

A NEW ANALYSIS OF THE *SCHOLIA PHOTIANA*
IN
THE PSEUDO-OECUMENIAN CATENA TRADITION

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ABSTRACT

In 1933, the German scholar Karl Staab published an edition of the so-called catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius. In particular, Staab edited numerous scholia ascribed to the Patriarch Photius of Constantinople, identified in manuscripts of the so-called *Typus Vaticanus* and *Erweiterte Typus*, and formulated the hypothesis that those scholia could belong to a more extended commentary on Paul's writings which has since been lost. The present study is a new examination of the Photian scholia edited by Staab with particular attention to the style, in order to gain a new understanding of the exegetical methods and procedures the Patriarch adopted to articulate his own interpretation of the Pauline Epistles. It undertakes a comprehensive re-examination of the distribution of this material in the manuscript tradition, offering extensive corrections to Staab's treatment of GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 91 and GA 1907. In addition, it draws on three further manuscripts categorised as the *Erweiterte Typus* of the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius, GA 1915, GA 2183, GA 1916, which provide new material attributed to Photius. I also propose an *Editio princeps* of the twenty-five newly identified *Scholia Photiana* in Appendix 2. From an analysis of the style of the whole collection of *Scholia Photiana* I found that the interpretation of the Epistles is strictly literal and lacks relevant, extended reference to the Church Fathers, denoting the exegete's clear independence of thought. Additionally, the very few quotations from the *Amphilochia* suggest that the *Scholia Photiana* are generally independent from the

other works of Photius. These two factors support Hergenröther's hypothesis of the existence of another independent work that Photius produced as his own extended commentary on Paul's Epistles.

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¹ For the images in this thesis see <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace> and also <https://gallica.bnf.fr/> specifically for images of manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 219 (GA 91).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS:

- CPG: Geerard, M. (1984–1998) *Clavis patrum Graecorum: qua optima quaeque scriptorum patrum Graecorum recensione a primaevis saeculis usque ad octavum commode recluduntur*, (Corpus Christianorum Claves, 1–5), Turnhout: Brepols.²
- GA: Aland, K. (1994). *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (2., neubearb. und erg.). Berlin-New York: de Gruyter.
- NA28: Nestle, E. and Aland, K. (eds) (2012), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th edn, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- PG: Migne, J. P. (ed.) (1857–1866) *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* (Series Graeca, vols. 1–161). Paris: Migne.
- PL: Migne, J. P. (ed.) (1857–1866) *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*. (Series Latina, vols. 1–166). Paris: Migne.
- RP 2005: Robinson, M. A. and Pierpont, W. G. (2005), *The New Testament in the original Greek-Byzantine Textform*. Southborough (MA): Chilton Books.
- TLG: *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A Digital Library of Greek Literature*. University of California, Irvine: *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

² Also note the revised version of vol. IV: Geerard, M. and Noret, J. (2018), *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Concilia. Catenae*, (Corpus Christianorum Claves, 4), Turnhout: Brepols.

I Introduction

I.1 The reception of Paul's writings from the formation of the canon to the Middle Byzantine Period.

Traditionally, fourteen letters are attributed to Paul in the New Testament. However, this collection is not at all uniform from either a historical or a literary point of view.³ In particular, Romans, 1–2 Corinthians and Galatians are often defined as the 'canon within the canon' of the whole collection (Constas, 2016, p. 1), since they may have been collected by Paul, and included in an authorised recension (Trobisch, 1994, p. 55). The authenticity of other letters such as Ephesians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, 1–2 Timothy and Titus is still disputed and it had been suggested that they were written by followers of Paul after his death (Constas, 2016, p. 2, n. 5). Hebrews seems to have been added to a pre-existing canon of thirteen letters at a later stage (Trobisch, 1994, pp. 25–26): it was originally anonymous, but church tradition associated with the other epistles because of its clear Pauline echoes (Barbaglio, 1999, p. 7). Wrede describes the nature of the seven authentic letters (1 Thessalonians, 1–2 Corinthians, Philippians, Philemon, Galatians and Romans) as part of Paul's mission and apostleship (Wrede, 1969, p. 35); their purpose was to keep alive the dialogue between the Apostle and the first Asian churches he had founded, except for the Letter to the Romans, whose aim was to make a connection with a new church and announce Paul's

³ For a general introduction to Paul's Epistles see also Norris, 2004, pp. 11–20.

forthcoming visit (Barbaglio, 1999, p. 32). The authentic letters were probably written between 50 and 60 CE; the other six letters too difficult to date (Barbaglio, 1999, p. 31).

Nevertheless, the earliest stages of the reception of Paul's Epistles are not entirely clear; evidence that can be gathered from the internal references is limited and often inconclusive (Verheyden, 2013, p. 295). In the second century, Marcion defined an initial collection of Pauline letters, rejecting the Pastorals and Hebrews and attempting to arrange them in a chronological order (Gal, 1–2 Cor, Rom, 1–2 Thess, Eph, which Marcion called 'Laodiceans,' Col, Phil, Philm); a collection of at least ten letters also existed in Rome, although that probably did not originate with Marcion (Verheyden, 2013, p. 296). Evidence from the second century show that the Epistles were already regarded as authoritative and were received with ease in contrast with the writings of other Christian authors.⁴

A detailed record and analysis of the sources from the second century which testify to the authority of Paul's Epistles is provided by Marksches. These include: the epistle *1 Clement*, which connects the Epistles with the εὐαγγέλιον, the revelation of God in Jesus, even before the end of the first century (Marksches, 2007, p. 216); Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, identified as the first theologian who supposed a definitive collection

⁴ For instance, we know from Eusebius that only 1 Peter and 1 John among the seven Catholic Epistles were used in the early stages of the second century; it is Verheyden's hypothesis that the Catholic Epistles did not circulate as much as those of Paul, because they were so brief (2–3 John, Jude) or there was overlap between them (2 Peter 2:1–18 and Jude); other sources including Clement of Alexandria, the Muratorian Fragment – which puts major emphasis on the Acts – and Tertullian attest knowledge of some of the Catholic Epistles, but not always the same ones (Verheyden, 2013, pp. 396–397).

of Holy Scriptures, in contrast to Gnostic teachers and their Bible with open boundaries (Markschies, 2007, pp. 234–235); the *Pistis Sophia*, a Gnostic text presumably dating to the third century, but preserved only in manuscripts of the sixth-seventh century (Markschies, 2007, p. 252); the possibly Valentinian *Exegesis on the Soul*, mentioning Paul as the author of the Corinthians (Markschies, 2007, p. 258); the *Oxyrhynchus papyri* which preserve three fragments of Romans (Markschies, 2007, p. 281). Markschies lists those works among the sources which demonstrated how the process of canonisation of the holy texts, from the second century, developed from ‘canons,’ often different in contents and elaboration, which were rooted in multiple Christian theologies spread through free teachers, established schools, liturgy, synods and monarchic episcopacy (Markschies, 2007, pp. 298–299).

The most important source that highlights the role of the monarchic episcopacy in the definition of a more defined New Testament canon is the Thirty-ninth Festal Letter of Athanasius (367 CE), who explicitly describes Christ as a teacher to Paul (Markschies, 2007, p. 200). The letter has been the object of studies by Brakke, who highlights the social controversy that led to its production (Brakke, 1994, pp. 395–419). On the question of the canon, Brakke discusses the letter as the first extant Christian document that precisely lists the twenty-seven books of New Testament and applies the word ‘canonized’ (κανονιζόμενα) specifically to the books comprising both the Old and the New Testaments (Brakke, 1994, p. 395). With specific regard to the New Testament, Athanasius identified the canon in those writings produced among the Christian communities in apostolic times and therefore seen as θεόπνευστα (Brakke,

1994, p. 397). According to Brakke, the formation of a defined canon was an important step in the formation of a Christian Church in fourth-century Egypt, characterised by contrasting models of social identity and spiritual formation. The protagonists of this contrast were mainly charismatic leaders, who promoted an academic form of Christianity, Melitian communities centred around the veneration of the martyrs, and the emerging structure of the orthodoxy headed by Athanasius, who promoted an 'episcopal Christianity' built on the authority of the bishops (Brakke, 1994, pp. 396–399). Specifically, Athanasius' aim was to oppose the competitive teachers and their doctrinal speculations (Brakke, 1994, p. 398). Those teachers had inherited the academic model developed in Alexandria since 100 CE, whose schools usually competed with one another with harsh tones and whose students often regarded them as models for their ascetic lifestyle (Brakke, 1994, pp. 400–402). In that context, the exploitation of the exegesis of obscure passages from both the Septuagint and the New Testament created new opportunities for the teachers to increase their prestige and popularity; as a consequence of that exegesis, some authoritative works, such as Paul's Epistles, were elevated to the status of Scripture (Brakke, 1994, pp. 402–403).⁵

⁵ Marksches also recognises that the bishops had several purposes; apart from defining a closed canon of the scripture and contrasting with the teaching of the independent schools (e.g. Valentinus, Arius, Gnostics), Athanasius wanted also to solidify his authority as the sole bishop of the Christian community of Alexandria (Marksches, 2003, p. 192). However, it seems that the bishop reached his conclusion on what to include into his canon only after a comprehensive investigation; a sign that the definition of the closed canon required serious research among the numerous canons already circulating among the independent schools (Marksches, 2003, p 192).

Although Paul never presented himself as a teacher, he wrote his letters as a response to the first theological problems which arose among those churches and made the first effective and significant attempt to present the new Christian creed to the Hellenistic world. This made him the first person who taught the meaning of Christ's death and resurrection outside Palestine (Schoeps, 1959, p. 1).⁶

In recent years, the reception of Paul's writings among early Christian and Byzantine writers has been the object of new interest among scholars. In particular, the success of the use of Pauline letters with a particular focus on their fortune among early Christian writers of the first three centuries and how their interpretation of Paul contributed to an understanding of Christian formation has been re-explored by Strawbridge (2015, pp. 1–35). In her study, she highlights similarities and differences in the interpretation of a selection of Paul's quotations among authors of the first centuries, with a particular focus on the pre-Nicene theological debates led by Irenaeus, Origen, Clement, Tertullian as well as their doctrines developed in ante-Nicene Christian contexts.⁷ The use of Pauline quotations provides an insight in the understanding of the Christian formation, where Strawbridge defines 'formation' as a function of writing that was used both directly and indirectly as a mean for defending

⁶ According to Schoeps, Paul was not a teacher of theology, but he dealt with concrete problems affecting the churches, helping them answer the theological queries the new Christians asked him (also Barbaglio, 1999, pp. 41–44).

⁷ Strawbridge recalls Irenaeus' understanding of salvation and recapitulation, Origen's understanding of spiritual interpretation, Clement's understanding of teaching and Tertullian's understanding of the Resurrection (Strawbridge, 2015, p. 2).

the principles of the faith against opposition, in a variety of rhetorical genres, such as explanation (apologetic), teaching and paraenesis (didactic), and exhortation directed to new initiates (protreptic) (Strawbridge, 2015, pp. 2-3). With regard to the success of Paul's writing, Strawbridge is able to give a clear portrait of it by analysing references across a wide range of literary sources divided into categories (treatises, apologies, homilies, epistles, dialogues, martyrologies and commentaries), which proves the success of Pauline quotations in a wide range of early Christian texts, some which remain untranslated or in need of a detailed analysis (Strawbridge, 2015, p. 6). The survey considers only a selection of quotations from the letters, specifically: 1 Cor 2, 6–16; Col 1, 15–20; Eph 6, 10–17; 1 Cor 15, 50–58, discussed in descending order of frequency.⁸ It is evident from the data reported by Strawbridge that quotations of Paul in commentaries represent the larger part of the data collected (Strawbridge, 2015, p. 11).⁹

⁸ The reasons Strawbridge considers only a few specific passages of Paul's letters and decides to not expand her investigation to a wider range of New Testament books are fundamentally practical and related to the authoritative nurture of Paul. The analysis does not only consider the quotations when these are explicit, but also when they are adapted within the writing by each author (Strawbridge, 2015, p. 13).

⁹ In conducting her survey on the reception of Paul's quotations in early Christian authors, Strawbridge draws on the same method that scholars of ancient history apply to the study of the influence of Homer, Menander and Isocrates on Graeco-Roman pedagogy as established by Criboire and Morgan, who used quantitative and qualitative data (per distribution, content, context) of Homeric quotations in papyrological and literary texts (Strawbridge, 2015, pp. 7-8; nn. 27–28).

With regard to commentaries on Paul's writings, following the early Greek Fathers, later exegetes continued the well-established tradition of Pauline exegesis and produced commentaries on the *Corpus Paulinum* throughout the Middle Byzantine period to the later centuries. The New Testament in Byzantine Christianity was recently the object of a discussion at Dumbarton Oaks.¹⁰ Among scholars who took part at the Symposium, Maximos Constas gives a brief but complete portrait of the history of Byzantine exegesis and commentaries from the early reception of Paul up to the Late Byzantine Period (Constas, 2016, pp. 1–18). In his dossier, Constas reminds us that the history of the exegesis of the Pauline Letters begins with Origen of Alexandria (ca. 185–254 CE), whose commentaries on the letters 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Thessalonians, Titus, Philemon and Hebrews survive only in the form of scholia in catenae (CPG 1458–1467) and the commentary on Romans only in a fifth-century Latin translation by Rufinus and in a number of Greek scholia. More than a century after Origen, other commentaries were written by Antiochene writers such as John Chrysostom, Theodoret of Cyr and Theodore of Mopsuestia. As Constas reminds us, those Antiochene authors were hostile to Origen's allegorical interpretation of Scripture and narrowed their interpretation to a literal and reductive explanation of the Bible; among them, Chrysostom became the authority in terms of

¹⁰For all the contributions, see Nelson, R. and Krueger, D. (eds) (2016), *The New Testament in Byzantium, 2013 Byzantine Studies Symposium*, Dumbarton Oaks: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

biblical exegesis and the 'archetype' of the Pauline commentaries writers that influenced the later Byzantine generation of exegetes (Constas, 2016, p. 7).

As an expert rhetor himself, Chrysostom appreciated particularly Paul's rhetorical skills, which also offer to Chrysostom occasions for moral exhortation and ethical application to his congregation; being 'intensively familiar with Paul and deeply conversant with his writings, Chrysostom's first task as an exegete was to provide his audience with a genuine exposition of Paul's argument, to establish the literal meaning of the text, typically by working through it verse by verse, chapter by chapter, employing all the contemporary tools of textual analysis (Constas, 2016, p. 7). Chrysostom's homilies continued to be copied and studied by Byzantine exegetes and provided abundant material for various anthologies and *florilegia*. Among the early Christian authors who provided a significant contribution to the study of Paul's writings, Dionysius the Areopagite is also recognised by Constas for his contribution to the reception of Paul in Byzantine exegesis. According to Constas, an examination of the *corpus Dionysiacum* with a focus on Pauline quotations makes the exegetical aim of the corpus clearer. In fact, Constas concludes the paragraph by stating that without Dionysius the reception of Paul in Byzantium could not be properly understood: most of the passages that caught the attention of later exegetes were the same ones which Dionysius had highlighted (Constas, 2016, pp. 8–11). The last early Byzantine exegete of Paul included in the dossier is Maximos the Confessor (580–662), who quoted Paul largely in both exegetical and non-strictly exegetical texts and was decisive in the later

reception of Dionysius and the recognition of the achievements of Alexandrian allegorical exegesis (Constas, 2016, p. 12).

Among the exegesis of the Middle Byzantine Period, Constas mentions Theophylact of Ochrid (ca 1050–after 1126), a leading scholar, bishop and biblical exegete whose work partially replaced that of Chrysostom and other patristic exegetes because his commentaries were shorter and easily accessible and for the capacity he had to collect sources and citations in a single voice; his commentaries are also remembered for their translation into Slavonic and Latin and the merit they had to carry Greek exegesis into the West, reaching personalities such as Thomas Aquinas and Erasmus (Constas, 2016, p. 13).

The last Byzantine scholar who wrote commentaries on the book of the Bible, including Gospels and letters of Paul was Euthymios Zigabenos (ca 1100), who interpreted the text focusing on short phrases and words, enriching his commentaries with information on the historical context of the letters and their addressees; in the twelfth century, Zigabenos still made use of the exegesis of the early Christian fathers such as Chrysostom but combined it with more recent themes following a moralising orientation (Constas, 2016, p. 15).¹¹

¹¹ Constas continues his survey of the reception of Paul in Byzantium with some observations on the Late Byzantine Period (Constas, 2016, p. 18 ff.) According to the scholar, little more emerged from the scholarship on Paul about this period; it also seems that despite the growing interest for Gregory of Palamas (Hesychast), his use of the Pauline text in the Triads still needs to be investigated in detail. For detailed observation on the Triads, see Constas, 2016, p. 20 ff.

However, the catalogue of commentaries on Paul's writings of Early and Middle Byzantine period is not to be circumscribed only as the works of specific authors as in Constan's dossier; the interest in the Epistles was deep especially among those Byzantine exegetes, whose lost works survive only in the form of catenae.

I.2 Studies of New Testament catenae and the work of Staab.

The Latin word *catena*, 'chain,' describes a collection of exegetical scholia usually assembled from multiple sources.¹² The Byzantine catenae, defined as 'the fundamental building blocks of medieval Greek exegesis' (Kolbaba, 2012, p. 487), have the merit of preserving the Greek exegetical material produced after the sixth century. It was at the beginning of the sixth century that Procopius of Gaza (c. 460–c. 530) produced the first commentary on the Octateuch (PG 82) by assembling extracts (ἐρρανισάμενοι) from works and commentaries (ἐξ ὑπομνημάτων) of the Fathers. From the combination of that chosen material (ἐκλογαί) the Eclogae of Procopius had the merit of preserving numerous parts of the lost original works (Devreesse, 1928, col. 1087). The same Photius dedicates cod. 206 of his *Bibliotheca* to the exegetical works of Procopius and declares he read the commentaries on the Octateuch, Kings and Chronicles. The most distinctive traits that Photius reports of Procopius' exegesis are

¹² In the Greek manuscripts the catenae are described with the word ἐκλογαί, 'extract,' or συναγωγή 'collection;' in Byzantine times the word σείρα, 'string' is also found (Houghton and Parker, 2016, p. 2).

the different opinions on the same questions and the perfect, composite style (ed. Henry, Bekker p. 164b, l. 27 ff).

The dating of Procopius' commentary on the Octateuch is still considered to be the *terminus a quo* for the production of catenae on the Sacred Scriptures, but at that time, exegetical activity among Eastern Mediterranean scholars was already growing prolifically due to the vivid debate around numerous conflicts and controversies, ending with the Three-chapters Controversy (553 CE) (Kolbaba, 2012, p. 487). As a response to that crisis, many scholars emphasised the orthodoxy expressed in creeds and the condemnation of those who were not in line with it; they also appealed to the Scriptures in their attempt to explicate their own doctrine. Theologians therefore started to base their interpretation of the doctrine on collections of *excerpta* from selected fathers and the *florilegia* of others (Cameron, 1992, p. 254); in this way, the exegesis of Scripture was gradually replaced by the study of exegetes, such as John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil of Caesarea, Theodoret of Cyrus and many others (Kolbaba, 2012, p. 488).

Indeed, commentaries by John Chrysostom (PG 56–63) and Theodoret of Cyrus (PG 80–84) have been handed down in their entirety from the fifth century; in those cases, the catenae are to be considered as a secondary tradition of their texts. However, the catenae also have the merit of preserving numerous scholia by Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Isidore of Pelusium and Maximus Confessor. Among all the catenae, we owe to the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena the transmission of the exegetical

work on Paul's writings by Photius the Great, Patriarch of Constantinople between 858–867 and 877–886, which is the object of this thesis.

The importance of the Greek catenae on the Bible, whose numerous manuscripts are still in many European and Eastern libraries, is due to their role of being the only tradition of half of all the remaining writings of the Greek Fathers (Hardy Ropes, 1926, p. 383).

The catenae need to be located in the scholastic environment, where they became fundamental in the development of the Byzantine scholastic tradition (Lamb, 2012, p. 21).¹³ The production of commentaries and catenae was also crucial in the construction of a *canon* in the educational syllabus (Lamb, 2012, p. 76). It is still debated whether this new exegetical method should be considered an improvement or a decline of the church exegetical tradition. Some scholars saw the rise of the catenae as a symptom of sterility in the exegetical literature of the late fifth and sixth century (Simonetti, 1994, p. 76) Most specifically, Moreschini and Norelli formulated the hypothesis that after the blossoming of the Antiochene School and the commentaries of Cyril, from Theodoret on Christian exegesis became exhausted and the exegetes started to look back to previous authors and repeat them without innovations and new ideas (Moreschini and Norelli, 1999, p. 567). However, they agreed that because of the huge

¹³ Lamb also points out that the catenae 'were compiled from a variety of different sources and so they provide not only some insight into the commentaries that were *written* in late antiquity but, more significantly, an indication of the commentaries which were actually *read*' (Lamb, 2012, p. 21).

loss of materials, we still have not enough information about authors and works of the early centuries. It was in the compilation of commentaries on pagan works that Christian writers found the basis for their biblical exegesis of the Byzantine period, when teaching and learning involved exegetical practices based on the reading of earlier Christian commentaries (Hadot, 2002, p. 148). In this light, the *catenae* would have appeared as a new literary genre to help as much as possible the students dealing with the Scripture. In particular, the origin of the *catenae* would be found in the use of *scholia marginalia* in the Hellenistic schools (Lamb, 2012, p. 91) or in the continuous commentaries with quotation of the texts of Homer and Aristotle that were widespread from the first century CE (Devreesse, 1928, col. 1085). According to other speculations, the origin of the *catenae* could lie in the law schools of Beirut, where the *Scholia Sinaitica* developed as a chain of excerpts from two separate commentaries on Ulpian's *Libri ad Sabinum* (McNamee, 1998, p. 274). In fact, the *Scholia Sinaitica* are characterised by a pedagogic immediacy that solidly supports their educational purpose. The same immediacy is mainly due to the peculiar oral component that also distinguishes the exegetical material produced in the Neoplatonic scholastic environment, where oral material was usually put into writing and reorganised with the aim of publication on the initiative of the teacher or the students, as documented by Marinus, the biographer of Proclus (Pepe, 2018, pp. 99–100).

Indeed, the oral tone and pedagogical immediacy are also a strong characteristic of the *Scholia Photiana* as I will show in the following chapters on this thesis, for which I am inclined to locate the development of those *scholia* in the scholastic environment.

Modern scholars developed an interest on the catenae in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Between 1838–1844, J. A. Cramer ¹⁴ published what remains one of the best-known editions of catenae on the New Testament. The edition of Cramer, in eight volumes, was based mostly on manuscripts from Oxford and Paris which brought some limitations to the edition itself, although it still remains a remarkable work of its kind. A list of the volumes and their contents follows below:

I: Matthew and Mark, 1840.

II: Luke and John, 1841.

III: The Acts of the Apostles, 1838.

IV: Romans, 1844.

V: 1–2 Corinthians, 1844.

VI: Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, 1–2 Thessalonians and Ephesians, 1842.

VII: 1–2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, 1843.

VIII: Catholic Epistles, 1840.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century in their studies on the catenae, G. Karo and J. Lietzmann catalogued fifty manuscripts with catenae, arranged by book of the Bible and divided into nine classes or types. The catalogue contained indications of manuscripts of both Old and New Testament and the beginning and the end of the

¹⁴ Cramer, J. A. (1838–1844) (ed.), *Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vols. 1–8, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

scholia were identified together with the name of the author where possible. However, the catalogue has given rise to contrasting opinions, dividing scholars between those who have considered the catalogue as an indispensable contribution in the field of the catenae (Kannengiesser, 2006, p. 979) and others who have recognised the limitations of it (Dorival, 1986, p. 3). Only a few years later, in 1905, the catalogue was updated by C. H. Turner.¹⁵ Although in 1909, Lietzmann proposed a more detailed study of each manuscript with a new project for the publication of those manuscripts,¹⁶ he failed to satisfy the expectations of the scholars by not providing a complete analysis of each manuscript (Mühlenberg, 1989, p. 17).

However, it was in the same years that Karo and Lietzmann produced their catalogue that the studies on the catena started to be very prolific. For instance, in 1898 G. Mercati started to work on the catenae on Psalms and dedicated numerous publications to the topic until he died in 1957.¹⁷ In 1899 M. von Faulhaber published

¹⁵ Turner, C. H. (1905), 'Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles,' in J. Hastings (ed) *Dictionary of the Bible*, New York: Charles Scribner, pp. 484–531.

¹⁶ The series Lietzmann inaugurated as *Catenstudien* counted only two published volumes: Lang, O. (1909), *Die Catene des Vaticanus gr. 762 zum ersten Korintherbrief analysiert* (Catenenstudien 1); Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Hoppmann, O. (1912), *Die Catena des Vaticanus gr. 1802 zu den Proverbien* (Catenenstudien, 2). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

¹⁷ See for example: Mercati, G. (1898), 'L' ultima parte perduta del commentario d' Eusebio ai Salmi,' in *Rendiconti del Real Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere (serie 2)*, vol. 31, pp. 1036–1045. Repr. in *Studi e Testi*, 77 (1938), pp. 58–66; Mercati, G. (1944), 'Sull' autore del 'De titulis Psalmorum' stampato fra le opera di S. Atanasio', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 10, pp. 7–22. Reprint in *Studi e Testi* 296 (1984) pp. 133–147; Mercati, G. (1945), 'A quale tempo risale 'Il Siro' dei commentatori greci della Bibbia?', *Biblica* 26, pp. 1–11. Repr. in *Studi e Testi* 296 (1984), pp. 148–157.

volumes consisting of a full edition of the Old Testament catenae and enriching the edition with later contributions of other scholars. In the same years, J. Sickenberger led an investigation of the two catenae on Luke ascribed to Nicetas and Titus of Bostra¹⁸ and proposed further substantial observations on catenae to the other Gospels (Sickenberg, 1903, pp. 182–193) .

In 1908, G. Heinrici¹⁹ edited a catena on Matthew and between 1911 and 1913, H. F. von Soden gave an overview of the catena manuscripts belonging to numerous libraries in his studies on the manuscripts of the New Testament; he also tried to identify and analyse the different type of catenae (von Soden, 1911, pp. 249–289). In 1924, the German scholar K. Staab²⁰ started his research on the catenae on the Catholic

¹⁸Sickenberger, J. (1898), 'Aus römischen Handschriften über die Lukas Katene des Niketas,' in *Röm. Quartalschrift für christl. Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, 12, pp. 55–84; Sickenberger, J. (1901), Titus v. Bostra. Studien sur dessen Lukashomilien, (Texte und Untersuchungen, 21.1). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Sickenberger, J. (1902), Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia untersucht (Texte und Untersuchungen 22. 4). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Sickenberger, J. (1909), Fragmente der Homilien des Cyrill von Alexandrien zum Lukas Evangelium (Texte und Untersuchungen 34.1). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

¹⁹ The edition was then superseded by Rauer, M. (1920) *Der dem Petrus von Laodicea zugeschriebene Lukascommentar* (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, 8) Münster.

²⁰ Karl Staab was ordained a priest on August 7, 1914. He received his doctorate in Theology in Rome in 1922. In 1925 he became lecturer of New Testament exegesis at the Ludwig Maximilians University in Munich and a few years later, he became professor at the Julius Maximilians University of Würzburg. He retired in 1957. In 1964 he was appointed as a papal prelate and awarded an honorary doctorate (Dr. iur. H. C.). Staab published numerous works including the Regensburg New Testament and the Real Bible; together with Franz-Adam Göpfert, he also edited a three-volume work on moral theology; he died in Würzburg in 1974 (Vegetahn, 2014).

Epistles;²¹ by 1926, he was able to investigate 110 codices of the Pauline catenae and divide them following simple and clear criteria, which he then described in a monograph.²² Staab identified six types of catenae and named the first three from the manuscripts he thought were the main representative of each series and the other three from the name of the author.

With regard to the first group, this is the *Typus Vaticanus*, a catena on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians, whose main representative are Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 762 (tenth-century), known as GA 1915 in the Gregory-Aland²³ numbering system (Aland, 1994, p. 156) and Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 692 (eleventh-century), known as GA 1993 (Aland, 1994, p. 160), was, according to Staab, the source of all the other Pauline catenae (Staab, 1926, p. 169); because of that he based his edition of most of the *Scholia Photina*, which are the object of this thesis, on GA 1915. The second one is the *Typus Monacensis*, a catena on Romans, based mainly on München, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Monac. gr. 412 (twelfth-century), known as GA 1909 (Aland, 1994, p. 155); the third one is *Typus Parisinus*, a catena on the group of letters Galatians–Hebrews,

²¹ Staab, K. (1924), 'Die griechischen Katenenkommentare zur den katholischen Briefe,' *Biblica*, 5, pp. 296–353.

²² Staab, K. (1926), *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Rome: Società Editrice Poligrafica Italiana.

²³ Aland, K. (1994), *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Zweite neubearbeitete and ergänzte Auflage. ANTF 1). Berlin-New York: de Gruyter. The manuscripts analysed in this thesis are available in the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room (NTVMR) hosted at University of Münster at <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace>.

based on Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coisl. gr. 204 (eleventh–twelfth-century), known as GA 1910 (Aland, 1994, p. 155).

With regard to the other three types of catenae named by author, the first one is Nicetas, a commentary on Hebrews, based on only one complete manuscript, Milano, Bibl. Ambros., E 2 inf. (thirteenth-century), known as GA 1983 (Aland, 1994, p. 160), plus other two incomplete manuscripts, Milano, Bibl. Ambros., A 241 inf. (fifteenth-century), known as GA 2890 (= 1983abs) (Aland, 1994, p. 160), and Paris., Bibl. Nat., gr. 238 (thirteenth-century), known as GA 1938 (Aland, 1994, p. 157). Staab identified Nicetas with a relative of the bishop of Serrae, who became deacon and didaskalos of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in 1080, then Metropolitan of Heraclea in Trachis (Krumbacher, 1981, p. 137, p. 211) and whose name is also related to a great number of biblical commentaries, such as a catena on Matthew, John, Luke, Psalms and Prophets (Staab, 1926, p. 71). Sickenberger (1902, pp. 25–27) was the first to propose the idea that Nicetas was the nephew of the homonymous bishop of Serrae based on a note transmitted in the codex Athens 1379, but this identification was countered by Chrestou (1957, pp. 56–57), who argued that Nicetas of Serrae should be identified with Nicetas *syncellus* and *chartofylax*, who became metropolitan of Heraclea.²⁴

²⁴ According to Sickenberger (1902, pp. 25–27), the expression (ὁ) τοῦ Σεργῶν in the manuscript should imply ἀνεψιός instead of the more traditional υἱός, hence the assumption that Nicetas was the nephew of the bishop of Serrae. Chrestou proposed his theory about the identification of Nicetas in his edition of the writings of Nicetas Stethatos (the Studite also known as the author of the *Life of Simeon*) including letters addressed to Stethatos by Nicetas *diacon* and *didaskalos* of the Great Church (Heraclea) and Nicetas τοῦ Σεργῶν but it is Chrestou's opinion that the two are the same person. The hypothesis that

The second catena is a commentary ascribed to Theophylact, who was deacon of Hagia Sophia, when he was appointed as teacher for his son by Emperor Michael Doukas (1071–1078); then, he became Archbishop of Ochrid in Bulgaria (ca. 1078). This catena shows some similarities with the third catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius (Staab, 1926, p. 213), although it is mainly based on scholia of Chrysostom (Parker, 2008, p. 268). It is relevant to highlight that Theophylact assumed teaching roles in his career and this may further stress the possible pedagogical aims of his exegetical putput.

The Pseudo-Oecumenian catena is considered to be the richest type of catena on the Pauline Epistles as well as the oldest (Houghton and Parker, 2016, p. 19); being significantly different from the meagre comments of Nicetas, it counts about 80 manuscripts, of which 53 codices were analysed by Staab in his 1926 study and divided into five types, as discussed in the next section.

I.3 Discussions of the authorship of the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius and the five types.

A few years later, in 1933, Staab published his own edition, defined as ‘the first fruit of an extensive exploration’ (Hardy Ropes, 1926, p. 383), of the so-called catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius. In particular, Staab edited numerous scholia from exegetes of the Antiochene School, such as Didymus of Alexandria, Eusebius of Emesa, Acacius of Caesarea, Apollinaris of Laodicea, Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia,

the name of Nicetas’ uncle, a bishop of Serrae, was Stephanos was advanced by Darrouzès (1960, p. 182) on the basis of a *theotokion* ascribed to Nicetas.

Severian of Gabala, Gennadius of Constantinople, Oecumenius of Triikka, Photius of Constantinople and Arethas of Caesarea.

Although the Messina, Bibl. Region. Univ. S. Salvatore 99 (thirteenth-century), known as GA 2053, preserves a commentary on the Apocalypse of John, authentically ascribed to Oecumenius,²⁵ the Monophysite sixth-century bishop of Triikka, whose views were close to Origen's, none of the manuscripts of the catena mentions him in the title (Staab, 1933, p. XXXVII). In some *argumenta* to some of the manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenius, including a few of those also analysed in this thesis (GA 1982, GA 1916 and GA 2183), it is possible to read the name of Theodoret. However, in recent years, A. Lorrain demonstrated that the *argumenta* ascribed to Theodoret were summaries of Chrysostom's *argumenta* to the Pauline Epistles (Lorrain, 2015, p. 491).

The first modern scholar to ascribe the catena to Oecumenius of Triikka was Bernardinus Donatus, known as Donatus Veronensis, in 1532. Donatus based his idea of the authorship of the catena on a scholium on Colossians reporting the name of Oecumenius (PG 119, col. 56). Since that discovery, the name of Oecumenius was used to identify the whole compilation of scholia. However, Staab proposed some objections to that theory following the observation already made in 1905 by O. Bardenhewer, who had pointed out that Donatus' reference should have been considered as a mere quotation, probably from Oecumenius' commentary on the

²⁵ A modern translation of Oecumenius' commentary on the Apocalypse was recently published: Suggit, J. (2006), *Oecumenius, Commentary on the Apocalypse.*, Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2006.

Apocalypse, and not as a statement of the authorship of the catena on the Epistles (Staab, 1926, p. 95). However, Staab found other factors putting in discussion Oecumenius' authorship of the catena. Firstly, in the manuscripts some scholia appeared to be outside the numerical sequence, as a later supplement to a pre-existing commentary; secondly, Oecumenius' activity should have been dated at least four centuries later, as he himself was in the number of the authors in the catena, which included authors of the ninth century; finally, there are no other cases in the history of the catenae of compilers adding their own scholia (Staab, 1926, pp. 94–96).²⁶ For all those reasons, Staab identified the compiler of the catena as Pseudo-Oecumenius. It is in Staab's opinion that the compiler selected the best materials from the *Vaticanus* catena, mainly from GA 1915, which contained exegetical texts on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians only, and added further scholia to the other letters especially from authors such as Theodore of Mopsuestia, Oecumenius of Trikka and Photius the Great. Those further additions were classified by Staab as the *Corpus Extravagantium* and the *Scholia Photiana* (Staab, 1926, pp. 10–11). Staab used the name *Corpus Extravagantium* from Canon Law to indicate those unnumbered scholia which appear together with other numbered comments in the Pseudo-Oecumenian tradition, and which can be found with or without signs and ligatures before them. The *Scholia Photiana* are scholia ascribed to Patriarch Photius of Constantinople (858–867; 877–886) generally through

²⁶ Staab also mentions that the Oecumenian *Catena* was dated to the ninth–tenth century because of 'a wrong interpretation of some codes.' However, he does not give any more details about that.

the ligature $\varphi\tau/\varphi\omega\tau$ written in the margin. By combining the catena of the *Typus Vaticanus* with the ‘Extravagantes’ or *Corpus Extravagantium* (1926, p. 165), the Pseudo-Oecumenius created an extended and almost complete commentary of the Pauline Epistles that became very popular among Byzantine scholars.

Staab categorised the Pseudo-Oecumenian manuscripts by dividing them into five groups: The *Normal Typus*, the *Specialtypus*, the *Erweiterte Typus*, the *Secundärer Erweiterterungs Typus* and a restricted group of other manuscripts.

In the *Normal Typus* most of the scholia are numbered, with the exception of those belonging to the *Corpus Extravagantium*; Staab considered those scholia as additional to a pre-existing catena with numbered scholia, which he defined as *Urtypus* (Staab, 1926, p. 101). The *Normal Typus* was also divided into four subgroups according to features such as structure, text layout and *incipit* plus further divisions according to the presence or not of the *Corpus Extravagantium*. In recent years, the possible relationship between the manuscripts of this type have been object of investigation by Th. Panella in her doctoral thesis, where she provided the description of four subgroups of *Normal Typus* manuscripts (Panella, 2017, pp. 57–72).

The second group identified by Staab is the *Specialtypus*, comprising only Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 1430 (eleventh-century), known as GA 622 (Aland, 1994, p. 83), which combines several types altogether: the *Normal*, the *Erweiterte* and the *Secundärer*. Because of the constant use of GA 622 in time, Staab conjectures that the different types were used to replace losses and damages which affected the manuscript for over four centuries (Staab, 1926, p. 126).

The third group, *Erweiterte Typus* ('expanded type'), consists of an expansion of the *Normal Typus* with the addition of several scholia from other authors, most importantly the *Scholia Photiana*, which are the object of the investigation in this thesis and for which I provide further details in the next section (chap. I. 4i, I. 4ii).

According to Staab, as for the *Erweiterte Typus*, the *Sekundärer Erweiterungs Typus* ('secondary extended type') was another extension of the *Normal Typus* and included manuscripts that did not fit with the other categories (Staab, 1926, p. 160). However, recently this type of catena has been the object of new examination by Panella in her doctoral thesis; Panella highlights its link to the *Erweiterte Typus*, although the only three manuscripts of this type did not play an active role in the evolution of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena (Panella, 2017, p. 85; pp. 159 ff.). She also examines the three witnesses of the *Sekundärer Erweiterungs Typus*: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Coisl. gr. 26 (tenth-century), known as GA 056 (Aland, 1994, p. 24); München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monac. 375 (tenth-century), known as GA 0142 (Aland, 1994, p. 32); Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 35 (343) (eleventh-century), known as GA 1925 (Aland, 1994, p. 156). Panella concludes that those manuscripts are related as exemplar and copies (GA 056 as the earliest and GA 1925 as the latest) on the basis of internal and external features of the catena and the New Testament text (Panella, 2017, p. 176). Unlike Staab, who simply defines the *Sekundärer Erweiterungs Typus* as an expansion of the *Normal Typus* (Staab 1926, p. 160), Panella more precisely describes the three manuscripts as the product of three different sources: a stage of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena when the *Corpus Extravagantium* was already included in

the *Erweiterte Typus* but not yet the entire collection of *Scholia Photiana* - she called this stage the Fourth Group (Panella, 2017, p. 159, p. 85); scholia ascribed to Chrysostom preserved in the *Typus Parisinus* and scholia from Theodore's *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles*. In combining the material from those three sources, the compiler occasionally paraphrased the texts and connected them with linking words to create a well-balanced collection (Panella, 2017, pp. 198-199).

The last group consists of manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena that do not fit with any of the other categories; they have only a few scholia and are to be considered the result of the specific interest of their compilers.

Panella, who also rediscusses the classification of the five types, confirms that the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius was the oldest among the first three types Staab identifies. He proposed the mid eighth century as the *terminus post quem* for its first appearance in Byzantium, probably under the influence of what Panella described as the 'encyclopedism movement' that became more and more productive in the ninth century (Panella, 2017, p. 201).²⁷ However, it should be clarified that the definition of

²⁷ The proposal of dating the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius to the mid eighth century is due to the presence of some scholia of John of Damascus, who compiled a commentary on the Pauline Epistles in the seventh-century by combining scholia of Chrysostom with his own comments; additionally the Codex Zacynthius, preserving the earliest catena on Luke was also dated back to the seventh century as a further proof that the production of catenae proliferated from that moment driven by the encyclopedism (Panella, 2017, p. 202). There is not yet a total agreement on dating the Codex Zacynthius (Ξ) to the seventh century like Parker and Birdsall proposed (Parker and Birdsall, 2004, p. 121), but

‘encyclopaedism’ in the Byzantine context, as the production of literary works based on series of *excerpta* from different ancient authors, was revisited by P. Odorico who replaced it with the so-called ‘culture of the συλλογή’ (Odorico, 1990, p. 12). In his article, Odorico began with a definition of ‘encyclopaedism’ in the Byzantine world adopted as an extension of ‘encyclopaedia,’ as applied to a wide literary medieval production, which was also the object of reflection by P. Lemerle (Odorico, 1990, p. 4).²⁸ Starting from the definition of συλλογιζόμενος, alluding to the philosophical process of the ‘deduction,’ Michael Psellus saw a philosophical and rhetorical connotation in the activity of the compiler; hence the value of the συλλογή, ‘collection,’ as the result of a philosophical process, in which pre-existing data are collected in a certain methodical way (Odorico, 1999, p. 9).

I.4 The edition of the *Scholia Photiana* on the Pauline Epistles.

I. 4.i Observations on the manuscripts GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 91, GA 1907 and GA 2183.

In his edition of 1933, Staab published the collection of *Scholia Photiana* on Paul’s Epistles preserved in the manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenius *Erweiterte Typus*.

there is also the hypothesis to date it to the seventh/eighth-century (Metzger, 1992, p. 27) or even to the sixth century (Kannengiesser, 2006, p. 979).

²⁸ Even though Lemerle admitted that an interest in encyclopedism existed already in the ninth century, he sees its main period as the literary production which flourished under Constantine VII in the tenth century; Odorico’s objection to Lemerle is the lack of coherence in the identification of the works categorised as ‘encyclopaedia,’ which would exclude other works which were not under the patronage of Constantine VII (Odorico, 1990, p. 4).

Additionally, Staab used the *Typus Vaticanus*, Vat. gr. 762, known as GA 1915 (Aland, 1994, p. 156) that he identified as the most representative codex of that type, which also preserved a large number of *Scholia Photiana* (related to Romans and 1–2 Corinthians). Indeed, before the work of Staab, an edition of some *Scholia Photiana* in the catena of *Typus Vaticanus* had been produced by Cramer in the volumes of *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum* (vols. IV–V, 1844). However, in Staab’s opinion, the work of Cramer was not enough to support the hypothesis of the existence of Photius’ own commentary on Paul’s Epistles and offer a complete investigation of the case (Staab, 1933, p. XL). As a matter of fact, Cramer’s edition of the *Scholia Photiana* have some limits. For example, he based his edition of the catena on Romans (vol. IV, 1844) mostly on the late *Typus Vaticanus* Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E. 2. 20 (Misc. 48), a late paper manuscript of the sixteenth century that might have belonged to Constantine Lascaris or his family; he also used the *Typus Monacensis* GA 1909 as a *supplementum* to complete his edition (Cramer, 1844, vol. IV, pp. III–IV). The table below shows a list of the Photian scholia on Romans edited by Cramer compared to those in the edition of Staab.

	ed. Cramer, 1844 , v. IV (Auc. E. 2.20)	ed. Staab, 1933
Rm 5, 15	p. 47, ll. 5–10	p. 497, l. 35–38; p. 498, ll. 1–11.
Rm 5, 20	p. 55, ll. 15–33; p. 56, ll. 1–9.	pp. 498, l. 12–39; p. 499, ll. 1–13.
Rm 7, 8–11	p. 95, ll. 28–34; p. 96, l. 1–28	p. 594, ll. 1–34
Rm 8, 28	p. 148, ll. 19–20	p. 512, ll. 1–2.
	(GA 1909 supplementum)	
Rm 7, 12	p. 166, ll. 1–6.	

Rm 7, 12	p. 178, ll. 7–11	
Rm 7, 12	pp. 179, ll. 24–34; p. 180, ll. 1–14.	p. 504, ll. 35–37; p. 505, ll. 1–11.
Rm 7, 13	p. 181, ll. 25–33; p. 182, ll. 1–15.	p. 505, ll. 1–34.
Rm 7, 16	p. 192, ll. 24–34; p. 198, ll. 1–16.	p. 506, ll. 8–35; p. 507, ll. 1–6.
Rm 7, 21	p. 199, ll. 26–33.	
	p. 200, ll. 1–16.	p. 507, ll. 20–35; p. 508, ll. 1–18.
Rm 8, 4	p. 218, ll. 20–29.	
Rm 8, 7	p. 223, ll. 28–33; p. 224, ll. 1–3.	p. 509, ll. 19–27.
Rm 8, 25	p. 256, ll. 22–34; p. 257, ll. 1–10.	p. 510, ll. 25–34; p. 511, ll. 1–15.
Rm 8, 32	p. 279, ll. 9–15.	p. 512, ll. 3–9.
Rm 8, 32	p. 280, ll. 3–12.	
Rm 8, 34	p. 283, ll. 16–23.	
Rm 9, 5	p. 310, ll. 5–23.	
Rm 9, 13	p. 329, ll. 8–18.	p. 516, ll. 15–24
Rm 11, 11	p. 402, ll. 3–20.	p. 524, ll. 30–34; p. 525, ll. 1–13.
Rm 11, 15	p. 407, ll. 32–35; p. 408, ll. 1–22.	
Rm 11, 29	p. 421, ll. 11–35; p. 422, ll. 1–29.	
Rm 12, 3	p. 486, ll. 9–23.	
Rm 12, 3	p. 438, ll. 1–17.	
Rm 13, 11	p. 466, ll. 20–28	p. 535, ll. 1–10.
Rm 14, 6	p. 474, ll. 23–30.	
Rm 14, 6	p. 474, ll. 22–34; p. 476, ll. 1–17	

(Table 1. *Scholia on Romans* edited by Cramer and Staab)

Cramer published only very few scholia, even though he had combined manuscripts from two different types. In this light, the work of Staab becomes the very first great attempt to provide as complete as possible an edition of the catena, although, as I show in the next chapters, not all the material in the same manuscript Staab analysed was always edited.

Then, Staab added to the material in GA 1915, the *Scholia Photiana* in the Pseudo-Oecumenius, *Erweiterte Typus*. Overall, the manuscripts Staab included in his edition of the *Scholia Photiana* are:

- *Typus Vaticanus*: Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 762 (tenth-century), siglum V (Staab, 1933, p. XLVIII), known as GA 1915.
- *Pseudo-Oecumenius, Erweiterte Typus*: Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z 33 (eleventh-century) siglum G (Staab, 1933, p. XLVIII); GA 1923 (Aland, 1994, p. 156).
- *Pseudo-Oecumenius, Erweiterte Typus*: Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 541 inf. (eleventh-century), siglum K (Staab, 1933, p. XLVIII); GA 1982 (Aland, 1994, p. 60).
- *Pseudo-Oecumenius, Erweiterte Typus*: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 219 (eleventh-century) siglum O (Staab, 1933, p. XLVIII); GA 91 (Aland, 1994, p. 482).
- *Pseudo-Oecumenius, Normal + Erweiterte Typus*: Oxford, Magdalen College 7 (Rm-2 Cor 1, 12) and Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I 30 (2 Cor 1, 13-Heb) (eleventh-century), siglum Q (Staab, 1933, p. XLVIII); GA 1907 (Aland, 1994, p. 155).

The Vatican manuscript GA 1915 is a tenth-century codex in minuscule script, where biblical words in the scholia are in capitals; there are no ornaments and the scholia are generally identified by either a ligature in the margin or the genitive of the name of the author in the text, before the scholia. More specifically, this manuscript preserves an 'alternating catena' but has also the advantage of a 'frame catena.' In a 'frame catena' a large portion of biblical text is written in the centre of the page and

surrounded by the commentary composed by a group of scholia;²⁹ while in an ‘alternating catena’ the biblical text is generally separated by the sections of the commentary; furthermore, the abbreviated quotations introducing the commentary work in order to call to mind the verses to which the comments relate, whereas in ‘frame catenae,’ the biblical text accompanies the commentary continuously from one page to the next (Houghton and Parker, 2016, pp. 25–26). In this perspective, GA 1915 could be seen as a sort of hybrid catena. Together with the scholia ascribed to Photius there are also scholia from John Chrysostom and Origen and Gregory of Nazianzus, whose ligature looks very similar to that for Photius, in the form of an ‘alternating catena’ where the comments follow the biblical lemmata. From an examination of the work of Staab, it seems clear that the German scholar used GA 1915 as the basic text for the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians. The handwriting I observed is clear and tidy, with initials in ekthesis which make the organisation of the exegetical material clear and easy to navigate, although ff. 113r–119r, preserving part of the commentary on Rm 8 seems to be written by a later hand.

The *Pseudo-Oecumenius* (*Erweiterte Typus*) GA 1923 preserves the best and clearest handwriting of the *Scholia Photiana*; the scholia are written in the form of a ‘frame-catenae’ with an additional Pauline quotation (*lemma*) introducing the corresponding explanation in a clear ink, whilst other darker colour additions are in the edges.

²⁹ This would be the typical appearance of the catenae; alternatively, the commentaries may follow the text in a separate column (Sloane, 1967, p. 146).

According to Staab, after the compilation of the text, through the collation with another manuscript of the same Pseudo-Oecumenian family, the compiler must have corrected the text, filled some gaps and made the style more accessible to the reader; he also restored classical forms, replacing $\check{\alpha}v$ + indicative with the subjunctive and correcting cases of iotacism (Staab, 1933, p. XLII). This is also the manuscript Staab used as the basic text of the Photian scholia not preserved in GA 1915, including the groups commenting on the letters Galatians–Hebrews (corresponding to the scholia from Sch. Ph. 387 to Sch. Ph. 562 in my classification).

The manuscript GA 1982 seems to be closely related to GA 1923; they probably both belong to the same model now lost, so that Staab referred to them as sisters, ‘Schwestern’ (Staab 1933, p. XLII). However, Staab underlines how the quality of some variations between the two manuscripts could be controversial and show a clear preference for GA 1923. Additionally, the general condition of the manuscript is not good as a few pages in GA 1982 have been completely or partially lost, such as ff. 22r–25v relating to the catena on Rm 9–11 (Sch. Ph. 123–Sch. Ph. 148), which led to some mistakes I observed in the indications provided by Staab in the editions of those scholia on Romans and the following groups, for which I had to provide correct numbers of folia in the tables in Appendix 1. Moreover, in the eleventh century, this manuscript was also reworked, and a few anomalies were amended (Staab, 1933, p. XLII). Another manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 223, GA 1933 (Aland, 1994, p. 157), shares several common mistakes with GA 1923 and GA 1982; even if Staab does not find it relevant enough to be considered in his edition since it

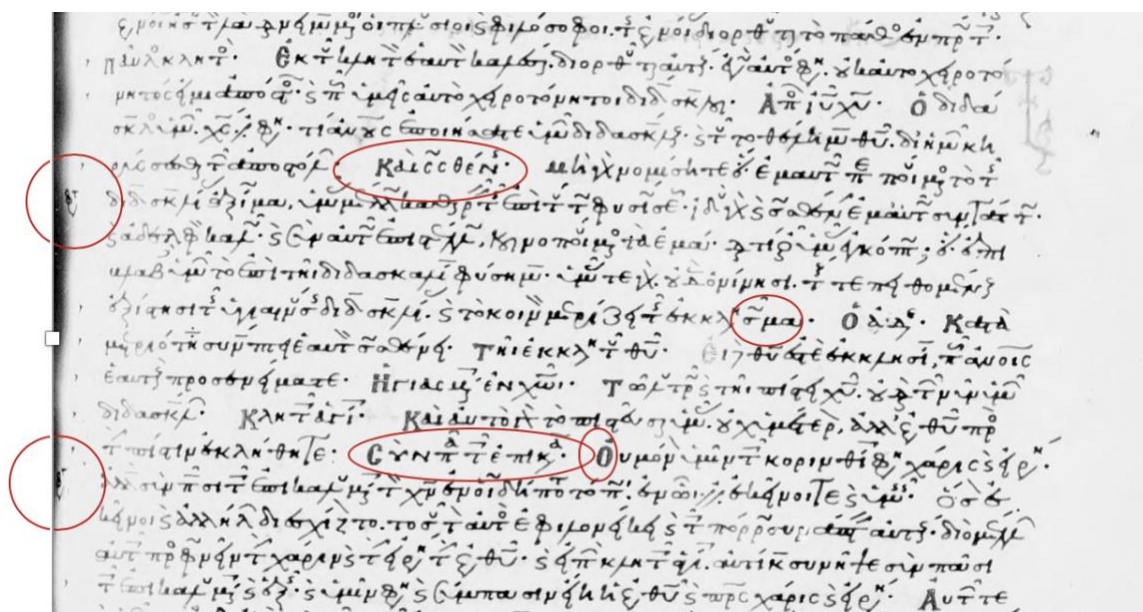
preserves very few scholia, he considers GA 1933 and GA 1923 closely related (Staab, 1933, p. XLII). Furthermore, Staab does not pay much attention to Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat. gr. 204 (GA 1998) either. This manuscript, with the siglum P in the 1933 edition (Staab, 1933, p. XLVIII), which can be dated to the twelfth century, is also related to GA 1923 (Staab, 1933, p. XLII), but it is too late to add any additional value to the edition of the *Scholia Photiana*.

With regard to GA 91, this is the manuscript on which Donatus Veronensis based his edition of the catena in 1532; that edition was reworked and translated into Latin by Morellus in 1631³⁰ and reproduced by Migne in PG 118–119. According to Staab, GA 91 might have not been a reliable source for the *Scholia Photiana*, because there was no perfect correspondence between the beginning of the scholia, marked by a capital letter and a lemma, and the beginning of the *Scholia Photiana* as he knew them from the other manuscripts (Staab, 1933, p. XLIII). The difficulties Staab encountered in examining this manuscript are indeed challenging. Having investigated the manuscripts myself, I realised that this ‘alternating-catena’ was composed by adding together scholia of different authors³¹ under the same lemmata (sometimes a single word, sometimes a phrase) without any clear definition of the beginning of the single

³⁰ Morellus, F. (ed), Hentenius, I (transl.) (1631) *Oecumenius commentaria in hosce Novi testament tractatus: In Acta Apostolorum. In omnes Pauli Epistolas Catholicas omnes. accesserunt Arethae Caesareae Cappadociae episcopi Explanationes in Apocalypsis: Opus nunc primum Graece et Latinae editum, interprete Ioann. Hentenio, emendatore et praelectore huius sitionis Fed. Morello, Lutetiae Parisorum: Sumptibus Claudii Sonnii.*

³¹ This is confirmed though my analysis of the *Scholia Photiana*, especially Sch. Ph. 320 (pp. 171–172).

comments or the endings. Additionally, ligatures are rare and not always useful in terms of identification of the specific text they relate to. The following example illustrates the difficulties involved in the analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* in this manuscript:



(Image 1: [GA 91, f. 110r](#))

Image 1 shows the two scholia I have classified in this thesis as Sch. Ph. 185 and Sch. Ph. 186 (as I shall explain in chap. I.6), preserving an exegesis of 1 Cor 1–2. The first one, Sch. Ph. 185, is introduced by the lemma Καί Σωσθένης, begins with Μὴ γὰρ (Image 1, l. 5 = GA 91, f. 110r, l. 11) and ends in σῶμα (Image 1, l. 9 = GA 91, l. 15). In this case, the scholium is easily defined by the capital letter and a full stop followed by the white space (Image 1, l. 9 = GA 91, l. 15). Although the ligature, φτ, identifying the author of the scholium is not exactly located next to the line where the scholium begins, the comparison with all the other manuscripts preserving this text - including

GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 1907, GA 2183, GA 1905 and GA 1916 - confirms that the text between ll. 5–9 in Image 1 is a complete Photian scholium. However, this is not what happens with the following Sch. Ph. 186: in this case, the text starts with οὐ μόνον (Image 1, l. 13 = GA 91, l. 19) and that is clear by the presence of the lemma Σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις and the capital letter.³² A comparison with all the other manuscripts confirms that the actual Photian text starts one line below with ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι (Image 1, ll. 14–15 = GA 91, ll. 20–21).

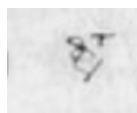
There is also the doubt that the *Scholia Photiana* may include some other phrases or lines before their supposed beginning. The situation seems better for the end of the *Scholia Photiana*, which generally correspond to a pause or the beginning of another section of text, generally defined by a capital letter. Furthermore, many *Scholia Photiana* are preserved as anonymous, which makes them difficult to detect, and there are only a few instances of ligatures which allow a precise identification.

The two English ‘alternating-catenae’ manuscripts which make up GA 1907, Mag. Coll. 7 and Ff. I 30, are what Staab defined a ‘happy supplement’ to GA 91, although they may occasionally show the same problem about the location of the ligatures (Staab, 1933, p. XIII). The two parchment manuscripts, dating back to the eleventh century, preserve two parts of the same text; therefore, they must be considered as a

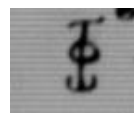
³² Transcription: [GA 91, f. 110r, l. 19–20] Σὺν πᾶ(σι) τ(οῖς) ἐπικα(λουμένοις). Οὐ μόν(ον) ὑμῖν τ(οῖς) κορινθί(οις) φη(σί) χάρις καὶ εἰρή(νη). ἀλλ(ὰ) σὺν π(ᾶσι) τ(οῖς) ἐπικαλ[ο]υμέ(νοις) τ(ὸν) (Χριστόν) ἐν οἷ δή ποτ(ε) τόπ(ο)ν. ἐν ᾧ (εἰσι) ἐκεῖνοι τε καὶ ὑμεῖς· ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι [...] from now as in Staab 1933, p. 544, l. 14 ff.

single manuscript (Staab, 1933, p. XIII). The first part, Magd. Coll. 7, includes a commentary from Rm to 2 Cor, 1–12, while the second one, Ff. I 30, preserves scholia from 2 Cor 1, 13 to Heb 12, 19; the end is lost. In addition, a mixture of the two categories, *Normal Typus* and *Erweiterte Typus*, characterizes ff. 3–171. The *Normal Typus* combines a basic text of the tenth century with parts of a commentary by John Chrysostom (ff. 114–119). The later *Erweiterte Typus*, twelfth-century, is written in three different scripts and ends every letter with τὰ λείποντα. Comparing these two parts of GA 1907 to GA 91, Staab concluded that these manuscripts were closely related with some exceptions among the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans (Staab, 1933, p. XLII). Unlike GA 91, in GA 1907 the scholia are not always introduced by a lemma, but the capital letters make the start and end of every scholium clear enough to allow a precise identification.

Despite the issues encountered in GA 91, all the manuscripts above preserve scholia which are clearly ascribed to Photius through a ligature used as a symbol for the name of the Patriarch. The ligatures are rather standardized among all the manuscripts as φωτ or φτ, as the two images below show:



(Image 2: Example of Photian ligature in GA 91, f. 127r)



(Image 3: Example of Photian ligature GA 1982, f. 12r)

The ligature defines the authorship of the scholia more easily and this is probably the reason Staab decides to use these codices for his edition.

However, there is another manuscript of the Pseudo Oecumenian catena, which also shows clear Photian ligatures identifying scholia all through the catena, from the Epistle to the Romans to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which Staab does not mention either in his 1933 edition or in the 1926 monograph: Hagion Oros, Monastery Vatopedi 239 (eleventh-century, 1045), known as GA 2183 (Aland, 1994, p. 172). This manuscript preserves the commentary in the form of a 'frame-catena.' The *Scholia Photiana* in GA 2183 are often preserved in a different redaction, being sometimes more extended than that in the other manuscripts in Staab's edition. Compared with those manuscripts, it seems to combine different scholia in a single text and *vice versa*. For example, in GA 2183, the first scholium edited by Staab on Rm 1, 1 (Staab, 1933, p. 470) is preserved in a more extended version than in the other manuscripts, so that in my classification I indicate the extra lines in GA 2183 as Sch. Ph. 1a and the rest of the text as Sch. Ph. 1bc.³³ Conversely, in the case of the scholium I classified as Sch. Ph. 286, corresponding to the first paragraph of 1 Cor 14, 12–18 (Staab, 1933, pp. 576–577), the version in GA 2183 is briefer than the one preserved in the manuscripts used by Staab in the 1933 edition. Additionally, there have been a number of cases in which a scholium in GA 2183 was also in GA 91 (e.g. Sch. Ph. 1a; Sch. Ph. 2; Sch. Ph. 43) and that helped to define better the extension of the text that could have been considered part of the scholium of Photius in that problematic manuscript. Overall, the analysis of this codex

³³ I provide an exhaustive portrait of the situation of Sch. Ph. 1a, Sch. Ph. b and also Sch. Ph. 1c in the manuscripts in the corresponding sections in chapter II on the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans (pp. 41–45).

led to the detection of several new scholia ascribed to the Patriarch, which I have reported in the following chapters and provided with a translation and some observations.

I. 4.ii Observations on the manuscripts GA 1905 and GA 1916.

The list of the manuscripts preserving *Scholia Photiana* on all the Pauline letters includes also the following:

- *Pseudo-Oecumenius, Normal + Erweiterte Typus*: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (BNF), Coislin. gr. 27 (tenth-century, with additions of eleventh-century); GA 1905 (Aland, 1994, p. 155).

- *Pseudo-Oecumenius, Erweiterte Typus*: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 765 (eleventh-century); GA 1916 (Aland, 1994, p. 156).

The difference with the other manuscripts listed above (*supra*, p. 28) is related to the absence of the ligature enabling the scholar to identify the *Scholia Photiana* as such. In fact, in both GA 1905 and GA 1916, the *Scholia Photiana* are generally indicated with signs of multiple shapes before them. More specifically, in GA 1905, the *Scholia Photiana* are later additions in the margins of a pre-existing 'frame catena.' The second hand who added the scholia, probably in the eleventh century (Staab, 1933, p. XLIII) is distinctive and recognisable and does not seem to follow any specific standard writing. Although it is possible to read the names of Anastasius of Sinai and

Athanasius on two occasions,³⁴ most of the material seems to coincide with the *Scholia Photiana* in GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 91 GA 1907 and GA 2183. Staab highlighted especially the similarities with GA 1923 and believed the additional scholia in GA 1905 belonged to GA 1923, putting the two manuscript in strict relationship (Staab, 1933, p. XLIII); however, my recent analysis put in discussion this hypothesis and provides evidence in support of a relationship between GA 1905 with GA 91 (Sch. Ph. 398; Sch. Ph. 407). Because the majority of the additions is of Photian material, it is reasonable to think that the second compiler knew he was transcribing *Scholia Photiana* and did not find it necessary to write the name of the author.

In GA 1916, the handwriting is also clearly legible and the beginning of the scholia are often indicated with capital letters in *ekthesis*. However, these can be only distinguished through some signs, often similar to a cross, before them. Although it is not always possible to distinguish all the *Scholia Photiana* from other texts which are also indicated by signs, I have provided an indication of the locations of each scholium I was able to recognise as a *Scholium Photianum* in the Appendices.

I also made a few attempts to examine London, British Library, Add. 22734 (eleventh-century), known as GA 641, which also seemed to preserve some *Scholia Photiana*. Although the number of them is very small and the manuscript is not always

³⁴ Staab stated clearly that it was possible to read the name Ἀναστασίου twice in the manuscript, but after an analysis of the secondary additions throughout the manuscript, I have found the name Ἀναστασίου τοῦ Σινᾶ ὄρουσ mentioned only once (GA 1905, f. 191v). For the text of the scholium ascribed to Anastasios see c. VI. 4, p. 224.

clearly legible, I was able to identify ten *Scholia Photiana* in Rm, Col, Gal, 1–2 Thess and I provide an indication of their location in Appendix 1.

I. 4.iii A discussion of the use of biblical lemmata.

In my analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* and the manuscripts preserving them, I found relevant the use of the biblical quotations introducing the single scholium or, as in the case of the ‘alternating catena’ in GA 91 entire sections of scholia. In recent years it was argued that the scholia ascribed to Photius in GA 1923 are characterised by a repetition of the lemma text preceding the comment (Panella, 2017, p. 124 – see also chap. V.2). However, in my analysis of the manuscripts I found this is a feature not only ascribed to the *Scholia Photiana* but also not always documented for all of them. It seems that the manuscripts deal with this use of additional lemmata introducing the exegetical texts differently. To provide a clear portrait of the nature of the lemmata in the manuscripts I report a few examples in Table 2, as follows:

	Biblical verse	GA 1915	GA 1923 (GA 1982)	GA 91	GA 1907
Sch. Ph. 13	(Rm 1, 16) Ἰουδαίῳ δὲ πρῶτον.	Ἰουδαίῳ δὲ πρῶτον.	Ἰουδαίῳ δὲ πρῶτον.	NA	NA
Sch. Ph. 17	(Rm 1, 18) Τῶν τὴν ἀληθειαν ἐν ἀδικία κατεχόντων [...]	Τῶν τὴν ἀληθειαν ἐν ἀδικία κατεχόντων	Τῶν τὴν ἀληθειαν ἐν ἀδικία.	NA	NA
Sch. Ph. 34	(Rm 2, 27) Καὶ κρινεῖ ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία.	Καὶ κρινεῖ ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία	Οὐχὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία αὐτ(ή) εἰς περιτομῆς λ(...) καὶ κρινεῖ.	NA	NA
Sch. Ph. 201	(1 Cor 2, 14) ψυχικός δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ.	ὁ ψυχικός	ὁ ψυχικός δὲ ἄνθρωπος	ὁ ψυχικός	NA
Sch. Ph. 232	(1 Cor 7, 26) [...] διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην [...].	Διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην.	Νομίζω οὖν τοῦτο καλὸν		Εἰς τὸν διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην.
Sch. Ph. 239	(1 Cor 9, 6) Ἦ μόνος ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρνάβας οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι.	Ἦ μόνος ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρνάβας οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι.	Ἦ μόνος ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρνάβας.	Ἦ μόνος ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρνάβας	οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι.
Sch. Ph. 327	(2 Cor 1, 24) Οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως [...].	Οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως	Οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν	Οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως	Οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως
Sch. Ph 370	(2 Cor 12, 1) Καυχᾶσθαι δὴ συμφέρει μοι [...].	Καυχᾶσθαι δὴ συμφέρει μοι	Καυχᾶσθαι δὴ		Καυχᾶσθαι δὴ συμφέρει μοι

(Table 2. Examples of additional lemmata to the Scholia Photiana in the manuscript tradition)

The first column in Table 5 reports the number of the Photian scholium following my classification, while the second column has the biblical quotation that is the origin of the lemma introducing the scholium following both the editions of NA 28 and RP 2005. The other columns show the lemma as it appears in the main manuscripts of the *Scholia Photiana*. The biblical quotation works as an introduction to each scholium; its use is understandable, considering that the *Scholia Photiana* are not numbered scholia in the catena. Copyists might have felt the need to introduce them in order to ‘navigate’ the commentary more easily, especially considering that in ‘alternating catenae’ there is no biblical lemma in the centre of the page to refer to.

In GA 1915, the additional lemmata introducing the Photiana are treated as part of the scholium and often not clearly distinguishable by the exegetical text. There are cases in which the quotation is part of the comment and often introduced by the article τὸ (e.g. Sch. Ph. 10; Sch. Ph. 12; Sch. Ph. 121; Sch. Ph. 151 etc). Whereas, in GA 1923 and GA 1982, although the catena is written around the main biblical lemmata, there is a tendency to re-write the lemma in a briefer version to introduce the *Scholia Photiana*. The fact that the *Scholia Photiana* are written in minuscule, as is the rest of the catena, while the additional lemmata are in majuscule allows one to distinguish them very clearly. In GA 2183, which is also a frame catena, the additional lemmata are completely absent. In GA 1905, where the *Scholia Photiana* are secondary additions in the margins, the additional lemmata are absent as well. However, it is also true that GA 1923 (and GA 1982) is a ‘frame catena,’ with no need to have further biblical quotation to introduce the exegesis. Hence the hypothesis that such additions could

have been introduced for the first time in an ‘alternating catena.’ In the ‘alternating-catenae’ of GA 91 and GA 1907 the lemmata are clearly distinguished from the exegetical text as they are written in majuscule. In GA 91, the lemmata introduce the whole exegetical sections, but not always the *Scholia Photiana* directly. In GA 1907 they do not recur systematically. Overall, there is no agreement between the manuscripts on the redaction of the additional lemmata introducing the *Scholia Photiana*, which confirm that they were not part of the *Scholia Photiana*.

I.5 Hypotheses on the genesis of the *Scholia Photiana*.

The first theory of the provenance of the *Scholia Photiana* was put forward by the German cardinal J. Hergenröther, who examined the scholia ascribed to Photius in the catena of *Pseudo-Oecumenius* and the *Typus Vaticanus* and those edited by Cramer (*supra*, p. 14; pp. 26–28). In particular, in the third volume of his extensive work dedicated to the Patriarch of Constantinople (Hergenröther, 1869, pp. 78 ff.), with the scholia on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians in Cramer’s edition, Hergenröther considered the exegetical material in the 1631 edition of Morellus, *Oecumenius commentaria*, where he also found scholia commenting on the whole letter to Romans and 1-2 Corinthians.³⁵ He then compared that material to one of the most famous works ascribed to Photius, the *Amphilochiae Quaestiones* or *Amphilochia* (PG 101). In his

³⁵ In his work, Hergenröther identifies the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius simply as ‘Oecumenius.’ The issue of the identity of Oecumenius is also discussed above (pp. 19–21).

analysis, he observed that, in a few cases, the catena offered a similar explanation to the *Amphilochia*; for instance, both the *Amphilochia* and the catena provided explanations of the the name Paul and his description as *doulos* in Rm 1, 1 (Hergenröther, 1869, p. 79). However, Hergenröther also realised that in the vast majority of the cases, the *Amphilochia* and the explanations in the catena on the same Pauline passages were different. Hence his hypothesis that the scholia ascribed to Photius in the catena belonged to a work other than the *Amphilochia*, in which Photius would have reported a more detailed analysis of the whole collection of Pauline Epistles (Hergenröther, 1869, pp. 85–86). Hergenröther also advanced the hypothesis that Photius had collected those explanations in a manuscript that was then used as the main source for the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius (Hergenröther, 1869, p. 95). In his 1933 edition of the material from the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, Staab supported the same conclusions (Staab, 1933, p. XL).

Indeed, the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius is not the only one containing scholia ascribed to Photius. The first collection of scholia ascribed to Photius was found in a *Catena in Lucam*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1933, known as GA 868 (Aland, 1994, p. 98), whose first series was published by Mai in 1825; a second series of the same catena was also published and discussed in 1837 by Migne, who highlighted some limitations of Mai's work (PG 101, coll. 1212–1230). In 1896, A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus published a version of the same scholia from Hagion Oros, Monastery Iviron, 371 (Lambros 4491), known as GA 1061 (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 1896, pp. 50–54). In 1892, Papadopoulos-Kerameus had also already published a large

number of what he believed to be *Scholia Photiana* on Matthew, preserved in Jerusalem, Monastery St. Saba 232. However, he made some mistakes in considering as Photian some scholia preserved in manuscripts where the division between the materials of different authors, sometimes even anonymous, was not clearly defined (Reuss, 1952, p. 133). It is also commonly accepted that the catena is ascribed to Peter of Laodicea and that the *Scholia Photiana* were only secondary additions (Devreesse, 1928, col. 1166; Reuss, 1966, p. 94; Mango, 1958, p. 7). In 1952, in his own studies of Photian scholia on the Gospel of Matthew, J. Reuss identified one hundred and twenty Photian scholia and two different transcriptions of the text: the *Normale Form* and the *Gekürzte Form*, 'shortened form' (Reuss, 1952, p. 134). In the unique manuscript of the *Gekürzte Form*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 194 (twelfth-century), known as GA 304, there were almost sixty scholia related to the Gospel and a few of them appeared to be scholia from Photius' *Homiliae* (PG 102). Therefore, Reuss concluded that from the homilies the compiler extrapolated the exegetical material, including historical and grammatical explanations, but without any rhetorical adornment. Following his research, Reuss supported the hypothesis that the Photian scholia in the catena on Matthew might have belonged to an original Photian work; in this he seems to reach similar conclusions to Hergenröther and Staab. It was also Reuss' opinion (1952, p. 134) that Photius' exegetical activity should have been considered as an innovation among contemporary exegetes, since he built and supported his own independent interpretation in a time when the general tendency was to produce mere compilations from the Fathers: indeed, Photius knew the

interpretation of the ancient Fathers, like Chrysostom, and showed a deep interest in the Antiochene School (Reuss, 1952, p. 134); most of all, Photius was able to analyse critically the old exegesis and moralisation adding his own thoughts.

The Pseudo-Oecumenian catena has not only preserved scholia ascribed to Photius, but also texts from several other authors, including Arethas of Caesarea (860–940), who is also the latest author in the collection published by Staab (1933, p. 653 ff.). Under the name of Arethas there is a commentary on the Book of Revelation, which is not to be considered as an original work, but as a revision of Andrew of Caesarea (sixth–seventh-century), who wrote a *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (PG 106) in twenty-four essays (Staab, 1933, p. XLVII).³⁶ The scholia ascribed to Arethas in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena are few, mostly preserved in Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z 546 (786) (eleventh-century), known as GA 617 (Aland, 1994, p. 83). Some internal references suggest that Arethas wrote his scholia following the

³⁶ Andrew lived at Jerusalem, when the city was still under the reign of the Byzantines, therefore before the Arab conquest of 637; each one of the twenty-four essays of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* is divided into three chapters, having a symbolic value: twenty-four are the Four and Twenty Elders worshipping the throne of God (Rev 4, 4), while the three chapters correspond to the three parts (soul, body and spirit) of every one of them (Moreschini and Norelli, 1999, p. 574). Following this division, Andrew supports the Origenist existence of three levels of writing: the body of the scripture, which has a literal meaning; the spiritual level, which has a tropological meaning and the psychic level, which has an anagogical meaning related to the future things to come (Moreschini and Norelli, 1999, p. 574). Even though Origen's exegesis had its roots in the application of the allegorical method to Homeric texts by the ancient Greek philosophers, he was the first one to systematically apply and develop it into three levels: literal, moral and spiritual, which replaced the anthropological body, soul and spirit (Moreschini and Norelli, 1999, p. 132).

reading of other commentaries and explicitly mentioned the interpretations of early exegetes, such as Eusebius of Emesa and John Chrysostom (1 Cor 4, 19) (Staab, 1933, p. XLVII).³⁷

In the light of the study on Arethas, it is Staab's opinion that, in the ninth century, when the catenae were already circulating in the Byzantine environment, a few authors, like Arethas, might have started to produce their own scholia as *glossae* to enrich pre-existing collections, basing them on previous commentaries (Staab, 1933, p. XLVII). The hypothesis that Arethas' scholia were produced as additions in the form of *glossae* opens the question as to whether the *Scholia Photiana* in the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius should be considered as additions in form of *glossae* as well. This hypothesis would oppose that of Hergenröther, Staab and Reuss on the origin of the scholia as extracts from a more extended work by Photius.

In addition, another point of reflection in this thesis is the extent to which the writings of the Church Fathers might have influenced Photius' exegesis. One starting point is the reading of the Greek scholar T. Antonopoulou, who drew attention to a significant case that gave rise to the question of whether Photius' source for his own

³⁷ Staab also published the scholium ascribed to Arethas in manuscript GA 617 (siglum F) mentioning the name of Eusebius and Chrysostom: <Καὶ γινώσκειν οὐ τὸν λόγον τὸν πεφωτισμένον ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν.> ἐντεῦθεν τινες βούλονται δεικνύναι τὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ πεπορευκότα τὴν μητρίαν ὡς τῶν διδασκόντων ἦν καὶ βαπτιζόντων, οἷς καὶ ὁ Ἐμεσηνὸς συνηγορεῖ Εὐσέβιος. Ἰωάννης γε μὴν ὁ ἀοίδιμος καὶ τὸ στόμα χρυσοῦς ἐν τισιν αὐτοῦ λόγοις καὶ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦτον περιτίθησιν ἀξιώματι (Staab, 1933, p. 659, ll. 19–24).

exegesis could have been other extracts from the Fathers also available in catenae (Antonopoulou, 2006, pp. 5546–550). In her study on the Nicene father Eustathius of Antioch (†337), she examined a scholium ascribed to Photius in the manuscripts of the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius (*Erweiterte Typus*) also published by Staab as a comment on Heb 7, 3 (ed. Staab, 1933, p. 646).³⁸ The scholium comments on the genealogy of Melchizedek, an emblematic and mysterious king and high priest of Salem/Jerusalem mentioned in both the Old Testament (Gen 14, 18–20) and the New Testament (Heb 7, 3). Antonopoulou compared that scholium edited by Staab to another scholium ascribed to Eustathius of Alexandria, which is preserved in the *Catena in Genesim*³⁹ and published in *Eustathii Opera Omnia* (ed. Declerk, 2002, pp. 174–175). Because of the evident similarities between the text of Eustathius and Photius (*infra*, pp. 272–273), Antonopoulou at first even questioned the authorship of the scholium in Staab 1933 and checked the manuscript tradition (Antonopoulou, 2006, p.

³⁸ In this thesis, the corresponding scholium on Heb 7, 3 edited by Staab is numbered as Sch. Ph. 540 and discussed in chap. VII.1, pp. 271–274, where I also report the two Greek texts of Eustathius and Photius.

³⁹ A description and an edition of the 2270 scholia in the *Catena in Genesim* is available in Petit, 1991–1996 (vol. 1–4). The catena counts several authors, including Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasius of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Didymus of Alexandria, Epiphanius of Salamis, John Chrysostom, and Cyril of Alexandria (Petit, 1993, p. XVI). This catena is considered the result of the combination between a primitive catena of the fifth century with another exegetical compilation, the *Collectio Coisliniana in Genesim*; the result of this combination was translated into Latin by Lippomanus (Paris, 1546) and the Greek text was later edited in 1772 by Nikephoros Theotokos, who based his edition on ms. *Athen., Bibl. Nat.*, 43 (eleventh-century); with the further addition of Procopius of Gaza, *Epitome*, the work was known as either *Nikephori Catena*, from the name of its editor, or *Lipsiensis Catena*, from the name of the place of its publication (Declerk, 2002, pp. 277–278).

547); then, she pointed out that in other contexts, the Patriarch's quotations of Eustathius were just second-hand, mostly to be found in the *Bibliotheca*; additionally she highlighted how George the Monk, a contemporary of Photius, incorporated a paraphrase of the same scholium of Eustathius in his *Chronicle* using a catena as source, probably very similar to the *Catena in Genesim*, as it would have been common for authors at that time (Antonopoulou, 2006, p. 549). It is her opinion that it could have been possible that Photius accessed a catena as a primary source for his own exegesis of Heb 7, 3. Could this conclusion be also valid for the other *Scholia Photiana* in the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius? To what extent would Photius' exegesis reflect the ancient Fathers' works?

In conclusion, this thesis attempts to clarify the extent to which the *Scholia Photiana* could be considered as parts of another work from Photius, maybe a sort of more extended commentary on Paul's writing, as Hergenröther thought in the first instance, or whether the *Scholia Photiana* could be considered more as additional *glossae*, as Staab thought for the scholia of Arethas. Additionally, I shall reflect on the extent to which the *Scholia Photiana* are influenced by the writings of other Fathers, paying attention to possible reminiscences of the Fathers and considering how they fit within the context of the *Scholia Photiana*.

I.6 Education in Byzantium and the role of Photius against the Iconoclasm.

The environment in which the *Scholia Photiana* might have been circulating must also be considered. Indeed they might have worked well in the scholastic context as a teaching tool for Byzantine students, allowing them to approach Paul's text more easily. However, it should be clarified what a 'school' in Byzantium was. According to Dvornik, the institution of the University of Constantinople had its roots in the Hellenistic scholastic tradition beginning under Ptolemy Soter (323-285 BCE), inspired by the Athenian philosopher Demetrius of Phalerum, who gathered in the *Mouseion* of Alexandria a number of writers and philosophers; then, with the expansion of the Roman Empire, the emperors followed the model of Ptolemy and promoted the liberal arts in the main cities of the Empire (Dvornik, 1951, p. 108 ff.). When Constantinople ascended as the new capital, it followed the other cities with the institution of a university in 360 CE, which was then reorganised by Theodosius II in 425 (Dvornik, 1948, p. 13; 1951, p. 109). However, the definition of a 'university' at Constantinople, may be misleading, because its main purpose was educating high level administrators and politicians, who played an active role in the Church and at the imperial, rather than educating people for the sake of learning (Harris, 2017, p. 27 ff.; Dvornik 1948, p. 13, n. 4). Additionally, the intellectual debate and the transmission of knowledge at Constantinople usually took place in more than one place, such as the Great Palace and the Palace of Blachernai; some of those scholars were not only administrators but also philosophers and historians and that dual role was the main feature of the Byzantine higher education (Harris, 2017, p. 28). Nevertheless, the imperial court was

not the only one to manage the education and the transmission of knowledge and learning. In fact, not all those who were educated moved to administrative roles, but some entered the clergy as well, for whom the Church provided an alternative to the University in the Patriarchal School (Harris, 2017, p. 31; Browning, 1962, p. 167).

The foundation of the first theological schools is also to be found in the ancient tradition established in Alexandria, where in the early centuries education was addressed to new clergy and catechumens who were still influenced by the pagan culture (Dvornik, 1951, p. 109). Together with Alexandria, cities like Antioch, Nisibis and Edessa also became important centres of theological studies, able to compete with the Western Rome. The first head of the School of Alexandria, Clemens, combined Greek philosophy with Christian theology, establishing a tradition that was adopted by the other centres of theology, where a great part of the didactical activity was dedicated to the teaching of oriental theology, Greek philosophy, grammar and rhetoric (Simonetti, 1994, pp. 110–111).

Nevertheless, Constantinople could not compete with centres like Alexandria and Antioch at the beginning. Dvornik highlights how there was no mention of the Patriarchal School in Constantinople in Cassiodorus (sixth-century), who complained of the lack of a theological school in Rome and would have probably referred to Constantinople if he knew about the school; there is also no reference to that in Justinian's legislation, who showed a deep interest in the University; Dvornik concludes that the education of the clergy was probably under the management of the bishops and that legally the emperors had no involvement in it at all (Dvornik, 1951,

p. 110). The Patriarchal School is firstly attested under the Patriarchate of Sergius I (610–638) but neither Dvornik nor Browning excludes that it may have existed since at least the fifth century or even under Constantine (Browning, 1962, p. 168; Dvornik, 1951, p. 111). On public occasions, teachers would have delivered panegyrics and orations and produced some poetry; they were also actively involved in the theological controversies of the time and successful teaching careers may regularly have led to the rank of bishop (Browning, 1962, p. 168). The theological teaching was conducted in St Sophia and focused on the Psalter, Epistles and the Gospels; presumably each one was taught by a specialised theological teacher in his own learning-room (Browning, 1962, pp. 169–171).

In the ninth century, during the controversy about the worship of icons, the Patriarchal School was the object of a number of reformations which affected mostly the teaching of philosophy, grammar and rhetoric (Dvornik 1951, p. 118). In particular, the moderate Patriarch Methodius (843–847) recognised the importance of those subjects in preparation for the priesthood and promoted them in the Patriarchal School, while his successor, Patriarch Ignatius (847–858; 667–877),⁴⁰ being closer to the extremist views of the monk of Studion, showed his hostility towards the secular sciences and the pagan philosophy, going so far as to significantly reduce their

⁴⁰ The main source about Ignatius is the *Vita Ignatii* ascribed to Nicetas David Paphlagon, from which we know that Ignatius was the son of Emperor Michael I Rhangabe and his wife Procopia; in 813, he was forced to join a monastery by Leo V of Armenia, who had usurped the imperial throne. (ed. Smithies, 2003, pp. 5–6).

teaching, if not completely suppress it (Dvornik, 1951, p. 119). The rise of Ignatius brought further political consequences for both Church and the State, worsening the disputes between extremists and moderates; the last one led by Bardas (†866), brother and opponent of Empress Theodora (Dvornik, 1953, p. 75).⁴¹ The political conflict resulted in the assassination of Theoctistus, the relegation of Theodora to a convent, the assumption of the the government by Michael III and Bardas himself, the abdication of Ignatius and the election of Photius as Patriarch (Dvornik, 1953, p. 76).

At the time of his first election as Patriarch of Constantinople, Photius was a highly placed layman,⁴² related to Bardas (†866) and Patriarch Tarasius (784-806), who was also his great-uncle; Dvornik reminds us how Photius accepted the role of Patriarch for the pure sense of duty which distinguished him among his contemporaries, probably inspired by Tarasius himself, who had attended his same duties in the imperial service (Dvornik, 1948, p. 3). With Photius, the moderate party, guided by Bardas and the bishop of Syracuse, Asbestas, gained the support of the new Patriarch. He supported again the teaching of the secular sciences, which underwent a time of renewed promotion in the higher education system (Dvornik, 1951, p. 119). In this

⁴¹ For more details on the history of the controversy as the result of a process of transformation already started in the eighth century and characterised by the influence of oriental ideas, whose iconoclasm was only the most notorious symptom, see also the study of Dvornik on the involvement of Photius in the schism of the ninth century (Dvornik, 1948).

⁴² His family had suffered during the period of Iconoclasm and both his parents had been persecuted and died in exile; a successful career in the central administration had brought Photius to become *protoasecretis*, Head of the Imperial Chancellery, then ambassador to the Arabs. Comprehensive bibliographical references about Photius are also available in Chadwick, 2003, p. 21 ff.

climate of change, the regent Bardas reorganised the University of Constantinople and moved it to the palace of the Magnaura in 863. Dvornik accepts that even before accessing the Patriarchal Throne, Photius had been a teacher at the University of Constantinople; it seems that his previous role as teacher might have inspired his interest in the reformation of the Patriarchal School (Dvornik, 1951, p. 120). However, Mango (1980, pp. 168–169) believed that Photius never taught in any higher education context in Constantinople, including the Magnaura, while Lemerle (1986, p. 189) believed he actually taught in the new Byzantine institution of the Magnaura, or at least he introduced the study of Philosophy there. Despite the uncertainty about his role as an active teacher in the Magnaura or in the Patriarchal School, it is commonly accepted that Photius played an active role in the fight against Iconoclasm, which he describes as a barbaric heresy, showing a clear desire to eradicate it from Byzantium through the recognition by the Second Council of Nicea and the Seventh Oecumenical Synod (Dvornik, 1951, p. 125). In this light, Photius' main response to the Iconoclasm would be the promotion of the literal reading of Scripture, reflecting the iconophile appreciation for the concrete and material reality of the historical Christ opposing the allegorical reading of the Scripture, which the Byzantine authorities would have seen as a further obstacle to the cultural uniformity and political order required to re-establish the orthodoxy (Constas, 1999, p. 108).

Considering the role Photius played in support of the orthodoxy, my analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* will also investigate the extent to which the Photian exegesis of the

Pauline writings in the *Scholia Photiana* could provide further evidence to support Photius' role in the restoration of orthodoxy in Byzantium.

I. 7 The critical edition of twenty-five new *Scholia Photiana* found in manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena.

Following the analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* in the manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus* of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, I classify each scholium ascribed to Photius as 'Sch. Ph.' (abbreviation for 'Scholium Photianum') and the number indicating the progressive order in which the scholia appear in the manuscripts. Tables with the data related to the classification and location of the *Scholia Photiana* within the manuscripts are provided in Appendix 1 (p. 301 ff.) The results of my research are discussed in six chapters, one for each group of scholia.

I have also produced an edition of the unpublished *Scholia Photiana* found across the manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus* and analyse elements confirming their authorship, which I describe in the following chapters.

In this thesis I provide an *editio princeps* of new exegetical material detected in the manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus* GA 2183, GA 91, GA 1907, GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 1905 (Appendix 2). The new scholia edited in Appendix 2 belong to manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus* of the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius. I have been able to isolate twenty-five unpublished scholia, which have been numbered in relation to the whole collection of the *Scholia Photiana*, preserved in the same manuscripts and listed in Appendix 1.

I provide below a brief list of the new *Scholia Photiana* and their locations, which are also reported in Appendix 1 (see the blue sections) and Appendix 2:

Scholium	GA 91	GA 1905	GA 1907	GA 1916	GA 1982	GA 1923	GA 2183
Sch. Ph. 1a	f.69r anonymous						ff. 6v-7r
Sch. Ph. 2	f. 69r anonymous						f. 7r
Sch. Ph. 4			f. 5v				
Sch. Ph. 6a			f. 5v				
Sch. Ph. 43	f. 76v anonymous						f. 20r
Sch. Ph. 45	f. 76v anonymous						f. 20r
Sch. Ph. 83b	f. 85r anonymous						f. 34v
Sch. Ph. 135b							f. 59rv
Sch. Ph. 204					f. 56r	f. 90	
Sch. Ph. 212					f. 60r anonymous	f. 94r	
Sch. Ph. 288			f. 140r				
Sch. Ph. 296		f. 74v anonymous			f. 103r anonymous	f. 137r anonymous	f. 169r
Sch. Ph. 297		f. 75r anonymous			f. 103r	f. 137r	f. 169r anonymous
Sch. Ph. 324			f. 3r				
Sch. Ph. 335	f. 152r		f. 6v				f. 201r
Sch. Ph. 338	f. 144r						
Sch. Ph. 535a	f. 159						f. 221v
Sch. Ph. 390	f. 171v anonymous						f. 253r
Sch. Ph. 411	f. 170v anonymous						f. 272v
Sch. Ph. 430							
Sch. Ph. 463							ff. 313v-314r
Sch. Ph. 466							f. 317v
Sch. Ph. 470							f. 319r
Sch. Ph. 528	f. 223r anonymous			f. 160r			f. 432v
Sch. Ph. 529				f. 160rv			ff. 432v-433r

(Table 3: *New Scholia Photiana*)

In producing the edition of these new *Scholia Photiana* I considered the presence of the Photian ligature, but most importantly the results of the analysis of the style of

each scholium. I provide further details related to the content, the style plus an English translation of each one in the corresponding sections in Chapters II-VIII of this thesis, which can be consulted by following the indications in italic and bold font (e.g. *Sch. Ph. 2*, p. 63).

It is important to note that not all the manuscripts preserve the same number of scholia and that I could not always use the same manuscript as the base-text for all of them. Moreover, when a text is preserved in more than one manuscript, I found very few textual differences. These never affect the meaning of the exegesis – a sign that the Greek text of the scholia is well-established in the tradition across the eleventh century. However, in each scholium, where different readings are found, I report them in the critical apparatus underneath the text in Appendix 2.

When a new scholium is preserved in GA 2183, I use this manuscript as the base-text for my edition, for the following reasons. Among the twenty-five new scholia, eight are preserved in both GA 91 and GA 2183 (Table 1). In GA 91, the scholia tend to be anonymous, while in GA 2183 they are always ascribed to Photius using the ligature φτ or φωτ. Similar ligatures are common to all the *Erweiterte Typus* manuscripts (see Images 2, 3 on p. 34). The scholia in both GA 2183 and GA 91 are remarkably similar, although occasionally GA 2183 offers a slightly more refined version of the text (e.g. διὰ τῶν προφητῶν instead of διὰ προφητῶν in Sch. Ph. 1a; Ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Κύριλλος in Sch. Ph. 335; a superfluous, movable -v is avoided in Sch. Ph. 45). Other differences between GA 2183 and GA 91 are related to the inconsistency in GA 91 in introducing the scholium with the pronoun ἄλλος. Both ἄλλως and ἄλλος

are sometimes found in GA 1923 as well. With regard to the use of this pronoun/adverb in the manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, it has been recently observed by Panella that phrases such as ἄλλος φησὶν, καὶ ἄλλος ὁμοίως φησὶν, ἄλλος δὲ φησὶν, ἄλλως, ἢ οὕτως, and ἢ ὅτι were probably part of the source itself, belonging to an early stage of the catena when the ligatures to identify the source were not in use yet (Panella, 2017, p. 137). Therefore, where GA 2183 preserves the pronoun, I have kept it in the edition.

There are also scholia which are not only in GA 91 and GA 2183, but also in GA 1907; for instance, Sch. Ph. 335. In this case, the main difference between the three witnesses is in the position of the phrase ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ βιβλίων, which appears at the beginning of the scholium in GA 2183, but is postponed in GA 1907 and GA 91. As the three witnesses do not show any other difference, I decided to follow GA 2183 as the base-text for consistency with the scholia described above. GA 2183 is the only source for Sch. Ph. 430; Sch. Ph. 463; Sch. Ph. 466 and Sch. Ph. 470.

However, GA 2183 displays some occasional inaccuracies. For instance, in Sch. Ph. 466, the scribe mistakenly writes the infinitive ἐσθῆναι instead of ἡσθῆναι. There are also a couple of cases of itacism. The first one is in Sch. Ph. 296, where the diphthong εἰ- (εἶτα) is replaced by ι- (ἶτα). More challenging is establishing if there is itacism in Sch. Ph. 353a, where the scribe of GA 2183 writes παρ' ἡμῶν, while the one of GA 91 writes παρ' ὑμῶν. From the context I am inclined to accept the pronoun ὑμῶν as in GA 91, which seems to fit with the wider content of the exegesis rather than ἡμῶν.

I continue to use GA 2183 as the base text with the edition of the scholia above for the edition of Sch. Ph. 297; Sch. Ph. 335; Sc. Ph. 390 and Sch. Ph. 411.

Two other scholia, Sch. Ph. 204a and Sch. Ph. 212, the longest among the new scholia, are preserved only in GA 1923 and GA 1982. In the first case, there are no differences between the two manuscripts. In Sch. Ph. 212, there are several dissimilarities; the most relevant is the phrase *παλαιὸν ἐπειδὴν τινῶν ἄνωθεν μηνιμάτων εἰς πεῖραν ἐπιπτὸν*, which appears only in GA 1982 and not in GA 1923. I decided to include this sentence in the text and follow GA 1982 as the base text for the edition of Sch. Ph. 212, because the phrase adds further clarity to the context, fitting with the exegetical aim of expounding 1 Cor 4, 13 *πάντων περίφημα*. In the edition of Sch. Ph. 212, both manuscripts GA 1923 and GA 1982 preserve the aorist optative *σημᾶναι*, although considering the context and the following aorist infinitive *παραστῆσαι*, I corrected this to *σημῆναι* (Appendix 2, p. 371).

With regard to Sch. Ph. 6a; Sch. Ph. 288 and Sch. Ph. 324, these scholia are only preserved in GA 1907. The texts did not require any editorial intervention as the reading of the manuscript was entirely clear.

For all the scholia edited in Appendix 2, the punctuation is given according to the base-text per each scholium. I interpret the upper dot as an English semicolon; where the base-text presents a lower dot clearly making the end of a sentence, I replace it with the full stop. In some cases where the upper dot clearly divided the main clause by subordinates introduced by prepositions such as *ὡς* or *ἵνα*, I replace it with a comma.

Additionally, where I identify biblical quotations, I indicate them in italics and add the reference to the Bible following NA28. In cases such as Sch. Ph. 212 and Sch. Ph. 324 where the text of the scholium gives a different reading to the NA28 edition of the New Testament and the RP 2005 edition of the Byzantine text and the *lectiones* were not to be considered as examples of flattening, I have provided an indication in footnotes.

II. A new analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Romans.

II.1 A brief introduction.

As I already explained in the Introduction, my analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* is based mostly on the examination of GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 91, GA 1907, which are the same manuscripts Staab used for his edition of the catena, plus GA 1905, GA 1916 and GA 2183.

In approaching the analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* in the edition of 1933, I found the work of Staab often misleading and sometimes imprecise; firstly, in grouping of series of scholia into one single text. This happens especially in regard to more extended scholia, which Staab divided into paragraphs: in fact, each paragraph corresponds to a single independent scholium in the manuscripts. This emerged very clearly in the majority of the scholia edited in 1933. For instance, Staab published a long text in seven paragraphs of different extension under the title *Röm 1, 16–18* (1933, pp. 474–477), but, after an investigation of the manuscripts, I realised that this scholium consisted of five scholia (Sch. Ph. 13–Sch. Ph. 17), whose exegetical material was only partially combined (Sch. Ph. 14–Sch. Ph. 16) in one manuscript, GA 1915.

Furthermore, Staab puts at the head of each paragraph, as a title, the Pauline verse to which the exegetical text refers. However, it is not always possible to connect each scholium to a specific verse, because the exegete tends to develop a fluid connection between several biblical verses for exegetical purposes. For these reasons, I have tried to give a portrait of the exact situation in the manuscripts through Appendix 1-Table1.

From a new analysis of the manuscripts it is possible to confirm that *Scholia Photiana* commenting on chapter 1 are mostly preserved in GA 1915, GA 1923 and GA 1907. GA 1905 does not preserve the catena from the beginning and it is possible to read the biblical text and the commentary with the additional Photian scholia only from f. 7r, where the catena on Rm 6 begins, therefore no *Scholia Photiana* on Rm 1–5 are reported in GA 1905.

II.2 - The *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Romans.

Sch. Ph. 1abc. The first scholium ascribed to Photius in GA 2183 (ff. 6v–7r) is a comment on Rm 1, 1–2. Before describing the scholium, it is necessary to mention that there is a text on Rm 1, 1 already edited on the basis of ms GA 1915, GA 1923 and GA 1907.⁴³ The version preserved in GA 2183 is also in GA 91 (f. 69r) as anonymous. The first part of the text is unpublished, while the second part agrees with the text in the other three manuscripts as Staab edited it; however, the first three manuscripts also

⁴³ Rm 1, 1, Προέταξε τὸ Παῦλος, μηδὲ διαίρειν στόμα ἄνευ τοῦ μεμνησθαι τῆς δεσποτικῆς εὐεργεσίας βουλόμενος, οἷον· Παῦλος, φησίν, ὁ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν κλήσιν ἐξ εὐεργεσίας, ἐκ χάριτος, ἐκ φιλοτιμίας ἔχων δεσποτικῆς· Παῦλος, ὁ πάντα φέρων ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν κλήσιν, τὴν [p. 470, l. 5] χάριν, τὴν πολιτείαν. - Δοῦλος· αὐτῷ γὰρ ὅλος πέπραμαι, ἐλευθερωθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας. δοῦλος· τοῦτό μου τὸ ἀξίωμα, ἀπὸ τούτου βούλομαι πᾶσι γνωρίζεσθαι. οἱ μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ ἀναστρεφόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ ἀξιωματῶν δηλοῦσθαι βούλονται, ὑπάτους ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στρατηγούς ἀναγράφοντες, Παύλῳ δὲ ἀρκεῖ εἰς μέγεθος [p. 470, l. 10] ἀξιώματος τὸ δοῦλος εἶναι Χριστοῦ (Staab, 1933, p. 470, ll. 1–10). The three manuscripts Staab used for his edition of the text report exactly the same text without any variations.

preserve a third part of the scholium which does not appear in GA 2183 or GA 91.

Therefore, I describe the three parts of the Photian exegesis on Rm 1, 1 as:

- Sch. Ph. 1a (GA 2183 and GA 91);
- Sch. Ph. 1b (GA 2183, GA 91, GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1907);
- Sch. Ph. 1c (GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1907).

My decision to name them all as Sch. Ph. 1, even if I make clear the unity of the text by using the letters a, b and c, is due to the fact that the three parts always appear combined as a whole text in the manuscripts and not as independent scholia. I have made an edition of Sch. Ph. 1a and Sch. Ph. 1b as they appear in GA 2183 and GA 91, together with a translation; since Sch. Ph. 1b is already edited by Staab, it is indicated in bold characters:

[Sch. Ph. 1a] Ἄλλος· Παῦλος, οἷον ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν συμφαίνει, μεταξὺ τὸν περὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου λόγον καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ μὲν εὐαγγέλιον, μὴ δὲ κατὰ χρόνον εἶναι νεώτερον, ἀλλὰ προκατηγγέλθαι μὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν νῦν δὲ πεφανερῶθαι φάσκων. Ἐπεμνήσθη δὲ καὶ τοῦ Δαυὶδ πρὸς ὃν ἡ ὑπόσχεσις καὶ ἑαυτὸν εἶπε τούτου κήρυκα προβεβλήσθαι· ὡς ἂν μὴ προπετῶς μετὰ τὴν Πέτρου διδασκαλίαν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιστέλλειν ἐληλυθέναι δοκοίη· θεῖον δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπίταγμα ἐκπληρῶν. Προτάττει δὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον ὄνομα· ἢ κατὰ συνήθειαν ἀρχαίαν· οἷον Κλαύδιος Λυσίας τῷ κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι Φιλίκι χαίρειν· ἢ [Sch. Ph. 1b] **προέταξε τὸ Παῦλος μὴδὲ διαίρειν στόμα ἄνευ τοῦ μεμνήσθαι δεσποτικῆς εὐεργεσίας βουλόμενος, οἷον Παῦλος, φησι, ὁ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν κλησιν ἐξ εὐεργεσίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἔχων δεσποτικῆς· Παῦλος ὁ πάντα φέρων ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ τὴν κλησιν, τὴν χάριν τὴν πολιτεία.**

(tr.) ‘Also, “Paul” (Rm 1, 1) that is to say that such a man showed to rejoice at such a thing, meanwhile saying that the discourse around the Gospel and his own Gospel showed now, were not that recent, but had already been proclaimed by the Prophets. It is also mentioned the name of David (Rm 1, 2) to whom the promise said he would have proposed himself as herald of that. As it would not be good, according to Peter’s teaching, coming hastily before sending a letter, fulfilling a rather divine command, he (Paul) puts his own name at the beginning either because of the ancient tradition,

such as, “Claudius Lysias, to His Excellency, Governor Felix: greetings!” (Act 23, 26), or he wrote, “Paul”, because he did not want to rise his speech without remembering the Lord’s benefit: “Paul”, he says, who received the call for benefit and desire of Lord; “Paul” who bears everything from Christ: the call, the celestial citizenship.’

With regards to the authenticity of Sch. Ph. 1a, the paternity of the attribution to Photius is determined only on the basis of the ligature in GA 2183 and its combination with Sch. Ph. 1b, which is Photian in all the other manuscripts, but some doubts arise after a more detailed analysis of the style. It is true that there is no strong evidence against the Photian paternity of the scholium, but the verb φάσκων remains unusual in the collection of the *Scholia Photiana*, where the form εἰπών is largely found. With regards to the contents, Sch. Ph. 1abc provide the reader with a thorough exegesis of the word δοῦλος in Rm 1, 1 as a synonym of ‘apostle’ in Paul’s epistle. According to the interpretation, Paul is to be considered as a servant of Christ, because he was sold to him and freed by him from the Law and sins; unlike famous leaders looking for honours, Paul’s satisfaction is to be a servant of God.⁴⁴ There is also a similar passage in *Amphilochia*, *Quaestio* 136 (PG 101). It is remarkable how in both texts, the Patriarch aims to explain why Paul starts the epistle introducing himself with his own name, also remarking on the ideological connection between the choice of a new name and his duty as ambassador of the Gospel:

⁴⁴The epithet of *servus Dei* often attributed to leaders of Israel, such as David, Abraham, Isaac and Moses, is already widespread in the Old testament, see *Is* 52, 13–15; *II Sam* 7, 8; *Gen* 16, 24 etc.

Sch. Ph. 1b (Staab, 1933, p. 470, ll. 1–5):

Προέταξε τὸ Παῦλος, μηδὲ διαίρειν στόμα ἄνευ τοῦ μεμνηῖσθαι τῆς δεσποτικῆς εὐεργεσίας βουλόμενος, οἷον· Παῦλος, φησίν, ὁ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν κλήσιν ἐξ εὐεργεσίας, ἐκ χάριτος, ἐκ φιλοτιμίας ἔχων δεσποτικῆς· **Παῦλος, ὁ πάντα φέρων ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν κλήσιν, τὴν χάριν, τὴν πολιτείαν.** - Δοῦλος· αὐτῷ γὰρ ὅλος πέπραμαι, ἐλευθερωθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας.

Photius, *Amphilochia*, Q. 136 (PG 101, col. 749):

Προτάττει τῶν Ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ Παῦλος ὁ θεῖος τὸ ὄνομα, μηδὲ διαῖραι στόμα χάρις τοῦ μεμνηῖσθαι τῆς Δεσποτικῆς εὐεργεσίας βουλόμενος. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ· καὶ τὴν κλήσιν ἢ χάρις ἐκαίνισεν, εἰς Παῦλον τὸν Σαῦλον, ὥσπερ τοὺς τρόπους, οὕτω διαμειψαμένη καὶ τὰ ῥήματα. Διὸ φησι **Παῦλος, ὁ** καὶ αὐτὴν οἶονεὶ τὴν κλήσιν ἐκ Δεσποτικῆς φιλοτιμίας φέρων, [col. 749] **ὁ πάντα** πλουτήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ ὄνομα, τὴν πίστιν, τὸν πόθον, τὸν δρόμον, τὴν ἀποστολήν, τὰ πολιτεύματα, εἰκότως τοιγαροῦν καὶ δοῦλος Χριστοῦ [...].

As I report in the Introduction (*supra*, p. 41 ff.) the German scholar Hergenröther had noticed some similarities between a few scholia in the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius and the *Amphilochia*. However, he also recognised that in the majority of cases, the scholia ascribed to Photius in the catena reported interpretations that were different from those proposed in the *Amphilochia*; hence his hypothesis about the existence of a more extended Photian work on the Pauline Epistles (Hergenröther, 1869, pp. 79). Sch. Ph. 1b is one of the very few scholia preserving verbatim quotations from the *Amphilochia* - as was also noticed by Hergenröther – but as this thesis will illustrate, the verbatim quotations are only few and the interpretation reported in the *Scholia Photiana* seems to be independent from the other Photian works most of the times (e.g. Sch. Ph. 5, Sch.Ph. 12, Sch. Ph. 259); this would be a further confirmation of what

Hergenröther believed with regard to the existence of another Photian work on the Pauline Epistles.

Through an analysis using the TLG, a comparison between Photius and the other authors in catenae has given no positive results about the influence of previous exegetes on Photius from the point of view of contents. The *Scholia Photiana* and the other texts in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena seem to complement one another creating a complete exegetical work on the Pauline Epistles. Indeed, there are four other scholia on Rm 1, 1 in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena; these three scholia belong to exegetical authors dating back to the fourth and fifth century, conventionally grouped under the definition of 'Antiochene School,' (*supra*, p. 7 ff) such as Eusebius of Emesa (300–359), Theodore of Mopsuestia (350–428) and Severian of Gabala (†after 408). However, none of these scholia shows any similarities in interpretation with the others. Indeed, because of the sacred nature of Paul's writings and the general fortune of the Epistle, quotations of this passage were common among the Byzantine authors.⁴⁵

Sch. Ph. 2. This is also a comment on Rm 1, 1 only preserved in GA 2183 with a Photian ligature and GA 91, where it does not have a ligature and it is combined with other anonymous lines to create one scholium that makes its identification impossible

⁴⁵ Just to quote a few examples of exegesis on Rm 1, 1: Gregorius Nyssenus, *Antirrheticus adversus Apollinarium* (ed. Mueller, 1958, vol. 3, p. 191, l. 3); Gregorius Nyssenus, *Refutatio Confessionis Eunomii* (ed. Jaeger, 1960, sec. 30, l. 9); Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos* (PG 27, col. 313, l. 35); Basilius, *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam* (ed. Trevisan, 1939, c. III, sec. 107, l. 6).

(f. 69r, l. 12 ff.); this may be the reason Staab did not insert the text in his edition. The Greek text of the scholium follows below with a translation:

Εἰωθὼς δὲ συνάπτειν τῷ οἰκεῷ ὀνόματι τὸ Ἀπόστολος, νῦν τὸ δοῦλος προτέταχεν εἰς εὐλάβειαν Ῥωμαίους ἐνάγων, οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν πεφρονηματισμένοι, ὡς ψηφίσματι θεοῦ ἀναγορεύειν οὐς βουλευθεῖεν, ὅθεν ὡς λόγος γνωρίσαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ κατὰ Ἰουδαίαν ἄρχοντος περὶ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἵνα τινὰ γενόμενον ἐνταῦθα θαύματος ποιὸν μετὰ θάνατον ἐγηγέρθαι λέγουσι καὶ θεὸν κηρύττουσιν ἀποψηφίσασθαι τούτο διὰ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτῶν τετολμηθῆσαι· ἦν δὲ θείας οἰκονομίας, ὡς ἂν μὴ δόξη κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην τοῦτο κεκρατηκέται σπουδήν.

(tr.) 'Although (Paul) used to add "Apostle" to his name, in this letter he added "Servant," leading the Romans to the right doctrine - indeed, they had been so neglected to proclaim the gods they wanted by decree -whence the speech on Christ, known to them as the King of Judea, that they ask, 'Who is this man who was born and after the death has been raised?' and they proclaim to refuse it with their submission to the knowledge, which is proper of the divine ministration, so that nobody would think that this would be ruled with human zeal.'

Even for Sch. Ph. 2 there is no strong evidence against possible Photian authorship, but there are no proofs to support it either. However, GA 2183 shows a clear Photian ligature next to the scholium, therefore Sch. Ph. 2 should be kept in the list of the *Scholia Photiana* identified in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena.

Sch. Ph. 3. This is a very brief scholium of only one sentence preserved in GA 1915 and GA 1923 and published as a comment on Rom 1, 2 (Staab, 1933, p. 470). In particular, this brief text comments on the phrase εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, where the

genitive θεοῦ is to be intended as ‘related to God.’ According to the exegete, Paul preached the Gospel of God that is to be distinguished from the Gospel of ‘the father’ predicted by the prophets.

Sch. Ph. 4a. GA 1907 (f. 5v) preserves two unpublished lines preceding Sch. Ph. 4b, which correspond to the first paragraph of the scholium on Rm 1, 3–5 as edited by Staab (Staab 1933, p. 470, ll. 16–17), and make one scholium with it. From the content it seems to comment on Rm 1, 2, ὁ προεπηγγείλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν γραφαῖς ἁγίαις (NA 28). The transcription of the Greek and a translation follow below:

Μηδεὶς φησι καινοτομεῖν νομίση· πάλαι ἐξήγγελο τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· τὸ δὲ ἐν γραφεῖσι δηλοῖ· ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἔλεγον οἱ προφηταί, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔγραφον.

(tr.) ‘He says that nobody makes a new road to a belief; the ancestors proclaimed this as the Good News. It is clear in the Holy Scriptures that the prophets not only used to say that, but they also wrote it.’

The scholium is too brief to allow further discussion of its authorship, but the ligature in front of the scholium confirms it as a *Scholium Photianum*.

Sch. Ph. 4b–Sch. Ph. 5. These two scholia were published as one text commenting on Rm 1, 3–5; more specifically Sch. Ph. 4b correspond to ll. 15–17 and Sch. Ph. 5 to ll. 18 ff. (Staab 1933, p. 470). However, as very often happens, the editor combined multiple scholia into one longer scholium commenting on multiple verses. Sch. Ph. 4b and Sch. Ph. 5 are the example of this practice; in Appendix 1-Table 1, I have provided a clear picture of how the exegetical material is distributed in the manuscripts. Sch. Ph. 5 is

particularly interesting from the point of view of the content, because of its similarities to two passages in the *Amphilochia*. The scholium comments on the verse Rm 1, 4, τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν (NA28). In Sch. Ph. 5, *Quaestio* 136 and 283 the exegete provides the reader with an explanation of the verb ὀρισθέντος, ‘appointed’ (Abbott-Smith, 1937, ‘ὀρίζω,’ p. 323) using the same words to describe the coming of the son as revealed by prophets, signs and miracles as well as by the Holy Spirit :

Sch. Ph. 5 (Staab, 1933, p. 470, ll. 18–23):

Τοῦ ὀρισθέντος,

ἐπιγνωσθέντος, εἰς γνῶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐλθόντος· εἰώθαμεν γὰρ δι’ ὀρισμῶν τινῶν ἐπιγινώσκειν ἅ βεβαίως καὶ οὐκ ἐν δισταγμῶ ἐπιστάμεθα. εἶτα πῶς οὖν ὠρίσθη; πῶς εἰς γνῶσιν ἦκεν; ἐκ προφητικῶν χρησμῶν, ἐκ τῶν δυνάμεων ἃς ἐπετέλει, ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ὃ παρεῖχεν τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευκόσιν [...].

Photius, *Amphilochia*, Q 136 (PG 101, col. 752):

Τὸ δὲ· Ὀρισθέντος Υἱοῦ ἐν δυνάμει, καὶ ἐξῆς, τοιαύτην τινά μοι δοκεῖ τὴν θεωρίαν ἔχειν· Ὀρισθέντος, φησὶν, οἶονεὶ ἐπιγνωσθέντος, εἰς γνῶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐληλυθότος. Εἰώθαμεν γὰρ ἢ ὀνόματι τινι καταλαμβάνειν τὰ πράγματα, ἢ διὰ τινῶν ὀριχῶν λόγων εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐπίγνωσιν.

Photius, *Amphilochia*, Q. 283 (PG 101, col. 1113):

Τί ἐστι· Τοῦ ὀρισθέντος Υἱοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει.

Τοῦ εἰς γνῶσιν ἐλθόντος, τοῦ ἐπιγνωσθέντος ἡμῖν καὶ φάνερωθέντος Υἱοῦ Θεοῦ· πόθεν δὲ γνωσθέντος;

διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, διὰ τῶν ἐπιδειχθέντων σημείων καὶ δυνάμεων, διὰ τοῦ ἁγιαστικοῦ αὐτοῦ Πνεύματος ὃ παρέσχε τοῖς εἰς

αὐτὸν πιστεύουσιν
[...].

I identify with Sch. Ph. 5 another one of the passages that Hergenröther noticed as one of the cases where the scholia in the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius show similarities with the *Amphilochia* (Hergenröther, 1869, p. 79) and conclude what I have already stated about Sch. Ph. 1b (*supra*, pp. 61–63).

Sch. Ph. 6a. Similarly, to Sch. Ph. 4a, GA 1907 (f. 5v) is the only manuscript preserving Sch. Ph. 6a, a very brief sentence which precedes Sch. Ph. 6b, which is edited as part of the scholium commenting on Rm 1, 5–7 (Staab, p. 471, ll. 12–14). The text of Sch. Ph. 6a is as follows:

Οὐκ ἐξ οἰκείων φησὶν κατορθωμάτων ἐλάβομεν τὴν ἀποστολήν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν χάριτος καὶ δωρεᾶς ἐστι.

(tr.) ‘He says that not from his own success he received apostleship, but everything belongs to the grace and the gift (of justice).’

The sentence refers to Rm 1, 5 δι’ οὗ ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολήν εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως (NA28) and it appears to recall John Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων κατορθωμάτων ἔλαβον τὸ ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν πατρίδα (PG 55, col. 408). There are some faint reminiscences of the ancient Fathers in the *Scholia Photiana*; in particular, the Patriarch often quotes John Chrysostom in his commentary on the Epistle to Romans. Quotations can be verbatim or adapted and grammatically adapted to the context of the Greek. This is only the first of many occasions on which Photius seems to be inspired by Chrysostom’s *Homiliae*, although in most of the scholia his interpretation tends to remain independent. This is probably not a surprise, as the

importance of Chrysostom in the exegetical field had been widely recognised since the fourth century together with the authority of Gregory of Nyssa, Basil of Caesarea and Theodoret of Cyrus.⁴⁶

Sch. Ph. 6b–Sch. Ph. 9. Staab edited these four brief scholia (Sch. Ph. 6, Sch. Ph. 7, Sch. Ph. 8 and Sch. Ph. 9) together as a single exegetical text on Rm 1, 5–7 (1933, pp. 471–472). They are combined in this way only in GA 1915, which is the basic text for this group of *Scholia Photiana*. The combination in GA 1915 is not the only one the tradition preserves; in fact, GA 1923 combines as one scholium Sch. Ph. 6b and Sch. Ph. 7, corresponding to the first and the second paragraph of the scholium (Staab, 1933, p. 471, ll. 12–19), while the scholia appear as four independent scholia in GA 1907.⁴⁷ Specifically, Sch. Ph. 6b, Sch. Ph. 7 and Sch. Ph. 8 comments on Rm 1, 5 while Sch. Ph. 9 comment on κλητοῖς in Rm 1, 6–7. In regard to the style, I highlight the use of ἀντὶ τοῦ in Sch. Ph. 6b followed by the exegesis of the verse, which is documented several times, especially in the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans (e.g. Sch. Ph. 19; Sch. Ph. 25; Sch.

⁴⁶ As Kolbaba mentions in her contribution on Byzantine orthodox exegesis, ‘To understand how Byzantines interpreted the Bible, we need to read what they read. They read the exegesis of recognised giants in the field John Chrysostom (c. 347–407), Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–post–394), Basil of Caesarea, Theodoret of Cyrus and others and of figures less well known to us – and they read them not as complete, discursive texts, but rather gathered in chains (catenae) of citation.’ (Kolbaba, 2012, p. 488).

⁴⁷ GA 1907 (f.6r, ll. 26–27) preserves another sentence before Sch. Ph. 8 (corresponding to Saab, 1933, p. 471, ll. 20–26): οὐ γὰρ ἔστι παρ’ αὐτῷ, διαστολή πλουσίου καὶ πένητος (tr. ‘Before him there is no difference between rich and poor’). This is a case comparable to Sch. Ph. 4a and Sch. Ph. 6a, though this time I found the sentence too brief to be listed as an independent scholium and it is also unclear which Pauline verse the line refers to exactly.

Ph. 38; Sch. Ph. 59a; Sch. Ph. 88; Sch. Ph. 102; Sch. Ph. 177). Photius uses the phrase ἀντὶ τοῦ when he points out that Paul writes ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολὴν (Rm 1, 5) instead of (ἀντὶ τοῦ) ἐλάβομεν χάριν εἰς ἀποστολὴν, following a rhetorical structure (σχῆμα) common in the Sacred Scriptures.

Sch. Ph. 10–Sch. Ph. 11. These two scholia were combined by Staab as the single long paragraph of the scholium on Rm 1, 11–12 (Staab, 1933, pp. 471–472). After an investigation of the manuscripts, I noticed that Sch. Ph. 11 is anonymous in GA 1915: Staab must therefore have considered it as Photian on the basis of GA 1923 and GA 1907.

Sch. Ph. 12; Sch. Ph. 13. Sch. Ph. 12 is a long section preserved in GA 1915, GA 1923 and GA 1907. It is the first with a reference to the syntactical use of hyperbaton, as a transposition of text implying an alteration of the order of the words especially to emphasise an idea,⁴⁸ which Photius proposes to apply to Paul's texts in all the groups

⁴⁸ The first grammarian who talks about the use of hyperbaton as a support to help the audience understand was Hermogenes, Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος, in the third century (ed. Rabe, 1913, s. 14). Hermogenes considered hyperbaton as a necessary tool to anticipate the causes of the main action in a text and not a mere rhetorical ornament; in other words, he described hyperbaton as the way to avoid confusion among the audience and the rise of any possible enquiries about the reason something happens. Therefore, to some extent, hyperbaton has a didactical purpose and Photius seems to exploit this device greatly. It is important to remember that the grammar handbooks of Hermogenes together with those of Dionysius Thrax became very popular in the early Christian and all through the Byzantine centuries (Mango, 1980, p. 126).

of *Scholia Photiana* for exegetical purposes. The text of the letter and Photius' interpretation are as follows:

[...] πολλάκις προεθέμην ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐκωλύθην ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο, ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν σχῶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν καθὼς [...] (Rm 1, 13) (NA 28). [Sch. Ph. 12]: [...] πολλάκις προεθέμην ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν σχῶ, ἀλλ' ἐκωλύθην ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο. (Staab, 1933, p. 473, ll. 1–7).

In brief, by anticipating the purpose clause, Photius makes the purpose of Paul's visit clearer, also justifying the exegetical focus of his scholium about the explanation of the metaphor *καρπὸν σχῶ*. In fact, according to Photius, the metaphor of the fruit stands for the reciprocal gift exchanged between Paul and the Roman community. In his interpretation of the passage, Photius underlines how the Roman Christian community has already worked independently to become strong, but this is not a good reason for Paul to neglect a visit to them, especially showing how pleased he is with their success and his desire to participate in the harvesting. In other words, the Apostle recognises their faith and thinks that his preaching will be able to make them even stronger. Two other authors in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena pay attention to the metaphor of *καρπός*: Apollinaris of Laodicea (Staab, 1933, p. 58), who refers to the fruitful activity of the apostles, and Gennadius of Constantinople (Staab, 1933, p. 354) interprets *καρπός* as a profit for those spreading the Good News. However, the catena tends to preserve scholia of different authors giving a different interpretation of the same Pauline verse, rather than preserving similar exegetical materials.

It is also possible to compare Sch. Ph. 12 with *Amphilochia, Quaestio 91*:

Sch. Ph. 12 (Staab, 1933, p. 473, ll. 12–22):

[...] ὄρα δὲ πῶς φησίν· ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν σχῶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν; τοῦτο μὲν δεικνύς, ὅτι ὁ ἐκείνων καρπὸς οἰκειῶς ἐλογίζετο

τῷ Παύλῳ καρπὸς, οἰκειῶς ἐλογίζετο τῷ Παύλῳ καρπός, καὶ οὕτως ἔχαιρεν [l. 15] ἐν τοῖς τῶν πλησίον κατορθώμασιν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχειν ἠγγεῖτο τὸν καρπόν. τοῦτο δὲ πάλιν δεικνύς, ὅτι ἔνεκεν τῆς αὐτῶν ὠφελείας τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔσπευδε στείλασθαι πορείαν, ἀλλ' ὥστε δὲ καὶ Παύλου καρπὸς ἦν ἀληθῶς ὁ ἐκείνων καρπός· ἔργον γὰρ ἦν καὶ σπευδῆ τὸ καρποφορεῖν τὰ ἔθνη. καλῶς οὖν φησίν· ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν σχῶ, [l. 20] ἀμφοτέρωθεν δηλῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐκείνους τὴν ἀρετὴν καρποφορεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐκείνον αὐτοὺς τούτους· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐκείνων καρποφορίᾳ ἢ τοῦ Παύλου ἐδείκνυτο καρποφορία. ἀλλ' οὕτω μὲν ταῦτα.

Photius, *Amphilochia*, Q 91 (PG 101, col. 572):

[...] ὄρα δὲ πῶς φησίν· ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν σχῶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν. Τοῦτο μὲν δεικνύς ὡς ἐκείνων καρπός· καὶ οὕτως ἔχαιρεν ἐν τοῖς τῶν πλησίον, ὡσεὶ τις ἄλλος καρπὸν σχῶ, τὸν ἐκείνων καρπὸν οἰκειῶς τιθέμενος. Τοῦτο δὲ πάλιν παριστὰς ὅτι τῆς αὐτῶν ἔνεκεν ὠφελείας τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πορείαν ἐπέπευθε. Ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς ἐπισκοποίη, Παύλου καρπὸς ἀληθῶς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκείνων καρπός. Ἔργον γὰρ ἦν ἐκείνῳ καὶ σπουδῆ καὶ γεωργίον ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρία, καὶ τὸ καρποφοροῦντας αὐτοὺς παραστῆσαι τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὰς ἀρετάς.

Καλῶς οὖν φησίν, ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν σχῶ. [...] καὶ τὸ ἐκείνους τὴν ἐν κατορθώμασιν πίστιν καρποφορεῖν, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους. Ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐκείνων καρποφορίᾳ ἢ τοῦ Παύλου λαμπρῶς ἐδείκνυτο γεωργία.

This could be one of the cases Photius is quoting himself verbatim, as has been observed for Sch. Ph. 1b (*supra*, pp. 61–63) and Sch. Ph. 5 (*supra*, pp. 66–68). The similarities between the two texts are certainly interesting, but there are cases in which his interpretation shows different perspectives between two works, as Hergenröther also noticed (Hergenröther, 1989, p. 85). For instance, in Sch. Ph. 13 (section below),

commenting on Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον (Rm 1, 16), Photius states that the Jews had a prominent role in the evangelisation process, since Jesus Christ used to live and work among them and teach them. On the other hand, in Quaestio 164, Photius assigns them the traditional role of the chosen people to whom God addressed the Law. He also compares the Old Law addressed only to Jews with the equal and universal nature of the Gospel, in which lies God's δικαιοσύνη (PG 101, col. 852). Therefore, the analogy between the two texts is mainly based on the verbatim quotation of the *Amphilochia*, although this remains an important proof in regard to the use of the *Amphilochia* as a source of the *Scholia Photiana*.

Sch. Ph. 13–Sch. Ph. 17. Staab decided to publish this group of five scholia as one long scholium on Rm 1, 16–18 dividing it into eight paragraphs (Staab, 1933, pp. 474–477); again, his edition does not reflect how the exegetical material appears in the three manuscripts. From the analysis of the manuscripts it seems that in GA 1915, Sch. Ph. 14, Sch. Ph. 15 and Sch. Ph. 16 are combined as one scholium, but they are treated as three independent scholia both in GA 1923 and GA 1907. The decision to publish this large group of scholia together must have been taken by Staab on the basis of the content. The focus of the group is on the relationship between faith, πίστις, and ἀρετή. Sch. Ph. 13 explains the reason behind Paul's statement defining the Jews as the first people who should have had faith; this is mainly because Christ was born as a Jew and among the Jews he lived, taught and performed his miracles. Sch. Ph. 14 introduces a definition of justice strictly linked to faith: in fact, according to Photius, justice is revealed to those who follow the Gospel and therefore act by faith. In the

very brief Sch. Ph. 15, the exegete adds a reflection of the need to have faith in the incarnation of God, which is followed by the Kingdom of Heaven; the incarnation and the Kingdom of Heaven are defined respectively as the principle, ἀρχή and the fulfilment of faith, τέλος. In the following scholia, Photius carries on with the relationship between justice and faith.

Sch. Ph. 18–Sch. Ph. 24. Similarly, the seven paragraphs of the scholium published as Rm 1, 19–26 (Staab, 1933, pp. 477–479) correspond to seven different scholia which the manuscripts combine differently. For example, GA 1915 combines Sch. Ph. 19 and Sch. Ph. 20 as one text, as well as Sch. Ph. 22, Sch. Ph. 23 and Sch. Ph. 24 (Appendix 1, Table 1).

Sch. Ph. 25. This brief scholium is ascribed to Photius in GA 1915 and GA 1907, but is anonymous in GA 1923. However, as can sometimes happen in any of the manuscripts of the tradition, it could be that the scribe either forgot to add the ligature or chose not to write it because Sch. Ph. 25 directly followed Sch. Ph. 24, which already had the ligature in front of it. This brief scholium shows another example of the use of ἀντὶ τοῦ to introduce the exegesis. Although the scholium refers to the phrase παρέδωκεν ὁ θεός (Rm 1, 28) it is clear that the comment is on the whole sentence παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν; in particular ἀδόκιμον νοῦν should be intended as a reference to the hubris, insolence and blindness towards God.

Sch. Ph. 26. This is another very brief scholium commenting on Rm 1, 29–32 and preserved only in GA 1915, GA 1932 and GA 1907. It is a reminder by the exegete that

the death penalty for those who offended God with their insolence was established by the Law of Moses.

Sch. Ph. 27; Sch. Ph. 28; Sch. Ph. 29; Sch. Ph. 30. Sch. Ph. 27 is the first of the scholia on Romans 2. The manuscript tradition preserves eight scholia covering the exegesis of Rm, 2 1–7 and no other unpublished scholia were found after an investigation of the manuscripts. With regard to Sch. Ph. 27, Sch. Ph. 28, Sch. Ph. 29 and Sch. Ph. 30, there is a general correspondence between the exegetical materials as preserved in the manuscripts and the edition of Staab. With regard to the contents, it could happen that Staab occasionally published a scholium under the indication of the Pauline verse to which the scholia refer, but it is also possible that some of the references are imprecise; this happens with Sch. Ph. 29, published as a comment on Rm 2, 15–16, but in fact commenting on Rm 2, 16 only; the same for Sch. Ph. 30, which was edited as a comment on Rm 2, 18–21, but it comments only on Rm 2, 20–21.

Sch. Ph. 31–Sch. Ph. 33. Staab published this group of three scholia as one text on Rm 2, 22–26 (Staab, 1933, pp. 482–483), although most of the manuscripts preserves them as independent scholia, except GA 1923 which combines Sch. Ph. 32 with Sch. Ph. 33 as one scholium only. Photius is the only commentator in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena to interpret Rm 2, 22–26, paying much attention to the topic of circumcision. This is seen as a mere physical act also in Chrysostom, *Homilia VI*, (PG 60, col. 435), although there is no relevant comparison between the two texts which suggests that Chrysostom inspired Photius in this case.

Sch. Ph. 34–Sch. Ph. 35. These two brief scholia are combined in GA 1915 (f. 22r) and that could explain the reason Staab edited them as one text. It should also be noted that GA 2183 preserves only Sch. Ph. 35, which may lead to the hypothesis that the two were separate scholia originally.

Sch. Ph. 36; Sch. Ph. 37. This is a scholium commenting on Rm 3, 3 (Staab, 1933, p. 484) and preserved in GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 91, GA 1907 and GA 2183. In particular GA 2183 (f. 17r) also specifies its authorship with the Photian ligature in the right margin. It is also introduced by ἄλλως.

In regard to the content, the exegesis focuses on the value of the circumcision if supported by faith; in fact, according to the exegete it is in faith that the teaching of God and its benefits need to be realised. Sch. Ph. 37 comments on Rm 3, 4 (Staab, 1933, p. 484). With regard to the contents, it is linked to the previous Sch. Ph. 36 and the following Sch. Ph. 38.

Sch. Ph. 38. Noticeable is the use in Sch. Ph. 38 of the phrase ὄρα σοφίαν (Staab, 1933, p. 485, l. 33) —as already mentioned in the paragraph on Sch. Ph. 36 — with a specific reference to Paul’s wisdom, which is also documented in Sch. Ph. 400 on Gal 3, 21 (Staab, 1933, p. 608, l. 11). There are few cases in which Photius addresses the audience directly, especially when he wants to move their focus on a specific passage, by using the second-person sg. imperative ὄρα, often followed by πῶς (e.g. Sch. Ph. 64; Sch. Ph. 102; Sch. Ph. 140; Sch. Ph. 159; Sch. Ph. 184; Sch. Ph. 215; Sch. Ph. 248; Sch. Ph. 269; Sch. Ph. 350; Sch. Ph. 400; Sch. Ph. 498; Sch. Ph. 512) or the second-person pl. ὄρατε (Sch. Ph. 474) and the hortatory subjunctive ὄρας (Sch. Ph. 498, Sch. Ph. 414;

Sch. Ph. 512).⁴⁹ This is a practice that could be explained by considering the possible oral context in which the scholia had their origin. The scholium focuses on Paul's observations on circumcision among the Jews: firstly, according to the Apostle, the real Jew is the one who observes the Law regardless of circumcision; secondly, the real circumcision is not physical and due to the Law, but it belongs to the Holy Spirit. In the following lines, Paul carries on the debate on the superiority of the Jews, the first whom God entrusted with his words, even if they turned out to be sinners. In his scholium, Photius supports Pauline opinion about the fear of condemnation of all the sinners, especially the circumcised, who follow *δικαιώματα νόμου*. This content is also reiterated in the following two scholia. It is typical of Photian exegetical style frequently to repeat contents, sometimes with a paraphrase; to some extent the scholia may often sound redundant and rambling.

Sch. Ph. Ph. 39–Sch. Ph. 41. Here is another case of three independent scholia combined as a single text by Staab (1933, pp. 486–487), but the manuscripts do not agree on the division of the three scholia. For instance, Sch. Ph. 39 seems to be combined with Sch. Ph. 40 in GA 1923 (f. 16v), where the two are consecutive and there is no ligature before Sch. Ph. 40, which prompts the idea that the two were actually one text only. GA 1926 preserves both Sch. Ph. 39 and Sch. Ph. 40 in sequence,

⁴⁹ Such verbs are also documented in Photian scholia in the catenae on John (ed. Reuss, 1966) and Matthew (ed. Reuss, 1957). Specifically, the imperative *ὄρα πῶς* is documented in fr. 1 (l. 2), f. 109 (l. 1), f. 68 (l. 1) of the catena on John and fr. 64 (col. 11, l. 17) and fr. 92 (l. 68) of the catena on Matthew. The subjunctive form *ὄρας πῶς* is fr. 1 (l. 8), fr. 24 (l. 21), fr. 37 (l. 13) and fr. 44 (l. 23) of the catena on Jonh.

but in this manuscript there are two different ligatures (φτ; τοῦ αὐτοῦ), meaning that both are *Scholia Photiana* but considered as two separate texts (although it is always very difficult to define the scholia as ‘separate’ since we do not know if the original source was a commentary on Paul and, if so, the distance between the scholia in that source). Instead, in GA 91 both Sch. Ph. 40 and Sch. Ph. 41 are anonymous. There is a different situation in GA 2183, where there is only Sch. Ph. 40. It seems, however, that for the edition of Rm 3, 9, Staab mostly follows GA 1923 as his basic text, although for the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans, there is a general tendency to use GA 1915 as the base text. This probably happens because he decided to join the three scholia together considering that Sch. Ph. 39 is not in GA 1915, but there is no explanation from Staab about this choice.

Sch. Ph. 42. Sch. Ph. 42, is also in GA 2183, where it is introduced by ἄλλου, which relates with what has already been said about Sch. Ph. 36.

Sch. Ph. 43. Both GA 2183 (f. 20v) and GA 91 (f. 76v) preserve an otherwise unknown scholium on Rm 3, 20. There is total agreement between the two texts, with the difference that in GA 91 the text is introduced by ἄλλ(ος) with abbreviation and there is no ligature before the scholium. The Greek text and a translation of Sch. Ph. 43 follow below:

Εἰς τοῦτο φησι ὁ νόμος ἐλυσιτέλησεν, ἐγνώρισεν ἡμῖν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὐ τῷ ἀπαγορεῦσαι νόμον τὴν πράξιν τῶν ἀτόπων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ παρακούοντας αὐτοῦ τιμωρεῖσθαι· μὴ ἐπιφερομένης γὰρ κολάσεως τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν, οὐκ ἂν

ἐγνωρίσαμεν αὐτήν· διὰ τούτων τοίνυν πάντων ἀκριβῶς συστήσας ὑφ' ἁμαρτίαν
πάντας ὄντας. ἐπάγει λοιπὸν δεικνὺς τοῦ οἰκείου λόγου τὸ περιττόν.

(tr.) 'In regard to this, he says the law pays what is due, it makes us know the sin not by refusing the law as it is practice of those who are out of place, but also by succouring those who disobey him.'

With regard to the style of the unpublished scholium, it is difficult to state whether the scholium is from Photius for reasons other than the ligature in GA 2183. The use of infinitives as substantives, such as τῷ ἀπαγορευῆσαι and τῷ τιμωρεῖσθαι, is abundant throughout the groups of *Scholia Photiana*; there are also features such as the phrase ἐπάγει λοιπὸν, the widespread use of compound verbs, such as ἐπιφερόμενης, which are typical of the style of numerous exegetes, although not specifically Photian.

Sch. Ph. 44–Sch. Ph. 45. Staab published both these scholia as one text on Rm 3, 21 (p. 487). The scholium, which I have classified as Sch. Ph. 44, is preserved in GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1907, GA 91 and GA 2183. From my investigation of the scholium on GA 2183 I make four observations. Firstly, Sch. Ph. 44 was preserved in a more extended form in this manuscript; secondly, the unpublished part preceded Sch. Ph. 43; thirdly, the two were combined as one scholium only, without pause in between or capital letters; fourthly, from the point of view of the contents, the two scholia were inverted: the first part commented on πεφανέρωται, while Sch. Ph. 44 commented on δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ. In fact, the Pauline verse states: Νυνὶ δὲ χωρὶς νόμου δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ πεφανέρωται μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν (NA28).

However, after having observed GA 91 (f. 76v), I discovered that this manuscript also preserved these unpublished lines, but as an independent scholium following Sch. Ph. 44. The sequence in GA 91 is more in line with the Pauline verse, which is the reason I have decided to classify it as Sch. Ph. 44. The reason Staab did not edit Sch. Ph. 45 could be due to the fact that this is anonymous in GA 91, meaning that the ligature is absent. However, in GA 91 Sch. Ph. 45 directly follows Sch. Ph. 44, which is identified by the ligature φτ: this gives rise to the hypothesis that the compiler decided not to repeat the ligature twice in the same sequence. The text of Sch. Ph. 45 is identical in both GA 2183 and GA 91 and I have edited it as follows:

Τὸ φανερούμαι δῆλον ὡς ἦν μὲν ἐκέκρυπτο δὲ τὴν οὖν καινοτομίαν φεύγων καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν πρόσφατον εἶναι τὸ κήρυγμα. Εἶπε, πεφανέρωται· οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ προμαρτυρηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Μωσέως· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ νόμος καὶ τῶν προφητῶν.

(tr.) “‘I revealed myself,” it is clear that he had hidden himself avoiding the new departure and that the preaching seems to be recent. He does not only say, “(Justice) was revealed,” but also that it was testified by Moses; indeed, that is the law of the prophets as well.’

The scholium confirms some of the most common Photian features in terms of style: the formulation of the quotation with the initial τὸ (l. 1) is often present in the whole *Scholia Photiana* and there is also the practice of adapting quotations (grammatically or syntactically) to the exegesis, creating non-verbatim quotations but reusing the terminology in the text. In this case, Photius is explaining the use of the verb πεφανέρωται referring to the justice of God, but also as a metaphor for Paul’s decision

to visit the community. The phrase οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ (ll. 2–3) is also common in the *Scholia Photiana*, not only on Romans (e.g. Staab, 1933: p. 488, l. 14; p. 490, l. 27; p. 525, l. 1; p. 531, l. 32; p. 549, l. 6; p. 603, l. 13; p. 610, l. 10 etc.).

With regard to the contents of the brief scholium Sch. Ph. 44, the topic is δικαιοσύνη through faith, also commented on by Apollinaris (Staab, 1933, p. 61), who also explains the value of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ in Rm 3, 21 as righteousness through faith in Christ. According to Photius, the righteousness of God also offers relief, which seems to be an idea expressed also in John Chrysostom in *In Epistulam ad Romanos, Homilia VII* (PG 60, col. 433). Additionally, both the Patriarchs highlight the redeeming role of the δικαιοσύνη of God, but there are no close textual similarities between the two.

Sch. Ph. 47–Sch. Ph. 48. Staab published Sch. Ph. 47 and Sch. Ph. 48 as one scholium commenting on Rm 3, 25–26. (Staab, 1933, p. 488), although it seems that Sch. Ph. 48 comments on Rom 3, 27 as well. These two scholia are preserved in the manuscripts Staab used for his edition, GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 91, GA 1907, but not in the additional manuscripts I have examined. In Sch. Ph. 47, the exegete develops some observations on the consequence of paying a penalty for committing a sin. Justice is also the topic of Sch. Ph. 48.

Sch. Ph. 49. The long Sch. Ph. 49 is related to the exegesis of Rm 4, 1–3, but Photius is not the only author in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena who comments on this passage; in fact, there is another scholium ascribed to Gennadius in GA 1923 (f. 20r) and the two propose a very similar interpretation. In fact, both the exegetes pay attention to the syntax in Rm 4, 1:

Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν εὐρηκέναι Ἀβραάμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν κατὰ σάρκα; Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν Ἀβραάμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν εὐρηκέναι κατὰ σάρκα (RP 2005) (NA28).

Gennadius and Photius offer an alternative reading of the biblical text avoiding the hyperbaton of κατὰ σάρκα. For Gennadius, it would be more logical (ἀκολουθῶς) to avoid hyperbaton. On the other side, Photius does not criticise the Pauline syntax and supports the presence of hyperbaton (*supra*, p. 70) in the biblical text as clearly functional to the presentation of Abraham, as father by nature, κατὰ φύσιν, and not by appearance, κατὰ σχῆμα:

Sch. Ph. 49 (Staab, 1933, p. 488, l. 31):

Τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ἐν ὑπερβατῶ κείται. ἢ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ σχῆμα ἐρμηνεῖα τοῦ λόγου· τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν Ἀβραάμ εὐρηκέναι τὸν κατὰ σάρκα ἡμῶν πατέρα;

Gennadius, Rm 4, 1 (Staab, 1933, p. 362, l. 7):

Μεθυπέρβατος ἢ ῥῆσις ἐστίν· ἀκολουθῶς γὰρ οὕτως, εἴ πως ἂν ἦν συγκειμένη· τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν εὐρηκέναι Ἀβραάμ τὸν κατὰ σάρκα πατέρα ἡμῶν; [...]

This observation is also connected with what Photius explains in Sch. Ph. 43 and Sch. Ph. 44 where, keeping again to the Pauline text and eventually quoting Gen 15, 6, he sees Abraham as the example of one who is ἐδικαιώθη, ‘justified,’ by God for his faith. The same Pauline pattern of Abraham receiving justification for his faith and righteousness is also in Chrysostom, *Homily VIII* (Migne, PG 60). Commenting on Rm 4, 1–3, the Golden Mouth states:

Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν Ἀβραάμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν; Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἄνω καὶ κάτω τοῦτο ἔστρεφον Ἰουδαῖοι, ὅτι ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ τῷ Θεῷ φίλος περιτομὴν ἐδέξατο πρῶτος, βούλεται δείξαι, ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ πίστεως ἐδικαιώθη. [...] (PG 60, col 452).

Sch. Ph. 50; Sch. Ph. 51. These are other two independent scholia published by Staab as comments on Rm 4, 5 and Rm 4, 6–10 (Staab, 1933, pp. 489–490). The only manuscripts preserving Sch. Ph. 50 are GA 1915, GA 1923 and GA 91; I also found Sch. Ph. 51 in GA 2183. Sch. Ph. 50 consists of only one sentence that reiterates the idea that faith will be judged, while Sch. Ph. 51 is longer and the topic is how faith will be judged. With regard to the contents the two scholia are closely related, but Staab still kept them as separate scholia.

Sch. Ph. 52. This is another example in the group of *Scholia Photiana* on Romans of an unpublished scholium preserved as anonymous in GA 91 and ascribed to Photius in GA 2183. However, the tradition is unclear on the authorship of this scholium, whose text is also partially preserved in the manuscripts of the *Vaticanus* and *Monacensis* types as a scholium of Severian (Cramer, 1844, v. IV, p. 29). I have provided a comparison between the two versions of the scholium below:

Sch. Ph. 52

[GA 2183 (f. 23v), GA 91 (f.78v)]:

περιτομή ἐδόθη διὰ τρεῖς ταύτας αἰτίας. ὥστε σημεῖον εἶναι πίστεως, καὶ τοῦ Ἀβραμιαίου γένους εἶναι δηλωτικόν, καὶ σύμβολον καὶ αἶνιγμα πολιτείας καθαρᾶς καὶ σώφρονος, ὥστε οὐχ ὡς δικαιοσύνης ποιητικὴ ἐδόθη, ἀλλὰ σφραγὶς καὶ σημεῖον τῆς ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνης.

(l. 1) ἄλλο περιτομή GA 2183

(tr.) ‘The circumcision was practised for three reasons: like it was given as a sign of faith, as an indication of the

Cramer, 1844, v. IV, p. 29, ll. 6–9:

{Σευηριανου} περιτομή ἐδόθη διὰ τρεῖς αἰτίας ταύτας. ὥστε σημεῖον εἶναι πίστεως, καὶ τοῦ Ἀβραμιαίου γένους εἶναι δηλωτικόν, καὶ σύμβολον καὶ αἶνιγμα πολιτείας καθαρᾶς καὶ σώφρονος, ὥστε οὐχ ὡς δικαιοσύνης τοῦ Ἀβραάμ.

(tr.) ‘The circumcision was practised for three reasons: like it was given as a sign of faith, as an indication of the

descendance from Abraham and as a remarkable ⁵⁰ symbol of pure and chaste citizenship (in Heaven), so it was given not as creator of righteousness, but as a seal and sign of the righteousness that belong to the faith.'

descendance from Abraham and as a remarkable symbol of the pure citizenship (in Heaven), so it was given not as creator of the righteousness of Abraham.'

For his edition of the scholium, Cramer used a late Oxford manuscript of the *Typus Vaticanus* where part of the text is missing at the end. In fact, Cramer indicated a lacuna in the manuscript after τοῦ Ἀβραάμ. (Cramer, 1844, v. IV p. 29). It must also be considered that this manuscript, Auct. E. 2. 20 is rather late, dating back to the sixteenth century (Cramer, 1844, v. IV, p. V). Conversely, GA 2183 and GA 91 are far older than the Oxford manuscript, being both dated to the eleventh century. It should also be considered that in GA 2183 the ligature ascribes the scholium to Photius. In order to find further proof to support the Photian paternity of the scholium, I have explored the contents and noticed two main features. First of all, it seems clear that the exegesis focuses on Rm 4, 9b–11:

(9b) ἐλογίσθη τῷ Ἀβραάμ ἡ πίστις εἰς δικαιοσύνην. (10) πῶς οὖν ἐλογίσθη; ἐν περιτομῇ ὄντι ἢ ἐν ἀκροβυστία; οὐκ ἐν περιτομῇ ἀλλ' ἐν ἀκροβυστία. (11) καὶ σημεῖον ἔλαβεν περιτομῆς σφραγίδα τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστία, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πατέρα πάντων τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκροβυστίας, εἰς τὸ λογισθῆναι [καὶ] αὐτοῖς [τὴν] δικαιοσύνην (NA 28).

Secondly, it seems to be possible to combine the version in Auct. E. 2. 20. with Sch. Ph. 53, which comments on the same passage. The latter is ascribed to Photius in all

⁵⁰ I translate with 'remarkable symbol' σύμβολον καὶ αἶνιγμα as the two are synonyms (Lampe, 1961, 'σύμβολον,' p. 1282; 'αἶνιγμα,' p. 50).

the manuscript tradition and was also published by Staab (1933, p. 490, ll. 14–26). The result is a perfectly coherent exegetical text on Rm 4, 9–11:

Photius, Sch. Ph. 53 (Staab, 1933, p. 490 Cramer, 1844, v. IV, p. 29:

ll. 14–26):

Διὰ τί, φησί, πρῶτον ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς περιτομήν ἐδόθη διὰ τρεῖς αἰτίας δικαιοσύνην, καὶ οὕτω περιετμήθη; ταύτας. ὥστε σημεῖον εἶναι πίστεως, πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα ὡς σημεῖον νομισθῇ καὶ τοῦ Ἀβραμιαίου γένους εἶναι ἀρετῆς ἢ περιτομῆς, καὶ οὐχ ὡς δηλωτικόν, καὶ σύμβολον καὶ αἰνίγμα αὐτοαρετῆς καὶ κατόρθωμα· τὸ γὰρ πολιτείας καθαρᾶς καὶ σώφρονος, σημεῖον τῆς περιτομῆς, φησί, σφραγὶς ὥστε οὐχ ὡς δικαιοσύνης τοῦ Ἀβραάμ. ἐστίν, οἷον· σημεῖόν ἐστι καὶ παράστασις τῆς ἐν ἀκροβυστία διὰ πίστεως δικαιοσύνης.⁵¹

Considering the style of the *Scholia Photiana* I have observed, it seems to me that the exegete of the *Scholia Photiana* usually builds the exegesis by adopting a ‘spotlight technique,’ going gradually into depth and attempting not to leave any misunderstanding, which therefore may sound redundant and repetitive, the two scholia match perfectly with each other and create a coherent explanation of Rm 4, 9–11. A link between the two texts is provided by διὰ τί as well as the following pronoun αὐτῷ in the biblical quotation, which could have been adapted to avoid the repetition of Ἀβραάμ. However, even considering the other version of the scholium, the

⁵¹ (tr.) ‘The circumcision was practised for three reasons: like it was given as a sign of faith, as an indication of the descent from Abraham and as a remarkable symbol of pure and chaste citizenship (in Heaven), so it was given not as the reason of the righteousness of Abraham. Then why, he says before, ‘It was credited to him as righteousness’ and so he was circumcised? First of all, because the circumcision was believed to be a sign of virtue and not as an absolute virtue and achievement; indeed, the phrase, ‘Sign of the circumcision - he says - is a seal;’ that means that a sign is also the manifestation of the righteousness through faith, in the uncircumcision.’

continuity of contents between the text and Sch. Ph. 53 would not be altered as a result but remains linear.

Sch. Ph. 53–Sch. Ph.55. This is another case in which Staab decided to edit a group of scholia as a single scholium. Primarily this is done for its uniformity of content. In the three scholia, Photius insists on the value of λογίζεσθαι αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην, ‘being justified or receiving Justice for faith.’ John Chrysostom spends quite a few words commenting on the same passages in his *Homilia VIII* (PG 60), but even if the two interpretations do not sound in contradiction with each other, it is unclear whether Chrysostom’s exegesis might have influenced Photius in this case, since the Pauline text is clear and not in need of any exegesis. However, the adjective ἐμπεριτόμων in Sch. Ph. 53 (Staab, 1933, p. 490 l. 19), which Photius uses often as a synonym of the classic participle περιτμηθείς, ‘circumcised,’ is rare in early Christian and Byzantine authors,⁵² except for Chrysostom’s homilies on Romans and 1 Corinthians, where ἐμπερίτομος is documented frequently in different case-forms⁵³ The noun αὐτοαρετή (1933, p. 490, l. 16) is unusual and innovative as well. Photius uses this to describe the Jewish ritual of circumcision as a principle of virtue. According to Lampe, *Lexicon*, the word αὐτοαρετή is only recorded twice before Photius: in the *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Salamis (315–403), where it refers specifically

⁵² There is only one reference in the accusative case, περιτμηθείς, in Eusebius, *Commentaria in psalmos* (PG 23, col. 84, l. 31).

⁵³ For instance, there are several references in Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Romanos (Homiliae 1–32)* (PG 60, coll. 437, 457, 458).

to the ἀὐτοαρετή of God, and in Athanasius of Alexandria (295–373), *Contra Gentes* (Lampe, 1968, p. 268). With regard to these two early Christian works, only the *Panarion* appears to be in Photius' *Bibliotheca* (cod. 122).⁵⁴ After Photius, the only person to use the same word, but in the genitive case, is Michael Psellus in the eleventh-century *Omnifaria Doctrina*, with the same meaning as in Epiphanius (Westerink, 1948, s. 69).

Sch. Ph. 56. This scholium is preserved in GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 91 and GA 2183. In regard to the contents it seems to be closely related to the other scholia on Rm 4, commenting on Rm 4, 14–16. Mainly, the scholium provides a detailed analysis of the example of Adam as the first circumcised man to receive the law; in Abram, values such as justice and faith prevailed over being circumcised.

Sch. Ph. 57–Sch. Ph. 58. Both these brief scholia comment on Rm 4, 17 and are preserved in the same manuscripts GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 91 and GA 2183; Staab published them as one scholium only (Staab, 1933, p. 492). Apart from Sch. Ph. 57 and Sch. Ph. 58, the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena preserves another text on the interpretation of Rm 4, 17, which is ascribed to Severian of Gabala in GA 1915 and published by Staab (1933, p. 217). The Severian scholium is also in GA 1923 (f. 25r), although there it is anonymous. The scholium consists of only one sentence explaining the form κατέναντι, probably created on the classical κατέναντιον, 'before.' Both Severian and Sch. Ph. 57 give a literal interpretation of κατέναντι:

⁵⁴ ed. Wilson, 1994, p. 126.

Sch. Ph. 57 (Staab 1933, p. 492, ll. 11–16):

Κατέναντι· ἐναντίον, ἐνώπιον, εἰς πρόσωπον θεοῦ· εἰς πρόσωπον γὰρ προσώπου εἴρηται, οἷον ὡς ἐκ προσώπου θεοῦ τὸ πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε [...].

Severian (Staab, 1933, p. 217, ll. 20–21):

Κατέναντι οὐ ἐπίστευσεν· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνώπιον προσώπου οὐ [1 20] ἐπίστευσε θεοῦ.

As it is evident from the comparison of the two exegetes, they use similar words in their exegesis. By comparing authors in the same catena, investigating whether this supplies any indication that Photius knew the catena and the exegesis of the other fathers in it. Sch. Ph. 57 may provide us with a clue to be confirmed during further investigation.

Sch. Ph. 59a–Sch. Ph. 59b. GA 91 preserves an expanded form of Sch. Ph. 59 as is known from GA 1915, GA 1923 and GA 1907. It seems that this expanded version is not in GA 2183. The alternative version of GA 91 was noticed by Staab, who included it in the apparatus to his edition.⁵⁵ Sch. Ph. 59b is too brief to allow and a detailed analysis of the style, although the phrase ἀντὶ τοῦ introducing the exegesis is very common in the *Scholia Photiana*, as already mentioned in the analysis of Sch. Ph. 6b.

With regard to the context of the two scholia, commenting on Rm 4, 18, the texts are not very clear. In the letter, Paul describes Abraham as ‘father,’ ὅς παρ’ ἐλπίδα ἐπ’ἐλπίδι ἐπίστευσεν εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον (NA28). The comment by Photius become clearer only in the light of

⁵⁵ An alternative version is in GA 91 (f. 79v) [...], ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαγγελίας ἐπίστευσεν, πολὺ τὸ ἀνέλπιστον ἐχούσαις κατ’ ἀνθρώπινον λογισμόν, ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι γὰρ φησι· τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ· παρ’ ἐλπίδα. Τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι τῆς τοῦ ἐπαγγελαμένου δυνάμεως (Staab, 1933, p. 492).

Chrysostom: Πῶς παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐπίστευσε; Παρ' ἐλπίδα τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Δείκνυσι γὰρ καὶ τὸ μεγαλεῖον τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσιν ἀπιστηθῆναι τὸ λεγόμενον· ἅπερ ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἡ πίστις αὐτὰ συνεκέρασεν. (PG 60, col. 464). According to Chrysostom, there is a contrast between human hope and hope in God, which contrast each other, but can be blended together by faith. Although it is not possible to consider this as a clear quotation, it is clear that Chrysostom's exegesis had a strong influence on Photius, especially for the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans.

Sch. Ph. 60–Sch. Ph. 64. This group of five scholia was published by Staab as one text under the heading of Rm 4, 24–5, 5 (Staab, 1933, pp. 192–194), although Photius analyses Rm 5, 1 in Sch. Ph. 60 (as mentioned above, titles in Staab may include Pauline passages not in the exegesis): the Jewish people, not believing in the resurrection of Jesus, carries on a war, πόλεμος, against God, which is time to stop.

This scholium seems to echo Chrysostom:

<p>Sch. Ph. 60 (Staab, 1933, p. 483, ll. 4–5): [...] ἀλλ' οἱ δικαιοθέντες, φησίν, εἰρήνην ἔχωμεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα,⁵⁶ καταλύσωμεν τελείως τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμον</p>	<p>Chrysostom, Homilia IX (PG 60, col 467): Εἰρήνην ἔχωμεν· τουτέστι, μηκέτι ἀμαρτάνωμεν, μηδὲ πρὸς τὰ πρότερα ἐπανερχώμεθα· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ πόλεμον ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν [...]</p>
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467). Sch. Ph. 61 also seems to recall the same work of Chrysostom, who comments on Rm 5, 2 a few lines below. The comment on Rm 5, 2 seems also to be influenced by

⁵⁶ By quoting Paul's letter, Photius says τὸν πατέρα, which appears in neither RP 2005 nor NA28. Whereas Chrysostom uses τὸν θεόν also found in RP 2005 e NA.

Chrysostom. Paul says that Christians have gained access to grace through Jesus Christ and by faith. In *Homilia IX* Chrysostom explains that grace consists in achieving the truth and obtaining all the blessings which come through baptism. Photius mentions baptism, as well. According to the Patriarch, baptism is the means by which faithful people achieve grace:

Sch. Ph. 61 (Staab, 1933, p. 493, l. 13–15):

[...] ἐπὶ ποίῳ κατορθώματι αὕτη ἡ χάρις ἐδόθη; ἐπὶ πίστει μόνῃ· μόνον γὰρ ἐπιστεύσαμεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος πάντα ἡμῖν ταῦτα ἡ χάρις ἐχαρίσατο.

Chrysostom, *Homilia IX* (PG 62, col. 468):

[...] τὸ καταξιωθῆναι τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ γνώσεως, τὸ τῆς πλάνης ἀπαλλαγῆναι, τὸ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπιγνῶναι, τὸ πάντων ἐπιτυχεῖν τῶν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν [...].

Other similarities between Photius and Chrysostom in the interpretation of Rm 5, 3–5 can be found in Sch. Ph. 64. In that passage, Paul explains how we glorify God not only in the state of grace, but also in our sufferings, which are a source of perseverance: [p. 493, l. 24 seq.] πόθεν καυχώμεθα ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν; ὅτι ἐρῶμεν σφόδρα τοῦ θεοῦ [...]. John Chrysostom believes that the θλίψεις, ‘tribulations,’ are good to train people to be patient, but sufferings also play an important role in making humans experienced and conscientious (PG 60, col 469). Even if Photius’ interpretation sounds very similar to what Chrysostom says, he includes his own allegories and innovations in interpreting the Bible; in his interpretation, θλίψεις are a sign of the vigorous and passionate love that God generates in us through the Holy Spirit (Staab 1933, p. 493, l. 28).

Sch. Ph. 65. The scholium comments on Rm 5, 6–11 which the exegete defined as ‘the hyperbole of love’ and is explained through different metaphors such as a mother’s womb, or the dedication of a legislator in fulfilling his duties. The exegesis then continues with the idea that God even loved sinners, a love demonstrated by his blood on the cross. In this case, the Photian exegesis seems to be completely independent, without any influence from Chrysostom or any other father.

Sch. Ph. 66–Sch. Ph. 67. These two scholia have been edited as a single scholium on Rm 5, 12 (Staab, 1933, pp. 495–496), probably following GA 1915 (ff. 44v–45r) where the two scholia are combined in one scholium. With regard to the content, another author in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena interprets Rm 5, 12: Oecumenius (Staab, 1933, p. 424). Like Photius, Oecumenius interprets the passage in the light of the fall of Adam. However, Chrysostom indirectly refers to Adam as well in *Homilia X*. According to Photius, humankind did not only die because of Adam, but also with Adam, as all became sinners after him: the same interpretation appears in *Amphilochia, Quaestio 84* (PG 102, co. 533), although, even in this case, it is not possible to find any relevant textual feature that allow a direct comparison between the two texts of Photius.

Sch. Ph. 68–Sch. Ph. 70; Sch. Ph. 71. To consider Sch. Ph. 68 and Sch. Ph. 69 as two separate scholia may be challenging, because they are treated as one text in three manuscripts, GA 1915, GA 91 and GA 2183, although the text of Sch. Ph. 69 is not complete in GA 2183 (up to ἡμάστανον), while there is correspondence between GA 1915 and GA 91. However, the reason I decided to keep them as two separate scholia

is due to GA 1923, where the two scholia are clearly separated, each one being introduced by its own lemma with an initial in *ekthesis*. However, we do not know what the original redaction might have looked like and considering the contents - Sch. Ph. 68 commenting on Rm 5, 13 and Sch. Ph. 69 on Rm 5, 14 - I believe they could be considered as two independent texts. On the other hand, Sch. Ph. 70 is clearly treated as a 'self-standing text' in all the manuscripts. With regard to the contents, in these three scholia the exegete focuses on the existence of the time when the law was absent and reminds his audience of figures like Adam and Moses. In the light of Rm 5, 13–14, Photius explains that sin existed, but it was not heeded by humans; it was the law that made the ideas of transgression and punishment clearer. To support his interpretation, Photius remembers Sodom and the Great Flood as the two main example of ancient punishments against sin in the Scriptures.⁵⁷ Very similar examples of punishment are reported in the scholium ascribed to Oecumenius of Trikka (Staab, 1933, p. 424, l. 16 ss), who mentions the Sodomites, Cain and Lamech. It could be that this similarity is not sufficient to demonstrate that Photius knew Oecumenius' comments, but neither is there sufficient evidence provided from the comparison of the following Sch. Ph. 71 and the scholium on Rm 5, 14b ascribed to Oecumenius and also published (Staab, 1933, p. 425), whose texts I report below:

⁵⁷ On the contrary, in *Homilia X* Chrysostom quotes positive example from the Bible, like Abel, Noah and Abraham (see PG 60, col. 472).

Sch. Ph. 71 (Staab, 1933, p. 498, ll. 12–15):

Εἰπὼν ὅτι τύπος ἦν ὁ Ἀδὰμ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τύπος δὲ δηλονότι ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου – ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος αἴτιος ἀνθρώποις θανάτου, οὕτως ὁ Χριστὸς αἴτιος ἀνθρώποις ἀναστάσεως -· εἰπὼν οὖν, ὡς ἔφημεν, ὅτι τύπος ἦν ὁ Ἀδὰμ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Oecumenius, Rm 5, 14b (Staab, 1933, p. 425, ll. 4–7):

[p. 425, l. 4] Ὡς φησιν, Ἀδὰμ τύπος ἦν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔρχεσθαι τοῦτ' ἔστι Χριστοῦ. πῶς; ὡσπερ φησί, τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀπέθνησκον, οὕτως τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάντες ζησόμεθα καὶ ἀναστησόμεθα ὁ οὖν τύπος ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου συμβέβηκεν

Additionally, there seem to be no analogies between Photius and Chrysostom in this case; indeed, in his interpretation of Rm 5, 14 Chrysostom recalls examples of good behaviour in the Old Testament, such as Abel, Abraham and Lamech (PG 60, col. 462), rather than examples of punishment, like Photius and Oecumenius.

Sch. Ph. 72. The exegesis in this scholium shows some similarities with a scholium ascribed to Gennadius and also published by Staab (1933, p. 364). In the *Scholia Photiana*, the exegete often builds up his own arguments and interpretation around quotations from biblical passages from both Old and New Testament. In Sch. Ph. 72, Photius interprets Rm 5, 20 by insisting on the value of dualities, such as Adam and Christ, death and resurrection, law and grace; then, he concludes the chapter stating that the real purpose of the law was multiplying sins so that grace would arise. To support this argument, he also quotes Gal 3, 19, ὁ νόμος παρεισηλθεν ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα, where Paul reminds his audience that the law was introduced because of the transgressions of humankind. The same quotation, to explain exactly the same passage, is in Gennadius, whose scholium is also preserved in GA 1915 (f. 54v):

Photius, Sch. Ph. 72
(Staab, 1933, p. 499, l. 20 ss):

ὁ νόμος παρεισήλθεν ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα. τοῦτο δὲ νῦν ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδάμ χαλεπῶν ἐπεμνήσθη, καὶ τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴν νόμον ἔφη γενέσθαι τὸν σωτήρα, ἵνα μὴ λαγῶσιν. [...].

Gennadius, Rm 5, 20
(Staab, 1933, p. 364, l. 27 ss):

Νόμος δὲ παρεισήλθεν, φησὶν, ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα. ἔοικε τοῦτο τῷ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γαλάτας· ὁ νόμος τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη (Gal 3, 19). τὸ γὰρ ἵνα κἀνταυθα κατὰ τὸ ἰδιωμα τέθεικεν, σημαίνει γὰρ τὸ ἀκόλουθον. Τοῖς γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδάμ, φησὶν, ἄπασιν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀδάμ νόμου δοθέντος [p. 365, l. 1] ἐπλεόνασε τὸ παράπτωμα [...].

The element of the common quotation is unusual, although it must be noticed that the Photian quotation is not verbatim and that their reference to Gal 3, 19 is implicit in the exegesis of Rm 6, 5.

Sch. Ph. 73. This is a very brief scholium consisting of only one sentence which is anonymous in the sister manuscripts GA 1923 and GA 1982 and is also preserved in GA 1915 in the form of a marginal addition on f. 55v. Therefore, we could assume the scholium was ascribed to Photius by Staab on the basis of only GA 91; however, the authorship of this brief text is also confirmed by the Photian ligature in GA 2183 (f. 32r). Additionally, the scholium briefly comments on the syntax in Rm 5, 21 οὕτως καὶ ἡ χάρις βασιλεύσῃ διὰ δικαιοσύνης εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (NA 28); which Photius suggests reading following the order διὰ δικαιοσύνης τῆς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, since the δικαιοσύνη was paid in full, ἐπιτελεσθείσης καὶ καταπραχθείσης (Staab, 1933, p. 499, ll. 27–28), by Christ. In the *Scholia Photiana*, this is not the first time we find a comment where the exegete reconstructs the order

of the words in the Pauline verse for exegetical purposes (e.g. Sch. Ph. 12; Sch. Ph. 49); that would support Photian authorship, beyond the ligature in GA 91 and GA 2183.

Sch. Ph. 74–Sch. Ph. 75. These two scholia are combined together as one text in Staab’s edition under the heading of *Rm 6, 3–4*. While Sch. Ph 74 is preserved in GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 91, GA 2183 and GA 1916, Sch. Ph. 75 is only in GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1982 and GA 91. They offer another example of a paraphrase of the Pauline verses. Photius reinforces the concept that the baptism allows Christians to be reborn to a new life; the death of Christ removes sins and shows faith, knowledge and resolution as sign of perfection. The scholium is an example of how Photius tends to quote Paul by rearranging and fitting syntactically the text of the epistles to his own Greek, through the procedure of flattening (Houghton, 2010, p. 271). For instance, in *Rm 6, 4* Paul says, [...] ἵνα ὡσπερ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν [...] καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν (NA28), but in Sch. Ph. 75 we read, εἰ δὲ περιπατήσομαι ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς, δηλονότι καὶ ἀναστησόμεθα - ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγέρθη ἐκ νεκρῶν (Staab, 1933, p. 501, ll. 21–22).

Sch. Ph. 76. The scholium begins with the exegesis of the Pauline metaphor of σύμφυτοι in *Rm 6, 5*. The adjective σύμφυτος, -ον, ‘born with one/congenial’ (Lampe, 1961, p. 1292), but also ‘grown together,’ generally referring to plants, (Abbott-Smith, 1937, p. 423), acquires the metaphorical meaning of ‘born to a new life with Christ.’ According to Photius, like a plant lying down in the earth, waiting for death in winter then reviving at once in spring, the body, which belongs to God, lies in the grave for the short term, but thanks to baptism it can flourish again in full blossom, towards

salvation. Chrysostom still underlies Photius' interpretation, but only for the part related to the tree lying in the earth, which is, according to the Golden Mouth, like a body buried in baptism; the metaphor then develops in a different way in his *Homilia XI* (PG 60, col. 484) where the exegesis focuses more on the fruit of the tree as an allegory of righteousness. Chrysostom spends the most part of his homily on the Pauline words ὁμοιώτατι τοῦ θανάτου, 'in the likeness of his death,' which are also mentioned by Photius briefly at the end of the scholium as well.

Sch. Ph. 77–Sch. Ph. 78. The two scholia were edited as one text commenting on Rm 6, 6 by Staab (1933, pp. 500–501). However, Sch. Ph. 78 is anonymous in GA 1915, GA 1923 and GA 1982 and that is ascribed to Photius on the basis of GA 91. I can also confirm that GA 2183 preserves the text with a Photian ligature (f. 33v). The interpretation of Rm 6, 6 in Sch. Ph. 77 is very close to Chrysostom's interpretation in *Homilia XI* (PG 60, col. 486). According to Chrysostom, the old body in Paul's epistle is the allegory of the weakness of iniquity; Photius follows that interpretation and clearly states that τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας is a periphrasis for the sins themselves (Staab, 1933, p. 500–501, l. 10 ff).

Sch. Ph. 79–Sch. Ph. 80. From an exegetical point of view, the scholia from Sch. Ph. 79 to Sch. Ph. 86 do not add much to what Paul says in the letter and a comparison with Chrysostom and the other authors in the catena has not revealed any relevant results in terms of possible influence on Photius. It is clear, in fact, that the aim of the exegete is simply to paraphrase Paul's verses to make the biblical text including Rm 6, 8–14 more accessible. It is also worth noticing that Sch. Ph. 79 which Staab published

together with Sch. Ph. 80 as a scholium on Rm 6, 8–9, is preserved only in GA 1923 and GA 1982.

Sch. Ph. 81–Sch. Ph. 83a; Sch. Ph 83b. In his edition, Staab published a text on Rm 6, 12–14 (Staab, 1933, pp. 501–502) by combining three scholia, Sch. Ph. 81, Sch. Ph. 82 and I temporarily call Sch. Ph. 83. However, in observing GA 2183, I found some extra lines following Sch. Ph. 83. In expanding my research of those lines to the other manuscripts, I came upon the same in GA 91, where Sch. Ph. 83 is anonymous and ends with the sign (:) rather than a semicolon (;) as would be expected in that manuscript. After the sign (:), there is also a blank space, which is another element which often occurs in GA 91 to separate two different scholia. The extra lines start without a capital letter (Image 4):



(Image 4: Detail from [GA 91, f. 85r, l. 6](#))

Therefore, at first sight it looks as if the extra lines are to be considered as another scholium, but the end of Sch. Ph 83 with (:) generates some doubt about that. It seems that those extra lines are actually part of Sch. 83, so I have included them in the list of the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans and named the text as Sch. Ph. 83b:

Ποία ἀμαρτία οὐ κυριεύει; ἢ πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἀφήσιν ἢ χάρις τοῦ Χριστοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ ὁ νόμος ποιεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο· οὐκ ἔτε οὖν φησὶ ὑπὸ νόμον τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ῥύσασθαι ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τιμωρούμενον.

(tr.) ‘Which “sin will not rule (upon you)”?’ The one before the baptism. It is clear that the grace of Christ cancels it. The law was not able to do that and not only he says that what was not allowed was redeemed by the law, but even more what was punished.’

The scholium definitely shows some feature of the exegetical style of the *Scholia Photiana*, especially in its use of participles and infinitives.

Sch. Ph. 84; Sch. Ph. 85; Sch. Ph. 86. As mentioned above in the section on Sch. Ph. 79–Sch. Ph. 80, this group of brief scholia does not add much reflection on Paul’s exegesis, since the Patriarch tries to simplify the approach to the Pauline text by using paraphrasis and repetitions. Sch. Ph. 84, Sch. Ph. 85 and Sch. Ph. 86 comment respectively on Rm 6, 16, Rm 6, 18–22 and Rm 6, 23 (Staab, 1933, pp. 502–503). Unlike the other two, Sch. Ph. 86 is not preserved in GA 1905, although it is in GA 1923, which would open new consideration of the supposed relationship between GA 1923 and GA 1905 that Staab believed (Staab, 1933, p. XLIII).

Sch. Ph. 87–Sch. Ph. 88; Sch. Ph. 89. These two very short scholia are preserved in the main manuscripts of the tradition and comment on Rm 7, 1–2. Especially in Sch. Ph. 88 and Sch. Ph. 89, the main focus is on the use of the verb *κατήργηται* in Rm 7, 2, ἡ γὰρ ὑπανδρος γυνὴ τῷ ζῶντι ἀνδρὶ δέδεται νόμῳ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνηρ, *κατήργηται ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀνδρός* (NA28). The same verb is documented several times in Paul’s writings with different meanings (Liddell et al., 1940, ‘καταργέω,’ p. 770); for instance, the active voice means ‘to make of no effect’ (Rm 3, 3) and the passive means ‘to be abolished’ (Rm 6, 6; Cor 2, 6) as well as ‘to be parted’ (Gal 5, 4). Photius interprets the verb as synonymous with *ἠλευθέρωται*, ‘to be set

free,' which is different from the ἀπολέλυται, 'divorced,' also in Sch. Ph. 88 (Staab, 1933, p. 503, l. 23). Four authors in the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius show their interest in Rm 7, 12 and they comment on the verse in almost the same way: apart from one scholium by Photius, we also have scholia ascribed to Gennadius, Severian and Theodore. Photius, Gennadius and Theodore analyse the meanings of the two adjectives δικαία and ἀγαθή, which describe ἐντολή in Paul, but in Photius they are applied to νόμος as well.

Sch. Ph. 90–Sch. Ph. 91. Staab edited Sch. Ph. 90 and 91 as one scholium on Rm 7, 8–11 (Staab, 1933, p. 504). However, it is clear from the analysis of the codices that these two were independent scholia, which all the manuscript tradition agrees in ascribing to Photius. With regard to the contents, the focus of both scholia is on the reinforcement of the sin for those who denied the law.

Sch. Ph. 92. This scholium comments on Rm 7, 12 and is preserved in all the main manuscripts, including GA 1916. The exegesis focuses on the explanation of the attributions of the law, defined by Paul as ἅγιος, δίκαιος and ἀγαθός. According to Photius the law is 'sacred,' because it is protected by those who want to avoid sin; it is 'just,' because it praises the pure and imposes sanctions on those who break it and it is also 'good,' because it is generous with those who behave in any circumstances.

Sch. Ph. 93. The scholium preserves an exegesis of Rm 7, 13. The mention of some examples of ancient sins, such as Cain, is also in Chrysostom's *Homilia XII* (PG 60), although this might not be enough to prove a close relationship between the two texts, as the episode of Cain and Abel has always been very popular in ancient tradition.

Sch. Ph. 94. The most interesting feature of this brief scholium is σχηματολογία (Staab, 1933, p. 506 l. 7), whose meaning is ‘transference of application’ (Lampe, 1961, p. 1360). It is probably to be intended more literally as ‘shape/structure of the speech,’ from σχῆμα ‘shape’ or ‘form’ (Liddell et al, 1940 p. 1745). This refers to the use of the phrase ἐγὼ δὲ σαρκικός εἰμι opposing πνευματικός in Rm 7. 14. According to the scholium, by using ἐγὼ δὲ Paul models on himself the transgression of the law in order to smooth the harsh and critic tone of the accusation of transgressing the law.

Sch. Ph. 95–96. Staab published these two scholia as one text commenting on Rm 7, 15–20 (Staab, 1933, p. 506–507). The two are actually combined as one text in GA 91, GA 1905 and GA 2183. With regard to the potential relationship between GA 1923 and GA 1905 (Staab, 1933, p. XLIII), this is another element contrasting with that hypothesis, since the scholia are preserved as independent texts in GA 1923.

Sch. Ph. 97abc. The three scholia Sch. Ph. 97a, Sch. Ph. 97b and Sch. Ph. 97c are difficult to find in terms of classification. In fact, the manuscripts preserve these three texts not always as three independent scholia, but often combining them as one major scholium. This seems the case in GA 1915, GA 1907 and GA 91, but not in GA 1923 and GA 1982, where Sch. Ph. 97a is ascribed to Photius and treated as a separate scholium, whereas Sch. Ph. 97b and Sch. Ph. 97c are combined as one anonymous scholium. It is also possible in cases like GA 1923 that the three texts are given in sequence and are identified by a single Photian ligature before Sch. Ph. 97a and that the following two texts are defined by capital initials only. This is the reason I decided to keep the three together as Sch. Ph. 97, but since I have recognised they could also

be independent, I have assigned them the letters a, b and c. With regard to the context, the focus of this group of scholia is Rm 7, 21. At the bottom of his edition, Staab reports that other authors in catenae commented on the same passage: Gennadius, Theodoret, Cyril and Diodore (Staab, 1933, p. 507). However, after I have compared Photius with those authors, I did not find any relevant point in common between them. Indeed, scholia from Theodoret, Gennadius and Diodore are too brief to allow a possible comparison with Photius' scholium. Theodoret, who is also traditionally considered in the group of the exegetes of the Antiochene School (*supra*, p. 7 ff.), might have been an inspiration for many exegetes and we also know that Photius expressed particular appreciation for his works (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 203), but the connection in this case is unclear. John Chrysostom interprets the biblical passage as well, but a direct relationship with Sch. Ph. 97abc seems unlikely.

Sch. Ph. 98. In this scholium, Photius' interpretation focuses on Rm 7, 22–23:

συνήδομαι γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, (23) βλέπω δὲ ἕτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντά με ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου (NA 28).

According to Paul's writing, there are two laws; the first one is the law of the sin, which fights against the law of the mind. In his comment, the exegete refers to the existence of other two laws: the written law, ὁ γραπτὸς, and the natural law, ἐμφυτός. Therefore, he concludes, the laws are three in total: γραπτὸς, ἐμφυτός and ἀντιστρατευόμενον (Staab, 1933, p. 508, ll. 19–23). There are some recurring stylistical features of *Scholia Photiana* such as the flattening, τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ and τῷ

νόμῳ τοῦ νοῦς μου becoming λέγει νόμον θεοῦ, λέγει νόμον νοῦς, but also the quotation of the Pauline verses together with their paraphrasis:

ὁ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν ἰσχύσας, ὃν καὶ ἀντιστρατευόμενον λέγει καὶ ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἔχειν τὴν ἰσχὴν τοῦ ἀντιστρατεύεσθαι (Staab, 1933, p. 508, ll. 20–21).

The existence of the three laws is also the object of discussion in Chrysostom, *Homilia XIII*. In particular, in commenting on Rm 2, 25–26, Chrysostom states the existence of the two laws plus a third one, Ἔστι γὰρ νόμος ὁ φυσικὸς καὶ ἔστιν ὁ γραπτὸς· ἀλλὰ καὶ μέσος τούτων ὁ διὰ τῶν ἔργων (PG 60, col. 435). It is not clear which is the biblical passage Chrysostom refers to by saying, ὁ διὰ τῶν ἔργων, but he definitely uses the adjectives, φυσικὸς and γραπτὸς to summarise the Pauline description, ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία τὸν νόμον τελούσα σὲ τὸν διὰ γράμματος καὶ περιτομῆς παραβάτην νόμου, which brings us to consider another potential echo of Chrysostom in a Photian exegetical scholium.

Sch. Ph. 99 The scholium consists of a very brief sentence commenting on Rm 8, 2; the exegete suggests interpreting the Pauline text νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος as νόμος εὐαγγελικός. The scholium is in both the *Typus Vaticanus* and Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. In the *Vaticanus* GA 1915 this looks like an addition in the margin next to Sch. Ph. 98, while in Pseudo-Oecumenius this is a second-hand addition in GA 1905 and it is part of the body of text of the ‘frame-catena’ in GA 1923 and GA 1982. In my investigation, I also found the same scholium as part of the scholium ascribed to Theodore of Mopsuestia in the catena of *Typus Monacensis*, GA 1909 (f. 50rv), already

mentioned as the *supplementum* Cramer used for his edition of the catena on Romans (*supra*, p. 17):

Sch. Ph. 99 (Staab, 1933, p. 509, ll. 4–5): Theodore of Mopsuestia

Ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος· ὁ
εὐαγγελικός· οὗτος γὰρ κυρίως νόμος
τοῦ πνεύματος

GA 1909 (f. 50rv):

Ἡ νόμος πνευματος τὸν εὐαγγελικόν
φησι νόμον· οὗτος γὰρ κυρίως τοῦ
πνεύματος νόμος.

Although Staab did not mention the similarity between Photius and Theodore, he pointed out some problems related to the authorship of some scholia ascribed to Diodore of Tarsus in GA 1915 converged as part of scholia ascribed to Theodore in GA 1909 (Staab, 1926, p. 40), which affected the reliability of Cramer's edition of the catena on Romans. Therefore, it could also be that the Photian comment became part of Theodore's scholium through a similar process. In both Photius and Theodore, the quotations in GA 1909 are not strictly verbatim, but went through a process of adaptation of the Greek to fit within the new context.

Sch. Ph. 100; Sch. Ph. 101; Sch. Ph. 102; Sch. Ph. 103. This group of *Scholia Photiana* explains the verses from Rm 8, 3 to Rm, 8, 15 through the use of repetitions and the recurring technique of question and answer, which is intended as the popular genre of *Questions and Answers* which the *Amphilochia* belong to (Efthymiadis, 2017, pp. 52–55), but as the pedagogical use of hypothetical questions that may rise from the reading of the Pauline texts followed by the explanation of the exegete, is typical of the *Scholia Photiana*. As is characteristic of the Photian exegetical style of the scholia, the exegesis is introduced by phrases such as *καλῶς φησιν, ὅρα πῶς τοῦτ' ἔστι, οὐ*

γὰρ ἀπλῶς...ἀλλὰ, and for the first time διχῶς ἐστὶν ἐκλαβεῖν...ἤ... which is also frequently used in the *Scholia Photiana* on 1 Corinthians (e.g. Sch. Ph. 231–Sch. Ph. 233; Sch. Ph. 246; Sch. Ph. 285), when there is a need to introduce two alternative interpretations of the same passage. It is also interesting to notice some similarities between the interpretation of Photius in Sch. Ph. 103 and a scholium ascribed to Oecumenius of Trikka, also published by Staab, in particular, there is a brief verbatim quotation probably recalling Ps 81 (82), 6, which I have highlighted in bold and the same use of the adverb τυπικῶς related to the metaphor of the children:

Sch. Ph. 103 (Staab, 1933, p. 510, ll. 17–24): **Oecumenius, Rm 8, 15 (Staab, 1933, p. 427, ll. 17–20):**

<p>[...] οἱ δὲ γε Ἰουδαῖοι, εἰ καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο τέκνα Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ παμπόλλη κλήσεως ἐκατέρας καὶ υἰοθεσίας ἢ διαφορᾶ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τυπικῶς ὠνομάζοντο, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αὐτοῖς εἰς τύπον ἐτελεῖτο τῆς χάριτος, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ τυπικῶς ἀλλ' αὐτοτελῶς· καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰ καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο υἱοί [...].</p>	<p>Τάχα δέ, εἰ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι θεοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ υἱοὶ Θεοῦ. ὥσπερ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς πάντα τύπος ἦν τῶν ἡμετέρων, οὕτω καὶ ἡ υἰοθεσία· οὔτε γὰρ κυρίως ἐκλήθησαν ἀλλὰ τυπικῶς υἱοί, οὔτε καθολικῶς πνεῦμα ἔλαβον.</p>
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This verbatim quotation is indeed very brief, but I would not completely exclude that in this case the exegete of the *Scholia Photiana* might have been influenced in some extent by the scholium of Oecumenius in the catena, since the sentence does not seem to be documented otherwise. The possible influence on Photius of other authors that Photius would have read in the catenae was proposed by Antonopoulou in her study on the relationship between the Photian scholium on Heb 7, 3 and Eustathius of

Antioch, *Epistula Alexandri Alexandrini (De Melchisedech)* (Antonopoulou, 2006, p. 549) already mentioned in the introduction to this thesis (*supra*, p. 46 ff).

Sch. Ph. 104–Sch. Ph. 108. Staab edited these five scholia as one text on Rm 8, 23–27. However, the investigation of the manuscripts has led to the conclusion that there are five *Scholia Photiana* included in the text, although some issues require clarification. Firstly, GA 1915 ff. 113r–119v is written by a later hand dating to the fourteenth century. Sch. Ph. 105 is ascribed to Photius in GA 1915, but is introduced by ἄλλως in GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1982 and GA 1905. As already mentioned in the analysis of the group Sch. Ph. 39–Sch. Ph.41, if we consider that ἄλλ(ως) was used in the early stage of the compilation of the catenae, before the introduction of the ligatures, there is no reason to consider Sch. Ph. 105 as anonymous in GA 1923 and 1982; in fact, the repetition of the Photian ligature before Sch. Ph. 104 in all the manuscripts would not be necessary before Sch. Ph. 105. GA 2183 (ff. 46v–47r) is the only manuscript ascribing both Sch. Ph. 104 and Sch. Ph. 105 to Chrysostom through the ligatures χ(ρ)υσ(ο)στομ and τ(οῦ) αὐτοῦ, soon afterwards - Sch. Ph. 105 follows Sch. Ph. 104. Similarly, in GA 91, Sch. Ph. 105 is introduced by the more extended form τ(οῦ) αὐτ(οῦ) ἄλλ(ως) in the right margin. Additionally, Sch. Ph. 104 shows another similarity with a brief Oecumenian scholium also published (Staab, 1933, p. 428, l. 4). That scholium is preserved in the *Normal Typus*, GA 1997 (f. 30v) and the *Spezialtypus*, Vat. gr. 1430 - GA 622 - (f. 18r), where the scholium is anonymous; together with Sch. Ph. 104, it is also preserved in the *Erweiterte Typus* GA 1923 (f. 43v) and the *Typus Vaticanus* GA 1915 (f. 113r):

Sch. Ph. 104 (Staab, 1933, p. 510, ll. 29–32):

[...]τότε ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσις [...] τότε πάντα τὰ τῆς υἰοθεσίας γνωρίσματα καὶ ἀποτελέσματα· [...].

Oecumenius, Rm 8, 23 (Staab, 1933, p. 428, l. 4):

Τότε γὰρ τὰ τῆς υἰοθεσίας ἀποτελέσματα.

The Oecumenian scholium is very brief and it has been clearly rearranged and expanded in the context of the Photian scholium; GA 1915 and GA 1923 preserve both scholia separately so there does not appear to be a confusion of authorship in the manuscript tradition, unlike Sch. Ph. 99 and the comment ascribed to Theodore in the *Typus Monacensis*. However, Sch. Ph. 104 shows a case very similar to the previous Sch. Ph. 57, where Photius seems to quote Severian, as well as Sch. Ph. 49, where I have highlighted similarities with Gennadius. In all those cases, Photius could have had used the catenae as a source for his exegesis. As I said with regard to Sch. Ph. 103, although these quotations are very brief, they can still be considered elements supporting Antonopoulou's hypothesis of the use of the catenae as a source for the *Scholia Photiana* (*supra*, pp. 45–47).

The information Staab provides in his edition about the location of the brief Sch. Ph. 106, Sch. Ph. 107 and Sch. Ph. 108 is inaccurate (Staab, 1933, p. 511). Sch. Ph. 106 is preserved in GA 1915 and this is probably the reason Staab decided to publish it, but this scholium is also in GA 91, although as an anonymous addition in the margin. Sch. Ph. 107 is preserved in GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 1907 and also in GA 91, where, however, it is preserved as an anonymous addition in the margin by the same hand who added Sch. Ph. 106, which leads one to think that both Sch. Ph. 106 and Sch. Ph.

107 were added to the manuscript at the same time. With regard to Sch. Ph. 108, only GA 1915 preserves the initial phrase τῶν διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς ἀγιαζομένων, which is missing from all the rest of the tradition.

Sch. Ph. 109; Sch. Ph. 110. The first of these scholia is a very brief scholium (Staab, 1933, p. 512), consisting of one sentence only, which comments on Rm 8, 28 by using the explicative τουτ' ἔστι. The explicative phrase is abundantly documented in the Bibliotheca (e.g. codices 194, 222, 228, 229, 232 etc.), but is a feature of all the groups of *Scholia Photiana*. Sch. Ph. 110 is a longer comment which Staab published as a scholium on Rm 8, 30–33 (Staab, 1933, p. 512) although the actual exegesis seems to focus more on Rm 8, 31. Sch. Ph. 110 is also one of the few scholia preserved as anonymous in GA 1916.

Sch. Ph. 111. This scholium comments on Rm 8, 34 (Staab, 1933, p. 513) and is preserved in most of the manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian Catena, including GA 2183 and GA 1905. As with Sch. Ph. 103 and Sch. Ph. 104, the brief scholium shows some analogies with another scholium ascribed to Oecumenius (Staab, 1933, p. 428). The scholium of Oecumenius is preserved in the *Erweiterte Typus* of GA 1982, in the *Specialtypus*, GA 622, and in the *Normal Typus*, GA 1997. For their exegesis, both the authors use quotations from Rm 8, 26 and Rm 8, 30:

Sch. Ph. 111 (Staab, 1933, p. 513, ll. 1216):
ὁ πατήρ ἐδικαίωσε (Rm 8, 30) καὶ ἐδόξασε, τὸ πνεῦμα συναντιλαμβάνεται (Rm 8, 26), ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ ἐντυγχάνει· τίς [p. l. 15]

Oecumenius, Rm 8, 34 (Staab 1933, p. 428):
Καὶ οὕτω δύνη νοῆσαι ὡς πρὸς τὸ κατὰ πόδα τοῦ ῥητοῦ· εἰ τὸ πνεῦμα, φησὶν, ἀντιλαμβάνεται (Rm 8, 26), εἰ ὁ πατήρ ἐδικαίωσεν (Rm 8, 30), τίς ὁ κατακρίναι δυνάμενος; ὑπολείπεται,

λοιπὸν ὁ κατακρίνων ἢ ἐγκαλῶν,
οὕτως τῆς ἀγίας τριάδος
ὑπερασπιζούσης καὶ δικαιούσης ἡμᾶς;

φησὶν, ὁ υἱός. ὁ υἱὸς οὖν, φησὶν, ἔχει
κατακρίναι, καίτοι τοσοῦτον ἀγαπᾷ
ὡς καὶ θάνατον αἰρήσασθαι ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν, καὶ ὦν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ
εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπανελθὼν δόξαν οὐκ
ἐπαύσατο τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπης,
ἀλλὰ καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὸν πατέρα ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν· τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ ἐντυγχάνει.
τὴν δὲ παράκλησιν οὕτω νόει· αὐτῷ
τῷ ἐνηνθρωπηκέναι παρακαλεῖ τὸν
πατέρα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

I mentioned already a similar phenomenon in Sch. Ph. 49, where there could be a possible echo of Gennadius, since they both quote Rm 4, 1, but Sch. Ph. 111 provides an even stronger proof of the possible influence on Photius of other authors in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. Even though the echo of Oecumenius in Photius is not given by a quotation, it is without doubt that the quotation of the same Pauline verses in both the scholium reveals a possible relationship between the two interpretations.

Sch. Ph. 112. This brief scholium is preserved as a Photian scholium in most of the manuscript tradition. It is a comment on Rm 8, 35 (Staab, 1933, p. 513), whose rhetorical style is defined by Photius as repetitive, ἐπαναληπτικόν, and prolix (Staab, 1933, p. 513, l. 20).

Sch. Ph. 113–Sch. Ph. 116. The long Sch. Ph. 113 is combined with the brief Sch. Ph. 114, Sch. Ph. 115 and Sch. Ph. 116 in Staab's edition as a comment on Rm 9, 1–5 on the basis of GA 1915, where the four scholia appear as one text. This is the first and only case in the analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* where those two manuscripts combine the same scholia. The analysis of Sch. Ph. 113 gives further potential evidence of Chrysostom's influence on the *Scholia Photiana*. It is clear from the analysis of scholia

such as Sch. Ph. 6a, Sch. Ph. 45, Sch. Ph. 94 and Sch. Ph. 98, that even though there are not strictly verbatim quotations of Chrysostom in the Photian exegetical material, links between the collection of the scholia on Romans and the text of Chrysostom's *Homiliae* (PG 60, col. 549) are clear. In Sch. Ph. 113, there could be a common reference to Timothy, a disciple of Paul mentioned in Acts 6, 3, who is considered a model Christian even though he is circumcised. Although the name of Timothy does not appear to be in Chrysostom's text, the passage in *Homilia XVI* fits well with the character of the disciple in Acts. Conversely, Photius quotes the name of Timothy explicitly (Staab, 1933, p. 515, l. 19).

Sch. Ph. 117–Sch. Ph. 118. These two very brief scholia are combined by Staab (1933, p. 516). They are preserved in most of the manuscripts examined; Sch. Ph. 117 is also in GA 1916, and they comment respectively on Rm 9, 6 and Rm 9, 7. Sch. Ph. 117 refers to the use of the verb ἐκπέπτωκεν in Paul, indicating that the word of God did not fail; while Sch. Ph. 118 focus on the example of the descendents of Abram, intended as those who had faith.

Sch. Ph. 119; Sch. Ph. 120. The first of these is a scholium commenting on Rm 9, 11–15 (Staab, 1933, p. 516) which is preserved in all the manuscripts including GA 1916. Sch. Ph. 120 is a comment on Rm 9, 16–21 (Staab, 1933, p. 517) which is also preserved in all the manuscripts, although both GA 2183 and GA 1916 preserve the same version up to δέοντα (Staab, 1933, p. 518, l. 38), which is shorter than the one in the other manuscripts. Another analogy between these two manuscripts is also related to the following Sch. Ph. 121 and Sch. Ph. 122.

Sch. Ph. 121–Sch. Ph. 127. This group of seven scholia was edited by Staab as one scholium in five paragraphs commenting on Rm 9, 22–23 (Staab, 1933, pp. 519–520). It is clear so far that in most of his edition Staab combined scholia interpreting the same verses in the Epistles, generally distinguishing them through the use of paragraphs. One of the few exceptions seems to involve Sch. Ph. 121 and Sch. Ph. 122. Staab published them as one organic paragraph (1933, p. 519, ll. 1–31). Indeed, all the manuscripts preserve the two scholia as one scholium, but with a clear point of combination between them, ἢ μᾶλλον. This is the text following Staab’s edition:

[...] οὐκουν ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων φύσις ἔχει τὸ ἄπορον, ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν ἀγνωμονούντων τὸ βλάσφημον. ἢ μᾶλλον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἤρτηται· εἰ θέλων, φησίν, ὁ θεὸς ἐνδείξασθαι, καὶ ἵνα γνωρίση, καὶ ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ; [...] (Staab, 1933, p. 519, ll. 23–28).

By checking the manuscripts, I have concluded that the two parts separated by ἢ μᾶλλον are indeed two independent scholia, Sch. Ph. 121 and Sch. Ph. 122. GA 1915 preserves the text up to βλάσφημον with the Photian ligature, then introduces Sch. Ph. 122 with ἄλλως followed by τὸ εἰ δὲ θέλων καὶ ἐξῆς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἤρτηται. This sentence is also in GA 1907, GA 2183 and GA 1916. Only GA 1923 and GA 1982 combine the two parts with ἢ μᾶλλον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἤρτηται, where ἢ μᾶλλον τῶν is a clear link with what the exegete says above. Although there a syntactical coherence (ἢ τῶν... ἢ μᾶλλον τῶν...) between the two parts, the meaning of the whole sentence is barely understandable. The version τὸ εἰ δὲ θέλων καὶ ἐξῆς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἤρτηται is not only clearer but also closer to Photian exegetical style, especially in the

use of τὸ followed by a quotation and καὶ ἐξῆς, which is frequently documented all through the groups of *Scholia Photiana*. For these reasons, I would rather consider the two parts as two separate scholia, Sch. Ph. 121 and Sch. Ph. 122. A very similar case happens with Sch. Ph. 123 and Sch. Ph. 124, which Staab combines in the same paragraph (Staab, 1933, p. 520, ll.1–20) although the manuscripts preserving Sch. Ph. 124, GA 1923 and GA 1907, preserve it as an independent scholium with its own Photian ligature.

Sch. Ph. 128–Sch. Ph. 129. These two scholia were published by Staab as one text commenting on Rm 9, 27–28 (Staab, 1933, pp. 120–122). In cases like Sch. Ph. 104, Sch. Ph. 57, Sch. Ph. 49 I observed brief quotations from other authors in the catena and I stated that even though it seemed likely that Photius had accessed the catena as a source for his interpretation, the potential quotes were too brief to support this hypothesis. In analysing Staab’s edition, it seems there is a very extended quotation of Oecumenius in Sch. Ph. 128, which Staab published as a paragraph of the scholium on Rm 9, 27–28 (Staab, 1933, p. 521). However, in analysing the manuscripts, I found some incongruences between the edition of the German scholar and the actual authorship of the scholium in the manuscript tradition, which I clarify. The two scholia in the 1933 edition are as follows:

Sch. Ph. 128, (Staab, 1933, p. 521, l. 4 ss): **Oecumenius, Rm 9, 28 (Staab, 1933, p. 429, l. 6 ss):**

<Λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ἐν δικαιοσύνη.> ὁ μὲν [...] ὁ μὲν Μωϋσαϊκὸς νόμος ἐδόθη Μωϋσαϊκὸς νόμος ἐδόθη προδιατυποῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ προδιατυποῦντος θεοῦ καὶ προδιαγράφοντος τὸν τῆς χάριτος, προδιαγράφοντος τὸν τῆς χάριτος, τὸν δὲ εὐαγγελικὸν δίδωσι συντελῶν

τὸν δὲ εὐαγγελικὸν δίδωσι συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀπαρτίζων ἅπαντα καὶ εἰς τέλος ἄριστον ἄγων, μηδεμίαν ἑτέραν δυνάμενον ἐπανόρθωσιν ἢ τελείωσιν δέξασθαι.

- Ἐτέρως· τοῦ λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων τίνος [1.10] ἔνεκα ἐμνήσθη; ὥσπερ γὰρ αἰτίαν τινὰ τῶν προειρημένων ἀποδιδούς τοῦτο συνῆψεν. καὶ λέγομεν ὅτι λίαν ἀρμοζόντως καὶ ὑπερφυῶς αὐτὸ διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας ἐπισυνῆψεν· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν· καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου λαόν μου καὶ ἐξῆς, ἵνα μὴ τις εἴπῃ· καὶ τί τοῦτο; ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐγένοντο ἐκ λαοῦ τινες οὐ λαός, οὕτω καὶ ἐξ οὐ λαοῦ λαός [521.15] γένωνται, οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ τούτους πάλιν γενέσθαι οὐ λαόν.

οὐχ οὕτως, φησὶν· λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων· ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ μετέπιπτε καὶ μετετίθετο ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον πάντων ὀφειλόντων μεταρρυθμίζεσθαι, νῦν δὲ οὐκέτι, ὅτι τετελειωμένη ἐστὶν ἢ νῦν κλησὶς καὶ ἢ πνευματικὴ νομοθεσία καὶ ἢ ὑπόσχεσις. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐμνήσθη [1.20] τὸ λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν. δεύτερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐὰν ἢ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἰῶν Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἢ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐξῆς, ἵνα μὴ εἴπωσιν ὅτι πολλάκις πολλῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν ἀκούσαντες ἢ οὐδ' ὅλως ἐτύχομεν ἢ μετὰ μακρὸν καὶ πολὺν χρόνον - καὶ γὰρ καὶ πολλῶν ἐξέπιπτον διὰ τὴν ἀχαριστίαν καὶ ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτῶν - ἵνα [1.25] οὖν μὴ οὕτω λέγωσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, οὐχ οὕτω καὶ νῦν, φησὶν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μόνον βούλησθε, τετελειωμένη καὶ

καὶ συντέμνων, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀπαρτίζων ἅπαντα καὶ εἰς τέλος ἄριστον [1. 10] ἄγων.

Τὸ δὲ λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν

ὡς αἰτίαν τῶν προειρημένων ἀπέδωκεν - ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶπε· καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου λαόν μου λαόν μου - ,

ἵνα μὴ τις εἴπῃ καὶ τί τοῦτο;

ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐγένοντο ἐκ λαοῦ τινες οὐ λαός, οὕτω καὶ ἐξ οὐ λαοῦ λαός γένωνται, οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ τούτους πάλιν γενέσθαι οὐ λαόν.

οὐχ οὕτως, φησὶν· λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν· ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ μετέπιπτε καὶ μετέπιπτεν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον πάντων ὀφειλόντων μεταρρυθμίζεσθαι νῦν δὲ οὐκέτι, ὅτι τετελειωμένη ἐστὶν ἢ νῦν κλησὶς καὶ ἢ πνευματικὴ νομοθεσία ἄλλως τε,

ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν ἐὰν ἢ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἰῶν Ἰσραὴλ

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, ἵνα μὴ εἴπωσιν ὅτι πολλάκις ἐπαγγελιῶν πολλῶν ἀκούσαντες

ἢ οὐδ' ὅλως ἐτύχομεν, ἢ μετὰ μικρὸν χρόνον καὶ γὰρ καὶ πολλῶν ἐξέπιπτον διὰ τὴν ἀχαριστίαν καὶ ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτῶν. οὐχ οὕτω λέγωσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, οὐχ οὕτω καὶ νῦν, φησὶν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν βούλησθε,

σύντομος ἐπὶ χειῖρας ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ἢ τελεία καὶ σύντομος ἐπὶ χειῖρας ὑμῶν
σωτηρία. ἐστὶν ἢ σωτηρία.

At first sight the two seem to have a large amount of textual material in common, which might lead one to think that Photius was quoting Oecumenius verbatim, but this is not the case. According to Staab, the Oecumenian scholium is preserved in the following manuscripts:

- GA 1915 (f. 146v);
- GA 1909 (f. 196r);
- GA 1923 (f. 51v);
- GA 622 (f. 21v);
- Palat. gr. 10, GA 1997 (Aland, 1994, p. 161) (f. 34v) (tenth-century).

in both GA 1923 and GA 622, the scholium is anonymous (Staab, 1933, p. 429). By looking at the manuscripts, I observed that Staab's edition of Oecumenius comment on Rm 9, 28 was mainly based on GA 1909, which may have some problems with the ligatures and authorship, as already mentioned above (Sch. Ph. 99). On the other hand, by looking at GA 1915 and GA 1923, preserving both Oecumenius and Photius' text, I found that the material published as Oecumenian indeed corresponds to Sch. Ph. 128, meaning that the Photian scholium must have been combined with Oecumenius in the manuscript tradition of the *Typus Monacensis*, GA 1909. In fact, Sch. Ph. 128 is introduced by the ligature ἔτεε(ως) in GA 1915 (f. 147r). In brief, on ff. 146v–147r we have the following sequence:

- a scholium with an Oecumenian ligature (corresponding to Staab, 1933, p. 429, ll. 4–7);
- Sch. Ph. 127, with a Photian ligature (= Photius, Rm 9, 27–28 in Staab, 1933, p. 520, ll. 33–35; p. 521, ll. 1–4);
- Sch. Ph. 128, with ligature ἔτερο(ως) (= Photius, Rm, 9, 27–28 in Staab, 1933, p. 521, ll. 10 ss = Oecumenius, Rm 9, 28 in Staab, 1933, p. 429, ll. 12–23).

The ligature ἔτερο(ως) could be related to Oecumenius, mentioned before Photius; in this case would be similar to the more common ἄλλ(ως), when this is used to indicate a change of source, with the difference that Oecumenius was the one before Photius on the same page. This would justify the confusion in the manuscript tradition in ascribing Sch. Ph. 128 to Photius and/or Oecumenius that from the Vaticanus passed into the Monacensis. In any case, I would rather exclude that Photius is quoting Oecumenius here.

Sch. Ph. 130–Sch. Ph. 131; Sch. Ph. 132–Sch. Ph. 134. This is another example of the disagreement on the distribution of the exegetical material between GA 1915 and the other manuscripts. In fact, GA 1915 treat this two groups of scholia as two scholia only, unlike the other manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus*, where the scholia appear to be always treated independently. Similar cases are also Sch. Ph. 34–Sch. Ph. 35; Sch. Ph. 40–Sch. Ph. 41; Sch. Ph. 68–Sch. Ph. 69; Sch. Ph. 113–Sch. Ph. 114. As for the other cases, this would justify the reason Staab decided to publish these as one text.

Sch. Ph. 135ab. Sch. Ph. 135a is a brief scholium commenting on Rm 10, 4, in particular focusing on the interpretation of τέλος νόμου Χριστός. This is preserved in manuscripts GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1907, GA 1905 without any different *lectio*. However, the version in GA 2183 is more extended and there seems to be no doubt that Sch. Ph. 13a and the extra lines are parts of the same text; therefore, I have classified the two as Sch. Ph. 135a and Sch. Ph. 135b. Below, I have reported the scholia as they appear in GA 2183 (f. 59rv):

[Sch. Ph. 135a] Πῶς τέλος νόμου Χριστός; ὅτι ἐδικαίωσεν, καὶ ἄπερ ἐκεῖνος ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι, οὐκ ἴσχυσε δέ, ταῦτα ὁ Χριστός ἐλθὼν ἀπήρτισε καὶ ἐτελείωσεν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶ πιστεύσαντας. [Sch. Ph. 135b] Ἐπεὶ δὴ ὅλως καὶ τὴν ἐκ νόμου δικαιοσύνην ἐκάλεσεν, ἵνα μὴ νομίσωσιν, ὅτι δύναται δικαιοῦσαι ὁ νόμος, φησί, τέλος εἶναι καὶ πλήρωμα τοῦ νόμου τὸν Χριστόν. τὸ γὰρ τέλειον [f. 59v] ὁ νόμος ἐν τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν πίστει ἔχει. ὁ οὖν πιστεύων, φησι, Χριστῶ πληροῖ τὸν νόμον. εἰς δικαιοσύνην δὲ φησί· εἰς τὸ δικαιοῦν τὸν ὄν τὴν τελειότητα τοῦ νόμου τουτέστι τὸν πιστόν.

(tr.): ‘How is, “Christ is the end of the law”? Because he did justice and, when he came, Christ fulfilled and brought to perfection in those who had faith in him those things that he wanted to do but did not accomplish.’ [Sch. Ph. 135b] ‘Since he generally called, “The justice obtained for law,” because they did not believe that the law could do justice, he says that Christ is the end and fulfilment of the law. Indeed, the law reaches perfection in faith in Christ. Certainly - he says - the man who is faithful to Christ fulfils the law. “In justice” - he says - that is to say that the faithful man lives in the just action, that is the fulfilment of the law.’

The two are clearly part of the same text and both show features of the exegetical style in the *Scholia Photiana*, including the use of the compound ἵνα μὴ...ὅτι (1 Cor 7,

21–22; 1 Cor, 14, 12–18; 2 Cor 13, 5; Eph 4, 16; Hebr 9, 1–2 etc.), and in particular the redundant and repetitive rhythm of the exegesis for which Photius often repeats the same idea with few variations, for example in commenting on the quotation εἰς δικαιοσύνην by saying εἰς τὸ δικαιοῦν.

Sch. Ph. 136; Sch. Ph. 137. These two scholia are very brief and comment respectively on Rm 10, 12–15 and Rm 10, 20–21 (Staab, 1933, pp. 523–524). They do not add much in terms of exegesis, but Sch. Ph. 137 is preserved as a secondary addition by another hand in the margin on GA 1915 (f. 155r); it is, however, preserved also in GA 1923 and its relative GA 1933 (f. 21v), although it must also notice that GA 1933 was omitted from the 1933 edition as it was considered too late for a significant contribution (Staab, 1933, p. XLII). I also found the scholium among the additional scholium in GA 1905; however, some other cases already analysed (e.g. Sch. Ph. 95, Sch. Ph. 96) lead to consider a closer relationship between GA 1905 with GA 91 rather than GA 1923.

Sch. Ph. 138–Sch. Ph. 139. These two scholia provide an exegesis of Rm 11, 6. Photius, as is typical of his exegetical approach to the biblical text, remarks on what is already clearly understandable in Paul's writing by using long sentences and repetitions. In this case, the pattern of the scholium is the dichotomy between ἔργα and χάρις, which is not present in the rest of the catena, apart from a few lines ascribed to Gennadius (Staab, 1933, p. 398). The interpretation of Rm 11, 6 is also in Chrysostom, *Homilia X*, but it does not seem to have anything in common with Photius' thoughts. In addition, as often happens with Golden Mouth, the exegetical text is far more extended and

involves many biblical quotations, which is justifiable based on the different nature and purpose of the homiletic genre.

Sch. Ph. 140–Sch. Ph. 141; Sch. Ph. 142–Sch. Ph. 145. The same can be said about the two groups including Sch. Ph. 140–Sch. Ph. 141, published as one scholium on Rm 11, 11–15 and Sch. Ph. 142–145 published as one brief comment in Rm 11, 15 and also the other two brief scholia Sch. Ph. 144 on Rm 11, 16 and Sch. Ph. 145 on Rm 11, 28 (Staab, 1933, pp. 524–526). These show the typical Photiana exegesis style, remarking on what is already clearly understandable in Paul’s writing by using long sentences and repetitions. An exegesis on the same verses is also provided by Oecumenius and Chrysostom, but as for Sch. Ph. 138–Sch. Ph. 139, they do not relate to the *Scholia Photiana*, as a further demonstration that Photius also gives space to his independent exegesis.

Sch. Ph. 146–Sch. Ph. 149. This is a group of three scholia published together as one text in Rm 11, 3032 (Staab, 1933, pp. 527–528). The main feature of this group is related to GA 91, which combines Sch. Ph. 147 and Sch. Ph. 148 as one scholium, although the definition of the exegetical material is always challenging in that manuscript: it is therefore impossible to state if the two could actually be considered as a single text.

Sch. Ph. 150; Sch. Ph. 151. There are two brief scholia commenting on Rm 12, 2 and Rm 12, 3a (Staab, 1933, pp. 529–530). They seem to be very close to Chrysostom’s exegesis of the same verses (PG 60, col. 599), with a particular focus on *παροκαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς* (Rm 12, 3). Even though from a textual point of view, there are no verbatim

quotations of Chrysostom in the Photius, both the Fathers agree on the image of Paul not as a teacher working on his own initiative, but always following God's orders.

Sch. Ph. 152. According to Staab, the reading $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ replaces $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ at the beginning of the scholium in GA 1907 (f. 74r), but an examination of the manuscripts has shown that even in GA 1907 the scholium starts with a majuscule π in *ekthesis* and there is no evidence of $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ alone. The lectio $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ at the beginning of the scholium in all the manuscripts shows that the exegete is not quoting Rm 12, 3b verbatim, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\acute{\omicron}$ $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\nu$ $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (NA28 and RP 2005) but is adapting the biblical text to the exegetical context. In fact, Photius uses the adverb to introduce his question about the use of the verb $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$ in Paul: $\Pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$, 'How (God) has distributed?' However, there is another mistake by Staab, which relates to the indication of the locations of the scholia in the Ambrosian manuscript GA 1982. In the light of that mistake, I rechecked the manuscript GA 1982 and have corrected the indications related to the Photian scholia in Appendix. 1 -Table 1.

Sch. Ph. 153; Sch. Ph. 154; Sch. Ph. 155; Sch. Ph. 156; Sch. Ph. 157; Sch. Ph. 158. This group of scholia from Sch. Ph. 153 and Sch. Ph. 158 consists of brief single scholia on Rm 12. As with the groups including Sch. Ph. 140–Sch. Ph. 145, they show the typical style of the *Scholia Photiana*, remarking on what Paul says by using long sentences and repetitions, as well as applying the procedure of flattening and quoting passages from other Pauline letters or the Gospels such as Rm 12, 14 in Sch. Ph. 153 (Staab, 1933, p. 531, ll. 28–29); Jo 13, 35 in Sch. Ph. 155 (Staab, 1933, p. 532, ll. 5–6). This is a feature of

all the groups of *Scholia Photiana* and is particularly evident in a case such as Sch. Ph. 183 (*infra*, pp. 121–122).

Sch. Ph. 159–Sch. Ph. 160; Sch. Ph. 161–Sch. Ph. 162. These two groups of scholia were published as two scholia respectively on Rm 13, 1–4 (Staab, 1933, p. 533) and Rm 13, 5 (Staab, 1933, p. 535). Sch. Ph. 159 does not begin with a biblical quotation serving as an additional lemma, as often happens in the *Scholia Photiana* in GA 1915, GA 1923 and GA 1982, unlike Sch. Ph. 160, where we find the biblical quotation at the beginning of the scholium again. However, it is important to notice the use of the direct address through the imperative ὄρα (Staab, 1933, p. 533, l. 21), which has already been documented in some of the previous scholia (e.g. Sch. Ph. 38). This is part of the orality that characterises the *Scholia Photiana*.

Sch. Ph. 163. This scholium was edited by Staab as a comment on Rm 13, 8–10 (Staab, 1933, p. 534). It is characterised by a good example of the use of flattening (e.g. Sch. Ph. 75; Sch. Ph. 98; Sch. Ph. 153, Sch. Ph. 155) in the *Scholia Photiana*. To support and enrich his own exegesis, Photius quotes Mt 22, 37 ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου and adapts it : πῶς δ' οὐχὶ τὸ θεῖον οὗτος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐξ ὅλης αὐτοῦ τῆς καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγαπήσει καὶ δοξολογήσει (Staab, 1933, p. 534, ll. 20–21).

Sch. Ph. 164. This scholium was published as a comment on Rm 13, 11–12 (Staab, 1933, p. 535). The metaphor of the day (ἡμέραν) and the night (νυκτά) in Rm 13, 12 ἡ νύξ προέκοψεν, ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἤγγικεν, ἀποθώμεθα οὖν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκούτου, ἐνδυσώμεθα seems to have been a particularly popular focus of interpretation not

only among the older fathers, including Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistulae paschales sive Homiliae paschales* (PG 77, col. 473) and John Chrysostom, *In Johannem* (PG 59, col. 309).

Particularly, the Chrysostomian homily seems to have inspired an anonymous scholium in a catena on John published by Cramer:

Chrysostom, *In Johannem* (PG 59, col. 309). Cramer, 1844, vol. V, p. 287, l. 33 ss:

[...] Νύκτα γὰρ τὸν παρόντα βίον καλεῖ, καιρόν, διὰ τοὺς ἐν σκότῳ καθημένους, ἢ διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀνενέργητον. Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος νυκτά τὸν παρόντα βίον καλεῖ, διὰ τὸ ἐν σκότῳ εἶναι τοὺς ἐν κακίᾳ διατρίβοντας καὶ ἀπιστία [...]	[...]. Νύκτα γὰρ τὸν παρόντα βίον καλεῖ, ἢ διὰ τὸ παραβαλεῖν αὐτὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, ἢ διὰ τὸ ἐν σκότῳ εἶναι τοὺς ἐν κακίᾳ διατρίβοντας καὶ ἀπιστία.
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The same quotation, τὸν παρόντα βίον καλεῖ referring to νύκτα, is also in Sch. Ph. 164:

[...] εἰκότως δὲ τὸν παρόντα βίον νυκτά καλεῖ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἡμέραν· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐν τούτῳ νῦν ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ κρυπτομένων ἐκεῖ φανερὰ ὡς ἐν λαμπρᾷ ἡμέρᾳ γενήσεται, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐν σκότει [...]. (Staab, 1933, p. 535, l. 15–20):

This could be a proof that in his comment on Rm 13, 12 Photius may have been influenced by the comment in the catena on John and indirectly by Chrysostom.

Sch. Ph. 165. This is a scholium on the interpretation of Rm 13, 3 (Staab, 1933, pp. 535–536) Also, the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius preserves another scholium covering the interpretation of Rm 13, 13 from Gennadius, Theodore of Mopseustia and Diodore (respectively in Staab, 1933, p. 409, 163, 108). They all interpret the Pauline metaphor as a device describing the knowledge belonging to the light of God

(ἡμέραν) opposing the darkness (νυκτά) of ignorance. Additionally, they all use nouns such as ἀγνοία, διαγωγή and φῶς in their explanation of the metaphor. This would not be so unexpected considering that in the New Testament, the metaphor of Christ as light recurs several times (e.g. Eph 5, 8; Jo 8, 12; 9, 5; 1 Jo 1, 5).

Sch. Ph. 166–Sch. Ph. 167; Sch. Ph. 170–Sch. Ph. 171. This group of six scholia, mostly brief scholia, comment on Rm 14. More specifically Sch. Ph. 166–Sch. Ph. 167 were published as one scholium on Rm 14, 1–5 (Staab, 1933, p. 536) without being divided into paragraphs, as he usually does. By looking at the 1933 edition, it is impossible to understand that the scholium is actually the result of the combination of Sch. Ph. 166 and Sch. Ph. 167. It is also not possible to understand the reason for this editorial choice, since the scholia are separated in GA 1915 as well. Conversely Staab did publish Sch. Ph. 170 and Sch. Ph. 171 as one scholium, but kept the division into paragraphs (Staab, p. 538).

Sch. Ph. 168; Sch. Ph. 169; Sch. Ph. 172; Sch. Ph. 173. These four scholia comment respectively on Rm 14, 6–13; Rm 14, 14; Rm 14, 18 and Rm 14, 22–23 (Staab, pp. 536–339). Apart from Sch. Ph. 168, they are all very brief and seem to add nothing relevant to this investigation.

Sch. Ph. 174–Sch. Ph. 180; Sch. Ph. 183. The group of scholia on Rm 15 and Rm 16 (including scholia from Sch. Ph. 174 to Sch. 180) is very brief and there seems to be no evidence of a possible link with the rest of the catena, Chrysostom or any of the other fathers. However, something more can be said on Sch. Ph. 183, which is an example of flattening. The use of multiple quotations of other biblical verses for an exegetical

purpose is frequently documented in the *Scholia Photiana* and contributes to the creation of a personal and ‘fluid’ interpretation that expands beyond the Pauline Epistles. The text of Sch. Ph. 183 is as follows:

Sch. Ph. 183 (Staab, 1933, p. 542, l. 8 ss): [...] ἵνα γινώσκωσίν σε, φησί, καὶ ὄν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν (Jo 17, 3) [...] ὁ ἑώρακώς ἐμὲ ἑώρακε τὸν πατέρα [...] (Jo 14, 9)· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἓν ἐσμεν (Jo 10, 30)· καὶ ὡς ὁ Πέτρος φησὶν ὅτι αὐτός ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος ἐστὶν (Mt 16, 16)· καὶ ὅτι τὴν κρίσιν πᾶσαν ὁ υἱὸς ἔχει (Jo 5, 22)· καὶ πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος (Mt 28, 19) [...].

The following table compares the biblical passages from John and Matthew (following NA 28 and RP 2005, where the quotations are identical)⁵⁸ with the texts of Sch. Ph. 183, as follows:

<p><u>ἵνα γινώσκωσιν σὲ τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν καὶ ὄν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.</u> (Jo 17, 3)</p>	<p>ἵνα γινώσκωσίν σε, φησί, καὶ ὄν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν.</p>
<p><u>ὁ ἑώρακώς ἐμὲ ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα· πῶς σὺ λέγεις· δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν πατέρα;</u> (Jo 14, 9)</p>	<p>ὁ ἑώρακώς ἐμὲ ἑώρακε τὸν πατέρα [...]</p>
<p><u>ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἓν ἐσμεν.</u> (Jo 10, 30)</p>	<p>[...] ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἓν ἐσμεν [...].</p>

⁵⁸ In regard to the quotations of John in Photius, I mention the studies by Neville Birdsall (1956) in JTS 7.1–2) on the texts of the Gospel in Photius. From an analysis of the quotation of John in Photius, Birdsall concluded that the Patriarch must have used a Caesarean version of the Gospels, a text that was neither Byzantine nor definable as any other manuscript or group (JTS 7. 1, pp. 197–198). More recently new conclusions have been reached by Roderic L. Mullen, who concluded that quotations in Photius could be considered as representative of ninth-century texts without a specific classification (Mullen, 2019, p. 174). This conclusion must be considered in the light of the very few data available.

[...] ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος
εἶπεν· σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ
τοῦ ζῶντος.
(Mt 16, 16b)

[...] θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος ἐστὶν ὁ Πέτρος
φησὶν ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ
ζῶντος ἐστὶν [...].

οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ κρίνει οὐδένα, ἀλλὰ
τὴν κρίσιν πᾶσαν δέδωκεν τῷ υἱῷ [...]
(Jo 5, 22)

[...] καὶ ὅτι τὴν κρίσιν πᾶσαν ὁ υἱὸς
ἔχει [...].

[...] βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα
τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου
πνεύματος [...]
(Mt 28, 19)

[...] βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα
τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου
πνεύματος [...].

While quotations like Jo 14, 9, Jo 10, 30 and Mat 14, 9 are reported verbatim, others like Jo 17, 3; Jo 10, 30 and Mt 28, 19 are not quoted literally but reworked and adapted to fit with the new exegetical context. Most importantly, the adaptation seems to be related to verbs and pronouns. Indeed, observing the biblical quotations makes it clear that the most obvious adaptations affect the longer verses, while short sentences, like Jo 10, 30, are reported without any change. Also, the verb εἶπεν in Mat 16, 16b becomes φησὶν ὅτι in Photius, with consequent harmonisation of the following elements of the sentence, and the phrase δέδωκεν τῷ υἱῷ in Jo 5, 22 becomes ὁ υἱὸς ἔχει. This procedure of extracting a quotation from its original biblical context by memory and consequently adapting it into a new context by adding some alterations and is largely used in Photian exegesis involving either major or minor adaptations by the exegete.

The impression is that Photius has tried to collect the most famous New Testament quotations to explain the relationship between God and Jesus Christ: firstly, the exegete uses Jo 17, 3 to interpret the κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, which appears in Rm

16, 25 and may be interpreted as a clear reference to Paul's mission as Apostle. Secondly, Jo 14, 9 and Jo 10, 30 might be connected to what Photius is going to say in the scholium, especially (l. 21) υἱὸς ὧν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεὸς ὁμοούσιος (Staab, 1933). Finally, Mt 28, 19 introduces the most important mystery of the Christian Church: the Holy Trinity. Indeed, the whole is about the description and interpretation of every single attribute of the three hypostases in the final doxology.⁵⁹

Sch. Ph. 184. The exegesis of this long scholium focuses on Rm 16, 25–27 and begins with some observations on the phrase κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου χρόνοις αἰωνίοις (Rm 16, 26). According to the exegete, the phrase is clearly referred to Christ, who, although he had always existed with his Father, was made manifest, φανερωθέντος, by the Sacred Scriptures and the prophets. There is also a particular focus on the adjective αἰωνίος, interpreted as a synonymous of ἄχρονος and describing God in the letter. Following Photius' interpretation, however, the same adjective could refer to the Holy Spirit as well; in fact, the prophets, who are inspired by the 'eternal God' in the Pauline verse, are generally described as inspired by the Spirit to follow their faith.⁶⁰ So, it is the exegete's opinion that the adjective αἰωνίος, describing Christ in Rm 16, 25 and God in Rm 16, 26 can be referred to the Spirit as well. The same idea could be applied to the adjective σοφῶ in Rm 16, 27, which refers

⁵⁹ To notice that the Holy Ghost does not appear in the doxology of the Epistle, but Photius does introduce it in the exegesis of the verses.

⁶⁰ There is no explicit reference to any other Pauline passage in the scholium or in Staab's edition, but it could be that Photius is referring back to Rm 1, 3–5.

to God in the context of the verse but could also describe the Spirit. In conclusion, all the adjectives used by Paul in Rm 16, 26–27 are, according to the exegete, to be considered as interchangeable between the three persons of the Trinity and never to be referred to one of them only.

Sch. Ph. 184b. This is very brief scholium commenting on the second half of Rm 16, 27b. The scholium was edited by Staab (1933, p. 544) and is found only in GA 91, GA 1907 and GA 1905. In terms of information on Photius' style, it does not add much, since it consists merely of a verbatim quotation of Rm 16, 27; in the light of this it is difficult to decide if should be considered as a proper exegetical text. Although it may not seem useful in regard to the analysis of the contents and the style, the fact that I found this brief scholium in GA 1905 is useful in supporting the hypothesis of a possible relationship between GA 91 and GA 1905 together with Sch. Ph. 93 and Sch. Ph. 94 in the group of *Scholia Photiana* on Romans.

II. 3 Conclusion.

The analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans has given a clear insight into this large group of scholia. The interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans clearly had an impact on the selection of the exegetical material to insert in the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius, since this is the largest group of *Scholia Photiana* among the groups of exegetical material on the Epistles ascribed to Photius.

The re-examination of the manuscripts reported by Staab gives a clearer view of the distribution of the exegetical material. Indeed, the edition of Staab does not clearly

indicate the extent of each scholium in the manuscript. Staab tends to combine multiple scholia in one longer text and, following the contents, assigns a title based on the Pauline verses to which they refer. It is a general trend of the edition of the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans to use each scholium as a paragraph of the more extended text. Indeed, I was able to isolate from the catena more than 184 *Scholia Photiana*, considering that in a few cases where the text was available in a more extended version in at least one manuscript, I reported the unpublished parts and those already in the edition of Staab under the same classification, but adding letters (e. g. Sch. Ph. 1abc, Sch. Ph. 61b etc.). It is also evident that Staab based his edition mostly on the text of GA 1915 and when the manuscript did not preserve the scholia, he used GA 1923 (e.g. Sch. Ph. 41). This is also because the Vatican is older than most of the manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian type, but it is also clear that there is new material in the eleventh-century manuscripts and that this new material is included in the catena on Romans and not only in the minor letters.

In expanding the research to the extra manuscripts, I also found that there was, indeed, some important new material in GA 2183, GA 91 and GA 1907. First of all, in the case where a text is preserved in both GA 2183 and GA 91 (e.g. Sch. Ph. 1a; Sch. Ph. 2; Sch. Ph. 43; Sch. Ph. 45; Sch. Ph. 51 and Sch. Ph. 83b), the manuscripts preserved exactly the same version of the scholium, with very few differences, which made me think that the two can be related for this group of *Scholia Photiana*. Most importantly, thanks to GA 2183 it was also possible to understand where the texts of the Photian scholia began in GA 91, where it is not always possible confidently to identify the

beginning of a Photian scholium (e.g. Sch. Ph. 1abc), in part because most of the *Scholia Photiana* not only do not have a visible initial, but they are also perfectly integrated in a more extended text, parts of which remain anonymous. It was also possible to find new material ascribed to Photius by a ligature in ms Magd. Coll. 7, GA 1907, (e.g. Sch. Ph. 4a and Sch. Ph. 6a).

With regard to GA 1905, this only preserves the catena from f. 7r, meaning that it can only be compared with the rest of the manuscript tradition from Sch. Ph. 85 (Rm 6, 18–22 in Staab, 1933, p. 502) onwards. The manuscript preserves many *Scholia Photiana*, always as anonymous, but with a range of different symbols introducing them. Since the scholia appear as late additions in the margins of a pre-existing catena, it seems evident to me that the copyist who added them knew that he was adding scholia from the same author. Staab stated the manuscript was related to GA 1923 (Staab, 1933, p. XLIII), but I have not yet found strong evidence of this from the analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* of Romans, conversely some elements seem to lead to a possible relationship with GA 91 (Sch. Ph. 95; Sch. Ph. 96; Sch. Ph. 137 and Sch. Ph. 184b).

GA 1916 does not seem to preserve much material on Romans but is also very difficult to read the manuscript searching for the scholia. The scholia are anonymous and most of the time are introduced by different signs. Therefore, if any new material from Photius exists it is not possible to identify it. However, where it was possible to find it, I found a general agreement with the rest of the manuscript tradition.

The interpretation of Romans is strictly literal, a fact that prompts some observations on what kind of theologian the exegete of the *Scholia Photiana* was and how his interpretation fits with the portrait of Photius, as we know it from the study of works such as the *Amphilochia*. Photian exegesis in the *Amphilochia* has been investigated by Louth (2006, pp. 206–221), who pointed out, also referring to the studies of Westerink, that the *Amphilochia* do not constitute a uniform group of writings and indeed the title applies only to the first seventy-five *quaestiones*. The first seventy-five *quaestiones* concern with spiritual passages, while other *quaestiones* seem to rework other material including not only other works of Photius, such as the *Bibliotheca*, but also Theodoret's *Quaestiones* in various books of the Old Testament, Polychronos, Theodore of Mopseustia, Olympiodoros' commentary on Ecclesiastes and Chrysostom's homilies (Louth, 2006, p. 213). Moreover, Louth highlights how Photius seems to recall exegetes of the Antiochene School, which are often seen opposing Alexandrian exegesis based on allegories. This mostly derives from his interest in Theodoret's exegetical approach to doctrinal questions based on the explanation of the most difficult passages in the Scripture rather than writing commentaries in the form of homilies or commentaries such as Origen did. In brief, Photian exegesis resembles the Antiochene School in the limited selection of obscure passages rather than in its methodology (Louth, 2006, pp. 213–214). Louth concludes that Photius represents interest in the theological tradition that was characteristic of the Byzantine centuries, a 'theological pottering' based on a wide learning, interested in doctrinal issues, aiming in 'tie up any loose ends, but not fired by any great vision of how it all hung together' (Louth, 2006, pp. 220–221). The

interest for literal reading of the Scripture, as mentioned in the introduction, would also agree with an interest in restoring orthodoxy and the desire to establish a cultural uniformity as a response to Iconoclasm. This is also pointed out by Conostas in his study of 1999, which I mention in the Introduction to this thesis (*supra*, p. 52). However, from my observation of the *Scholia Photiana*, there is a clear exegetical interest in commenting on the majority the verses in the letter and not only on the most obscure passages. Additionally, considering the main doctrinal issues which Photius deals with in the *Amphilochia*, mainly related to the Incarnation, Photius represents the position of the Chalcedonian Definition that developed in the sixth century in response to the Monophysites about the definition of φύσις, ὑπόστασις and consequently of ὁμόφυες or ἑτερόφυες (Louth, 2006, pp. 218–219).

With regard to the exegetical contents, which Louth (2006, pp. 217–219) also summarises in his study, it is difficult to find points in common between the *Scholia Photiana* and the theological topics Photius deals with in the *Amphilochia*. For example, the word ὑπόστασις (in the accusative form, ὑπόστασιν) appears only once in the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans (Sch. Ph. 36) and the exegete mentions nothing relevant to allow clear connections with doctrinal issues as discussed in the *Amphilochia*, τὰ δὲ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλας μὲν δωρεὰς καὶ εὐεργεσιαίς ὑπισχνεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν παραδεξαμένων πίστει καὶ παραφυλακῇ αὐταὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν καὶ τὴν ἑκβασιν εἶχον (Staab, 1933, p. 484, ll. 6–10), where ὑπόστασιν refers to δωρεὰς καὶ εὐεργεσιαίς. However, there is something more distinctive of Photian theology about the definition of φύσις that emerges from the first scholia on Romans, as in Sch. Ph. 5,

commenting on Rm 1, 3–5, where the exegete, describing the nature of the Son, states, τούτων γὰρ ἡ συνδρομὴ [...] διδάσκει πάντας αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ φύσει υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεόν (ed. Staab 1933, p. 470, l. 23–26). In the passage, the Son is by nature the ‘true Son and God,’ meaning that hypostasis of the Son coincides with that of the God. It seems to me that this sentence would fit with the definition of μία σύνθετος ὑπόστασις (‘one composite hypostasis’) which characterises the Cyrillan Chalcedonianism, which Photius knows and embraces (Louth, 2006, p. 218). Apart from this element, it is rather difficult to find in scholia something that is truly distinctive of the Photian exegesis in the *Amphilochia*, as Louth summarises it, but it is clear from the analysis of the scholia there is a high level of literacy and the ability of the exegete to create a discursive and fluid interpretation of the Pauline text, focusing on significant and problematic aspects of the letter, often starting from brief phrases. Indeed, I identified some similarities between the *Scholia Photiana* and the *Amphilochia* (Sch. Ph. 1b; Sch. Ph. 5, Sch. Ph. 12, Sch. Ph. 259) but these similarities are too rare to consider the *Amphilochia* as an important source of material for the *Scholia Photiana*, which proves what Hergenröther already believed that the source of the scholia in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena was another unknown Photian work, but not the *Amphilochia* (Hergenröther, 1989, p. 79).

Generally, the exegete seems to have an interest in the use of accumulations and synonyms; he prefers indirect speech and the use of the absolute infinitive after ὡς and ἵνα/ἵνα μὴ as well as the epexegetical infinitive. Expressions such as οἶον, ἀθρόον, ὡς ἀληθῶς, τρόπον τινὰ as well as ἀπλῶς, μὴ γενοῖτο, ἐφ’ ἑξῆς, ἢ διπλῶς

are also frequently used. Verbs such as ὄρα and σκωπεῖ and phrases such as τί δὲ ἐστὶν or πῶς and καλῶς φησιν, do suit an oral context, involving the presence of an audience or a reader which is addressed directly by the exegete. They work as literary devices catching the attention of a potential audience and invite critical attention to the Pauline texts. Another typical feature of the *Scholia Photiana* is switching from a first- into a third-person verb (and *vice versa*). There is also a tendency to repeat the same content using different words and the procedure of following the sequence of the biblical verses with methodical accuracy.

There is a reminiscence of the Fathers, particularly of Chrysostom (e.g. Sch. Ph. 6a; Sch. Ph. 44; possibly Sch. Ph. 53; Sch. Ph. 59b; Sch. Ph. 60, Sch. Ph. 61, Sch. Ph. 64, Sch. Ph. 76; Sch. Ph. 93; Sch. Ph. 98; Sch. Ph. 151); but the quotations are not long enough or strictly verbatim to understand the extent to which the exegete of the *Scholia Photiana* was influenced by Chrysostom. It is therefore not always possible to state whether these references are intentional or if they are due to the influence of the scholastic canon of Fathers. With regard to other possible quotations of exegetes in the same catena, Photius may have had access to - I refer here to the point made by Antonopoulou - I have pointed out a couple of examples of very brief verbatim quotations from Oecumenius (Sch. Ph. 103 and Sch. Ph. 104); this could be the first step to support the use of the catena as a source for Photius, but a more complete analysis of all the groups of *Scholia Photiana* will bring further details in support of this hypothesis or not.

III A new analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* on the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

III.1 The work of Cramer and Staab, a brief comparison.

Together with the group of *Scholia Photiana* on Romans, the group of scholia on 1 Corinthians is the largest among the sections of *Scholia Photiana* in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. Before Staab published his collection of scholia, Cramer had already edited most of the *Scholia Photiana* on 1 Corinthians in *Catena Sancti Pauli*, (Cramer, 1844, vol. V). As Cramer states in the introduction to tome V (1844, vol. V, pp. III–IV), for his edition he used the following manuscripts:

- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 227, (sixteenth-century), known as GA 1937 (Aland, 1994, p. 157);
- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 223,(1045), known as GA 1933 (Aland, 1994, p. 157);
- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 216, (tenth-century), known as GA 605 (Aland, 1994, p. 482);
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. 1. 07 (Misc. 185) (*olim* Meermann 53) (tenth-century) known as GA 2962.
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Roe 16, (eleventh-century) known as GA 1908 (Aland, 1994, p. 155).

Staab categorises GA 1937 as *Typus Vaticanus* (Staab, 1926, p. 21) and both GA 1933 and GA 605 as part of the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius, more specifically as *Erweiterte Typus*, ‘expanded type,’ (Staab, 1926, pp. 132–151). However, in selecting

the manuscripts of *Erweiterte Typus* for his edition of some scholia belonging to the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, Staab excluded both GA 1933 and GA 605. In describing those manuscripts, he considered GA 1933 as closely related to GA 1923 (siglum G in Staab, 1933), because of several mistakes they both have in common; in addition, Staab excludes Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat. gr. 204 (GA 1998, known as P in Staab), a late relative of GA 1923, dated to the twelfth century and considered not valuable to the edition of the scholia compared to his predecessor (Staab, 1926, p. 148). He also declares that GA 605 contains very few parts of the Photian scholia, and that Cramer used this manuscript only for the edition of scholia on 2 Cor, without mentioning 1 Corinthians.

Furthermore, as he had already done for the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans, Staab based his edition of the group on the main representative manuscript of the *Typus Vaticanus*, GA 1915. In the following Table 4, I have summarised the genesis of the two editions:

Group			Edition
Typus Vaticanus	Typus Pseudo-Oecumenius		Other
	<i>Erweiterte Typus</i>	<i>Normal + Erweiterte Typus</i>	
GA 1915	GA 91 GA 1923 GA 1982	GA 1907	Staab, 1933
GA 1937	GA 1933 GA 605		GA 1908 Cramer, 1841

(Table 4. *The genesis of the editions of Cramer and Staab of the Scholia Photiana on 1 Cor*)

Essentially, the material published by Staab, although it is based on different manuscripts, is identical to what Cramer had already published in the fifth volume of his edition of the catena on the New Testament.

III. 2 The *Scholia Photiana* on the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

Sch. Ph. 185–Sch. Ph. 187. The first scholium on 1 Corinthians from the *Scholia Photiana* was edited as a comment on 1 Cor 1, 1–3 (Staab, 1933, p. 544). This is the result of the combination of three different scholia, the last two introduced by additional biblical lemmata. From the analysis of this first group of scholia, it was evident that Staab's edition was based mostly on GA 1915. However, the work of the German scholar is sometimes imprecise: first of all, he reports only the lemmata in GA 1915 and never those of the other manuscripts; not only this affects these first three scholia, but it is also a general pattern of the whole collection of *Scholia Photiana* on Romans and 1 Corinthians. For instance, in GA 1923 (f. 80v) Sch. Ph. 185 starts with the lemma Παῦλος κλητὸς ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, which is also clearly legible in GA 1982 (f. 46v), but Staab decides not to publish it on the basis of GA 1915; although he then accepts the *lectio* νομίσητε (Staab, 1933, p. 544, l. 6), instead of νομίσης in GA 1915 and also in Cramer (1844, v. V, p. 7). If there is a general agreement on this group of scholia among the manuscripts, things look different in GA 91. It is very common to encounter some difficulties in defining what is Photiana and what is not in GA 91, even more for the *Scholia Photiana* on 1 Corinthians than it was for the scholia on

Romans. In GA 1905 (f. 37r), the three paragraphs appear as independent, anonymous scholia, but only Sch. Ph. 187 has its own lemma and a capital letter.

With regard to the contents, although Staab published this scholium as a comment on 1 Cor 1, 1–4, Photius' attention is only on 1 Cor 1, 1–2; the exegete defines the Corinthians a holy people by vocation and with them everyone is called in the name of the Lord.

Sch. Ph. 188–Sch. Ph. 189. According to Staab, the scholium on 1 Cor 1, 5 is preserved in GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 91, GA 1907; however, it is also in GA 1905 (f. 37v), where, exactly like the other scholia, it is anonymous and written by a second hand, who has added it in the upper left margin to the existing commentary. On the same pages of this manuscript, it is also possible to read Sch. Ph. 189, Sch. Ph. 190 and Sch. Ph. 191, but Sch. Ph. 192 does not seem to be preserved. The scholium is anonymous in GA 1907, where the only clue to its identification is given by the shape of a wedge in red ink. With regard to the content, Sch. Ph. 189 shows a particular focus on details, the choice of words and the syntax of the Pauline text. At other times, Photius proposes different interpretations of the same word, such as 1 Cor 1, 6–7, where *Μαρτύριον* can be interpreted as *τὸ ἐκούσιον καὶ σωτήριον πάθος*, 'voluntary saving desire', as well as *ἡ τῶν σημείων χάρις καὶ δωρεά*, 'grace and gift of the miracles' (Staab 1933, p. 545, l. 1 ss).

Sch. Ph. 190–Sch. Ph. 192. There is an anomaly in the scholium on Sch. Ph. 190 in GA 91. The scholium, as Staab publishes it, consists of three paragraphs preserved by GA 1915 (f. 221v), GA 1923 (f. 81v), GA 1982 (f. 47v), GA 91 (f. 110v) and GA 1907 (f. 81r).

In GA 91, the ligature φτ confirms Photius' authorship of the scholia, but Sch. Ph. 190 and Sch. Ph. 191 seem to be written in sequence as one text is introduced by the lemma Δι' οὐ ἐκλήθητε. Furthermore, in GA 91, at the end of Sch. Ph. 191, after the word ἐννοῆς (in Staab, 1933, p. 545, l. 18), the text continues briefly with: [...] ἐκλήθητε· οὐ (ἦν) γὰρ ἀφ' ἑαυτ(ῶν) ἤκατε ἀλλ(ὰ) χάριτι ἐκλήθητε [...] (f. 110v, ll. 30–31), which does not provide enough evidence to understand its authorship: unlike some of the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans, a comparison with GA 2183 does not help with understanding the nature of this extra line. Also, Staab considers Sch. Ph. 192 as anonymous in GA 91, but it follows soon after the previous Sch. Ph. 190 and Sch. Ph. 191. It is therefore possible that the copyist omitted the ligature φτ on purpose, so as not to repeat it pleonastically. This is not an isolated case in the manuscripts and occasionally the same happens in GA 1907, as I will show below. With regard to the content, there is particular attention to Paul's usage of specific prepositions, especially in Sch. Ph. 191, where the exegete points out the use of δι' οὐ rather than ὑφ' οὐ:

Δι' οὐ ἐκλήθητε ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑφ' οὐ ἐκλήθητε, οἷον ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἐπίστησον πῶς τὸ δι' οὐ τίθησιν ὁ θεῖος Παῦλος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς, [...]. (Staab, 1933, p. 545, ll. 15–18)

In this case, Photius explains how the preposition διὰ + gen, indicates means, more specifically referring to God; 'by God,' is chosen to replace ὑπό + gen., the efficient cause; then, he clarifies its similarity with the more common διὰ υἱοῦ, 'by the Son,' because of the identical value of the two expressions. In addition, in the following

lines, the author switches to the third-person, τίθησιν ὁ θεῖος Παῦλος, and addresses the audience directly, ἐννοῆς, ‘you consider’.

Sch. Ph. 193–Sch. Ph. 196. This is a particularly interesting group from the point of view of the exegetical style. Sch. Ph 193 abounds with questions followed by the answers, which is also a feature of the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans (e.g. Sch. Ph. 100–Sch. Ph. 103). The first two questions are addressed directly to Paul: Τί εὐχαριστεῖς, Παῦλε, ὅτι οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἐβάπτισας πλὴν ὧν εἶπας; μὴ τὸ βάπτισμα ἐν βραχεῖ τιθέμενος λόγῳ; (Staab, 1933, p. 545, ll. 23–24). Then, the author switches to the first-person singular and talks as Paul himself would do, μὴ γενοιτο, φησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ δύο ταύτας αἰτίας εὐχαριστῶ; (ll. 23–24); at the end of the scholium the first-person becomes plural to address the audience, the second-person plural tracing the style of the Pauline letter:

[...] ὑμεῖς οἱ μὴδ’ ὅλως ἀποσταλέντες, πῶς τολμᾶτε διδασκάλους ἑαυτοὺς ἀποφαίνειν; πῶς δὲ καὶ βαπτίζετε; ἢ ὅλως τί ποιεῖτε ὧν οὐκ ἐλάβετε (Rom 1, 5) χάριν καὶ ἀποστολήν; [...] (Staab, 1933, p. 546, ll. 3–5).

In Sch. Ph. 193, the exegete deals with the role of Paul as καθηγητῆς, who was sent to announce the Good News and not to baptise people. Even in this case, the exegete recalls Rm 1, 5 creating a fluid exegesis to link different Pauline and other biblical passages to one another.

Another example of interpretation through comparison between letters is in the Sch. Ph. 194, commenting on 1 Cor 1, 17b, starting with an observation on the use of λόγῳ instead of γνώσεως in the Pauline text. This is related to the role of Paul as a teacher

discussed also recurring in Sch. Ph. 196, in which the exegete again talks about the misjudgement of the σοφίας λογοῦ (Staab 1933, p. 545, l. 21), proving a solid, exegetical coherence of interpretation in this group of scholia. Note that 1 Cor 1, 17b also reports a quotation of 2 Cor 11, 6, which will be considered again in Sch. Ph. 201.

Sch. Ph. 197–Sch. Ph. 199. GA 1915, GA 91 and GA 1907 preserve the incipit ἡ καὶ οὕτως βούλει μαθεῖν, instead of βούλει μαθεῖ as the other manuscripts. GA 1915 has the incipit ἡ φωτίου preceding this paragraph: is the copyist pointing out the attribution to Photius again? It is possible, but if he does so, he makes a spelling mistake. The most suitable explanation could be that the phrase was already part of the scholium in the catena in a stage before the introduction of the ligature to identify the author. In GA 1923, the scholium is introduced by the lemma ὅτι τὸ μωρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ (1 Cor 1, 25 NA28). The main difference between GA 1923 and GA 1915 is in the use of lemmata, which are not always included in GA 1915 or may be different from those of the other manuscripts. In any case, Staab always follows GA 1915. The three scholia are anonymous in GA 91 (f. 112rv), but the Photian ligature identifies Sch. Ph. 196 as the last text on f. 111v; therefore, it is again possible that the copyist simply avoids the repetition.

Sch. Ph. 200–Sch. Ph. 202. Even though Staab publishes this as part of a scholium on 1 Cor 2, 14–16, the sentence is on different pages of the same manuscripts. Although the editor does not mention it, the scholium is also preserved in GA 1907 (f. 124r) under the name of Photius.

From the point of view of contents, in the brief Sch. Ph. 200, the exegete wonders about the presentation of the messenger in 1 Cor 2, 3 as ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἐν τρόμῳ instead of being described as wise, rich and powerful, through the use of several direct questions. Sch. Ph. 201 deals with the comparison of the ψυχικός-man and the πνευματικός-man, that Paul already explains briefly in the letter. The exegete builds up his interpretation, remaining as close as possible to the text of the letter.

Sch. Ph. 203. Staab's edition of the scholium on 1 Cor 3, 4–9 follows GA 1915 which does not present any lemma introducing the text, unlike GA 1923 and GA 1982, where the introduction ἕκαστος δὲ τὸν ἴδιον (1 Cor 3, 8) is clearly legible. In GA 1923, it is also possible to read an abbreviation that probably corresponds to λέγειν soon after τῶν διδασκάλων λέγων, but this is not in GA 1982. This is the first case in which the two related manuscripts do not agree with each other.

With regard to the contents, Sch. Ph. 203 might recall Chrysostom, *In Epistulam I ad Corinthios, Homilia VIII*, (PG 61) on a couple of occasions. At the beginning of the scholium, the author quotes the Pauline verse 1 Cor 3, 5 τί οὖν ἐστὶν Ἀπολλῶς; τί δὲ ἐστὶν Παῦλος; and comments on it this way:

[...] ἐπεὶ οὖν ἰκανῶς ἔδοξε καθαιρεῖν τὸν ἐκείνων τῦφον διὰ τὸ καὶ ἑαυτὸν **συνευτελίσαι** καὶ Ἀπολλῶ, ἵνα μήτινες εἴπωσιν (Staab, 1933, p. 548, ll. 33–35).

The exegete of the scholium explains that in order to destroy the vanity of certain teachers and to give them no chance to speak ill of him, Paul has degraded both himself and Apollos. Chrysostom comments on the same verse in PG 61, suggesting

that the addition of the name Apollos is a censure against some who might show their resentment and anger against him:

[...] καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα τίθησι, πᾶσαν περιαιρῶν τραχύτητα, καὶ οὐκ ἀφείς ὀργισθῆναι πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα. Εἰ γὰρ Παῦλος οὐδέν ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἀγανακτεῖ, πολλῶ μάλλον ἐκείνους δυσχεραίνειν οὐκ ἐχρῆν. (PG 61, col 70).

However, it is clear from the comparison of the two texts, even on a wider spectrum, that Sch. Ph. 203 has no verbatim quotations recalling *Homilia VIII* and that the two also continue with different interpretations of the rest of the Pauline verse after the reflection on Apollos. I would be inclined to consider the opinion of the exegete of the scholium on Apollos as potentially a faint reminiscence of what Chrysostom says, but nothing more.

According to the TLG, the verb *συνευτελίζω* appears only once as an infinitive, *συνευτελίξασθαι*, in Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio Catechetica Magna* (ed. Strawley, 1905, s. 14, l. 17). Lampe translates it as ‘depreciate along with,’ (Lampe, 1961, p. 1325) and gives another reference for the same infinitive in an anonymous note on 1 Cor 10, 1 published in Cramer, as follows:

[...] κατέταττε τῶν ψευδαποστόλων καὶ τῶν λοιδορούντων αὐτόν, καὶ ἑαυτὸν συνίστησιν, εἰς ἀναγκὴν ἐλθῶν τοῦ μὴ καὶ τὸ κηρυγμα *συνευτελισθῆναι*, εἰ αὐτὸς Φαῦλος τῇ σιωπῇ νομισθεῖη· [...]. (Cramer, 1844, v. V, p. 412 l. 12).

Sch. Ph. 204ab. Both GA 1923 (90r) and GA 1982 (f. 56r) preserve a more extended version of the scholium that Staab edited as 1 Cor 3, 15 (Staab, 1933, p. 549). The extra lines that precede Staab’s scholium seem to be only in those two manuscripts and do not even appear to be in GA 1905, which Staab, as mentioned in the introduction

(*supra*, p. 36), considered related to GA 1923 (Staab, 1933, p. XLIII). In both those manuscripts the symbol φωτ is written next to the lemma Εἴ τινος τὸ ἔργον κατακαήσεται. After the lemma, the text is as follows:

εἴ τινος φησίν, τὸ ἔργον οὐκ οἴσει τοῦ πυρός τὴν προσβολήν, ἀλλὰ ἐλεγχθήσεται ὄν πονηρόν. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ κατακαήσεται ζημιωθήσεταιί φησι. αὐτὸ δὲ σωθήσεται.

(tr.) ‘He says, “If the work of someone” will not bear the assault of the fire but will be proved to be worthless. Indeed, “It will suffer a loss and will be burned - he says - but will be saved.”’

This is clear paraphrase of Rm 3, 15 and in keeping with the style of the other *Scholia Photiana*, the exegete rephrases the quotation to introduce a more specific and detailed exegesis in Sch. Ph. 204b. Therefore, it is indeed possible that the two scholia, Sch. Ph. 204a and Sch. Ph. 204b belong to the same author.

Sch. Ph. 205; Sch. Ph. 206–Sch. Ph. 208. Sch. Ph. 205 is a very brief text commenting on 1 Cor 3, 15 which seems not to add much to the exegetical style of the *Scholia Photiana*; although something more can be said on the following groups including Sch. Ph. 206–Sch. Ph. 208. The three scholia are introduced by the same lemma ὥστε μηδεὶς καυχάσθω (1 Cor 3, 21) in both GA 1923 and GA 1982, but there is no ligature in GA 1982 (f. 57r) next to either Sch. Ph. 206 or Sch. Ph. 207. Therefore, they should be considered as anonymous. After few lines the copyist adds Sch. Ph. 208 with another non-verbatim lemma (1 Cor 3, 22) πάντα ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὑμεῖς. Staab definitely considers the same scholium as anonymous in GA 91 (f. 115v–116r). However, the text follows Sch. Ph. 205, where the Photian ligature is legible: it could be another case in which the copyist did not write down the ligature twice. I therefore would not consider it as

anonymous. With regard to the content, Sch. Ph. 206 carries on the topic of the comparison between the ψυχικοί and the πνευματικοί, already discussed by Paul in 1 Cor 2. According to the exegete, it is clear that neither human wisdom nor human reason can compensate the teaching of the ‘spiritual’ men; quoting Ps 93(94), 11, Εἰ οὖν οἱ διαλογισμοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μάταιοί, the exegete reinforces this view. The last part of the scholium deals more specifically with 1 Cor 3, 23, ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς δὲ θεοῦ. Πάντα ὑμῶν. The sentence Χριστὸς δὲ θεοῦ, strictly interpreted as ‘Christ is God’s offspring,’ ὡς γέννημα, is also in Chrysostom (PG 61, col. 84).

Sch. Ph. 209. This scholium is preserved in GA 1915 and GA 1923 and GA 1982, where it is introduced by a lemma ὧδε⁶¹ λοιπὸν ζητεῖται ἐν τοῖς οἰκονόμοις (1 Cor 4, 2), while GA 1907 shows a different lemma: ἵνα πιστός τις εὐρεθῆ (1 Cor 4, 2). The scholium is also in GA 91, but, as in previous cases the division of the exegetical material on the page (f. 116r) is not very well defined; even if there is a Photian ligature (l. 12), the preceding line seems to be part of the previous anonymous text on the same page. This is another example of how the copyist of GA 91 combined scholia from different sources to produce a complete commentary on the Epistles, but at the expense of clarity. With regard to the contents, Sch. Ph. 209 focuses on the interpretation of the rule of those entrusted with the mystery of God as administrators to prove their faith in 1 Cor 4, 1–5; the one who administers the mysteries can only do that if he behaves like a servant. At this point, the exegete needs to clarify Paul’s

⁶¹ Οἶδε in GA 1923, GA 1982.

statement about not caring about being judged by human courts, which might suggest a contrast to what he previously said about his role of messenger and teacher (1 Cor 2). Although Chrysostom talks about this passage in *Homilia XI*, the *Photianum* does not recall his interpretation. As in many earlier cases (e. g. Sch. Ph. 61, Sch. Ph. 98), there are occasions in which there seem to be some faint reminiscences of Chrysostom, but in most cases the interpretation of the *Scholia Photiana* is strictly philological and literal.

Sch. Ph. 210. In contrast, the comment in Sch. Ph. 210 - on 1 Cor 4, 6 - seems to have something in common with Chrysostom's interpretation, which is also included in *Homilia XII*. According to Photius, Paul adds the name of Apollos to his own by saying, διὰ τί δι ὑμᾶς μετεσχημάτισα εἰς ἑμαυτὸν καὶ Ἀπολλῶ (NA28), because he is conscious of the internal divisions in the community and in order to avoid further polemics he addressed both groups at once. Similarly, according to Chrysostom Paul addresses everyone in his speech without making any distinctions between the two groups:

Sch. Ph. 210 (Staab, 1933, p. 551, ll 26–34):

ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο [...] ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ διακρίσει ὧν μὲν καθήψατο, τούτους εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ἐμβάλλη, ἢ εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ φιλονεικίαν μείζονα ἀνάψῃ, ὧν δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλέγχοις οὐκ ἐμνήσθη, τούτους δὲ ἄρα διὰ τοῦτο τύφου μᾶλλον καὶ ἀπονοίας ἐμπλήσῃ. διὸ εἰκότως ἐξ ὀνόματος οὐ καθήψατο, ἀλλ' εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ Ἀπολλῶ τὸν ἔλεγχον μετασχημάτισας, καθαρὰν

Chrysostom, *Homilia XII* (PG 61, col. 96):

[...] οὕτω καὶ Παῦλος μέλλων ὑπὲρ ἑτέρων ἐγκαλεῖν, τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀδικουμένων, τῶν δὲ ὡς πέρα τοῦ μέτρου τιμωμένων, αὐτὰ μὲν οὐκ ἔθηκε τὰ πρόσωπα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προσηγορίας καὶ τῆς Ἀπολλῶ τὸν λόγον προσήγαγεν, ἵνα αἰδούμενοι τούτους δέξωνται τὴν θεραπείαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδέξαντο, τότε

καὶ εὐπρόσοδον τὴν νοθεύτησιν λοιπὸν ἐπεκάλυψεν ὑπὲρ ὧν ταῦτα
κοινήν ἅπασιν ἐποιήσατο. ἔλεγεν.

In this case, there could be a possible reminiscence of the Golden Mouth, but again this is only a vague echo.

Sch. Ph. 211. According to the scholium, ἐπιθανατίους, ‘those condemned to die,’ can be interpreted in two ways; either referring to the disciples, μαθηταί, or as a metaphor describing those who are constant and truthful in opposing those who do not respect the law. Chrysostom also interprets the metaphor, but sees in it the teachers, διδάσκαλοι, the apostles, since they are always judged by people (PG 61, col. 107).

Sch. Ph. 211 (Staab, 1933, p. 552, ll. 6–12): **Chrysostom, *Homilia XII*, PG 61, col. 107):**

[...] τὸ δὲ οἱ ἐπιθανάτιοι διχῶς ἂν νοηθεῖν· ἢ ὅτι οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν θάνατον κυρωθέντες εἶναι μαθηταί, συντάπτων καὶ ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθηταῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πλειόνων οὕτω πάντα ὀνομάζων· ἢ μεταφορικῶς τὸ ἐπιθανάτιοι οἷον οἱ βέβαιοι, οἱ ἀληθινοί, μεθ' οὓς οὐκ εἰσιν ἄλλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν «ἐπιθανατίων διαθηκῶν»· αὗται γὰρ εἰσι βέβαιοι καὶ ἀμετακίνητοι [...]

ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ διδάσκαλοι καὶ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ πρὸ πάντων ὀφείλοντες λαβεῖν τὸν μισθὸν, οὐ μόνον ὑμῶν ἔσχατοι γεγόναμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐπιθανάτιοι τουτέστι, κατάδικοι, διόλου ἐν ἀτιμίαις καὶ κινδύνοις καὶ λιμῶν διάγομεν

Unlike Sch. Ph. 206 and Sch. Ph. 210, in the case of Sch. Ph. 211, the two interpretations of Photius and Chrysostom seem too distant from each other to suppose a possible relationship.

Sch. Ph. 212. GA 1923 (f. 94r) and GA 1982 (f. 60r) preserve a very extended text commenting on 1 Cor 4, 13 which GA 1923 (f. 94r) ascribes to Photius by adding the

ligature φωτ, unlike GA 1982 (f. 60r), where the same scholium is anonymous. The long text is not preserved in the other manuscripts, not even GA 1905, which was considered to be related to GA 1923 (Staab, 1933, p. XLIII) In addition, the text has not been ascribed to any other author in the catenae and does not seem to echo any specific work of the Fathers. The text follows with a translation:

Πάντων περίψημα τὸ περίψημα δύναται μὲν οὕτως ἀπλῶς νυνὶ σημαίνειν τὸ ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ· καὶ οἷον ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη κείμενον· ἐγγύτερον δ' ἂν εἴη τῆς σημασίας ἢ ἀπολύτρωσις· καὶ τὸ οἷον ὑπὲρ τινων ἱερείων προθυόμερον· περίψημα γὰρ καλεῖν ἐκεῖνος μᾶλλον ὁ παλαιὸς οἶδε λόγος· καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοιαύτην παρέχεται τῷ ὀνόματι· τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπειδὴν τινων ἄνωθεν μηνιμάτων εἰς πειῶραν ἐπιπτὸν καὶ ποινὰς αὐτοῦς τῶν τετολμημένων ἀπετεῖσθαι συνήσθοντο· ἄθροοι περιστάντες τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐνὶ τινὶ ὅς ἐμελλεν ἢ κλήρω ἀφορισθεῖς ἢ τῷ προθύμῳ τῆς γνώμης ἐκουσίως ὑπὲρ πάντων προθύεσθαι καὶ καθάρσιον αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι· τοῦτον χερσὶ ἐπιψῶντες καὶ ἐπαφώμενοι καὶ οἷον ὑπομαλασσόμενοι, περίψημα ἡμῶν ἔλεγον γενοῦ· ἐκεῖθεν οὖν ὁ πολλὰ πολλάκις σοφὸς αἰχμαλωτίσας Παῦλος εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον καὶ τῶν ἔξω φωνῶν οὐχ ὅση κομπή γλῶττα καὶ εὐηχος, ἀλλ' ὅση γνησία σημῆναι καὶ παραστήσαι τὸ προκείμενον· καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ταύτην συλλαβῶν· φησι περίψημα πρὸς Κορινθίους γράφων πάντων ἐγινόμεν· τῷ ὄντι γὰρ ὡς πάντων περίψημα οὕτω διαπαντὸς ἔπασχε καὶ ἐταλαιπωρεῖτο καὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς κατετείνετο· ἐὼτ' ἄλλα· καὶ γὰρ εὐρίσκω φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνου τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀντίρροπον· νῆ τὴν ἡμετέραν καύχησιν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκω· ὁρᾶς ὅπως ἦν πάντων καθάρσιον καὶ ἱερεῖον ἦτοι

περίφημα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων μόνον ἐπυρπολεῖτο τὰ ἔνδον καὶ ἐφλέγετο καὶ τὰ μυρία ἔξωθεν ἔπασχεν· οὐδ' ὑπὲρ συγγενῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς ἀνθρώπων. εἴ πως τινὰ ὡς αὐτός ἐβόα διασώσει· ὁ τοίνυν ἐγίνετο καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν· τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἀπαγγελλεῖ πάντων περίφημα λέγων γεγενῆσθαι· βεβαίοι δὲ τὸ προκείμενον τοῦ σημανομένου καὶ ἡ κατὰ πόδα συνέχεια τοῦ ῥητοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἐντρέπων ὑμᾶς φησὶ ταῦτα λέγω· οἷον οὐκ ὄνειδίζω τὴν εὐεργεσίαν οὐδὲ τὰς χάριτας· ἀλλὰ τί; ὡς τέκνα μου ἀγαπητὰ νουθετῶ· δεῖ γὰρ τὰ τέκνα πατρικῆς εὐεργεσίας μεμνησθαι καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς τέκνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγαπητά· τουτέστιν τοσοῦτον οικειοῦμαι ὑμᾶς καὶ τοσοῦτον τῆς ὑμῶν ἀγάπῃ ἐκκαίομαι ὥστε καὶ περίφημα ὑμῶν οὐ παραιτοῦμαι γίνεσθαι· θῦμα καὶ ἱερεῖον καὶ καθάρισον προσαγεσθαι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· ναὶ δὴ καὶ ἡ ὀρθότης τῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ συνθήκης πρὸς τοῦτο μᾶλλον ῥέπει τῆς φωνῆς· ἢ πρὸς τὸ ῥηθὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν· ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἠτιμωμένον καὶ κατάπτυστον πᾶσι μᾶλλον ἀποδίδεται κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πάντων· ὁ δὲ σοφὸς καὶ θεσπέσιος Παῦλος οὐ περίφημα πᾶσιν ἐγενόμην φησὶ, ἀλλὰ πάντων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ προηγούμενον χωρίον τῆς λέξεως τῇ διανοίᾳ ταύτῃ συμφθέγγεται· εἰπὼν γὰρ λαιδοπούμενοι ἐλογοῦμεν διωκόμενοι ἀμεχόμεθα· βλασφημούμενοι παρακαλοῦμεν· ἐπήγογεν, ὡς περικαθάρματα τοῦ κοσμοῦ ἐγενήθημεν· πάντων περίφημα ἕως ἄρτι· τουτέστι τί δεῖ καθ' ἕκαστον τοὺς πόνους ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς θλίψεις καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας οὓς ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑφίσταμαι; ἐν

κεφαλαίῳ φᾶναι, ὡς περικαθάρματα ἐγενήθημεν τοῦ κόσμου· πάντων περιφῆμα ἕως ἄρτι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ περικαθάρματα ῥηθείη μὲν ἂν καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἐβδελλυγμένου⁶³ καὶ φευκτοῦ· μᾶλλον δ' ἀρμόσει ἐννυμὶ τὰ καθάρσι καὶ τὰ ἱλαστήρια θύματα ἅ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων εἴωθε θύεσθαι παριστάν· πλὴν ἐπεὶ μηδ' ἕτερον τοῦ σημανομένου· τῇ ἀληθείᾳ λυμαίνεται ἕκαστος ὧ μᾶλλον χαίρει· τοῦτο καὶ αἰρεῖσθαι οὐ κεκώλυται· οὔτε γὰρ νῦν φησι ἐπαύσαντο οἱ ἐπηρεάζοντες.

(tr.) “Scum of everything (1 Cor 4, 13):” simply, in this case the “scum” may indicate the one in disgrace that lies under the feet and that would be closer to the meaning of “redemption;” as to say, “The one who was sacrificed for some priests.” Indeed, most of all he knows he is calling ‘scum’ the old Word and explains the reason for this expression: in ancient times, whenever they fell (Rm 11, 31–32) running into divine wrath and became conscious of the punishment for those who dared to go too far, after they were gathered altogether with those of the same kind and banished by one who voluntarily was to be sacrificed for everyone for legacy or for desire of knowledge and become the expiation for them all. Those who touched him lightly with their hand and found relief in him, called him the ‘scum’ of our people. Thence, the wise Paul who often captured many things in obedience to Christ - his refined and melodious language not less than heavenly sounds, but so genuine to indicate and present what is said before - having combined this sentence in the letter to the Corinthians, says, “We became the scum of everything.” Indeed, as the “scum of everything.” For the Eternal, as the “the scum of everything,” so he suffered for everything, was in distress and tortured by horrible pains. I leave the rest of the interpretation; in fact, I found a sentence of his which is equivalent of all the others, “Yes, every day I die, (as I rejoice) for your glory” (1 Cor 15, 31). Look how the scum was truly a purifying sacrificial victim for everything. Not only for the Jews, he was inflamed and was burning inside and suffering countless pains outside and not only for their descendants, but also for Greeks, non-Greeks and all the mankind in general. If he will save some, which is what was happening “every day” as he proclaimed, he also announced it through the Word, by saying he had been “the scum of everything.” What was said before on the interpretation and the coherence of the passage verse by verse is reliable. Indeed, “Without making shame of you - he says - I say this” (1 Cor 4, 14): I do not blame the

⁶³ Hapax, probably same lemma of βδέλυγμα, -ατος, ‘abomination,’ (Liddell et al., 1940, p. 312). To notice that Photius uses the verb βδελυξόμεθα at the end of Sch. Ph. 220 (Staab, 1933, p. 556).

kindness and the favour; then what? - "I warn you, as my beloved children" (1 Cor 4, 14). Indeed, the children must remember the kindness of their father and not just as children, but also for being loved; that is to say, so much I am close to you and ardently I love you that I do not even avoid becoming your scum and be led as a purifying and sacrificial victim for you. Yes! The uprightness of the structure of the speech tends to that more than the language or to what is said at the beginning, since having been dishonoured and spat upon mostly refers 'to all' (πᾶσι), according to the syntax, but not 'of all' (πάντων) but the wise and divine Paul does not say, "We became scum for all" but "Of all." In truth, the passage preceding this sentence seems to have the same meaning as well. In fact, by saying, 'When we are cursed, we bless; when we are persecuted, we persist' (1 Cor 4, 12b), when we are told blasphemies, we answer kindly' (1 Cor 4, 13a). He goes ahead, "We have become the expiation of the world, the scum of everything, right up to this moment" (1 Cor 4, 13b); that is to say, why should we pay back each single suffering, affliction and struggle that I have undertaken for your salvation? In the section he says, "We have become the expiation of the world, the scum of everyone right up to this moment" and indeed I would have quickly talked of the expiation and about what was nasty and could be avoided; but mostly harmoniously I cover the purifying and propitiatory sacrifices, which is the custom to offer. In addition, since none of the two interpretations - in truth, each ruin those who favour it mostly, but that does not prevent from choosing one - neither here he says that those who acted insolently died.'

Indeed, the exegetical style is elaborate and the procedure of introducing other Pauline quotations for exegetical purposes is common in all the groups of *Scholia Photiana* (e.g. Sch. Ph. 75; Sch. Ph. 98; Sch. Ph. 153, Sch. Ph. 153; Sch. Ph. 155). In addition, swapping from the use of the third-person perspective referring to Paul, to the first-person verb assuming Paul's point of view, is typical of the *Scholia Photiana* as well (e.g. Sch. Ph. 191; Sch. Ph. 196);. Indeed, ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη (l. 2), describing the scum is also in Photius, *Lexicon* (ed. Porson, 1822, 'περίψημα,' p. 425). However, the use of the particle ναί expressing a strong affirmation is surprising, as I have not found it in any other *Scholia Photiana*, where the most common interjection is μὴ γένοιτο. Comments on the Pauline συνταξις and χωρίον (ll. 31–33) are also in Sch. Ph. 153, Sch. Ph. 202, Sch. Ph. 231; Sch. Ph. 384 and Sch. Ph. 465 and others, showing the

exegete's particular interest in the structure of Pauline speech, although in none of the *Scholia Photiana* is the comment as detailed as in Sch. Ph. 212.

Sch. Ph. 213; Sch. Ph. 214. These are two very brief scholia published by Staab as comments on 1 Cor 4, 19 and 1 Cor 5, 1 (Staab, 1933, pp. 552–553). They do not seem to add anything relevant to the analysis of the *Scholia Photiana*. Although Sch. Ph. 214 is one of the few Photiana scholium also preserved as anonymous in GA 1916 (f. 43v) (see Appendix 1, Table 2).

Sch. Ph. 215. This scholium on 1 Cor 5, 6–8 is anonymous in GA 91, where there is no indication of author, while in GA 1907 the Photian ligature appears again, even if it seems to have been added by a later hand. The scholium focuses on the metaphor of the ἄζυμοι, 'unleavened bread,' referring to the Jewish tradition of the Passover. The metaphor probably describes those who following the law of God and keep themselves apart from the veneration of idols; therefore, leavening must be considered as a sin. The exegesis of this specific metaphor does not appear in Chrysostom's *Homiliae*. The verse 1 Cor 5, 7 is briefly quoted by Photius in *Amphilochia*, *Quaestio* 264 (PG 101, col. 1085), but from the analysis of the passage no similarities have been identified between these two texts.

Sch. Ph. 216–Sch. Ph. 217. These two scholia were edited by Staab as one scholium commenting on 1 Cor 5, 9–11 (1933, pp. 553–554). However, it is evident from the manuscripts that there were two independent scholia; for instance, in GA 1915 the two are combined in one text, but the first (up to ὅμοιον), under the symbol φωτ, and the second was introduced by τοῦ αὐτοῦ, clearly re-confirming Photius' authorship. The

same scholium in GA 1923 has a more extended lemma, Ἐγγραφα ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, typical of the codex, and the same happens in GA 1982, where the first line of text is corrupted soon after the lemma. The same lemma is also in GA 91 and GA 1907. This is only one of many cases in which these manuscripts agree on the same lemma. The interpretation focuses on the double meaning of (1 Cor 5, 11) ἀδελφὸς ὀνομαζόμενος, 'called brother.' The exegete suggests two possible interpretations of the sentence: one considering ἀδελφός more literally, and the other as brother 'from God.' With regard to this exegesis, there are no references in Chrysostom's *Homiliae*. Staab points out in his apparatus that the interpretation of the same passage is also in Origen's scholia on 1 Corinthians, but after checking the text I have not found any common references between Origen and Photius, who harshly criticises Origen's Christology in the *Bibliotheca* (cod. 8).⁶⁴ Strong criticisms are also made by Photius against another representative of the Alexandrian school, Clement, in cod. 109, where he comments on the *Hypotyposes*. In this codex, Photius uses again words such as βλασφημεῖ - as he had done in cod. 8 - assimilating the pagan stories to impious talks (ed. Henry, 1977, Bekker 89a). A detailed analysis of the Photian comments on Clement was made by Ashwin-Siejkowski, who demonstrated how Photius's disagreement with Clement was mainly due to Clement's views, seen as heretical by

⁶⁴ [...] ἐν τῷ πλεῖστα βλασφημεῖ, τὸν μὲν υἱὸν τοῦ πατρὸς πεποιῆσθαι λέγων, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ [...] λέγει δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παραλογώτατα καὶ δυσσεβείας πλήρη (ed. Henry, 1977, Bekker 8b. 40) (tr.) 'In this book, Origen blasphemes greatly in declaring that the Son was created by the Father, the Holy Spirit by the Son... and many more absurdities and many impieties.'

Photius, more than his exegetical method based on allegory. Ashwin-Siejkowski believes that such views need to be considered in the context of Photius' role as the defender of orthodoxy in the conflict with Iconoclasm (Ashwin-Siejkowski, 2010, p. 17) - for which I also recall the studies of Constatas in chap. I.6 and Louth in chap. II.3.

Sch. Ph. 218–Sch. Ph. 219. These two scholia are edited by Staab as a comment on 1 Cor 6, 9 (Staab, 1933, pp. 554–556). Staab considers the scholium corresponding to Sch. Ph. 19 as anonymous in GA 1923 and GA 1982 (ed. Staab 1933, p. 556, l. 12–15). Indeed, the symbol does not appear in either of those manuscripts, but the ligature is clearly legible next to the preceding Sch. Ph. 218; therefore, as already mentioned for some cases in GA 91, the copyist might have only avoided the repetition of the ligature. The other manuscripts agree in considering only these two paragraphs as certainly Photian. Another problem is the presence/absence of the ligature in GA 1907 (f. 127v), where there is a corrupted sign in red ink (typical of this manuscript) close to Sch. Ph. 217, which is also not in *ekthesis* as would be expected. With regard to the contents, the scholia on 1 Cor 6, 1–9 focus especially on the explanation of 1 Cor 6, 3, οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ἀγγέλους κρινοῦμεν (NA 28). According to Photius, the failing of the fallen angels moved God to give humans the power to administer the Law. At this point, the exegete lists a series of questions about the role of the administrators as typical of Photian exegesis. These verses are not by Chrysostom neither do they appear in Photian works, such as the *Amphilochia* or in the *Homiliae*.

Sch. Ph. 220. Sch. Ph. 220 - on 1 Cor 6, 13 (Staab, 1933, p. 556) - is under the name of Photius in GA 1923, but not in its copy GA 1982, where the ligature is definitely absent

and the text is not very clear. The same happens in GA 1907. For this reason, I consider them as anonymous. The scholium comments on 1 Cor 6, 13 and provides an interpretation of the Pauline metaphor of food and stomach, which share a reciprocal function, τὰ βρώματα τῆ κοιλία καὶ ἡ κοιλία τοῖς βρώμασιν [...] (NA28). The interpretation of the metaphor evokes Chrysostom's *Homilia XVII*:

Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἡ κοιλία, σῶμα. Ἀλλὰ δύο συζυγίας ἔθηκε, τὰ βρώματα καὶ τὴν γαστριμαργίαν, ὅπερ κοιλίαν ἐκάλεσε, τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμα. Τί δέ ἐστι, τὰ βρώματα τῆ κοιλία; τὰ βρώματα, φησί, πρὸς τὴν γαστριμαργίαν ἔχει φιλίαν, καὶ αὐτὴ πρὸς ταῦτα. Οὐ δύναται οὖν πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἡμᾶς ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλκει. Πάθος γὰρ χαλεπὸν καὶ θηριῶδες ἐστὶ, καὶ δούλους ποιεῖ, καὶ ταύτη διακονεῖσθαι παρασκευάζει [...]. (PG 61, col. 140).

For both the Fathers, the metaphor helps to understand the prophecy following soon afterwards, ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ ταύτην καὶ ταῦτα καταργήσει. τὸ δὲ σῶμα οὐ τῆ πορνείᾳ ἀλλὰ τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ ὁ κύριος τῷ σώματι (NA28). According to Photius, the stomach and food are linked by the appetite: the stomach asks for food because of the appetite and the food fills the stomach to satisfy the appetite, but with the resurrection God will destroy them both as neglected and obsolete. For Chrysostom food and stomach are a metaphor for slavery; gluttony is a strong passion that does not lead to Christ and keep us under the control of the belly, but in the life to come there will be no eating and drinking to keep humans as slaves.

Sch. Ph. 221–Sch. Ph. 223. The interpretation of 1 Cor 6, 17–19 in the group of Sch. Ph 221–Sch. 223, seems similar to Chrysostom, *Homilia XVII*. According to both the exegetes, fornication is the worst of the sins as it corrupts the body of the sinner. For Chrysostom the interpretation is the same (PG, col 141); Apart from Chrysostom's

Homilia, quotations of 1 Cor 6 and in particular 6, 15–16 and 6, 18–19 are also in Photius' *Homilia* I (Mango, 1958, pp. 41–42; p. 46); however, the two Photian texts do not look similar, therefore it is not possible to make a comparison between them.

Sch. Ph. 224–Sch. Ph. 225; Sch. Ph. 226–Sch. Ph. 227. These two scholia were edited by Staab as a brief comment on 1 Cor 7, 12–14 (Staab, 1933, pp. 557–558). The topic is marriage between spouses of different faiths. What Paul recommends is not to condemn such unions, as the spouse with faith can often positively influence the other. The style seems to be the same as all the previous scholia, especially in the use of a paraphrase of Paul's words. The following scholia, *Sch. Ph. 226–Sch. Ph. 227*, on 1 Cor 7, 15–17 (Staab, 1933, p. 558) are closely linked to the previous ones and are related to the topic of divorce, which, according to our exegete, will not give the spouse more freedom.

Sch. Ph. 228–Sch. Ph. 229. These are two very brief scholia published as a comment on 1 Cor 18–19, of which *Sch. Ph. 228* is preserved only in the manuscripts of the 1933 edition. Particularly interesting about the contents is *Sch. Ph. 228*, where the exegete comments on 1 Cor 7, 18, περιτετμημένος τις ἐκλήθη, μὴ ἐπισπάσθω· ἐν ἀκροβυστία κέκληταί τις, μὴ περιτεμνέσθω (NA28), in which Paul is essentially inviting the Corinthians to give no consideration to the condition of being circumcised (a topic also predominant in Romans). About circumcision, Photius makes his second reference to Epiphanius of Salamis (*supra*, p. 87), now recalling *De mensuribus et ponderibus* (PG 43, col. 264), διό φασι τὸν θεὸν εἰρηκεναί· ἐμίδηδα τὸ Ἡσαῦ, τὸ

Ἰακώβ ἠγάπησα, where Epiphanius reports the example of Esau as the one who first invented surgical treatment to cure circumcision. Photius writes:

ὁ ἅγιος Ἐπιφάνιος τοῦτό φησιν, ὅτι διὰ τινος θεραπείας φαρμακευτικῆς δύναται τις ποιῆσαι τὸν ἐμπερίτομον ἀκρόβυστον, καὶ ὅτι ταύτης τῆς ἐπινοίας πρῶτος εὐρετῆς γέγονεν Ἡσαῦ. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φησιν ὁ θεός· τὸν Ἡσαῦ ἐμίσησα [...] (Staab, 1933, p. 559, ll. 2–5).

There is no mention of Epiphanius or Esau in either Chrysostom or Photius' *Homiliae* or in the *Amphilochia*, but there is another quotation of Epiphanius in a scholium commenting in 1 Cor 7, 18 ascribed to Theodore of Mopsuestia and preserved in the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius, which was also published by Staab:

Τὴν ἀφηρημένην σάρκα οὐ δήπου ἐπισπᾶσθαι δυνατόν. ὁ μακάριος δὲ Ἐπιφάνιος ὁ Κύπρου δυνατόν ἔφη τοῦτο γίνεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ὅπως τοὺς βουλομένους εἰδέναι παραπέμψωμεν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ αἰρημένοις ἐντυχεῖν (Staab, 1933, p. ll. 11–15).

Theodore's scholium talks about Epiphanius, but without mentioning Esau, unlike Photius. Both the scholia of the two exegetes are on the same pages in GA 1915 (f. 266v–267r).

Sch. Ph. 230. This scholium was published by Staab as a brief comment on 1 Cor 7, 21–22 (Staab, 1933, p. 559) focusing on the definition of δουλεία in Paul, to be intended as slavery to God.

Sch. Ph. 231–Sch. Ph. 233. This group of three scholia was published as a comment on 1 Cor 7, 25–28 (Staab, 1933, pp. 559–560). With regard to Photius' exegetical style, Sch. Ph. 233 focuses again on the interpretation of Paul's verses through rearranging the order of the words (e. g. Sch. Ph. 12; Sch. Ph. 49; Sch. Ph. 73), specifically in the verse εἰδὲν καὶ γαμήσης, οὐχ ἡμαρτες (1 Cor 7, 28), which Photius suggests moving

forward with 1 Cor 7, 26 and reading as καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ οὕτως εἶναι (1 Cor 7, 26), εἰδὲν δὲ καὶ γαμήσης, οὐχ ἡμαρτες. According to Photius, this structure would reflect a more logical order by referring εἰδὲν δὲ καὶ γαμήσης, ‘if you married,’ to the ones who are still unmarried, instead of referring it to the man already divorced in 1 Cor 7, 27, like Paul does.

Sch. Ph. 234; Sch. Ph. 235; Sch. Ph. 236. Sch. Ph. 234 is a very brief scholium of only one sentence on 7, 34 and ending with πρὸ τούτου in both GA 1923 and GA 1982, while Staab edits it as πρὸ τούτων (Staab, 1933, p. 560, l. 37). Sch. Ph. 235 is also edited as a comment on 1 Cor 7, 36–38 (Staab, 1933, p. 561). Sch. Ph. is also edited (Staab, 1933, p. 561) and comments on 1 Cor 7, 40 very briefly. The analysis of these three scholia did not reveal any significant details about Photian exegesis.

Sch. Ph. 237. This is the only Photian scholium commenting on 1 Cor 8. In GA 1915 the scholium is ascribed to Photius, whose name appears in extended form, φωτίου, and not as a ligature; as for all the other scholia above, in GA 1923 and GA 1982 the scholium is introduced by a biblical lemma, οἶδαμεν ὅτι οὐδέν; however, the information about the location in GA 1982 given by Staab is incorrect, as the scholium is not written on f. 76r, but on f. 73r. This is also preserved in GA 91 and GA 1907 with both a lemma and a ligature. With regard to the content, the text consists of the definition of word εἰδῶλον, as a profane representation, whose existence consists only in thought and not in a proper material substance.

Sch. Ph. 238–Sch. Ph. 240. In Sch. Ph. 238, the exegete comments on 1 Cor 9, 2; in GA 1915, GA 1923 and GA 1982 (the correct location is f. 74v) and GA 1907, there is the

ligature with an additional lemma, οὐ τὸ ἔργον μου ὑμεῖς, while in GA 91 the same scholium is anonymous, with a capital letter in *ekthesis*. The following Sch. Ph. 239 and Sch. Ph. 240 comment on 1 Cor 9, 6 and 1 Cor 9, 10. In GA 91 the lemma introducing Sch. Ph. 239 is Οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν and not ἢ μόνος ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρναβάς as in the other manuscripts and Staab's edition (1933, p. 562, l. 9); then, the text is like the one in the previous manuscripts (p. 562, l. 10 τοῦ τὰ πρὸς τροφήν...). The lemma Ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρναβάς is also in GA 91, but it seems to introduce another anonymous brief text, which is Sch. Ph. 239. A different lemma is also in GA 1907, οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι. The ligature before the scholium, τοῦ αὐτοῦ, clearly refers to φωτ of the scholium before, but there is no defined separation from the anonymous text following, whose lemma is Μὴ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον (ff. 131v–132r). However, because the scribe of GA 1907 tends to repeat the ligature, it is probably reasonable to consider the scholium as anonymous, as in Staab. In addition, Staab indicates two quotations of 1 Cor 8, 13 (ll. 13–15) and 1 Cor 8, 1 (ll. 16–17). However, I did not find any evidence of a reference, verbatim or not, to Cor 8, 13, while I did find a clear reference to 1 Cor 8, 1, as the exegete is using the example of eating meat in 1 Cor 8, 1 for his interpretation of 1 Cor 9, 6 in Sch. Ph. 239. Additionally, Sch. Ph. 239 is introduced by the lemma, ἢ μόνος ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρναβάς, in both GA 1923 and 1982, but even in this case Staab mistakes the correct numeration of the *folium*, giving f. 78 instead of f. 75r. As in the previous case, I have amended all these mistakes in Appendix 1-Table 2. GA 1923 and GA 1982 preserve Sch. Ph. 240 as a Photian scholium (ligature φωτ, as usual) and lemma ὅτι ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ὀφείλει. In GA 1907, the scholium is introduced by the

canonical Photian ligature up to μαθητῶν (corresponding to Staab, 1933, p. 563, l. 5); then, the rest of the scholium (from ὅμως οὐχ εἰλόμην, corresponding to Staab 1933, p. 563, l. 6) follows as an independent and anonymous scholium.

Sch. Ph. 240; Sch. Ph. 241ab. This is a very brief not on 1 Cor 9, 10 (Staab, 1933, p. 562). With regard to Sch. Ph. 241ab, in GA 1915, Sch. Ph. 241a has both the full name of Photius and a ligature, φωτ, as often happens in this manuscript. The scholium on 1 Cor 9, 16–18 is identical, lemma included, in GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1982 and GA 1907, but it is anonymous in GA 91; moreover, in GA 1907 (f. 132r), it is followed by another unpublished part, which I have named Sch. Ph. 241b. In fact, the exegetical text of Sch. Ph. 241a is introduced by the lemma Εἰς τὰ εἰ γὰρ ἐκῶν τοῦτο πράσσω (1 Cor 9, 17), and starts with a second briefer introduction, ἢ οὕτως; then Sch. Ph. 241b is identified by a ligature τοῦ αὐτοῦ, referring to the indication φωτ before Sch. Ph. 241a. Both the scholia on f. 132v are introduced by ἢ οὕτως, which indicates that they should be read as two possible interpretations of 1 Cor 9, 17. The unpublished text with a possible translation is as follows,

Ἡ οὕτως· εἰ μὴ ἐκῶν τοῦτο πράσσω τὸ ἀδάπανον τιθέναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μισθὸν ἔχω· εἰ δὲ ἄκων, οὐδὲ οὕτως σφάλλομαι· τι δῆποτε· οἰκονομίαν γὰρ πεπίστευμαι· τοὺς δὲ τοιαύτην οἰκονομίαν πεπιστεύμενους, ἔξεστι λαμβάνειν. Ὁ γὰρ Χριστὸς προσέταξε τοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κηρύσσουσιν· ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐσθίειν· τοῦ δὲ ἐκῶν καὶ ἄκων, αὕτη διαφορά· ἐκῶν μὲν, ἐνθα καὶ λογισμὸς συνευδοκεῖ· ἀβαρῶς φέρων καὶ τείρων ἐπὶ τῷ φερομένῳ· ἄκων δὲ· ἐνθα μετὰ βίας καὶ ἀνάγκας τοῦ λογισμοῦ τοῦτο πράσσει.

(tr.) ‘Or this way: if I do not manage it promptly, to administer the Good News for free, I will get a salary; while, if I do not do that on my initiative, I will fall. Why? Because I have been entrusted with the ministry (of the Good News). In fact, it is lawful for those who have been entrusted with that ministry to receive money. Indeed, Christ ordered those who spread the Good News to eat from it. The difference between the men acting on his initiative and those acting under a command is this: he who acts voluntarily shows a good attitude, bearing his charge without feeling the weight and being distressed by it. On the other hand, he who acts under a command does it strongly and with a good attitude.’

There is no doubt about the authorship of the second Sch. Ph. 241b. Indeed, the phrase ἢ οὕτως, introducing both the scholia, implies a link between the two different interpretations the author provides for the same Pauline verse, εἰ γὰρ ἐκὼν τοῦτο πράσσω, μισθὸν ἔχω· εἰ δὲ ἄκων, οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευμαι (NA 28). Furthermore, Sch. Ph. 241b is characterized by the style of the *Scholia Photiana*, especially considering the peculiar way the author adapts the biblical quotation to the exegetical context. It is also frequent in the *Scholia Photiana* to find more than one interpretation provided by the same exegete of the same passage separated by the particle ἢ, but I could not find a very strong evidence of a sylloge of the Fathers since the scholia seem to show reminiscence of the ancient Fathers only vaguely and occasionally.

Sch. Ph. 242–Sch. Ph. 243. These two scholia were edited by Staab as a single exegetical text on 1 Cor 9, 22 (Staab, 1933, p. 563). However, as in many other cases, the text is the result of the combination of two independent scholia in the manuscripts. It is also unclear where the text of Sch. Ph. 242 begins in GA 91 (f. 127r). In fact, there is another line of text preceding Sch. Ph. 242, but the ligature is written as to identify only the text corresponding to Sch. Ph. 242 as a Photian scholium. The fact that in the manuscripts Sch. Ph. 242 begins with καὶ probably allowed the copyist of GA 91 to

combine it easily with another text with the intent to create as complete as possible a commentary on the epistle by assembling scholia of different origin.

Sch. Ph. 244–Sch. Ph. 245. In the manuscripts the scholium published as 1 Cor 10, 2–4 (Staab, 1933, p. 563) corresponds to two independent scholia, labelled with the ligature φωτ. The first scholium is generally introduced by the lemma καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν (1 Cor 10, 2). In GA 91 (f. 128r), the lemma is located a few lines above Sch. Ph. 244: Εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο. Contrary to the trend of the manuscript, in this case the Photian ligature is written in a coherent location, in the left margin before the Photian scholium, so that there is no doubt as to the beginning of the text. After a few other scholia on the same page, there is the other part of Staab’s scholium as an independent comment with a ligature and the lemma Ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας, (1 Cor 10, 4). A very similar situation is in GA 1907, where the comment consists of two different scholia; however, the location of the lemma is unclear introducing the first, which starts with εἰς ἐκεῖνον (Staab, 1933, p. 563, l. 26). With regard to their contents, the two scholia focus on the metaphor of the spiritual stone, which is also described as a spring of water flowing for the Jews from Egypt. The exegete supports Paul’s metaphor of the stone as a symbol of Christ and describes it as αἰσθητή, ‘sensible, perceived by senses,’ so as to say that the stone/spring is a sensible and concrete object, whose miraculous flowing is due to the action of the Holy Spirit. A similar interpretation of 1 Cor 10, 2–4 is also in *Amphilochia, Quaestio 245* (PG 101, col. 1087), but there is no evidence of a close connection between the Photian work and the scholium. It is therefore not possible to state whether the two texts are related.

Sch. Ph. 246. The scholium on 1 Cor 10, 13 is introduced by the lemma, ἀλλὰ ποιήσει σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ, with some remarkable differences among the manuscripts at the beginning of the scholium; below, I have reported the text of each manuscript, underlining the differences:

- [GA 1923, f. 114v, ls. 36–37] [GA 1982, f. 80v, ls. 35–36] Ἀλλὰ ποιήσει σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ: τὸ ἀλλὰ ποιήσει σὺν τῷ πει(ρασμῷ) θῆναι ὑμᾶς ὑπενεγκεῖν. ἰρασμῷ καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν διχῶς ἔστιν ἐκλαμεῖν· ἢ καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸν πειρασμὸν [...].
- [GA 1915, f. 285r, ls. 29–30] Τὸ ἀλλὰ ποιήσει σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν διχῶς ἔστιν ἐκλαμεῖν· ἢ καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸν πειρασμὸν [...].
- [GA 91, f. 128v, ls. 29–31] Ἀλλὰ ποιήσει σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν·
- Τοῦτο διχῶς ἔστιν ἐκλαμεῖν· ἢ καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸν πειρασμὸν [...].
- [GA 1907, f. 134r, ls. 8–9] εἰς τὰ ἀλλὰ ποιήσει σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ: Τὸ ἀλλὰ ποιήσει σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν. Διχῶς ἔστιν ἐκλαμεῖν· ἢ καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸν πειρασμὸν [...].

None of those differences are mentioned by Staab, nor the fact that in GA 1907 the scholium is anonymous.

Sch. Ph. 247–Sch. Ph. 248. In GA 1923, 1982, 91 and 1907, Sch. Ph. 247, commenting on 1 Cor 10, 16–17 is also introduced by its own lemma, τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ (1 Cor 10, 16), while Sch. Ph. 248, commenting on 1 Cor 10, 19–21 appears in the manuscripts with different lemmata. In GA 1923 and GA 1982 the lemma is ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἅ θύει τὰ ἔθνη δαιμονίοις (1 Cor 10, 20), which corresponds to the Byzantine Text

rather than NA28.⁶⁵ In GA 91 the additional lemma introducing the text is ὅτι εἰδωλόθυτὸν τί ἐστὶν (1 Cor 10, 19), while in GA 1907 there is no ligature identifying the text.

Sch. Ph. 249–Sch. Ph. 252. The scholium Staab published as 1 Cor 10, 25–28 is the result of the combination of four independent scholia. In Staab 1933 (pp. 565–566) the text on 1 Cor 10, 25–28 consists of four independent scholia in all the manuscripts except GA 1916, where they do not seem to be present. In GA 1915 (f. 287rv), the first one is under the name of Photius, φωτίου, with an initial Ἀντιπίπτειν in ekthesis; the second scholium follows the first with a ligature εἰς τὸν αὐτόν just before the text; the third and fourth scholia both have the ligature τ(οῦ) αὐτ(οῦ). In GA 1923 (f. 116r) and GA 1982 (f. 82r), the first two paragraphs (corresponding to Staab 1933, p. 565, ll. 11–26) are grouped in the same scholium introduced by the lemma πᾶν τὸ ἐν μακέλλῳ πωλούμενον (1 Cor 10, 25α). The second scholium (corresponding to the third paragraph in Staab 1933, ll. 27–30) is located after a few lines. The third scholium (the fourth paragraph in Staab 1933) is on the next page (f. 116v; 82v) with a lemma τὸν γὰρ κύριον ἢ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα (1 Cor 10, 26). Moreover, both Sch. Ph. 253 and Sch. Ph. 254 are introduced by additional lemmata, respectively εἰ ἐγὼ χάριτι μετέχω and μὴ ζητῶν τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ σύμ[φορον] (1 Cor 10, 30), the last one not clearly legible at the end.

⁶⁵ (1 Cor 10, 20a) Ἄλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύει τὰ ἔθνη, δαιμονίοις θύει, καὶ οὐ θεῶ· (RP 2005) : ἄλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύουσιν, δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῶ (NA28).

In the analysis of GA 1907, I observed a rather confusing disposition of the ligatures related to the group of Sch. Ph. 247–Sch. Ph. 252. For a better understanding of the location and authorship identification of the last four scholia in in GA 1907 on ff. 134r–134v, a summary is given in Table 5:

	Staab 1933		Location in GA 1907	Greek text	Indication of authorship
Sch. Ph. 247	1 Cor 10, 16–17 (p. 564, ll. 29–35)		f. 134r (ll. 15–20)	Εἰς τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν οὐχὶ κοινωνίαν· Ἀπόδεξις ἐστὶν [...] ἐκαλούμεθα.	Ligature φωτ
Sch. Ph. 248	1 Cor 10, 19–21 (p. 565, ll. 1–10)		f. 134r (ll. 21 – 30)	Εἰς τὸν τί οὖν φημί; ὅτι εἰδωλόθυτόν τί ἐστὶν: Οὐχ ὅτι τὰ εἰδῶλα [...] ἐπεμβαίνει.	anonymous
			f. 134r (ll. 30–33)	Εἰς τὸν μακέλλῳ πωλούμενον: Ἐπειδὴ πολὺν κατέτεινε λόγον[...] τοιούτου φόβου.	Unknown, anonymous text without ligature with lemma (1 Cor 10, 25) as an addition in left margin.
Sch. Ph. 249	1 Cor 10, 25–28 (p. 565)	Par. 1 (ll. 11–20)	f. 134r (ll. 33– 40) – f. 134v (ll. 1–3).	Εἰς (τὰ) μηδὲν ἀνακρίνοντες διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν: Ἀντιπίπτειν [...] εἰδωλόθυτα εἶναι.	anonymous
Sch. Ph. 250		Par. 2 (ll. 11–20)	f. 134v (ll. 4–9)	Πᾶν τὸ ἐν μακέλλῳ [...] παραλύσωσιν.	Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τ(ὸν) αὐτ(ὸν) in right margin.

Sch. Ph. 251		Par. 3 (ll. 27–30)	f. 134v (ll. 9–13)	Εἰς τὸν μηδὲν ανακρίνοντες διὰ τὴν: μηδὲν διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν [...] ἀνακρίσεως.	Ligature φωτ
Sch. Ph. 252		Par 4 (pg. 365, ll. 31–35) (pg. 366 (ll. 1–16)	f. 134v (ll. 23–45)	Ἐπειδὴ ἀνωτέρω [...] ἡμῶν.	Ligature φωτ.

(Table 5. Location and ownership of Sch. Ph. 247–Sch. Ph. 252 in GA 1907).

As for the table above, in GA 1907 there are a few problems of identification of the sources due to a lack of ligatures, which is mostly related to Sch. Ph. 250 since the ligature Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τ(ὸν) αὐτ(ὸν) does not entirely clarify the authorship of the scholium, especially considering that both Sch. Ph. 248 and Sch. Ph. 249 are anonymous.

Sch. Ph. 253–Sch. Ph. 254. These two brief scholia are preserved in all the manuscripts except GA 1916. Sch. Ph. 253 comments on 1 Cor 10, 30–31 and its most relevant exegetical feature consists of the use of second-person verbs all through the exegesis, (e.g. σύ γέγονας, ἔχεις βουληθῆς, παρασκευάζεις). However, the exegete does not seem to be doing this with the purpose of addressing the audience directly, as in other cases when he uses the imperative or the subjunctive form of ὁράω (see, Sch. Ph. 38, p. 54): instead, he is referring to an indefinite second person with the obvious intention of facilitating the understanding of the passage by making the

explanation less formal. In contrast, in the following Sch. Ph. 254, commenting on 1 Cor 10, 33, the exegete returns to the third-person form of the verb.

Sch. Ph. 255. With regard to the scholia in GA 1923 and its sister manuscript GA 1982, each scholium is introduced by a ligature and an additional lemma. The lemma introducing Sch. Ph. 255 is θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι, but in GA 1982 (f. 83v) the scribe omits the first iota in εἰδέναι. In GA 91, the location of both ligature and additional lemma again makes the identification of the beginning of the Photian text rather problematic. In the manuscript, Sch. Ph. 255 is located on f. 130v and is identified by the ligature, φωτ, in the right margin, but there are still a few lines above the scholium which look like they are part of it (GA 91, f. 130v ll. 2–3). In GA 1907 (f. 135r) Sch. Ph. 255 is identified by the ligature τοῦ αὐτοῦ (certainly referring to φωτ a few lines above) in the left margin; after the lemma ὅτι πάντος ἀνδρὸς ἡ κεφαλή, the scholium starts with the red capital letter of Κεφαλή in ekthesis.

Sch. Ph. 256. This very brief scholium consists of only a few words on 1 Cor 11, 5 (Staab, 1933, p. 567). It is preserved only in GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1982 and I also found it in GA 1916. However, it is not in GA 1905, which is another element contrasting with the relationship Staab believed to be between GA 1905 and GA 1923 as already observed with other scholia (e.g. Sch. Ph. 204a; Sch. Ph. 212).

Sch. Ph. 257–Sch. Ph. 259. The first scholium is introduced by the lemma εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων in both GA 1923 and GA 1982. This is followed by the ligature εἰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ, introducing Sch. Ph. 258. Sch. Ph. 259, written after several other scholia on the same pages. Like Sch. Ph. 255, Sch. Ph. 257 is also preserved in GA 91 (f. 130v).

As well as the other scholium, the ligature is in the right margin, but the text clearly starts a couple of lines above with the lemma in capital letters καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων (1 Cor 11, 7a). At this point the text begins with Δόξα θεοῦ, not with Εἰς γὰρ δόξα θεοῦ as in the other manuscripts. In GA 1907, Sch. Ph. 257 is defined by a capital letter in ekthesis, which follows a scholium ascribed to Theodoret; the scholium does not have any ligature, so it should be considered as anonymous, even if Staab does not mention this in the apparatus and considers the scholium as Photian. The following Sch. Ph. 258 is identified by the ligature τοῦ αὐτοῦ. A possible issue may be due to the fact that the previous scholium is anonymous and the scholium above is ascribed to Theodore. However, the Photian ligature φωτ returns next to the following Sch. Ph. 259.

With regard to the contents, the exegesis of chapter 11 focuses mostly on the metaphor of the head and the body, interpreted as Christ (the head) and his church (the body) as well as the man (the head) and the woman (the body). On this topic, there are also quotations of 1 Cor 11, 7; 1 Cor 11, 10 and 1 Cor 11, 27 in the *Amphilochia*, specifically in *Quaestio* 253, *Quaestio* 108 and *Quaestio* 73; however, only the content of the second *Quaestio* 108 appears to be similar to 1 Sch. Ph. 259; in addition, from a textual point of view there are elements recurring in both scholia on 1 Cor 11, 7–10 and *Quaestio* 108:

Sch. Ph. 259
(Staab 1933, p. 568, ll. 7–10):

ἀλλ' οὖν αἰσχυρθήτω τοὺς ἀγγέλους
οἱ μάρτυρες καὶ ἐπόπται γεγένηται

Photius, *Amphilochia*, Q 108,
(PG 101, col. 644):

ἀλλὰ τοὺς γοῦν ἀγγέλους, φησὶν, οἱ
ἐπόπται καὶ μάρτυρες εἰσι τῆς ἐξ

τῆς ὑποταγῆς [...] ἀλλ' αὐτήν ἐκ τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς γενέσεως
λαβοῦσαν.

ἀνδρὸς γενέσεως αὐτῆς καὶ προόδου,
δίκαια ἂν εἶη δυσωπειῖσθαι καὶ
αἰσχύνεσθαι, ὑπόκεισθαί τε διὰ τοῦτο
τῷ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ **τῆς ὑποταγῆς** σύμνολα
τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κάλυμμα φέρειν.

Furthermore, the phrase μάρτυρες καὶ ἐπόπται referring to the angels, who are considered as witnesses and spectators of obedience to God, seems to recall Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Sanctum Pascha* (PG 36, col. 625): ἄγγελοι τύχοιεν, οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ νοεροὶ καὶ καθαροὶ καὶ τῆς ἄνω δόξης ἐπόπται καὶ μάρτυρες· εἶπερ καὶ τούτοις τὸ πᾶν ἐφικτὸν τῆς ὑμνήσεως. The quotation is very brief but this is another example of a quotation from the *Amphilochia* together with the previous cases of Sch. Ph. 1b, Sch. Ph. 5 and Sch. Ph. 12; as I mentioned in the corresponding sections above, those scholia preserve some quotations from the *Amphilochia*, but considering the large number of *Scholia Photiana*, it is clear that the contribution of the *Amphilochia* is rather limited.

Sch. Ph. 260; Sch. Ph. 261–Sch. Ph. 261; Sch. Ph. 263. In both GA 1923 and GA 1982, Sch. Ph. 260, a brief scholium on 1 Cor 11, 17 (Staab, 1933, p. 568) has the lemma τοῦτο δὲ παραγγέλλων οὐκ ἐπαινῶ but the ligature is only in the first of the two manuscripts. Another case of an omitted ligature in GA 1982 is Sch. Ph. 262 Cor 11, 23, which is identified by a ligature and an additional lemma, ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ, in GA 1923 as well. The same happens with Sch. Ph. 263, which is ascribed to Photius in all the manuscripts but GA 1982; although in this case Staab notes it in the apparatus. Another anomaly is Sch. Ph. 264, which is published by Staab as a comment on 1 Cor 11, 27 (Staab, 1933, p. 569), even though the lemma is from 1 Cor

11, 30, διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν πολλοὶ. This scholium is followed by the sentence published as exegesis on 1 Cor 11, 29 by Staab (ll. 18–19), whose lemma is indeed from 1 Cor 11, 29: μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου. As for the Epistle to the Romans, the Greek text in the edition of Staab mostly follows manuscript GA 1915; sometimes the way the editor combines the scholia is also based on GA 1915 along with the lemmata he decides to include as part of the text. However, the composition of Sch. Ph. 261 and Sch. Ph. 262, corresponding to 1 Cor 11, 22 (Staab, 1933, p. 568) appears to be different from the trend of the edition. In fact, in GA 1915 (f. 294rv) the two scholia consist only of one text.⁶⁶ As for Sch. Ph. 255 and Sch. Ph. 257, Sch. Ph. 260 is also preserved in GA 91 (f. 131r) with a ligature, but the lemma is two lines above, introducing the exegetical text above with a capital letter. As we find it in the other manuscripts, the text starts with οὐκ ἐπαινω; although blank space divides it from the preceding lines, it does not begin with a capital letter, as we might expect and this makes the official beginning of the Photian scholium unclear.

In GA 1907, Sch. Ph. 260 is identified by the ligature, φωτ, plus a capital letter in *ekthesis*. On f. 136r, there is a long series of scholia under the ligatures τοῦ αὐτοῦ, confirming Photian authorship. The scholium corresponding to Sch. Ph. 261, which is certainly Photian, is followed by another scholium introduced by the lemma, but not identified by a ligature. This should be considered anonymous, but the following text,

⁶⁶ The scholium is split into two different paragraphs in the edition of Cramer (1841, p. 218), which is largely based on the *Typus Vaticanus*.

Sch. Ph. 262, has the ligature τοῦ αὐτοῦ in the right margin, indicating that the scribe considers them all Photian.

In GA 91, Sch. Ph. 263 seems to include an incipit Τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ παρουσίᾳ which is not in the other manuscripts. According to Staab, the following Sch. Ph. 264 is also anonymous in GA 91, but, as is typical of this manuscript, it seems to include a line of text just before Ἐπειδὴ ἀναξίως. If that portion of text belongs to the same scholium, then the scholium straight away follows Sch. Ph. 263, which is identified by the ligature φτ, and therefore should not be considered anonymous. Sch. Ph. 264 is also in GA 1915 (f. 296v); after κατασκευάζετε (l. 17), the text is interrupted by a brief white space, which is followed by the ligature τοῦ αὐτοῦ, referring to the previous φωτ which introduces Sch. Ph. 266 (corresponding to Staab, 1933, p. 569, 1 Cor 11, 33). Conversely, Sch. Ph. 265, on 1 Cor 11, 29, published in between 1 Cor 11, 27 and 1 Cor 11, 33 by Staab (1933, p. 569) does not seem to be in GA 1915, even though Staab claims it is located on f. 295v.

GA 91 (f. 131v) preserves a scholium identified by the Photian ligature, φτ; the additional lemma in capital letters indicates this is an exegesis of κυριακὸν δεῖνον (1 Cor 11, 20). However, the central part of this scholium coincides with a few lines of Theodoret, *Interpretatio in XIV Epistula Sancti Pauli* (PG 82, col. 316). I report the text in GA 91 (l. 15 ff.), as follows:

Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον. τὸ δεσποτικὸν καλεῖ μυστήριον· ἐκείνου γὰρ πάντες ὁμοίως μετ[1. 17]λαμβάνουσι· καὶ οἱ πενία συζῶντες· καὶ οἱ πλούτῳ κομῶντες· καὶ οἰκέται καὶ δεσπότες· καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἀρχόμενοι· [1. 18] ἔδει τοίνυν καὶ τὰς κοινὰς

τραπέζας εἶναι κοινὰς καὶ τὴν δεσποτικὴν μίμεισθαι. ἢ πᾶσι πρόκειται ὁμ[...]ως [l. 19] νῦν μὲν οὐχ οὕτως δρᾶτε· ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον δεῖπνον προλαμβάνει ἐν τῷ φαγεῖν (1 Cor 11, 21) · δεῖπνον μὲν καὶ (εἶναι) τὴν τότε [l. 20] θείαν λέγει τὸ ἄριστος.

The *Interpretation* published in PG 82 (cols. 31–878) is based on *Commentarius in omnes Pauli epistolas* (ed. Sirmond, 1642) and with regard to the sources of that edition, Migne mentions two manuscripts, ‘Augustano’ and ‘Bavero’, plus the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius (PG 82, pp. 11–12). Unfortunately, Migne does not provide further detail on the precise identification of the two codices ‘Augustano’ and ‘Bavero,’ but from his reference to Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliotheca Mediceae Laurentianae* (PG 82, p. 12), I was able to identify the Augustano with Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (BML), Plut. 10.07 (eleventh-century). Following further research on Pinakes, the only German manuscript of the *Interpretatio* that I found is München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB), gr. 018 (sixteenth-century). With regard to the manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, Migne did not provide any specifications either. However, in her recent study on Theodoret’s commentary on Romans, A. Lorrain (2015, p. 497) reports a list of the manuscripts of the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius preserving his scholia on 1 Cor: GA 075, GA 91, GA 617, GA 622, GA 1772, GA 1905, GA 1923, GA 1924, GA 1927, GA 1997, GA 2183. Among those manuscripts only those of the *Erweiterte Typus* – GA 2183, GA 1905, GA 1923, GA 91 – preserve both scholia from Photius and Theodoret and only GA 91 ascribes the scholium to Photius instead of Theodoret. Therefore, PG 82 agrees with the majority of the manuscripts in ascribing the text to Theodoret. In the light of this, I also consider whether the scholium in GA 91 could be considered as an example of a

more extended verbatim quotation of Theodore, but long verbatim quotations of other Fathers in the *Scholia Photiana* seem to be very unusual, based on the data gathered in this thesis. The other long verbatim quotations of another father is examined in the section on Sch. Ph. 540 (*infra*, pp. 271–274). In Sch. Ph. 540, the exegete quotes Eustathius, but the manuscript tradition in that case seems more consistent in ascribing the scholium to Photius; for instance, both GA 1907 (f. 168v) and GA 2183 (f. 441v) preserve Sch. Ph. 540 as Photian. Furthermore, it is to be considered that, as I show in the Introduction (*supra*, pp. 31–33), GA 91 does not show consistency in the use of the ligatures indicating the provenance of the scholia, often the beginning and the end of a scholium are not easily identifiable. For these reasons, I am still not entirely convinced that this scholium should be ascribed to Photius only on the basis of GA 91.

Sch. Ph. 264; Sch. Ph. 265 and Sch. Ph. 266. These are three very brief scholia commenting respectively on 1 Cor 11, 27; 1 Cor 11, 29 and 1 Cor 11, 33 (Staab, 1933, p. 569). Sch. Ph. 264 is indicated as anonymous in Staab, but I found a legible Photian ligature before it. Additionally, the ligature is also in GA 1905 (f. 63v), which is very unusual: this would be the only case in which the Photian authorship is explicitly indicated in that manuscript. Sch. Ph. 265 is only preserved in GA 1923 and GA 1982, although Staab indicates that it is preserved in GA 1915 as well. However, I did not find evidence of this scholium in the Vatican manuscript. Moreover, the fact that it is preserved in GA 1923 and GA 1982 and not in GA 1905 is a further element to discuss

Staab's hypothesis about their relationship (also Sch. Ph. 204a; Sch. Ph. 212 and Sch. Ph. 256).

Sch. Ph. 267–Sch. Ph. 269. In GA 91 and GA 2183, Sch. Ph. 268 and Sch. Ph. 269 are combined as one scholium instead of two, as in all the other manuscripts. With regard to GA 2183, there is another similar case related to Sch. Ph. 261 and Sch. Ph. 262, which are combined as one scholium (f. 145rv). GA 2183 may sometimes preserve a different version of the *Scholia Photiana*, often more extended or even briefer than the texts as preserved in the other manuscripts; certainly, this manuscript shows unique features that do not apply to the rest of the manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus*, but in some cases it is possible to find some analogies with GA 91, as in the combination of Sch. Ph. 268 and Sch. Ph. 269 or for similar versions of the same text, as I have explained above (e.g. Sch. Ph. 1ab, Sch. Ph. 2 and Sch. Ph. 43).

With regards to the content, these three scholia comment on 1 Cor 12, 3–15, although Staab published them as a scholium on 1 Cor, 12, 3–11. The exegete comments on the role of the Holy Spirit, which Paul defines as the third hypostasis. According to Photius, even if this is not stated clearly by the Apostle, the Holy Ghost is to be considered the source of every χάρισμα; moreover, the exegete states that it is clear that according to the letter that the Lord (Jesus), the Father and the Holy Ghost are the same thing, showing that the Spirit is a witness to God's divinity (Staab, 1933, p. 570, ll. 22 ff.).

Sch. Ph. 270. Sch. Ph. 270 is a brief scholium commenting on 1 Cor 12, 18,. It is preserved in all the manuscripts used in the 1933 edition - this is anonymous in GA

91 - plus GA 1905. This scholium starts with the imperative ὄρα, addressing the audience directly, as in other scholia before (e.g. Sch. Ph. 38; Sch. Ph. 64; Sch. Ph. 102; Sch. Ph. 140 etc.), which fits with the oral character of the *Scholia Photiana*. In this case Photius invites his audience to pay attention to the clarity of the Pauline verse announcing the Holy Spirit.

Sch. Ph. 271–Sch. Ph. 272; Sch. Ph. 273. These two scholia were edited as one text only (Staab, 1933, pp. 571–572. Although Staab published them as a comment on 1 Cor 12, 22–25, they seem to focus mainly on the exegesis of 1 Cor 12, 22 (Sch. Ph. 271) and 1 Cor 12, 23 (Sch. Ph. 272). These two scholia do not seem to be combined in GA 1915, which Staab used as the basic text of his 1933 edition, although they are combined in GA 1923 and GA 1982. Conversely, they look separate in GA 1905, which would be another element supporting the hypothesis that the presumed relationship between GA 1923 and GA 1905 (Staab, 1933, p. XLIII) should be re-evaluated.

Sch. Ph. 273. With regard to this brief scholium on 1 Cor 12, 31 (Staab, 1933, p. 573) the use of δοκεῖ μοι (l. 1) introducing Photius' own opinion of Paul's speech, in which the Apostle uses a negative combined with an exhortation.

Sch. Ph. 274; Sch. Ph. 275–Sch. Ph. 278. This group of scholia preserves an exegesis of 1 Cor 13, 8–9. Staab edited Sch. Ph. 275 as an independent comment on 1 Cor 13, 8a (1933, p. 573) and the group Sch. Ph. 276–Sch. Ph. 278, including four different scholia, as a text divided into three paragraphs on 1 Cor 13, 8b–9 (*ibid.*). With regard to the last group of scholia, the manuscript tradition disagrees on their preservation as four different scholia. In GA 1915 (f. 308r), Sch. Ph. 275, Sch. Ph. 276, Sch. Ph. 277 and Sch.

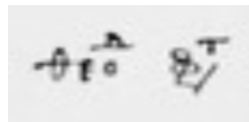
Ph. 278 are combined as one long exegetical text, while in GA 1923 and GA 1982 Sch. Ph. 275 and Sch. Ph. 276 appear as one scholium and Sch. Ph. 277 and Sch. Ph. 278 as another. Unfortunately, GA 1905 (f. 68r), which in most of the cases so far agrees with GA 1923 and GA 1982, is not clearly legible and it is not possible to state how the four scholia are combined together there. GA 2183 preserves only Sch. Ph. 277 and therefore does not help to clarify the situation. This is also the case with GA 91, as it only preserves Sch. Ph. 275 and Sch. Ph. 277. I consider the texts as four separate scholia on the basis of GA 1907. With regards to the content, Sch. Ph. 274 is related to the value of love and prophecies in Paul. According to the exegete, the definition of love as οὐδέποτε ἐκπίπτει, that is to say that it never fails, must be read as a statement of the strength, invulnerability and eternity of this feeling, which is also able to keep those who love always together without failing in front of any difficulties. With regard to the content of Sch. Ph. 275 and Sch. Ph. 276, knowledge will disappear if it is compared to love. The exegete also interprets the word γνῶσις as “knowledge belonging to teaching,” that is the teaching of an amplified faith, which is also a partial knowledge. Additionally, knowledge can evolve and develop, which is clearly explained by the exegete in Sch. Ph. 279–Sch. Ph. 281, commenting on 1 Cor 13, 12–13. *Sch. Ph. 279–Sch. Ph. 281.* In GA 1915 (f. 309r), Sch. Ph. 279 and Sch. Ph. 280 are combined as one text, but in GA 91 (f. 136r) the scholia combined are Sch. Ph. 280 and Sch. Ph. 281. Additionally, Sch. Ph. 280 is anonymous in both GA 1923 and GA 1982, but the ligature appears next to Sch. Ph. 279, a few lines above the Sch. Ph. 280. This could therefore be a case of a deliberate omission of the ligature by the copyist to avoid

repetition, as also happened in the same manuscript at Sch. Ph. 105 or in GA 91 to Sch. Ph. 196. With regard to the content, this group follows the exegesis of 1 Cor 13, 8b–9 above, with the metaphor of childhood used by Paul saying that in their $\gamma\nu\tilde{\omega}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, humans are like infants, but when they grow up their knowledge changes. On the use of the adverb $\nu\nu\tilde{\iota}$ in Sch. Ph. 281 (1 Cor 13, 13), the exegete comments on the nature of faith, hope and charity, considered to be the most important gifts among those given to humankind, mostly because they are the only ones which increase, when the others decrease.

Sch. Ph. 283–Sch. Ph. 284. In his edition, Staab published these two scholia as paragraphs of a scholium on 1 Cor 14, 6. The manuscripts preserve both the scholia, including GA 1905 and GA 2183, with the exception of GA 1916. In GA 91, Sch. Ph. 284 is anonymous, although the ligature appears before Sch. Ph. 283, a few lines above: again, it is not clear whether the copyist omitted it on purpose to avoid repetitions. Unlike many other cases in GA 91, the beginning of the Photian text is this time marked by a capital letter. It is therefore possible to state confidently that the beginning of the Photian text is also the beginning of the section in GA 91 (f. 136v).

Sch. Ph. 285. Unlike Sch. Ph. 283 and Sch. Ph. 284, in GA 91 the text of Sch. Ph. 285 is combined with other anonymous scholia as a whole scholium on 1 Cor 14, 10–11. The ligature is located close to the beginning of the Photian text rather than at the beginning of the scholium identified by a capital letter, as seems to be the general trend of GA 91. The same happens with the following Sch. Ph. 286 and Sch. Ph. 287.

Sch. Ph. 286—Sch. Ph. 287. These two scholia were combined by the editor into a single text commenting on 1 Cor 14, 12–18 (Staab, 1933, pp. 576–577). However, from the analysis of the manuscripts, it is clear that the two scholia are separate but always preserved on the same pages. In my observation of the manuscripts, I also found two issues: first of all, in GA 91 (f. 137v), there is the same issue of the combination of multiple texts as a single comment without any specification of the source, apart from the sections identified with the Photian ligature. Even in the case of *Sch. Ph. 286*, I found an analogous situation in which the scholium was preceded by a line of anonymous text introduced by a capital letter and a lemma, Οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς. What is more, *Sch. Ph. 286* is preserved as anonymous, which made its identification on the page rather difficult (GA 91, f. 137r, l. 31). Furthermore, *Sch. Ph. 287*, which follows on GA 91 (f. 137v) is identified by two different ligatures in the right margin (Image 5):



(Image 5: Ligatures before *Sch. Ph. 287* in [GA 91, f. 137v](#))

The first ligature could indicate the name of Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose commentary on 1 Corinthians survives in GA 1915 and in Hagion Oros, Pantokratoros, 28 (Lambros 10620; GA 1900; Π in the edition of the comments on 1 Cor ascribed to Theodore in Staab, 1933, pp. 172–196). However, the scholium was preserved as Photian in all the other manuscripts, including GA 2183 (f. 159v), where the material of *Sch. Ph. 286* and *Sch. Ph. 287* is arranged differently; in fact, at least the second half of *Sch. Ph. 286* is treated as part of the following *Sch. Ph. 287*. However,

this only confirms that the two scholia have always been preserved as consecutive in the manuscript's tradition.

Sch. Ph. 288. GA 1907 (f. 140r) preserves an unpublished scholium ascribed to Photius. The manuscript reports the text of Sch. Ph. 288 identified by the ligature τοῦ αὐτοῦ, which clearly refers to the ligature φτ (Photius) on f. 139v, which introduced Sch. Ph. 286 and was followed by another ligature τοῦ αὐτοῦ before Sch. Ph. 287. The text of the scholium and a translation follow below:

Τουτέστιν οὐκ ἔσχε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκροατῶν συναγόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ τρυγώμενον καρπὸν· ὁ τοῦ λαλοῦντος νοῦς οὐ κεκέρδησεν αὐτόν· οὐκ ἀπήλαυσε τοῦ τοιούτου καρποῦ· ἔρημος ὄφθην τοῦ καρποῦ· ἄκαρπός ἐστιν.

(tr.) 'That is to say that he was taking for himself neither what was collected by his disciples nor the reaped fruit. The mind of those who talk has not gained it and did not enjoy the profit; it is seen as deprived of the fruit, it is barren.'

The style is the same as in all the other *Scholia Photiana* on 1 Corinthians, with an abundance of synonyms, such as συναγόμενον and τρυγώμενον or ἔρημος and ἄκαρπός. The analysis of contents allows the formulation of a hypothesis regarding where this extra scholium might have been located in a commentary on the Epistles, if one existed. There is no lemma introducing the scholium, but it seems that the scholium deals with verses 1 Cor 14, 12–18. It would also fit well with the general exegesis between Sch. Ph. 286 and Sch. Ph. 289 dealing with the correct interpretation of the value of γλώσση, interpreted as the instrument to talk in front of an audience. Firstly, it is clear that like the gifts of hope, charity and faith mentioned previously,

another important gift is prophecy, the ability of talking to an audience in such a way that it can understand what Paul is saying, or the good speech will be beneficial only to who pronounce it.

Sch. Ph. 291. GA 2183 (f. 167r) preserves as a Photian scholium a scholium providing an exegesis of 1 Cor 15, 23–24, Ἐκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι· ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός, ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, εἶτα τὸ τέλος, ὅταν παραδιδῶ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ (NA28). The same scholium was also published in the fifth volume of *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum* (Cramer, 1844, v. V, p. 300); Cramer based his edition on GA 1937, a late manuscript of the *Typus Vaticanus*, where the text is anonymous and introduced by the lemma ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός (1 Cor 15, 23); however, the scholium is not even in the most representative manuscript of the *Typus Vaticanus*, GA 1915. The text of the scholium in Cramer is as follows:

Ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός· εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν πρῶτος ὁ Χριστός ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη· ὅσοι τετυχήκασιν ἀναστάσεως. εἶτε δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος, εἶτε διὰ προφητῶν καὶ Ἀποστόλων αὐθις τεθνήκασιν. “ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ” τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὅτ' ἂν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ φανῆ ἐν δόξῃ, πρῶτον οἱ πιστοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν προηλπικότες καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν δεξάμενοι, ἀναστήσονται “εἶτα τὸ τέλος” μετὰ τὴν τῶν δικαίων ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἐν νεφέλαις ἄρπαγὴν εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ Κυρίου. τότε τὸ τέλος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἡ πάντων ἀνάστασις τῶν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου τετελευτηκότων, καὶ τῇ κρίσει παραδοθῆναι τελείως ὀφειλόνται (Cramer, 1844, v. V, p. 300, ll. 23–32).

It is also relevant that Sch. Ph. 291 is followed by Sch. Ph. 292 in GA 2193 (f. 167v), commenting on the verb παραδίδωσι in 1 Cor 15, 24. Even if Sch. Ph. 292 is anonymous, since it follows soon after Sch. Ph. 291, it could be that the copyist omitted the ligature on purpose to avoid repetitions. Although there may not be strong enough

evidence to support Photian authorship, there is also no evidence not to support it. In truth, some feature such as the accumulations or lists such as πιστοὶ, δίκαιοι, προηλπικότες, δεξάμενοι, or the frequent use of the explicative τοῦτ' ἔστιν following the verbatim quotation of the Pauline passage, is in line with the general stylistic trend of the *Scholia Photiana*. I therefore decided to include the *Scholia Photiana* in the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius.

Sch. Ph. 292–Sch. Ph. 295. Staab edited this group of scholia as a long text commenting on 1 Cor 15, 24–25. It was evident from the analysis of the manuscripts that the four paragraphs of Staab corresponded to four different scholia in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, although with an exception in GA 1923 and GA 1982, where Sch. Ph. 293 and Sch. Ph. 294 appear to be combined as one text.

Sch. Ph. 296. This is a scholium so far unpublished and preserved as anonymous in GA 1923 (f. 137r), GA 1982 (103) and GA 1905 (f. 74v) but ascribed to Photius through a ligature in GA 2183 (f. 169r). The scholium offers an exegesis of 1 Cor 15, 27, which mostly consists of a quotation of Ps 110, 1, πέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ. ὅταν δὲ εἶπη ὅτι πάντα ὑποτέτακται, δῆλον ὅτι ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα (NA28). The Greek text with a translation follows below:

Εἶτα ἵνα μή τις λέγη· ὅτι εἰ καὶ μὴ ὑποτέτακται ὁ πατήρ οὐδὲν κωλύει εἶναῖ μεῖζονα τὸν υἱόν, προστίθησι ταῦτα· ὁμόνοιαν δεικνὺς καὶ ὅτι ὁ πατήρ ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία τῶν ἀγαθῶν· ὅς τὸν τοσαῦτα δυνάμενον υἱόν γεγέννηκεν· ὑποταγὴν δὲ ἀκούων. θεοπρεπῶς ἔκλαβε τὸ εἰρημένον· μὴ δουλείαν τινὰ καὶ ὑποταγὴν ἀκούσιον· ἀλλ' ὡς προσῆκον υἱὸν θεὸν πατρὶ θεῷ ὑποτετάχθαι· ὡς αἰτίαν

τιμῶνται· ἔπειτα, ἵνα τῇ περιουσίᾳ τῆς λέξεως οἶον τῆς ὑποταγῆς, τὰ ἀσεβῆ
δόγματα ἐκεῖνα ἐκβάλη τὰ τὸν υἱὸν μείζονα παρατιθέμενα.

(tr.) ‘So that nobody says that even if the Father has not ruled, nothing hinders his Son to be greater than him, he adds this: the clear oneness of mind and that the Father is the principle and cause of the good, the Father who begot a son so much powerful. Who read “subordination” referring to God rejects what is mentioned: that was not a kind of slavery and a forced subordination, but as the divine Son was made subject to the divine Father, so they honour the cause. Then, with such a connotation of superiority, like “subordination,” he ejected those ungodly doctrines which explain that the Son was greater.’

Furthermore, the scholium shows some *loci paralleli* with another anonymous scholium of the *Typus Vaticanus* (Cramer, 1844, v. V, p. 307, ll. 2-8). Since Cramer based most of his edition of this text on the catena of *Typus Vaticanus*, GA 1937, which is a late manuscript, and since the scholium does not seem to be in the tenth-century GA 1915, I believe that the common phrases from the *Erweiterte Typus*, and probably from the same tradition of GA 1923 and GA 1982, reached the catena of *Typus Vaticanus*, where the scholium remained anonymous, at a later stage.

With regard to the authorship of Sch. Ph. 296, this is ascribed to Photius in GA 2183 (f. 169r), but it is also preserved as anonymous in GA 1923 (f. 137r) and GA 1982 (f. 103r) and GA 1905 (ff. 74v–75r). With regard to GA 1905, Sch. Ph. 296 is preserved in that manuscript not as an additional scholium, but it is located in the body of the pre-existing ‘frame catena.’ This would indicate that this scholium was already part of the catena in the tenth century and not added with the other *Scholia Photiana* at a later stage in the history of the catena. However, the exact opposite situation happens with Sch. Ph. 297, as follows in the next section.

Sch. Ph. 297. This scholium on 1 Cor 15, 28 is preserved in GA 1923 (f. 137r), GA 1982 (103r), GA 1905 (f. 75r) and GA 2183 (f. 169r). More specifically, it is ascribed to Photius in the first two manuscripts but is anonymous in GA 2183 and in GA 1905, where is enclosed in the body of the pre-existing tenth-century catena and, like Sch. Ph. 286, is not a late addition. The Greek text of the scholium with a translation follows below:

Μέλλει, φησί, τὰ πάντα εἰς τὸν πατέρα ἠρτηῆσθαι ὡς αἰτίαν· τοῦτο δέ φησι· ἵνα μὴ δύο ἀρχὰς ἀπεσχίσμενας ὑπονοῆς· ὅταν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας κείνται τοῦ υἱοῦ· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς μὴ στασιάζῃ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· ἀλλὰ καθὼς πρέπον υἱῷ θεῷ ὑποτέτακται τῷ οἰκείῳ πατρὶ· ὁ πατήρ ἐστι τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.

(tr.) ‘He says that everything depended on the Father as a cause. He says that, so you do not suspect the two principles were separate. Indeed, whenever the enemies lay at the Son’s feet, may the Son not be against the Father, but like the Son is subjected to his Father, so the Father is to his divine Son; in fact, the Father is “everything in everything.”

The manuscripts preserve the same identical text with no variation. Overall, there are some points that should be highlighted from the observation of these two scholia and their manuscripts: although Staab (1933, p. XLIII) pointed out that there was a relationship between GA 1905 and GA 1923, I am inclined to think that relationship needs to be rediscussed in the light of what I stated in few occasions above (e.g. Sch. Ph. 86; 95–96; 136–137; 184b, 204ab; 212 etc.). Secondly, it is also evident that the additional scholia are later than the pre-existing catena in GA 1905. This was observed by Staab, who supposed the additions belonged to the eleventh century (*ibid.*). Thirdly, as the cases of Sch. Ph. 296 and Sch. Ph. 297 demonstrate, there are Photian

scholia that were already part of the tenth-century catena in GA 1905. With regard to Sch. Ph. 296, the situation does not contradict what Staab already thought about GA 1905 and the late additions; in fact, Sch. Ph. 296 is part of the ‘frame catena’ and is anonymous: it therefore passed into the tradition of the family of GA 1923 and GA 1982 as anonymous. However, the major argument is related to Sch. Ph. 297: this is indeed an anonymous part of the body of the tenth-century catena in GA 1905, but it is identified by a Photian ligature in both GA 1923 and GA 1982. Therefore, if the *Scholia Photiana* were added in the eleventh century from GA 1923, we would have had Sch. Ph. 297 copied as an addition and not in the body of the text in GA 1905. Since the additions in that manuscripts were clearly added later, my hypothesis is that the majority of the *Scholia Photiana* were indeed added in the eleventh century, but not necessary from GA 1923 as Staab believed. In the light of this, it could be that there are other *Scholia Photiana* in the tenth-century catena of GA 1905, but it would be only possible to identify them through other sources, as in the case of Sch. Ph. 296 which can only be identified as a Photian scholium on the basis of GA 2183.

Sch. Ph. 298. The scholium is very brief, consisting of only one sentence explaining that what Paul says about the submission of Christ to God in 1 Cor 15, 28, αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς ὑποταγήσεται τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα (NA 28), is actually a true and marvellous (ἀληθῶς καὶ θεοπρεπῶς) form of freedom.

Sch. Ph. 299–Sch. Ph. 301. The three brief scholia were combined by Staab as three paragraphs of a scholium commenting on 1 Cor 15, 29–30. Although Staab did not give any further indication, I found Sch. Ph. 300 as anonymous in GA 91 (f. 141r). With

regard to the contents, the three scholia comment on 1 Cor 15, 29-31 and each one deals with a Pauline verse. This is probably the reason Staab decided to publish them as one text, although he does not mention any reference to 1 Cor 15, 31 which is in Sch. Ph. 301 (corresponding to Staab, 1933, p. 579, ll. 13–14). Sch. Ph. 299 comments on 1 Cor 15, 29; this is built on the Pauline question Ἐπεὶ τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν; The practice of questions invites reflection on how the dead would rise again and what is the role of those baptised in their resurrection. The reflection of the same topic through questions follows in Sch. Ph. 300, as well. It is clear that Paul is being ironic in the letter and the list of questions in these two exegetical scholia sounds more like an observation of that irony than a proper explanation of the verses. Sch. Ph. 301 provides the audience with an explanation of 1 Cor 15, 31, καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκω, which Photius interprets as a metaphor for daily concerns and pains.

Sch. Ph 302. This is another brief scholium commenting on 1 Cor 15, 33, where Paul quotes Menander, μὴ πλανασθε· φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλῖαι κακαί. However, Photius does not mention the origin of the quotation in the scholium and he carries on his exegesis focusing on the meaning of the sentence in the Pauline context: day by day, those who are good may be corrupted by those who are bad if they spend too much time with them. Nevertheless, we know from *Amphilochia, Quaestio 151*, that he was aware the sentence belonged to Menander:

Μενάνδρου τοῦ κωμικοῦ, γνώμας δὲ αὐτὸς ἀναγράφεται ἀρχαίων τίνων, μέμνηται λέγων οὕτως· “φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλῖαι κακαί” καὶ ἐξῆς (Photius, *Amphilochia, Quaestio 151*, PG 101, col. 813).

Sch. Ph 303–Sch. Ph. 304. Staab published these two brief scholia under the same heading of 1 Cor 15, 36–38 (Staab, 1933, p. 579), but keeping them as two separate scholia since Sch. Ph 303 is preserved in all the manuscripts, while Sch. Ph. 304 is only in GA 1923 and GA 1982. Additionally, I did not find evidence of those scholia in GA 1905, GA 1916 or GA 2183. With regard to the content, the three brief scholia comment on the idea that resurrection can happen only for those people already dead and buried, whom God will provide with a new body.

Sch. Ph 305–Sch. Ph. 306. Staab combined these two scholia as one text commenting on 1 Cor 15, 42–46 and indicated both as anonymous in GA 91 (f. 142r). However, after an analysis of the manuscript, I found both scholia with Photius’ ligature in GA 91, therefore there is no reason to consider them as anonymous in that manuscript like Staab does (Staab, 1933, p. 580). It also emerged from the analysis of the content that the two long scholia interpret mainly 1 Cor 15, 44 . In particular, the focus of the exegesis in both is on *σῶμα πνευματικόν* and *σῶμα ψυχικόν*. In Sch. Ph. 305, Photius describes the ‘psychic body’ as the body of Adam, the first man, while the ‘spiritual body’ is the one made alive by the Spirit that belongs to the ‘second man,’ after the resurrection. In Sch. Ph. 306, the ‘psychic body’ is described with further details: this is the body who suffers and is buried after the death, with a clear reference to what has already been stated in Sch. Ph. 303, Sch. Ph. 304 and also Sch. Ph. 305.

Sch. Ph 307–Sch. Ph. 308. These two scholia were published by Staab as one long text under the heading 1 Cor 15, 47–49. Specifically, Sch. Ph. 307 comments on 1 Cor 15, 47 and Sch. Ph. 308 on 1 Cor 15, 49. The focus of Sch. Ph. 307 is on the Pauline phrase *ὁ*

πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός; where ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, is interpreted with the adjective γήινος, 'of earth, earthly' (Lampe, 1960, p. 314) and is counterposed to the 'second man' who is οὐράνιος. According to the exegete, after the death of 'the first man,' who is 'earthly,' he will rise again as a 'second man' in a spiritual body becoming 'celestial.' In this light, Sch. Ph. 307 strictly refers to what is already explained in Sch. Ph. 303, Sch. Ph. 304 and Sch. Ph. 305. Sch. Ph. 308 is related to the two possible interpretations of the sentence φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου (1 Cor 15, 49b). According to Photius, the interpretation would change if φορέσομεν were written as φορέσωμεν, in which case the subjunctive mode would give the sentence a hortatory value. The indicative form φορέσομεν should be interpreted more as a prediction of something that will happen. Photius suggests the sentence be read in this light: 'as we brought the image that earthly image, so we will carry the celestial image.' Where 'image' would be synonymous of body, referring again to the psychic body in Sch. Ph. 303. Instead, the subjunctive φορέσωμεν would imply an exhortation to follow virtue, to adopt the celestial image - the spiritual body - for reaching the citizenship of heaven. In the last scholium, the exegete bases his interpretation purely on grammatical variations. The expression διὰ τοῦ (gen.) γραπτέον is a formula frequently found in Valerius Harpocration, an Alexandrian grammarian and rhetor (second-century), author of the *Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos* (Dindorf, 1853). For instance, Harpocration uses the phrase γραπτέον διὰ τοῦ plus a letter to identify spelling mistakes such as, Ἄνθεια ὅτι μὲν ἑταίρα δῆλον· μήποτε δὲ Ἄντεια γραπτέον διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεὶ οὕτως εὗρομεν παρὰ Λυσία (Dindorf, 1853, alpha,

sec. 141). Some studies (Cunningham, 1986, pp. 205–221) have shown that, during the first Byzantine Renaissance, epitomes and scholia of Harpocration’s Lexicon were included in the expanded version of the Lexicon of Cyril, a compilation of glosses from Bible, Homer, Euripides and other texts, which later went to incorporate other lexica, such as Apollonius’ *Lexicon Homericum*, glosses from Plato, Pausanias, Aelius Dionysius, Phrynicus and Diogenianus. The συναγωγή resulting from this stratification of glosses became the source of both the Suda Lexicon and Photius’ Lexicon in the ninth century. Therefore, an echo of Harpocration in the scholium is possible.

III.3 Conclusion.

The investigation of the manuscripts of 1 Corinthians has given very similar results to those of the previous chapter related to the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans. Primarily, the logic behind the edition of Staab in combining scholia of verses included in the same biblical passage as a longer scholium is also visible in the edition of the *Scholia Photiana* on 1 Corinthians (e.g. Sch. Ph. 185–Sch. Ph. 187, etc.). Once again, I have observed that the edition of Staab is clearly based on GA 1915.

The problems related to the position of the ligature in GA 91 and the difficulty of detecting the Photian material in that particular manuscript is even more problematic for the group of scholia on 1 Corinthians. There were also several cases of *Scholia Photiana* which are anonymous in GA 91 as a result of a lack of consistency by the copyist in writing the ligature before the scholium, wherever that scholium was

incorporated in a sequence of *Scholia Photiana*. For instance, this happens to Sch. Ph. 191 and Sch. Ph. 284 which follow the previous Sch. Ph. 190 and Sch. Ph. 283 on the same pages, but it is also possible that a second ligature was considered excessive by the copyist. This issue recurs in more than one manuscript and occasionally affects GA 1907 as well (e.g. Sch. Ph. 249–Sch. Ph. 252, Sch. Ph. 288) and even GA 2183 (e.g. Sch. Ph. 291).

In addition, new information was found on the possible relationship between GA 1905 and GA 1923. For instance, Sch. Ph. 212, Sch. Ph. 256 and Sch. Ph. 265 are preserved in GA 1923, but not in GA 1905, which contrasts with the hypothesis that the Photian exegetical material was copied into GA 1905 from GA 1923, as Staab supposed (Staab, 1933, p. XLIII). Furthermore, I found evidence (e.g. Sch. Ph. 297) that not all the Photian material in GA 1923 was copied in GA 1905 as a late addition, but already existed in the tenth-century catena, showing that the relationship between the two manuscripts still needs to be clarified through the analysis of the whole Photian material. In addition, from the analysis of Sch. Ph. 264, this emerged to be the only Photian scholium identified by the ligature in GA 1905.

With regards to quotations of other fathers, again the echo of Chrysostom's homilies is clear in a few occasions (e.g. Sch. Ph. 203; Sch. Ph. 206; Sch. Ph. 210 and Sch. Ph. 220); although in neither of these cases can we talk of proper verbatim quotations, the influence of the Golden Mouth on the Photian exegesis is clear. There is also the explicit reference to Epiphanius of Salamis in Sch. Ph. 228, which consists of a paraphrase rather than a verbatim quotation, but this is the first time that Photius

makes a reference reporting the name of his source - similarly in Sch. Ph. 335 (*infra*, pp. 196–197).

There are also some observations about possible reference to other Photian works, such as the *Amphilochia* (Sch. Ph. 259). In the previous chapter, I identified some strong similarities between the Photian scholia and the *Amphilochia* (Sch. Ph. 1b; Sch. Ph. 5, Sch. Ph. 12). In this chapter, Sch. Ph. 259 also showed some similarities with a passage in the *Amphilochia*, although the quotation is very brief. However, the analysis of both scholia and *Amphilochia* has not always brought relevant results on the relationship between them, since Photius does not always interpret the Pauline verses in the same way in both *Amphilochia* and the scholia in the catena (e.g. Sch. Ph. 44 vs *Quaestio* 265; Sc. Ph. 257 vs *Quaestio* 253; Sch Ph. 258 vs *Quaestio* 108). It is clear that those similarities are too rare, considering the large number of *Scholia Photiana* on Romans and 1 Corinthians, to suppose a relevant contribution of the *Amphilochia* to the exegesis in the *Scholia Photiana*. This analysis confirms what has already been observed on the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans, which is also what Hergeröther proposed, about the small contribution of the *Amphilochia* to the material in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena and the necessity to consider a work by Photius on the Pauline Epistles as the source of the *Scholia Photiana* (Hergenröther, 1869, p. 79, p. 86).

With regard to the style, the nature of the exegesis and the approach to 1 Corinthians is very similar to that in Romans. A combination of first- and third-person characterises the narration of the whole group of scholia, sometimes coexisting in the same text; it is common for the author to address the audience directly or using

imperatives (ex. νομίσητε, ἰδοῦ). There is also a certain focus on figures of speech, such as metaphors (Sch. Ph. 215; Sch. Ph. 220; Sch. Ph. 244 and 245) and the use of the question and answer technique (e.g. Sch. Ph. 193) also observed in group of scholia on Romans (e.g. Sch. Ph 100–Sch. Ph. 103). There is also a certain interest for applying the hyperbaton to reorder the sequence of the words in the Paulin verse as a tool to allow a more immediate understanding (Sch. Ph. 233), which is also a feature of some *Scholia Photiana* on Romans (Sch. Ph. 12; Sch. Ph. 49; Sch. Ph. 73), indicating the particular attention of the exegete to the syntax, which would fit well in a scholastic environment.

IV A New Analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

IV.1 Observations on the work of Cramer.

As I pointed out at the beginning of the previous chapter on the *Scholia Photiana* on 1 Corinthians (p. 112 ff.), in his introduction to the catena on the Pauline Epistles Cramer listed the manuscripts used for the commentary on the two letters to Corinthians (Cramer, 1844, v. V, pp. III–IV). Among the material on 2 Cor, Cramer indicates one, which he published as anonymous on the basis of GA 1933 (f. 79v), although the same text is also preserved as anonymous in GA 605 (ff. 180v–181r). The text is as follows:

Λοιπὸν περὶ τῆς λύπης τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν φιλοσοφεῖ, διαιωῶν αὐτὴν τῆς τοῦ κόσμου λύπης, καὶ φησιν, ἡ γὰρ κατὰ Θεὸν λύπη ἀμεταμέλητον κατεργάζεται, ὡς ἢ γε τοῦ κόσμου θάνατον, ὅταν διὰ χρήματα, ὅταν διὰ δόξαν λυπηταί τις· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ τῆς λύπης φάρμακον εἰς τὸ τὰς ἀμαρτίας λυπεῖσθαι κατεσκευάσται μόνον, ἀν τούτῳ μόνον καὶ ὠφελεῖ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς καὶ βλάπτει· παρὰ φύσιν γὰρ αὐτῇ χρώμεθα. Οὐτε γὰρ ὁ λυπηθεὶς κατὰ Θεὸν μεταμεληθεῖ ποτὲ ἢ κατέγνω ἑαυτοῦ. Τί δὴ ποτε λελύπηται; ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου λύπης συμβαίνειν εἶωθεν. (Cramer, 1844, v. V, p. 397, ll. 5–14).

This is an interpretation of 2 Cor 7, 10 and my interest in it was driven by the information Cramer left in a footnote on the same: in the scholium, Cramer declares that the same text was ascribed to Photius by ‘the editor of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena’ (Cramer, 1844, v. V, p. 297). Clearly, he refers to the edition of Morellus, also published by Migne (PG 118–119). However, PG 118 reports only the two final lines of Cramer’s edition of the scholium as part of a longer section ascribed to Photius, as follows:

Ἄλλως. [ΦΩΤ.] Μετάνοιαν ἀμεταμέλητον, φησίν, ὥστε εἰ κατὰ θεὸν ἐλυπήθητε, δείξοιτε ἂν διὰ τοῦ μηδέποτε ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς ἐκείνης μετανοίας ἀποστήναι, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον περιτραπήναι καὶ μεταμεληθῆναι, ὅπερ ἐστὶ προτρεπομένου, μηδέ ποτε τῆς ὀρθῆς ἐξίστασθαι κρίσεως. “Ἀμεταμέλητον κατεργάζεται.” Οὔτε γὰρ ὁ λυπηθεὶς κατὰ Θεὸν μεταμεληθεὶς ποτὲ ἢ κατέγνω ἑαυτοῦ. Τί δήποτε λελύπηται; ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου λύπης συμβαίνειν εἶωθεν (PG 118, col. 1001)

The edition of Morellus was largely based on GA 91 (Staab, 1933, p. XLIII) and the text ascribed to Photius was based on f. 157v, where the Photian ligature is added before Μετάνοιαν. The passage from Μετάνοιαν up to κρίσεως is confirmed to be a *Scholium Photianum* in other manuscripts as well (GA 1915; GA 1923; GA 1907; GA 2183) and I classified it as Sch. Ph. 346.

The quotation Ἀμεταμέλητον κατεργάζεται (2 Cor 7, 10) is clearly the lemma indicating the beginning of another exegetical section in GA 91; since there is no repetition of the Photian ligature, φωτ, it seems logical to consider the lines Οὔτε... εἶωθεν as anonymous. The portion of text is also too brief to determine clear Photian authorship. A case like this would be a further confirmation of how difficult it is to state clearly what is Photian material and what is not in GA 91. Staab already mentioned the limits of Morellus' edition because of the lack of ligatures in GA 91 and the ambiguity of some of their locations (Staab, 1933, p. XLIII). In this light, it seems also reasonable to rediscuss the reliability of PG 118–119.

IV.2 The *Scholia Photiana* on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

The group of *Scholia Photiana* on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians is the third largest group of scholia ascribed to Photius in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. Here I report the analysis of the most significant scholia with regard to the manuscript tradition and style.

Sc. Ph. 314–Sch. Ph. 319. The first scholium in Staab's edition is a comment on 2 Cor 1, 5–7 and consists of five paragraphs (Staab, 1933, pp. 583–584). GA 1915 (f. 342rv) preserves Sch. Ph. 314 combined with Sch. Ph. 315 and Sch. Ph. 316 as a single text. The main difference from Staab's edition is that Staab combined Sch. Ph. 314 with Sch. 315 in one paragraph - the first one on the scholium - and then published Sch. Ph. 316 as the second paragraph. Sch. Ph. 317, Sch. Ph. 318 and Sch. Ph. 319 were kept as separate paragraphs. In GA 1923 and GA 1982 there are four scholia identified by the Photian ligature, which do not correspond to the situation in GA 1915. In fact, although Sch. Ph. 314 and Sch. Ph. 315 are combined as one text, Sch. Ph. 316 is separate from them. GA 1905 (f. 81r) does not preserve Sch. Ph. 315, which is another incongruity in its relationship with GA 1923. The situation is slightly different in GA 91 (f. 145v), where Sch. Ph. 314 is incomplete compared to the version of the other manuscripts (up to *παράκλησεις* in Staab, 1933, p. 583, l. 14) and there is no Sch. Ph. 315. Moreover, in GA 91, Sch. Ph. 314 is one of the very few cases of a scholium identified by a ligature located next to the very beginning of the scholium. The real distribution of the exegetical material of Sch. Ph. 314–319 in the manuscripts is summarised in the following Table 6:

2 Cor 1, 5–7 (Staab, 1933)	GA 195	GA 1923 GA 1982	GA 91	GA 1907	GA 2183	GA1905
par. 1a (p. 583, ll. 12–16)	Sch. Ph. 314	Sch. Ph. 314	Sch. Ph. 314	Sch. Ph. 314		Sch. Ph. 314
par. 1b (p. 583, ll. 16–18)	Sch. Ph. 315	Sch. Ph. 315				
par. 2 (p. 583, ll. 19–21)	Sch. Ph. 316	Sch. Ph. 316	Sch. Ph. 316	Sch. Ph. 316	Sch. Ph. 316	Sch. Ph. 316
par. 3 (p. 583, ll. 22–29)	Sch. Ph. 317	Sch. Ph. 317	Sch. Ph. 317	Sch. Ph. 317	Sch. Ph. 317	Sch. Ph. 317
par. 4 (p. 583, ll. 30–31)		Sch. Ph. 318		Sch. Ph. 318	Sch. Ph. 318	
par. 5 (p. 583, ll. 32–33; p. 584, ll. 1–8)		Sch. Ph. 319		Sch. Ph. 319	Sch. Ph. 319	Sch. Ph. 319

(Table 6. *The distribution of the exegetical material on 2 Cor 1, 5–7*).

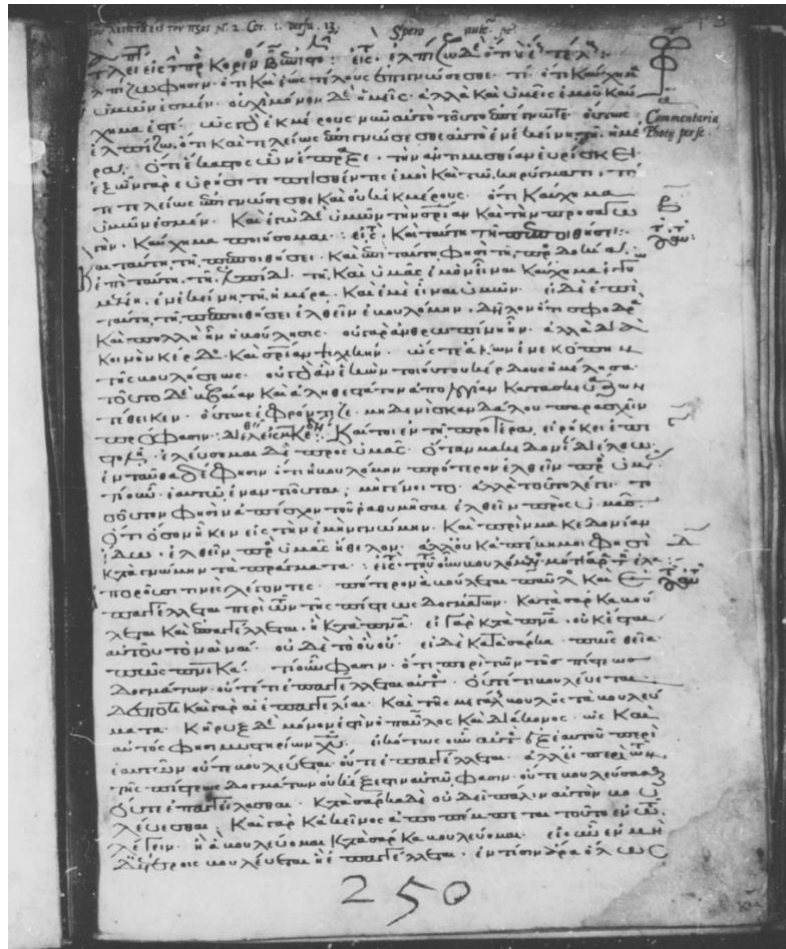
Sch. Ph. 320–Sch. Ph. 321ab. The two long paragraphs of the scholium on 2 Cor 1, 9–12 (Staab, 1933, pp. 584–585), correspond to two independent scholia in GA 1915, both identified as *Scholia Photiana* because of the ligature $\varphi\omega\tau$ and $\tau(o)\nu \alpha\nu\tau(o\nu)$ - the second follows the previous one directly - Sch. Ph. 320 and Sch. Ph. 321ab. In GA 1923 and GA 1982, there are two scholia, each one corresponding to one paragraph in Staab's edition. On f. 146v, there is a second scholium (corresponding to Staab, 1933, p. 585, ll. 7–26), but the absence of the ligature makes it difficult to identify it as *Scholium Photianum*. Furthermore, there are three different scholia in GA 1907 (ff.

146v–147rv); the first one corresponding to the first paragraph, Sch. Ph. 7, but the second paragraph seems to be split into two different scholia (f. 147v) each one with a ligature in the margin. As this is the only manuscript in which this scholium is divided in two parts, in this thesis it will be called Sch. Ph 321ab and not just Sch. Ph. 321.⁶⁷

At this point, it should be observed that from Sch. Ph. 322 onwards, all the scholia in GA 1907 are located in the part of the manuscript preserved Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I 30, therefore the page numbering starts again.

Sch. Ph. 323–Sch. Ph. 325. The case of the scholium on 2 Cor 1, 15–20 (Staab 1933, pp. 586–587) is similar: it consists of two scholia, Sch. Ph. 323 and Sch. Ph. 325, one marked by the ligature of Photius and the second by the pronoun in the genitive case, confirming Photius' authorship. An unpublished third scholium, Sch. Ph. 324, appears in GA 1907 (f. 3r), which is written between the two scholia corresponding to the first and second paragraph in Staab's edition. Image 6 (below) illustrates the sequence of the *Scholia Photiana* in GA 1907 (f. 3r):

⁶⁷ It should be observed that the *Scholia Photiana* end on GA 1907, f. 148v but only for the part corresponding to Magd. Coll. 7; the following *Scholia Photiana* are in the second part of the manuscript, Cantab. Uni. Lib., F I 30.



(Image 6: GA 1907, f. 3r)

In GA 1907 (f. 3r) the copyist wrote after Sch. Ph. 322, on 2 Cor 1, 13–14, the numeral α with the addition of the name of Photius; afterwards, another scholium (numbered β) is also ascribed to Photius by the ligature, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau(\omicron\upsilon)$ in the right margin. The last scholium is Sch. Ph. 323 - corresponding to the first paragraph of 2 Cor 1, 15–20 in Staab, 1933, p. 586). The Greek text in the manuscript carries on with another scholium (numbered Γ), which Staab did not publish. This third scholium could have been considered as anonymous, but since the following scholium (number Δ) is clearly indicated by another ligature, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau(\omicron\upsilon)$, referring back to Photius (α), it seems clear that even the third scholium could be considered as Photian, otherwise the copyist would have used the ligature $\phi\omega\tau$ below Δ instead of $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau(\omicron\upsilon)$. The Greek text of

the unpublished scholium, which I have classified as Sch. Ph. 324 in the light of this manuscript, is as follows:

Καίτοι ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ εἰρήκει ἐπιστολῇ· ἐλεύσομαι δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ὅταν Μακεδονίαν ἐνταῦθα δέ φησιν ὅτι ἠβουλόμην πρότερον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς· τί οὖν· ἐαυτῷ ἐναντιοῦται; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο λέγει· τοσοῦτον φησὶν ἀπέσχον τοῦ ῥαθυμῆσαι ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ὅτι ὅσον ἤκεν εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην· καὶ πρὶν μακεδονίαν ἴδω· ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤθελον· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀπέβη μοι φησὶ κατὰ γνώμην τὰ πράγματα.

(tr.) ‘Indeed, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians he said, “I will come to you, after I go through Macedonia” (1 Cor 16, 5), but in this one he says, “I wanted to come to you first (2 Cor 1, 15).” Why, does he contradict himself? - Never! - but, he says so. He says, “I was far from neglecting to come to you, since it was my own decision and I was willing to come to you before I visited Macedonia, but - he says - the facts did not turn out as I expected.’

Sch. Ph. 324 shows all the features of Photius’ exegesis: the use of first-person verbs, ἀπέσχον adopting Paul’s perspective; quotations of other biblical passages, the use of question-and-answer technique (τί οὖν· ἐαυτῷ ἐναντιοῦται), even the idiomatic expression μὴ γένοιτο which is frequent in many of the *Scholia Photiana* (e.g. Sch. Ph. 36; Sch. Ph. 40; Sch. Ph. 49; Sch. Ph. 193 etc.).

Sch. Ph. 328–Sch. Ph. 330. The brief scholium Sch. Ph. 338 is not in GA 1915 and it is anonymous in both GA 91 and GA 1907. It is only ascribed to Photius in GA 1923 and GA 1982. It is also preserved as an anonymous late addition in GA 1905. The analysis of the codices has revealed much about this group of scholia on 2 Cor 2–3, but it seems

there is a general agreement between the different manuscripts and the edition of Staab.

Sch. Ph. 331–Sch. Ph. 332. These two scholia commenting on 2 Cor 4, 1–2 were edited by Staab as one scholium only (Staab, 1933, pp. 589–590) but all the manuscripts confirm they are actually two independent texts.

Sch. Ph. 333–Sch. Ph. 334; Sch. Ph. 335. The edition of Cramer reports two scholia commenting on 2 Cor 4, 3–6, the first as anonymous, the second introduced by Ἄλλως. Cramer based the two Greek texts on GA 1933, an *Erweiterte Typus* probably related to GA 1923 and GA 1982. The text of the scholia in the edition of Cramer is as follow:

Τῶν ἔξω τῆς ἀγέλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ. οἱ μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἠπίστησαν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ κηρύγματος, οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευσαν μὲν, διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς πάλιν ἀπεφοίτησαν τῆς πίστεως · οὓς ἅπαντας ἀπολλυμένους ὁ Παῦλος καλεῖ· νῦν δὲ τέως ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπιστησάντων· τούτοις γὰρ παντελῶς κεκάλυπται τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ φῆσιν· ἐν οἷς ἀπολλυμένοις ἀνθρώποις τῶν παντελῶς ἀπιστησάντων ἐτυφλώθη τὰ νοήματα εἰς τὸ μηδὲ τὴν αὐγὴν δέξασθαι τῆς πίστεως. Θεὸν δὲ αἰῶνος τούτου Μανιχαῖοι μὲν καὶ Μαρκίωντες φασὶ τὸν πονηρὸν λέγειν Θεόν. Δύο γὰρ παρ αὐτοῖς θεοί· ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ πάντων φαμέν.

{Ἄλλως} ὥσπερ θεὸς ἔρηται οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς, καὶ Θεὸς τῆς παρούσης ἡμέρας καὶ Θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ οὐ παρὰ τπτῶτο λοιπῶν οὐκ ἔστι Θεὸς ὅτως μοι νόει καὶ τὸ Θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. Ἡ οὐθ' ὡς μετὰ ὑπερβατοῦ· τῶν ἀπίστων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου· ὧδε γὰρ ἀπιστοῦσι, τότε δὲ πᾶν γόνυ κλινεῖ, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται Χριστῷ, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ πατρῷα δόξῃ (Cramer, 1844, v. V, p. 373).

During my research I found the same scholia edited by Cramer in GA 2183, with the addition of the Photian ligature. The main difference between GA 1933, used by Cramer, and GA 2183 is related to the combination of the two scholia in the second manuscript; in particular the Ἄλλως ὥσπερ in GA 1933, is replaced by ἄλλ' ὥσπερ, which links the two parts as a continuous exegesis. The Photian authorship of both

these scholia is supported by three factors: first of all, the ligature in GA 2183; but there is also the factor of the exegetical style that seems to match other scholia seen above. For instance, the use of biblical characters as models is also in Sch. Ph. 71 and generally recurrent in all the groups of scholia; additionally, there is a focus on explaining the Pauline text through the use of hyperbaton that also recurs frequently in all the groups of *Scholia Photiana* and is documented in the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans (e.g.

Sch. Ph. 12; Sch. Ph. 49; Sch. Ph. 73). Finally, the two scholia are followed by a third in GA 2183 which is identified by the ligature τοῦ αὐτοῦ clearly referring back to the previous φωτ; the Photian identity of this last scholium, Sch. Ph. 335, is also confirmed in both GA 91 and GA 1907.

With regard to Sch. Ph. 335, this seems to be an exegesis of 2 Cor 4, 4:

[...] ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀνθάσαι τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ. (NA28).

The text of the scholium is as follows,

Ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις Κύριλλος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ βιβλίῳ λέγει· θεὸν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, τὸν νομισθέντα τοῖς ἀπίστοις θεὸν· ἤγουν τὸν σατανᾶν· τοῦτῳ τὸν ἐλάτρευον.

(tr.) In his first book against Julian, the holy Cyril defines as, “The God of this age,” the god who was honoured by those who had no faith, admired Satan and served him.

The biblical context is clear on the identification of ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος as the god of the ancestors in the Old Testament. However, in this case, Photius quotes Cyril of

Alexandria, *Contra Iulianum Imperatorem*, where Cyril comments on 2 Cor 4, 4 as follows: ⁶⁸

Καὶ πρὸς γε ἡμᾶς ἐμπεδοῖ γεγραφῶς ὁ θεσπέσιος Παῦλος, 'Εἰ καὶ ἔστι [...]' Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ὁ νομισθεὶς εἶναι θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω δόξης κλοπεὺς ἐσκότισεν αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν, οὐκ ἀσυμφανές· πεπλάνηται γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρείττονας ἐφιστᾶσι τῷ βίῳ θεοῦς, δαίμονάς τε καὶ ἡρώων ψυχάς, καθά φασιν αὐτοὶ καὶ φρονεῖν ἐγνώκασιν. (ed. Buruguière and Éviéux, 1985, c.2, l. 4 ff).

Photius' opinion was probably inspired by this passage, in which the ancient god is also defined as κλοπεὺς ἐσκότισεν αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν, 'as a secret perpetrator, he made dark in their soul.' This would be the first time the exegete makes an explicit reference to the title of the work he is quoting, Κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ. However, it should also be considered that this specific work is not in the *Bibliotheca*, even though that does not necessarily mean that the Patriarch did not know it.

Sch. Ph. 337. In GA 91, the beginning of Sch. Ph. 337 is not clear. According to the other manuscripts as well as the 1933 edition (Staab, 1933, p. 590), the scholium should begin with Πολλὰ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω διεξῆλθε. However, the scholium in GA 91 (f. 153r) does not start with a capital letter and it is combined with the anonymous lines above.

Once again, the question is how to consider those lines above and if they can be part

⁶⁸ Cyril quotes the Pauline passage several other times, in two other works: *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* (PG 70, col 841, 869, 873, 1089, 1101) and *Commentarii in Lucam (in catenis)* (PG 72, col. 756). Furthermore, John Chrysostom, often identified as one of the main sources of the *Scholia Photiana* for Romans, cites 2 Cor 4, 4 referring to the god of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in his *Homilia in Epistulam II ad Corinthios* (PG 61, col 455).

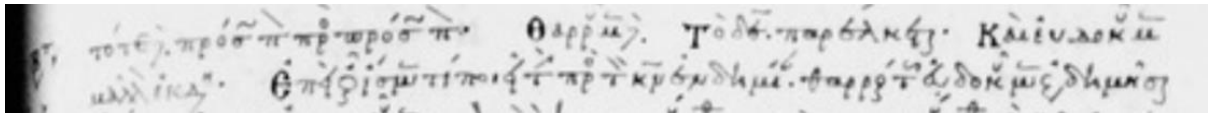
of Sch. Ph. 337 or if the copyist wrote a commentary combining material from different sources. Unfortunately, it is not possible to state whether the extra lines belong to a Photian source, as the text is too brief to identify any specific Photian features.

With regard to the content of Sch. Ph. 337, Paul compares the body of a man to a house, which is only a precarious dwelling that will be destroyed to be replaced by God with a new celestial and eternal house. In his exegesis, Photius highlights the juxtaposition, παραθέσις (Staab, 1933, p. 590, l. 14), between the body as the ἐπίγειον οἰκίαν, 'earthly house,' and the divine οὐράνιον οἰκίαν, 'heavenly house.' The second adjective is not in the letter, but Photius uses the phrase, οἰκίαν [...] ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, indicating a non-verbatim quotation of Paul. Similarly, he adapts Paul's text to the context of his exegesis using the accusative form ἐπίγειον οἰκίαν, instead of quoting the Bible directly, ἡ ἐπίγειος [...] οἰκία (NA28). The exegete also counterpoises the two opposite adjectives φθαρτόν and ἄφθαρτόν (l. 13); the worldly body is 'subject to decay', while the heavenly body is 'incorruptible'. The juxtaposition of these two adjectives is already in 1 Cor 9, 25, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον (NA 28).⁶⁹

Sch. Ph. 338. Following Sch. Ph. 347, on the next page in GA 91 (f. 154r, l. 1), there is an unpublished scholium with a ligature φτ in the left margin. Considering my previous experience with this manuscript, it seems that the part ascribable to Photius

⁶⁹ For an insight into the Christological debate on the holy flesh see the first chapter of the monograph by Moss, Y. (2016), *Incorruptible bodies: Christology, society and authority in late antiquity*. Oakland: University of California Press.

includes the whole line and seems to comment on 2 Cor 5, 8. The following Image 7 shows the scholium in the manuscript:



(Image 7: GA 91, f. 154r, ll. 1–2)

Θαροοῦμεν δὲ. Τὸ δὲ παρέλκεται· καὶ ευδοκοῦμεν μᾶλλον ἐκδημησαι.

(tr.) “We are confident” which continues with “we prefer rather to be away.”

At first glance, the use of the capital letters appears misleading in the attempt to define where the comments start and end, but it can be explained if the two separate quotations of the Pauline text, which work out both as part of the comment itself, are intended as a sort of ‘navigation’ the exegesis. The same biblical quotation works as a lemma for the following text (l. 2 ff.). Unfortunately, the sentence is so brief that there is no strong evidence to confirm Photian authorship, but from an analysis of the Photian exegetical style, the procedure of explaining Paul’s text by quoting him at the beginning of the explanation plus the use of τὸ to introduce a quotation are recurrent elements in the *Scholia Photiana*.

Sch. Ph. 339. Commenting on 2 Cor 5, 11, this is very brief and consists of only one sentence, Ἄνθρώπους πείθωμεν, θεῶ δὲ πεφανερῶμεθα. Συμβουλῆς καὶ παραινέσεως τὸ πείθωμεν, διὸ καὶ διὰ τοῦ μακροῦ ὦ γραπτέον. (ed. Staab, 1933 p. 590, ll. 19–21). Photius’ observation is purely grammatical; he points out the use of the subjunctive (ὦ instead of ο) πείθωμεν as an exhortation; I also highlighted a very

similar case is also in Sch. Ph. 308 (*supra*, pp. 184–185), where he also used the Harpocratian phrase διὰ τοῦ (gen.) γραπτέον to introduce the variations.

Sch. Ph. 341–Sch. Ph. 342. With regard to the scholia Sch. Ph. 351 and Sch. Ph. 342, in GA 1982 the first one corresponds to the first paragraph of the scholium on 2 Cor 6, 11–13 (Staab, 1933, p. 591, ll. 6–36), but there is no ligature, even though the scholium is clearly ascribed to the Patriarch in the sister manuscript GA 1923.

Sch. Ph. 343–Sch. Ph. 344; Sch. Ph. 345. The first two scholia correspond to the two paragraphs of the scholium on 2 Cor 7, 3–4 (Staab, 1933, p. 592) and are only combined as one scholium in GA 1915 (f. 382r). Sch. Ph. 345, on 2 Cor 7, 7–9 (Staab, 1933, pp. 592–593) is articulated in two paragraphs, but as a matter of fact, it corresponds to only one scholium, Sch. Ph. 345, in all the manuscripts, which goes against the trend of Staab's edition. However, the pages that might have preserved this text in GA 1982 (ff. 133r–134v) are damaged. With regard to the contents, the first two scholia focus on the ability of deep love to speak frankly and boldly, fearless of scandal or judgment, recalled in the ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις (2 Cor 7, 3). Sch. Ph. 343 is full of common Photian features, such as the use of πόθεν δῆλον or δῆλον ὅτι ... ἐξῆς, plus the use of paraphrases such as replacing the sentence μοι καύχησις ὑπερ ὑμῶν (2 Cor 7, 4) with καυχῶμαι[...] ἐν ὑμῖν (ed. Staab, 1933, p. 592, l. 22). Furthermore, the exegete highlights a change of attitude of Paul, who praises the good behaviour of those acting righteously instead of blaming the sinner. In Sch. Ph. 345, Photius clarifies the doubtful interpretation of μᾶλλον χοῖναι (2 Cor 7, 7), which may refer either to the sorrow caused by temptations and sins or to Paul's sorrow towards the Corinthians; Photius

gives his own opinion favouring the second interpretation and defining it as the most appropriate, οἰκειότερον δὲ τὸ δεύτερον. In addition, the verb διαλεπτολογέω is particularly rare, which Photius uses in the form διελεπτολόγηται (Staab, 1933, p. 593, l. 20); this can be found only as διαλεπτολογοῦμαι in Aristophanes, *Nubes*, ὅτι ποιῶ; τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ διαλεπτολογοῦμαι ταῖς δοκοῖς τῆς οἰκίας (Dover, 1968, ll. 1495–1496), meaning 'discourse subtly' (a compound of the adjective διάλετος, 'small, narrow').

Sch. Ph. 347. Sch. Ph. 347 is about the exegesis of another ambiguous passage; in 2 Cor 7, 13 Paul mentions the happiness of Titus, whose spirit was refreshed by the Corinthians. However, it is not very clear what Paul means by this; according to the exegete, it could depend on their obedience, hospitality and kindness, ὑπακοή, εὐλαβείας and ξενία (p. 594, l. 15).

Sch. Ph. 348–Sch. Ph. 349. These two scholia were published as one scholium on 2 Cor 7, 14–15 (Staab, 1933, pp. 594–595). In regard to the contents, the exegete focuses mostly on κεκαύχημαι, οὐ κατησχύνθην (2 Cor 7, 14), in which Paul states he had boasted to Titus and had not felt ashamed about the Corinthians. It is Photius' opinion that the sentence may change its meaning according to the punctuation marks; some put the comma after κεκαύχημαι and consider it as the cause; the alternative, which Photius declares he prefers, implies the separation of the two verbs with a full-stop; doing so, κεκαύχημαι would mean the satisfaction of boasting, while οὐ κατησχύνθην means that Paul is not disappointed by the Corinthians because of the happiness and consolation they bring to him. He also suggests that ἐπὶ Τίτου should

be interpreted as *περὶ Τίτου* (Staab 1933, p. 594, ll. 33–34), so that the boasting is also about Titus.

Sch. Ph. 349 is published as a separate paragraph of 1 Cor 7, 14–15, although the content is related to the one of Sch. Ph. 348 and both fragments are preserved in the same manuscripts.

Sch. Ph. 350. Sch. Ph. 350 focuses on 2 Cor 8, 3, even though Staab edits it as a scholium on 2 Cor 8, 1–5. Photius discusses the value of *κατὰ δύναμιν*, ‘according to their power.’ According to Paul, the Macedonians, recalled as an example for the Corinthians (2 Cor 8, 1–2), did as much as they could in giving themselves to God, despite their extreme poverty. For the first time in the *Scholia Photiana*, the exegete gives not one or two possible interpretations of the same sentence, but no fewer than four; firstly, *πρῶτον* (Staab 1933, p. 595, l. 13), it could refer to the Macedonians’ success in pursuing charitable actions; secondly, *μειζον* (l. 15), it could assert that they defrauded themselves. A search in TLG shows that the expression *ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστεροῦντες* is common in John Chrysostom’s exegetical works but does not seem related to the same context as Photius. Thirdly, *τρίτον* (l. 16), the Macedonians acted independently counting on their strength and finally, *τέταρτον* (l. 18), it could be interpreted as, ‘with much insistence in their devotion.’ Sch. Ph. 35 is also the first in which Photius uses the comparative *μειζον* to introduce a second possible interpretation. I have not found a similar sequence in other Classical or Byzantine authors.

Sch. Ph. 351. This is about 2 Cor 8, 8 (Staab, 1933, p. 596) and focuses on the meanings of ἀπόδειξις, ‘demonstration,’ and δοκιμή, ‘proof.’ Paul wants to test the sincerity of the Corinthians’ love because, as the exegete explains, he knows already that the sincerest proof of genuine love is charity towards neighbours, which is praised with God’s grace. The last scholium of the group on chapter 8 discusses the role of Titus as ἔπαινος (2 Cor 8, 18), which not only means ‘praised’ with the evangelical preaching, but also ‘deserving’ to be the one spreading the Good News. The rest of the scholium is only a paraphrase of 2 Cor 8, 19–20, according to Photius’ exegetical style.

Sch. Ph. 352–Sch. Ph. 353ab. In his edition of the scholium on 2 Cor 8, 14, Staab combined as two paragraphs Sch. Ph. 352 and Sch. Ph. 353ab. (Staab, 1933, p. 596). It is clear from the analysis of the manuscripts that these two are separated scholia, often very distant from each other in the codices. For instance, in GA 1923 Sch. Ph. 352 is on f. 171v and Sch. Ph. 353 is on f. 172v. However, although most of the manuscripts agree in preserving the two scholia as consecutive *Scholia Photiana*, the text of the two appear combined in one scholium in GA 2183 (f. 221rv), where there is also an unpublished part between the two. After a comparison with GA 91 (f. 159v), I found that the extra part was also preserved in that manuscript, as further proof that there is a connection between the two *codices*. However, in this second manuscript, the unpublished lines are combined with Sch. Ph. 353b only, since there is a clear separation from Sch. Ph. 352 shown by a new biblical lemma and capital letter, this is the reason I decided to classify that portion of unpublished text as Sch. Ph. 353a. The Greek text of those lines is as follows:

Εἶτα δείξας ὅτι οὐ μόνον διδοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνουσιν· οὐκ ἂν γὰρ εἶπεν
ισότητος, πρὸς δαψίλειαν αὐτοὺς προτρέπων· οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἴσον δοῦναι χρηματα
καὶ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν παρρησίαν ἀντιλαβεῖν, νῦν ἐκ τῆς μαρτυρίας θέλει τοῦτο
κατασκευάσαι, ὅτι κἂν μὴ μεταδῶτε, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἔσται πλέον συνάγουσι κἂν γὰρ
μὴ λάβωσιν ἐκεῖνοι παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο ἐλαττωθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοὺς
περιῖδοι ὁ θεὸς δι' ὅν εἰσι πένητες καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν γὰρ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων υμῶν
μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξασθε, αὐτοῖς γράφων λέγει.

(tr.) 'If he had shown that not only they give, but also receive, he would not have said 'of equality' by promoting them for their abundance; indeed, this is not the same as giving money and receiving the freedom with God. Now, with the martyrdom he wishes to confirm that even though you do not share, you will not receive more than what they produce and even though they had not received from you, they will not be less. Certainly, God would not overlook them, for they are poor and showed the robbery of those of you who took the initiative with joy. Writing to them he says [...].'

It must be clarified once again that the position of the ligature does not help in understanding which text is ascribed to Photius. GA 91 shows only a ligature before Sch. Ph. 352; therefore, both the extra lines and Sch. Ph. 353b are to be considered as anonymous. However, after an analysis of the scholium, I would consider the text as Photius. Indeed, the exegetical style sound very similar to Photius; although with some exceptions: for instance, in both Sch. Ph. 352 and Sch. Ph. 353 the exegete used forms belonging to the verb ἐπιδείκνυμι, such as ἐπιδείκνυσθαι (Staab, 1933, p. 596, l. 11), ἐπιδείξασθαι and ἐπεδείξατε (*ibid.* l. 18), in the extra scholium the verb is προσεδέξασθε. Additionally, I found the unusual phrase γράφων λέγει (l. 7), which is not normally used in the *Scholia Photiana*, where the exegete would simply use the verb φησί. After having extended the research of the forms above to other works of

Photius,' such as Lexicon and the *Bibliotheca*, I found the use of the phrase γράφων λέγει with a purpose similar to that in the scholium in the Lexicon, λέγει τὴν αἰτίαν γράφων ταύτην[...] (ed. Porson, 1822, p. 550. l. 2).

Investigation of the manuscripts has given no positive results on the existence of *Scholia Photiana* on 2 Cor 9, nor on the first verses of 2 Cor 10.

Sch. Ph. 355–Sch. Ph. 356. These are only two Photian scholia on 2 Cor 10 (Staab, 1933, p. 597) and comment specifically on 2 Cor 10, 12–13. It should be noticed that they are treated as a single long scholium in both GA 1923 and GA 1982; additionally, Sch. Ph. 356 is anonymous not only in GA 1907, as reported (Staab 1933, p. 597), but also in GA 91. Furthermore, in GA 91 (f. 162rv), Sch. Ph. 355 appears to be separated from the previous lines, but there is no ligature and it does not begin with a capital letter; therefore, it is again not possible to state clearly if the preceding lines belong to another source or are part of this scholium. From the point of view of the contents, the first scholium reports some observations on the sentence οὐ τολμῶμεν ἐγκριῖναι ἢ συγκριῖναι ἑαυτούς (2 Cor 10, 12), 'We do not dare to classify or compare ourselves', meaning that Paul and Titus do not dare to put themselves on the same level as the false apostles, who promote themselves only to capture people's benevolence. According to the exegete, the way the false apostles behave is an abomination against God and ideally, they should behave κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος (2 Cor 10, 13), 'according to the measure of jurisdiction' (Furnish, 1984, p. 465) of God; in brief, the

false apostles promote themselves and judge the others by their own measure, while Paul behaves following God's will.

Sch. Ph. 357–Sch. Ph. 363. After an analysis of the five main manuscripts, it is hard to find a perfect correspondence between Staab's edition and the manuscript tradition in this group of scholia. Staab published them as one scholium on 2 Cor 11, 4–7 (Staab, 1933, pp. 598–599), but the investigation of the manuscripts revealed seven scholia sometimes combined in different ways. For instance, Sch. Ph. 358 and Sch. Ph. 359 are written as one scholium in GA 1923 and GA 1982, but in GA 1905 they are kept separate. Conversely Sch. Ph. 362 and Sch. Ph. 363 are combined as one scholium in GA 1905, but divided in GA 1923 and GA 1982, which shows another discontinuity between these three manuscripts. Furthermore, the last two scholia are also combined in GA 91 and GA 1907, but this is still not enough to presume a relationship with GA 1905. Additionally, there are some incongruencies regarding both the composition and identification of these scholia which Staab does not observe. In GA 1915, the three scholia are anonymous; Sch. Ph. 360 is also anonymous in both GA 1923 and GA 1982; Sch. Ph. 361 is preserved only in GA 1915 and GA 91. The following couple of scholia, Sch. Ph. 362 and Sch. Ph. 363 are combined as an anonymous and mostly incomplete text (up to ἐλέγχοντος, corresponding to Staab, 1933, p. 599, l. 34) in GA 1915; they are also treated as a single scholium in GA 91. Overall, the identification of each single scholium turned out to be more difficult than in the previous groups of scholia.

It seems that in this case, Staab who tends to follow GA 1915 for his edition, preferred to base his text on GA 1923 and GA 1982 for his edition of 2 Cor 11, 4–7, but without

providing any explanation, although I believe that since Sch. Ph. 375, Sch. Ph. 358, Sch. Ph. 359 and Sch. 363 and Sch. Ph. 363 were anonymous and the last two partially incomplete, this might have affected his editorial choices. With regard to Sch. Ph. 363, this is the first time that a scholium in GA 1915 is found incomplete in the analysis of the *Scholia Photiana*.

With specific regard to the contents, Sch. Ph. 357, Sch. Ph. 358 and Sch. Ph. 359 comment on the same Pauline verse, 2 Cor 11, 4. In his second letter, Paul defends his role as apostle against the false apostles who had come to Corinth promoting themselves and discrediting him. In chapter 11, Paul cites again the false apostles who had been welcomed by the Corinthians and says:

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσει ὃν οὐκ ἐκηρύξαμεν, ἢ πνεῦμα ἕτερον λαμβάνετε ὃ οὐκ ἐλάβετε, ἢ εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον ὃ οὐκ ἐδέξασθε, καλῶς ἀνέχεσθε (NA28).

Overall, the three scholia repeat as well as clarify what Paul states in the letter, which is typical of Photian exegesis. Afterwards, Staab prints Sch. Ph. 360, probably using the incipit of that scholium, Ἦ καὶ οὕτως (another Photian exegetical formula), as a link to the three scholia above. Then, the exegete carries on: since the Corinthians welcomed another false apostle, coming from outside the Corinthian community to follow the gospel which is not the one Paul had been teaching before, why not welcome Paul again? Doing this, Staab creates an organic and uniform text interpreting 2 Cor 11, 4 based on seven scholia, also including Sch. Ph. 361, Sch. Ph. 362 and Sch. Ph. 363. In the first one, Photius continues to point out that the Corinthians replaced Paul's teaching with the false speech of the false apostles and, as

is common in his exegesis, adopts the first-person perspective, talking as Paul himself and addressing the Corinthians directly. Sch. Ph. 361 seems more an excursus on the meaning of the words λόγος and γνῶσις. In 2 Cor 11, 5 the Apostle, comparing himself to the new false apostles, declares himself not to be very skilled in speaking publicly, but he is not less than them in terms of knowledge. The exegete clarifies that γνῶσις and λόγος do not always have the same meaning in Paul's writings; in fact, γνῶσις is the word spreading from the Good News, τὸν τοῦ κηρύγματος λόγον (Staab 1933, p. 599, l. 11); while λόγος is the charisma of the teacher, referring to his ability of engaging delivering speeches (l. 10). With regard to λόγος, Photius also states that in Greek philosophy the word had the meaning of ἐγγεγυμνάσθαι (l.13), 'to be trained'⁷⁰ and that Paul uses it with the meaning of κατεστωμυλῶσθαι (l. 14), 'chatter,'⁷¹ without any divine sense; conversely the word γνῶσις is interpreted as, τὸ τετελειῶσθαι ἐν τῇ θεοσοφίᾳ, 'to fulfil/perform a prophecy in theology' (ll. 14–15). Sch. Ph. 362 reinforces the same ideas as the previous scholia.

Sch. Ph. 364; Sch. Ph. 365; Sch. Ph. 366. The short texts of Sch. Ph. 364 and Sch. Ph. 365 and Sch. Ph. 366 confirm the features of Photian exegetical style often using the technique of question and answer; in particular, Sch. Ph. 365:

Οὐ θαυμαστόν, φησίν· διὰ τί; ὅτι μιμεῖσθαι, πάντως χρεωστοῦσι τὸν διδάσκαλον, ὅς ἄγγελος ὢν σκότους, φωτὸς εἶναι σχηματίζεται. (Staab, 1933, p. 600, ll. 3–5).

⁷⁰ Lampe, 1961, 'ἐγγυμνάζω,' p. 398.

⁷¹ Liddell et al., 1940, καταστωμύλλομαι, p. 915. The verb is documented only a few times, twice in Greek, both times in Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousae* (κατεστωμύλατο) and *Ranae* (κατεστωμυλμένε) (ed. Caulon, 1928, pp. 462, 1161).

The exegesis through the question *διά τί*; and the use of *ὅτι* followed by the epexegetic infinitive is very frequent in all the *Scholia Photiana*. However, the most interesting part of the sentence is the reference to Lucifer, as the angel who was given form in the light and now is in the darkness. This is in Chrysostom, *In Sancti Joannis Prophetæ*, but as a reference used by the angel Gabriel, who introduces himself as ἄγγελός εἰμι φωτός καὶ οὐχι σκότους (PG 61, col. 758). Sch. Ph. 366 is a comment on 2 Cor 11, 16 where Paul declares in front of the community that he is not a fool because he dared to praise himself for his knowledge. The focus is on the adjective ἄφρονα, which is in the letter, and the noun ἀφροσύνη. Paul's irony, as Photius remarks, is that of course he is not foolish, but the opposite, as foolish is the man who says vain speech.

Sch. Ph. 367. The scholium is very brief, consisting of only two sentences and commenting on 2 Cor 11, 23. Although it is anonymous in GA 91 (f. 165v), all the other manuscripts confirm Photian authorship thanks to the ligature, φωτ/φτ. In regard to the content, the exegete again uses questions to remark on the irony of Paul (Sch. Ph. 301). In fact, the Apostle defines himself as delirious, παραφρονῶν λαλῶ, in contrast with the pseudoapostles who have been depicted as wise in 2 Cor 11, 19. In the question ποία γὰρ ὅλως παραφροσύνη τὸ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ψευδαποστόλους λέγειν ἑαυτὸν διάκονον εἶναι Χριστοῦ; Photius reinforces Paul's ironic comment in the letter.

Sch. Ph. 368–Sch. Ph. 369. Sch. Ph. 368 and Sch. Ph. 369 comment on 2 Cor 11, 25. The exegete focusses again on the role of Paul as διάκονον, 'servant,' of God (2 Cor 11, 23)

and not at all inferior to the false apostles. He interprets the meaning of τρις ἐναυαγησα, 'I was shipwrecked three times,' as indicating that Paul, like all humankind, had moved away from God three times, falling from Paradise, being shipwrecked in the Great Flood and following the Law.

Sch. Ph. 370. This scholium is anonymous in GA 1907 (f. 16v) , but all the other manuscripts preserve it with a Photian ligature. The scholium comments on 2 Cor 12, 1; in particular the exegete focuses on the phrase καυζᾶσθαι δὴ οὐ συμφέρει μοι. The phrase should be interpreted in the light of 2 Cor 11, 30 Εἰ καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ, τὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας μου καυχῆσομαι; as saying that the only source of pride for Paul is his own weakness, which is another proof of Paul's wisdom.

Sch. Ph. 371–Sch. Ph. 372. These two scholia were published by Staab as an exegesis of 2 Cor 12, 2–3; however, I found the use of the verb περιπτολογέω to be very peculiar, in the form of the participle περιπτολογῶν in Sch. Ph. 371 (Staab 1933, p. 601, l. 17), meaning, 'say what is superfluous' (Liddell et al, 1940, p. 1387). That is documented in Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Romanos, Homilia I* (PG 60, col. 399),⁷² Πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ κλητοῖς' (Rm 1, 7). Τοῦτο δὲ οὐ περιπτολογῶν ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀναμνησάσθαι. However, the use of the same participle is not enough to suppose any reminiscences of Chrysostom, in this case.

⁷² The passage of Chrysostom is also quoted verbatim by John of Damascus, *Commentarii in Epistulas Pauli* (PG, col. 445) (also ed. Volks, 2013).

Sch. Ph. 373–Sch. Ph. 376. Staab edited these four, brief scholia as one text providing the exegesis of 2 Cor 12, 6–7. Apart from Sch. Ph. 375, they all are preserved as anonymous in GA 1982, while they are identified by the Photian ligature in the ‘sister’ manuscript GA 1923. There is also an analogous case to Sch. Ph. 296 and Sch. Ph. 297 in 1 Cor: Sch. Ph. 376 is preserved as anonymous in GA 1923 and GA 1982 and also appears incorporated in the body of the text of the tenth-century catena in GA 1905, while all the other scholia of the group are late additions. This could confirm what I stated about the possibility that some *Scholia Photiana* already existed in the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius in the tenth century. Furthermore, it appeared from the examination of the manuscripts that Sch. Ph. 375 is written as an addition in the left margin in GA 1923 (f. 186r).

Sch. Ph. 377–Sch. Ph. 378. These two scholia were edited as one brief text commenting on 2 Cor 12, 11 (Staab, 1933, p. 602); to notice that Sch. Ph. 377 is written as an additional scholium in the right margin in GA 1915.

Sch. Ph. 379–Sch. Ph. 387. With regard to the group of *Scholia Photiana* on 2 Cor 13, there are nine scholia, each one corresponding to a paragraph of the scholia already edited (Staab 1933, pp. 602–604) and the manuscripts do not seem to preserve any other unpublished text; however, in this case, manuscript GA 1905 (f. 112r), shows a different order in the arrangement of Sch. Ph. 380, Sch. Ph. 381 and Sch. Ph. 387, which include comments on 2 Cor 13, 4 (corresponding to Staab 1933, pp. 602–603, scholia on 2 Cor 13, 4a and the first paragraph of 2 Cor 13, 4b). In GA 1905, Sch. Ph. 382 precedes Sch. Ph. 380 and Sch. Ph. 381. If the scholia are considered to be independent

annotations on manuscripts related to GA 1923, I should point out that the alteration does not affect GA 1923. With regards to the contents, Sch. Ph. 379, Sch. Ph. 380 and Sch. Ph. 381 are related to the interpretation of δοκιμῆν ζητεῖν (2 Cor 13, 3), ‘seeking the proof’ of Christ speaking through Paul, which according to the exegete is a sin characteristic of those who are ignorant, unsure and ungrateful; specifically, this is said in Mt 27, 42 of those who question why Jesus did not save himself, ignoring that his crucifixion is the proof itself. Sch. Ph. 383 is a paraphrase of 2 Cor 13, 5 where Paul discusses the importance of trying oneself to find out that Christ is in everyone, a concept that is also related to the previous claiming of proofs from the Corinthians. Additionally, the other three final scholia of the section are a periphrasis in the style of the *Scholia Photiana* of 2 Cor, 13, 5; 2 Cor 13, 7 and 2 Cor 13, 11, with the reiteration of Paul’s teaching not only not to sin, but to behave well, an idea which Paul had already insisted on in the first epistle and has been reinforced several times in the second one.

IV.4 Conclusion

As in the case of the previous two groups of *Scholia Photiana* on Romans and 1 Corinthians, the collection of *Scholia Photiana* on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians confirms the stylistic trends of *Scholia Photiana*: strictly philological and literal with a dominant oral component. Comparing the manuscripts to Staab’s edition, I found new unpublished texts in manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus* including Sch. Ph. 324; Sch. Ph. 335; Sch. Ph. 338; Sch. Ph. 353a, which demonstrates that even in 2 Cor the

Pseudo-Oecumenian catena preserves more exegetical material ascribed to Photius than that published by Staab, which is again in line with Hergenröther's hypothesis that Photius compiled his own exegetical work commenting extensively - possibly entirely - on all the letters (Hergenröther, 1869, pp. 85–86).

I also found another explicit reference to the Fathers, specifically in Sch. Ph. 335 (*supra*, p. 196) where the name of Cyril and the reference to his work *Contra Iulianum Imperatorem* are explicitly mentioned by the exegete. This is the second time that I found an explicit reference to another work in the *Scholia Photiana*; previously another reference was found in Sch. Ph. Sch. Ph. 228 (*supra*, pp. 153–154), where the name of Epiphanius was mentioned in the scholium. With regard to more general reminiscences of the other Fathers, such as Chrysostom, I found nothing relevant to report for the group of *Scholia Photiana* on 2 Corinthians. It seems that the exegete continues providing his own interpretation, with no other reminiscence of the old Fathers.

V A new analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistles to the Galatians and the Ephesians.

V.1 A brief introduction.

Scholia ascribed to Photius on the Epistles to the Galatians and Ephesians are mostly preserved in manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus*; therefore, it must be noticed that, starting with these two letters, the manuscripts examined will only be of type and that type and there will be no mention any more of GA 1915. Indeed, it was Staab's opinion that on the basis of the *Typus Vaticanus*, compilers added extra material to that catena with the intention of creating as complete as possible a commentary on the whole corpus of letters; the first stage of additions - *Corpus Extravagantes* - led to the creation of the *Normal Typus*, which was later expanded into the *Erweiterte Typus* with the addition of the *Scholia Photiana* (Staab, 1926, p. 137). However, in recent years this theory has been rediscussed, leading to the conclusion that the catena of *Pseudo-Oecumenius* is in fact the oldest (Houghton and Parker, 2016, p. 19). In the light of this new hypothesis, we should consider the scholia on Galatians, Ephesians and the following epistles as pre-existing the *Typus Vaticanus*, even though the manuscripts preserving them date back only to the eleventh century.

Moreover, it must be noticed that manuscript GA 1982 does not preserve the *Scholia Photiana* in the commentary form 1 Cor 12, 11 to Gal 1-3 (Sch. Ph. 378-Sch. Ph. 401); the *Scholia Photiana* are documented again from Gal 4, 4 (Sch. Ph. 402). Although the rest of the numbered scholia of the catena seem to be identical to GA 1923, in GA 1982 the *Scholia Photiana* between f. 153v and f. 168v were not copied at all.

I report in this chapter the result of my analysis of the most relevant scholia on the letters to the Galatians (V.2) and the Ephesians (V.3).

V.2 The *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Galatians.

Compared to the previous three collections on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians, the group of scholia on Galatians is rather small, consisting of only twenty-six brief scholia. Nevertheless, the analysis of these scholia leads to further reflections about the nature of the Photian interpretation of the biblical text and his relationship with Chrysostom's exegetical activity.

Sch. Ph. 387–Sch. Ph. 389. By combining these three scholia, Staab edited a scholium on Gal 1, 16–22 (Staab, 1933, pp. 604–605). If we look at the whole catena, it seems that Photius is the only exegete who comments on Gal 1, 16 in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. As I previously observed in the group of *Scholia Photiana* on Romans and 1 Corinthians, there is an echo of Chrysostom here, in particular in Sch. Ph. 388, οὐ προετίμησα ἰδεῖν συγγενεῖς ἢ οἰκίαν ἢ πατρίδα (Staab, 1933, p. 605, l. 2). According to the epistle, Paul did not ask for advice from anyone before leaving Damascus and starting his preaching. To explain that, the Apostle uses the metaphor of σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι, 'flesh and blood.' The tricolon συγγενεῖς ἢ οἰκίαν ἢ πατρίδα appears several times in different works of Chrysostom (e.g. PG 50, col. 636; PG 57, col. 36 and 200), but this also a quotation of Mt. 19, 29, which does not necessary imply a reference to Chrysostom's work.

In Sch. Ph. 389, the exegete notices a discrepancy between Galatians and Acts about the chronological order of Paul's preaching destinations. The letter says that Paul went to Arabia but omits the location he departed from; the exegete points out that according to the Acts of the Apostles Paul departed from Damascus to reach Jerusalem. Particularly interesting from an exegetical point of view is the sentence in the following passage:

[...] μετὰ δ' ἔτη τρία τοῦ κηρύσσειν με διδάσκειν ἀνήλθον ἰδεῖν Πέτρον, οὐ μαθεῖν τι παρ' αὐτοῦ - ἤδη γὰρ ἐγὼ εὐηγγελιζόμεν καὶ ἐκήρυττον. (Staab, 1933, p. 605, l. 12).

Paul does mention his visit to Peter in Gal 1, 18–19 and adds that none of the other apostles except James was in Jerusalem at that time. However, the impression is that Paul is giving information about his travels, without any polemics against the apostles. On the other side, Photius reads Gal 1, 18–19 in the light of the Prologue, Gal 1, 12 and Gal 1, 24. In Gal 1, 1 Paul claims firmly his role of apostle, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς and in Gal 1, 12 he states, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτὸ οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (NA 28). Therefore, even though he is commenting on Gal 1, 16–22, the exegete underlines how neither Peter nor James should be considered Paul's teacher and clearly defends Paul's teaching and learning as directly belonging to God.

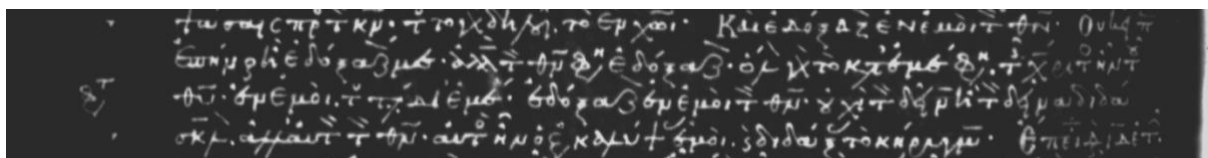
Sch. Ph. 390. This is an unpublished scholium that I discovered in GA 2183 (f. 253) and as anonymous in GA 91 (f. 171v). It comments briefly on Gal 1, 24: [...] δὲ ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν θεόν (NA28). The text of the brief scholium is as follows:

Οὐκ εἶπεν· ἐπὶν οὖν ἢ ἐδόξαζόν με, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεόν, φησι, ἐδόξαζον. ὅλον γὰρ τὸ κατ' ἐμέ φησι τῆς χάριτος ἦν τοῦ θεοῦ.

(tr.) 'He did not say, "Later, they glorified me," but, "They glorified—he says—God." Indeed, the whole "through me" he says belongs to the Grace of God.'

The style has some of the Photian exegetical features, on the basis of which I consider this brief text as a *Scholium Photianum*. The procedure of starting the explanation with what Paul could have said, οὐκ εἶπεν, followed by an imaginary quotation, in order to highlight what not to intend from the reading of the letter, recurs in the *Scholia Photiana*, especially the ones on Romans (e.g. Sch. Ph. 4b; Sch. Ph. 29; Sch. Ph. 76; Sch. Ph. 94), but also those on 1–2 Corinthians (e.g. Sch. Ph. 195; Sch. Ph. 321b). This is also a procedure documented in the *Bibliotheca* (e.g. cod. 229; cod. 280) and in *Scholia Photiana* in catenae on the Gospels of John (Reuss, 1966, p. 106, l. 4; 14) and Matthew (Reuss, 1957, p. 75, coll. 66) ascribed to Photius as well.

While, on one hand, the scholium is identified by the Photian ligature φωτ in GA 2183, on the other hand this is anonymous in GA 91, although it appears to be combined with the following Sch. Ph. 391, also commenting on Gal 1, 24 and published by Staab (1933, p. 605, ll. 22–24). Image 8 shows the location of Sch. Ph. 390 in the manuscript and how it is treated as one text with Sch. Ph. 391:



(Image 8: GA 91, f. 171v, ll. 22–25).

The ligature φτ refers to Sch. Ph. 391, whose text in GA 91 is as follows:⁷³

ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν θεόν, οὐχὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα διδάσκαλον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν. αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ἀποκαλύψας ἂν ἐμοὶ καὶ διδάξας τὸ κήρυγμα.

It is evident that in GA 91 the two scholia are not only consecutive, but not even separated by any space, as may sometimes happen among scholia of different sources in this manuscript. Since the style confirms Photian authorship, I believe both Sch. Ph. 390 and Sch. Ph. 391 are to be considered as scholia belonging to the same source.

Sch. Ph. 391. This is a brief scholium on Gal 1, 24 (Staab, 1933, p. 605), preserved in the manuscripts on the same pages as the previous one. It recalls the end of Chapter 1 καὶ ἐδόξαζον ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν θεόν, in which Paul remembers the Galatians praising God because of himself. Again, this should be read as a declaration of apostleship, which directly belongs to God and not to the other apostles. Therefore, what the exegete says at the end of Sch. Ph. 389, οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπου ἔμαθον, which might be unclear at first reading, is clearer if we consider the whole of Gal 1. The polemical attitude to keeping a distance from the apostles and their disciples is not something explicit in the letter, but the exegete seems to have no doubt about it. However, from Acts 9, 26 we know that Barnabas introduced Paul to the apostles and that Paul received their support during his preaching. So, what else can be the origin of this interpretation? Chrysostom's influence on the exegete remains the main option. In his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians (PG 61), Chrysostom several times mentions the

⁷³ I preferred to report here the transcription of Sch. Ph. 391 following GA 91, since the edition of Staab is largely based on GA 1923, the other manuscript preserving Sch. Ph. 391.

hostility to Paul of those who followed Peter, James and John, claiming to be taught by those who knew Jesus for first and were commonly recognized as the pillars of the Church:

Ἐλεγον γὰρ ὁ ἔφθην εἰπῶν, οἱ ἀπατεῶνες ἐκεῖνοι, ὅτι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπάντων ἔσχατος οὗτός ἐστι, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἐδιδάχθη. Πέτρος γὰρ καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ ἐκλήθησαν πρῶτοι, καὶ κορυφαῖοι τῶν μαθητῶν εἰσι [...].(PG 61, col. 613)

Chrysostom's commentary, also add clarity to the last line of Sch. Ph. 389:

[...] οἱ γὰρ λοιποὶ ἐδέοντο διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδιδασκον. οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπου ἔμαθον (Staab, 1933, p. 605, l. 21) .

The verse becomes clearer if we identify οἱ λοιποί with those who followed the first apostles and disapproved of Paul's preaching.

Sch. Ph. 392. After the brief scholium on Gal 1, 24, Staab publishes a scholium on Gal 2, 2; (Staab, 1933, p. 605). It is also relevant to notice that in the first two *Photiana* on Galatians and in the first part of the scholium the exegete, instead of using the third-person verb, as he largely did in Romans, uses the first-person, as he is talking from Paul's point of view, as observed in some scholium on 1–2 Corinthians (e.g. Sch. Ph. 212; Sch. Ph. 324; Sch. Ph. 361). In the scholium, the question πῶς οὖν νῦν δημοσίᾳ ἐλέγχει; (Staab, 1933, p. 605, ll. 30–31) seems to recall the Chrysostomian lines,

[...] σὺ δὲ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἐλέγχεις καὶ μέγα φρονεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι [...] καὶ οὐκ ἐλέγχεις δημοσίᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθάπερ ἐν στήλῃ, τοῖς γράμμασι τὴν μάχην ἐγχαράξας (Chrysostom, *In illud: In faciem ei restiti*, PG 61, col. 374).

Sch. Ph. 393. The text of Sch. Ph. 393, commenting on Gal 2, 3–5, offers an unclear exegesis, but it becomes more understandable after the reading of Chrysostom's

commentary (PG 61). As the Apostle says in the letter, he returned to Jerusalem together with Barnabas and Titus, who, even though he was Greek, was not forced to be circumcised. In his exegesis Photius remembers how Timothy, another of Paul's disciples, was indeed circumcised unlike Titus, and gives his interpretation of the difference between the two disciples' cases. According to Photius, Timothy was circumcised to gain the approval of the Jews: ἀλλ' ἵνα κερδήσῃ τοὺς δι' ἀσθένειαν λογισμῶν σκανδαλιζομένος (Staab, 1933, p. 606, ll. 8–9). This interpretation does not seem to depend on Acts 16, 1–3, where the return to Jerusalem with Titus is mentioned, nor on any other passage of the Epistles to Timothy. In fact, Photius' interpretation seems similar to a passage in Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Galatas Commentarius*. (PG 61). According to the Golden Mouth, Paul sent Timothy to the Jews after his circumcision, so that they would welcome him without suspecting that the real reason of Timothy's mission was the abolition of that practice:

Οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ὁ περιτομὴν ἀναιρῶν, μέλλων ποτὲ τὸν Τιμόθεον Ἰουδαίοις πέμπειν διδάσκαλον, περιτεμὼν αὐτὸν πρότερον, οὕτως ἔπεμψεν. Ἐποίησε δὲ τοιοῦτο, ἵνα εὐπαράδεκτος γένηται τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς, καὶ εἰσῆλθε μετὰ τῆς περιτομῆς, ἵνα καταλύσῃ τὴν περιτομὴν. Ἀλλὰ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ μὲν ἠπίστατο καὶ Τιμόθεος, τοῖς δὲ μαθηταῖς οὐκ εἶπεν. Εἰ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν, ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο περιέτεμεν, ἵνα λύσῃ τὴν περιτομὴν, οὐδ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤκουσαν αὐτοῦ δημηγοροῦντος, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἂν διερῶν κέρδος· νῦν δὲ ἡ ἀγνοία τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοῦς ὠφέλησε (Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Galatas Commentarius*, PG 61, col. 636).

Additionally, ll. 1–3 of the scholium shows some similarities with John of Damascus, *Commentarii in Epistulas Pauli*, although the exegete of the scholium alters the syntax by bringing the accusative Τίτον forward and replacing the adjective ἀκρόβυστον

with a secondary clause, “because he was born Greek”. Even if the similarity with John of Damascus is evident, the hypothesis that this sentence is only the result of a paraphrase of Paul’s words by the exegete is also worthy of consideration.

Sch. Ph. 393 (Staab, 1933, p. 606, ll. 1–3):

John of Damascus, *Commentarii in Epistulas Pauli* (PG 95, col. 784, l. 36):

(Gal 2, 3) ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ
Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί,
Ἕλληνας ὄν, ἠναγκάσθη
περιτιμηθῆναι (NA28).

[...] οὐδὲ Τίτον [...] ὄντα ἐκ
 Ἑλληνικῆς σπορᾶς
 γεγεννημένος, ἠναγκάσθη
οἱ ἀπόστολοι
περιτιμηθῆναι [...].

Οἱ ἀπόστολοι, φησὶν, οὐ
κ ἠνάγκασαν ἀκρόβυστο
 ν ὄντα τὸν Τίτον
περιτιμηθῆναι [...].

Sch. Ph. 394. This is a short scholium consisting of only one sentence published as a comment on Gal 2, 6 (Staab, 1933, p. 606). It is important to notice that the only manuscript preserving it is GA 1923. After a careful research, I did not find any evidence of Sch. Ph. 394 in GA 1905, which confirms what already stated in regard to the possible relationship between these two manuscripts (e.g. Sch. Ph. 4a, Sch. Ph. 212, Sch. Ph. 256 and Sch. Ph. 265).

Sch. Ph. 395. For both the Patriarch and Chrysostom the interpretation of Gal 2, 8–14 deserves particular attention. Even if the text of the scholium is difficult to understand, it is clear that for both of them the incident at Antioch deserves a more accurate reading. According to what the Epistle says, Peter, who was in charge of the preaching among the Jews, started in Antioch to avoid the Gentiles, with whom he had spent time as soon as the Jews joined him. For both Photius and Chrysostom

Paul's words are not to be taken as a criticism of Peter, who apparently is accused of acting against the gospel principle, but the incident must be seen as an act of wisdom of both Paul and Peter. In particular, the scholium in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena interprets Peter's attitude towards Paul in the light of 2 Peter 3, 15, in which Peter praises Paul's wisdom. On the other side, according to Chrysostom Paul's reprimand is intended as an exhortation to Peter, also addressed to all the Jews. In the case of the scholium, the invitation to a more accurate reading of the biblical text is seen in the use of σκόπει, 'observe,' addressed by the exegete to his audience.

Sch. Ph. 396. This brief scholium is anonymous in both GA 91 and GA 1907, although GA 1923 and GA 2183 preserve it with a Photian ligature: the use of another biblical quotation, ἐναρξάμενος πνεύματι (Phil 1, 6) to enrich the exegesis is one of the characteristics of Photian exegesis. With regard to the content, the scholium comments on Τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῆ; Εἶγε καὶ εἰκῆ in Gal 3, 4; according to the exegete, the one who suffers because he fell into temptation, suffers in vain and moreover, destroys the awards and achievement he had gained for Christ.

Sch. Ph. 397. This is a very brief scholium, consisting of only two sentences commenting on Gal 3, 15 (Staab, 1933, p. 607). It is anonymous in GA 1907, but ascribed to Photius in GA 1923 and GA 91. The exegesis is based on the explanation of the participle κεκυρωμένην, 'confirmed,' which refers to the law in the Pauline verse. However, Photius also interprets it as ἄκυρος, 'obsolete,' meaning that the law changed in the Gospels.

Sch. Ph. 398; Sch. Ph. 407. Due to the similarities between these two cases, I will discuss Sch. Ph. 398 and Sch. Ph. 407 in the same section. It is important to notice that both these scholia are preserved in the same manuscripts: GA 91, GA 2183 and GA 1905, but not GA 1923 and GA 1982.

With regards to Sch. Ph. 398, according to the information in the edition (Staab, 1933, p. 607), this brief scholium on Gal 3, 17 was only preserved in GA 91 (f. 175r); however, following the analysis of all the manuscripts, I found the scholium also in GA 2183 (260v) as anonymous and also in GA 1905 (f. 121v) and GA 1916 (f.96r). It would not be a surprise to find some material in common between GA 91 and GA 2183 as happened for Sch. Ph. 390 and Sch. Ph. 412 (see below), plus many other cases described in the previous chapters (e.g. Sch. Ph. 1a; Sch. Ph. 2; Sch. Ph. 43; Sch. Ph. 45; Sch. Ph. 52; Sch. Ph. 83b etc.); but it is relevant that the same text is preserved in GA 1905. It was clear to Staab that there was a relationship between GA 1905 and GA 1923, although in the chapters above I have shown that this relationship is not as clear as Staab had thought. Sch. Ph. 398, as well as Sch. Ph. 394, demonstrates that the additional material in the margin of GA 1905 could have belonged to a source other than GA 1923, probably closer to GA 91. It should also be noticed that, when the two sources are compared, the text of Sch. Ph. 398 is exactly identical in both manuscripts. Similarly, Sch. Ph. 407 on Gal 5, 24 is preserved in both GA 91 (f. 179r) and GA 1905 (f. 126r), but there is no evidence of this scholium in GA 1923 or even GA 1982 to

support the hypothesis that the eleventh-century scribe copied it from GA 1923 into GA 1905.

Sch. Ph. 399–Sch. Ph. 400. In these two scholia on Gal 3, 20–21 (Staab, 1933, pp. 607–608), the exegete identifies Christ with Paul’s μεσίτης, the mediator. The same interpretation is in the commentary on Galatians by Chrysostom, although the identification of Christ with the mediator is abundantly documented among the Fathers, such as Origen (PG 14, col. 1297 C), Marius Victorinus (ed. Locher, 1972, p. 34), Ambrosiaster (ed. Volgels, 1969, pp. 38–40), Jerome (PL 26, 392–393) and Augustine (PL 35, 2122).⁷⁴

Another slight similarity is in the use of the expression ἀντίθησιν λύει after the lemma, which probably follows Chrysostom’s comment on the same verse:

Sch. Ph. 399 (Staab, 1933, p. 608, l. 3):

Ὁ οὖν νόμος κατὰ τῶν
ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ; μὴ γένοιτο.
ἀντίθησιν λύει· ἤρπασε γάρ, φαῖεν
ἂν τινες, ὁ νόμος τὸ [l. 5] δικαίωμα
τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν καὶ γέγονε κατ'
αὐτῶν [...].

**Chrysostom, *In Epi. ad Gal. comm.*
(PG 61, col. 655):**

[...] ὁ δὲ νόμος κατάραν εἰσάγει,
ἄρα κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ.
Πῶς οὖν λύει τὴν ἀντίθεσιν; Πρῶτον
μὲν ἀπαγορεύει εἰπών· **Μὴ γένοιτο**
[...].

This is the second time in the group of *Scholia Photiana* on Galatians (see also Sch. Ph. 393) that I have found a reference to Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Galatas*

⁷⁴ Other exegetes identify the mediator with Moses: Basil, *De Spiritu sancto* XIV, 33; SC 17 bis (ed. Henry, 1938, p. 360); Theodoret (PG 82, 481B); Gennadius of Constantinople (Staab 1933, p. 419, on Gal 3, 20).

Commentarius. Although in the previous case Chrysostom could have been the source of the content, but the scholium did not show any Chrysostomian quotation, in Sch. Ph. 399 the verbatim citation is evident. This is another case of the multiple quotations and reference to Chrysostom's writings I found in the *Scholia Photiana* so far (see also Sch. Ph. 1a, 2, 6a, 43, 45, 52, 59a, 83b, 135b, 204a, 212, 241, 288, 297, 324, 335, 338, 388, 391, 392, 393, 395, which furthermore confirms the predominance of the Chrysostomian reminiscences in the *Scholia Photiana* and the possible use of the catenae as a source for the Photian exegesis.

From Sch. Ph. 401 to Sch. Ph. 407. The rest of the Photian collection on Galatians consists of other very brief scholia (Staab, 1933, pp. 608–609). Even if some verses such as Gal 4, 23, Gal 5, 16–17, Gal 5, 24 (in Sch. Ph. 404, Sch. Ph. 406 and Sch. Ph. 407 respectively) are also examined by Chrysostom, the analysis of the contents gives no evidence of a close link between the two exegetes. Indeed, the scholia in the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius have the purpose of simplifying the Pauline text and making it more accessible to the audience. Most especially, the similarities between the two exegetes coexist with the independent interpretation of Photius (*supra*, p. 224).

Sch. Ph. 408. At first sight, the sequence of the different scholia on Galatians published by Staab shows an almost perfect combination with comments of other authors in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena; the intention of creating as complete as possible a commentary on the Pauline letter is not only related to the combination of different verses, but also to the integration of multiple scholia to complete the exegesis

of a single verse. Additionally, a scholium ascribed to Oecumenius is also preserved in GA 1923. At first reading, the two texts seem to be complementary:

<p>(Gal 6, 2) Ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληρώσετε τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. (ed. NA28).</p>	<p>Oecumenius, Gal 6, 2 (Staab, 1933, p. 447, ll. 23–25):</p> <p>Ἦ ὅτι τὸ τὰ ἀλλήλων βάρη καὶ ἐλαττώματα βαστάζειν κατὰ τοῦτο πλήρωσις ἐστὶ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Χριστοῦ καθ' ὃ ἐξ ἀγάπης [l. 25] γίνεται· πληρωτικὴ δὲ ἡ ἀγάπης τοῦ θείου νόμου.</p>	<p>Sch. Ph. 407 (Staab, 1933, p. 610, ll. 1–5):</p> <p>Καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληρώσετε τὸν νόμον. Ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμος ὁ διὰ τῶν ἔργων τοιοῦτος ἐδείχθη· αὐτὸς γὰρ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἀνέλαβεν καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν (Is 53, 4). Καὶ ἡ ὑπερβολή, ὅτι καὶ σταυρόν καὶ θάνατον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν [l. 5] κατεδέξατο.</p>
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The bishop of Triikka focuses on the first part of the Pauline verse, highlighting the idea of fulfilling the Law by bearing and suffering others' burdens; while Photius pays more attention to the person of Christ, whose sacrifice was predicted in Is 53, 4.

Sch. Ph. 409. Sch. Ph. 409 is ascribed to Photius in all the manuscripts but GA 91. This is also a brief scholium commenting on τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμαζέτω ἕκαστος in Gal 6, 4 (Staab, 1933, p. 610). According to Photius, the verse is an invitation to self-reflection for knowing ourselves and each other better. In this light, self-reflection is an action to praise and encourage, because it brings with it the acknowledgement of our own limits. This also happens in Sch. Ph. 409 (commenting on Gal 6, 4) where the act of observing our own actions carefully is compared to the gold in a furnace (PG

61, col. 675), but this metaphor is absent from Photius, who tends to limit his interpretation to the specific Pauline text.

Sch. Ph. 410. This is another very brief scholium of only one sentence on Gal 6, 9 (Staab, 1933, p. 610). All the manuscripts preserve it, except GA 2183 and GA 1916. The scholium preserves the exegesis of ἐκλυόμενοι in Gal 6, 9. The exegete interprets it as an invitation to be actively involved in the spiritual life, which is also considered as the end of any suffering.

Sch. Ph. 411 . As for Sch. Ph. 411, the only two manuscripts preserving Sch. Ph. 411 are GA 2183 (f. 272v) and GA 91 (f. 179v). The scholium is identified by a Photian ligature in GA 2183, but not in GA 91, where the incipit of the scholium is also reduced compared to the more extended version of GA 2183. The text is as follows:

Πάντα ποιῶσι καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσαι θέλουσι. ποίοις τούτοις; ἢ ἰουδαίους. ὡς ἐχομένοις τοῦ πατρῶου νόμου· ἢ τοῖς ἔξω ἀνθρώποις ὡς μαθηταῖς ὑμῖν κεχρημένοι· τὸ δὲ ἐν σαρκί. τουτέστιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

(tr.) ‘To those who do everything and to the men who want to make amends. Which men? They are either the Jews, so they are held on by the Law of the Father, or the men outside (the Law), whom we proclaimed to be our disciples; the phrase “in the flesh” refers to the men.

Even though this is a brief piece of exegesis, I believe there are some features in line with the style of the *Scholia Photiana*. For instance, the use of the question and answer technique, which I have discussed since the analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans and which characterises a large number of *Scholia Photiana*, is clear in the use of ποίοις

τούτοις (l. 1); there is also abundance of participles (ποιούσι, θέλουσι ἔχομένοις, κεχρημένοι) as well as the use of τὸ δὲ to introduce a biblical quotation to explain the exegesis briefly.

Sch. Ph. 412. This scholium is in all the manuscripts and, with Sch. Ph. 399, is the only Photian scholium on Galatians preserved in GA 1916. The scholium is brief and comments on Gal 6, 17. In the letter Paul says, Τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω; ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω. According to the exegete, the best way Paul can defend himself from the attacks of those who criticise him is through the action of preaching. In this light, Christ's stigmata become a metaphor of the preaching itself. Alternatively, Paul is referring to real suffering and pains, therefore the stigmata would be intended as the physical suffering he had to face, like Christ.

V.2.i Two new scholia in GA 1923 and GA 1982 found by Th. Panella.

In her doctoral thesis, Panella examined a range of manuscripts of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena tradition in order to produce the first critical edition of a secondary type of Pseudo-Oecumenian catena on Galatians. In her research, Panella also identified two new *Scholia Photiana*, classified by her as Comment 210a and Comment 252a (Panella, 2017, pp. 108–118).

The first one is a long comment on Gal 5, 15, preserved in three manuscripts: GA 1998 (f. 112v); 1923 (f. 207r) and GA 1982 (f. 173v). In comparing the scholium to other

texts, Panella identified some passages ascribed to Origen in a commentary on Ezekiel, *Selecta in Ezechielem* (PG 13, in particular coll. 783.52–784.37) as very similar to parts of Comment 210a and concluded that the scholium derived from the commentary on Ezekiel (Panella, 2017, p. 111). Other scholia were also compared to the *Martyrium Pionee presbyteri et sodalium* published by Musurillo in 1972, for which Panella concluded that the source was not connected with Photius here either (Panella, 2017, p. 115). Additionally, Panella highlighted the ‘different typology’ of Comment 210a from those attributed to Photius in the same catena; particularly, she noticed the lack of the repetition of the biblical quotation preceding the comment, as she would have expected from the *Scholia Photiana* (*ibid.*).

Overall, I agree with Panella in not considering Comment 210a as a *Scholium Photianum* for two main reasons. Firstly, a comparison between the scholium and the catena on Ezekiel demonstrate that wherever Photius quotes another work, verbatim quotations are very rare and brief, as the analysis of *Scholia Photiana* on Romans showed (e.g. Sch. Ph. 12 and Sch. Ph. 1b). More frequently, there are reminiscences of the fathers, such as Chrysostom. I also agree with Panella that the initials $\phi\omega\tau$ in the ligature are not always a guarantee of authorship (Panella, 2017 p. 115); for this reason, each single scholium needs a detailed analysis, instead of being ascribed to an author only on the basis of the ligatures in the manuscript tradition. As I examined the style of the new scholia that I found in the manuscripts to determine whether they could belong to the same author, I have also analysed the two scholia edited by Panella.

With regard to Comment 252a, this is a very brief passage with an explicit reference to the Book of Revelation (name and title are reported by the exegete) preserved only in GA 1923 (f. 210v) and GA 1982 (f. 176v). Although the scholium appears to be anonymous, since there is no ligature to identify it as Photian, Panella recognised it as a *Scholium Photianum* for two main reasons: firstly, the scholium is introduced by the repetition of the biblical quotation, which Panella considered a feature of the *Scholia Photiana*; secondly, a quotation of the Book of Revelation with exegetical purpose was also a proof of its authorship.

Although I agreed with Panella on the authorship of Comment 210a, I disagree on the conclusion that Comment 252a is from Photius. I think that what Panella believed to be a pattern of the *Scholia Photiana* related to the biblical quotation as an incipit was not an original feature of the *Scholia Photiana*, as I have demonstrated in the Introduction (c. I. 3iii).

Overall, these observations confirm that, although the biblical quotations accompanying the *Scholia Photiana* are specifically documented, they may not be part of the scholia. This is one reason I do not agree with Panella concerning the authenticity of Comment 252a. With regard to her second statement about the use of the quotation from the Book of Revelation, it is true that Photius often refers to other biblical passages for exegetical purposes, but so do Gennadius and Oecumenius. For instance, in commenting on Gal 3, 20, Gennadius quotes Eph 2, 14 (Staab, 1933, p. 419, l. 15) and in commenting on Gal 2, 11–16, Oecumenius quotes Mat 18, 15 (Staab, 1933,

p. 447). Both those scholia are also preserved in GA 1923. However, this conclusion can be extended to authors across the whole manuscript tradition. Furthermore, there is the general trend in Photius' exegesis to adapt the biblical quotation syntactically or, whenever this is verbatim, not to report the source, unlike Comment 252, where the exegete explicitly states ὡς ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει φησὶ and refers presumably to Ap 21, 2, which could be behind the Pauline verse Gal 4, 26. Even in this case the biblical references are not very clear, which is also unusual in Photius' scholia, where with both verbatim or non-verbatim quotations, it is always very clear which verse the exegete refers to.

V.3 The *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Ephesians.

The manuscript tradition preserves a small number of scholia commenting on the Epistle to the Ephesians. Among these most are preserved in manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus* and are ascribed to Photius. There are also very few brief scholia ascribed to Oecumenius in both GA 1923, the *Normal Typus*, GA 1997, and the *Spezialtypus*, GA 622. Other scholia ascribed to Severian are preserved in the *Typus Parisinus*, GA 10.⁷⁵

Sch. Ph. 413–Sch. Ph. 415. This group of three scholia was published by Staab as a long text in three paragraphs on Eph 1, 3–13 (Staab, 1933, pp. 611–612). Indeed, the

⁷⁵ For an edition of the scholia by Severian to see Staab, 1933, pp. 304–313 and for an edition of the scholia of Oecumenius pp. 448–452.

analysis of the manuscripts shows the scholia are three independent texts identified by the ligature φωτ. In GA 2183 (f. 277r), Sch. Ph. 414 and Sch. Ph. 415 are combined together as one scholium starting with τοῦτο δὲ (corresponding to Staab, 1933, p. 611, l. 37 ff.), meaning that almost the first half of Sch. Ph. 414 is omitted in that manuscript. However, the other manuscripts agree on the text of Sch. Ph. 414 as edited by Staab. With regard to the contents, a comparison between the exegete and Chrysostom is rather difficult; Chrysostom's commentary is extensive and enriched with an interpretative procedure which ranges all over the New and Old Testament, but there is also a different point of view on the interpretation of certain passages. For instance, with regard to εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς (Eph 1, 3) Chrysostom says that the blessed ones are the Jews, while Photius clearly identifies the Christian community with ἡμᾶς, or, as he says a few lines below, οἱ υἱοθετηθέντες, the adoptive sons (PG 62) . The motif of the whole scholium seems to be a repetitive and cyclical explanation about how the blessing of God consists of making them his own sons through the Son, Christ. This is not a new topic for the reader of the catena, as the figure of Christ as mediator also appeared in the scholia on Galatians and on Romans. Christ as a mediator does also appear again in Chrysostom, where the blessing is explained with the metaphor of the land and rock through a series of Old and New Testament quotations, including Is 1, 9; Dt 7, 13; Ex 3, 8; Mt 8, 24; Mt 7, 25.

Sch. Ph. 416. This scholium is a brief comment on Eph 1, 14 preserved in GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 91, GA 1907 and GA 1916. The exegesis of the verse is based on the use of the male pronoun ὅς referring to πνεύματι:

[...] ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ, (14) ὅς ἐστιν ἀρραβὼν τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν, [...] (RP 2005).

It is clear that since πνεύμα is a neuter noun, we should have ὅ in the text of the letter; however, Photius finds an explanation of this alteration in the idea that the Spirit can be identified with God: and therefore, the relative would actually agree with θεός. The scholium demonstrates a certain interest for the grammar as a source of exegesis.

Sch. Ph. 417. The brief scholium on Eph 1, 15 consists of only one sentence and appears to be anonymous in GA 91. As it is evident from the comparison of the epistle and the quotation in the catena, the interpretation is based on an alteration of the syntax in Paul, as follows:

(Eph 1, 15) [...] τὴν <u>καθ' ὑμᾶς</u> πίστιν <u>ἐν</u> <u>τῷ κυρίῳ</u> Ἰησοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην [...] (NA28).	Sch. Ph. 417 (Staab, 1933, p. 612, ll. 34–35): Καθ' ὑπερβατὸν τὴν <u>ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ</u> <u>Ἰησοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς</u> πίστιν· ἦν ὑμεῖς, φησί, κέκτησθε.
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Essentially, Photius applies a hyperbaton exchanging καθ' ὑμᾶς and ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ in the Pauline text. This is not the first time that the exegete focuses on the order of the words in the sentence as a starting point for his explanation. He has already underlined the importance of the correct order of the syntax in Paul in several scholia on Romans, such as in Sch. Ph. 49, where he believed κατὰ σαρκά was clearly functional to the presentation of Abraham; but also, in Sch. Ph. 4b, where he suggests moving the parenthetical καὶ ἐκωλύθη ἄχρι τοῦ δευτοῦ to the end of the sentence.

He offers a similar suggestion in Sch. Ph. 417, where he keeps the most important element of the sentence, πίστιν, in a more relevant position at the end of the quotation. Clearly the alteration of the order in this way gives him the chance to use a relative pronoun to emphasise the following part of text.

Sch. Ph. 418–Sch. Ph. 420. This is another group of three scholia combined together as a long text as an explanation of Eph 1, 19–20 (Staab, 1933, pp. 613–614). The exegesis of Eph 1, 19–21 is based on the observation of rhetorical features of the biblical text. In particular, in Eph 1, 19 the exegete analyses the use of synonyms in order to create emphasis; for instance, ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος, (in Photius καθ' ὑπερβολὴν μέγεθος), the greatness belonging to God's superiority, and κράτος ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, the power of his strength. Again, the figure of the mediator is the centre of the Pauline passage. The mighty power of God shows up through Christ, whose body dies in order to rise again and with him the souls of those who have faith. Clearly, so far, the topics in Galatians and Ephesians are very similar to those of Romans and the abundance of the scholia on Romans allows us to have an almost complete commentary on that letter in contrast to Galatians and Ephesians, whose sets of scholia are very brief. Nevertheless, it is surprising to find out that the editor who assembled the catena is very careful not to reiterate most of the common motifs of the letters; in this way, he avoids redundant repetitions of the same topics and gives a sense of uniformity to the general analysis of the whole sets of scholia. For example, in the second part of Eph 1, 19–20, the author quotes Rm 8, 29 for exegetical purposes, but there is not a proper scholium on that verse in the manuscripts of the catena, even if scholia on Romans 8 are indeed

preserved in the same manuscripts of Galatians and Ephesians. If redundancy is present, this is in the internal structure of the single scholia, especially in the longest ones. Repetitions, synonyms and changes in the structures of the verse, such as hyperbaton, are all good attempts to clarify the Pauline text and make it more accessible.

Sch. Ph. 421; Sch. Ph. 422. In the first scholium, commenting on Eph 1, 22–23 (Staab, 1933, p. 614) the whole interpretation of the text is based on changing the passive participle τοῦ πληρουμένου in Paul's text into the active form τοῦ πληροῦντος. In the second scholium, commenting on Eph 2, 1 (*ibid.*), the exegete points out the prolixity of the text and the consecutive anacoluthon of the long sentence in the epistle:

Καὶ ὑμᾶς ὄντας νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ὑμῶν, 2 ἐν αἷς ποτε περιεπατήσατε κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας [...] (Eph 2, 1) (NA28).

Ἡ ἀνταπόδοσις μετὰ πολλὴν σύμφρασιν καὶ ὑμᾶς ὄντας, φησί, νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασιν· εἶτα πολλαῖς περιβολαῖς μεστῶσας τὸν λόγον μετὰ ἐπαναλήψεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ ῥητοῦ, οἷον· καὶ ὄντας ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασιν, ἀπέδωκε τὸ κατὰ πόδας, συνεζωοποίησε τῷ Χριστῷ. Πολλὴ δὲ αὐτῷ τούτου τοῦ σχήματος ἢ [l. 25] χρῆσις. (Staab 1933, p. 614, ll. 20–25).

The grammatical and stylistic aspects of the verse are preponderant in the scholium, which highlights the tendency to interpret the Epistles literally.

Sch. Ph. 423; Sch. Ph. 424; Sch. Ph. 425; Sch. Ph. 426; Sch. Ph. 427; Sch. Ph. 428. This group of scholia continues the exegesis of Eph 2, already started in Sch. Ph. 422 (Staab, 1933, pp. 615–616). These are all very brief scholia which confirm the typical features of the *Scholia Photiana* so far examined. Although they do not add much to my

observations on the style, it is noticeable that Sch. Ph. 425, Sch. Ph. 426, Sch. Ph. 427 together with Sch. Ph. 429 are among the very few scholia I identified as *Scholia Photiana* in the *Erweiterte Typus* GA 641, in which the Photian ligature is still clearly readable, but where the lemmata introducing the scholia are absent.

Sch. Ph. 429; Sch. Ph. 431. The first scholium is on Eph 3, 1. There is no equivalent comment in Chrysostom's texts, but, as I have mentioned in the previous chapter, even if the tradition linked to Chrysostom characterised the exegetical basis of the *Scholia Photiana*, there is always a certain independence of Photius. This is the verse on which the Patriarch comments in the scholium: τούτου χάριν ἐγὼ Παῦλος ὁ δέσμιος τοῦ Χριστοῦ [Ἰησοῦ] ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν (NA28). According to Photius, the bond between Paul, ὁ δέσμιος, and Christ is due to faith, while for the Gentiles the bond can happen only through preaching. It is important to underline that in Staab's edition the final sentence of the scholium is edited as a quotation, but it is not; when Photius says καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐθνῶν he is not quoting the verse verbatim, but he summarises it in a final sentence of the explanation.

The following scholium on Eph 3, 8, Sch. Ph. 431, is directly related to Sch. Ph. 429. This is the first time that we see two very close scholia quoting the same Pauline verse (Eph 3, 1). Basically, the scholium is a suggestion to read Eph 3, 1 and Eph 3,8 combined together even grammatically, where (Eph 3, 1) Τούτου χάριν, is read as the ἀνταπόδοσις of Ep 3, 8 Ἐμοὶ τῷ ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ πάντων ἁγίων ἐδόθη. Then Photius carries on with a comment about the σχῆμα τῆς περιόδου which reminds him of the style of Thucydides and Demosthenes:

[...] σκόπει δὲ ὅτι ἀρξάμενος τῆς περιόδου κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν σχῆμα, ἐν τῇ ἀνταποδόσει ἐπλαγίασεν σχηματίσας τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν πρὸς τὸν τῶν περιβολῶν τύπον. οὕτως καὶ Θεοκυδίδης καὶ Δημοσθένης πολλαχοῦ (Staab, 1933, p. 616, ll. 15–19).

This is the first time that we see two classical authors quoted in the Photian scholia, but in this case the exegesis is first of all grammatical: Διὸ αἰτοῦμαι μὴ ἐκκακεῖν ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν θλίψεσίμου· καθ’ ὑπερβατὸν γὰρ ἡ σύνταξις. (Staab, 1933, p. 616, l. 26).

Sch. Ph. 430. GA 2183 (f. 286rv) preserves with the Photian ligature another unpublished scholium that interprets Eph 3, 4–6. The text is as follows:

Τί οὖν οἱ πάλαι προφηῆται οὐκ ἤδεισαν; πῶς οὖν φησὶν ὁ Χριστὸς Μωσῆς καὶ προφηῆται περὶ ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἔγραψαν καὶ πάλιν φησὶ περὶ τῶν γραφῶν ὅτι ἐκεῖναι εἰσὶν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι μοι καὶ φαμέν ἢ τοῦτο εἶπεν ὅτι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις οὐκ ἐγνωρίσθη· εἶπε γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· νῦν γὰρ μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν πάντες αὐτὸν ἐθέασαντο· ἢ ὅτι οὐδὲ οἱ προφηῆται εἶδον ὡς νῦν ὠράθη; τουτέστι σωματικῶς ἢ ὅτι περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν οὐδενὶ οὕτως ἐγνώθη εἶναι ταῦτα συγκληρονόμα καὶ σύσσωμα καὶ συμμετόχα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας.

(tr.) ‘What did the ancient prophets not know? How he says that Christ, Moses and the prophets wrote these things about me and then he says about the Sacred Scriptures that those bear witness to me and we say either that he said that was not made known to all men - indeed, he said before the sons of the men; now, with the incarnation everybody contemplated him - or that the prophets knew nothing as it appears now - meaning ‘in bodily form’ - or that none of the people is known, “To be the joint-heir, participant and sharer of the promise” (1 Eph 3, 6).’

Although there are no other strong elements supporting the authorship of the scholium as a *Photianum*, the Photian ligature in the manuscript and, to a minor extent,

the use of questions (τί and πῶς) introducing the explanation of controversial passages and the use of ἢ ὅτι ... ἢ ὅτι, which is widely attested in all the groups of *Scholia Photiana*, the analysis of the scholium through the TLG has given no results about other authorship of this text or part of it. Additionally, nothing has emerged from comparison with Chrysostom's writing. It also seems that GA 2183 does not preserve scholia ascribed to Chrysostom that could lead to a confusion between the two authors.

Sch. Ph. 432; Sch. Ph. 433. The first one is a very brief scholium commenting on Eph 3, 10–11 which does not add much to my analysis of the *Scholia Photiana*; however, more can be said on the following Sch. Ph. 433 on Eph 3, 13 (Staab, 1933, p. 616). This is a very brief scholium consisting of a few words which comment on the sequence of the words in the Pauline verse. As for cases already analysed in this chapter (Sch. Ph. 420) this is part of the analytical method adopted by Photius to provide an exegesis starting from the order of the words in the verses and identify the necessity to apply hyperbaton to help with the understanding of complex sentences.

Sch. Ph. 434–Sch. Ph. 436. Particular attention to the syntax is also found in Sch. Ph. 436, edited by Staab as the third paragraph of the scholium on Eph 3, 18–19 (Staab, 1933, p. 617), but commenting on Eph 3, 17. In the letter, Paul writes: [...] ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι, 18 ἵνα ἐξισχύσητε καταλαβέσθαι [...] (NA28). Photius comments on the choice of two nominatives, ἐρριζωμένοι and τεθεμελιωμένοι, set where we should expect two accusatives. In addition, Photius

suggests reading the verses by swapping the order of the words between verses Eph 3, 17–18, in order to create a more grammatically coherent sequence.

Sch. Ph. 437; Sch. Ph. 438–Sch. Ph. 440; Sch. Ph. 441; Sch. Ph. 445; Sch. Ph. 446. This is another group of very brief scholia confirming the typical features of the *Scholia Photiana* commenting on Eph 4 (Staab, 1933, pp. 618–621), but adding nothing relevant to this analysis, but more can be said about the next Sch. Ph. 443 in the section below.

Sch. Ph. 443. This scholium on Eph 4, 16 (Staab, 1933, p. 619) is based on the exegesis of the metaphor of the body, which frequently occurs in Paul's letters. The metaphor of the body is interpreted as the image of the ones united in the faith. This bond, through which Christ keeps everyone united by faith, is described as ἡ κατὰ πίστιν ἐνότης καὶ ἀρμολογία (Staab 1933, p. 619, l. 21), where ἀρμολογία means 'compactness and solidarity' (Lampe, 1961, p. 227). Probably related to verb ἀρμόζω, 'to fit, join,' or the adjective ἀρμός, -ου, 'joining,' (Abbott-Smith, 1937, p. 59).

V.4 Conclusion

Although these two groups of scholia on Galatians and Ephesians are rather restricted, when compared to the more abundant material on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians preserved in the manuscript tradition, and can be often very brief, it is significant that the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius preserves a number of *Scholia Photiana* providing an exegesis of the minor letters. In my analysis of both these two groups, I found some substantial differences in the focus of the Photian exegesis on these letters: indeed, the group of *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Galatians

resembles more the previous group on scholia on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians, especially considering the abundant reminiscences of Chrysostom's works (Sch. Ph. 388; Sch. Ph. 391; Sch. Ph. 392; Sch. Ph. 393; Sch. Ph. 395 and Sch. Ph. 399). Additionally, the verbatim quotations of Chrysostom in Sch. Ph. 393 and Sch. Ph. 399 confirm that even verbatim quotation of the Fathers in Photius can still be found, although they are always very brief.

The finding of new material in both GA 2183 and GA 91 (Sch. Ph. 390 and Sch. Ph. 411) is also additional evidence of the possible link between the two manuscripts

The analysis of Sch. Ph. 398 also contributes to the evidence in the group of *Scholia Photiana* on Romans and 1 Corinthians which provoked doubts about the relationship between Sch. Ph. 105 and GA 1923 and even supports a possible one between GA 1905 and GA 91.

The scholia on Ephesians seem to be independent of Chrysostom's interpretation of the same verses. Nevertheless, they are brief and seem to agree with the usual exegetical style of the *Scholia Photiana*, in particular in the focus on the order of the words, which was already relevant among the scholia on Romans, but that here seems also to be a priority for Photius with further observations on the grammar and the syntactic order in the Pauline text (e.g. Sch. Ph. 417; Sch. Ph. 420; Sch. Ph. 433). This particular attention on the coherent order of the words becomes plausible if we imagine the scholia set in a scholastic context, where the teacher is helping the scholars to navigate the Pauline text, leading them to the most logical and correct interpretation.

VI A new analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, 1–2 Thessalonians, 1–2 Timothy and Philemon.

VI.1 The *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Philippians.

A number of *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Philippians are preserved by manuscripts GA 1905, GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 1907, GA 91 and GA 2183. As for the previous groups of *Scholia Photiana* on Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians and Ephesians, my analysis of the scholia starts from examining the manuscripts Karl Staab used in his 1933 edition (GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 91 and GA 1907) and then expands the observations with reference to GA 1905, GA 1916, GA 641 and GA 2183. The investigation of GA 641 has given no positive results for *Scholia Photiana* in Philippians; GA 1916, as for the previous groups of scholia, preserves only a very limited number of scholia (Appendix 1, Table 6).

The texts of the scholia on Philippians in the manuscripts are very close to one another. Staab did not alter the structure of individual scholia by combining or dividing them as in other cases above, apart from a few exceptions. For instance, the text published as a scholium on Phil 1, 20 (Staab, 1933, p. 623), is the combination of Sch. Ph. 457 and Sch. Ph. 458, which are independent scholia in all the manuscripts but GA 1907; the same happens for the scholium edited as Phil 3, 16–17a, which consists of two different texts, Sch. Ph. 475 and Sch. Ph. 476 in all the manuscripts but GA 2183 (Appendix 1, Table 6).

As for the previous chapter, I report here the analysis of the most relevant scholia with regard to style of the *Scholia Photiana* and the distribution of the exegetical material in manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus*.

Sch. Ph. 452; Sch. Ph. 453; Sch. Ph. 454; Sch. Ph. 455. This group of brief scholia on Phil 1 (Staab, 1933, pp. 621–622) follows the typical Photian exegetical style of the other *Scholia Photiana* in the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena, including the use of devices such as ἀπὸ κοινού, ἀντὶ τοῦ, φάμεν ὅτι, or οἶον with a parenthetical function, and a particular interest for structures and syntax, such as hyperbaton (e.g. Sch. Ph. 454), or the use of hyperbole (e.g. Sch. Ph. 452) in Paul's writing. As frequently happens in all the groups of *Scholia Photiana*, there are several occasions on which the exegete proposes more than one interpretation of the Pauline quotation by introducing the different options, generally no more than three, with devices such as ἢ ὅτι... ἢ, or simply ἢ ... ἢ. This is the case in Sch. Ph. 455 and Sch. Ph. 465. In Sch. Ph. 465, Photius suggests three different interpretations of δεσμούς μου (Phil 1, 13–14), which could be interpreted more specifically in combination with ἐν Χριστῷ a few words further on in the same verse, as if to say, 'the chains (I wear) in Christ' or 'the chains (I wear) for Christ' as well as 'the chains shown by Christ', as if to say, 'the chains have been shown for Christ's benevolence.' Photius prefers the last interpretation, believing that Paul would have suffered in vain if he had not done it for Christ. However, the exegete also considers a fourth option recalling Mt 5,16, τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς δοξάζειν, interpreting ἐν Χριστῷ as 'those who glorify him in the Heavens.' In Sch. Ph. 465, in which Photius reports three different interpretations with sentences such as καὶ

ἄλλως δὲ...δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ οὕτως...ἢ καὶ οὕτως, the scholium investigates the interpretation of Phil 2, 17 Ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ (NA 28). The main exegetical problem is how the exegete should consider εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι, which would imply the sacrifice of Christ. Photius quotes two other Pauline passages (Phil 1, 24 and 1 Cor 15, 31) to support his assumption that the pupils' fulfilment is a source of happiness for the teacher, and therefore as a teacher Paul would not sacrifice his pupils (the Philippians), yet if he had not sacrificed to Christ he would have not become such a passionate apostle. In brief, as the two examples from Sch. Ph 455 show, there is a sort of methodology in Photius' scholia where the exegete proposes multiple interpretations of the same verse and then introduces a biblical quotation to support his preferred interpretation.

New material has been identified not only for unpublished comments but even in the form of additions to scholia already in Staab's edition of 1933. For example, with regard to the *Scholia Photiana* on Philippians in GA 2183, the text of Sch. Ph. 452 (Phil 1, 5 in Staab 1933) shows two differences from the one in GA 1923, GA 1982 and GA 1907. There is a brief portion of text before the beginning and another line after the scholium in the version of Staab. The entire scholium in GA 2183 reads as follows:

GA 2183, f. 306r, ll. 28–33: Κοινωνία ποία· τῇ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας ἐξ ἧς ἐπιστεύσατε φησὶ ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τῇ εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κοινωνία ὑμῶν τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας ἀφ' οὗ ἐπιστεύσατε μέχρι τοῦ νῦν εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου ὑπὲρ πάντων εὐχαριστία ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλιππησίων ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐ Χριστοῦ τελειώσεως (GA 2183, f. 306r, ll. 28–33).

The words in bold correspond to the scholium edited by Staab and preserved in GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 1907, although the line Κοινωνία ποία· τῆ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας ἐξ ἧς ἐπιστεύσατε φησι ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν is also in GA 91 (f. 192v, ll. 14–15), where the Photian ligature φωτ is located before l. 15 in the left margin of the page: this makes it difficult to understand whether the extra text should be considered as Photian. However, it is very clear in GA 2183 that that portion of text is ascribed to Photius as well. About the final lines of the scholium, εὐχαριστία ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλιππησίων ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐ Χριστοῦ τελειώσεως, there is no correspondence between GA 2183 and GA 91.

There is also another similarity between GA 2183 and GA 91 with regard to Sch. Ph. 455 (Staab, 1933, p. 622, Phil. 1, 23). In both manuscripts, the scholium has the same beginning, ἡ τοὺς δεσμούς, φησί, τοὺς ἐν Χριστῷ φανεροὺς γεγεννημένους. While GA 2183 could be useful to confirm where some of the *Scholia Photiana* begin in GA 91, the two manuscripts do not regularly begin scholia in the same way and it is therefore not possible to support the idea of a close relationship between them. Instead, each scholium must be examined individually.

Sch. Ph. 456; Sch. Ph. 457–Sch. Ph. 458; Sch. Ph. 459. The first scholium is published as a very brief scholium on Phil 1, 17 (Staab, 1933, p. 623); Sch. Ph. 457–Sch. Ph. 458 were published together as one scholium divided into two paragraph - Sch. Ph. 458 consisting in only one sentence - (*ibid.*); whereas Sch. Ph. 459 was published as a comment on Phil 1, 24–25 (*ibid.*). The scholia in this group deal with similar content, perhaps to explain different verses, and may be combined together as a comment on Phil 1, 17–25. The focus of all three scholia is on the reciprocal support Paul and Christ

offer to each other: Paul's suffering is the proof of his commitment to spread the Gospel: the fact he always survives this suffering is the sign that Christ supports him and is a witness of Paul's preaching. For Photius, this is ultimately possible as far as Paul stays alive for churches. In fact, in Sch. Ph. 459, Photius advises considering the verb in Phil 1, 25, οἶδα, as the main verb in Phil 1, 24 as well. Paul writes,

(Phil 1, 24) Τὸ δὲ ἐπιμένειν [ἐν] τῇ σαρκὶ ἀναγκαιότερον δι' ὑμᾶς (25) καὶ τοῦτο πεποιθῶς **οἶδα ὅτι** μενῶ καὶ παραμενῶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως (NA 28).

Therefore, Photius would read the Pauline text as καὶ τοῦτο πεποιθῶς **οἶδα ὅτι** μενῶ καὶ συμπαραμενῶ⁷⁶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐπιμένειν [ἐν] τῇ σαρκὶ. This is another example of how the exegete considers altering the structure of the sentence to support his interpretation, which is very similar to what happens when he comments on the presence of hyperbata in Paul, as was highlighted in the previous chapter (e.g. Sch. Ph. 417).

Sch. Ph. 462. More generally, the focus of the *Scholia Photiana* on Phil 1 and Phil 2 remarks on the opposition between ταπεινοφροσύνη, 'thinking' or 'behaving humbly,' and ὑψηλοί, those who believe themselves to be superior and act consequently. In line with Paul's thoughts, the exegete insists on the concept that the Lord is humble and being humble means being like him; being humble means primarily being afraid of God. Therefore, those who are afraid of God and show they

⁷⁶ In quoting the biblical text in the scholium Photius uses the verb συμπαραμενῶ, as it appears in the manuscripts of the *catena* (Staab, 1933, p. 624, l. 4), instead of παραμενῶ (NA28 and RP 2005).

want to stay humble will be like Christ, but those who believe they are superior and fearless will gain only damage. This is well explained in Sch. Ph. 462 (Staab, 1933, p. 625, ll. 1–16), in which Photius shows a reminiscence of Chrysostom *Homilia VI, In Epistulam ad Philippenses*, in particular of the following passage:

Καταφρονῶμεν τοίνυν δόξης οὕτω γὰρ δυνησόμεθα γενέσθαι ταπεινοὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑψηλοί. Μὴ ὑψου σαυτὸν, ἵνα παρ’ ἐτέρου ὑψωθῆς. Ὁ παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ υἱοῦμενος παρ’ ἐτέρων οὐχ ὑψοῦται· ὁ παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ οὐ ταπεινοῦται. (Chrysostom, *Homilia VI in Phil.*, PG 62, col. 235, l. 9 ff).

Both the patriarchs interpret the value of humility in relation to God and humans. In Sch. Ph. 462, Photius says ἐὰν δὲ ταπεινωθῶμεν, ὑπερψοῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς χαριζόμενος ἡμῖν (ll. 10–11), meaning that to become humble a human being needs to be in a position of superiority first; conversely, God can become humble because he is already superior. This is another example of the strong influence of Chrysostom on many *Scholia Photiana*, although verbatim quotations continue to be very rare.

Sch. Ph. 463. This scholium is preserved only in GA 2183 (ff. 313v–314r) and provides an explanation of Phil 2, 7. I have transcribed the text of the Sch. Ph. 463 and provided it with a translation as follows:

Τὸ σχήματι εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, φασὶν οἱ Εὐτυχιανισταί· ἰδοὺ οὖν οὐκ ἦν φύσει ἄνθρωπος· ἀλλὰ φαμὲν τοῦτο εἰρήσεσθαι· ἵνα μὴ νομισθῆ ἢ θεότης τετράφθαι εἰς ἀνθρωπότητα· σχήματι δὲ φησι ὡς ἄνθρωπος, οἷον ἐν σαρκί. Σαρκοῦ γὰρ [ill.] τὸ ἐσηματίσθαι· τὸ δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν εἷς τῶν πολλῶν· εἶχε γὰρ καὶ παρηλλαγμένα· ἢ τὸ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, οἷα ἄνθρωπος φησι· γὰρ κατὰ περὶ [f. 314r] βασιλέως μετὰ δόξης προελθόντος, φαμὲν· Ἐξῆλθεν ὡς βασιλεύς·

λέγει δὲ καὶ Εὐαγγελιστῆς· εἶδομεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός· τουτέστιν, οἷα μονογενοῦς.

(tr.) “Being found in human likeness.” The Eutychians say, “Look, then, he was not a human by nature,” but we say that this was said so that the divinity was not thought to have been turned into humanity. He says, “in human likeness,” which means “in the flesh.” Indeed, the flesh can [...] take a shape; “in human likeness,” because he was not a human like many others, he was different: he says, “in human likeness,” that is to say, “human.” Indeed, in contrast with what we say about the king who proceeds with glory, he came like a king; even the Evangelist says, “We saw his glory, the glory of the only-begotten of the Father’ (Jo 1, 14); that is to say the one and only Son.’

GA 2183 clearly ascribes this scholium to Photius through the use of the typical ligature φτ. There are at least two recurrent features of Photian syntax: the use of τὸ followed by the Pauline quotation and its explanation (l. 1, l. 4) and the verb φαμὲν (l. 6) which introduces a ‘personal’ perspective, also abundantly documented in Photian exegesis (e. g. Sch. Ph. 29; Sch. Ph. 113; Sch. Ph. 145; Sch. Ph. 255; Sch. Ph. 452–Sch. Ph. 455 etc.). This is another so far unpublished scholium preserved in GA 2183 and commenting on Phil 2, 7b, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος· καὶ σχήματι εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος (NA28).

The exegete’s focus is on ὡς ἄνθρωπος, which the Apostle uses to describe Christ in Phil 2, . Photius does not take it literally since Christ was not a common human but had the glory of a king: this means being God’s only begotten Son, following Jo 1, 14: ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς (NA28). The same quotation of John’s Gospel not only recurs in Sch. Ph. 508 (Staab, 1933, p. 637, l. 3), but also in a

specific scholium ascribed to the Patriarch in the catena on John edited by Reuss, where the gospel quotation is introduced by the same verb εἶδομεν in GA 2183:

[...] ἐκεῖνον γὰρ «ἐθεασσάμεθα» μετὰ σαρκός, ἐκεῖνου εἶδομεν «τὴν δόξαν», «δόξαν ὡς» ἀληθοῦς «μονογενοῦς» ἐκεῖνος μονογενῆς ὁ πατρικῆς συγγενείας καὶ οἰκειότητος [...]. (Reuss 1966, fr. 14, ll. 11–13).

Thus, Sch. Ph. 463 shows a case of multiple gospel quotations in Photius. This is in keeping with his exegetical style, but it is also the only case found so far of a biblical quotation common to two different exegetical scholia by Photius preserved in two different catenae.

Sch. Ph. 466. Sch. Ph. 466 is another unpublished scholium found in GA 2183 (f. 317v). This is a comment on Phil 2, 25 and Phil 2, 27, which are quoted indirectly in the scholium. Rhetorical devices, such as ἰδοῦ, φάμεν and the use of question-and-answer methodology are common features of Photian exegetical style; the presence of these devices in the scholium supports Photian authorship. As for Sch. Ph. 463, I have provided a transcription of the text in GA 2183 and a translation below:

Τί ἐροῦσιν οἱ αἰρετικάι· οἱ λέγοντες κακὸν τὸν κόσμον· ἰδοῦ γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἔλεον θεοῦ καλεῖ. Τὶ ἤσθηται τὸν Ἐπαφροδίτον ἐν τῇ ζωῇ· διατί δὲ ὅλως, τοῦτο γὰρ ὡς πρὸς Χριστιανούς ζητητέον, εἰ τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι καλόν. Ἐλεον λέγει τὴν ἐνταῦθα ζωὴν καὶ φάμεν ὅτι διήν αιτίαν ἄνω εἶπεν ἀναγκαότερον δὲ τὸ ἐπιμεῖναι τῇ σαρκὶ δι' ὑμᾶς· διὰ ταύτην καὶ νῦν τοῦτο φησί.

(tr.) 'What do the heretics ask for? They choose the bad universe. Look, indeed the Apostle calls God's mercy. Why was Epaphroditus sick in his life? Actually, because he must inquire among the Christians, to destroy or to do good with Christ. He calls

mercy the life here and we say that because of what he said above it was more necessary (to Epaphroditus) to stay alive for us; therefore, he says that now, too.'

Sch. Ph. 468–Sch. Ph.479. Twelve brief *Scholia Photiana* edited by Staab are preserved by the manuscripts as comments on Phil 3. Among them, Sch. Ph. 478 is ascribed to Oecumenius in GA 1923, but it is written next to the Photian ligature in GA 2183, GA 91 and GA 1907; although this is anonymous in GA 1905, it is written as an addition to the catena, like all the other Photian scholia in that manuscript and may therefore be considered as a Photian text. These scholia also follow the typical Photian exegetical attitude of repeating what Paul states by using other biblical passages to support the exegesis or to clarify possible misinterpretation that may occur in a first reading of the letter. Sch. Ph. 474 also shows a specific comment on the structure of the Pauline verse and clarifies the meaning of Phil 3, 13b by pointing out the possibility of an omission, κατ' ἄλλειψιν.

Sch. Ph. 470. The third new scholium in GA 2183 (f. 319r), Sch. Ph. 470, is an exegesis of Phil 3, 5:

Ἄνωθέν φησὶ τῶν εὐδοκίμων Ἰουδαίων εἰμί. Ἐνὶ γὰρ εἶναι ἐκ γένους Ἰσραὴλ καὶ μὴ Ἑβραῖον, ὡς πρὸς τὴν εἶδησιν τῆς Ἑβραίας δύο γλώττης· μετὰ γὰρ τὸ κατασπαρῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, πολλοὶ τῆς πατρῴου γλώσσης τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ οὐκ ἠκρίβωντο τὰς παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις γραφάς, οὐδὲ τὸν νόμον αὐτόν.

(tr.) ‘Above he says, “I belong to the glorious Jews” (Rm 11, 1). Indeed, he belonged to the Israelites and not the Jews, with regard to the knowledge of the Jewish language. In fact, among those who settled within the (Israelite) people, many could not understand the Jewish scriptures or the law, because they did not know the language.’

This scholium is ascribed to Photius by the ligature φωτ in the left margin of the text and sounds very similar to the interpretation of the same passage in Chrysostom, *Homilia In Epistulam ad Philippenses, Homilia IX* (PG 62), which is also preserved in form of an anonymous scholium in the *Catena in epistulam ad Philippenses (Typus Parisinus)* (*e cod. Coislin. 204*) edited by Cramer (1842, p. 270, l. 30). The text in Chrysostom’s homily is the following:

Εβραῖος ἐξ Εβραίων. Ἐντευθεν δείκνυσιν, ὅτι οὐχὶ προσήλυτος, ἀλλ’ ἄνωθεν τῶν εὐδοκίμων Ἰουδαίων. Ἐνῆν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ Ἰουδαίων. Ἐνῆν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, ἀλλ’ οὐκ Ἑβραῖον ἐξ Ἑβραίων. Πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ διέφθειρον ἤδη τὸ πρῶγμα, καὶ τῆς γλώσσης ἦσαν ἀμήητοι, ἑτέροις μιγνύμενοι ἔθνεσιν (Chrysostom, *Homila IX*, PG 62, col. 258).

I have highlighted the common parts of the texts in bold and as it is possible to see, both Photius and Chrysostom provide the same interpretation of Phil 3, 5. Clearly, Photius builds his own interpretation by quoting Chrysostom directly and this scholium provides one of the very few verbatim quotations in Photius’ exegetical material.

Sch. Ph. 480. This scholium closes the collection of *Scholia Photiana* on Philippians as the only scholium commenting on passages in Phil 4. In fact, Staab publishes it as an interpretation of Phil 4, 10–18 (Staab, 1933, p. 630), but the contents are more related to the interpretation of Phil 4, 11 specifically and the use of ἐχάραγν to indicate Paul’s rejoicing for the good actions of the community.

VI.2 The *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Colossians.

Manuscripts GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 91, GA 1907 and GA 1915 preserve a small group of scholia on Colossians ascribed to the Patriarch Photius; some of them are also in GA 2183 and two are preserved in GA 641 as well (Appendix 1, Table 7). These scholia are very brief, consisting of one or two sentences each.

Sch. Ph. 484. This is the only long scholium of the group and comments on Col 1, 24 (Staab, 1933, pp. 631–2). This seems to respect the style of the *Scholia Photiana*, although the evidence in favour of this is not very strong. The TLG shows that this Pauline verse is quoted and commented largely among Byzantine Fathers such as Chrysostom, Severian, Theodoret, Theodorus Studites and John of Damascus, but only *Sch. Ph. 484* provides a more detailed exegesis. The explanation mostly focuses on the verb ἀνταναπληρῶ, ‘I fill up’ or ‘I fulfil,’ referring to compensating for what Christ had suffered. With regard to this verb, it is clear that Staab’s edition of the whole group of *Scholia Photiana* on Colossians is based on the sister manuscripts GA 1923 (f. 257r) and GA 1982 (f. 223r), where the scholium is introduced by καὶ ἀνταναπληρῶσω (fut. ind. 1st sg.), which does not appear in the other manuscripts. Since the text does not seem to be linked to any previous scholium in GA 1923 and GA 1982, the conjunction καὶ followed by the verb could be explained by putting the scholium in a potentially more extended context in its original redaction.

Like the *Scholia Photiana* on Ephesians, a few scholia commenting on Colossians are characterised by reference to the structure of the Pauline verses. For example, *Sch. Ph.*

484 refers to the possibility of including a graphic pause and dividing the verse in two parts, (στίζεσθαι), ἃ ἔστιν σκιά τῶν μελλόντων, τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (NA28).

In the scholium, Photius considers the idea of putting a comma between σῶμα and Χριστοῦ, although there is no further exegetical explanation of this in the scholium. This is not the first time that Photius suggests an interpretation based on a change of punctuation in a sentence; he suggests the same in Sch. Ph. 348, commenting on 2 Cor 7, 14–15,

ἢ ὡς ἐν κόμμα λόγου τὰς δύο λέξεις ἐκληπτέον, καὶ τὴν ἐπαγομένην τῆς προτέρας ὡς αἰτίαν ἀποδοτέον ὑποστίζοντας ἐν τῷ κεκαύμαι [...] (Staab, 1933, p. 594, l. 19 ff.).

Sch. Ph. 486. The exegete points out an inflexion in Col 3, 23 (ὁ ἐὰν ποιῆτε, ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐργάζεσθε ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις NA28) and says, Ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τὸ ἐργάζεσθε, κατὰ μετάπτωσιν ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις ἐργαζόμενοι. (Staab 1933, p. 632, ll. 6–7). As in Sch. Ph. 484, there is no explanation of how the change of inflexion may support a possible interpretation of the verse. However, this is the first time that Photius comments specifically on the μετάπτωσις of a Pauline verse.

A further reference to the use of hyperbaton is found in Sch. Ph. 487 which comments on Col 4, 3–4. To provide a clearer idea of the nature of Photius' exegesis, I have put the text of the scholium alongside the biblical verse:

(Col 4, 3) [...] ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἀνοίξη ἡμῖν θύραν τοῦ λόγου λαλήσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' ὃ καὶ δέδεμαι, (4) ἵνα φανερώσω αὐτὸ ὡς δεῖ με λαλήσαι (NA 28).

Sc. Ph. 487 (Staab 1933, p. 632, ll. 8–12): ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἀνοίξη ἡμῖν θύραν τοῦ λόγου λαλήσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς δεῖ με λαλήσαι δι' ὃ καὶ δέδεμαι, ἵνα φανερώσω αὐτό. ὁ δὲ θεῖος Παῦλος καθ' ὑπερβατὸν τὸν λόγον προήνεγκεν.

In other words, Photius rearranges the sentence following the logical order and avoids the hyperbaton created by interposing the relative clause ο δὲ ὁ καὶ δέδεμαι at the end of Col 4, 3.

VI.3 The *Scholia Photiana* on The First and Second Epistle to the Thessalonians.

Only nine *Scholia Photiana* on 1 Thessalonians (Sch. Ph. 485–Sch. Ph. 503) and four *Scholia Photiana* on 2 Thessalonians (Sch. Ph. 504–Sch. Ph. 507) are preserved. Most of these appear in the manuscripts GA 1905, GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 1907 and GA 91. Only four of them, Sch. Ph. 499, Sch. Ph. 500, Sch. Ph. 502 and Sch. Ph. 506, occur in GA 1916, generally indicated by symbols, but not ligatures. In GA 641, only Sch. Ph. 502 and Sch. Ph. 506 are preserved, both as anonymous. Of the two groups, those on 1 Thess preserve more extended scholia, while those on 2 Thess are very brief. The analysis of the manuscripts has revealed no particular issues related to the scholia and I have not found any extra material to add to the collection of the 1933 edition.

Sch. Ph. 498. With regard to the style, the Photian methodology of question and answer is a common feature which is evident in Sch. Ph. 498, commenting on 1 Thess 2, 15–16 (Staab 1933, p. 634). Here there is also a particular focus on the verb ἀναπληρῶσαι, which is also often recalled in the group of *Scholia Photiana* on Philippians.

Sch. Ph. 500–Sch. Ph. 501. In Sch. Ph. 500 and Sch. Ph. 501, which Staab arranges in a single scholium on 1 Thess 4, 16, Photius explains the metaphor of the archangels

playing the σάλπιγξ and refers to the metaphor with the adverb τροπικῶς, which he often uses in other works, such as in codd. 234 and 237 of the *Bibliotheca* (ed. Henry, Bekker p. 297b. l. 10; Bekker p. 311a, l. 10) and also in the *Lexicon* (ed. Theodoridis, 1982, 3404, l. 3), although this is largely found in Byzantine exegetes as a search through the TLG demonstrated.

Sch. Ph. 502. Sch. Ph. 502, commenting on 1 Thess 4, 17–18 shows other common features of style of the *Scholia Photiana*, such as the use of the verb οἶμαι and a range of different interpretations of the same Pauline verse introduced by πρῶτον...δεύτερον...τρίτον. This is different from a more common ἢ...ἢ or ἢ...οὕτως, but still appears largely documented in Photius' *Bibliotheca* (codd. 59, 69, 185, 192B) (ed. Henry, Bekker page 182ab; 34b; 129b; 175a). The scholium reports three reasons why Paul might have avoided giving further explanations about who will rise again as a reward and who will be punished. According to Photius, the three reasons are: first of all, there was no need for Paul to specify those details as the description of the resurrection would be an exhortation to the Thessalonians; secondly, he has already stated the resurrection was primarily for the faithful ones and thirdly, because the resurrection was thought to be for everyone.

VI.4 The *Scholia Photiana* on the First and Second Epistle to Timothy and the Epistle to Philemon (Sch. Ph. 508–Sch. Ph. 511).

The manuscripts preserve only three very brief Photian scholia on 1–2 Timothy. Of these, Sch. Ph. 508, Sch. Ph. 509 are preserved by GA 1905, GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 1907

and GA 9; Sch. Ph. 509 is also in GA 1916. The most extended Sch. Ph. 511 is only in GA 1905, GA 1907 and GA 1905. There is only one brief sentence as a scholium on Philemon preserved in both GA 91 according to Staab (1933, p. 637); although in extending my research to all the manuscripts I found the same scholium also in GA 1905, which I consider another proof of the relationship between those two manuscripts. Additionally, I found an anonymous scholium commenting on 1 Tim 5, 24 in GA 1905, f. 191v. At first sight, this scholium looks exactly like the other *Scholia Photiana*; it is anonymous and written in the right margin as a late addition to the catena. Because of these features it could have been easily taken for a Photian scholium. However, the first line of the scholium, which is written in capital letters similar to the biblical lemmata before the exegetical part, is nothing else than the name of Αναστασίου τοῦ Σινᾶ ὄρους, Anastasius Sinaita (sixth–seventh century).⁷⁷ The scholium must have been copied in GA 1905 together with the *Scholia Photiana* and possibly from the same source. The same scholium is also preserved in GA 91 (f. 246v) and this may be a further proof of the relationship between GA 91 and GA 1905.

With regard to the style of the scholia, the scholia on 2 Tim and Phm are too brief for an analysis of the Photian features, while the two scholia on 1 Tim (Sch. Ph. 508 and Sch. Ph. 509) are brief but may allow some observations.

⁷⁷ The text is as follows: Αναστασίου τοῦ Σινᾶ ὄρους – τοῦτο περὶ τῶν ἀνοσίων αἰρεσιαρχῶν φησὶ· ἔχουσι γὰρ ἐπακολουθοῦσαν μετὰ θάνατον τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ἤγουν τὴν ὀλέθριον διδαχὴν ἣν κατέλιπον ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ· ἢ γὰρ ἀπώλεια τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν διδαχθεντῶν πρόφασις αὐτοῖς γίνεται αἰωνίου κολάσεως καὶ τιμωρίας.

Sch. Ph. 508. This is a scholium commenting on 1 Tim, 3, 16. There is a clear use of the biblical quotation of Mt 11, 19 and Jo 1, 14, which are common in the exegesis of Photius, although in this case there is a literal citation of the source without 'flattening' (see Sch. Ph. 183).

Sch. Ph. 509. This scholium also shows features of Photian exegetical style. Firstly, the use of οὐ λέγει similarly to the more common οὐκ εἶπεν - although they both can be found in the scholia - in order to highlight the significance of what Paul states, by pointing out what he did not say.

VII A new analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

VII. 1 The *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The last group of scholia to be examined is the collection of *Scholia Photiana* on Hebrews. Most of those scholia are preserved in the manuscripts GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 1907, GA 91, GA 1905, GA 1916 and GA 2183. I report the analysis of the most relevant Photiana scholia as follows.

Sch. Ph. 512. corresponds to comments on Hebr 1, 2–3 and was edited by Staab (1933, pp. 637–8). In all manuscripts this scholium is incomplete: it seems to end with ἀλλὰ abruptly followed by a large white space, which extends to a quarter of the page in GA 1923 and GA 1982. However, GA 2183 preserves the scholium ending with σφαγή, omitting ἀλλὰ and avoiding the sudden interruption of the scholium, which appears to be suspended after ἀλλὰ. The same happens in GA 641 and GA 1916. The scholium does not seem to be preserved in GA 1905. This may raise another question on the version of the scholium in GA 2183 and its possible link with GA 1916 and GA 641. If we look at the other groups of scholia, not all the material in GA 2183 ended up in GA 641 and GA 1916 equally, and it is therefore difficult to determine a strong link between these three manuscripts. *Sch. Ph. 512* is also the most extended text of the collection. With regard to the content, *Sch. Ph. 512* reports a long comment on Hebr 1, 2–3. In particular, the exegete focuses on the meaning of ὃν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων (Heb 1, 2), ‘whom he placed as heir of everything.’ Christ, as ‘heir,’ shares essence, authority, power, but also eternity with the Father. This inheritance does not

happen κατὰ φύσιν, ‘according to nature,’ but χάριτι, ‘for grace.’ This may lead to some misconceptions on the relationship between God and his son/heir, which becomes more confusing when considering the verb ἔθηκεν in the Pauline verse. Readers might question whether the verb ἔθηκεν implies that Christ is inferior to God, as his creature; on the other hand, the negation of the creation of the Son would mean that he has no cause and this could compromise the relationship with the Father. Photius overcomes these issues by asserting the main focus should be on the ἀναφορᾶς καὶ συννεύσεως, the leading up of the Son towards his Father, a concept that becomes clearer in the light of the following ὅς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα, ‘who (the son) is radiance,’ that implies the Son comes from the Father by nature and as well as the Father he is, as God previously described himself, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν (Ex 3, 14).

Sch. Ph. 513; Sch. Ph. 514; Sch. Ph. 515. Three other brief scholia commenting on Heb 1 are ascribed to the Patriarch in the manuscript tradition, which I have named as Sch. Ph. 513, 514 and Sch. Ph. 515. Among them, Sch. Ph. 513 is preserved in GA 2183 as two independent scholia (f. 420v, f. 421r), but all the other manuscripts agree in considering this a single scholium. I have therefore decided to not divide the text in two parts, but to follow the majority of the codices and consider it as a single scholium. With regard to the content, the remarkable link between the Father and the Son is examined in Sch. Ph. 513, where the exegete highlights how the body is also part of the inheritance of the Son; the adverb σήμερον is related to the birth of the Son and has to be intended as a confirmation of the eternal relationship between them. The phrase ἡ προσληφθεῖσα σὰρξ appears mainly in authors of the third to the fifth

century, such as Athanasius of Alexandria, *Orationes Tres contra Arianos* (MPG 26). The phrase of Athanasius is also documented in *Catena in epistulam ad Hebraeos*, a *Nicetas-typus* preserved in Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 239 (Cramer, 1843, p. 339). As already mentioned (c. I.2, pp. 9–10) the *Nicetas-typus* is one of the three types of catenae Staab identified by the name of its author and preserves a commentary on Hebrews. Additionally, the same phrase is also in Photius, *Bibliotheca* (cod. 230), where the Patriarch explicitly quotes Gregory of Nazianzus, *Apologetica*, Καὶ ὁ θεολόγος δὲ Γρηγόριος ἐν τῷ ἀπολογητικῷ φησι· “Τοῦτο ἢ κενωθεῖσα θεότης, τοῦτο ἢ προσληφθεῖσα σάρξ, τοῦτο ἢ καινὴ μίξις [...]” (ed. Henry, 1959, 276b, l. 6). Therefore, it is reasonable to think he knew the phrase through the *Apologetica* rather than Athanasius in a catena.

Sch. Ph. 516; Sch. Ph. 517; Sch. Ph. 518; Sch. Ph. 519. This section includes four scholia commenting on Heb 2 (Staab, 1933, pp. 640–1). In Sch. Ph. 516 Photius clarifies the meaning of the quotation of Ps 8, 5–7 in Heb 2, 6–7:

[...] διεμαρτύρατο δὲ πού τις λέγων· τί ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὅτι μιμνήσκη αὐτοῦ, ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ὅτι ἐπισκέπτη αὐτόν; ἠλάττωσας αὐτόν βραχὺ τι παρ’ ἀγγέλους, δόξη καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν (NA28).

There is a need here to clarify the misconception generated by the reading of Ps 8, 5–7, where Christ is defined as inferior to the angels, but also superior to every other creature. Paul himself clarifies the passage justifying Christ’s condition before the angels as due to his glory, suffering and death. In this context, the Photian explanation acts as a meta-exegesis by simplifying and making more accessible Paul’s explanation. Sch. Ph. 518 focuses on the meaning of δουλεία as ‘slavery to death.’ In particular,

Photius quotes Heb 2, 14, ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ Χριστὸς διὰ θανάτου κατήργησε τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τουτ' ἔστι τὸν διάβολον, τὸν εὐρετὴν καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας, εἰκότως ἀσθενῆς γίνεται ἡ ἁμαρτία [...] (Staab, 1933, p. 640, ll. 14–17).

This specific biblical passage was very popular among Byzantine exegetes, but as an analogy to Christ who defeated death and sin is documented firstly in Origen, whose scholium is preserved in a catena on Romans: οὕτως οὖν καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκεν τῇ δουλείᾳ, ἵνα μηδεὶς θανάτου γένηται τῶν μαθητευομένων αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ δούλος· οὗτος γὰρ ὡς φησὶν ἡ γραφὴ κατήργησε τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τουτ' ἔστι τὸν διάβολον καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. (Ramsbotham, 1912, sec. 30, l. 34).

In comparing Photius with Origen, it is interesting to observe that the two exegetes adapted the Pauline verse by modifying the verb κατήργησι τὸν (NA28) to read κατήργησε τὸν, although this could be due to the general tendency of the exegetes to adapt the Greek to the syntax in their writing. In Sch. Ph. 519, Photius interprets Heb 2, 18 as a reference to the temptations Christ had to face in order to become stronger and help those who are tempted by the devil.

Sch. Ph. 520; Sch. Ph. 521. These two scholia comment respectively on Heb 3, 2 and Heb 3, 3 (Staab, 1933, p. 640). There is no agreement on the authorship of Sch. Ph. 521 between the only two manuscripts preserving it: the scholium is ascribed to Photius in GA 1907, while it is anonymous in GA 91. Sch. Ph. 520 is brief and refers to the comparison between Christ and Moses; indeed, there is a change of the person in the verb that goes from the first-person singular to the third-person singular, which is a common phenomenon in the *Scholia Photiana*. It is certainly clear that Photius is

speaking from the point of view of Paul and that the sentence οἱ ἀποστασίαν με λέγοντες ἀπὸ Μωυσέως διδάσκειν is intended as a reference to the accusations Paul received in Acts 21, 17–26. According to Photius, the comparison between Christ and Moses would be read as a sort of apology against the accusations Paul faced in the past, even though they are not mentioned in the letter. It is also Photius' opinion that Paul did not remind them of these on purpose, as it would be too painful for him to do so; instead, the Apostle carries on with the comparison between Christ and Moses in the following verse as well and this is the topic of Sch. Ph. 521, where Photius highlights how Paul gently confirms Christ's superiority over Moses. This scholium is also remarkable for the adoption of the imperative 2nd pl. βλέπετε by the exegete, which is frequent in the whole collection of the *Scholia Photiana* on Hebrews. Indeed, the imperative 2nd sg. ὄρα is the form regularly adopted by Photius in the scholia, mainly with the purpose of attracting attention from the audience. The verb βλέπετε is also regularly documented in the catenae of *Typus Vaticanus*, *Monacensis* and *Parisinus* on the New Testament (both Gospels and Epistles), especially in scholia of earlier authors such as Theodore (Cramer, 1844, v. V, p. 172, l. 26; p. 293, l. 16) or Severian (*ibid.*, p. 162, l. 8). Conversely, the imperative ὄρα is documented mostly in a catena on Acts ascribed to Andrew, including scholia ascribed to Chrysostom (Cramer, 1839, p. 39, l. 15, l. 21).

Sch. Ph. 525; Sch. Ph. 526. Sch. Ph. 14 is ascribed to Oecumenius in GA 1923 and it is not preserved by its relative GA 1982. Photian authorship is confirmed in GA 1907 and there is also the case of GA 1905, where Sch. Ph. 525 is among the other eleventh-

century secondary additions, all corresponding to *Scholia Photiana*. Sch. Ph. 526 is anonymous in GA 1923 and GA 1982; this is ascribed to Photius in GA 91 and GA 1907, but there is no specific stylistic feature to confirm the authorship, and the scholium is too brief to be entirely sure it is from Photius. With regard to the content, the focus of both the scholia is on the institution of a third *κατάπαυσις*, 'rest,' which is, according to Paul, a metaphor of faith in God. As Paul explains in Hebr 4, 3–11, God had a rest on the seventh day and this is the origin of the Sabbath; however, not everyone among his people accepted a rest on the sabbath and this became for God a sign of unfaithfulness.

Sch. Ph. 528. GA 2183 (f. 432v) preserves two unpublished scholia. The first one, Sch. Ph. 528, comments on Hebr 4, 17 and is identified by the Photian ligature; the same scholium is also in GA 91 (f. 223r) and GA 1916 (f. 160r), but as anonymous. The texts of the three manuscripts are identical, to confirm that there is the possibility of a relationship between at least GA 91 and GA 2183. An edition of the text and a translation follow below:

Θρονῶ τῆς Χάριτος, φησί· τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλικόν· περὶ οὗ φησι· εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῶν κυριῶν μου· κάθου ἐκ δεξιτερᾶ μου· θρόνος χάριτος ἐστίν, οὐ θρόνος κρίσεως· νῦν διὰ τοῦτο μετὰ παρρησίας ἵνα λάβωμεν ἔλεον καὶ χάριν ἔρωμεν εἰς εὐκαιρον βοήθειαν· καλῶς δὲ εἶπεν εὐκαιρον βοήθειας· ἂν νῦν προσέρχη, φησί, λήψη χάριν καὶ ἔλεος. Εὐκαίρως γὰρ προσέρχη ἂν δὲ τότε προσέλθης, οὐκέτι ἄκαιρος· γὰρ ἡ προσέλευσις, ὅταν γὰρ ἡ συντέλεια, τότε ἐγείρεται εἰς κρίσιν.

(tr.) “ God’s throne,” (Paul) says, meaning the Royal Throne, about which he also says, “My Lord of lords (1 Tm 6, 15): sit down at my right (Ps 110, 1);” this is a throne of grace not of gold. Now, because of that, “With confidence, so that we may receive mercy and find grace in time of need.” He well said, “In time of need;” now he says, if you approached (his throne)⁷⁸ you would receive “grace and mercy.” Indeed, if you approached (his throne) opportunely, then you would proceed troublesome no more. In fact, the petition, whenever the contribution, rises to the judgment.’

Overall, the style sounds Photian, particularly observing the use of phrases such as *περὶ οὗ φησι*, parallelism in structures such as *θρόνος χάριτος ἐστίν, οὐ θρόνος κρίσεως* (l. 2) and expressions such as *καλῶς δὲ εἶπεν* (l. 4), which are recurrent in Photian exegetical style.

Sch. Ph. 529. This is another unpublished text that GA 2183 (ff. 432v–433r) ascribes to Photius. The scholium is also reported as anonymous, but with a sign in GA 1916 (f. 160rv). However, after numerous attempts I have not found the same scholium in GA 91. *Sch. Ph. 529* is a brief exegetical scholium on Heb 5, 1–2, dealing with the exegesis of m. sg. participle *λαμβάνομενος* in Heb 5, 1. The text and a translation follow below:

Εἰ ὁ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων λαμβανόμενος μετριοπαθεῖν τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ πλανωμένοις, πόσω μᾶλλον ὁ μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἶναι καὶ θεὸς ὢν, μετριοπαθήσει καὶ χεῖρα ὀρέξει τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ πλανωμένοις; εἰ οὕτως νοηθεῖ καὶ τὸ λαμβανόμενος ἐτοιμότερον ἐκληφθήσεται ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀφοριζόμενος. Εἰς ὧν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς ἱερέα λαμβανόμενος, φησί.

⁷⁸ Heb 4, 16 προσερχώμεθα (NA28).

(tr.) ‘If that man “who is elect among men (Heb 5, 1) is able to be humble with those who are ignorant and are going astray” (Heb 5, 2), how much more, after having been a man and being a god, will he be humble and give his hand to those “who are ignorant and are going astray”? If the verse is to be intended this way, even “who is elected” will certainly make more sense than ‘who is separated.’ He means that one who is a man among men is elected as a high priest by them.’

Sch. Ph. 529 begins with a quotation combining Heb 5, 1 and Heb 5, 2. This is in line with the procedure of combining different verses, either from the Pauline Epistles, as here, or from other biblical sources, to support his exegesis.

Sch. Ph. 531. This scholium on Hebr 5, 7–9 is ascribed to Photius in the manuscripts GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 91, GA 1907, GA 1905 and GA 2183. From the analysis of this scholium, I noted some linguistic features which appear different from those encountered elsewhere in the *Scholia Photiana*. For instance, in the very first lines of the scholium (Staab, 1933, p. 643, ll. 1–7), a list of questions, very common in Photian exegesis, shows a variation of the common sequence of the adverbs *πρῶτον... δεύτερον... τρίτον*, where *πρῶτον* is replaced by *ἔν* (l. 1). There is also an incongruity in listing three points when the catalogue is introduced by the phrase *δύο ζητεῖται*. My other observations are related to the gen. sg. *συγκατανεύσεως* (l. 17), also documented in John Tzetses, *Argumenta et allegoriae in Homeri Iliadem* (ed. Matranga, 1850, sec. 1, l. 302);⁷⁹ the meaning of this noun is unclear and probably is to be found

⁷⁹For modern version with translation and commentary see also : Goldwyn, J. A and Kokkini, D. (2015), *Allegories of the Iliad, John Tzetze*. Cambridge (MA), London: Harvard University Press (Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library).

in the closest Modern Greek form συγκατάνευση, ‘consent’.⁸⁰ Therefore, the meaning of the sentence, δύο γὰρ ἔφημεν αἰτήσεις, τὴν μὲν παραιτήσεως τοῦ θανάτου, τὴν δὲ συγκατανεύσεως ὅπερ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς πολλῆς εὐλαβείας [...] could be, ‘Indeed, we made two requests: the request of rejection of the death and the request of his consent, that was of much piety, in truth [...].’

Moreover, for the first time in the *Scholia Photiana*, the author uses the phrase, ἀλλ’ οὕτως μὲν κατ’ ἐμὴν γνώμην (ll. 35–36). This phrase is frequently attested in both Classical and Byzantine authors; however, this is the first time that Photius uses it to state his own opinion explicitly in the *Scholia Photiana*, since the exegete normally uses the verb οἶμαι to introduce his own interpretation. Could that suggest someone commenting on the received tradition? Unfortunately, the exegete does not provide any other evidence that he is doing so within the context of Sch. Ph. 531, where we read [...] ἀναστήσας οὖν αὐτόν, ἐρρύσατο αὐτόν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ διέσωσεν. ἀλλ’ οὕτως μὲν κατ’ ἐμὴν γνώμην ταῦτα (Staab, 1933, p. 643, l. 35). Photius expresses his point of view again at the second part of the scholium where he states ἐμοὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ δευτέρας ἔννοια συμβάνειν δοκεῖ. He also uses the phrase ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ in Sch. Ph. 348, commenting on 2 Cor 7, 14 (Staab, 1933, p. 594, l. 20), but this is another variation of the more common οἶμαι.

⁸⁰ Anon. 1998, ‘συγκατανέμω,’ *The Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek (Λεξικό της κοινῆς Νεοελληνικῆς)*.

Overall, Sch. Ph. 531 is the longest of the group of *Scholia Photiana* on Hebrews, but it is also a good example of the exegesis of a complex verse, Hebr 5, 7, realised through the use of sections/paragraphs denoting a clear and precise organisation of thoughts that it is not possible to observe in briefer scholia. The exegetical focus deals with a few issues of interpretation in Heb 5, 7–8, Ὅς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ δεήσεις τε καὶ ἰκετηρίας πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενον σῶζειν αὐτὸν ἐκ θανάτου μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρῶων προσενέγκας καὶ εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας, 8 καίπερ ὢν υἱός, ἔμαθεν ἀφ’ ὧν ἔπαθεν τὴν ὑπακοήν [...] (NA 28). Photius arranges his exegesis around three main questions: firstly, why did Paul use the verb εἰσακουσθεὶς, ‘having been heard,’ since Christ was actually crucified and died; secondly, what does ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας, ‘by what he feared’ mean exactly; thirdly, does καίπερ ὢν υἱός, ‘though he was son,’ belong to the text before or after it? The exegete elaborates three long answers in three different paragraphs, often supporting his interpretation with other biblical passages, as he usually does when he finds verses particularly challenging in Paul’s writings. Photius also discusses the verb εἰσακουσθεὶς, ‘he was heard,’ referring to the crying and petitions of Christ to God. In order to clarify the meaning of this verb, the exegete quotes Jo 17, 1. This is another example of the use of a different biblical quotation to explain the Pauline verses, which is a technique used throughout the *Scholia Photiana*.

In the third paragraph of the scholium, Photius advises changing the structure of Hebr 5, 7–8 by applying hyperbaton, so to read: Ὅς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ (8) καίπερ ὢν υἱός, ἔμαθεν ἀφ’ ὧν ἔπαθεν τὴν ὑπακοήν [...]. Again, the use

of hyperbaton as a technique to assist exegesis and allow the audience to read and understand Paul immediately, seems to be one of the favourites in Photian exegesis. Then, the interpretation goes on with Photius explaining that Christ was not heard for his supplication, but for his piety, which would also explain the definition *τελειωθεῖς*, ‘made perfect,’ in the following Hebr 5, 9.

In the last section of the scholium, the exegete discusses *καίπερ ὢν υἱός* and the meaning it would acquire by referring to the previous or the following text. For the exegete there would be three options of interpretation belonging to the different syntactical orders. The first is based on hyperbaton, through which the phrase would be moved to the beginning of Hebr 5, 7: *ὅς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, καίπερ ὢν υἱός, δεήσεις τε καὶ ἰκετηρίας [...]*. Therefore, although Christ was the son of God, when he was human he suffered with crying and petitions. It would be also possible to keep *καίπερ ὢν υἱός* in the original position and refer it to the text before: [...] *καὶ εἰσακουσθεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας καίπερ ὢν υἱός [...]*. Even in this last case, the meaning of the sentence would be clear. There is also a third interpretation that is developed from reading *καίπερ ὢν υἱός, ἔμαθεν ἀφ’ ὧν ἔπαθεν τὴν ὑπακοήν [...]*, by keeping the parenthetical element with the following verse, where the noun *ὑπακοή* means ‘the obedience to the father.’ Photius states that he prefers the second interpretation, but also reiterates that whatever the interpretation, *καίπερ ὢν υἱός* would work in any case.

Sch. Ph. 532. The scholium was published by Staab only on the basis of GA 1907 (Staab 1933, p. 644, ll. 26–32), but I found it preserved also in GA 2183 (f. 435rv). The

scholium provides observations on τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον (Heb 6, 2) and the use of the noun ἀρχή, ‘principle,’ that is not to be considered as a synonym of στοιχεῖα, ‘elements of the speech of God.’

Sch. Ph. 533. The scholium is ascribed to Photius in GA 2183, GA 91 and GA 1907, but not in GA 1923, where it is preserved as Oecumenius. However, it also occurs in GA 1905 among the anonymous additions from the *Scholia Photiana*. Although it is a very brief scholium, its contents seem very similar to those of Sch. Ph. 531 and Sch. Ph. 532. As in Sch. Ph. 531, the exegete proposes following another syntactical order of the verses Hebr 6, 1–3, combining them as follows: (1) διὸ ἀφέντες τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερώμεθα, (3) καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν, ἔάνπερ ἐπιτρέπη ὁ θεός. Although the scholium ends with the quotation without any further comment, it is clear so far that every attempt by Photius to combine verses or apply hyperbaton has the purpose of making the Pauline text more easily accessible to the audience.

Sch. Ph. 535. This was edited by Staab on the basis of GA 1907 only, but following analysis of the manuscripts, I found it also in GA 91 with a ligature and in GA 1905, which would be another element casting doubt the relationship between GA 1923 and GA 1905 proposed by Staab. Like Sch. Ph. 534, the scholium comments on Hebr 6, 1, which is probably the reason Staab published them as one text under the same title of Hebr 6, 1–3 (Staab 1933, pp. 644–5). The focus is on the definition of τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον, indicating the teaching of being faithful to God, receiving baptism, believing

in the resurrection and in judgment; all of these are concepts that will be reiterated in the following Sch. Ph. 536.

Sch. Ph. 536. Commenting on Hebr 6, 5, this scholium is preserved in GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 91, GA 1907, GA 1905 and GA 1916, but also in GA 2183, where it is one sentence longer than in the others. The scholium in GA 2183 starts with the line, Ἡ ὅτι τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. τοῦτ' ἐστι τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν, 'Or because of the pledge of the coming world; that is the faith in Christ,' which creates a link with the preceding scholium in the same manuscript.

Sch. Ph. 537; Sch. Ph. 538. I found some imprecision in the information given about the location of the scholium on Hebr 6, 6 (Staab, 1933, p. 464), corresponding to Sch. Ph. 537 in my classification. In fact, the scholium is preserved only in GA 1923 (f.337r) and GA 1982 (f. 307r) and it is not in GA 91 and GA 1907 as Staab indicates. However, there is a second issue that needs to be clarified. In the footnote (n. 12) on the same page, Staab reports another text also commenting on Hebr 6, 6 which is preserved with the ligature of Photius in GA 91 and GA 1907 and under the name of Oecumenius in GA 1923 and GA 1982. It seems that the confusion in Staab, who treats Sch. Ph. 538 as another version of Sch. Ph 537, is due to the fact that in the manuscripts both Sch. Ph. 538 and 539 are introduced by the same lemma τί ἐστιν ἀνασταυροῦντας, but the two scholia are different. Moreover, GA 2183 reports Sch. Ph. 538 with the Photian ligature as well. By looking at the context of both Sch. Ph. 537 and Sch. Ph. 538 it looks also as if the two could be easily considered as complementary scholia, since they do not contradict themselves and perhaps complement each other.

Sch. Ph. 539. This is anonymous in GA 91 (also in GA 1905 and GA 1916), but regularly ascribed to Photius in the other manuscripts. It provides an exegesis of Heb 6, 7, where Paul uses the metaphor of the land that becomes productive through both the rain's action and God's blessing, which the exegete extends not only to the harvested fruit which is also the fruit of salvation, but to God who is a farmer and his son who is the seed.

Sch. Ph. 540. In the introduction to this thesis (*supra*, p. 45 ff), I explained that the text of this scholium on Heb 7, 3 in the edition of Staab (1933, pp. 464–5) had been examined as a proof of Photius' possible use of commentaries in catenae (Antonopoulou, 2006, p. 549). In fact, the scholium was compared to an scholium ascribed to the Nicene father, Eustathius of Antioch (+337). The same scholium of Eustathius, which was part of the *Epistula Alexandri Alexandrini (De Melchisedech)* (CPG 3359), was also found as a scholium in the *Catena in Genesim* (Declerk, 2002). To compare the texts of Eustathius and Photius, I have reproduced below the scholium in the edition of Declerk with the *Scholium Photianum* in the 1933 edition of Staab and indicated in bold characters the similarities between the two texts, as following:

Eustathius (Declerk, 2002, pp. 175–176, Sch.Ph. 540 (Staab, 1933, pp. 646–647): fr. 115 ab, l. 10–25):⁸¹

[...] τὸν Μελχισεδέκ, τῷ μὴ εἶναι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ, μὴ δὲ ὑπὸ Μωϋσέως γενεαλογεῖσθαι πώποτε, εἶναι δὲ Χαναανῖον τὸ γένος καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐπαράτου ἐκείνης σπορᾶς ὀρμᾶσθαι. Δικαίου δὲ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀποφαν[θ]έντος καὶ οὐκ ἐκ προγόνων ὀρμωμένου δικαίων, καὶ εἰς τὸ τοῦ Χαναὰν γένος ἀνάγειν τὸν εἰς ἄκρον δικαιοσύνης νεύοντα· οὐδὲ γὰρ πρεπωδέστατον ἦν τὸν τῆς ἄκρας διακιοσύνης ἐπιλημμένον συμπλέκειν τῷ τῆς ἄκρας ἀδικίας ἐπιλαβομένῳ γένει. Διὸ ἀπάτορα καὶ ἀμήτορα φησὶν εἶναι, οὐκ ἀξιους τοὺς προγόνους ἡγού[ρ. 176, l. 20]μενος τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ δικαίου καὶ σώφρονος ἀνδρός.

Ὅτι δὲ Χαναανῖος τὸ γένος δείκνυται ὁ Μελχισεδέκ. ἔστι δὴπου τεκμήρασθαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκαίων ὧν ἐκράτει καὶ ἐβασίλευε κλιμάτων, καὶ οἷς ἐπλησίαζεν. Ἀστυγείτων μὲν γὰρ ἦν Σοδόμων, πλησιέστερος δὲ τῷ Ἀβραάμ, οἰκοῦντι πρὸς τῇ δρυϊ τῇ Μαμβρῇ. Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Σαλήμ ἐκείνης ἐτύγχανε βασιλεύς· ἡ πολυθρόλητος Ἱερουσαλήμ αὕτη.

Μελχισεδέκ λέγει τῷ μὴ εἶναι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ μηδὲ ὑπὸ Μωϋσέως γενεαλογεῖσθαι, εἶναι δὲ Χαναανῖον τὸ γένος καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐπαράτου ἐκείνης σπορᾶς ὀρμᾶσθαι, δικαίου δὲ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀποφανθέντος, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ προγόνων ὀρμωμένου δικαίων

οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τινος δικαίας σπορᾶς, οὐ θέμις ἦν γενεαλογεῖν [ρ. 647] τὸν εἰς ἄκρον δικαιοσύνης οὐδ' ἀπὸ τινος δικαίας σπορᾶς, οὐ θέμις ἦν γενεαλογεῖν νεύοντα

ὅτι δὲ Χαναανῖος ἦν τὸ γένος ὁ Μελχισεδέκ δείκνυται, καὶ ἔστι δὴπου τεκμήρασθαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκαίων ὧν ἐκράτει καὶ ἐβασίλευε κλιμάτων, καὶ οἷς ἐπλησίαζεν· γείτων μὲν γὰρ ἦν Σοδόμων, πλησιαίτερος δὲ τῷ Ἀβραάμ οἰκοῦντι πρὸς τῇ δρυϊ τῇ Μαμβρῇ (Gen 14, 13). οἶεσθαι δὲ χρῆ ὅτι καὶ Σαλήμ ἐκείνης ἐτύγχανε βασιλεύς, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἱερουσαλήμ.

⁸¹ The text of Eustathius is published as fr. 115ab by Declerk in his edition of 2002. However, this is not the only fragment ascribed to Eustathius in the *Catena in Genesim*. Declerk published other two scholia from the *Catena in Genesim* as fr. 114 and fr, 1116, 121 and 122 and other two scholia belonging to the *Collectio Coisliniana in Genesim* that converged in the *Catena in Genesim* (*supra*, fn. 42), fr. 63a and 64c (Declerk, 2002, p. 277, p. 283). According to Declerk, fr. 114, 115 and 116 belong to the same work which he identified as Eustathius, *Epistula Alexandri Alexandrini (De Melchisedech)* (CPG 3359).

The evident similarities between Eustathius and Sch. Ph. 540 consist of two verbatim quotations, one in the initial part of the scholium and the second in the final part, which are the longest so far in the collection of the *Scholia Photiana*. The central parts of the two scholia does not seem to report anything in common. My investigation of the manuscripts preserving Sch. Ph. 540 – GA 91 (f. 227r), GA 1907 (f. 168v), GA 1905 (f. 226r), GA 2183 (f. 441v) shows that the text of Photius is the same as edited by Staab. Nothing emerged from the information in Declerk’s edition (2002, pp. 174) with specific regard to the central part of fr. 115ab. It therefore seems possible to me to confirm that the exegete of the Sch. Ph. 540 is quoting Eustathius verbatim and that this is the second, more extended, verbatim quotation of another work in the *Scholia Photiana*. To summarise the results of the general analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* on the whole Pauline Epistles, the few examples of verbatim quotations I identified in the whole collection of *Scholia Photiana* are as follows:

- Sch. Ph. 1b (Rm, 1, 1), quoting Photius, *Amphilochia*, Q 136 (PG 101, col. 749)
- Sch. Ph. 5 (Rm 1, 3–5), quoting Photius, *Amphilochia*, Q. 136 (PG 101, col 752) and Q. 283 (PG 101, col. 1113).
- Sch. Ph. 12 (Rm 1, 13), quoting Photius, *Amphilochia* Q. 91 (PG 101, col. 572);
- Sch. Ph. 104 (Rm 8, 23) quoting Oecumenius, *Rm 8, 23* (Staab, 1933, p. 428, l. 4).
- Sch. Ph. 164 (Rm 13, 12) quoting anonymous in catena (ed. Cramer, 184, v. V, p. 287), but also Chrysostom, *In Johannem* (PG 59, col. 309);
- Sch. Ph. 228 (1 Cor 7, 18) Epiphanius, *De mensuribus et ponderibus* (PG 43, col. 264);

- Sch. Ph. 259 (1 Cor 11, 7–10) quoting Photius, *Amphilochia*, Q. 108 (PG 101, col. 644);
- Sch. Ph. 335 (2 Cor 4, 4) quoting Cyril, *Contra Iulianum Imperatorem* (ed. Buruguière and Évieux, 1985, c.2, l. 4 ff);
- Sch. Ph. 393 (Gal 2, 3–5) quoting John of Damascus, *Commentarii in Epistulas Pauli* (PG 95, col 784, l. 36);
- Sch. Ph. 399 quoting Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Gal. comm.* (PG 61, col. 655);
- Sch. Ph. 470 (Phil 3, 5) quoting Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Philippenses* (PG 62, col. 258).

A possible way Photius would have had access to the work of Eustathius was through commentaries in the form of catenae, which is one of the hypotheses about the genesis of the *Scholia Photiana*. This hypothesis was also advanced by Antonopoulou in her article of 2006, as mentioned in the Introduction (pp. 46–48). Indeed, Sch. Ph. 540 shows two rather extended verbatim quotations, which are not simply faint reminiscences of Eustathius. Although, these are certainly important examples of quotations of another Father, the other quotations that I have summarised in the lists above are too brief to suppose a strong contribution of the other Fathers' exegesis, or even the *Amphilochia*, to the *Scholia Photiana*. Therefore, I am still inclined to consider the scholia in the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius as the results of Photius' own independent interpretation of Paul's writings.

Sch. Ph. 541; Sch. Ph. 542; Sch. Ph. 543. The three scholia of this small section show some problems of authorship in the manuscript tradition. For instance, Sch. Ph. 541 is certainly ascribed to Photius with the ligature in GA 1907, but is anonymous in GA 91 and GA 1905. Both Sch. Ph. 542 and Sch. Ph. 543 are ascribed to Oecumenius in GA 1923. All the other manuscripts ascribe them to Photius and from an analysis of the content and style, they both seem to match other Photian comments. For example, the conjunction διότι at the beginning of Sch. Ph. 542 is well documented in the *Scholia Photiana*, as is the explicative phrase τουτ' ἔστι after the biblical quotation; there is also the reference to the need of a comma for exegetical purposes, ὧν γοῦν τῷ δι' Ἀβραὰμ δεῖ ὑποστίζειν, ἵνα τὸ νοήμα παντελῶς ἀβίαστον γένηται (Staab, 1933, p. 647, ll. 15–17). In brief, Photius suggests adding a comma after δι' Ἀβραὰμ (Heb 7, 9) in order to understand the meaning of the passage more easily. This is not the first time the Patriarch bases his exegesis on a change of punctuation and syntax in Paul. The same also happens in Sch. Ph. 326, commenting on 2 Cor 1, 21–22 (Staab, 1933, p. 587, l. 36) and in a scholium on Mt 9, 5–6 (Reuss, 1957, p. 36, l. 15), where he also says δεῖ ὑποστίζειν. Sch. Ph. 543, the only Photian scholium on Hebr 8, is also ascribed to Oecumenius in GA 1923, but there is an agreement in ascribing it to Photius in all the other manuscripts; although, unlike Sch. Ph 542, it is more challenging to find in this brief scholium some relevant evidence of Photian authorship from a stylistic point of view. Therefore, the only proof to support it is the general agreement among GA 91, GA 1907 and GA 2183 in preserving the scholium as Photius and the fact that it is included in the additional scholia in GA 1905.

Sch. Ph. 544. This is the first case in the analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* that GA 1905 preserves a text divided into two different scholia, where in all the other manuscript the text is not divided. This is also the first and only case in which GA 1915 does not agree with GA 1923, GA 91 and GA 1907 in preserving the same scholium. The divergence happens between ἥτις σκηνῆ and οὐ λέγεται (Staab 1933, p. 648, l. 12). The division is possible because from a syntactical point of view ἥτις σκηνῆ is a relative clause referring to the previous text and οὐ λέγεται introduces the following one. It could also be possible from an editorial point of view to add a pause between the two parts without splitting them completely into two different scholia. However, all the other manuscripts agree the two scholia are part of the same text and treat them as such. As in the case of Sch. Ph. 512, ending in ἀλλὰ..., Sch. Ph. 544 ends with σκηνῆ ἥ... in GA 1923 and GA 1982; while this interruption is avoided in GA 1905 and GA 1907, where the scholium ends with σκηνῆ followed by space. GA 91 (f. 229v) preserves the scholium as anonymous and combines it with another scholium that is ascribed to Oecumenius by manuscripts of the *catena* of *Typus Vaticanus* (Staab, 1933, p. 465, ll. 1–6), GA 1923 and GA 1916. The phrase οὐ ... νομίζω (Staab, 1933, p. 647, l. 24) is very unusual in Photius' exegesis; it refers here to the structure of the tabernacle (Heb 9, 1–4), which, according to the exegete, is a reference to interpret the Old Testament in the light of the New Testament, whose superiority would be confirmed in Paul's writing. Additionally, the reason the exegete would say οὐ ... νομίζω, when he actually provides an exegesis for the passage is not very clear.

Sch. Ph. 546–Sch. Ph. 552. This is a group of brief texts commenting on different passages in Heb 10. However, although the scholia are very brief, some of the Photian features are evident; for example, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, ληπτέον, the use of the article as a pronoun (e.g. Sch. Ph. 552 τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως, τὴν ἀπὸ ..., τὴ ἀπὸ ...) and περὶ + acc., are common in the *Scholia Photiana*.

Sch. Ph. 556–Sch. Ph. 557. Not all the manuscripts agree in keeping these two scholia separate. GA 1923 combines them in one exegetical text, although this is not confirmed by its sister manuscript GA 1982 (f. 323v) because the text is interrupted after αὐτὸν καὶ (Staab, 1933, p. 650, l. 28) and it does not continue on the following f. 324r as would be expected considering the parallelism between GA 1923 and GA 1982. However, a few pages at this point of the manuscript are rather damaged and it may be that some were lost.

Sch. Ph. 561. For the first time in the edition of the *Scholia Photiana*, Staab indicated that the location of this scholium on Heb 12, 25 (Staab, 1933, p. 651) is in GA 1905. There is no explanation provided by the editor about the reason he decided to use this manuscript at this point and not in the other groups before, although I have indicated in the Appendices that the majority of the *Scholia Photiana* is actually preserved in GA 1905. It could be argued that, since Sch. Ph. 561 is ascribed to Photius in GA 1923 but is anonymous in GA 91, Staab used GA 1905 in support of Photian authorship, but this could have also been done in many other cases above and even for the following Sch. Ph. 562 (Heb 13, 10–13 in Staab, 1933, p. 652), which is ascribed to Photius in GA 1923, but is anonymous in GA 91.

VII.2 Conclusion.

Overall, in the analysis of *Scholia Photiana* on Hebrews, I have observed that the number of disagreements between the manuscripts on the authorship of the text is higher than in the other groups of scholia. In particular, I came upon numerous discrepancies between GA 1923 and the other manuscripts. During the whole process of analysis of the *Scholia Photiana* so far, I encountered a high level of agreement between GA 1923 and manuscripts such as GA 1915 (for the scholia on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians), GA 1907 and GA 1905, but in examining the *Scholia Photiana* on Hebrews, I counted five cases in which GA 1923 preserves a potential Photian scholium as Oecumenius and on a couple of occasions the texts are even anonymous. Moreover, I observed some inconsistencies with its related manuscript GA 1982, as in the case of Sch. Ph. 556 (on Heb 11, 19) where the scholium ends on f. 323v but does not continue on the following page, unlike in GA 1923.

Most of the scholia exhibit the same style not only in the lexical choices, but also in terms of attention to syntactical structures (e.g. Sch. Ph. 533, Sch. Ph. 542), which is also a feature of Photius' exegesis. Nevertheless, it is also very clear that some scholia show linguistic devices not in line with Photian exegetical style (e.g. Sch. Ph. 521; Sch. Ph. 531; Sch. Ph. 544). This raises some doubts about the authorship of those specific scholia and puts also under discussion the relevance of Sch. Ph. 540 as the longest and most important example of verbatim quotation in Photian scholia. If Sch. Ph. 540 does belong to Photius, as seems confirmed by the ligature in GA 1907 and GA 2183, it is

certainly the longest verbatim quotation among the very few in the *Scholia Photiana* and would also confirm the use of catenae as a source of the Photian exegesis.

In conclusion, I believe that, among the *Scholia Photiana* on Hebrews, those showing stylistic features different from those observed in the other group of *Scholia Photiana* need further comparison with other authors in catenae in order to find points in common for a possible re-discussion of the authorship. Such examination would probably require a wider look at the *Typus Vaticanus*, *Marcianus* and *Parisinus*.

VIII Conclusion.

This thesis began with the intention of clarifying the arrangement of the exegetical material ascribed to Photius in the 1933 edition of Staab and reaching a better understanding of the genesis of those scholia. A detailed analysis of the same manuscripts Staab used in his 1933 edition (GA 1915, GA 1923, GA 1982, GA 91, GA 1907) as well as of other codices belonging to the catena of Pseudo-Oecumenius which showed the presence of the same scholia (GA 1915, GA 1916, GA 2183) provided an opportunity to find unpublished exegetical material ascribed to Photius that needed to be investigated.

Firstly, I was able to identify each single scholium already published by Staab, who often presents them as part of a larger exegetical context that does not give an accurate portrait of the distribution of the exegetical material in the manuscripts. Secondly, I was able to isolate twenty-five unpublished texts throughout the scholia on the Pauline Epistles, such as Sch. Ph. 1a, 2, 4a, 6a, 43, 45, 59a, 83b, 135b, 204a, 212, 241b, 288, 297, 324, 335, 338, 390, 411, 430, 463, 466, 470, 528 and 529. This confirms that the Photian material in catenae is greater than expected. Finally, I could also identify as *Scholia Photiana* already edited by Cramer, such as Sch. Ph. 52, previously ascribed to Severian (Cramer, 1844, v. IV, p. 29), Sch. Ph 291 (Cramer, 1844, v. V, p. 300) and Sch. Ph. 296 (Cramer, 1844, v. V, p. 308) both published as anonymous. Furthermore, I pointed out a problem with the authorship of the scholium of Oecumenius, *Rm 9, 28* (Staab, 1933, p. 521) and its correspondence to Sch. Ph. 128. All those cases raise further

questions on the reliability of the two old editions, and the need to re-assess manuscripts, such as GA 1909, in future studies.

In regard to the material already published and analysed, I also considered the hypothesis of ascribing to Photius two scholia recently discovered by Theodora Panella and discussed in her doctoral thesis in 2017. In particular, I disagreed with her in ascribing to Photius the brief scholium on Galatians she classified as Comment 252a on the basis of the initial biblical quotation she considers as characteristic of the Photian exegesis. Through the analysis of the *Scholia Photiana*, I demonstrated that the quotations of the biblical verses, which are in minuscule in GA 1923 and GA 1982, but in majuscule in other manuscripts like GA 91, work as additional biblical lemmata introducing the exegetical text, which vary according to the manuscripts. This is a further proof of how dynamic the research on catenae is and that new findings as well as the discussion of previous works are still possible and necessary to understand the complexity of this genre.

Indeed, the analysis of the codices has also revealed new information on the manuscript tradition of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. With regard to the manuscripts I examined, the ones that require particular mention are GA 1905, GA 1923 and GA 91. Following the idea formulated by Staab about the possible relationship between GA 1905 and GA 1923, I confirm that this relationship is only partial and is related more to the catena with numbered scholia than the *Scholia Photiana* (Sch. Ph. 212, 256, 265, 297). GA 1923 preserves the scholia in the body of the catena as unnumbered scholia, demonstrating that the *Scholia Photiana* belong to a

later stage of the development of the catenae, but they were added to GA 1905 as a secondary addition in the margin of the pre-existing 'frame catena'. Despite the initial idea that the *Scholia Photiana* were copied into GA 1905 from GA 1923, in my investigation I found that textual material which was included in GA 1923, including the long, unpublished, Sch. Ph. 212, was not present in GA 1905. Additionally, the analysis of Sch. Ph. 297 demonstrates that not all the scholia in GA 1923 were copied in GA 1905, but already existed in the tenth-century body of the catena of GA 1905, before the marginal additions.

Furthermore, other two scholia, Sch. Ph. 398 and Sch. Ph. 407, are in GA 1905 but not in GA 1923; instead, together with other scholia (Sch. Ph. 95, 96, 137, 184b) they confirm a relationship between GA 1905 and GA 91. Also, Sch. Ph. 95 and Sch. Ph. 96 are combined in GA 1905 and GA 91 as one scholium, while they are separate in GA 1923, another element in favour of the possible relationship between GA 1905 and GA 91, rather than GA 1923.

New findings also confirm the relationship between GA 91 and GA 2183, which is especially significant given that it is not always possible to state clearly where the Photian material begins in the 'alternating catena' in GA 91. From the analysis of Sch. Ph. 320, preserved in GA 91 (f. 146r), I notice that this scholium incorporates a section together with another comment of Oecumenius published by Staab. This would imply that the alternating catena in GA 91 is the result of a collage of texts belonging to different authors but kept as anonymous in order to form an organic continuous commentary. In this continuity, the uncertainty around the precise location of the

Photian ligatures in the manuscript still leave some doubts on what to consider as part of Photius' exegesis. On one occasion, a comparison between GA 91 and GA 2183 helped to clarify the situation: in the analysis of Sch. Ph. 1ab, GA 2183 helped in understanding where the Photian scholium began in GA 91 and in identifying anonymous scholia as Photian in the same manuscript (e.g. Sch. Ph. 2; Sch. Ph. 45; Sch. Ph. 52; Sch. Ph. 83b; Sch. Ph. 390; Sch. Ph. 411). In regards to the *Scholia Photiana* GA 2183 and GA 91 have in common, the *lectiones* in GA 91 turned out to be generally more reliable than the ones in the scholia of GA 2183. However, they do not share always the same material; for instance, Sch. Ph. 59b, Sch. Ph. 338 is preserved by GA 91, but not by GA 2183 and vice versa for Sch. Ph. 135b, Sch. Ph. 296, Sch. Ph. 297; Sch. Ph. 430; Sch. Ph. 463; Sch. Ph. 466; Sch. Ph. 470; Sch. Ph. 528; Sch. Ph. 529. This does not allow us to formulate a hypothesis of a strong relationship between the two manuscripts. Since GA 2183 shows Photian material not documented in other manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus*, I believe it could be the object of further investigation related to other authors in the catena as well.

With regard to the origin of the *Scholia Photiana* and their provenance, I have reported in the Introduction (*supra*, p. 41 ff.) that Hergenröther, having examined the *Scholia Photiana* on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians published by Cramer (1841) and Morellus (1631), concluded that, although a few scholia were similar to the *Amphilochia*, the majority of the material ascribed by Photius in the catena was completely independent of that work (Hergenröther, 1869, p. 79). In my research I

analysed possible relationships between the *Scholia Photiana* on Paul's letters and other works of Photius, mainly the *Amphilochia* and *Homiliae*, but I could only find very few cases in which the exegete quotes briefly the *Amphilochia* in the scholia on Romans and 1 Corinthians: Sch. Ph. 1b, recalling *Quaestio* 136; Sch. Ph. 5 quoting both *Quaestio* 136 and *Quaestio* 283, also mentioned by Hergenröther (1869, p. 79); Sch. Ph. 12 quoting *Quaestio* 91 and Sch. Ph. 259 recalling *Quaestio* 208. Following my analysis, I can now confirm Hergenröther's conclusion that the contribution of the *Amphilochia* to the exegesis of the *Scholia Photiana* on the Pauline Epistles on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians is very limited. I can also confirm that this applies to the *Scholia Photiana* on the other letters, where I found no contribution from the *Amphilochia* or *Homiliae* at all. Therefore Hergenröther's idea of the existence of another Photian work extensively commenting on all the Epistles seems to me to be the most acceptable. Indeed, in the first instance, I also considered the opposite idea that, as for Arethas' scholia (Staab, 1933, p. 653 ff.), the *Scholia Photiana* could have been produced as secondary additions in form of glosses to a pre-existing catena. From the data I have gathered, the exegete of the *Scholia Photiana* tends to comment in detail on almost each verse of the Pauline Epistles. I have reported the sequence of the *Scholia Photiana* in the manuscripts and the verse they refer to in Appendix 1. Therefore, I am inclined to think that such an effort to comment extensively on each Epistle would fit more with the existence of a proper, organic and structured exegetical work rather than occasional additions to a catena. Additionally, I think that there is a clear intent of the exegete to produce his own independent work, with only few reminiscences of other Fathers. In fact, where

I could detect verbatim quotations from other works, these were generally very short with only one extended quotation from Eustathius (Sch. Ph. 540), but this is not enough evidence in a collection counting about 560 scholia to suppose a solid contribution of other Fathers to the exegesis of Photius. Subconscious reminiscences of Chrysostom's *Homiliae* are in Sch. Ph. 6a; Sch. Ph. 44; Sch. Ph. 53; Sch. Ph. 59b; possibly Sch. Ph. 61, Sch. Ph. 64, Sch. Ph. 76; Sch. Ph. 151, Sch. Ph. 203; Sch. Ph. 206; Sch. Ph. 220; Sch. Ph. 391; Sch. Ph. 392; Sch. Ph. 393; Sch. Ph. 395; Sch. Ph. 399; Sch. Ph. 462; Sch. Ph. 4704. However, we know from the *Bibliotheca* (codices 172, 173, 174) that Photius had a particular appreciation for Chrysostom, especially for his style and the language of commentaries, ἐρμηνειῶν, on Paul's writings.

Despite the uncertainty of his role as an active teacher in the Magnaura or in the Patriarchal School (Dvornik, 1951, p. 120; Mango, 1980, pp. 168–169; Lemerle, 1986, p. 189), the importance of Photius in the fight against Iconoclasm of the ninth century is commonly recognised (Dvornik, 1951, p. 125). In this light, Photius' main response to Iconoclasm was the promotion of secular science and the literal reading of the Scripture, reflecting the iconophile appreciation for the concrete and material reality of the historical Christ opposing the allegorical reading of the Scripture (Constas, 1999, p. 108). Considering the role Photius played in support of orthodoxy, the style of the *Scholia Photiana*, mainly based on the literal interpretation of Scripture, seems to fit well with his orthodoxy and is more in line with the exegetical technique of the Antiochene School rather than the allegorical interpretation of Alexandrian tradition.

The interpretation preserved in the collection of *Scholia Photiana* denotes a particular focus on some language features such as exemplification, paraphrasis, repetitions and lists of synonyms, but also the abundance of explanations implying the reorganisation of the sentence and the particular interest that Photius shows for the use of hyperbaton in the Pauline letters (e.g. Sch. Ph. 12 Sch. Ph. 49; Sch. Ph. 73, Sch. Ph. 233; Sch. Ph. 417; Sch. Ph. 433; Sch. Ph. 454), the attention to σχήματα such as hyperbole (e.g. Sch. Ph. 452) and metaphors (e.g. Sch. Ph. 12; Sch. Ph. 45; Sch. Ph. 76; Sch. Ph. 164; Sch. Ph. 211). Additionally, the use of the question-and-answer technique, which is also in the *Amphilochia*, as the pedagogical use of hypothetical questions that may rise from the reading of the Pauline texts followed by the explanation of the exegete, is typical of the *Scholia Photiana* and is documented throughout the groups of almost all the Epistles (e.g. in Sch. Ph. 100; Sch. Ph. 152; Sch. Ph. 193; Sch. Ph. 200; Sch. Ph. 219; Sch. Ph. 364; Sch. Ph. 365); sometimes with the idea of remarking on Paul's irony (e.g. Sch. Ph. 300) or creating a sort of 'surprise effect' combined with the idiomatic expression μή γενοῖτο (e.g. Sch. Ph. 324) or even ναί (e.g. Sch. Ph. 212). There are also several elements lending a preponderantly 'oral effect' to the *Scholia Photiana*. For instance, the presence of both first and third person and often the sudden switching from one person to another (e.g. Sch. Ph. 191; Sch. Ph. 196; Sch. Ph. 212; Sch. Ph. 392 etc.), but also the direct address with the abundant second-person singular imperative (e.g. ὄρα in Sch. Ph. 38; Sch. Ph. 64; Sch. Ph. 102; Sch. Ph. 140; Sch. Ph. 159; Sch. Ph. 184; Sch. Ph. 215; Sch. Ph. 248; Sch. Ph. 269; Sch. Ph. 350; Sch. Ph. 400; Sch. Ph. 498; Sch. Ph. 512) or the second-person plural (e.g. ὁρᾶτε in

Sch. Ph. 474) and even the hortatory subjunctive (e.g. ὁρᾶς in Sch. Ph. 498, Sch. Ph. 414; Sch. Ph. 512). In the light of these features, it seems also possible to recognise in the *Scholia Photiana* the same 'oral quality' that McNamee identified in the *Scholia Sinaitica*, which reflect the pedagogical purpose and immediacy of that collection (McNamee, 1998, p. 274). It seems clear to me that it is in a scholastic environment where the interpretation of the Scripture was mainly literal and Photius was involved as a reformer that the catena need to be located and it is probably there that exegesis preserved in the *Scholia Photiana* developed.

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<http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>

<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>

APPENDIX 1:

Tables 1–10

Codices:⁸²

GA 91: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 219 (eleventh-century).

GA 641: London, British Library, Add. 22734 (eleventh-century).

GA 1905: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Coislin gr. 27 (tenth-century, additions from the eleventh century).

GA 1907: Oxford, Magdalen College 7 (Rm–2 Cor 1, 12) and Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I 30 (2 Cor 1, 13–Heb) (eleventh-century).

GA 1915 : Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 762 (tenth-century).

GA 1916: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 765 (eleventh-century);

GA 1923: Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z 33 (eleventh-century).

GA 1982: Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 541 inf. (eleventh-century).

GA 2183: Hagion Oros, Vatopedi Monastery 239 (1045).

List of symbols and abbreviations:

an. : anonymous

inf. : incomplete

ill. : illegible

+ : combined scholia

⁸² The following Appendix 2 includes the table illustrating the locations of the *Scholia Photiana* in the manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus*, plus GA 1915, which was also included in the edition of 1933 by Karl Staab. The new exegetical material is included in the tables in the blue boxes.

Appendix 1-Table 1

A new classification of the *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Romans

New classification of the <i>Scholia Photiana</i>	Classification in Staab, 1933	Manuscripts in Staab, 1933	Other manuscripts
Sch. Ph. 1a (Rm 1, 1–2)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 69r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 6v–7r); •
Sch. Ph. 1b	Rm 1, 1 (p. 470, ll. 1–5)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 1v); • GA 1923 (f. 3r); • GA 1907 (f. 5r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 6r–7v); • GA 91 (f. 69r).
Sch. Ph. 1c	Rm 1, 1 (p. 470, ll. 5–10)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 1v); • GA 1923 (f. 3r); • GA 1907 (f. 5r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 69r).
Sch. Ph. 2 (Rm 1, 1)		GA 91 (f. 69r) an.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 7r);
Sch. Ph. 3	Rm 1, 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 2r); • GA 1923 (f. 3r). 	
Sch. Ph. 4a (Rm 1, 2)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1907 (f. 5v) 	
Sch. Ph. 4b ⁸³	Rm 1, 3–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 3r); • GA 1907 (f. 5v). 	
Sch. Ph. 5		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 3r); • GA 1923 (f. 3r); • GA 1907 (f. 5v). 	
Sch. Ph. 6a (Rm 1, 5)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1907 (f. 5v). 	
Sch. Ph. 6b Sch. Ph. 7 Sch. Ph. 8 Sch. Ph. 9	Rm 1, 5–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 3v–4r) as a whole scholium. • GA 1923 (f. 3r) Sch. Ph. 6b + 7 as one scholium. • GA 1907 (f. 6r). 	

⁸³ This verse is also ascribed to Photius in GA 1933, f. 7r, where it is located at the beginning of the catena. As I have stated in the introduction, Staab considered GA 1933 related to GA 1923, but not very relevant for his edition.

Sch. Ph. 10	Rm 1, 11–12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 6r); • GA 1923 (f. 4v); • GA 1907 (f. 7r). 	
Sch. Ph. 11		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 6v) an.; • GA 1923 (f. 4v); • GA 1907 (f. 7rv). 	
Sch. Ph. 12	Rm 1, 13–14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 7rv); • GA 1923 (5r); • GA 1907 (7v–8r). 	
Sch. Ph. 13	Rm 1, 16–18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 9r); • GA 1923 (f. 5v); • GA 1907 (f. 8v). 	
Sch. Ph. 14		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 9r–10r) Sch. Ph. 14 + 15 + 16; • GA 1923 (f. 6r); • GA 1907 (f. 8v). 	
Sch. Ph. 15		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 9r–10r); Sch. Ph. 14 + 15 + 16; • GA 1923 (f. 6r); • GA 1907 (f. 8v). 	
Sch. Ph. 16		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 9r–10r); Sch. Ph. 14 + 15 + 16; • GA 1923 (f. 6r); • GA 1907 (f. 9rv). 	
Sch. Ph. 17		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 10v); • GA 1923 (f. 7r); • GA 1907 (f. 9v). 	
Sch. Ph. 18	Rm 1, 19–26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 11r); • GA 1923 (f. 7r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 9v). 	
Sch. Ph. 19		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 11v–12r) Sch. Ph. 19 + 20; • GA 1923 (f. 7r); • GA 1907 (f. 10r). 	
Sch. Ph. 20		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 11v–12r) Sch. Ph. 19 + 20; • GA 1923 (f. 7v); • GA 1907 (f. 10rv). 	
Sch. Ph. 21		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 12r); • GA 1923 (f. 8r); • GA 1907 (f. 10v). 	
Sch. Ph. 22		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 12rv) Sch. Ph. 22 + 23 + 24; • GA 1923 (f. 8r); • GA 1907 (f. 10v). 	

Sch. Ph. 23		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 12rv) Sch. Ph. 22 + 23 + 24; • GA 1923 (f. 8v); • GA 1907 (ff. 10v–11r). 	
Sch. Ph. 24		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 12rv) Sch. Ph. 22 + 23 + 24; • GA 1923 (f. 8v); • GA 1907 (f. 11r). 	
Sch. Ph. 25	Rm 1, 28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 13r); • GA 1923 (f. 8v an.); • GA 1907 (11v). 	
Sch. Ph. 26	Rm 1, 29–32	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 14v); • GA 1923 (f. 10r); • GA 1907 (12r). 	
Sch. Ph. 27	Rm 2, 1–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 14v); • GA 1923 (f. 10v); • GA 91 (f. 72v); • GA 1907 (f. 12r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 12r)
Sch. Ph. 28	Rm 2, 6–8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f.16r); • GA 1923 (f. 11r); • Ga 91 9f. 72v); • GA 1907 (f. 13r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 12v); • GA 1916 (f. 5r) an..
Sch. Ph. 29	Rm 2, 15–16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 18v); • GA 1923 (f. 12rv); • GA 91 (f. 73v); • GA 1907 (f. 14rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 13v–14r)
Sch. Ph. 30	Rm 2, 18–21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 19v); • GA 1923 (f. 13r); • GA 1907 (f. 15r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 14v–15r); • GA 1916 (f. 6r) an..
Sch. Ph. 31	Rm 2, 22–26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 20v); • GA 1923 (f. 13v); • GA 91 (f. 74r); • GA 1907 (f. 15r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 16r).
Sch. Ph. 32		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 21r); • GA 1923 (f. 14r) Sch. Ph. 32+ 33. • GA 91 (f. 74r); • GA 1907 (f.15v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 15v).
Sch. Ph. 33		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 21r); • GA 1923 (f. 14r) Sch. Ph.32 + 33; • GA 91 (f. 74r); • GA 1907 (f.15v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 15v–16r).
Sch. Ph. 34	Rm 2, 27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 22r) Sch. Ph. 34+35; • GA 1923 (f. 14rv); 	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 74v); • GA 1907 (f. 16r). 	
Sch. Ph. 35		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 22r) Sch. Ph. 34 + 35; • GA 1923 (f. 14rv); • GA 91 (f. 74v); • GA 1907 (f. 16r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 16r).
Sch. Ph. 36	Rm 3, 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 23r); • GA 1923 (f. 15r); • GA 91 (f. 75r); • GA 1907 (f. 55r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 17r).
Sch. Ph. 37	Rm 3, 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 24r); • GA 1923 (f. 15rv); • GA 91 (f. 75r); • GA 1907 (f. 55rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 17v).
Sch. Ph. 38	Rm 3, 5–8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 25rv); • GA 1923 (f. 15v); • GA 91 (f. 75rv); • GA 1907 (f. 55v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 12v–18r).
Sch. Ph. 39	Rm 3, 9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 26v); • GA 1923 (f. 16v) Sch. Ph. 39 + 40; • GA 1907 (ff. 55v–56r) Sch. Ph. 40; (f. 56r) Sch. Ph. 41. 	
Sch. Ph. 40		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 26v) • Sch. Ph. 40 + 41; • GA 1923 (f. 16v) Sch. Ph. 39 + 40; • GA 91 (f. 76r) an.; • GA 1907 (ff. 55v–56r) Sch. Ph. 40; (f. 56r) Sch. Ph. 41. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 19r).
Sch. Ph. 41		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 16v); • GA 91 (f. 76r) an. 	
Sch. Ph. 42	Rm 3, 19–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 27v–28r); • GA 1923 (f. 17v); • GA 91 (f. 76v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 56rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 20r).
Sch. Ph. 43 (Rm 3, 20)		GA 91 (f. 76v).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 20r).
Sch. Ph. 44	Rm 3, 21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 28v); • GA 1923 (f. 18r); • GA 91 (f. 76v); • GA 1907 (f. 56v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •
Sch. Ph. 45		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 76v) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 20v).

Sch. Ph. 46	Rm 3, 23–24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 29v); • GA 1923 (f. 18v); • GA 91 (ff. 76v–77r); • GA 1907 (f. 56v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 20v–21r); • GA 1916 (f. 8rv) an..
Sch. Ph. 47	Rm 3, 25–26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 30v); • GA 1923 (f. 28v); • GA 91 (f. 77r); • GA 1907 (f. 56v). 	
Sch. Ph. 48		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 30v); • GA 1923 (f. 29r); • GA 91 (f. 77r); • GA 91 (f. 57r). 	
Sch. Ph. 49	Rm 4, 1–3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 32v–33r); • GA 1923 (f. 20r); • GA 91 (f. 77v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 22v).
Sch. Ph. 50	Rm 4, 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 34v); • GA 1923 (f. 20v) an.; • GA 91 (f. 78r). 	
Sch. Ph. 51	Rm 4, 6–10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 35v) • GA 1923 (f. 21r) • GA 91 (f. 78r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 23rv).
Sch. Ph. 52 (Rm 4, 9–11)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 78v) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f.23v); <p>[Σενηγιανοῦ Cramer, 1844, p. 29].</p>
Sch. Ph. 53	Rm 4, 11–12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 36v); • GA 1923 (f. 21v); • GA 91 (f. 78v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 24r).
Sch. Ph. 54		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 136v); • GA 1923 (f. 121v); • GA 91 (f. 78v); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 24r–24v).
Sch. Ph. 55		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 36v); • GA 1923 (f. 122r); • GA 91 (f. 78v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 24v).
Sch. Ph. 56	Rm 4, 14–16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 37v); • GA 1923 (f. 22v); • GA 91 (f. 79r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 24v–25r).
Sch. Ph. 57	Rm 4, 17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 39r); • GA 1923 (f. 23r); • GA 91 (f. 79v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 25v).
Sch. Ph. 58		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 39r); • GA 1923 (f. 23r); • GA 91 (f. 79v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 25v).
Sch. Ph. 59a	Rm 4, 18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 39v); • GA 1923 (f. 23r). • GA 91 (f. 79v). 	
Sch. Ph 59b		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 79v). 	

Sch. Ph. 60	Rm 4, 24 – 5, 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 41v); • GA 1923 (f. 24r); • GA 91 (f. 80rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 26r).
Sch. Ph. 61		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 41v); • GA 1923 (24r); • GA 91 (80rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 26v).
Sch. Ph. 62		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 41v); • GA 1923 (f. 24v); • GA 91 (f. 80rv). 	
Sch. Ph. 63		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 41v); • GA 1923 (f. 24v); • GA 91 (f. 80rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 27rv); • GA 1916 (f. 11v).
Sch. Ph. 64		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 41v); • GA 1923 (f. 25r). 	
Sch. Ph. 65	Rm, 5, 6–11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA1915 (ff. 43v–44r); • GA 1923 (f. 25v); • GA 91 (ff. 80v–91r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 9ff. 27v–28r).
Sch. Ph. 66	Rm 5, 12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 44v–45r) Sch. Ph. 66 + 67; • GA 1923 (f. 26v). • GA 91 (f. 81r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 28v–29r).
Sch. Ph. 67		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 44v–45r) Sch. Ph. 66 + 67; • GA 1923 (f. 26v); • GA 91 (f. 81v). 	
Sch. Ph. 68	Rm 5, 13–14a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA1915 (f. 49rv) Sch. Ph. 68 + 69; • GA 1923 (f. 27r) an.. • GA 91 (ff. 81v–82r) Sch. Ph. 68 + 69. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 30v–31r) Sch. Ph. 68 + 69 (εἰπῶν...ἡμάρτανον).
Sch. Ph. 69		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA1915 (f. 49rv) Sch. Ph. 68 + 69; • GA 1923 (f. 27v). • GA 91 (ff. 81v–82r) Sch. Ph. 68 + 69. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 30v–31r) Sch. Ph. 68 + 69 (εἰπῶν...ἡμάρτανον)
Sch. Ph. 70		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 49v); • GA 1923 (ff. 27v–28r); • GA 91 (f. 82rv). 	
Sch. Ph. 71	Rm 5, 14b–19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 54v–55r); • GA 1923 (f. 29r); • GA 91 (ff. 82v–83r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 30v–31r).
Sch. Ph. 72	Rm 5, 20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 54v); • GA 1923 (f. 30r); • GA 1982 (f. 2r); • GA 91 (f. 83r) an. 	

Sch. Ph. 73	Rm 5, 21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 55v) as a marginal addition; • GA 1923 (f. 30v) an.; • GA 1982 (f. 2v) an.; • GA 91 (f. 83v) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 32r).
Sch. Ph. 74	Rm 6, 3–4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 57v), • GA 1923 (f. 30v); • GA 1982 (f. 2v); • GA 91 (f. 83v) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 32v); • GA 1916 (f. 12v) an.
Sch. Ph. 75		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 57v); • GA 1923 (f. 30v); • GA 1982 (f. 2v); • GA 91 (f. 83v) an. 	
Sch. Ph. 76	Rm 6, 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 59r); • GA 1923 (f. 31r); • GA 1982 (f. 3r); • GA 91 (f. 84r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 33r).
Sch. Ph. 77	Rm 6, 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 60v); • GA 1923 (f. 31v); • GA 1982 (f. 3v); • GA 91 (f. 84r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 33r).
Sch. Ph. 78		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 60v), an.; • GA 1923 (f. 31v) an.; • GA 1982 (f. 3v) an.; • GA 91 (f. 84r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 33v).
Sch. Ph. 79	Rm 6, 8–9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 32r); • GA 1982 (f. 4r). 	
Sc. Ph. 80		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915v (f. 62r); • GA 1923 (f. 32r) an.; • GA 1982 (f. 4r) an.; • GA 91 (f. 94r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 33v).
Sch. Ph. 81	Rm 6, 12–14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 64v–65r) Sch. Ph. 81 + 82; • GA 1923 (f. 32v); • GA 1982 (f. 4v); • GA 91 9f. 84v); • GA 1907 (f. 62v). 	
Sch. Ph. 82		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 65r); • GA 1923 (f. 32v); • GA 1982 (f. 4v); • GA 91 (f. 84v); • GA 1907 (f. 62v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 34v); • GA 1905 (f. 7r) an.
Sch. Ph. 83a		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 65r); • GA 1923 (f. 33r); • GA 1982 (f. 5r) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 34v); • GA 1905 (f. 7r) an.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 85r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 62v) 	
Sch. Ph. 83b (Rm 6, 14)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 85r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 34v);
Sch. Ph. 84	Rm 6, 16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 65v); • GA 1923 (f. 33r); • GA 1982 (f. 5r); • GA 91(f. 85r); • GA 1907 (f. 62v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 35r); • GA 1905 (f. 7r) an.
Sch. Ph. 85	Rm 6, 18–22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 66v); • GA 1923 (f. 33v); • GA 1982 (f. 5v); • GA 91(f. 85rv); • GA 1907 (ff. 62v–63r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 35rv); • GA 1905 (f. 7v) an.;
Sch. Ph. 86	Rm 6, 23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 68v); • GA 1923 (f. 34v); • GA 91(f. 85v); • GA 1907 (f. 63r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 36r).
Sch. Ph. 87	Rm 7, 1–2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 70r); • GA 1923 (f. 34v); • GA 91 (f. 85v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 63r). 	
Sch. Ph. 88		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 70r); • GA 1923 (f. 34v); • GA 91 (f. 85v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 63r). 	
Sch. Ph. 89	Rm 7, 7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 76r); • GA 1923 (f. 35v); • GA 1982 (f. 6v); • GA 91 (f. 86r); • GA 1907 (f. 63r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 9r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 14v) an.
Sch. Ph. 90	Rm 7, 8–11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 80rv); • GA 1923 (f. 36r); • GA 1982 (f. 7r); • GA 91 (f. 86v); • GA 1907 (f. 63rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 37v–38r); • GA 1905 (f. 9r) an.
Sch. Ph. 91		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 80v); • GA 1923 (f. 36v); • GA 1982 (f. 7v); • GA 91 (f. 86v); • GA 1907 (f. 63v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 38r); • GA 1905 (f. 9v) an.
Sch. Ph. 92	Rm 7, 12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 82r); • GA 1923 (ff. 36v–37r); • GA 1982 (ff. 7v–8r); • GA 91 (ff. 86v–87r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 63v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 38v); • GA 1905 (f. 9v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 15r) an.

Sch. Ph. 93	Rm 7, 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 83v–84r); • GA 1923 (f. 37r); • GA 1982 (f. 8r); • GA 91 (f. 87r); • GA 1907 (f. 64r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1916 (f. 15v) an.; • GA 1905 (f. 9v) an.
Sch. Ph. 94	Rm 7, 14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 85v); • GA 1923 (f. 37v); • GA 1982 (f. 8v); • GA 91 (f. 87r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 64r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 10r) an.
Sch. Ph. 95	Rm 7, 15–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 87rv); • GA 1923 (f. 37v); • GA 1982 (f. 8v); • GA 91 (f. 87rv) Sch. Ph. 95 + 96; • GA 1907 (f. 64rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 39v–40r) Sch. Ph. 95 + 96; • GA 1905 (f. 10r) an., Sch. Ph. 95 + 96.
Sch. Ph. 96		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 87v); • GA 1923 (f. 38r); • GA 1982 (f. 9r); • GA 91 (f. 87rv) Sch. Ph. 95 + 96; • GA 1907 (f. 64v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 39v–40r) Sch. Ph. 95 + 96; • GA 1905 (f. 10r) an., Sch. Ph. 95 + 96.
Sch. Ph. 97a	Rm 7, 21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 92v–93r) Sch. Ph. 97abc • GA 1923 (f. 38v); • GA 1982 (f. 9v); • GA 91 (f. 88r) Sch. Ph. 97abc; • GA 1907 (ff. 64v–65r) Sch. Ph. 97abc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 41r); • GA 1905 (f. 10v) an.
Sch. Ph. 97b		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 92v–93r) Sch. Ph. 97abc. • GA 1923 (f. 38v) Sch. Ph. 97bc an.; • GA 1982 (f. 9v) Sch. Ph. 97bc an.; • GA 91 (f. 88r) Sch. Ph. 97abc; • GA 1907 (ff. 64v–65r) Sch. Ph. 97abc 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 41r); • GA 1905 (f. 10v) an.
Sch. Ph. 97c		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 92v–93r) Sch. Ph. 97abc; • GA 1923 (f. 38v) Sch. Ph. 97bc an. • GA 1982 (f. 9v) Sch. Ph. 97bc an.; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 41rv); • GA 1905 (f. 11v) an.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 91 (f. 88r) Sch. Ph. 97abc. GA 1907 (ff. 64v–65r) Sch. Ph. 97abc. 	
Sch. Ph. 98	Rm 7, 22–23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 94v); GA 1923 (f. 39r) an.; GA 1982 (f. 10r) an.; GA 91 (f. 88v); GA 1907 (f. 65rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 42r); GA 1905 (f. 11v) an.
Sch. Ph. 99	Rm 8, 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 94v) in left margin as addition to Sch. Ph. 98; GA 1923 (f. 40r); GA 1982 (f. 11r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 12r) an.
Sch. Ph. 100	Rm 8, 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 100v); GA 1923 (f. 40v); GA 1982 (f. 11v); GA 91 (f. 89r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 65v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 43r); GA 1905 (f. 12r) an.; GA 1916 (f. 17r) an.
Sch. Ph. 101	Rm 8, 7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 102rv); GA 1923 (f. 41r); GA 1982 (f. 12r); GA 91 (f. 89r); GA 1907 (f. 65v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 641 (f. 117v); GA 2183 (ff. 43v–44r); GA 1905 (f. 12v) an.; GA 1916 (f. 17r) an.
Sch. Ph. 102	Rm 8, 9–10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 103r); GA 1923 (f. 41r); GA 1982 (f. 12r); GA 91 (f. 89v); GA 1907 (ff. 65v–66r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 641 (f. 117v); GA 2183 (ff. 43v–44r); GA 1905 (f. 12v) an.; GA 1916 (f. 17v) an.
Sch. Ph. 103	Rm 8, 15–17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 106v); GA 1923 (f. 42r); GA 1982 (f. 13r); GA 91 (f. 90r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 66r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 45rv); GA 1905 (f. 13v) an.
Sch. Ph. 104	Rm 8, 23–27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 113v); GA 1923 (f. 43v); GA 982 (f. 14v); GA 91 (f. 91r); GA 1907 (f. 66r). 	GA 1905 (f. 14v) an.;
Sch. Ph. 105		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (ff. 113v–114r); GA 1923 (f. 43v); GA 1982 (f. 14v); GA 91 (f. 91r). 	GA 2183 (f. 46v)
Sch. Ph. 106		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 116r) GA 91 (f. 91v) an. – in marg. 	Χρυσωστόμου. GA 1916 (f. 18v) an.

Sch. Ph. 107		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 116r); • GA 1923 (f. 44r); • GA 1982 (f. 15r); • GA 91 (f. 91v) an. – in marg.; • GA 1907 (f. 66v); 	
Sch. Ph. 108		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 116v); • GA 1923 (f. 44r) (ἢ ὅτι...ἐπιποθούντων); • GA 1982 (f. 15r) (ἢ ὅτι...ἐπιποθούντων); • GA 1907 (f. 66v) (ἢ ὅτι...ἀπιποθπύωντων). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 15r) an. (ἢ ὅτι...ἐπιποθούντων)
Sch. Ph. 109	Rm 8, 28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 117v); • GA 1923 (f. 44v); • GA 1982 (f. 15r); • GA 1907 (f. 66v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 15r) an.
Sch. Ph. 110	Rm 8, 30–33	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 119rv); • GA 1923 (f. 45r); • GA 1982 (f. 16r); • GA 91 (ff. 91v–92r); • GA 1907 (ff. 66v–67r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 15v) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 48r–49r); • GA 1916 (f. 19rv) an.
Sch. Ph. 111	Rm 8, 34	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 45v); • GA 1982 (f. 16v) an.; • GA 91 (f. 92rv); • GA 1907 (f. 67r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (ff. 15v–16r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 49v).
Sch. Ph. 112	Rm 8, 35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 121v); • GA 1923 (f. 46v); • GA 1982 (f. 17r); • GA 91 (f. 92v); • GA 1907 (f. 67r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 16r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 49v).
Sch. Ph. 113	Rm 9, 1–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 128r–129r) Sch. Ph. 113 + 114 + 115 + 116; • GA 1923 (ff. 46v–47r); • GA 1982 (ff. 17v–18r); • GA 91 (ff. 92v–93r); • GA 1907 (ff. 67r–68r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 16v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 20r) an., inf. • GA 2183 (ff. 50v–52r) Sch. Ph. 113 + 114 + 115 + 116. •
Sch. Ph. 114		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 97r); • GA 1982 (f. 18r); • GA 91 (f. 93r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 68r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 16v) an.;
Sch. Ph. 115		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 97v); • GA 1982 (f. 18r); • GA 1907 (f. 68r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 16v) an.;
Sch. Ph. 116		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 97v); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 16v) an.;

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1982 (f. 18r); • GA 1907 (f. 68r). 	
Sch. Ph. 117	Rm 9, 6–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 130v); • GA 1923 (f. 97v); • GA 1982 (f. 18v); • GA 91 (f. 93v); • GA 1907 (f. 68r) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 16v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 20v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 52r).
Sch. Ph. 118		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 130v); • GA 1923 (f. 97v); • GA 1982 (f. 18v); • GA 91 (f. 93v); • GA 1907 (f. 68r) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 17r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 52v).
Sch. Ph. 119	Rm 9, 11–15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 133v–134r); • GA 1923 (ff. 48v–49r); • GA 1982 (ff. 19v–20r); • GA 91 (f. 94r); • GA 1907 (f. 68rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 17v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 20v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 53rv).
Sch. Ph. 120	Rm 9, 16–21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 142r–143r); • GA 1923 (ff. 49v–50r); • GA 1982 (ff. 20v–21r); • GA 91 (ff. 94v–95r); • GA 1907 (ff. 68v–69v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 18r) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 54r–55r) (up to δέοντα); • GA 1916 (f. 21rv) an. (up to δέοντα).
Sch. Ph. 121	Rm 9, 22–23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 145r) up to τὸ βλάσφημον; • GA 1923 (f. 51v) Sch. Ph. 121 ἢ μᾶλλον + 122; • GA 1982 (f. 21v) Sch. Ph. 121 ἢ μᾶλλον + 122; • GA 91 (f. 95r) inf.; • GA 1907 (f. 69v) Sch. Ph. 121 + 122. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 55v–56r), Sch. Ph. 121 + 122; • GA 1916 (f. 21v) an., Sch. Ph. 121 + 122.
Sch. Ph. 122		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 145r) an.; • GA 1923 (f. 51v) Sch. Ph. 121 ἢ μᾶλλον +122; • GA 1982 (f. 21v) Sch. Ph. 121 ἢ μᾶλλον +122; • GA 91 (f. 95r) up to τὸ βλάσφημον; • GA 1907 (f. 69v) Sch. Ph. 121 + 122; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 55v–56r), Sch. Ph. 121 + 122; • GA 1916 (f. 21v) an., Sch. Ph. 121 + 122.
Sch. Ph. 123		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 145rv); • GA 1923 (f. 51r); • GA 91 (f. 95v) an.; • GA 1907 (ff. 69v–70r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 18v) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 56rv).
Sch. Ph. 124		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 51r); • GA 1907 (f. 70r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 18v) an.

Sch. Ph. 125		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 51r); • GA 91 (f. 95v); • GA 1907 (f. 70r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 18v) an.
Sch. Ph. 126		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 145) an.; • GA 1923 (f. 51r) 126+127; • GA 91 (f. 95v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 70r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 18v) an.
Sch. Ph. 127		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 145v) (lig. εις τον αυτον); • GA 1923 (f. 51r) 126 + 127; • GA 91 (f. 95v); • GA 1907 (f. 70r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 18v) an.
Sch. Ph. 128	Rm 9, 27–28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 146v–147r); • GA 1923 (f. 51v); • GA 91 (ff. 95v–96r); • GA 1907 (f. 70r) an. 	
Sch. Ph. 129		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 147r); • GA 1923 (ff. 51v–52r); • GA 91 (f. 96r); • GA 1907 (f. 70rv) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (ff. 18v–19r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 22r); • GA 2183 (f. 57r).
Sch. Ph. 130	Rm 9, 29–30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 146rv) Sch. Ph. 130 + Sch. Ph. 131; • GA 1923 (f. 52r); • GA 91 (f. 96rv); • GA 1907 (ff. 70v–71r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 19r) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 57v–58r).
Sch. Ph. 131		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 146rv) Sch. Ph. 130 + 131; • GA 1923 (f. 52v); • GA 91 (f. 96v); • GA 1907 (f. 71r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 19r) an.
Sch. Ph. 132	Rm 10, 1–3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 151r) Sch. Ph. 132 + 133 + 134; • GA 1923 (f. 53r); • GA 91 (f. 96v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 71r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 19v) an.
Sch. Ph. 133		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 151r) Sch. Ph. 132 + 133 + 134; • GA 1923 (f. 53r); • GA 91 (f. 96v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 71r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 19v) an.
Sch. Ph. 134		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 151r) Sch. Ph. 132 + 133 + 134; • GA 1923 (f. 53r); • GA 91 (ff. 96v–97r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 19v) an.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1907 (f. 71r). 	
Sch. Ph. 135a	Rm 10, 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 151v); GA 1923 (f. 53r); GA 1907 (f. 71r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 19v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 59rv).
Sch. Ph. 135b			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 59rv).
Sch. Ph. 136	Rm 10, 12–15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 155r); GA 1923 (f. 54r); GA 91 (f. 97r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 71r) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 20v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 60v).
Sch. Ph. 137	Rm 10, 20–21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 157v) GA 1923 (f. 55r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 21r) an.; GA 1933 (f. 21v).
Sch. Ph. 138	Rm 11, 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 160r); GA 1923 (f. 56r); GA 91 (f. 98r); GA 1907 (f. 71rv) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 62r); GA 1916 9f. 24v) an.; GA 1905 (f. 21v) an.;
Sch. Ph. 139		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 160r); GA 1923 (f. 56r); GA 91 (f. 98r); GA 1907 (f. 71v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 62r); GA 1916 (f. 24v) an.; GA 1905 (f. 21v) an.
Sch. Ph. 140	Rm 11, 11–15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 164rv); GA 1923 (f. 57r); GA 91 (f. 98v); GA 1907 (f. 71v–72r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 22r) an. GA 1916 (f. 25r) an. [...σωτηρία. Staab, 1933 p. 525, l.13].
Sch. Ph. 141		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 165r); GA 1923 (f. 57r); GA 91 (f. 99r); GA 1907 (f. 72r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 22v) an.;
Sch. Ph. 142	Rm 11, 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 167r); GA 1923 (f. 58r); GA 91 (f. 99r); GA 1907 (f. 72r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 22v) an.;
Sch. Ph. 143		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 167r) an.; GA 1923 (f. 58r); GA 91 (f. 99r); GA 1907 (f. 72v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 22v) an. GA 1916 (f. 15r) an.
Sch. Ph. 144	Rm 11, 16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 167v); GA 1923 (f. 58r); GA 91 (f. 99r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 72v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 23r) an.
Sch. Ph. 145	Rm 11, 28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 171v) an.; GA 1923 (f. 59v); GA 91 (f. 99r); GA 1907 (ff. 72v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 24r) an.; GA 1916 (f. 26v) an. GA 2183 (f. 66rv).
Sch. Ph. 146	Rm 11, 30–32	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 173r); GA 1923 (f. 60r); GA 91 (f. 100rv) an.; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 24r) an.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1907 (ff. 72v–73r). 	
Sch. Ph. 147		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 173r); • GA 1923 (f. 60v); • GA 91 (f. 100v) Sch. Ph. 147 + 148; • GA 1907 (f. 73r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 23v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 27r) an. • GA 2183 (f. 67v).
Sch. Ph. 148		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 173rv); • GA 1923 (f. 60v); • GA 91 (f. 100v) Sch. Ph. 147 + 148; • GA 1907 (f. 73rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 24v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 27r) an. ἄλλωζ.
Sch. Ph. 149	Rm 12, 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 175v–176r); • GA 1923 (f. 61r); • GA 1982 (f. 24r); • GA 91 (ff. 100v–101r); • GA 1907 (f. 73v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 24v) an.
Sch. Ph. 150	Rm 12, 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 177r); • GA 1923 (f. 61v); • GA 1982 (f. 24v); • GA 91 (f. 101r); • GA 1907 (ff. 73v–74r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 24v) an. • GA 2183 (ff. 68v–69r).
Sch. Ph. 151	Rm 12, 3a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 178r); • GA 1923 (f. 62r); • GA 1982 (f. 28r); • GA 91 (f. 101v); • GA 1907 (f. 74r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 25r) an.
Sch. Ph. 152	Rm 12, 3b	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 178v); • GA 1923 (f. 62r); • GA 1982 (f. 28r); • GA 91 (f. 101v); • GA 1907 (f. 74r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 25r) an.
Sch. Ph. 153	Rm 12, 4–8a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 179v–180r); • GA 1923 (f. 62v); • GA 1982 (f. 28v); • GA 91 (ff. 101v–102r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 74rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 25v) an.; • GA 1916 (ff. 27r–28v) an.
Sch. Ph. 154	Rm 12, 8b	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 181r); • GA 1923 (f. 63r); • GA 1982 (f. 29r); • GA 91 (f. 102r); • GA 1907 (f. 74v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 25v) an. • GA 2183 (f. 71r).
Sch. Ph. 155	Rm 12, 9–10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 181v); • GA 1923 (f. 63r); • GA 1982 (f. 29r); • GA 91 (f. 102r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 25v) an. • GA 2183 (f. 71rv).

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1907 (ff. 74v–75r). 	
Sch. Ph. 156	Rm 12, 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 182v); • GA 1923 (f. 63v); • GA 1982 (f. 29v); • GA 91 (f. 102v); • GA 1907 (f. 75r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 26r) an.
Sch. Ph. 157	Rm 12, 19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 185r); • GA 1923 (f. 64v); • GA 1982 (f. 30v); • GA 91 (f. 103r); • GA 1907 (f. 75r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 26v) an.; • GA 1916 (ff. 28v–29r) an. • GA 2183 (ff. 72v–73r).
Sch. Ph. 158	Rm 12, 20–21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 64v); • GA 1982 (f. 30v) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 26v) an.
Sch. Ph. 159	Rm 13, 1–4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 187r); • GA 1923 (f. 65r); • GA 1982 (f. 31r); • GA 91 (f. 103r); • GA 1907 (f. 75r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 26v) an. • GA 1916 (f. 29r) an. • GA 2183 (f. 73rv).
Sch. Ph. 160		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 187r); • GA 1923 (f. 65v); • GA 1982b (f. 31v); • GA 91 (f. 103v); • GA 1907 (f. 75v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 27r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 29r) an. • GA 2183 (ff. 73v–74r).
Sch. Ph. 161	Rm 13, 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 187v–188r); • GA 1923 (f. 65v); • GA 1982b (f. 31v); • GA 91 (f. 103v); • GA 1907 (f. 75v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 27r) an.
Sch. Ph. 162		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 188r); • GA 1923 (f. 65v); • GA 1982b (f. 31v); • GA 91 (f. 103v); • GA 1907 (f. 75v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 27r) an.
Sch. Ph. 163	Rm 13, 8–10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 189r); • GA 1923 (f. 66r); • GA 1982b (f. 32r); • GA 91 (f. 103v); • GA 1907 (f. 75v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 27v) an.; • GA 2182 (f. 74v).
Sch. Ph. 164	Rm 13, 11–12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 190v); • GA 1923 (f. 66v); • GA 1982 (f. 32v); • GA 91 (f. 103 bis r); • GA 1907 (f. 75v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 27v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 75rv).
Sch. Ph. 165	Rm 13, 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 192r); • GA 1923 (f. 67r); • GA 1982 (f. 33r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 28r) an.; • GA 1916 9f. 30r) an.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 103 <i>bis r</i>); • GA 1907 (f. 76r); 	
Sch. Ph. 166	Rm 14, 1–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 194r); • GA 1923 (ff. 67r); • GA 1982 (f. 33v); • GA 91 (f. 103 <i>bis v</i>); • GA 1907 (f. 76r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 28r) an. • GA 1916 (f. 30v) an. • GA 2183 (ff. 76v–77r).
Sch. Ph. 167		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 195r); • GA 1923 (f. 68r); • GA 1982 (f. 34r); • GA 91 (f. 103 <i>bis v</i>); • GA 1907 (f. 76v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 28v) an.
Sch. Ph. 168	Rm 14, 6–13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 195v–196r); • GA 1923 (ff. 68v–69r); • GA 1982 (ff. 34r–35r); • GA 91 (f. 104rv); • GA 1907 (ff. 76v–77r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 77v–78r).
Sch. Ph. 169	Rm 14, 14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 199v); • GA 1923 (f. 69v); • GA 1982 (f. 35v); • GA 91 (f. 105r); • GA 1907 (f. 77v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 29v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 31v) an.; • GA • 2183 (f. 78v).
Sch. Ph. 170	Rm 14, 16–17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 200v); • GA 1923 (f. 70r); • GA 1982 (f. 36r); • GA 91 (f. 104r); • GA 1907 (f. 77r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 30r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 31v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 80v).
Sch. Ph. 171		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 201r); • GA 1923 (f. 70v); • GA 1982 (f. 36v); • GA 91 (f. 104r); • GA 1907 (f. 77v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 30r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 31v) an. • ἄλλως; • GA 2183 (f. 80v).
Sch. Ph. 172	Rm 14, 18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 70v); • GA 1982 (f. 36v); • GA 1907 (f. 77v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 30v) an.
Sch. Ph. 173	Rm 14, 22–23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 202v); • GA 1923 (f. 71r); • GA 1982 (f. 37r); • GA 91 (f. 105v); • GA 1907 (f. 77v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 81rv).
Sch. Ph. 174	Rm 15, 8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 208rv); • GA 1923 (f. 73v); • GA 1982 (f. 39v); • GA 91 (f. 106v); • GA 1907 (f. 78v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1916 (f. 33r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 8rv).
Sch. Ph. 175		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 208v); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 8v).

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 73v); • GA 1982 (f. 39v); • GA 91 (f. 106v); • GA 1907 (f. 78v). 	
Sch. Ph. 176	Rm 15, 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 209r); • GA 1923 (f. 74v); • GA 1982 (f. 40v); • GA 91 (f. 107v) an. • GA 1907 (f. 79r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 85r).
Sch. Ph. 177	Rm 15, 15–16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 210v); • GA 1923 (f. 75r); • GA 1982 (f. 41r); • GA 91 (f. 107v) an. • GA 1907 (f. 79r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 30v) an.; • GA 641 (f. 126v); • GA 2183 (ff. 85v–86r) Sch. Ph. 177 + 178 (inf.).
Sch. Ph. 178		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 210v); • GA 1923 (f. 75r); • GA 1982 (f. 41r). • GA 91 (f. 107v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 79r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 30v) an.
Sch. Ph. 179	Rm 15, 17–19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 211r); • GA 1923 (f. 75v); • GA 1982 (f. 41r); • GA 91 (f. 108r); • GA 1907 (f. 79rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1916 (f. 34r) an.
Sch. Ph. 180	Rm 15, 32	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 213v); • GA 1923 (f. 77r); • GA 1982 (f. 43r) • GA 91 (f. 108v) an. • GA 1907 (f. 79v) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 86v).
Sch. Ph. 181	Rm 16, 9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 78r); • GA 1982 (f. 43r) 	
Sch. Ph. 182	Rm 16, 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 78v); • GA 1982 (f. 44v); • GA 91 (f. 109r); • GA 1907 (f. 79v). 	
Sch. Ph. 183	Rm 16, 25–27a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 203v–204r); • GA 1923 (ff. 71v–72r); • GA 1982 (f. 37v–38r); • GA 91 (f. 106r); • GA 1907 (ff. 77v–78v). 	
Sch. Ph. 184		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 203v–204r); • GA 1923 (ff. 71v–72r); • GA 1982 (f. 37v–38r); • GA 91 (f. 106r); • GA 1907 (ff. 77v–78v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 32r) an. • [ἤκουσα...ἐνότητά, Staab 1933, p. 543, ll. 31–36].
Sch. Ph. 184b		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 106v) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 32r) an.

		• GA 1907 (f. 78v)	
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Appendix 1-Table 2

A new classification of the *Scholia Photiana* on the First Epistle to the Corinthians

New classification of the <i>Scholia Photiana</i>	Classification in Staab, 1933	Manuscripts in Staab, 1933	Other manuscripts
Sch. Ph. 185	1 Cor 1, 1–3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 219r); • GA 1923 (f. 80v); • GA 1982 (f. 46v); • GA 91 (110r); • GA 1907 (f. 80v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 37r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 37r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 92v).
Sch. Ph. 186		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 195 (f. 219r); • GA 1923 (f. 80v–81r); • GA 1982 (f. 46v–47r); • GA 91 (110r); • GA 1907 (f. 80v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 37r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 92v).
Sch. Ph. 187		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 195 (f. 219r); • GA 1923 (f. 81r); • GA 1982 (f. 47r); • GA 91 (110r); • GA 1907 (f. 80v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 37r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 37r) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 92v–93r) an.
Sch. Ph. 188	1 Cor 1, 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 81r); • GA 1982 (f. 47r); • GA 91 (110v); • GA 1907 (f. 81r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 37v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 37r) an., ending μαρτύριον. • GA 2183 (f. 93r).
Sch. Ph. 189	1 Cor 1, 6–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 220r); • GA 1923 (f. 81r); • GA 1982 (f. 47r); • GA 91 (f. 110v); • GA 1907 (f. 81r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 37v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 37r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 93rv).
Sch. Ph. 190	1 Cor 1, 9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 221v); • GA 1923 (f. 81v); • GA 1982 (f. 47v); • GA 91 (f. 110v) Sch. Ph. 190 + 191; • GA 1907 (f. 81r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 37v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 37r) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 93v–93 bis r). Sch. Ph. 190 + 191 + 192.
Sch. Ph. 191		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 221v); • GA 1923 (f. 81v); • GA 1982 (f. 47v); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 37v) an.; • GA 1916 an.;

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 91 (f. 110v) Sch. Ph. 191 + 191; GA 1907 (f. 81v) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (ff. 93v–93 bis r). Sch. Ph. 190 + 191 + 192.
Sch. Ph. 192		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 221v) GA 1923 (f. 81v) GA 1982 (f. 47v) GA 91 (f. 110v) GA 1907 (f. 81v) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (ff. 93v–93 bis r). Sch. Ph. 190 + 191 + 192.
Sch. Ph. 193	1 Cor 1, 14–17a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 223r); GA 1923 (f. 82v); GA 1982 (48v); GA 91 (f. 111r); GA 1907 (f. 82r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 38r) an.; GA 1916 (f. 38r) an.; GA 2183 (ff. 93 bis v–94r).
Sch. Ph. 194	1 Cor 1, 17b	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 223v); GA 1923 (f. 82v); GA 1982 (f. 48v–49r); GA 91 (f. 111r); GA 1907 (f. 82r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 38v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 94v).
Sch. Ph. 195		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 223v); GA 1923 (f. 83r); GA 1982 (f. 48v–49r); GA 91 (f. 111r); GA 1907 (f. 82r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 38v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 94v).
Sch. Ph. 196	1 Cor 1, 18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 224v); GA 1923 (f. 83r); GA 1982 (f. 49r); GA 91 (f. 111v); GA 1907 (f. 82v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 38v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 94v).
Sch. Ph. 197	1 Cor 1, 25–31	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 228v); GA 1923 (f. 84v); GA 1982 (f. 50v); GA 91 (f. 112r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 83r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 39v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 96r).
Sch. Ph. 198		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 228v); GA 1923 (f. 85r); GA 1982 (f. 51r); GA 91 (f. 112v) an.; GA 1907 (f. 83v); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 40r) an. GA 2183 (f. 97rv).
Sch. Ph. 199		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 229r); GA 1923 (f. 85r); GA 1982 (f. 51r); 	
Sch. Ph. 200	1 Cor 2, 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 229v–230r); GA 1923 (f. 85v); GA 1982 (f. 51v); GA 91 (f. 113r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 98r).

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1907 (f. 84r). 	
Sch. Ph. 201	1 Cor 2, 14–16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 234rv); GA 1923 (f. 87v); GA 1982 (f. 53v); GA 91 (f. 113v–114r); GA 1907 (f. 124r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 42r) an.; GA 1916 (f. 40v) an.; GA 2183 (ff. 100v–101r).
Sch. Ph. 202		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 235r); GA 1923 (f. 88r); GA 1982 (f. 54r); GA 91 (f. 114r). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1907 (f. 124r) not in Staab, 1933. 	
Sch. Ph. 203	1 Cor 3, 4–9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 236rv); GA 1923 (f. 89r); GA 1982 (f. 55r); GA 91 (f. 114v); GA 1907 (f. 124v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f.42v) an.; GA 1916 (f. 41r) an. (... κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον. Staab 1933, p. 549, l. 3); GA 2183 (f. 102rv).
Sch. Ph. 204a (1 Cor 3, 15)	1 Cor 3, 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 90r) Sch. Ph. 204ab. GA 1982 (f. 56r) Sch. Ph. 204ab. 	
Sch. Ph. 204b		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 239rv); GA 1923 (f. 90r) Sch. Ph. 204ab; GA 1982 (f. 56r) Sch. Ph. 204ab; GA 91 (f. 115r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 125r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 43v) an.; GA 1916 (f. 41v) an.; GA 2183 (ff. 103v–104r).
Sch. Ph. 205	1 Cor 3, 19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 241r); GA 1923 (f. 90v); GA 1923 (f. 56v); GA 91 (f. 115v); GA 1907 (f. 125r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 44r) an.; GA 1916 (f. 42r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 104v).
Sch. Ph. 206	1 Cor 3, 20–23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (ff. 241v–242r); GA 1923 (f. 91r) an.; GA 1982 (f. 57r) an.; GA 91 (f. 115v) an.; GA 1907 (f. 125rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 44r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 104v).
Sch. Ph. 207		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 242r); GA 1923 (f. 91r) an.; GA 1982 (f. 57r) an.; GA 91 (f. 115v) an.; GA 1907 (f. 125rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 44r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 105r).
Sch. Ph. 208		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 242r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 44r) an.;

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 91r); GA 1982 (f. 57r); GA 91 (f. 116r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 125rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 105r).
Sch. Ph. 209	1 Cor 4, 1–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 244r); GA 1923 (f. 91v); GA 1982 (f. 57v); GA 91 (116r); GA 1907 (125v–126r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 44v) an., last line ill.; GA 1916 (f. 42r) an.; GA 2183 (ff. 105v–106r).
Sch. Ph. 210	1 Cor 4, 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 246r); GA 1923 (f. 92v); GA 1982 (f. 58v); GA 91 (116v); GA 1907 (126r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 45r) an.; GA 2183 (ff. 106v–107r).
Sch. Ph. 211	1 Cor 4, 8–9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 247v–248r); GA 1923 (f. 93r); GA 1982 (f. 59r); GA 91 (117r); GA 1907 (126rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 45r–45v) an.; GA 2183 (ff. 107v–108r).
Sch. Ph. 212 (1 Cor 4, 13)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 94r); GA 1982 (f.60r) an. 	
Sch. Ph. 213	1 Cor 4, 19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 95r); GA 1982 (f. 61r); GA 91 (117v); GA 1907 (126v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 46r) an.
Sch. Ph. 214	1 Cor 5, 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 250v); GA 1923 (f. 95r); GA 1982 (f. 61r); GA 91 (f. 117v–118r); GA 1907 (f. 126v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 46v) an.; GA 1916 (f. 43v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 110r).
Sch. Ph. 215	1 Cor 5, 6–8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 251rv); GA 1923 (f. 96r); GA 1982 (f. 62r); GA 91 (f. 118rv) an.; GA 1907 (f. 126v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 47r) an.; GA 1916 (f. 44r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 111rv).
Sch. Ph. 216	1 Cor 5, 9–11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 252v–253r); GA 1923 (f. 96v); GA 1982 (f. 62v); GA 91 (f. 118v) ; GA 1907 (f. 127r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 47r)an.; GA 1916 (f. 44r) an.;
Sch. Ph. 217		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 252v–253r); GA 1923 (f. 96v); GA 1982 (f. 62v); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 47r) an.; GA 1916 (f. 44r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 112rv).

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 118v); • GA 1907 (f. 127r). 	
Sch. Ph. 218	1 Cor 6, 1–9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 254r); • GA 1923 (f. 97v); • GA 1982 (f. 63v); • GA 91 (f. 119r); • GA 1907 (f.128r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 113r); • GA 1905 (f. 47v–48r) an. • GA 1916 (f. 45r) (...φιλονεικίας. Staab 1933, p. 555, l. 20). • GA 2183 (f. 114rv).
Sch. Ph. 219		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 255r); • GA 1923 (f. 98r) an.; • GA 1982 (f. 64r) an.; • GA 91 (f. 119v); • GA 1907 (f. 128r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 48r) an.
Sch. Ph. 220	1 Cor 6, 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 257r); • GA 1923 (f. 99r); • GA 1982 (f. 65r) an.; • GA 91 (f. 120r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 128rv) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 48v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 45v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 115v).
Sch. Ph. 221	1 Cor 6, 17–19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 258v); • GA 1923 (f. 99v); • GA 1982 (f. 65v); • GA 91 (f. 120v–121r); • GA 1907 (f. 128v–129r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 49r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 46r) an.
Sch. Ph. 222		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 258v); • GA 1923 (f. 100v); • GA 1982 (f. 66v); • GA 91 (f. 121r); • GA 1907 (f. 128v–129r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 49r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 46r) an.; • GA 2193 (f. 117v) Sch. Ph. 222 + 223.
Sch. Ph. 223		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 258v); • GA 1923 (f. 100v); • GA 1982 (f. 66v); • GA 1907 (f. 129r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 49r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 46r) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 117v–118r) Sch. Ph. 222 + 223.
Sch. Ph. 224	1 Cor 7, 12–14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 265r); • GA 1923 (f. 102v–103r); • GA 1982 (f. 68v–69r); • GA 91 (f. 122r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 129v–130r). 	

Sch. Ph. 225		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 265r); • GA 1923 (f. 102v–103r); • GA 1982 (f. 68v–69r); • GA 91 (f. 122r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1916 (f. 47r) an., (... νομοθεΐσας. Staab 1933, p. 558, l. 7); • GA 2183 (f. 121rv).
Sch. Ph. 226	1 Cor 7, 15–17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 265v); • GA 1923 (f. 103r); • GA 1982 (f. 69r); • GA 91 (f. 122v); • GA 1907 (f. 130r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 51r) an.
Sch. Ph. 227		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 265v–266r); • GA 1923 (f. 103v); • GA 1982 (f. 69v); • GA 91 (f. 122v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 130r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 51r) an.
Sch. Ph. 228	1 Cor 7, 18–19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 266v); • GA 1923 (f. 103v); • GA 1982 (f. 69v); • GA 91 (f. 122v). 	
Sch. Ph. 229		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 266v) • GA 1923 (f. 103v) • GA 1982 (f. 69v) • GA 91 (f. 122v) • GA 1907 (f. 130r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 51v) an. (οὔτε ἡ περιτομή...Staab 1933, p. 559, l. 6; • GA 2183 (f. 122v) (ὠφέλεια...νόμῳ. Staab 1933, p. 559, ll. 7–12).
Sch. Ph. 230	1 Cor 7, 21–22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 268r); • GA 1923 (f. 104r); • GA 1982 (f. 70r); • GA 91 (f. 123r); • GA 1907 (f. 130v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 51v) an.
Sch. Ph. 231	1 Cor 7, 25–28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 269r); • GA 1923 (f. 104v); • GA 1982 (f. 70v); • GA 1907 (f. 130v); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1916 (f. 48r) an.
Sch. Ph. 232		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 269r–270v); • GA 1923 (f. 104v); • GA 1982 (f. 70v); • GA 91 (f. 123r); • GA 1907 (f. 131r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 52r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 48r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 123v) inf.
Sch. Ph. 233		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 269r–270v); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 52r) an.. • GA 1916 (f. 48r) an.;

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 104v); GA 1982 (f. 70v); GA 91 (f. 123r); GA 1907 (f. 131r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (ff. 123v–124r).
Sch. Ph. 234	1 Cor 7, 34	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 105v); GA 1982 (f. 71v). 	
Sch. Ph. 235	1 Cor 7, 36–38	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 271rv); GA 1923 (f. 106r); GA 1982 (f. 72r); GA 91 (f. 124r); GA 1907 (f. 131rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 52v).
Sch. Ph. 236	1 Cor 7, 40	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 272r); GA 1923 (f. 106v); GA 1982 (f. 72v); GA 91 (f. 124r); GA 1907 (f. 131v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 53r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 126r).
Sch. Ph. 237	1 Cor 8, 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 274r); GA 1923 (f. 107r); GA 1982 (f. 73r); GA 91 (f. 124v); GA 1907 (f. 131v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (ff. 126v–127r).
Sch. Ph. 238	1 Cor 9, 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 275v); GA 1923 (f. 108v); GA 1982 (f. 74v); GA 91 (f. 125v) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 55r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 129r).
Sch. Ph. 239	1 Cor 9, 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 277r); GA 1923 (f. 109r); GA 1982 (f. 75r); GA 91 (f. 125v) an.; GA 1907 (f. 131v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (ff. 129v–30r).
Sch. Ph. 240	1 Cor 9, 10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 277v); GA 1923 (f. 109v); GA 1982 (f. 75v); GA 91 (f. 126r); GA 1907 (f. 132r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (ff. 130v–131r).
Sch. Ph. 241a	1 Cor 9, 16–18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 277v); GA 1923 (f. 109v); GA 1982 (f. 75v); GA 91 (f. 126v) an.; GA 1907 (f. 132r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1916 (f. 52r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 132v).
Sch. Ph. 241b		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1907 (f. 132r). 	
Sch. Ph. 242	1 Cor 9, 22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 281r); GA 1923 (f. 112r); GA 1982 (f. 78r); GA 91 (f. 127v); GA 1907 (f. 133r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 57v) an.. GA 2183 (f. 134r).

Sch. Ph. 243		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 281r); • GA 1923 (f. 112r); • GA 1982 (f. 78r); • GA 91 (f. 127v); • GA 1907 (f. 133r). 	
Sch. Ph. 244	1 Cor 10, 2–4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 283v); • GA 1923 (f. 113r); • GA 1982 (f. 79r); • GA 91 (f. 128r); • GA 1907 (f. 133v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 135v); • GA 1916 (f. 58r) an.
Sch. Ph. 245		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 283v); • GA 1923 (f. 113v); • GA 1982 (f. 79v); • GA 91 (f. 128r); • GA 1907 (f.134r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 136rv).
Sch. Ph. 246	1 Cor 10, 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 285rv); • GA 1923 (f. 114v); • GA 1982 (f. 80v); • GA 91 (f. 128v); • GA 1907 (f. 134r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 59v) ligature. • GA 1916 (f. 54r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 137rv).
Sch. Ph. 247	1 Cor 10, 16–17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 286r); • GA 1923 (f. 115r); • GA 1982 (f. 81r); • GA 91 (f. 129r); • GA 1907 (f. 134r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 59v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 138r).
Sch. Ph. 248	1 Cor 10, 19–21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 286v); • GA 1923 (f. 115v); • GA 1982 (f. 81v); • GA 91 (f. 129r); • GA 1907 (f. 134r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 60r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 54v) an.; • Ga 2183 (f. 138v).
Sch. Ph. 249	1 Cor 10, 25–28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 287r); • GA 1923 (f. 116r); • GA 1982 (f. 82r); • GA 91 (f. 129v); • GA 1907 (f. 134r) an. • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 60v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 139r).
Sch. Ph. 250		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 287r–287v); • GA 1923 (f. 116r); • GA 1982 (f. 82r); • GA 91 (f. 129v); • GA 1907 (f. 134rv) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 60v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 139v).
Sch. Ph. 251		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 287v); • GA 1923 (116v); • GA 1982 (82v); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 60v) an.; • GA 1905 (f. 60v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 139v).

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 91 (f. 129v); GA 1907 (f. 134v). 	
Sch. Ph. 252		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 287v); GA 1923 (f. 116v); GA 1982 (f. 82v); GA 91 (f. 129v); GA 1907 (f. 134v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 60v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 140r).
Sch. Ph. 253	1 Cor 10, 30–31	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 288r); GA 1923 (f. 117r); GA 1982 (f. 86r); GA 91 (f. 130r); GA 1907 (f. 134v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 62r) an.; GA 2183 (ff. 140v–141r).
Sch. Ph. 254	1 Cor 10, 33	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 288v); GA 1923 (f. 117r); GA 1982 (f. 83r); GA 91 (f. 130r); GA 1907 (f. 135r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 62r) an.; GA 1916(f. 55r) an.
Sch. Ph. 255	1 Cor 11, 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 290v–291r); GA 1923 (f. 117v); GA 1982 (f. 83v); GA 91 (f. 130v); GA 1907 (f. 135r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 61v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 141v).
Sch. Ph. 256	1 Cor. 11, 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 291v); GA 1923 (f. 118r); GA 1982 (f. 84r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1916 (f. 55v) an.
Sch. Ph. 257	1 Cor 11, 7–10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 292r); GA 1923 (f. 118v); GA 1982 (f. 84v); GA 91 (f. 130v); GA 1907 (f. 135r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 62r) illeg. GA 2183 (f. 142v).
Sch. Ph. 258		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 292r); GA 1923 (f. 118v); GA 1982 (f. 84v); GA 91 (f. 130v–131r); GA 1907 (f. 135rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 62r); GA 2183 (f. 143r).
Sch. Ph. 259		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 292v); GA 1923 (f. 119r); GA 1982 (f. 86r); GA 91 (f. 131r); GA 1907 (f. 135v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 143rv).
Sch. Ph. 260	1 Cor 11, 17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 293v); GA 1923 (f. 120r); GA 1982 (f. 85r); GA 91 (f. 131r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 62v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 144r).

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1907 (f. 135v). 	
Sch. Ph. 261	1 Cor 11, 22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 294rv); GA 1923 (f. 120r); GA 1982 (f. 86r); GA 91 (f. 131r); GA 1907 (f. 136r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 63r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 145r) Sch. Ph. 261 + 262.
Sch. Ph. 262		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 294 v); GA 1923 (f. 120r); GA 1982 (f. 86r); GA 91 (f. 131v); GA 1907 (f. 136r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 63r), illeg., an.. GA 1916 (f. 57r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 145rv) Sch. Ph. 261 + 262.
Sch. Ph. 263	1 Cor 11, 26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 295v); GA 1923 (f. 120v); GA 1982 (f. 86v) an.; GA 91 (f. 132r); GA 1907 (f. 136r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 63v); GA 2183 (f. 145v).
Sch. Ph. 264	1 Cor 11, 27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 296rv); GA 1923 (f. 121r); GA 1982 (f. 87r); GA 91 (f. 132r); GA 1907 (f. 136r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 63v) ligature. GA 2183 (f. 146rv).
Sch. Ph. 265	1 Cor 11, 29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 121r); GA 1982 (f. 87r). 	
Sch. Ph. 266	1 Cor 11, 33	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 296v); GA 1923 (f. 121v); GA 1982 (f. 87v); GA 91 (f. 132v); GA 1907 (f. 136r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 64r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 147r).
Sch. Ph. 267	1 Cor 12, 3–11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 298v–299r); GA 1923 (f. 122v); GA 1982 (f. 88r); GA 91 (f. 132v–133r); GA 1907 (f. 136v–137r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 147r).
Sch. Ph. 268		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 299r); GA 1923 (f. 122v); GA 1982 (f. 88r); GA 91 (f. 133r); GA 1907 (f. 136v–137r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 149r) Sch. Ph. 268 + 269; GA 1905 (f. 64v).
Sch. Ph. 269		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 299r); GA 1923 (f. 123r); GA 1982 (f. 88v); GA 91 (f. 133r) Sch. Ph. 268 + 269; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (ff. 149r–150r) Sch. Ph. 268 + 269; GA 1905 (f. 64v).

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1907 (f. 137r). 	
Sch. Ph. 270	1 Cor 12, 18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 301v); • GA 1923 (f. 124r); • GA 1982 (f. 90r); • GA 91 (f. 134r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 137v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 65v) an.
Sch. Ph. 271	1 Cor 12, 22–25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 303r); • GA 1923 (f. 124v–125r); Sch. Ph 271 + 272. • GA 1982 (f. 90v–91r); 271+272; • GA 91 (f. 134r); • GA 1907 (f. 137v–138r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 66r) an.
Sch. Ph. 272		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 303r); • GA 1923 (f. 124v–125r); Sch. Ph 271 + 272; • GA 1982 (f. 90v–91r) 271+272; • GA 91 (f. 134r); • GA 1907 (f. 138r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 66r) an.
Sch. Ph. 273	1 Cor 12, 31	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 305r); • GA 1923 (f. 126r); • GA 1982 (f. 92r); • GA 91 (f. 135r); • GA 1907 (f. 138r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 67r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 154r).
Sch. Ph. 274	1 Cor 13, 8a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 305r); • GA 1923 (f. 127r); • GA 1982 (f. 93r); • GA 91 (f. 135v); • GA 1907 (f. 138v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 67v) an.
Sch. Ph. 275	1 Cor 13, 8b–9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 308r) Sch. Ph. 275 + 276 + 277 +278; • GA 1923 (f. 127r); Sch. Ph. 275 + 276; • GA 1982 (f. 93v); Sch. Ph. 275 + 276; • GA 91 (136r); • GA 1907 (f. 138v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 68r) ill.
Sch. Ph. 276		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 308r) Sch. Ph. 275 + 276 + 277 +278; • GA 1923 (f. 127r) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 68r) ill.,

		Sch. Ph. 275 + 276; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1982 (f. 93v) Sch. Ph. 275 + 276; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1907 (f. 138v). 	
Sch. Ph. 277		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 308r) Sch. Ph. 275 + 276 + 277 + 278; GA 1923 (f. 127r) Sch. Ph. 277 + 278; GA 1982 (f. 93v) Sch. Ph. 277 + 278; GA 91 (f. 136r); GA 1907 (f. 138v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 68r) ill; GA 2183 (f. 155v).
Sch. Ph. 278		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 308r) Sch. Ph. 275 + 276 + 277 + 278; GA 1923 (f. 127r) Sch. Ph. 277 + 278; GA 1982 (f. 93v) Sch. Ph. 277 + 278; GA 1907 (f. 138v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 68r) ill.
Sch. Ph. 279	1 Cor 13, 12–13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 309r) Sch. Ph. 279 + 280; GA 1923 (f. 128r); GA 1982 (f. 94r); GA 91 (f. 136r); GA 1907 (f. 138v). 	
Sch. Ph. 280		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 309r) Sch. Ph. 279 + 280; GA 1923 (f. 128r) an.; GA 1982 (f. 94r) an.; GA 91 (f. 136r) Sch. Ph. 280 + 281; GA 1907 (f. 138v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 68r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 156v).
Sch. Ph. 281		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 309r); GA 1923 (f. 128r); GA 1892 (f. 94r); GA 91 (f. 136r) Sch. Ph. 280 + 281; GA 1907 (f. 138v). 	GA 1905 (f. 68r) an.
Sch. Ph. 282	1 Cor 14, 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 310r); GA 1923 (f. 128v); GA 1982 (f. 94r); GA 91 (f. 138r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 68v) an.
Sch. Ph. 283	1 Cor 14, 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 311r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 68v) an.;

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 129r); GA 1982 (95r); GA 91 (f. 136v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 158r).
Sch. Ph. 284		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 311r); GA 1923 (f. 129r); GA 1982 (95r); GA 91 (f. 136v) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 69r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 158r).
Sch. Ph. 285	1 Cor 14, 10–11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 312r); GA 1923 (f. 129v); GA 1982 (f. 95r); GA 91 (f. 137r); GA 1907 (f. 139rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 69r) an.. GA 2183 (f. 159r).
Sch. Ph. 286	1 Cor 14, 12–18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 312v); GA 1923 (f. 130r); GA 1982 (f. 96r); GA 91 (f. 137r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 139v–140r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 69r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 159v) (...κατορθωθήσεται. Staab, 1933, p. 576, ll. 4–7).
Sch. Ph. 287		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 312v); GA 1923 (f. 130rv); GA 1982 (f. 96r); GA 91 (f. 137v); GA 1907 (f. 139v–140r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 90r) an.; GA 1916 (f. 61v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 159v) Sch. Ph. 286 (αὐτὸς δὲ ...) + 287.
Sch. Ph. 288 (1 Cor 14, 12)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1907 (f. 140r). 	
Sch. Ph. 289	1 Cor 14, 19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 316); GA 1923 (131r); GA 1982 (f. 97r); GA 91 (f. 138r); GA 1907 (f. 98v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 70r) ill.
Sch. Ph. 290	1 Cor 14, 30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 316r); GA 1923 (133v); GA 1982 (f. 98v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 74r) an.
Sch. Ph. 291 (1 Cor 15, 13) [Cramer, 1844, p. 300, ll. 23–32]			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 167r).
Sch. Ph. 292	1 Cor 15, 24–25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 324v); GA 1923 (136r); GA 1982 (f. 102r); GA 91 (f. 140r); GA 1907 (f. 98v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 74r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 167v) an.

Sch. Ph. 293		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 324v); • GA 1923 (136rv); Sch. Ph. 293 + 294; • GA 1982 (f. 102rv) Sch. Ph. 293 + 294; • GA 91 (f. 140rv); • GA 1907 (f. 98v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 74r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 168r).
Sch. Ph. 294		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 324v); • GA 1923 (136rv) ; • Sch. Ph. 293 + 294; • GA 1982 (f. 102rv) Sch. Ph. 293 + 294; • GA 91 (f. 140rv); • GA 1907 (f. 98v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 74r) an.
Sch. Ph. 295		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 324v); • GA 1923 (136v); • GA 1982 (f. 102v); • GA 91 (f. 140v); • GA 1907 (f. 98v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 74r) an.
Sch. Ph. 296 (1 Cor, 15, 27)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 137r) an.; • GA 1982 (f. 103r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 169r); • GA 1905 (f. 74v) an.
Sch. Ph. 297 (1 Cor 15, 28)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 137r); • GA 1982 (f. 103r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 169r) an.; • GA 1905 (f. 75r) an.
Sch. Ph. 298	1 Cor 15, 28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 327v); • GA 1923 (f. 137r); • GA 1982 (f. 103r); • GA 91 (140v); • GA 1907 (f. 141v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 75r) an. • GA 2183 (f. 169r) an.
Sch. Ph. 299	1 Cor 15, 29– 30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 328r); • GA 1923 (f. 137rv); • GA 1982 (f. 103rv); • GA 91 (141r); • GA 1907 (f. 142r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 76v) an.
Sch. Ph. 300		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 328r); • GA 1923 (f. 137rv); • GA 1982 (f. 103rv); • GA 91 (141r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 142r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 76v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 169r).
Sch. Ph. 301		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 328r); • GA 1923 (f. 137rv); • GA 1982 (f. 103rv); • GA 91 (141r); • GA 1907 (f. 142r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 76v) an.
Sch. Ph. 302	1 Cor 15, 33	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 328v); • GA 1923 (f. 138r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 75v) an.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1982 (f. 104r); • GA 91 (141r); • GA 1907 (f. 142rv). 	
Sch. Ph. 303	1 Cor 15, 36–38	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 330r); • GA 1923 (f. 138v); • GA 1982 (f. 104v); • GA 91 (141v); • GA 1907 (f. 142v). 	
Sch. Ph. 304		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 138v); • GA 1982 (f. 104v); 	
Sch. Ph. 305	1 Cor 15, 42–46	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 332rv); • GA 1923 (f. 139v); • GA 1982 (f. 107v); • GA 91 (142r); • GA 1907 (f. 143r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 76v) an.
Sch. Ph. 306		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 332rv); • GA 1923 (f. 139v); • GA 1982 (f. 107v); • GA 91 (142r); • GA 1907 (f. 143r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 76v) an.
Sch. Ph. 307	1 Cor 15, 47–49	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 332rv); • GA 1923 (f. 139v); • GA 1982 (f. 107v); • GA 91 (142r); • GA 1907 (f. 143r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 77r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 174r).
Sch. Ph. 308		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 332rv); • GA 1923 (f. 139v); • GA 1982 (f. 107v); • GA 91 (142r); • GA 1907 (f. 143r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 77r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 174rv).
Sch. Ph. 309	1 Cor 15, 50	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 334r); • GA 1923 (f. 141r) an.; • GA 1982 (f. 107r) an.; • GA 91 (143r); • GA 1907 (f. 144r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 174v–175r); • GA 2183 (f. 176r).
Sch. Ph. 310	1 Cor 15, 54–57	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 336r); • GA 1923 (f. 142r); • GA 1982 (f. 108r); • GA 91 (143v); • GA 1907 (f. 144rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 78r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 176v).
Sch. Ph. 311		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 336r); • GA 1923 (f. 142r); • GA 1982 (f. 108r); • GA 91 (143v); • GA 1907 (f. 144rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 78r) an.
Sch. Ph. 312	1 Cor 16, 6–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 337r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 78v) an.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 143r); • GA 1982 (f. 109r); • GA 91 (144r) Sch. Ph. 128 an.; • GA 1907 (f. 144rv). 	
Sch. Ph. 313		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 337r); • GA 1923 (f. 143r); • GA 1982 (f. 109r); • GA 91 (144r) Sch. Ph. 128 an.; • GA 1907 (f. 144rv); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 78v) an.

Appendix 1-Table 3

A new classification of the *Scholia Photiana* on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians

New classification of the <i>Scholia Photiana</i>	Classification in Staab, 1933	Manuscripts in Staab, 1933	Other manuscripts
Sch. Ph. 314	2 Cor 1, 5–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f.342r) Sch. Ph. 314 + 315 + 316; GA 1923 (f. 146rv) Sch. Ph. 314 + 315; GA 1982 (112rv) Sch. Ph 314 + 315; GA 91 (f. 145v) inf.; GA 1907 (f. 146r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 81r) an.
Sch. Ph. 315		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f.342r) Sch. Ph. 314 + 315 + 316; GA 1923 (f. 146v) Sch. Ph. 314 + 315; GA 1982 (112rv) Sch. Ph 314 + 315; GA 1907 (f. 146r) 	
Sch. Ph. 316		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f.342rv) Sch. Ph. 314 + 315 + 316; GA 1923 (f. 146v) Sch. Ph. 316 + 317; GA 1982 (f. 112v) Sch. Ph. 316 + 317; GA 91 (f. 145r); GA 1907 (f. 146r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 81r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 183v) Sch. Ph. 316 + 317.
Sch. Ph. 317		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f.342r) an.; GA 1923 (f. 146v) Sch. Ph. 316 + 317; GA 91982 (f. 112v) Sch. Ph. 316 + 317; GA 91 (f. 146r); GA 1907 (f. 146r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 81r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 183v) Sch. Ph. 316 + 317.
Sch. Ph. 318		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 146v); GA 1982 (f.112v); 	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1907 (f. 146r). 	
Sch. Ph. 319		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 146v); GA 1982 (f. 112v); GA 1907 (f. 146r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 81r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 184r).
Sch. Ph. 320	2 Cor 1, 9–12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (ff. 343v); GA 1923 (f. 147r); GA 1982 (f. 113r); GA 91 (f. 146rv); GA 1907 (ff. 146v–147r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 81v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 185r).
Sch. Ph. 321ab		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 344rv); GA 1923 (ff. 147v–148r); GA 1982 (f. 113v); GA 91 (f. 146v); GA 1907 (f. 147v) Sch. Ph. 8a. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 82r); GA 1916 (f. 70r) an. inf.; GA 2183 (f. 185r–186v) Sch. Ph. 321a; (f. 186rv) Sch. Ph. 321b.
Sch. Ph. 322	2 Cor 1, 13–14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 345v); GA 1923 (f. 148v); GA 1982 (f. 114v); GA 91 (f. 147r); GA 1907 (f. 3r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 82r) an.; GA 1916 (f. 70r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 187r).
Sch. Ph. 323	2 Cor 1, 15–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 346v); GA 1923 (f. 148v); GA 1982 (f. 114v); GA 91 (f. 147r); GA 1907 (f. 3r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 82v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 187v).
Sch. Ph. 324 (2 Cor, 15–20)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1907 (f. 3r). 	
Sch. Ph. 325		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (ff. 346v–347r); GA 1923 (f. 149rv); GA 1982 (f. 115rv); GA 91 (f. 147v); GA 1907 (f. 3rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 82v) an.; GA 2183 (ff. 188r–189v).
Sch. Ph. 326	2 Cor 1, 21–22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 349r); GA 1923 (f. 150v); GA 1982 116v); GA 91 (f. 148r); GA 1907 (f. 4r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 83r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 190v).
Sch. Ph. 327	2 Cor 1, 24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 350r); GA 1923 (f. 151r); GA 1982 (f. 117r); GA 91 (f. 148v); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 83v) an. GA 2183 (f. 191r).

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1907 (f. 4rv). 	
Sch. Ph. 328	2 Cor 2, 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 151v); GA 1982 (f. 117v); GA 91 (f. 148) an.; GA 1907 (f. 4v) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 84v) an.; GA 1916 (f. 71v) an.
Sch. Ph. 329	2 Cor 2, 12–13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 353v); GA 1923 (f. 153r); GA 1982 (f. 119r); GA 91 (f. 149v); GA 1907 (f. 5r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 85r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 193v).
Sch. Ph. 330	2 Cor 3, 14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 360v); GA 1923 (f. 156r); GA 1982 (f. 122r); GA 91 (f. 151rv); GA 1907 (f. 6r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 87v) an.; GA 1916 (ff. 73v–74r); GA 2183 (f. 198v).
Sch. Ph. 331	2 Cor 4, 1–2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 362v); GA 1923 (f. 157r); GA 1982 (f. 123r); GA 91 (ff. 151v–152r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 6r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 88r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 200r).
Sch. Ph. 332		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 362v); GA 1923 (f. 157r); GA 1982 (f. 123r); GA 91 (f. 152r); GA 1907 (f. 6v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 88v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 220v).
Sch. Ph. 333 (2 Cor 4, 3–6)			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 200v) <p>[Cramer, 1841, p. 373, ll. 13–23, based on GA 1933].</p>
Sch. Ph. 334 (2 Cor 4, 4)			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (ff. 200v–201r). <p>[Cramer, 1841, p. 373, ll. 24–30; based on GA 1933].</p>
Sch. Ph. 335 (2 Cor 4, 4)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 91 (f. 152r); GA 1907 (f. 6v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 201r).
Sch. Ph. 336	2 Cor 4, 12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 367r); GA 1923 (f. 159r); GA 1982 (f. 125r); GA 91 (f. 153r); GA 1907 (f. 7r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 203r).

Sch. Ph. 337	2 Cor 5, 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923(f. 159v); • GA 1982 (f. 125v); • GA 91 (f. 153r); • GA 1907 (f. 7r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 90v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 75v) an.; • GA 2193 (f. 204r).
Sch. Ph. 338 (2 Cor 5, 8)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 144r). 	
Sch. Ph. 339	2 Cor 5, 11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 161r); • GA 1982 (f. 127r); • GA 1907 (f. 7v); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 92r) an.; • GA 2193 (f. 206r).
Sch. Ph. 340	2 Cor 5, 11–13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 371r); • GA 1923 (161v); • GA 1982 (f. 127v); • GA 91 (f. 154rv); • GA 1907 (f. 8r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 92r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 206v).
Sch. Ph. 341	2 Cor 6, 11–13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 378rv); • GA 1923 (ff. 164v); • GA 1982 (f. 130v) an.; • GA 91 (f. 156r); • GA 1907 (f. 9r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 95r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 78rv) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 211v–212r).
Sch. Ph. 342		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 378v); • GA 1923 (f. 165r); • GA 1982 (f. 131r); • GA 91 (f. 156r); • GA 1907 (f. 9r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 95r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 212r).; • GA 1916 (f. 79r) an.
Sch. Ph. 343	2 Cor 7, 3–4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 381r) Sch. Ph. 343 + 344; • GA 1923 (f. 166v); • GA 1982 (f. 132v); • GA 91 (f. 157r); • GA 1907 (ff. 9v–10r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 96r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 79v) an
Sch. Ph. 344		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 381r) Sch. Ph. 343 + 344; • GA 1923 (f. 166v); • GA 1982 (f. 132v); • GA 91 (f. 157r); • GA 1907 (f. 10r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 96r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 314r).
Sch. Ph. 345	2 Cor 7, 7–9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 382r); • GA 1923 (f. 167v); • GA 91 (f. 157rv); • GA 1907 (f. 10rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 96v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 214r).
Sch. Ph. 346	2 Cor 7, 10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 382v); • GA 1923 (f. 168r); • GA 91 (f. 157v); • GA 1907 (f. 10v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 97r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 216r).

Sch. Ph. 347	2 Cor 7, 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 383v); GA 1923 (f. 169r); GA 1982 (f. 135r); GA 91 (f. 158r); GA 1907 (ff. 10v–11r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 97v) an.; GA 1916 (f. 80v) an.
Sch. Ph. 348	2 Cor 7, 14–15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 384rv); GA 1923 (f. 169r); GA 1982 (f. 135r); GA 91 (f. 158rv); GA 1907 (f. 11r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 98r) an.; GA 1916 (f. 80v) an.
Sch. Ph. 349		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 385r); GA 1923 (f. 169v); GA 1982 (f. 135v); GA 91 (f. 158v); GA 1907 (f. 11rv). 	GA 1916 (f. 81r) an.
Sch. Ph. 350	2 Cor 8, 1–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 385rv); an.; GA 1923 (f. 170r); GA 1982 (f. 136r); GA 91 (ff. 158v–159r); GA 1907 (f. 11v). 	GA 1905 (f. 98r).
Sch. Ph. 351	2 Cor 8, 8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 386v); GA 1923 (f. 171r); GA 1982 (f. 137r); GA 91 (f. 159r); GA 1907 (ff. 11v–12r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 98v) an.; GA 1916 (f. 81v) an.
Sch. Ph. 352	2 Cor 8, 14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 387v) an.; GA 1923 (f. 171v); GA 1982 (f. 137v); GA 91 (f. 159v); GA 1907 (f. 12r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 99r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 221rv) Sch. Ph. 352 + 353ab.
Sch. Ph. 353a		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 91 (f. 159v) Sch. Ph. 353ab. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 221rv) Sch. Ph. 352 + 353ab.
Sch. Ph. 353b		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 388r); GA 1923 (f. 172v); GA 1982 (f. 138v); GA 91 (f. 159v) GA 91 (f. 159v) Sch. Ph. 353ab; GA 1907 (f. 12rv) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 99r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 221r) GA 2183 (f. 221rv) Sch. Ph. 352 + 353ab.
Sch. Ph. 354	2 Cor 8, 18–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 388r); GA 1923 (f. 172v); GA 1982 (f. 138v); GA 91 (f. 160r); GA 1907 (f. 12rv) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 99v) an.; GA 1916 (f. 82v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 222rv).

Sch. Ph. 355	2 Cor 10, 12–13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 395v); • GA 1923 (f. 177v–178r) Sch. Ph. 355 + 356; • GA 1982 (ff. 143v–144r) Sch. Ph. 355 + 356; • GA 91 (f. 162rv); • GA 1907 (f. 13rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 103v) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 228v–229r).
Sch. Ph. 356		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 395v); • GA 1923 (f. 177v–178r) Sch. Ph. 355 + 356; • GA 1982 (ff. 143v–144r) Sch. Ph. 355 + 356; • GA 91 (f. 162v) an.; • GA 1907 (ff. 13v–14r) Sch. Ph. 356 an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (ff. 103v–104r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 230r).
Sch. Ph. 357	2 Cor 11, 4–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 398r) an.; • GA 1923 (f. 179v); • GA 1982 (f. 145v); • GA 91 (f. 163v); • GA 1907 (f. 14r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 105r) an.
Sch. Ph. 358		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 398r) an.; • GA 1923 (f. 179v) Sch. Ph. 358 + 359; • GA 1982 (f. 145v); Sch. Ph. 358 + 359; • GA 91 (f. 163v); • GA 1907 (f. 14r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 105r) an.
Sch. Ph. 359		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 398r) an.; • GA 1923 (f. 179v) Sch. Ph. 358 + 359; • GA 1982 (f. 145v); Sch. Ph. 358 + 359; • GA 91 (f. 163v); • GA 1907 (f. 14r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 105r) an. •
Sch. Ph. 360		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 398r); • GA 1923 (f. 179v) an.; • GA 1982 (f. 145v) an.; • GA 91 (f. 163v); • GA 1907 (f. 14r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 105r) an. •
Sch. Ph. 361		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 398r); • GA 91 (f. 163v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 105r) an.;
Sch. Ph. 362		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 398rv) Sch. Ph. 362 + 363 an., inf. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 105v) an, Sch. Ph. 362 + 363.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 181r); • GA 1982 (f. 146v); • GA 91 (f. 164r) an., Sch. Ph. 362+. 363; • GA 1907 (ff. 14v–15r) Sch. Ph. 362 + 363. 	
Sch. Ph. 363		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 398rv) Sch. Ph. 362 + 363 an., inf. • GA 1923 (f. 181r); • GA 1982 (f. 146v); • GA 91 (f. 164r) an., Sch. Ph. 362+. 363; • GA 1907 (ff. 14v–15r) Sch. Ph. 362 + 363. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 105v) an, Sch. Ph. 362 + 363.
Sch. Ph. 364	2 Cor 11, 11– 12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 399v); • GA 1923 (f. 181r) an.; • GA 1982 (f. 147r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 106v) an.
Sch. Ph. 365	2 Cor 11, 14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 400r); • GA 1923 (f. 181v); • GA 1982 (f. 147v); • GA 91 (f. 164v); • GA 1907 (f. 15r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ga 1905 (f. 106v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 235r).
Sch. Ph. 366	2 Cor 11, 16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 400v); • GA 1923 (f. 182r); • GA 1982 (f. 148r); • GA 91 (ff. 164v–165r); • GA 1907 (f. 15v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 106v); • GA 2183 (f. 235r).
Sch. Ph. 367	2 Cor 11, 23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 401v); • GA 1923 (f. 1983r); • GA 1982 (f. 149r); • GA 91 (f. 165) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 16r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 107v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 236v).
Sch. Ph. 368	2 Cor 11, 25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (ff. 401v– 402r); • GA 1923 (f. 183v); • GA 1982 (f. 149v); • GA 91 (f. 165v); • GA 1907 (f. 16r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 107v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 238rv).
Sch. Ph. 369		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 402r); • GA 1923 (f. 183v); • GA 1982 (f. 149v); • GA 91 (f. 165v); • GA 1907 (f. 16r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 107v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 238v).
Sch. Ph. 370	2 Cor 12, 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 402v); • GA 1923 (f. 184v), 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 108v) an.;

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1982 (f. 150v); GA 91 (f. 166r); GA 1907 (f. 16v) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 239r).
Sch. Ph. 371	2 Cor 12, 2–3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 403v); GA 1923 (f. 185r); GA 1982 (f. 151r); GA 91 (f. 166v) an.; GA 1907 (f. 16v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 108v) an.; GA 1916 (f. 88v) an.
Sch. Ph. 372		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 403v); GA 1923 (f. 185r); GA 1982 (f. 151r); GA 91 (f. 166v) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 108v) an.; GA 1916 (f. 88v) an.
Sch. Ph. 373	2 Cor 12, 6–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 404v); GA 1923 (f. 185v); GA 1982 (f. 151r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 16v) . 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 109r) an.;
Sch. Ph. 374		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 404v) GA 1923 (f. 185v); GA 1982 (f. 151r) an.; GA 91 (f. 166v); GA 1907 (f. 16v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 109r) an.; GA 1916 (f. 89r) an.
Sch. Ph. 375		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 404v); GA 1923 (f. 186r); GA 1982 (f. 152r); GA 1907 (f. 16v) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 109v) an.; GA 1916 (f. 89r) an.
Sch. Ph. 376		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 186r) an.; GA 1982 (f. 152r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 109v) an..
Sch. Ph. 377	2 Cor 12, 11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 405v) in margin; GA 1923 (f. 186v); GA 1982 (f. 152v) GA 91 (f. 167rv); GA 1907 (ff. 16v–17r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f.110r) an.
Sch. Ph. 378		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 405v) GA 1923 (f. 187r); GA 91 (f. 167v); GA 1907 (f. 17v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 110v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 242v).
Sch. Ph. 379	2 Cor 13, 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (f. 408r); GA 1923 (f. 188v); GA 91 (f. 168v); GA 1907 (f. 17v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 112r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 244v).
Sch. Ph. 380	2 Cor 13, 4a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1915 (ff. 408v–409r); GA 1923 (f. 189r); GA 91 (f. 68v); GA 1907 (f. 18r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 112r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 245v) Sch. Ph. 380 + 381.

Sch. Ph. 381		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 409r); • GA 1923 (f. 189r) • GA 91 (f. 68v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 18r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 112r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 91r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 245v) Sch. Ph. 380 + 381.
Sch. Ph. 382	2 Cor 13, 4b	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 409v); • GA 1923 (f. 189v); • GA 91 (f. 168v); • GA 91 (f. 18r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 112r) an.
Sch. Ph. 383		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 409v); • GA 1923 (f. 189v); • GA 91 (ff. 168v–169r); • GA 91 (f. 18r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 112v) an. • GA 1916 (f. 91r) an.;
Sch. Ph. 384	2 Cor 13, 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 410v); • GA 1923 (ff. 189v–190r); • GA 91 (f. 169r); • GA 1907 (f. 18v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 112v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 246rv) inf.
Sch. Ph. 385	2 Cor 13, 7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 410v) an.; • GA 1923 (f. 190r); • GA 91 (f. 169r); • GA 1907 (f. 18v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 112v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 247r).
Sch. Ph. 386	2 Cor 13, 11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1915 (f. 411rv); • GA 1923 (f. 191r); • GA 91 (f. 169v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 18v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 113r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 248r).

Appendix 1-Table 4

A new classification of the *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Galatians

New classification of the <i>Scholia Photiana</i>	Classification in Staab 1933	Manuscripts in Staab 1933	Other manuscripts
Sch. Ph. 387	Gal 1, 16–22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 193v); • GA 91 (f. 171r); • GA 1907 (f. 31r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 641 • GA 1905 (f. 116r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 252r).
Sch. Ph. 388		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 194r); • GA 91 (f. 171v); • GA 1907 (f. 31r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 116r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 252rv).
Sch. Ph. 389		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 194r); • GA 91 (f. 171v); • GA 1907 (f. 31r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 116r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 93r) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 252v–153r).
Sch. Ph. 390 (Gal 1, 24)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 171v) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 253r).
Sch. Ph. 391	Gal 1, 24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 194v); • GA 91 (f. 171v); • GA 1907 (f. 31r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 116v) an.
Sch. Ph. 392	Gal 2, 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 194v); • GA 91 (f. 171v); • GA 1907 (f. 31r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 116v) an.
Sch. Ph. 393	Gal 2, 3–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 195r); • GA 91 (f. 172r); • GA 1907 (f. 31v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 116v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 254r).
Sch. Ph. 394	Gal 2, 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 195v) 	
Sch. Ph. 395	Gal 2, 8–14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 196r); • GA 91 (f. 172v); • GA 1907 (ff. 31v–32r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 117v) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 254v–255r).
Sch. Ph. 396	Gal 3, 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (ff. 198r–199r); • GA 91 (f. 174r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 33r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 119v) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 258v–259r).
Sch. Ph. 397	Gal 3, 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 200r); • GA 91 (f. 174v); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 119v) an.;

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1907 (f. 33r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 260v).
Sch. Ph. 398	Gal 3, 17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 91 (f. 175r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 121r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 260v) an.; GA 1916 (f. 96r).
Sch. Ph. 399	Gal 3, 20–21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 202r); GA 91 (f. 175r); GA 1907 (f. 33v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 121v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 261r).
Sch. Ph. 400		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 202r); GA 91 (f. 175r); GA 1907 (f. 33v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 121v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 261v).
Sch. Ph. 401	Gal 3, 22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 201v); GA 91 (f. 175v) an.; GA 1907 (f. 34r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 121v) an.
Sch. Ph. 402	Gal 4, 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 203r); GA 1982 (f. 169r) GA 91 (f. 175v) an.; GA 1907 (f. 34r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 123r) an.
Sch. Ph. 403	Gal 4, 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 204v) GA 1982 (f. 170r).; GA 91 (f. 176v) an.; GA 1907 (f. 34v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 123v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 265r).
Sch. Ph. 404	Gal 4, 23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 205r) GA 1982 (f. 171r) GA 91 (f. 177rv); GA 1907 (f. 35r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 124v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 266v).
Sch. Ph. 405	Gal 4, 25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 205v) GA 1982 (f. 171v) GA 91 (f. 177v) an.; GA 1907 (f. 35r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 124v) an.
Comm. 210a (Gal 5, 15) [Panella, 2017, p. 109]		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 207r); GA 1982 (f. 173v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1998 (f. 112v).
Sch. Ph. 406	Gal 5, 16–17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 208r); GA 1982 (f. 174r); GA 91 (f. 178v); GA 1907 (f. 35v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 125v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 269v–270r).
Sch. Ph. 407	Gal 5, 24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 91 (f. 179r); GA 1907 (f. 35v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 126r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 270) an.
Sch. Ph. 408	Gal 6, 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 209r); GA 1982 (f. 175r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 126v) an.;

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 179r); • GA 1907 (f. 35v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 271r).
Sch. Ph. 409	Gal 6, 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 209r); • GA 1982 (f. 175r); • GA 91 (f. 179r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 35v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 126v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 271rv).
Sch. Ph. 410	Gal 6, 9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 209v); • GA 1982 (f. 175v); • GA 91 (f. 179v); • GA 1907 (f. 35v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 127r) an.
Sch. Ph. 411 (Gal 6, 12)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 179v) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 272v).
Sch. Ph. 412	Gal 6, 17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 210v); • GA 1982 (f. 176v); • GA 91 (f. 180r); • GA 1907 (f. 36r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 127v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 101r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 273r).

Appendix 1-Table 5

A new classification of the *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Ephesians

New classification of the <i>Scholia Photiana</i>	Classification in Staab, 1933	Manuscripts in Staab, 1933	Other manuscripts
Sch. Ph. 413	Eph 1, 3–13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 211v); • GA 1982 (f. 177v); • GA 91 (f. 180v); • GA 1907 (f. 37r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 128v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 101v) an.
Sch. Ph. 414		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (ff. 211v–212r); • GA 1982 (ff. 177v–178r); • GA 91 (ff. 180v–181r); • GA 1907 (f. 37r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 129r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 277r) Sch. Ph. 414 + 415.
Sch. Ph. 415		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 212r); • GA 1982 (f. 178r); • GA 91 (f. 181v); • GA 1907 (f. 37r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 129r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 277r) Sch. Ph. 414 + 415.
Sch. Ph. 416	Eph 1, 14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 213v); • GA 1982 (f. 179v); • GA 91 (f. 181v); • GA 1907 (f. 51r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1916 9f. 102r0 an.
Sch. Ph. 417	Eph 1, 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 213v); • GA 1982 (f. 179v); • GA 91 (f. 181v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 51r). 	
Sch. Ph. 418	Eph 1, 19–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (ff. 214v–215r); • GA 1982 (ff. 179–180r); • GA 91 (f. 182r); • GA 1907 (f. 51rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 279v–280r).
Sch. Ph. 419		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 215r); • GA 1982 (f. 181r). 	
Sch. Ph. 420		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (ff. 215r); • GA 1982 (f. 181r); • GA 1907 (f. 51v). 	
Sch. Ph. 421	Eph 1, 22–23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 215v); • GA 1982 (f. 181v); • GA 91 (f. 182v) an.; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 130v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 103r);

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1907 (f. 51v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 280v).
Sch. Ph. 422	Eph 2, 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 182v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 51v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 130v) an. • GA 2183 (f. 281r).
Sch. Ph. 423	Eph 2, 2–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 216r); • GA 1982 (f. 182r); • GA 91 (f. 182v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 51v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 131r) an. • GA 2183 (f. 281r).
Sch. Ph. 424		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 216v); • GA 1982 (f. 182v); • GA 91 (f. 183r); • GA 1907 (f. 52r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 131v) an. • GA 2183 (f. 282r). •
Sch. Ph. 425	Eph 2, 9–10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 217r); • GA 1982 (f. 183r); • GA 91 (f. 183v); • GA 1907 (f. 52rv) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 641 (...) inf. $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$ (Staab, 1933, p. 615, l. 16); • GA 1905 (f. 131v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 103v) an. inf. $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$ (Staab, 1933, p. 615, l. 16); • GA 2183 (f. 283r). •
Sch. Ph. 426	Eph 2, 12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 218r); • GA 1982 (f. 184r); • GA 91 (ff. 183v–184r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 52v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 132r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 283v). •
Sch. Ph. 427	Eph 2, 14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 218v); • GA 1982 (f. 184v); • GA 91 (f. 184r); • GA 1907 (f. 52v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 641 (.) Sch. Ph. 422 + 423; • GA 1905 (f. 132v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 104r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 284r).
Sch. Ph. 428	Eph 2, 16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 218v); • GA 1982 (f. 184v) an.; • GA 91 (f. 184r); • GA 1907 (f. 52v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 133r) an.
Sch. Ph. 429	Eph 3, 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 219v); • GA 1982 (f. 185v); • GA 91 (f. 184v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 52v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 133v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 285v).
Sch. Ph. 430 (Eph 3, 4–6)			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 286rv).

Sch. Ph. 431	Eph 3, 8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 220v); • GA 1982 (f. 186v); • GA 91 (f. 185r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 53r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 134r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 286v).
Sch. Ph. 432	Eph 3, 10–11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 221r); • GA 1982 (f. 187r); • GA 91 (f. 185v); • GA 1907 (f. 53v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 134v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 287v).
Sch. Ph. 433	Eph 3, 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 221v) Οἶκ.οὔ; • GA 1982 (f. 187r) Οἶκ.οὔ; • GA 91 (f. 185v); • GA 1907 (f. 53v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 288r).
Sch. Ph. 434	Eph 3, 18–19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 222r); • GA 1982 (f. 188r); • GA 91 (ff. 185v–186r); • GA 1907 (f. 54r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 135r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 288v).
Sch. Ph. 435		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 222r); • GA 1982 (f. 188r); • GA 91 (ff. 185v–186r); • GA 1907 (f. 54r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 135r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 106r) an.
Sch. Ph. 436		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (ff. 222rv); • GA 1982 (ff. 188rv); • GA 91 (ff. 185v–186r); • GA 1907 (f. 54rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 135r) an. • GA 2183 (ff. 288v–289r).
Sch. Ph. 437	Eph 4, 3–4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 223r); • GA 1982 (f. 189r); • GA 91 (f. 186rv); • GA 1907 (f. 54v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 135v) an.
Sch. Ph. 438	Eph 4, 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 186v); • GA 1907 (f. 54v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 135v) an.
Sch. Ph. 439	Eph 4, 8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 236v); • GA 1982 (f. 189v); • GA 91 (ff. 186v–187r); • GA 1907 (ff. 54v–55r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 135v) an.
Sch. Ph. 440		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 236v); • GA 1982 (f. 189v); • GA 91 (ff. 186v–187r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 136r) an.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1907 (ff. 54v–55r). 	
Sch. Ph. 441	Eph 4, 10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 224r); GA 1982 (f. 190r); GA 91 (f. 187r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 55r). 	
Sch. Ph. 442	Eph 4, 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 225r); GA 1982 (f. 191r); GA 91 (f. 187r); GA 1907 (f. 55r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 292r).
Sch. Ph. 443	Eph 4, 16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (ff. 225v–226r); GA 1982 (ff. 191v–192r); GA 91 (f. 187r); GA 1907 (ff. 55v–56r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 137r) an.; GA 1916 (f. 107r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 293rv).
Sch. Ph. 444	Eph 4, 17–18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 226r); GA 1982 (f. 192r); GA 91 (f. 188r); GA 1907 (f. 56r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 137v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 294r).
Sch. Ph. 445	Eph 4, 19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 226v); GA 1982 (f. 192v); GA 91 (f. 188r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 56r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 137v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 294v).
Sch. Ph. 446	Eph 4, 21–23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 226v); GA 1982 (f. 192v); GA 91 (f. 188r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 56r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 138r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 295r).
Sch. Ph. 447		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 226v); GA 1982 (f. 192v); GA 91 (f. 188r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 56r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 138r) an.
Sch. Ph. 448	Eph 5, 11–14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 229v); GA 1982 (f. 195v); GA 91 (ff. 189v); GA 1907 (f. 56v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 140r) an.
Sch. Ph. 449		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 229v); GA 1982 (f. 195v); GA 91 (f. 189v); GA 1907 (f. 56v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 140r) an. GA 2183 (f. 299r).
Sch. Ph. 450		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 230r); GA 1982 (f. 196r); GA 91 (f. 190r); GA 1907 (f. 57r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 140v) an.

Sch. Ph. 451	Eph 5, 17–21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 230v); • GA 1982 (f. 196v); • GA 91 (f. 190r); • GA 1907 (f. 57r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 140v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 109v)
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Appendix 1-Table 6

A new classification of the *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Philippians

New classification of the <i>Scholia Photiana</i>	Classification in Staab, 1933	Manuscripts in Staab, 1933	Other manuscripts
Sch. Ph. 452	Phil 1, 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 235v); • GA 1982 (f. 201v); • GA 91 (f. 192v); • GA 1907 (f. 58r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 145) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 396r).
Sch. Ph. 453	Phil 1, 7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 236r); • GA 1982 (f. 202r); • GA 91 (f. 192r); • GA 1907 (f. 58r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 145r) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 306v–307r).
Sch. Ph. 454	Phil 1, 8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 236v); • GA 1982 (f. 202v); • GA 91 (f. 193r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 58v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 145r) an.
Sch. Ph. 455	Phil 1, 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 237r); • GA 91 (f. 193r) an.; • GA 1907 (ff. 58v–59r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 146r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 308r).
Sch. Ph. 456	Phil 1, 17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 193v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 59r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 144v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 309r).
Sch. Ph. 457	Phil 1, 20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 283v); • GA 1982 (f. 204r); • GA 91 (ff. 193v–194r); • GA 1907 (f. 59r) Sch. Ph. 457 + 458. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 147r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 113rv); • GA 2183 (ff. 309v–310r).
Sch. Ph. 458		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 183v); • GA 1982 (f. 204r); • GA 91 (f. 194r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 59r) Sch. Ph. 457 + 458. 	
Sch. Ph. 459	Phil 1, 24–25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 194r); • GA 1907 (60r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 147v) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 310v–311r).

Sch. Ph. 460	Phil 1, 28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 239v); • GA 1982 (f. 205v); • GA 91 (f. 194v); • GA 1907 (f. 60v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 147v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 311v).
Sch. Ph. 461	Phil 2, 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 240v); • GA 1982 (f. 206v); • GA 91 (f. 195r) an.; • GA 1907 (ff. 60v–61r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 147br) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 312v);
Sch. Ph. 462	Phil 2, 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (ff. 240v–241r); • GA 1982 (ff. 206v–207r); • GA 91 (f. 195v); • GA 1907 (f. 61v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 147br) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 314r).
Sch. Ph. 463 (Phil 2, 7)			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 313v–314r).
Sch. Ph. 464	Phil 2, 12–14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 242v); • GA 1982 (f. 208v); • GA 91 (f. 196r); • GA 1907 (f. 68r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 147bv) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 315rv).
Sch. Ph. 465	Phil 2, 17–18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 243v); • GA 1982 (f. 209v); • GA 91 (f. 196v); • GA 1907 (f. 68rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 148r); • GA 2183 (f. 316rv).
Sch. Ph. 466 (Phil 2, 25–27)			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 317v).
Sch. Ph. 467	Phil 2, 30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 245r); • GA 1982 (f. 211r); • GA 91 (f. 197r); • GA 1907 (f. 68v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 149r) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 317v–318r).
Sch. Ph. 468	Phil 3, 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 245r); • GA 1982 (f. 211v); • GA 91 (f. 197r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 68v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 318r).
Sch. Ph. 469	Phil 3, 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 245v); • GA 1982 (f. 211v); • GA 91 (f. 197v); • GA 1907 (f. 69r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 149v) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 318v–319r).
Sch. Ph. 470 (Phil 3, 5)			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 319r).
Sch. Ph. 471	Phil 3, 7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (ff. 246v–247r); • GA 1982 (f. 212v); • GA 91 (f. 197v); • GA 1907 (f. 69r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 150r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 319v).

Sch. Ph. 472	Phil 3, 8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 247r); • GA 1982 (f. 213r); • GA 91 (ff. 197v–198r); • GA 1907 (ff. 69rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 150r) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 319v–320r).
Sch. Ph. 473	Phil 3, 13a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 247v); • GA 1982 (f. 214r); • GA 91 (f. 198v); • GA 1907 (f. 70r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 150v) an.
Sch. Ph. 474	Phil 3, 13b–14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 248r); • GA 1982 (f. 214r); • GA 91 (f. 198v); • GA 1907 (f. 70r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 151r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 322r).
Sch. Ph. 475	Phil 3, 16–17a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 248v); • GA 1982 (f. 214v); • GA 91 (f. 199r); • GA 1907 (f. 70r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 151r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 322v) • Sch. Ph. 475 + 476
Sch. Ph. 476		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 248v); • GA 1982 (f. 214v); • GA 91 (f. 199r); • GA 1907 (ff. 70v–80r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 151r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 322v) GA 2183 (f. 322v) Sch. Ph. 475 + 476.
Sch. Ph. 477	Phil 3, 17b–18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 249r) • GA 1982 (f. 215r) • GA 1907 (f. 70v) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 151r) an.;
Sch. Ph. 478		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 249r) Οικουμενισου; • GA 91 (f. 199r); • GA 1907 (f. 70v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 151r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 322v).
Sch. Ph. 479	Phil 3, 21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 215v–216r); • GA 91 (f. 199v); • GA 1907 (f. 70v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 151v) an.; • GA 2183 (ff. 323v–324r).
Sch. Ph. 480	Phil 4, 11–18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (ff. 251v–252r); • GA 1982 (ff. 217v–218r); • GA 91 (f. 200v); • GA 1907 (ff. 70v–71r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 151r) an.; • GA 1916 (f.119) an. (Ἐπειδὴ...ἐξῆς. Staab, 1933, p. 630, ll. 17–36); • GA 2183 (f. 327v).

Appendix 1-Table 7

A new classification of the *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Colossians

New classification of the <i>Scholia Photiana</i>	Classification in Staab, 1933	Manuscripts in Staab, 1933	Other manuscripts
Sch. Ph. 481	Col 1, 17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 255v); • GA 1982 (f. 221r); • GA 91 (f. 202v); • GA 1907 (f. 80 r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 156r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 332v).
Sch. Ph. 482	Col 1, 20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 256r); • GA 1982 (f. 221v); • GA 91 (f. 203r); • GA 1907 (f. 80 r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 156v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 121v) an.; • GA 641 (f. 196r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 333r).
Sch. Ph. 483	Col 1, 21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 256v); • GA 1982 (f. 222v); • GA 91 (f. 203r); • GA 1907 (f. 80r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 156v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 121v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 333v).
Sch. Ph. 484	Col 1, 24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 257r); • GA 1982 (f. 223r); • GA 91 (f. 203v); • GA 1907 (f. 80rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 157rr) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 122r) an.; • GA 641 (f. 196v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 334rv)
Sch. Ph. 485	Col 2, 17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 205r); • GA 1907 (f. 80v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 160r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 335v). •
Sch. Ph. 486	Col 3, 23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 206r); • GA 1907 (f. 81r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 162v) an. •
Sch. Ph. 487	Col 4, 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 264r); • GA 1982 (f. 230r); • GA 91 (f. 206v); • GA 1907 (f. 81r) an.. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 162v) an.
Sch. Ph. 488	Col 4, 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 264r); • GA 1982 (f. 230r); • GA 91 (f. 206v); • GA 1907 (f. 81 r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 163r) an.
Sch. Ph. 489	Col 4, 16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 265r); • GA 1982 (f. 231r); • GA 91 (f. 207r); • GA 1907 (f. 81r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 164r) an.
Sch. Ph. 490		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 265v) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 164r) an..

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1982 (f. 231v) • GA 91 (f. 207r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 81r) an.. 	
Sch. Ph. 491	Col 4, 17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 265v); • GA 1982 (f. 231v); • GA 91 (f. 207r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 81r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 164r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 344v).
Sch. Ph. 492	Col 4, 18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 265v) an.; • GA 1982 (f. 231v) • GA 91 (f. 207r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 81 v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 164r) an.
Sch. Ph. 493		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 265v); • GA 1982 (f. 231v); • GA 91 (f. 207r); • GA 1907 (f. 81 v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 164r) an.
Sch. Ph. 494		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 265v); • GA 1982 (f. 231v); • GA 91 (f. 207r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 81 v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 164r) an.

Appendix 1-Table 8

A new classification of the *Scholia Photiana* on the First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians

New classification of the <i>Scholia Photiana</i>	Classification in Staab, 1933	Manuscripts in Staab, 1933	Other manuscripts
Sch. Ph. 495	1 Thess 2, 4–6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 268v); • GA 1982 (f. 233v); • GA 91 (f. 208v); • GA 1907 (f. 90r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 166v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 249v).
Sch. Ph. 496	1 Thess 2, 10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 269v); • GA 1982 (f. 235v); • GA 91 (f. 209r); • GA 1907 (f. 90r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 167r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 350r).
Sch. Ph. 497	1 Thess 2, 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 269v); • GA 1982 (f. 235v); • GA 91 (f. 209r); • GA 1907 (f. 90r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 167v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 350v).
Sch. Ph. 498	1 Thess 2, 15–16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 270v); • GA 1982 (f. 236v); • GA 91 (f. 209rv); • GA 1907 (f. 90rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 168r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 351v–352r).
Sch. Ph. 499	1 Thess 4, 11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 274v); • GA 1982 (f. 240v); • GA 91 (f. 211r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 90rv) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 171r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 131r) an..
Sch. Ph. 500	1 Thess 4, 11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 274v); • GA 1982 (f. 240v); • GA 91 (f. 211r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 90rv) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 171r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 131r) an..
Sch. Ph. 501		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 275v); • GA 1982 (f. 241v); • GA 91 (f. 211v) ; • GA 1907 (f. 91v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 358r).
Sch. Ph. 502	1 Thess 4, 17–18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 276rv); • GA 1982 (f. 242rv); • GA 91 (f. 212r); • GA 1907 (ff. 91v–92r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 171v) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 131v) an.;

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 641 (f. 200v) an.; GA 2183 (ff. 358rv).
Sch. Ph. 503	1 Thess 5, 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 276rv); GA 1982 (f. 242rv); GA 91 (f. 212r) ; GA 1907 (ff. 91v–92r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 171v ἵνα μὴ...συνελάσωσιν) an.
Sch. Ph. 504	2 Thess 1, 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 279v); GA 1982 (f. 245v); GA 91 (f. 214r); GA 1907 (f. 97r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 175r) an..
Sch. Ph. 505	2 Thess 1, 8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 280v); GA 1982 (f. 246v); GA 91 (f. 214v); GA 1907 (f. 97r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 175v) an..
Sch. Ph. 506	2 Thess 2, 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 282r); GA 1982 (f. 248r); GA 91 (f. 215v); GA 1907 (f. 97v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 176v) an.; GA 1916 (f. 135r) an.; GA 641 (f. 208v) an.
Sch. Ph. 507	2 Thess 3, 11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 285r); GA 1982 (f. 251r); GA 91 (f. 217) an.; GA 1907 (f. 97v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 179r) an.

Appendix 1–Table 9

A new classification of *Scholia Photiana* on the First and Second Epistles to Timothy

New classification of the <i>Scholia Photiana</i>	Classification in Staab, 1933	Manuscripts in Staab, 1933	Other manuscripts
Sch. Ph. 508	1 Tim 3, 16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 292r); • GA 1982 (f. 259r); • GA 91 (f. 244r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 109v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 186r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 135r) an.
Sch. Ph. 509	1 Tim 4, 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 292v); • GA 1982 (f. 259v); • GA 91 (f. 244rv) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 109v–110r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 186v) an.
Sch. Ph. 510	2 Tim 2, 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 249v); • GA 1907 (f. 119v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 192v) an.

Appendix 1–Table 10

A new classification of *Scholium Photianum* on the Epistles to Philemon

New classification of the <i>Scholia Photiana</i>	Classification in Staab, 1933	Manuscripts in Staab, 1933	Other manuscripts
Sch. Ph. 511	1 Phm 3, 16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 256v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 211r) an.

Appendix 1–Table 11

A new classification of the *Scholia Photiana* on the Epistle to the Hebrews

New classification of the <i>Scholia Photiana</i>	Classification in Staab, 1933	Manuscripts in Staab, 1933	Other manuscripts
Sch. Ph. 512	Heb 1, 2–3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 322rv) inf.; • GA 1982 (f. 289rv) inf.; • GA 91 (f. 168rv) inf.; • GA 1907 (f. 163rv) inf. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (ff. 419r–420v); an., ending σφαγή. • GA 641 (f. 227). an., ending σφαγή. • GA 1916 (f. 155rv) an., ending σφαγή. • GA 1916 (f. 155r) an., ending with • σφαγή.
Sch. Ph. 513	Heb 1, 4–5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 323r); • GA 1982 (f. 290r); • GA 91 (f. 218v) an.; • GA 1907 (ff. 163v–164r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 213v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 420v): f. 420v: (Ἡ...γεγέννηκά σε. Staab, 1933, p. 639, ll. 1–5).f. 421r: τὸ δὲ...ἐπισκίασεισιν. Staab, 1933, p. 639, ll. 5–16).
Sch. Ph. 514	Heb 1, 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 323v); • GA 1982 (f. 290v); • GA 91 (f. 219r); • GA 1907 (f. 164r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 213v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 421v);
Sch. Ph. 515	Heb 1, 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 324r); • GA 1982 (f. 291r); • GA 91 (f. 219r); • GA 1907 (f. 164r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 214v) an.
Sch. Ph. 516	Heb 2, 6–9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 325v); • GA 1982 (f. 292v); • GA 91 (f. 219v); • GA 1907 (f. 164r) an. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 215v) an.; •
Sch. Ph. 517	Heb 2, 11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1907 (f. 164r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 216r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 424v).
Sch. Ph. 518	Heb 2, 14–15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 327r); • GA 1982 (f. 294r); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 216v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 425v).

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 91 (f. 220v); GA 1907 (f. 164v). 	
Sch. Ph. 519	Heb 2, 18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 327v); GA 1982 (f. 294v); GA 91 (ff. 220v–221r); GA 1907 ff. 164v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 217r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 426rv); GA 1916 (f. 157v) an.
Sch. Ph. 520	Heb 3, 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 328r); GA 1982 (f. 295r); GA 91 (f. 221r); GA 1907 (f. 164v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 217r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 427r).
Sch. Ph. 521	Heb 3, 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 91 (f. 221r) an.; GA 1907 (ff. 164v–165r). 	
Sch. Ph. 522	Heb 3, 9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 91 (f. 221v) an.; GA 1907 (f. 165r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 218r) an.
Sch. Ph. 523	Heb 3, 12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 329r); GA 1982 (f. 296r) an.; GA 91 (f. 221v) an.; GA 1907 (f. 165r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 218v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 428rv).
Sch. Ph. 524	Heb 4, 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 91 (f. 222r); GA 1907 (f. 165r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 429v); GA 1916 (f. 159v) an.
Sch. Ph. 525	Heb 4, 3–11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 330v) Oik.ov; GA 1907 (f. 165rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 219v) an.;
Sch. Ph. 526		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 331) an.; GA 1982 (f. 298v) an.; GA 91 (f. 222v); GA 1907 (f. 165rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 220r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 431v).
Sch. Ph. 527	Heb 4, 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 332v); GA 91 (f. 223r) an.; GA 1907 (f. 166v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 221r) an.; GA 2183 (f. 432rv); GA 1916 (f. 160r) an.
Sch. Ph. 528 (Heb 4, 16)			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (f. 432v); GA 91 (f. 223r) an.; GA 1916 (f. 160r) an.
Sch. Ph. 529 (Heb 5, 1–2)			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 2183 (ff. 432v–433r); GA 1916 (f. 60rv) an.
Sch. Ph. 530	Heb 5, 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 91 (f. 223v); GA 1907 (f. 166r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 221v) an.; GA 2183 (f. 433v).
Sch. Ph. 531	Heb 5, 7–9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1923 (f. 334rv); GA 1982 (f. 331rv); GA 91 (f. 224rv); GA 1907 (ff. 166r–167r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GA 1905 (f. 22rv) an.; GA 2183 (ff. 434r – 435r); GA 1916 (ff. 160v–161r) an., inf. (δύο ζητῆται...εἰσηκούσθη).

			Staab, 1933, p. 643, ll. 1–15).
Sch. Ph. 532	Heb 6, 1–3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1907 (f. 167r) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 435rv).
Sch. Ph. 533		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 335v) Oik.ov; • GA 91 (ff. 224v–225r); • GA 1907 (f. 167r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 223r) an.; • GA 2183 (436r).
Sch. Ph. 534		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1907 (f. 167v) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 225r); • GA 1905 (f. 223r) an.
Sch. Ph. 535		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 335v); • GA 1982 (f. 305v); • GA 91 (f. 225r); • GA 1907 (f. 167rv). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 223r) an.
Sch. Ph. 536	Heb 6, 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 336v); • GA 1982 (f. 306v); • GA 91 (f. 225v); • GA 1907 (f. 167v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 223v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 437v); • GA 1916 (f. 162r) an.
Sch. Ph. 537	Heb 6, 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 337r); • GA 1982 (f. 307r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 223v) an. • GA 1916 (f. 162rv) an.
Sch. Ph. 538	Reported in footnote (Staab, 1933p. 646, n. 12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 225v); • GA 1907 (f. 167v); • GA 1923 (f.337r) • Oikov.ov; • GA 1982 (f. 305r) • Oik.ov. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 438r).
Sch. Ph. 539	Heb 6, 7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 337r); • GA 1982 (f. 307r); • GA 91 (f. 225v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 168r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 224r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 162v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 438r).
Sch. Ph. 540	Heb 7, 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 227r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 168v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 226r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 441v).
Sch. Ph. 541	Heb 7, 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 227r) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 168v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 22v) an.
Sch. Ph. 542	Heb 7, 9–10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 340r) Oik.ov; • GA 91 (f. 227v); • GA 1907 (f. 168v) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 227r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 164v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 443r).
Sch. Ph. 543	Heb 8, 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 343v) Oik.ov; • GA 91 (f. 228v); • GA 1907 (f. 169r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 229r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 446r).
Sch. Ph. 544	Heb 9, 1–2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 345v); • GA 1982 (f. 312v); • GA 91 (f. 229v); • GA 1907 (f. 169r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 231r) an.; • GA1916 (f. 166v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 449r).

Sch. Ph. 545	Heb 9, 24–25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 349v); • GA 1982 (f. 316v); • GA 91 (f. 231) an. 	
Sch. Ph. 546	Heb 10, 5–9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 351r); • GA 1982 (f. 318r); • GA 91 (f. 232r); • GA 1907 (f. 170rv). 	
Sch. Ph. 547	Heb 10, 11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 352r); • GA 1982 (f. 319r); • GA 91 (f. 232v); • GA 1907 9f. 170v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 236r) an.
Sch. Ph. 548	Heb 10, 20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 353r) • GA 1982 (f. 320r) inf.; • GA 91 (f. 232v) an.; • GA 1907 (f. 170v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 237r) an.; • GA 1916 (f. 170r) an. •
Sch. Ph. 549	Heb 10, 24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 353v); • GA 1982 (f. 320v); • GA 91 (f. 233r); • GA 1907 (f. 170v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 237r) an. • GA 2183 (f. 457v).
Sch. Ph. 550	Heb 10, 25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 353v); • GA 1982 (f. 323v); • GA 91 (f. 233r); • GA 1907 9f. 170v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 2183 (f. 458r)
Sch. Ph. 551	Heb 10, 35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 355r); • GA 91 (f. 233v); • GA 1907 (ff. 170v–171r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 238r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 459rv).
Sch. Ph. 552	Heb 10, 36	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 355r); • GA 91 (f. 233r); • GA 1907 9f. 171r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 238v) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 459v).
Sch. Ph. 553	Herb 11, 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 356r); • GA 1982 (f. 321r); • GA 91 (f. 234r); • GA 1907 (f. 172r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 239r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 460rv); • GA 1916 (f. 171v).
Sch. Ph. 554		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 356r); • GA 1982 (f. 321r); • GA 91 (f. 234r); • GA 1907 (f. 172r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 239r) an.; • GA 2183 (f. 460v).
Sch. Ph. 555	Heb 11, 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA1923 (f. 358r); • GA 1982 (f. 323r); • GA 91 (f. 234v); • GA 1907 (f. 171r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 240r) an.
Sch. Ph. 556	Heb 11, 19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA1923 (ff. 358v–359r) Sch. Ph. 45 +. 46; • GA 1982 (ff. 323v up to αὐτὸν καὶ). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 241r) an; • GA 2183 (f. 463v).

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 91 (f. 235rv); • GA 1907 (f. 171rv). 	
Sch. Ph. 557		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA1923 (f. 359r) • GA 91 (f. 235v); • GA 1907 (f. 171v) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 241r) an; • GA 2183 (ff. 463v–464r); • GA 1916 (f. 172v) an.
Sch. Ph. 558	Heb 11, 21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA1923 (f. 359r) an; • GA 91 (f. 235v); • GA 1907 (f. 171v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1923 (f. 464r).
Sch. Ph. 559	Heb 11, 26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA1923 (f. 359v); • GA 91 (f. 235r); • GA 1907 (f. 171v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f.242r) an; • GA 2183 (f.464r); • GA 1916 (f. 173r) an.
Sch. Ph. 560	Heb 11, 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA1923 (f. 360v). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 242v) an.
Sch. Ph. 561	Heb 12, 25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA1923 (f. 365r); • GA 91 (f. 238r) an.; • GA 1905 (f. 247r). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 247r) an. • GA 1916 (f. 176r) an.
Sch. Ph. 562	Heb 13, 10–13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA1923 (f. 367v) • GA 91 (f. 239rv) an 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GA 1905 (f. 248v) an.

APPENDIX 2:
Editio princeps of the new Scholia Photiana

NOTE:

The new scholia edited in Appendix 2 belong to manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus* of the Pseudo-Oecumenian catena. In editing them I numbered them within the sequence of the whole collection of *Scholia Photiana* preserved by manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus*, including those scholia already printed in Staab 1933 (Appendix 1). Additionally, I added a reference to the biblical verse they refer to in brackets next to the titles.

Where the scholium is present in GA 2183, I used this Vatopedi manuscript as the base-text of the edition, mainly due to its legibility, although I provide further detail in Chap I.7 (p. 53 ff). Different *lectiones* are reported in the critical apparatus underneath the text.

Some scholia are only preserved by one manuscript, GA 2183 or GA 1907. Grammatical adjustments are kept to a minimum, respecting the text as preserved by the manuscripts.

Where a text is preserved by GA 1982 and GA 1923, the first one is used as the base-text, although both preserve almost identical readings and when necessary, different *lectiones* are also provided in the critical apparatus.

I respect the order of the scholia in the manuscripts and commence each text at the line where a clear Photian ligature is located. When a text is preserved in between two consecutive folia, I have indicated the change of folium in square brackets.

Nomina sacra are transcribed in full and the proper nouns indicated with a capital letter. Accents are present in the manuscripts but not always correctly or clearly legible, so I have used the correct ones in the edition following the main Greek accentuation laws.

Biblical quotations are presented in italics, with references to other biblical passages in square brackets corresponding to NA28.

Conspectus siglorum:⁸⁴

GA 91: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 219 (eleventh-century).

GA 1905: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Coislin gr. 27 (tenth-century, additions from the eleventh century).

GA 1907: Oxford, Magdalen College 7 (Rm–2 Cor 1, 12) and Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I 30 (2 Cor 1, 13–Heb) (eleventh-century).

GA 1916: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 765 (eleventh-century)

GA 1923: Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z 33 (eleventh-century).

GA 1982: Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 541 inf. (eleventh-century).

GA 2183: Hagion Oros, Vatopedi Monastery 239 (1045).

List of symbols and abbreviations:

an.: anonymous

ill.: illegible

om.: omitted

NA 28: Nestle, E. and Aland, K. (eds) (2012), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th edn., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

RP 2005: Robinson, M. A. and Pierpont, W. G. (2005), *The New Testament in the original Greek-Byzantine Textform*. Southborough (MA): Chilton Books.

⁸⁴ In keeping with the chapters of the thesis and Appendix 1 I continue to refer to the manuscripts of the *Erweiterte Typus* with the Gregory Aland numbering system.

The new *Scholia Photiana*

Sch. Ph. 1a (Rm, 1, 1-2)

GA 2183 (ff. 6v-7r), GA 91 (f.69r) an.

Ἄλλος· Παῦλος (Rm 1,1), οἷον ὁ δεῖνα τῶ δεῖνι χαίρειν συμφαίνει, μεταξύ τὸν περὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου λόγον καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ μὲν εὐαγγέλιον, μὴ δὲ κατὰ χρόνον εἶναι νεώτερον, ἀλλὰ προκατηγγέλθαι μὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν νῦν δὲ πεφανερῶθαι φάσκων. Ἐπεμνήσθη δὲ καὶ τοῦ Δαυὶδ (Rm 1, 2) πρὸς ὃν ἡ ὑπόσχεσις καὶ ἑαυτὸν εἶπε τούτου κήρυκα προβεβλήσθαι· ὡς ἂν μὴ προπετῶς μετὰ τὴν Πέτρου διδασκαλίαν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιστέλλειν ἐληλυθέναι δοκοίη· θεῖον δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπίταγμα ἐκπληρῶν. Προτάττει δὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον ὄνομα. ἢ κατὰ συνήθειαν ἀρχαίαν. οἷον *Κλαύδιος Λυσίας τῶ κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι Φιλίκι χαίρειν* (Act 23, 26).

(1) ἄλλος GA 2183] ἄλλος om. GA 91 | (3) διὰ τῶν προφητῶν GA 2183] τῶν om. GA 91.

Sch. Ph. 2 (Rm 1, 1)

GA 2183 (f. 7r); GA 91 (f. 69r) an.

Εἰωθῶς δὲ συνάπτειν τῶ οἰκεῶ ὀνόματι τὸ *Ἀπόστολος*, νῦν τὸ *Δούλος* προτέταχεν εἰς εὐλάβειαν Ῥωμαίους ἐνάγων, οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν πεφρονηματισμένοι, ὡς ψηφίσματι θεοῦς ἀναγορεύειν οὐς βουλευθεῖεν, ὅθεν ὡς λόγος γνωρίσαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ κατὰ Ἰουδαίαν ἄρχοντος περὶ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἵνα τινὰ γενόμενον ἐνταῦθα θαύματος ποιὸν μετὰ θάνατον ἐγηγέρθαι λέγουσι καὶ θεὸν κηρύττουσιν ἀποψηφίσασθαι τούτο διὰ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτῶν τετολμηθῆναι· ἦν δὲ θείας οἰκονομίας, ὡς ἂν μὴ δόξη κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην τοῦτο κεκρατηκέται σπουδήν.

(7) κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην GA 2183] κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην GA 91 | κεκρατηκέται GA 91] κεκρατηκεῖναι GA 2183.

Sch. Ph. 4a (Rm 1, 2)

GA 1907 (f. 5v).

Μηδεὶς φησι καινοτομεῖν νομίση· πάλαι ἐξήγγελτο τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· τὸ δὲ ἐν γραφεῖσι δηλοῖ· ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἔλεγον οἱ προφηταὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔγραψον.

Sch. Ph. 6a (Rm 1, 5)

GA 1907 (f. 5v).

Οὐκ ἐξ οἰκειῶν φησὶν κατορθωμάτων ἐλάβομεν τὴν ἀποστολήν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν χάριτος καὶ δωρεᾶς ἐστὶ.

Sch. Ph. 43 (Rm 3, 20)
GA 2183 (f. 20r), GA 91 (f. 76v).

Ἄλλος· εἰς τοῦτο φῆσι ὁ νόμος ἐλυσιτέλησεν, ἐγνώρισεν ἡμῖν τὴν ἁμαρτείαν οὐ τῷ ἀπαγορευῆσαι νόμον τὴν προᾶξιν τῶν ἀτόπων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ παρακούοντας αὐτοῦ τιμωρεῖσθαι· μὴ ἐπιφερομένης γὰρ κολάσεως τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν, οὐκ ἂν ἐγνωρίσαμεν αὐτήν· διὰ τούτων τοίνυν πάντων ἀκριβῶς συστήσας ὑφ' ἁμαρτείαν πάντας ὄντας. ἐπάγει λοιπὸν δεικνὺς τοῦ οἰκείου λόγου τὸ περιττόν.

Sch. Ph. 45 (Rm 3, 21)
GA 2183 (f. 20v), GA 91 (f. 76v) an.

Τὸ φανερούμαι δῆλον ὡς ἦν μὲν ἐκέκρυπτο δὲ τὴν οὖν καινοτομίαν φεύγων καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν πρόσφατον εἶναι τὸ κήρυγμα. Εἶπε, πεφανέρωται· οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ προμαρτυρηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Μωσέως· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ νόμος καὶ τῶν προφητῶν.

(2) Εἶπε GA 2183] εἶπεν GA 91 | οὐχ ἀπλῶς GA 2183] καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς GA 91.

Sch. Ph. 83b (Rm 6, 14)
GA 2183 (f. 34v), GA 91 (f. 85r) an.

Ποία ἁμαρτία οὐ κυριεύει; ἢ πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἀφήσιν ἢ χάρις τοῦ Χριστοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ ὁ νόμος ποιεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο· οὐκ ἐτέ οὖν φησὶ ὑπὸ νόμον τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ῥύσασθαι ἀλλὰ μάλλον τιμωρούμενον.

Sch. Ph. 135b (Rm 10, 4)
GA 2183 (f. 59rv).

Ἐπεὶ δὴ ὅλως καὶ τὴν ἐκ νόμου δικαιοσύνην ἐκάλεσεν, ἵνα μὴ νομίσωσιν, ὅτι δύναται δικαιοῦσαι ὁ νόμος, φησί, τέλος εἶναι καὶ πλήρωμα τοῦ νόμου τὸν Χριστόν. τὸ γὰρ τέλειον [f. 59v] ὁ νόμος ἐν τῇ εἰς Χριστόν πίστει ἔχει. ὁ οὖν πιστεύων, φησι, Χριστῷ πληροῖ τὸν νόμον. εἰς δικαιοσύνην δὲ φησί· εἰς τὸ δικαιοῦν τὸν ὄν τὴν τελειοτήν τοῦ νόμου τουτέστι τὸν πιστόν.

Sch. Ph. 204a (Rm 3, 15)
GA 1982 (f. 56r), GA 1923 (f. 90r).

Εἴ τινος φησίν, τὸ ἔργον οὐκ οἶσει τοῦ πυρός τὴν προσβολήν, ἀλλὰ ἐλεγχθήσεται ὃν πονηρόν. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ κατακαήσεται ζημιωθήσεται φησι. αὐτὸ δὲ σωθήσεται.

Sch. Ph. 212 (1 Cor 4, 4, 13)
GA 1982 (f. 60r) an., GA 1923 (f. 94r).

Πάντων περίψημα τὸ περίψημα δύναται μὲν οὕτως ἀπλῶς νυνὶ σημαίνειν τὸ ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ· καὶ οἷον ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη κείμενον· ἐγγύτερον δ' ἂν εἴη τῆς σημασίας ἢ ἀπολύτρωσις· καὶ τὸ οἷον ὑπὲρ τινων ἱερείων προθυόμερον· περίψημα γὰρ καλεῖν ἐκεῖνος μᾶλλον ὁ παλαιὸς οἶδε λόγος· καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοιαύτην παρέχεται τῷ ὀνόματι· τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπειδὴν τινων ἄνωθεν μηνιμάτων εἰς πειρᾶν ἐπιπτὸν καὶ ποινὰς αὐτοῦς τῶν τετολμημένων ἀπετεῖσθαι συνήσθοντο (Rm 11, 31-32)· ἀθρόοι περιστάντες τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐνὶ τινὶ ὡς ἐμελλεν ἢ κλήρω ἀφορισθεῖς ἢ τῷ προθύμῳ τῆς γνώμης ἐκουσίως ὑπὲρ πάντων προθύεσθαι καὶ καθάρσιον αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι· τοῦτον χερσὶ ἐπιψῶντες καὶ ἐπαφώμενοι καὶ οἷον ὑπομαλασσόμενοι, περίψημα ἡμῶν ἔλεγον γενοῦ· ἐκεῖθεν οὖν ὁ πολλὰ πολλάκις σοφὸς αἰχμαλωτίσας Παῦλος εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον καὶ τῶν ἔξω φωνῶν οὐχ ὅση κομψὴ γλῶττα καὶ εὐήχος, ἀλλ' ὅση γνησίᾳ σημηναὶ καὶ παραστῆσαι τὸ προκείμενον· καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ταύτην συλλαβῶν· φησι περίψημα πρὸς Κορινθίους γράφων πάντων ἐγινόμεν· τῷ ὄντι γὰρ ὡς πάντων περίψημα οὕτω διαπαντὸς ἔπασχε καὶ ἔταλαιπωρεῖτο καὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς κατετείνετο· ἐὼτ' ἄλλα· καὶ γὰρ εὐρίσκω φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνου τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀντίρροπον· νῆ τὴν ἡμετέραν⁸⁵ καύχησιν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκω (1 Cor 15, 31). Ὅρας ὅπως ἦν πάντων καθάρσιον καὶ ἱερεῖον ἦτοι περίψημα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων μόνον ἐπυρπολεῖτο τὰ ἔνδον καὶ ἐφλέγετο καὶ τὰ μυρία ἔξωθεν ἔπασχεν· οὐδ' ὑπὲρ συγγενῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς ἀνθρώπων· εἴ πως τινὰ ὡς αὐτὸς ἐβόα διασώσει· ὁ τοίνυν ἐγίνετο καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν· τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἀπαγγελλεῖ πάντων περίψημα λέγων γεγενῆσθαι· βεβαίοι δὲ τὸ προκείμενον τοῦ σημαυνομένου καὶ ἢ κατὰ πόδα συνέχεια τοῦ ῥητοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἐντρέπων ὑμᾶς φησὶ ταῦτα λέγω⁸⁶ (1 Cor 4, 14)· οἷον οὐκ ὀνειδίζω τὴν εὐεργεσίαν οὐδὲ τὰς χάριτας· ἀλλὰ τί; ὡς τέκνα μου ἀγαπητὰ νουθετῶ (1 Cor 4, 14)· δεῖ γὰρ τὰ τέκνα πατρικῆς εὐεργεσίας μεμνησθαι καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς τέκνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγαπητὰ· τουτέστιν τοσοῦτον οἰκειοῦμαι ὑμᾶς καὶ τοσοῦτον τῆς ὑμῶν ἀγάπῃ ἐκκαίομαι ὥστε καὶ περίψημα ὑμῶν οὐ παραιτοῦμαι γίνεσθαι· θῦμα καὶ ἱερεῖον καὶ καθάρσιον προσαγεσθαι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· ναὶ δὴ καὶ ἢ ὀρθότης τῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ συνθήκης πρὸς τοῦτο μᾶλλον ῥέπει τῆς φωνῆς· ἢ πρὸς τὸ ῥηθὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν· ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἠτιμωμένον καὶ κατάπτυστον πᾶσι μᾶλλον ἀποδίδεται κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πάντων· ὁ δὲ σοφὸς καὶ θεσπέσιος Παῦλος οὐ περίψημα πᾶσιν ἐγενόμεν φησι, ἀλλὰ πάντων· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ προηγούμενον χωρίον τῆς λέξεως τῆς διανοίας ταύτης συμφθέγγεται· εἰπὼν γὰρ λαιδοπούμενοι ἐλογοῦμεν διωκόμενοι

⁸⁵ ὑμετέραν NA 28, RP 2005.

⁸⁶ ταῦτα γράφω in NA 28.

ἀμεχόμεθα· βλασφημούμενοι ⁸⁷ παρακαλοῦμεν (1 Cor 4, 13a). ἐπήγογεν, ὡς περικαθάρματα τοῦ κοσμοῦ ἐγενήθημεν· πάντων περίφημα ἕως ἄρτι (1 Cor 4, 13b)· τουτέστι τί δεῖ καθ' ἕκαστον τοὺς πόνους ἀπαριθμῆσθαι καὶ τὰς θλίψεις καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας οὓς ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑφίσταμαι; ἐν κεφαλαίῳ φᾶναι, ὡς περικαθάρματα ἐγενήθημεν τοῦ κόσμου· πάντων περίφημα ἕως ἄρτι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ περικαθάρματα ῥηθεῖ μὲν ἂν καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἐβδελλυγμένου καὶ φευκτοῦ· μᾶλλον δ' ἀρμόσει ἐννυμὶ τὰ καθάρσι καὶ τὰ ἱλαστήρια θύματα ἃ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων εἴωθε θύεσθαι παριστάν· πλὴν ἐπεὶ μὴδ' ἕτερον τοῦ σημαινομένου· τῇ ἀληθείᾳ λυμαίνεται ἕκαστος ὧ μᾶλλον χαίρει· τοῦτο καὶ αἰρεῖσθαι οὐ κεκώλυται· οὔτε γὰρ νῦν φησι ἐπαύσαντο οἱ ἐπηρεάζοντες.

(5) τὸ παλαιὸν ... ἐπιπτὸν GA 1982] om. GA 1923 | (12) σημῆνα ed.] σημᾶναι GA 1923, GA 1982.

Sch. Ph. 288 (1, Cor 14, 12)
GA 1907 (f. 140r).

Τουτέστιν οὐκ ἔσχε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκροατῶν συναγόμενον αὐτῶ καὶ τρυγώμενον καρπὸν· ὁ τοῦ λαλοῦντος νοῦς οὐ κεκέρδησεν αὐτόν· οὐκ ἀπήλαυσε τοῦ τοιούτου καρποῦ· ἔρημος ὠφθην τοῦ καρποῦ· ἄκαρπός ἐστιν.

Sch. Ph. 296 (1 Cor 15, 27)
GA 1982 (f. 103r) an., GA 1905 (f. 74v) an., GA 1923 (f. 137r) an., GA 2183 (f. 169r),

Εἶτα ἵνα μήτις λέγη· ὅτι εἰ καὶ μὴ ὑποτέτακται ὁ πατήρ οὐδὲν κωλύει εἶναῖ μείζονα τὸν υἱόν, προστίθησι ταῦτα· ὁμόνοιαν δεικνύς καὶ ὅτι ὁ πατήρ ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία τῶν ἀγαθῶν· ὅς τὸν τοσαῦτα δυνάμενον υἱὸν γεγέννηκεν· ὑποταγὴν δὲ ἀκούων. θεοπρεπῶς ἔκλαβε τὸ εἰρημένον· μὴ δουλείαν τινὰ καὶ ὑποταγὴν ἀκούσιον· ἀλλ' ὡς προσῆκον υἱὸν θεὸν πατρὶ θεῶ ὑποτετάχθαι· ὡς αἰτίαν τιμῶνται· ἔπειτα, ἵνα τῇ περιουσίᾳ τῆς λέξεως οἷον τῆς ὑποταγῆς, τὰ ἀσεβῆ δόγματα ἐκεῖνα ἐκβάλη τὰ τὸν υἱὸν μείζονα παρατιθέμενα.

(1) Εἶτα GA 1982, GA 1905, GA 1923] ἴτα GA 2183.

⁸⁷ The scholium follows the Byzantine text βλασφημούμενοι (ed. RP 2005) against δυσφημοίμενοι (ed. NA 28).

Sch. Ph. 297 (1 Cor 15, 28)

GA 2183 (f. 169r) an., GA 1905 (f. 75r) an., GA 1923 (f. 137r), GA 1982 (f. 103r).

Μέλλει, φησί, τὰ πάντα εἰς τὸν πατέρα ἠρτῆσθαι ὡς αἰτίαν· τοῦτο δέ φησι· ἵνα μὴ δύο ἀρχὰς ἀπεσχίμενας ὑπονοῆς· ὅταν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας κείνται τοῦ υἱοῦ· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς μὴ στασιάζῃ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· ἀλλὰ καθὼς πρόπον υἱῷ θεῷ ὑποτέτακται τῷ οἰκείῳ πατρί· ὁ πατήρ ἐστι τὰ πάντα ἐν παῶσιν.

Sch. Ph. 324 (2 Cor 1, 15-20)

GA 1907 (f. 3r).

Καῖτοι ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ εἰρήκει ἐπιστολῇ· ἐλεύσομαι δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ὅταν Μακεδονίαν (1 Cor 16, 5) ἐνταῦθα δέ φησιν ὅτι ἠβουλόμην⁸⁸ πρότερον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς (2 Cor 1, 15)· τί οὖν· ἐαυτῷ ἐναντιοῦται; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο λέγει· τοσοῦτον φησὶν ἀπέσχον τοῦ ῥαθυμῆσαι ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ὅτι ὅσον ἤκεν εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην· καὶ πρὶν μακεδονίαν ἴδω· ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤθελον· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπέβη μοι φησὶ κατὰ γνώμην τὰ πράγματα.

Sch. Ph. 335 (2 Cor 4, 4)

GA 2183 (f. 201r), GA 91 (f. 152r), GA 1907 (f. 6v).

Ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις Κύριλλος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ βιβλίῳ λέγει· θεὸν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου (2 Cor 4, 4), τὸν νομισθέντα τοῖς ἀπίστοις θεὸν· ἤγουν τὸν σατανᾶν· τοῦτῳ τὸν ἐλάτρευον.

(1) Ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις GA 2183] om. GA 1907, GA 91 | ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ... θεὸν· ἤγουν ... ἐλάτρευον GA 2183] ἤγουν ... ἐλάτρευον. ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ... θεὸν GA 91, GA 1907 | (3) τοῦτῳ GA 2183, GA 91] τοῦτον GA 1907

Sch. Ph. 338 (2 Cor 5, 8)

GA 91 (f. 144r).

Θαρροῦμεν δὲ. Τὸ δὲ παρέλκεται· καὶ εὐδοκοῦμεν μᾶλλον ἐκδημῆσαι.

Sch. Ph. 353a (2 Cor 8, 14)

GA 2183 (f. 221v), GA 91 (f. 159v).

Εἶτα δείξας ὅτι οὐ μόνον διδοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνουσιν· οὐκ ἂν γὰρ εἶπεν ἰσότητος πρὸς δαψίλειαν αὐτοὺς προτρέπων· οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἴσον δοῦναι χρηματα καὶ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν παρηρησίαν ἀντιλαβεῖν, νῦν ἐκ τῆς μαρτυρίας θέλει τοῦτο κατασκευάσαι, ὅτι κ' ἂν μὴ μεταδῶτε, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἔσται πλέον συνάγουσι κὰν γὰρ

⁸⁸ ἐβουλόμην NA28, RP 2005.

μη λάβωσιν ἐκεῖνοι παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο ἐλαττωθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοὺς περιῦδοι ὁ θεός δι' ὃν εἰσι πένητες καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν γὰρ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξασθε, αὐτοῖς γράφων λέγει.

(1) εἶτα GA 2183] om. GA 91 | (5) παρ' ὑμῶν GA 91] παρ' ἡμῶν GA 2183.

Sch. Ph. 390 (Gal 1, 24)
GA 2183 (f. 253r), GA 91 (f. 171v) an.

Οὐκ εἶπεν· ἐπὴν οὖν ἢ ἐδόξαζόν με, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεόν, φησι, ἐδόξαζον. ὅλον γὰρ τὸ κατ' ἐμέ φησι τῆς χάριτος ἦν τοῦ θεοῦ.

Sch. Ph. 411 (Gal 6, 12)
GA 2183 (f. 272v) GA 91 (f. 179v) an.

Πάντα ποιοῦσι καὶ ἀνθρωποὶς ἀρέσαι θέλουσι. ποίοις τούτοις; ἢ ἰουδαίοις. ὡς ἐχομένοις τοῦ πατρῶου νόμου· ἢ τοῖς ἔξω ἀνθρωποῖς ὡς μαθηταῖς ὑμῖν κεχρημένοι· τὸ δὲ ἐν σαρκί. τουτέστιν τοῖς ἀνθρωποῖς.

(1) πάντα ... τούτοις GA 2183] ποιοῦσι ἀνθρωποῖς GA 91.

Sch. Ph. 430 (Eph 3, 4–6)
GA 2183 (f. 286rv).

Τί οὖν οἱ πάλαι προφηῆται οὐκ ἤδεισαν; πῶς οὖν φησὶν ὁ Χριστὸς Μωσῆς καὶ προφηῆται περὶ ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἔγραψαν καὶ πάλιν φησὶ περὶ τῶν γραφῶν ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι εἰσὶν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι μοι καὶ φαμέν ἢ τοῦτο εἶπεν ὅτι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις οὐκ ἐγνωρίσθη· εἶπε γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· νῦν γὰρ μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν πάντες αὐτὸν ἐθέασαντο· ἢ ὅτι οὐδὲ οἱ προφηῆται εἶδον ὡς νῦν ὠράθη; τουτέστι σωματικῶς ἢ ὅτι περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν οὐδενὶ οὕτως ἐγνώθη εἶναι ταῦτα συγκληρονόμα καὶ σύσσωμα καὶ συμμετόχα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας (1 Eph 3, 6).

Sch. Ph. 463 (Phil 2, 7)
GA 2183 (ff. 313v–314r).

Τὸ σχήματι εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, φασὶν οἱ Εὐτυχιανισταί· ἰδοὺ οὖν οὐκ ἦν φύσει ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ φαμέν τοῦτο εἰρήσεσθαι· ἵνα μὴ νομισθῆ ἢ θεότης τετράφθαι εἰς ἀνθρωπότητα· σχήματι δὲ φησι ὡς ἄνθρωπος, οἷον ἐν σαρκί. Σαρκὸς γὰρ [ill.] τὸ ἐσχηματίσθαι· τὸ δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν εἷς τῶν πολλῶν· εἶχε γὰρ καὶ παρηλλαγμένα· ἢ τὸ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, οἷα ἄνθρωπος φησι· γὰρ κατὰ περὶ [f. 314r] βασιλέως μετὰ δόξης προελθόντος, φαμέν. Ἐξῆλθεν ὡς βασιλεύς· λέγει δὲ καὶ Εὐαγγελιστής· εἶδομεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός· (Jo 1, 14) τουτέστιν, οἷα μονογενοῦς.

Sch. Ph. 466 (Phil 2, 25–27)
GA 2183 (f. 317v).

Τί ἐροῦσιν οἱ αἰρετικά· οἱ λέγοντες κακὸν τὸν κόσμον· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἔλεον θεοῦ καλεῖ. Τὶ ἤσθῃναι τὸν Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐν τῇ ζωῇ· διατί δὲ ὅλως, τούτο γὰρ ὡς πρὸς Χριστιανούς ζητητέον, εἰ τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι καλόν. Ἐλεον λέγει τὴν ἐνταῦθα ζωὴν καὶ φαμέν ὅτι δίῃν αἰτίαν ἄνω εἶπεν ἀναγκαότερον δὲ τὸ ἐπιμεῖναι τῇ σαρκὶ δι' ὑμᾶς· διὰ ταύτην καὶ νῦν τούτο φησί.

(2) ἤσθῃναι ed.] ἔσθῃναι GA 2183.

Sch. Ph. 470 (Phil 3, 5)
GA 2183 (f. 319r).

Ἄνωθέν φησὶ τῶν εὐδοκίμων Ἰουδαίων εἰμί (Rm 11, 1). Ἐνὶ γὰρ εἶναι ἐκ γένους Ἰσραὴλ καὶ μὴ Ἑβραῖον, ὡς πρὸς τὴν εἶδησιν τῆς Ἑβραίας δύο γλώττης· μετὰ γὰρ τὸ κατασπαρῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, πολλοὶ τῆς πατρῴου γλώσσης τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ οὐκ ἠκρίβωντο τὰς παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις γραφάς, οὐδὲ τὸν νόμον αὐτόν.

Sch. Ph. 528 (Hebr 4, 17)
GA 2183 (f. 432v), GA 91 (f. 223r), GA 1916 (f. 160r)

Θρονῷ τῆς Χάριτος, φησί· τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλικόν· περὶ οὗ φησι· εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῶν κυριῶν μου· κάθου ἐκ δεξιτερῶ μου· θρόνος χάριτος ἐστίν, οὐ θρόνος κρίσεως· νῦν διὰ τοῦτο μετὰ παρηρησίας ἵνα λάβωμεν ἔλεον καὶ χάριν ἔρωμεν εἰς εὐκαιρον βοήθειαν· καλῶς δὲ εἶπεν εὐκαιρον βοήθειας· ἂν νῦν προσέρχη, φησί, λήψη χάριν καὶ ἔλεος. Εὐκαίρως γὰρ προσέρχη ἂν δὲ τότε προσέλθης, οὐκέτι ἄκαιρος· γὰρ ἡ προσέλευσις, ὅταν γὰρ ἡ συντέλεια, τότε ἐγείρεται εἰς κρίσιν.

Sch. Ph. 529 (Hebr 5, 1–2)
GA 2183 (ff. 432v–433r), GA 1916 (f. 160rv)

Εἰ ὁ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων λαμβανόμενος μετριοπαθεῖν τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ πλανωμένοις, πόσω μᾶλλον ὁ μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἶναι καὶ θεὸς ὢν, μετριοπαθήσει καὶ χειρὰ ὀρέξει τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ πλανωμένοις; εἰ οὕτως νοηθεῖ καὶ τὸ λαμβανόμενος ἐτοιμότερον ἐκληφθήσεται ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀφοριζόμενος. Εἰς ὧν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς ἱερέα λαμβανόμενος, φησί.