v. missing. Hence portions of Luke and of catena are missing between 67v. and 68r. and between 68r. and 68v.		
“	68	A	B	C
“	75(?)		B(?)	
“	78	A	B	C
“	82		B	C
“	85	A		C
“	86	A	B	
“	87	A	B(?)	C
“	88	Top half of 89 missing, including portions of Luke and catena on 89r. and 89v.		
“	89	No pages beyond 89.		

**Appendix III: List of printed texts cited in the transcription of the catena**

The following is a list of printed texts to which reference is made in the transcription on the catena of Cod. Zacynthius. Abbreviations preceding each title is the abbreviation by which each is identified in the transcription. References are ad. loc. unless otherwise indicated.

- (Cramer) J. A. Cramer, ed.: *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*. Oxford, University Press, 1844. Tomus I, Matthew and Mark. Tomus II, Luke and John.
- (Mai) Angelus Maius (curante): *Classicorum Auctorum e Vaticanis Codicibus Editorum*, Tomus X, *S. Cyrilli Alexandrini Commentarius in Lucae Evangelium. Item aliorum patrum fragmenta*. Tomus IX, *Scholiamina in evangelia Lucae et Iohannis*. Romae, typis Collegii Urbani, 1838.
- (Texte) Joseph Sickenberger, ed.: *Titus von Bostra, Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien*. Oscar von Gebhardt and Adolph Harnack, edd.: *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur*. Neue Folge, VI. Band (1901), Heft I.
- (Faulhaber) M. Faulhaber, ed.: *Die Propheten-Catenen nach Römischen Handschriften. Biblische Studien*, IV. Band, 3 Heft (1899). (Introduction to catena only.)
- (Migne) Jacques Paul Migne, ed.: *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*. Cyril, vol. 72. Chrysostom, vol. 57, Isidore, vol. 78. Eusebius, vol. 24. Basil, vol. 32.
- (GCS) *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Origenes: Werke*, IX. Band, Max Rauer, ed. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs (1930).
- (Ms.) Codex Gr. Suppl. 612 (Gregory Cod. 747), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Dated 1164 AD.



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