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OE Geschiedenis van Kerk en Theologie
Ch. Deberiotstraat 26 – bus 3101
B-3000 Leuven (Belgium)
johan.leemans@kuleuven.be

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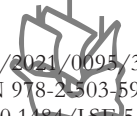
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Revising the Repetitions: The Relative Textual Stability of Repeated Patristic Citations as a Window into the Transmission History of Patristic Exegesis – Chrysostom’s *Homilies on Romans* as an Initial Test Case

Peter MONTORO & Robert TURNBULL

(Bremerton USA – Melbourne AU)

Introduction¹

When analyzing patristic citations derived from exegetical works, it is common practice to distinguish between the initial citation of a verse, often referred to as the “lemma,” and its fragmented repetitions in the course of subsequent exposition. On the one hand, it has frequently been claimed that such fragments were less likely to be altered in the course of transmission and are therefore more likely to provide reliable access to the form of the biblical text originally used by the exegete.² According to this view, if the form of the text found in the lemma is consistent with the form of the text repeated in the course of exegesis, it can reasonably be assumed that this form of the text most likely goes back to the writer in question.³

¹ While the primary author of this paper is Montoro, it would not have been possible without Turnbull’s technical assistance, primarily through his D-Codex software suite, portions of which were developed specifically for this paper. We also want to thank Hugh Houghton, Jeremiah Coogan, Ian Mills, Daniel Stevens, Elijah Hixson, and David Turnbull for their helpful input and suggestions on earlier drafts of this paper, which was originally presented at the Twelfth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament.

² For a few examples of this claim see: K. ALAND, B. ALAND, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Edition and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, Second Edition, trans. E. F. RHODES, Grand Rapids MI, 1995, p. 171; F. T. GIGNAC, “The Text of Acts in Chrysostom’s Homilies”, *Traditio*, 26 (1970), pp. 308-315, here p. 315.

³ For a few examples of this specific claim see: C. D. OSBURN, “Methodology in Identifying Patristic Citations in NT Textual Criticism”, *NovTest*, 47.4 (2005), pp. 313-343, here p. 322; D. C. PARKER, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their*

On the other hand, as has recently been observed, in at least some textual traditions, both the initial citations and their fragmented repetitions can experience updating or other alteration in the course of transmission.⁴ By comparing the relative textual stability⁵ of a number of initial citations with their subsequent repetitions in the entire extant direct manuscript tradition of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Romans*, this article will test the validity and the value of these observations in a more rigorous way than has previously been attempted, opening a fresh window into the transmission history of patristic exegesis. Instead of attempting to arrive at definitive conclusions on the basis of a limited set of test passages, our goal is to explore and develop a new perspective on one of the ways the patristic exegetical heritage was transformed in the course of transmission. While we trust that this perspective will be of some interest to anyone who deals with the transmission of these works, we are particularly focused on the questions that need to be answered by those who would make use of them in the textual criticism of the New Testament.

When fragments, extracts, derivative works, and manuscripts that date to the sixteenth century or later are excluded, 38 manuscripts of the *Homilies on Romans* remain. Produced between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries, all of these manuscripts are written in minuscule script. The only remaining majuscule witness, a substantial fragment dating from the ninth century, has been included in the collations where it is extant, giving a total of 39 manuscript witnesses used in this article.⁶ While a full analysis

Texts, Cambridge, 2008, p. 111. While the standard introduction to patristic citations from the Greek fathers provided in G. D. FEE, R. L. MULLEN, "The Use of the Greek Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism", in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. by B. D. EHRLMAN, M. W. HOLMES, Leiden, 2014, pp. 351-373 is helpful in many respects, it only indirectly alludes to the question under discussion here.

⁴ For a particularly clear example, see: H. A. G. HOUGHTON, "The Biblical Text of Jerome's Commentary on Galatians", *JTS*, 65.1 (2014), pp. 1-24, here p. 10. See also P. MONTORO, "The Textual Stability of Patristic Citations: Romans 8:33-35 in John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Romans*", in *At One Remove: The Text of the New Testament in Early Translations and Quotations*, ed. by H. A. G. HOUGHTON, P. MONTORO, Piscataway NJ, 2020, pp. 239-262.

⁵ By "textual stability," we are referring to the consistency which a particular reading, especially a citation of the New Testament, is found in the manuscript tradition of the work in question. The greater the textual variation, the lower the textual stability. For a more detailed explanation of how we are using this term, see MONTORO, "The Textual Stability of Patristic Citations", pp. 243-244.

⁶ Details on this witness, portions of which are found as guards in three different manuscripts, are provided at the end of the manuscript checklist below.

of these manuscripts must await a future publication, a brief checklist is sufficient for our purposes in this paper.⁷

In the list below, manuscripts are grouped and listed by their holding library. The initial number in each line is the shelf number; parentheses, if present, provide alternative shelf or catalogue numbers; square brackets provide the Pinakes *diktyon* number; and curly brackets, if present, provide the reference number for the appropriate volume of the *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci* series.⁸ These reference numbers are followed by the approximate date of each manuscript (c. = century).⁹ The bold face code at the end of each line provides the sigla used in the collation tables provided in the paper.

Alexandria, Patriarchal Library

001 [32888] 10 c.¹⁰ **AlexPL1**

Athens, National Library of Greece

453 [2749] 11 c. **NLG453**

Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery

0113 (Lambros 3647) [20081] 13 c. **Dion113**

Mount Athos, Esphigmenou Monastery

007 (Lambros 2020) [21638] 10 c. **Esphig7**

Mount Athos, Vatopediou Monastery

0322 [18466] 14 c. **Vatop322**

0323 [18467] 11-12 c.¹¹ **Vatop323**

0324 [18468] 13 c. **Vatop324**

⁷ This checklist is based on the one provided in MONTORO, "The Textual Stability of Patristic Citations." Some of the manuscript images used in this research were obtained by the CATENA Project, which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (grant agreement no. 770816). Montoro would like to thank Hugh Houghton for making this possible.

⁸ *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci I-VIII*, Paris, 1968-2018.

⁹ Unless otherwise noted, these dates are taken from the Pinakes database, which in turn are taken from a variety of manuscript catalogs.

¹⁰ Pinakes does not supply a date for this manuscript. The tenth-century date, based on a preliminary paleographical analysis, was kindly provided to Montoro by Georgi Parpulov in a private communication (4 September 2019).

¹¹ Pinakes dates this to the fourteenth century. However, this appears to be a clerical error since the only catalog cited (S. EUSTRATIADIS, ARCADIOS, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos*. Cambridge MA, 1924, p. 65) dates it to the twelfth century. The date above is provided by Parpulov (see above).

Mount Athos, Great Lavra Monastery

Γ 128 (Eustratiades 0368) [27300] 14 c. **LavraΓ128**

Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library

Hagiou Saba 20 [34277] 10 c.¹² **Saba20**

Mainz, Stadtbibliothek

Cod. II 114 [40419] {8.II,35a} 13-14 c. **Mainz114**

Messina, Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria ‘Giacomo Longo’

S. Salv. 08 [40669] {5.43} 12 c. **MessSS8**

S. Salv. 34 [40695] {5.59} 12 c. **MessSS34**

S. Salv. 35 [40696] {5.60} 12 c. **MessSS35**

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana

A 172 Sup (Martini–Bassi 065) [42258] {5.85} 12 c.¹³ **AmbA172s**

Moscow, State Historical Museum

Sinod. gr. 096 (Vlad. 098) [43721] 10 c. **Mosc96**

Sinod. gr. 099 (Vlad. 099) [43724] 10 c. **Mosc99**

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

Cod. graec. 457 [44905] {2.88} 9 c. **BSB457**

Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III

II B 04 [46020] {5.193} 11 c. **NapIIB4**

Oxford, Bodleian Library

Cromwell 21 [47811] {1.235} 11-12 c. **BodCrom21**

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

gr. 0509 [50084] {7.40} 12 c.¹⁴ **BNF509**

gr. 0731 [50313] 11 c. **BNF731**

gr. 0732 [50314] 11 c. **BNF732**

¹² While Pinakes dates this to the ninth century, Parpulov (see above) considers a tenth century date more likely.

¹³ The portion of this manuscript that contains Chrysostom's *Commentary on Galatians* is listed as the New Testament manuscript GA 2574 (<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste?docID=32574>).

¹⁴ The 12 c. date comes from *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*. Pinakes offers 14 c.

gr. 0733 [50315] 11 c. **BNF733**

gr. 0734 [50316] 13 c. **BNF734**

gr. 0735 [50317] 12 c. **BNF735**

gr. 1016A [50608] 14 c. **BNF1016A**

Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian

0145 [54389] 12 c. **Patmos145**

Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery

Gr. 0372 (Benesevic 381; Kamil 434) [58747] 11 c. **Sinai372**

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Ottob. gr. 420, [65663] 11 c. **BAVOtt420**

Reg. gr. 004 (GA 2006) [66174] 10 c. **BAVReg4**

Ross. 0169 [66419] 10 c. **BAVRoss169**

Vat. gr. 0550 [67181] {6.64} 11 c. **BAVgr550**

Vat. gr. 2065 (Basilianus 104) [68695] {6.298} 11 c. **BAVgr2065**

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

gr. Z. 098 (coll. 0466) [69569] 10 c. **BNMz98**

gr. Z. 103 (coll. 0571) [69574] 14 c. **BNMz103**

gr. Z. 564 (coll. 925) [70035] 12 c.¹⁵ **BNMz564**

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

theol. gr. 087 [71754] {4.35} 15 c.¹⁶ **ONBgr87**

theol. gr. 170 [71837] {4.52} 12-13 c. **ONBgr170**

Fragments of the majuscule witness mentioned above have been found as guards in three manuscripts:

8 folios in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. graec. 20 [44463] {2.41} 9 c. **Fragment**

4 folios in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 0568 [50146] {7.50} 9 c. **Fragment**



¹⁵ An extensive number of replacement leaves date from the fifteenth century. One of the citations in Table 3 is taken from these replacement leaves and is labeled SUPP in that table.

¹⁶ Pinakes lists this as 16 c.

2 folios (heavily damaged) in Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, Hagia Trias 136 [33634] 9 c. **Fragment**

In order to compare the relative textual stability of initial citations and their subsequent repetitions, it seemed best to locate examples where the initial citation contained a variation unit that was cited at least twice more in the remainder of the *Homilies on Romans*.¹⁷ While some of these variations are minor, the patterns of manuscript evidence presented in the collation tables clearly indicate that even minor variations like these were of interest to the transmitters of Chrysostom's exegetical legacy. Focusing on these variation units makes it possible to test the relative textual stability of initial citations and their subsequent repetitions.

The following details are provided for each of the nine variation units considered in this paper:

1. The full verse context in which it is found in both the NA28 and RP editions.¹⁸ The variation unit under discussion in each example is underlined.
2. The context of each citation in the *Homilies on Romans*, taken from Field's edition.¹⁹ Variations (apart from moveable nus and

¹⁷ These examples were located by comparing a list of highly cited verses within the *Homilies on Romans* with the NA28 apparatus, the RP apparatus, and variation information from transcriptions of test passages done as part of Montoro's larger project on the textual transmission of the *Homilies on Romans*. Though the goal was to find a sufficient number of examples, rather than to produce an absolutely comprehensive list, all the useable examples that were located are included in the paper.

¹⁸ NA28 = K. ALAND et al., eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed., Stuttgart, 2012. As the critical edition most commonly in use, this edition is used as an approximation of the "initial text" of the New Testament; RP = M. A. ROBINSON, W. G. PIERPONT, eds., *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform*, Southborough MA, 2005. In the absence of a truly critical edition of the Byzantine form of the text, this is the most suitable stand-in available. In both cases, we have retained the capitalization of the edition cited.

¹⁹ F. FIELD, ed., *In divi Pauli epistolam ad Romanos homiliae XXXIII*, Oxford, 1849. While we have followed the capitalization and punctuation decisions of Field, we have made our own decisions regarding where citations start and stop, and have not made use of Field's English style quotation marks. Though Field's edition is an improvement on Migne's, it is still very far from adequate. For a helpful discussion on this point, see B. GOODALL, *The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon: Prolegomena to an Edition*, Berkeley CA, 1979, pp. 4-5. While Field provides very brief comments on the ten manuscripts for which he had transcriptions available, he does not provide a manuscript stemma. Though there is some helpful information in J. E. LEGÉE, "Saint Jean Chrysostome : Dix homélies sur l'Épître aux Romains", PhD diss., Université de Toulouse Le Mirail, 1986, the partial and provisional stemma it includes does not offer an adequate basis for further research. Establishing a sufficiently evidenced stemma of the extant tradition of this work is therefore urgently needed, and forms a central concern of Montoro's larger research project.

variations in capitalization) between Field's edition and that printed in Migne²⁰ are noted in the footnotes. The square brackets at the beginning of each citation note the page number in Field and the column number in Migne. The second number locates each citation by homily, paragraph, and sentence.²¹ Scriptural citations are placed in bold and the variation units under question are underlined.

3. A table collating the full manuscript evidence for each variation unit. All transcriptions are given without accents, breathings, or iota subscripts. A dash indicates that a manuscript is not extant in a given location. A forward slash separates the first hand from a secondary correction. "None" indicates that while the manuscript is extant for that location, the word in question has been omitted. For ease of reference, gray highlighting has been used in these tables to help to distinguish between the primary division of readings discussed in each variation unit.

1. Romans 2:14

ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσιν, οὗτοι νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες ἑαυτοῖς εἰσιν νόμος. (NA28)

Ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῆ, οὗτοι, νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες, ἑαυτοῖς εἰσιν νόμος. (RP)

[F.64; M.428] 5.5.16 | **Ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη, φησι, τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα, φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῆ, οὗτοι νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες, ἑαυτοῖς εἰσι νόμος.**

[F.65; M.429] 5.5.29 | **ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα, φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῆ, τούτων πολλῶ βελτίους εἰσὶ τῶν ἀπὸ νόμου διδασκομένων.**

[F.65; M.429] 5.5.32 | **Ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα, φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῆ, οὗτοι νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες, ἑαυτοῖς εἰσι νόμος.**

[F.76; M.435] 6.2.54 | **Φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῆ.**²²

Table 1. Romans 2:14

Until a stemma of the manuscript tradition is available, it is not possible to make judgments about the value of particular manuscripts or groups of manuscripts.

²⁰ J. P. Migne, ed., *S. P. N. Joannis Chrysostomi Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opera Omnia Quae Exstant: Tomus Nonus*, Paris, 1862. This is volume 60 in the *Patrologia Graeca*.

²¹ While the homily and paragraph references follow Migne (the base text used for the transcriptions), the sentence numbering follows the breakdown utilized in the transcriptions themselves. At the conclusion of his larger project on the textual tradition of the *Homilies on Romans*, Montoro intends to make these transcriptions available for consultation.

²² Over a series of a few sentences with various interjections, the verse is quoted in full, in a form that matches the previous citations precisely.

Table 1—Romans 2.14

	5.5.16	5.5.29	5.5.32	6.2.54
<i>Field/Migne</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>AlexPL1</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>AmbA172s</i>	ποιει	ποιη	ποιη	ποιει
<i>BAVOtt420</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>BAVReg4</i>	ποιουσιν	ποιει	ποιουσιν	ποιει
<i>BAVRossi69</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>BAVgr2065</i>	ποιη	ποιει	ποιη*	ποιει/ποιη
<i>BAVgr550</i>	—	—	—	ποιη
<i>BNF1016A</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιει
<i>BNF509</i>	ποιει	ποιη	ποιη	ποιει
<i>BNF731</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>BNF732</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>BNF733</i>	—	—	—	—
<i>BNF734</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>BNF735</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιει/ποιη
<i>BNMz103</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>BNMz564</i>	ποιουσιν/ποιωσιν	ποιει/ποιη	ποιουσιν/ποιωσιν	ποιει/ποιη
<i>BNMz98</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>BSB457</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιει
<i>BodCrom21</i>	ποιει	ποιει	ποιη	ποιει
<i>Dion113</i>	ποιη*	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>Esphig7</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιει
<i>Fragment</i>	—	—	—	—
<i>LavraΓ128</i>	—	—	—	—
<i>Mainz114</i>	ποιουσιν	ποιει	ποιουσιν	ποιειτε
<i>MessSS34</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>MessSS35</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>MessSS8</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>Mosc96</i>	ποιη	ποιει	ποιη	ποιει
<i>Mosc99</i>	ποιη	ποιη*	ποιη	ποιη
<i>NapIIB4</i>	ποιει	ποιη	ποιη	ποιει
<i>NLG453</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>ONBgr170</i>	ποιει/ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>ONBgr87</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>Patmos145</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>Saba20</i>	ποιουσιν	ποιωσιν	ποιωσιν	ποιει
<i>Sinai372</i>	ποιουσιν	ποιει	ποιουσιν	ποιει
<i>Vatop322</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>Vatop323</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη
<i>Vatop324</i>	ποιη	ποιη	ποιη	ποιει

* While it was difficult to be certain with the images available for these manuscripts, it is possible that these had a prior reading of ποιει, which has been corrected to ποιη.

In this variation unit, the RP text has the present subjunctive third-person singular $\pi\omicron\iota\tilde{\eta}$ and the NA28 text has the present subjunctive third-person plural $\pi\omicron\iota\tilde{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu$. Among manuscripts of *Romans*, the readings $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ (third-person singular indicative) and $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\tilde{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu$ (third-person plural indicative) are also found.²³ In the *Homilies on Romans*, Chrysostom cites the portion of the verse containing this variant four times – three times in the course of exegesis in Homily 5, and an additional quotation in Homily 6. As one can see from the table, in the text of Field, all of these quotations are identical and all of them match the wording of the Byzantine text. Since the easily made change between subjunctive and indicative forms likely took place multiple times, the significant variation, indicated by the gray highlighting in Table 1, is between the third-person singular forms (either indicative or subjunctive) and the third-person plural forms (once again either indicative or subjunctive).

This example supports the principle that longer citations, especially those found in the course of exegesis, are more likely to be altered than shorter citations, particularly when these shorter citations are found in locations substantially removed from the exegesis of a particular verse in its context.²⁴ In the first location, where the verse has been cited in full, five manuscripts offer a third-person plural reading. In the second location, which cites a much briefer portion of the verse, only one manuscript offers a third-person plural reading. In the third location, where the verse is cited in full again, the same five manuscripts offer a third-person plural reading. Most strikingly of all, while the secondary quotation in Homily 6 has a singular nonsense reading with a second-person plural, *no* manuscript offers a third-person plural. This pattern of readings confirms that in the first and third citations the change was most likely from singular to plural rather than the reverse.

In this example, we notice two tendencies:

First, at least in some instances, longer citations were indeed more likely to be changed than shorter citations.

²³ Despite occasional errors, the most comprehensive and convenient collation of textual evidence for *Romans* remains, R. J. SWANSON, ed., *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus: Romans*, Sheffield, 2002. Unless otherwise noted, statements about the reading of manuscripts of *Romans* depend on a consultation of Swanson and the apparatus of NA28.

²⁴ While this is the same general principle as that advanced by the authors cited in note 2 above regarding lemmata, in Chrysostom's homilies, these "longer citations" are almost always thoroughly integrated into the flow of the exposition.

Second, while it has often been taken almost as an axiom that the direction of textual updating is always from a non-Byzantine reading to the Byzantine reading,²⁵ this case seems to provide an example of the reverse. Given the pattern of variation found here, it is most likely that the archetype²⁶ of the extant manuscripts of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Romans* had consistent third-person singular forms and that the third-person plural forms found in some manuscripts are a secondary correction *away* from the textual form found in later Byzantine manuscripts.

2. Romans 2:26

ἐὰν οὖν ἡ ἀκροβυστία τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου φυλάσση, οὐχ ἡ ἀκροβυστία αὐτοῦ εἰς περιτομὴν **λογισθήσεται**; (NA28)

Ἐὰν οὖν ἡ ἀκροβυστία τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου φυλάσση, οὐχὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία αὐτοῦ εἰς περιτομὴν **λογισθήσεται**; (RP)

[F.77; M.436-437] 6.3.12 | "Ὅταν οὖν ἡ ἀκροβυστία τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου φυλάττη, οὐχὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία αὐτοῦ εἰς περιτομὴν **μετατραπήσεται**;²⁷

[F.77; M.437] 6.3.19-20 | οὐχὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία αὐτοῦ²⁸ εἰς περιτομὴν **μετατραπήσεται**; Καὶ οὐκ εἶπε, λογισθήσεται, ἀλλὰ, **τραπήσεται**, ὕπερ ἐμφαντικώτερον ἦν²⁹

Table 2. Romans 2:26

²⁵ As one example among many, see: G. D. FEE, "Modern Textual Criticism and the Revival of the Textus Receptus", *JETS*, 21.1 (1978), pp. 19-33, here pp. 26-27.

²⁶ We are using this term to refer to the "most recent common ancestor" of "all known, extant witnesses of" the *Homilies on Romans*. This sense of the term is spelled out in P. ROELLI, "Definition of Stemma and Archetype", in *Handbook of Stemmatology: History, Methodology, Digital Approaches*, ed. by P. ROELLI, Berlin, 2020, pp. 209-225, here p. 210.

²⁷ Migne] περιτραπήσεται for μετατραπήσεται

²⁸ Migne] σου for αὐτοῦ

²⁹ Though these consecutive sentences are grouped together, they contain two instances of the variation unit in question here.

Table 2—Romans 2.26

	6.3.12	6.3.19	6.3.20
<i>Field/Migne</i>	μετατραπησεται*	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>AlexPL1</i>	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται
<i>AmbA172s</i>	περιτραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>BAVOtt420</i>	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται
<i>BAVReg4</i>	λογισθησεται	λογισθησεται	λογισθησεται
<i>BAVRoss169</i>	λογισθησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>BAVgr2065</i>	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται/μετατραπησεται
<i>BAVgr550</i>	λογισθησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>BNF1016A</i>	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται
<i>BNF509</i>	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται
<i>BNF731</i>	λογισθησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>BNF732</i>	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται
<i>BNF733</i>	—	—	—
<i>BNF734</i>	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται
<i>BNF735</i>	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται
<i>BNMz103</i>	περιτραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>BNMz564</i>	λογισθησεται	λογισθησεται	λογισθησεται
<i>BNMz98</i>	λογισθησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>BSB457</i>	λογισθησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>BodCrom21</i>	μετατραπισεται	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται
<i>Dion13</i>	λογισθησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>Esp11g7</i>	τραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>Fragment</i>	—	—	—
<i>Lavra128</i>	—	—	—
<i>Mainz14</i>	λογισθησεται	λογισθησεται	λογισθησεται
<i>MessSS34</i>	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται
<i>MessSS35</i>	λογισθησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>MessSS8</i>	λογισθησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>Mosc96</i>	λογισθησεται	τραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>Mosc99</i>	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται
<i>NapIIB4</i>	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται
<i>NLG453</i>	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται
<i>ONBgr170</i>	λογισθησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>ONBgr87</i>	λολισθησεται‡	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>Patmos145</i>	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται
<i>Saba20</i>	λογισθησεται ^o	λογισθησεται	λογισθησεται
<i>Sinai372</i>	λογισθησεται	λογισθησεται	λογισθησεται
<i>Vatop322</i>	λογισθησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται
<i>Vatop323</i>	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	μετατραπησεται
<i>Vatop324</i>	τραπησεται	μετατραπησεται	τραπησεται

*Migne has περιτραπησεται.

‡ This is indeed the reading, but it is an obvious error for λογισθησεται.

^o For simplicity's sake, the ι/η itacism found here has been ignored in the discussion.

In this variation unit, the NA28 and RP texts agree in reading λογισθήσεται. However, since at least one New Testament manuscript, GA 104, has μετατραπήσεται in this location, the variation found here in the *Homilies on Romans* is also found in continuous text manuscripts of Romans.³⁰ In Field, the initial citation of this verse has replaced the word λογισθήσεται, *will be reckoned* or *counted*, with μετατραπήσεται, *will be changed* or *turned* (Migne prints περιτραπήσεται here). In the second and partial citation, Field has the form μετατραπήσεται. In the third citation of this variation unit, there is an explicit comment on the wording of this variation unit. In Field, this comment reads: καὶ οὐκ εἶπε, λογισθήσεται, ἀλλὰ, **τραπήσεται**, ὅπερ ἐμφαντικώτερον ἦν, which translates as, *And he did not say, it will be regarded, but it will be changed, which was more emphatic.*

Leaving aside the differences between the prefixed prepositions, the core variation here is the difference between λογισθήσεται and various forms of τρέπω. As can be seen in the collation table (Table 2), thirty-six of the thirty-nine manuscripts of the *Homilies on Romans* consulted provide evidence for the three repetitions of this variation unit. In the initial citation, no fewer than seventeen of these manuscripts, or almost exactly half, support the reading λογισθήσεται, as do nearly all manuscripts of Romans itself.

When we come to the second and third repetitions, found in the context of an explicit comment on the wording of this variation unit, we find that only five of these seventeen manuscripts have λογισθήσεται. These five manuscripts have reversed the direction of Chrysostom's comment, in order to conform to a different textual standard. Rather than reading καὶ οὐκ εἶπε, λογισθήσεται, ἀλλὰ, **τραπήσεται**, ὅπερ ἐμφαντικώτερον ἦν, they instead read καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, μετατραπήσεται, ἀλλὰ, **λογισθήσεται**, ὅπερ ἐμφαντικώτερον ἦν. It is very difficult to see how λογισθήσεται could sensibly be said to be "more emphatic" than μετατραπήσεται. The simplest explanation is that this reflects a deliberate attempt to update the text of Romans in the *Homilies on Romans* to conform to a particular standard, paying little attention to the form of the text required by the exegesis itself.

If this were the only place where this interchange occurred, one might have expected a simple transposition in the course of copying. This is rendered much less likely by the fact that these same five manuscripts have substituted λογισθήσεται for the various forms of τρέπω in both of the two previous instances. It is therefore much more likely that the *Homilies on Romans* initially contained a mix of various forms of τρέπω and that

³⁰ This reading confirmed by personal inspection of images of this manuscript (<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_5537>). While it is possible, perhaps even likely, that there are other minuscules that have this reading, an initial consultation of the NA28, Swanson, and the 97 transcriptions of Romans recently made available at (<<http://www.itseweb.bham.ac.uk/epistulae/XML/igntp.xml>>), did not turn one up.

the use of λογισθήσεται is the result of editorial work or scribal updates. It is important to observe that the five manuscripts that consistently read λογισθήσεται are the same five manuscripts that had the non-Byzantine third-person plural reading in our first example. This offers further support to our earlier tentative conclusion on the direction of textual change in that variation unit.

Based on the pattern of variation found in this second example, we can draw a few preliminary conclusions:

First, it once again appears that longer citations are more likely to be changed than shorter repetitions in the course of exegesis.

Second, there is striking evidence of a clear intention, on the part of at least some of those responsible for transmitting Chrysostom's exegetical legacy, to seek consistency in citation, even if that meant editing the exegetical comments to say the opposite of what they originally said. Given this tendency, without a thorough analysis of the manuscript tradition of a work, we will not be able to tell the difference between an originally consistent citation and one that has been made so by later updating. Without this careful analysis, the consistent and repeated citation of a variation unit in a particular manuscript or printed edition is not sufficient to prove that this was indeed the reading of the patristic exegete in question.

3. Romans 4:2

εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ἔχει καύχημα, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς θεόν. (NA28)

Εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ἔχει καύχημα, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. (RP)

[F.108; M.453] 8.1.2 | **Εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ἔχει καύχημα, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.**

[F.109; M.455] 8.1.21 | Εἰτά φησιν. **Εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ἔχει καύχημα, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.**

[F.109; M.455] 8.1.27 | **Εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, φησὶν, ἔχει καύχημα, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.**

[F.109; M.455] 8.1.31 | Εἰπὼν τοίνυν, ὅτι³¹ εἰ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ἔχει καύχημα, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἔδειξεν, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ πίστεως δύναιτ' ἂν ἔχειν καύχημα, καὶ πολλῶ μείζον.

[F.111; M.456] 8.2.15 | Δείξας τοίνυν τὴν δικαιοσύνην βελτίω, οὐ τῷ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ αὐτὴν εἰληφέναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ λογισμῶν **ἔχει γὰρ καύχημα, φησὶ,³² πρὸς τὸν θεόν.**

[F.293; M.563] 16.10.29 | **Εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ἔχει καύχημα, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.**

Table 3. Romans 4:2

³¹ Migne] omit ὅτι

³² Migne] add ἀλλ' οὐ after φησὶν

Table 3—Romans 4.2

	8.1.2	8.1.21	8.1.27	8.1.31	8.2.15	16.10.29
<i>Field/Migne</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>AlexPL1</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>AmbA172s</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>BAVOtt420</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>BAVReg4</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	None
<i>BAVRossi69</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>BAVgr2065</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>BAVgr550</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>BNF1016A</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>BNF509</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>BNF731</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>BNF732</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>BNF733</i>	—	—	—	—	—	τον
<i>BNF734</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	—
<i>BNF735</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>BNMz103</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>BNMz564 SUPP</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	— τον	τον
<i>BNMz98</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>BSB457</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>BodCrom21</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>Dion113</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>Esphig7</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>Fragment</i>	—	—	—	—	—	τον
<i>LavraΓ128</i>	—	—	—	—	—	τον
<i>Mainz114</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	None
<i>MessSS34</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	—
<i>MessSS35</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>MessSS8</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>Mosc96</i>	—	—	—	—	τον	τον
<i>Mosc99</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>NLG453</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>NapIIB4</i>	—	—	—	—	—	τον
<i>ONBgr170</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>ONBgr87</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>Patmos145</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>Saba20</i>	None	None	None	None	None	None
<i>Sinai372</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>Vatop322</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>Vatop323</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον
<i>Vatop324</i>	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον	τον

The NA28 and RP texts of this verse are identical except for a single variant, the presence or absence of τὸν in the last phrase. While this difference is very minor from an exegetical point of view, a full collation of the evidence for this variation unit nevertheless provides important insight into the dynamics of textual transmission that we are addressing in this article. In the *Homilies on Romans*, this particular variation unit is cited no fewer than *six* times – five times throughout Homily 8 and once in Homily 16. In Field, we find the RP reading πρὸς τὸν θεόν in each of these instances, as we also do in the overwhelming majority of manuscripts of the *Homilies on Romans*. Astonishingly there is a single manuscript, **Saba20**, which has the NA28 reading, πρὸς θεόν, in all six instances. Two additional manuscripts have the NA28 reading only in the sixth and final instance found in Homily 16.

While many features of this variation unit are puzzling, it is important to note just how thorough the scribes or editors who updated the textual forms found in these homilies could, at least on occasion, be. While many alterations could be the result of an accidental substitution of the text being copied with the mental text of the scribe, it seems implausible such accidental substitutions can adequately account for the consistency of the pattern found in this manuscript. As a preliminary confirmation of this conclusion, in the approximately 7,000 words of test passages transcribed as part of a larger study of the textual tradition of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Romans*, there are 67 uses of τὸν in Migne's text.³³ Out of those 67 uses, these six examples are the *only* places where **Saba20** omits τὸν. It simply will not do to dismiss these changes as part of a broader tendency to omit the article in the textual tradition represented by this manuscript. This is additional evidence that the pattern in Table 3 is the result of deliberate textual correction *away* from the Byzantine text.³⁴

³³ As a digitized text of Field is not available, this search was conducted using Migne, which was used as a base text for these transcriptions. As the transcriptions have not been lemmatized, this search was restricted to the particular form in question. A subsequent publication will be able to address the tendencies of individual manuscripts of the *Homilies on Romans* in more detail.

³⁴ For a discussion of the broader pattern of textual change in this manuscript, see P. MONTORO, "Invariablement byzantin? Le texte de l'Épître aux Romains dans le Sabaiticus 20 et la transformation textuelle de l'héritage exégétique de Jean Chrysostome", in *La source sans fin: la Bible chez Jean Chrysostome*, ed. by G. BADY, Turnhout, 2021, pp. 177-197.

4. Romans 4:15

ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὀργὴν κατεργάζεται. οὐ **δέ** οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος οὐδὲ παράβασις.
(NA28)

ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὀργὴν κατεργάζεται. οὐ **γὰρ** οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος, οὐδὲ παράβασις.
(RP)

[F.115-116; M.459] 8.4.10 | **Ὅτι ὁ νόμος ὀργὴν κατεργάζεται. οὐ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος, οὐδὲ παράβασις.**

[F.116; M.459] 8.4.23 | **Ὁὐ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι, φησὶ, νόμος οὐδὲ παράβασις.**

[F.184; M.499] 12.4.22 | **καὶ ὅτι, Οὐ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος, οὐδὲ παράβασις.**

Table 4. Romans 4:15

Table 4—Romans 4.15

	8.4.10	8.4.23	12.4.22
<i>Field/Migne</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>AlexPL1</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>AmbA172s</i>	γαρ	#‡	γαρ
<i>BAVOtt420</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>BAVReg4</i>	δε	γαρ	γαρ
<i>BAVRoss169</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>BAVgr2065</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>BAVgr550</i>	δε	γαρ	γαρ
<i>BNF1016A</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>BNF509</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>BNF731</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>BNF732</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>BNF733</i>	—	—	—
<i>BNF734</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>BNF735</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>BNMz103</i>	γαρ	#‡	γαρ
<i>BNMz564</i>	δε	γαρ	γαρ
<i>BNMz98</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>BSB457</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>BodCrom21</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>Dion13</i>	δε	γαρ	γαρ
<i>Esphig7</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>Fragment</i>	γαρ	γαρ	—
<i>LavraΓ128</i>	—	—	γαρ
<i>Mainz14</i>	δε	γαρ	γαρ
<i>MessSS34</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>MessSS35</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>MessSS8</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>Mosc96</i>	#*	γαρ	γαρ
<i>Mosc99</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>NapIIB4</i>	—	—	—
<i>NLG453</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>ONBgr170</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>ONBgr87</i>	δε	γαρ	γαρ
<i>Patmos145</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>Saba20</i>	δε	γαρ	γαρ
<i>Sinai372</i>	δε	γαρ	γαρ
<i>Vatop322</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>Vatop323</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ
<i>Vatop324</i>	γαρ	γαρ	γαρ



#* Clause omitted
#‡ Sentence omitted

The variation unit, the alternation of γάρ and δέ, is cited three times in the *Homilies on Romans* – twice in Homily 8 and once in Homily 12, with the second and third citations being briefer than the first. In Field, and in the majority of manuscripts, all three citations consistently have the γάρ that is found in RP. In the first citation, however, eight manuscripts have the δέ that is found in the NA28. In the second and third citations, however, all extant manuscripts, including these eight, have γάρ. Given the consistency of the second and third citation in reading γάρ, it seems more likely that the initial reading in the first location was γάρ than that the second and third citation have been changed from δέ to γάρ in the entirety of the extant manuscript tradition.

This data suggests the following points:

First, the longer initial citation once again seems more likely to be altered than subsequent fragmented repetitions.

Second, it once again appears that the text has been changed *away* from a Byzantine reading *toward* the reading found in the NA28.

5. Romans 5:1

Δικαιωθέντες οὖν ἐκ πίστεως εἰρήνην ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (NA28)

Δικαιωθέντες οὖν ἐκ πίστεως, εἰρήνην ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, (RP)

[F.130-131; M.467] 9.1.30-31 | Δικαιωθέντες οὖν ἐκ πίστεως, εἰρήνην ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τί ἐστίν, εἰρήνην ἔχομεν;³⁵

[F.131; M.467] 9.1.36 | εἰρήνην ἔχομεν. τουτέστι, μηκέτι ἀμαρτάνωμεν, μηδὲ πρὸς τὰ πρότερα ἐπανερχώμεθα

Table 5. Romans 5:1

³⁵ Two of the citations of this variation unit appear consecutively and are grouped together.

Table 5—Romans 5.1

	9.1.30	9.1.31	9.1.36	
<i>Field/Migne</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>AlexPL1</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>AmbA172s</i>	εχομεν	εχομεν	εχομεν	
<i>BAVOtt420</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>BAVReg4</i>	εχομεν	εχομεν	εχομεν	
<i>BAVRoss169</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>BAVgr2065</i>	εχομεν	εχομεν	εχομεν	
<i>BAVgr550</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>BNF1016A</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>BNF509</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>BNF731</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>BNF732</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>BNF733</i>	—	—	—	
<i>BNF734</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>BNF735</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>BNMz103</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>BNMz564</i>	εχωμεν/εχομεν*	εχομεν	εχομεν	
<i>BNMz98</i>	εχομεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>BSB457</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>BodCrom21</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>Dion113</i>	εχομεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>Esphig7</i>	εχομεν	εχομεν	εχωμεν‡	
<i>Fragment</i>	—	—	—	
<i>LavraΓ128</i>	—	—	—	
<i>Mainz114</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>MessSS34</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>MessSS35</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>MessSS8</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>Mosc96</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>Mosc99</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>NapIIB4</i>	—	—	—	
<i>NLG453</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>ONBgr170</i>	εχωμεν ^ο	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>ONBgr87</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>Patmos145</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>Saba20</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>Sina372</i>	εχομεν	εχομεν	εχομεν	
<i>Vatop322</i>				
<i>Vatop323</i>	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	εχωμεν	
<i>Vatop324</i>	εχομεν	εχομεν	εχωμεν	

* This is an *in scribendo* correction and the initial reading is not fully clear.

‡ This was unclear, however, it was the reading of Vatop324, which is a copy of it.

^ο This is unclear.

The variation here is the difference between εἰς ἡμᾶς – in the subjunctive mood – and εἰς ἡμᾶς – in the indicative mood. While the main texts of both RP and NA28 agree in reading the indicative, many manuscripts of Romans, both Byzantine and non-Byzantine, read the subjunctive.³⁶ Chrysostom's exegesis makes it clear that he interprets εἰς ἡμᾶς εἰς ἡμᾶς as an exhortation rather than a statement of fact, providing strong contextual support for the subjunctive reading. This variation unit is cited three times in the *Homilies on Romans*. While Field's text has the subjunctive reading in all three locations, there is variation in the manuscript tradition. In the first citation, eight of the thirty-four manuscripts extant at this location have the indicative reading and one additional manuscript has been corrected to this reading for a total of nine. In the second, immediately following citation, seven manuscripts have the indicative. In the third citation, found a few sentences later, five manuscripts have the indicative.

As the collation table reveals, there is no manuscript that has the indicative reading in the subsequent repetitions that does not also have that reading in the first citation.³⁷ In other words, rather than a random collection of scribal errors, there is a clear and intentional tendency to correct the subjunctive to the indicative reading – even though the form of the text to which it is being changed stands in tension with the exegesis that follows. While the updaters apparently intended to make this change consistently, the farther from the initial citation, the more likely it is for one of the repetitions to have been missed. At the same time, there are five manuscripts that correct *all three* instances of this variation unit. Since these manuscripts do not otherwise seem to be closely related,³⁸ this pattern of corrections must have taken place at least twice in the textual tradition.

This example presents the same tension we observed above. While there is a *tendency* for later fragments to be left unaltered, there is also a serious attempt on the part of some editors or scribes to alter even the smallest and most distant fragments to match the form of the text they consider authoritative in their context.³⁹ Until the tendencies of the entirety of the manuscript tradition have been carefully examined, it is impossible to see which of these two conflicting tendencies is at work in a given variation unit.

³⁶ L. H. Y. MAN, "The Textual Significance of Corrected Reading in the Evaluation of the External Evidence: Romans 5,1 as a Test Case", *ZNW*, 107.1 (2016), pp. 70-93 includes a helpful bibliographical guide to the many discussions of this contested variant.

³⁷ Though one of these manuscripts, **BNMz564**, seems to have had εἰς ἡμᾶς in the first hand in the first location, this has been corrected *in scribendo* to εἰς ἡμᾶς.

³⁸ This judgment is based on a preliminary collation of test passages.

³⁹ In this context, an "authoritative" text is simply that standard edition toward which other texts would be corrected in a given context.

6. Romans 8:2

ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἠλευθέρωσέν **σε** ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου. (NA28)

Ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἠλευθέρωσέν **με** ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου. (RP)

[F.207; M.513] 13.4.23 | **Ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς⁴⁰ ἠλευθέρωσέ με.**

[F.207; M.513] 13.4.32 | Ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ, **ἠλευθέρωσέ με ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου**, οὐ τὸν Μωϋσέως νόμον λέγει ἐνταῦθα

[F.208; M.513] 13.4.42 | **Ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἠλευθέρωσέ με**, φησὶν

Table 6. Romans 8:2



⁴⁰ Migne] add ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ after ζωῆς

Table 6—Romans 8.2

	13.4.23	13.4.32	13.4.42
<i>Field/Migne</i>	με	με	με
<i>AlexPL1</i>	σε	σε	σε
<i>AmbA172s</i>	σε	σε	σε
<i>BAVOtt420</i>	σε/με	με	σε/με
<i>BAVReg4</i>	σε	σε	None
<i>BAVRossi69</i>	σε	σε	σε
<i>BAVgr2065</i>	σε	σε	σε/με
<i>BAVgr550</i>	με	με	με
<i>BNF1016A</i>	σε	σε	σε
<i>BNF509</i>	σε	σε	σε
<i>BNF731</i>	σε	σε	με
<i>BNF732</i>	με	με	με
<i>BNF733</i>	—	—	—
<i>BNF734</i>	με	με	με
<i>BNF735</i>	σε	σε	σε
<i>BNMz103</i>	με*	σε	σε
<i>BNMz564</i>	με	με	με
<i>BNMz98</i>	σε	σε/με	σε
<i>BSB457</i>	None	σε	σε
<i>BodCrom21</i>	σε/με	σε/με	σε/με
<i>Dion113</i>	με	με	με
<i>Esphig7</i>	με	σε‡	σε
<i>Fragment</i>	—	—	—
<i>Lavra128</i>	με	με	με
<i>Mainz114</i>	σε	σε	σε
<i>MessSS34</i>	σε	σε	σε
<i>MessSS35</i>	με	σε	με
<i>MessSS8</i>	με	σε	με
<i>Mosc96</i>	σε	σε	σε
<i>Mosc99</i>	με	με	με
<i>NapIIB4</i>	—	—	—
<i>NLG453</i>	σε	σε	σε
<i>ONBgr170</i>	με	με	με
<i>ONBgr87</i>	με	με	με
<i>Patmos145</i>	με/σε ^ο	σε	σε
<i>Saba20</i>	σε	σε	None
<i>Sinai372</i>	με	σε	None
<i>Vatop322</i>	σε	σε	με
<i>Vatop323</i>	σε	σε	σε
<i>Vatop324</i>	με	με	σε/με**

* This was possibly corrected from σε to με.

‡ This reading is not certain.

ο The με is not fully visible, but there has definitely been a correction and the shape fits.

**This manuscript is a direct copy of *Esphig7*—so it has definitely been corrected in the course of copying.

This variation unit – the swapping of $\mu\epsilon$ and $\sigma\epsilon$ – occurs three times in the *Homilies on Romans*. In Field, all three locations read $\mu\epsilon$, and Chrysostom is even cited in support of this reading in the UBS5 apparatus⁴¹. The first hand of only ten of the 36 witnesses extant in these locations has $\mu\epsilon$ in all three locations. Before correction, 15 manuscripts consistently have $\sigma\epsilon$. Based on the number of corrections, it seems likely that this change was made many times, with a clear tendency to correct $\sigma\epsilon$ to $\mu\epsilon$.⁴² Since all three citations are similar in length, it is not surprising that all three exhibit similar amounts of variation.

Once again, there is clear evidence for deliberate attempts to update citations across the board and equally clear evidence that this attempt was not always completely successful. In this example, there is so much variation that it will be difficult to determine the predominant tendency until a stemma for the manuscript tradition as a whole is available.

7. Romans 11:3

κύριε, τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν, τὰ θυσιαστήρια σου κατέσκαψαν, ἀγὼ ὑπελείφθην μόνος καὶ ζητοῦσιν τὴν ψυχὴν μου. (NA28)

Κύριε, τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια σου κατέσκαψαν. ἀγὼ ὑπελείφθην μόνος, καὶ ζητοῦσιν τὴν ψυχὴν μου. (RP)

[F.317; M.577] 18.4.11 | **Κύριε, τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν, τὰ θυσιαστήρια σου κατέσκαψαν. ἀγὼ ὑπελείφθην μόνος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν μου.**

[F.318; M.577] 18.4.28 | **Κύριε, τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια σου κατέσκαψαν.**

[F.318; M.578] 18.4.34 | Τί οὖν οὗτός φησι; **Κύριε, τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν, τὰ θυσιαστήρια**⁴³ σου κατέσκαψαν, καὶ ὑπελείφθην ἐγὼ μόνος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν μου.

[F.319; M.578] 18.4.51 | Ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐνταῦθά φησιν, ὅτι καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια κατέσκαψαν, καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας ἀνεῖλον.

Table 7. Romans 11:3



⁴¹ UBS5 = B. ALAND et al., eds., *The Greek New Testament*, 5th ed., Stuttgart, 2014.

⁴² **Patmos145** in 13.4.23 is the only potential example of the reverse change (from $\mu\epsilon$ to $\sigma\epsilon$).

⁴³ Migne] καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια for τὰ θυσιαστήρια

Table 7—Romans 11.3

	18.4.11	18.4.28	18.4.34	18.4.51
<i>Field/Migne</i>	None	καί	None*	καί
<i>AlexPL1</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>AmbA172s</i>	None	καί	καί	καί
<i>BAVOtt420</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>BAVReg4</i>	καί	καί	καί	καί
<i>BAVRossi69</i>	None	καί	None	None
<i>BAVgr2065</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>BAVgr550</i>	καί	καί	None	καί
<i>BNF1016A</i>	None	καί	καί	καί
<i>BNF509</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>BNF731</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>BNF732</i>	None	καί	καί	καί
<i>BNF733</i>	καί	καί	None	καί
<i>BNF734</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>BNF735</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>BNMz103</i>	None	καί	καί	καί
<i>BNMz564</i>	—	—	—	—
<i>BNMz98</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>BSB457</i>	None	καί	καί	καί
<i>BodCrom21</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>Dion113</i>	καί	καί	None	καί
<i>Esphig7</i>	None	καί	καί	καί
<i>Fragment</i>	—	—	—	—
<i>LavraΓ128</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>Mainz114</i>	καί	καί	καί	καί
<i>MessSS34</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>MessSS35</i>	καί	καί	καί	καί
<i>MessSS8</i>	καί	καί	καί	καί
<i>Mosc96</i>	καί	καί	None	καί
<i>Mosc99</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>NapIIB4</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>NLG453</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>ONBgr170</i>	τα‡	καί	καί	καί
<i>ONBgr87</i>	καί	καί	None	καί
<i>Patmos145</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>Saba20</i>	καί	καί	καί	καί
<i>Sinai372</i>	καί	καί	καί	καί
<i>Vatop322</i>	None	καί	None	καί
<i>Vatop323</i>	None	καί	καί	καί
<i>Vatop324</i>	None	καί	καί	καί

* Migne has καί

‡ The τα is the result of dittography.

This variation unit – the addition or omission of *καί* – is cited four times in the *Homilies on Romans*. The first cites the verse as a whole, word for word in agreement with NA28. The second cites the first half of the verse, this time with the extra *καί* found in the RP text, but otherwise the wording is exactly the same as the first. The third citation once again quotes the verse as a whole in the NA28 form (Migne has the RP form here), with the sole additional change being the substitution of *καί...ἐγώ* for *καὶγώ*. This change is also found in manuscripts of *Romans*, but that is not our focus here. The fourth citation, briefer and worded more loosely in other respects, contains our variation unit in the form found in RP. In the collation found in Table 7, we see that the longer citations found in the first and third instances have a great deal of variation while the shorter citations found in the second and fourth citations have little variation. While six manuscripts have the RP reading in all four locations, no manuscripts have the NA28 reading across the board.

While it is difficult to determine the direction of textual change here, both principles are once again apparent. On the one hand, longer and more precise citations tend to be subject to more variation while, on the other hand, there are consistent attempts to make every citation match. This underscores the need to consider the entirety of a manuscript tradition before drawing conclusions about the evidence of any citation, no matter how frequently repeated in the course of exegesis.

8. Romans 15:5

ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως δώη ὑμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, (NA28)

Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως δώη ὑμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. (RP)

[F.435; M.646] 27.2.56 | Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως δώη ὑμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν ἀλλήλοις, κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

[F.435; M.646] 27.2.58 | διὰ τοῦτο ἔλεγεν, Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως δώη ὑμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν ἀλλήλοις, κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

[F.435; M.647] 27.3.1 | Εἶτα πάλιν δεικνύς, ὅτι οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἀγάπην ζητεῖ, ἐπήγαγε, κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν

Table 8. Romans 15:5



Table 8—Romans 15.5

	27.2.56	27.2.58	27.3.1
<i>Field/Migne</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>AlexPL1</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>AmbA172s</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	#*	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>BAVOtt420</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>BAVReg4</i>	—	—	—
<i>BAVRoss69</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>BAVgr2065</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>BAVgr550</i>	ιϽ ΧϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ
<i>BNF1016A</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ
<i>BNF509</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>BNF731</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>BNF732</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>BNF733</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>BNF734</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>BNF735</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>BNMz103</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	#*	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>BNMz564</i>	—	—	—
<i>BNMz98</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>BSB457</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>BodCrom21</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ
<i>Dionn13</i>	ιϽ ΧϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ
<i>Esphig7</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>Fragment</i>	—	—	—
<i>LavraΓ128</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>Mainz114</i>	ιϽ ΧϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ
<i>MessSS34</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ
<i>MessSS35</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>MessSS8</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>Mosc96</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>Mosc99</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>NapIIB4</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ
<i>NLG453</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>ONBgr170</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>ONBgr87</i>	ιϽ ΧϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ
<i>Patmos145</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>Saba20</i>	ιϽ ΧϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ
<i>Sinai372</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ιϽ ΧϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>Vatop322</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>Vatop323</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ
<i>Vatop324</i>	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ	ΧϽ ιϽ

* Sentence Missing

Though both the NA28 and the RP texts agree in reading Χριστόν Ἰησοῦν at the conclusion of this verse, some manuscripts of Romans have the reading Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. This variation unit is cited three times in the *Homilies in Romans*. The first two citations cite the verse in full, while the third cites only the last clause, the one under consideration here. While the first example has Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν in five witnesses, and the second has it in eight, the last and shortest example, which only cites the final three words, has this reading in nine. If the patterns we have observed in previous examples hold true, the simplest explanation is that this is the result of a multi-stage process. Earlier in the tradition, the ancestors of some of the manuscripts that now read Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν only in the repetitions also had them in the initial citations. These were then subject to an intentional change that did not reach the secondary repetitions. If a stemma based on clearer textual evidence shows that this is not likely, then this example would show that the general principles that we have based on the clearer examples have some exceptions, which would not be surprising.

9. Romans 16:2

ἵνα αὐτὴν προσδέξησθε ἐν κυρίῳ ἀξίως τῶν ἁγίων καὶ παραστῆτε αὐτῇ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ὑμῶν χρῆζῃ πράγματι· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ προστάτις πολλῶν ἐγενήθη καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ. (NA28)

ἵνα αὐτὴν προσδέξησθε ἐν κυρίῳ ἀξίως τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ παραστῆτε αὐτῇ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ὑμῶν χρῆζῃ πράγματι· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ προστάτις πολλῶν ἐγενήθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ. (RP)

[F.465; M.663] 30.2.47 | **Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ προστάτις πολλῶν ἐγενήθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ.**

[F.465; M.664] 30.2.51-52 | διὸ καὶ ὕστερον αὐτὸ τέθεικε λέγων, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ. Τί δέ ἐστι, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ;⁴⁴

[F.466; M.664] 30.3.12 | Καὶ γὰρ⁴⁵ περὶ ἐκείνης ἔλεγεν, **Ἦτις προστάτις πολλῶν ἐγενέτο,**⁴⁶ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ.

[F.479; M.672] 31.3.40 | Εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν, οὐκ ἂν εἶπεν, **Ἦτις προστάτις πολλῶν ἐγενήθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ**.

Table 9. Romans 16:2



⁴⁴ Two of the citations of this variation unit appear consecutively and are grouped together.

⁴⁵ Migne] add καί after γὰρ

⁴⁶ Migne] ἐγενήθη for ἐγενέτο

Table 9—Romans 16.2

	30.2.47	30.2.51	30.2.52	30.3.12	31.3.40
<i>Field/Migne</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>AlexPL1</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>AmbA172s</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>BAVOtt420</i>	—	—	—	—	—
<i>BAVReg4</i>	—	—	—	—	—
<i>BAVRossi69</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>BAVgr2065</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>BAVgr550</i>	εμου αυτου	εμου αυτου	εμου αυτου	εμου αυτου	αυτου εμου
<i>BNF1016A</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>BNF509</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>BNF731</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	εμου αυτου
<i>BNF732</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>BNF733</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>BNF734</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>BNF735</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>BNMz103</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου None	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>BNMz564</i>	—	—	—	—	—
<i>BNMz98</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>BSB457</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	εμου αυτου	αυτου και εμου
<i>BodCrom21</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	—
<i>Dionn13</i>	εμου αυτου	εμου αυτου	None / εμου αυτου	εμου αυτου	αυτου εμου
<i>Esphig7</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>Fragment</i>	—	—	—	—	—
<i>LavraΓ128</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>Mainz114</i>	εμου αυτου	εμου αυτου	αυτου εμου	εμου αυτου	αυτου εμου
<i>MessSS34</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>MessSS35</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>MessSS8</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>Mosc96</i>	εμου αυτου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>Mosc99</i>	εμου αυτου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>NapIIB4</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	None	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>NLG453</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου
<i>ONBgr170</i>	—	—	—	—	—
<i>ONBgr87</i>	εμου αυτου	εμου αυτου	εμου αυτου	εμου αυτου	αυτου εμου
<i>Patmos145</i>	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Saba20</i>	εμου αυτου	εμου αυτου	αυτου εμου	εμου αυτου	αυτου εμου
<i>Sinai372</i>	εμου αυτου	εμου αυτου	αυτου εμου	εμου αυτου	αυτου εμου
<i>Vatop322</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	εμου αυτου
<i>Vatop323</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	—
<i>Vatop324</i>	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου	αυτου εμου

This variation unit – a transposition of the words ἀὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ – occurs five times in the *Homilies on Romans*, four times in Homily 30 and once in Homily 31. The initial citation contains the whole of the second half of the verse, exactly as it is found in the RP text. The second and third repetitions contain only the clause καὶ ἀὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ. The fourth and fifth repetitions are identical, containing most of the second half of the verse, with the initial pronoun “flattened” to fit the context.⁴⁷ In Field, all five of these citations have the order ἀὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ.

Eighteen of the thirty-three manuscripts extant for these locations consistently have the order ἀὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ, as in Field. As we would expect based on the pattern we have seen up to this point, we find the most amount of variation in the first citation, with eight manuscripts reading ἐμοῦ ἀὐτοῦ. While no manuscript has ἐμοῦ ἀὐτοῦ in all five locations, two have it in all four locations in Homily 30 in the first hand and one more after correction. Significantly, only two manuscripts read ἐμοῦ ἀὐτοῦ in the secondary quotation in Homily 31. As neither of these manuscripts has this reading in any of the four citations in Homily 30 and as they are otherwise so closely related that it is likely that one is a copy of the other, it seems plausible to posit that this is an independent error rather than an attempt to update the text. If this is the case, then it once again seems more probable that ἀὐτοῦ ἐμοῦ, the Byzantine reading, was the reading of the archetype of the extant manuscript tradition of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Romans*, with the reading ἐμοῦ ἀὐτοῦ being an attempt at textual updating carried out more or less consistently.

Conclusion

While there are exceptions, the evidence examined suggests that the general tendency is indeed for longer initial citations to be more susceptible to alteration than the shorter citation fragments that follow. This tendency is more pronounced when the difference is between a re-citation in the course of exegesis and a re-quotation in a subsequent homily. Working against this general tendency is a clear intention on the part of some editors or scribes⁴⁸ to achieve consistency on even the smallest of textual details in

⁴⁷ For the concept of “flattening,” see H. A. G. HOUGHTON, “‘Flattening’ in Latin Biblical Citations,” *Studia Patristica*, XLV (2010), pp. 271-276.

⁴⁸ For the purposes of this paper, we are intentionally leaving open the difficult matter of labeling those responsible for the textual variations we have considered. In the context of New Testament textual criticism, Ulrich Schmid has provided thoughtful criticisms of the common tendency to describe all textual alterations as the work of “scribes.” See U. SCHMID, “Scribes and Variants – Sociology and Typology,” in *Textual Variation: Theological and So-*

even the briefest of textual fragments. As can be seen in the third example, in one instance this sort of revision went so far as to alter six widely separated instances of a single article that does not affect the sense. Without a thorough examination of the textual tradition of a work as a whole, it is impossible to determine which of these two competing tendencies is predominant in a particular variation unit. Apart from such an examination, it is never safe to assume that even the most consistently repeated citations necessarily provide us with the text of the patristic exegete in question.

On a more surprising note, in a number of passages the Byzantine reading has been changed, whether consistently or inconsistently, to a reading which agrees with NA28. This challenges the common tendency to assume that, simply because a reading has been determined on other grounds to be the “initial text”⁴⁹ of the New Testament that it must also be the initial text of patristic exegetical works on the New Testament. Deliberate changes *away* from the Byzantine form of the text raise questions about which forms of the New Testament text were considered by these editors or scribes to be authoritative enough to revise the homilies of an exegete as universally admired as Chrysostom.

In conclusion, the study of the relative textual stability of repeated citations can serve, not only to improve the accuracy of the patristic citations used in the textual criticism of the New Testament, but also, and perhaps even more importantly, to open a window⁵⁰ into the transmission dynamics of patristic exegesis. As we look over the shoulders of editors or scribes, we can see them attempting (not always successfully!) to conform even the most minor of variants in even the smallest of repetitions to the form of

cial Tendencies?, ed. by H. A. G. HOUGHTON, D. C. PARKER, Piscataway NJ, 2008, pp. 1-24; U. SCHMID, “Conceptualizing ‘Scribal’ Performance: Reader’s Notes”, in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research*, ed. by K. WACHTEL, M. W. HOLMES, Leiden, 2012, pp. 49-64. Schmid is responding to, among others, B. D. EHRMAN, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament*, New York, 1993; K. HAINES-EITZEN, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature*, Oxford, 2000. While further research is needed, the specific varieties of textual updating observed in this paper seem to be rather different from the theological and literary alterations in the earliest New Testament manuscripts on which these studies focus.

⁴⁹ We use this term in the sense proposed by G. MINK, “Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition, the New Testament: Stemmata of Variants as a Source of a Genealogy for Witnesses”, in *Studies in Stemmatology II*, ed. by P. v. REENEN et al., Amsterdam, 2004, pp. 13-85, here p. 25.

⁵⁰ For the text as “window”, see B. EHRMAN, “The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity”, in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, ed. by B. D. EHRMAN, M. W. HOLMES, Leiden, 2014, pp. 803-830.

the text which they considered to be authoritative in the particular time and place in which they did their work.

Summary

Since the beginning of the discipline, New Testament textual critics have made use of the scriptural citations found in patristic homilies, commentaries, and other exegetical works. Those who use these sources commonly distinguish between the initial citation of a passage of Scripture and the repetitions of this passage in the following exposition. These repetitions are often considered less susceptible to alteration in the course of transmission and therefore more likely to provide reliable access to the form of the biblical text used by the patristic exegete in question. At the same time, in some textual traditions, both these initial citations and their repetitions show evidence of deliberate alteration in the course of transmission. Based on a full collation of the direct Greek manuscript tradition for selected test passages of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Romans* (CPG 4427) this paper considers the relative textual stability of initial citations and their subsequent repetitions, opening a new window into the transmission history of patristic exegesis.

Peter MONTORO
 Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing,
 University of Birmingham
 Westside Baptist Church, Bremerton WA
 pjm838@student.bham.ac.uk

Robert TURNBULL
 Melbourne Data Analytics Platform, University of Melbourne
 robert.turnbull@unimelb.edu.au

