ELTE CODEX GRACEUS 2 AND SOME PROBLEMS
OF EDITING A CHRYSOSTOMIAN TEXT*

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Codex Graecus 2, located in the E.L.T.E. University Library in Budapest, is described in two catalogues of the Budapest libraries: *M. Kir. Egyetemi Könyvtár Codexeinek Czímjegyzéke, Budapest: Nyomatott a magyar királyi egyetem nyomdájában* (1881) and *Libri manuscripti graeci in bibliothecis budapestiensibus asservati; descripsit Marie Kubinyi* (Budapest: 1956; 66-70).

This codex is an eleventh-century parchment manuscript, containing a part of the first section of St. John Chrysostom's homilies on the Book of Genesis. The earlier catalogue description is approximate, providing only an external view of the manuscript.[27] The later description is very good, providing briefly all the necessary information about the exterior aspect and the text contained. This catalogue establishes the order of the folios and identifies the fragments with reference to the edited homilies in the Patrologia Graeca[28] (see Appendix 2). In Maria Kubinyis description, she has dated the codex "saec. XI/XII".

However, for a thorough manuscript study, an extensive external description is required which would serve to establish the position of this manuscript within the text tradition and its possible history which would allow a more accurate datation of the codex. The codex is written on parchment, 340/248 mm; it has ninety-eight folios randomly bound in an eighteenth-century

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[27] "Cod. membr. saec.XI vel XII. binis columnis exaratus, fol 98. 1a - 98b (Init. et finis deest). S. Joannis Chrysostomi homiliae. Incipit cum nona: τούτων φυλακὴν διὰ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντων. expl. in vigesima sept: φόνω τὴν δεξίαν μολύναντα τιμωρούμενος. Homilia XI, XII, XIII et maxima pars homiliae X et XIV desunt, cum post οὕτω καὶ τὰ (in hom. X) et ante ἀξιοὶ τῆς εὐεργεσίας (in hom. XIV), id est inter fol. secundum et quod nunc est tertium nonnulla folia interciderint. Membrana in margine saepe recisa, sed ita, ut nullum textui damnum allatum sit"; *M. Kir. Egyetemi Könyvtár Codexeinek Czímjegyzéke* (Budapest: Nyomatott a Magyar Király Egyetem Nyomdáyában, 1881).
[28] PG. tom. LIII.

* This article is a copy of Chapters II. and V. of the original M.A. thesis submitted by Zvetlana-Michaela Tănasă. She was unable to finish her work to prepare the text for publication. For technical reasons and out of respect for the author, no editing of the text has been performed.

leather binding, without decoration. The folios and the pages were numbered after the binding, the figures giving a misleading order.

Kubinyis catalogue determines the fragments in each folio, starting with folio 1 and ending with folio 98, irrespective of the succession of the text itself. It is thus necessary to provide a new description of the text, following the content order of the fragments, rather than the order of the folios, as it is more functional for analyzing the text itself. Hence, the content order starts with homily eight, nine, etc.

hom.8 f.55r. inc. ....ἰσχυρωτέροις ἀπεργάζεται (col.75 lin.42).......des. f.55v. εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν (col.76 lin.10).

hom.9 f.55v. inc. Εἰς τὰ ἀκόλουθα τοῦ ποιήσωμεν (col.76 lin.12) ......des. ἀπὸ τούτον τικτο[μένα (col.76 lin.21 ab imo);

folio missing;

f.1 - 1v. τούτων φυλακήν (col.77 lin.5 ai)........................ἀρχέτοσαν γὰρ (col.78 lin.5ai);

2 folios missing (col.78 lin 5 ai - col.81 lin.6);

f.2-2v. ἀνάπαυ]σιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς (col.81lin.6), usque ad finem. (col.81lin.48).

hom.10 f.2v. Προτροπὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐρυθριῶντας (col.81lin.50)........πράγματα οὕτω καὶ τά (col.82 lin.2);

folio missing;

f .56 - 56v. inc. ὁ Δεσπό]της. ἐπεὶ καὶ (col.83 lin.14)....................μὴ ποιεῖσθε εἰς (col.84 lin. 24).

hom. 11 f.54 - 54v. τὴν ἑαυτῶν συνείδησιν. (col.93 lin.6).............διδασκαλίας μετεχόντες (col.94 lin.17).

hom.12 f. 57 - 57v. συμ]βουλῆς. ἐπείθιμεν μὴ (col.98 lin.23 ai)........ἐκ τούτων τὰ (col.99 lin.16 ai).

hom.13 missing.

hom.14 ff.3 - 5v. inc. ἀξιοῖ τῆς εὐεργεσίας· (col.115 lin.15).........usque ad finem
τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν. (col.118 lin.20).

hom.15 ff. 5v. - 12r. Τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ οὐχ εὑρέθη (col.118 lin.21)....usque ad finem
(col.125 lin.17 ai).

hom.16 ff.12v.-14v.inc. Εἰς τὴν παράβασιν (col.125 lin.15 ai).......δεσπότης καὶ
δημιουργός (col. 128 lin.48);

folio missing;

ff.15 - 17v. inc. καὶ οὕτως ἀνώδυνον. (col.130 lin. 4 ai)....usque ad finem
(col.134 lin.34).

hom.17 ff. 18 - 23v. Καὶ ἤκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς (col.134 lin.36).........ἄνδρα καὶ
τὴν γυναῖκα (col.141 lin.2);

folio missing;

ff.24 - 29r. ἄρχε]ται μέχρις ἄν (col.142 lin.8)............usque ad finem
(col.148 lin.31).

hom.18 ff. 29 - 37v. Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀδάμ (col.148 lin.33)............usque ad finem
(col.158 lin.27 ai).

hom.19 ff. 37v. - 38v. Εἶπεν δὲ Κάιν (col.158 lin.25 ai).........μιαρὰν. ἀλλὰ τὴν
(col.160 lin. 8);

folio missing;

ff 39 - 43 ἐρ]γόμενος; οὐ λογίζῃ (col.161 lin.19)...........usque ad finem
(col.166 lin.24).

hom.20 ff.43 - 50r. Καὶ ἔγνω Κάιν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ (col.166 lin.26)....usque
ad finem (col.174 lin 16 ai).

hom.21 ff.50 - 53v. Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως (col.175 lin.2)............μὴ δὲ ταῖς
τούτων προσηγορί[αις (col.179 lin.30);

ff.58 - 62v. προσηγορί]αις ἁπλῶς (col.179. lin.30)...............usque ad finem
(col.185 lin.23).

hom.22 ff.62v. - 68v. Καὶ ἦν Νωε ἐτῶν πεντακοσίων (col.185 lin.25)......πᾶσαν
τὴν οἰκουμένην κα[ταλαμβάνειν (col.193.lin.28);

6 folios missing.

<u>hom.23</u> f.69 - 69v. ἔτερα τοιαῦτα εὑρήσετε (col.199 lin.30).........παρὰ πάντων εὐφη[μία (col.200 lin.42);

ff.77 - 78v. εὐφη]μία τεκμήριον (col.200lin.42).........καὶ αυτῶν καὶ τῆς (col.203 lin.4);

folio missing;

ff.75 - 76v. ἄ]ριστος γενεαλογία (col.204 lin.14)................usque ad finem (col.206 lin 14).

<u>hom.24</u> f.76v. Ἐγέννησε δὲ Νωε (col.206 lin.16).............ποιεῖσθαι βουλομένοις (col.206 lin.31);

folio missing;

ff.79 - 80v τότε ὄντων ἀνθρώπων (col.207.lin.27 ai).........καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς (col.209lin.5ai);

folio missing;

ff.70 - 74v. ἑαυ]τούς ὑπευθύνοις (col.211lin.11).......................τοσαύτης ἠξίωσε (col.217lin.16).

<u>hom.25</u> f. 97 - 97v. ῥή]ματα ἀκούσαντες (col.219 lin.19ai)............καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ (col.220 lin.1ai);

9 folios missing.

<u>hom.26</u> f.98 - 98v. τὸ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ ἀνήκεστα (col.230 lin.3)..............μολύναντα τιμωρουμένος (col.231 lin.10);

ff.81 - 88 φιλανθρωπία τὴν τιμωρίαν (col.231 lin.10)...................usque ad finem (col.239 lin.16ai).

<u>hom. 27</u> ff.88v. - 96v. καὶ ᾠκοδόμησε Νωε (col.239 lin.14ai)........................... περὶ ταλάντων καὶ (col.249 lin.10ai).

As can be concluded from the description, the codex contains only three complete texts, those of homilies no. 15, 20, and 21.

I also felt it necessary to restore the quiring, which is missing in the catalogue, according to the quire numbers drawn by the copist on the lower margin of the first recto of the first folio under the left column. Besides this aid to restoring the foliation, quiring provides the first indication about the amount of text in the codex, both missing and preserved.

Generally, of the folios where the amount of text is not diminished by an end or a beginning of a homily, one two-column folio of 33 lines contains approximately one column of text in PG. The endings and beginnings are usually written in a decorative form and thus occupy more space, comprising less of the edited PG text. Misleading also is the fact that towards the end of the manuscript, the letters become smaller and smaller and the text comprised in one folio is thus longer than that in one PG column.

This quiring has been established as follows:

- the first figure indicates the number of the quire in Greek as it is present in the manuscript;

- the Roman letters establish the position of the folios in the quire. As a rule, the quires are quaternios, but there are also two ternios;

- the Arabic letters in parentheses attached to the Roman ones indicate the present number of the folio. Where there is no number in the brackets, the respective folio is missing;

- after the quire I have added the number of folios it was supposed to contain.

- α'-ζ'   - missing;..[possibly quires of 8 folios];

- ς'   - I (55) - II( ) - III(1) - IV( ) - V( ) - VI(2) - VII( ) - VIII(56); [8f];

- η'   - missing;..[8f];

- θ'   - I(54) - II( ) - III( ) - IV( ) - V( ) - VI(57);............................[6f];

- ι', ια' - missing...[2 quires of 8 f];

- ιβ'   - I(3)..VIII(10); [8f];

- ιγ'   - I(11).............-V( )-..............VI(16);......................................[6f];

    folio missing between f.14 and f.15;

- ιδ'   - I(17)....................VII(23) - VIII( );....................................[8f];

    folio missing between f.23 and f.24;

- ιε'   - I(24)...........................VIII(31);..[8f];

- ις'   - I(32)...........................VII(38) - VIII ( );...............................[8f];

    folio missing between f.38 and f.39;

- ιζ'   - I(39)...........................VIII(46);.......................................[8f];

- ιη'   - I(47) - II( ) - III( ) - IV( ) - V( ) - VI( ) - VII(53) - VIII(58);...[8f];

- ιθ'   - I(59)...........................VIII(66);.......................................[8f];

- κ'   - I(67) - II(68) - III( ) - IV( ) - V( ) - VI( ) - VII( ) - VIII(69);.....[8f];

- κα'   - I(77) - II(78) - III( ) - IV(75) - V(76) - VI( ) - VII(79) - VIII(80);

    ....[8f];

- κβ'   - I( ) - II(70) - III(71) - IV(72) - V(73) - VI(74) - VII( ) - VIII( );[8f];

    three folios missing;

- κγ'   - I(97) - II( ) - III( ) - IV( ) - V( ) - VI( ) - VII( ) - VII(98);.........[8f];

- κδ'   - I(81).............................VIII(88);..[8f];

- κε'   - I(89).............................VIII(96);.......................................[8f].

The quiring shows that the manuscript is irregular, having, besides the regular eight-folio clusters, at least two quires with six folios. It must have been a thick codex, difficult to handle, as the parchment is not of the best quality. According to whether it included thirty or thirty-two homilies, it might have contained between four and seven quires more.

The two-column setting of the page indicates that it was designed for public reading.

The ink used is of brownish color, except for the titles, scriptural quotations, and quire numbering, which are in red. With the same brownish ink, some drawings have been made by the copyist on f.38r. (a sword), f.36r. (a face

of Christ), f.35v. (a hand), and f.93v. (a dragon spitting fire). The only original marginals are written with the same ink and mark the beginning of the moral section of the homily (ἠθικόν) and the numbering of Cain's seven sins, on f.41v. and f.42r.

There are also many other inscriptions in the margins.

a) two monocondylia[29] in a fourteenth-century script are on f.32v. (Καθηγούμενος τῆς ρεθ. . . ἱεράς καὶ βασιλικῆς μεγάλης μονῆς, ἱερομόναχος καὶ ἡ σύναξις) and on f.42r. in blue ink (Κωσταντῖνος. . .).

b) probatio pennae on f.37v., 38v. (two attempts at copying the last line) f.69r. (calculations), f.95r. (an encrypted Greek alphabet and two tables).

c) later Greek inscriptions (eighteenth century?) on f.38v. (καλὰ τὰ κημήλια τις γὰρ ὤφι, ἄνθρωπος γὰρ φύσει παρθένος), on f.41v. (γαληνότατε βασιλεύς τῶν οὐρανῶν), on f.39r. (μέρος πρῶτον εἰς τὸ ἐποίησε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν).

d) the same hand in black ink on f.66r. the first εἱρμός of the first *Ode of the Iambic Christmas Canon:*

Ἔσωσε λαὸν θαυματουργῶν δεσπότης
Ὑγρὸν θαλάσσης κῦμα χερσώσας πάλαι
Ἑκὼν δὲ τεχθεὶς ἐκ κόρης, τρίβον βατήν
Πόλου τίθησιν ἡμῖν ὃν κατ᾽οὐσίαν
Ἴσον τε Πατρὶ καὶ βρότοις δοξάζομεν.

e) a Latin magic square with Greek letters is drawn and crossed on f.42r. (σαθορ - αρεπο - θενεθ - οπερα - ροτασ), together with the Latin *Ave Maria,* which is cut by the margin (Sancta maria mater d[ei]/hora pronobis pecato[ribus]/nunc et in hora mor[tis] nostre amen).

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[29] The monocondylia and marginal inscriptions have been deciphered by Profs. Igor Ševčenco and István Perczel.

f) on f.38r. there are two ornate initials (T), drawn in the margins in the "geometric" style of the Italian Romanesque illumination (later called Touronian).[30]

These marginal inscriptions helped Prof. Ševčenko trace an approximate itinerary. The manuscript might have travelled from a Constantinople scriptorium where it was copied and owned by several persons to a South Italian monastery and later on, in the eighteenth century, to a Hungarian monastery. During its travels, the manuscript lost part of its folios and some of the margins were cut (a few also for the binding): f. 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 42, etc.

The ruling is accurate and visible, without signs of pricking. The text is neatly and simply written. The title (number) of the homilies and the biblical fragment to be commented upon are written in red ink. Between the title and the scriptural quotation, there is a simple ornamental stripe in light brownish ink of the same style as the capital letters beginning the text of each homily. The end of each homily is also marked by an ornamental design.

The thorough paleographical analysis following leads to a more certain datation. The scriptural quotation used as the subject for each text follows the tradition of writing the Bible with uncials, but it is already a *bastarda* uncial, mixed with semiuncials (i, b, a), pointing to a date after the tenth century. The text is in the common Greek minuscule used in the eleventh – fourteenth centuries,[31] already fixed and mixed with semiuncials (λ, η, ϵ, θ, c used for final ç). These characteristics again point to a dating after the middle of the tenth century but not later than the eleventh.[32] There are not many ligatures, but all the three kinds of καί are used, together with an attempt at some ornamental letters - a peculiarity of the copyist (μ, ω). The script is variating between the

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[30] Robert Devréesse, *Intoduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris: Imprimérie Nationale, 1954), 129.
[31] ibid., 33.
[32] ibid., 34-35.

lines or hanging, and the shape of the breathing marks is variating too, slightly inclined towards the square-shaped,[33] pointing to a dating not very late after the tenth century.[34] The punctuation is complex: superior and intermediary dots, semicolons, and marginal dots for marking scriptural quotations. The paragraphs are marked by spacing between the last word of the first and the first word of the following paragraph as well as by the first letter of the next line, which protrudes into the margin. The manuscript seems to have been copied by one hand even though there are visible modifications towards the end. The script becomes more crowded and the letters smaller. The number of uncials also increases considerably in the second half of the codex. However, there are not enough reasons to suppose a second hand. Even with these many peculiarities, the script cannot be attributed to any of the known Greek copyists, being rather the common minuscule in use for three centuries in scriptoria.

This palaeographic analysis posits an eleventh-century dating at the latest. This early date makes the ELTE Codex Graecus 2 important for the manuscript tradition of the Chrysostomian texts. The script can also point to a Constantinople redaction as opposed to a South Italian one as the South Italian script has recognizable peculiarities.[35] The supposition has been presented by scholars that the twofold textual tradition of many of the patristic texts derives from these two medieval scriptoria. However, a detailed textual analysis of Codex Graecus 2 will reveal an alternate assessment.

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[33] B.M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (New York, 1981), 49.

[34] "The shape of the breathing marks is square before 1000 and only round after 1300," ibid., 50.

[35] In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Constantinople and Southern Italy were the two centres where the copying of Greek manuscripts flourished determining two distinct traditions and possibly two trends in the textual tradition.

CONCLUSION

1) Scribal Errors in Codex Graecus 2; Evaluation of this Manuscript

In my analysis of the texts of some homilies in Codex Graecus 2, I focused on the internal stylistic coherence, leaving aside other aspects, such as spelling and grammatical variants, which were not relevant for my interest. The text of the manuscript is stylistically coherent and consistent in its use of devices required by an oral discourse. Its focus centers on moral relevance and narrativity, and its main characteristic is the fluidity of the discourse. Very few scribal errors break this fluency. Usually they are omissions of particles, articles (CG.1r.I14; CG.1v.II4; CG.56v.I9; etc.) with no great importance for the text, and pronouns (CG.14v.I17; CG.15v.II15; verbal reference ποιῆσαι in CG.20v.I8, etc.), and other small linguistic units (necessary negation in CG.15v.II3-6; the subject πλήρεις in CG.17r.II17; the pronoun subject ἐκεῖνος in CG.23r.I10-12) the presence of which is crucial or necessary for understanding. One group of mistakes refers to the case regime of pronouns and pronoun conjunctives which are sometimes mistakenly used (CG.13v.II28-31 αὐτῷ instead of αὐτοῦ/αὐτῇ; CG.16v.II2ai κἀκείνῳ instead of κἀκεῖνον; CG.19v.20-25 ἑαυτοῖς instead of ἑαυτούς; CG.20v.II1-3 accusative indirect object, etc). A few phrases or sentences have been omitted due to the *homoioteleuton* effect (CG.16v.I11-14; CG.8r.II20). There are very few additions (only two significant cases) as compared to the PG text, which are motivated by the context even if not required by the understanding (the augmented title-scriptural quotation of hom.17 in CG.18r.17ai and CG.14v.I7-6ai - αὐτῆς). These types of mistakes are characteristic to writing after dictation and point to a redaction of a text which was a delivered speech and noted down by stenographers. For this reason I will call this redaction the "stenographers' redaction" to define it in opposition

304

to the later emendated version of the same text. This fact points also to an earlier stage in the text tradition. The scarcity of mistakes and additions along with the internal coherence indicate a purer version of the text in this manuscript.

2) Corrections Proposed to the Patrologia Graeca Text According to Variant Readings in Codex Graecus

When comparing the text of CG with the PG, one may be amazed by the extensive number of variant readings as compared to the few mistakes in the manuscript. At first reading, the PG text is obviously different in stylistic conception, with different foci and with devices pointing rather to a text designed to be read, rather than to a homily. PG also has many additions as compared to the CG. In addition, there is a large number of obscure passages and semantic mistakes which destroy or modify the meaning. This text also lacks fluidity. In very many cases the CG version offered a clue for the mistaken passages and for many of the obscure ones. As detectable from the CG text, a *lectio difficillior* for other scribes or for the editor, was usually the reason for these later mistakes. Many of my proposed corrections to the PG version can be proposed on the basis of the CG text, the variant readings of which point to a version closer to the original and higher in purity.

There are serious mistakes in PG due most probably to the editor's lack of attention. A simple comparison with CG prunes them out. Such are the mistaken second person pronoun reference, ὑφ ᾽ὑμῶν in PG.119.33-34, instead of the correct first person reference, ὑφ ᾽ἡμῶν, the verbal reference ποιῆσαι (CG.20v.26-28) which is missing probably by mistake in PG.137.22 and is necessary for understanding. Such is the grammar mistake in PG.137.26-28 διὰ τοῦτο (accusative) which expresses the reason in a context where the genitive διὰ τούτου with instrumental meaning is required, as displayed by CG.20v.II1-3. Such also are the PG.139.37 omission of the pronoun reference αὐτός, present in CG.22v.17ai as required by the stylistic emphasis of the context and

the addition of the pronoun ἡμῖν, which is lacking in CG.25r.I3 and the presence of which in PG.143.17-18 renders the meaning of the sentence illogical.

There is a range of semantic mistakes due to *lectiones difficilliores* which can be ascribed both to the copyists of the manuscripts used by Montfaucon and to the negligence of the editor who missed the meaning or the semantic coherence. The readings of CG also offer corrections for some of these cases. This is mostly the situation in PG.120-2ai-121.14 versus the one in CG.8r.II20-29. The simple shift of the article case from nominative - τό - to genitive - τοῦ - changes the whole meaning of the text, offering a conclusion opposite to the one intended by the author, despite the grammatical and semantic coherence. The shift is most likely due to the scribes who perceived the *lectio difficillior* of the nominative as a mistake and "corrected" it. In turn, probably due to the manuscript evidence, the editor did not notice the difference. The fact that CG preserves the correct reading despite the fact that this occurence is easily mistaken is another argument for an early, uncorrupted version. Another notable case is the slight phonetic and semantic homonymy between ἤδεισαν (PG.126.34) and εἴδεσαν (CG.13r.I11), a major Chrysostomian reference throughout the text. The CG variant has a conceptual complexity and is consistently used to reveal this while the PG variant is neutral and breaks the inherent textual coherence. Obviously it was a *lectio difficillior* emendated as such by scribes and probably unnoticed by the editor. Therefore, the PG version can be corrected according to the CG variant.

An unnoticed inconsistency in the flow of the argumentation, due most probably to a scribal error subsumed in the edition, also breaks the logic of the fragment PG.128.40-42 which omits Τί ὅτι and by this omission modifies the entire meaning of the sentence. The CG.14v.II18-21 reading offers a correct variant here as well, restoring the balance and truth value of the whole passage.

In addition to the corrections to the obvious mistakes of PG, CG also displays better readings which were emendated by scribes as *lectiones*

difficilliores and assumed into the edited text. Such are the following examples: PG.138.11ai, ἐφικέσθαι versus CG.22r.I4, ἐφίεσθαι; PG.139.26-27, ἔδωκεν versus CG.22v.I6-10, παρείχε; PG.142.2-1ai, ἀναλαβεῖν versus CG.24v.II2 appropriately missing; PG.144.25-21ai, ἀνέπεισε versus CG.26r.I3-1ai ἀπέστησε; PG.147.11-12 ἀλλὰ τῇ σαυτοῦ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ πᾶν ἐπίγραφε versus CG.28r.II5-4ai, ἀλλὰ τῆς σαυτοῦ ῥᾳθυμίας τὸ πᾶν ἐπίγραφε. Most probably the version in CG was the original in both Chrysostomian redactions, the one in PG which offers a simpler, neutral meaning being a later scribal emendation. A collation of several manuscripts will support or discard this emendation as belonging to the author in the second Chrysostomian redaction. In any case, the *lectio difficillior* belongs to the first preached text as preserved in CG.

I listed all these corrections and better variant readings displayed by CG in comparison with the PG text as arguments in favour of the use of this manuscript for an eventual new edition. It is closer to the original, it displays a purer stage of the text, and it witnesses to the first redaction of the homilies, that is, to the oral sermon.

3) The Two-Fold Chrysostomian Redaction of the Homilies as Resulting from the Stylistic Analysis of the homilies in Codex Graecus 2

Besides the above mentioned examples there remain a large number of variant readings, sometimes entire passages, with equally good stylistic variants different according to differences in focus or overall conception. Their presence, together with a whole range of emendations consistently made in view of achieving concreteness and a closer textual reference, point to the existence of two original redactions of the same text of the homilies on the Genesis, as asserted by some students of Chrysostom's works.

In their analysis of the scriptural quotations in the homilies on the Gospel of St. John, Boismard and Lamouille, refering to the PG text of these homilies, notify this stylistic difference:

> en relisant les homélies de Chrysostome nous avons vite acquis la conviction que le texte n'en était pas homogène. Une même homélie en effet contenait souvent des contradictions é videntes. Par ailleurs, le style était, tantôt celui d'une véritable homélie, tantôt celui d'un commentaire exégetique"[39]

In another passage they note:

> le texte fusionnait en fait 2 oeuvres differentes: des homélies proprement dites et un véritable commentaire exégétique.[40]

Having as aim the analysis of the scriptural quotations, their assertion remains unproved. Nevertheless, their observation draws the attention to a two-fold stylistic pattern. What Boismard and Lamouille noticed while reading the PG text is obvious in a contrastive analysis of the PG with the CG version of the homilies on Genesis. There is a certain consistency in the PG stylistic pattern, even if sometimes the text is obscure and artificial. On the other hand CG has a text simpler in its stylistic pattern but with a better inner coherence and more logical. No obscure passage can be found in it. The differences in style between the two versions are obvious. This difference is surely due to the two-fold redaction as noticed by the above mentioned authors and by Markowicz, as a conclusion of his manuscript collation which resulted in a two-fold list of variant readings:

> there are "two families of manuscripts, I and II which are equally Chrysostom's, one coming from the hand of the scribes who took down his homilies as he delivered them, and the other demonstrating some corrections added by Chrysostom himself to the official scribes' copy. The other

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[39]Boismard - Lamouille, 11.
[40] ibid., 12.

family, family III, represents an attempt to rectify the discrepancies noticed between family I and II.[41]

Goodall[42] in his article on the text tradition of the homilies on Genesis reaches the same conclusion:[43]

> His favoured practice [Chrysostom's] it would seem, was, before publishing a set of sermons, to edit carefully the notes supplied by stenographers and so, produce a polished version.[44]

The above mentioned opinions are based rather on external analysis of the manuscripts than on evidences resulted from an internal one.

The internal analysis of the text reveals a whole consistent emendatory policy which bears Chrysostomian characteristics. This consistent correction and annotation of the homilies do not violate the peculiarities of the author's style and is detectable at all levels of the text. All these corrections are meant to enforce the textual coherence and to make the reference more concrete by explanatory devices, to define better the idea, concept or reference in the text. These characteristics are acquired by consistent addition of particles (PG.83.7ai adds the conclusive γάρ), adverbs (PG.126.44 adds σχεδόν; PG.128.5 adds νῦν, etc.),

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[41] Markowicz, 255.

[42] Goodall, "The Text Tradition of St. John Chrysostom's Homilies on Genesis"; reference misplaced

[43] Goodall ascribes a stylistic form of a lower quality to the preached homilies, mostly due to the inconsistencies in notation of the stenographers: "Where a sermon course has come down in a stylistically defective form, this may be due to the fact that the surviving text rests on an uncorrected transcription of the original notes of the stenographers who took it down", 93. My conclusion is quite different. In the first, preached redaction, the homilies are not stylistically inferior, but were composed in accordance with the aim and the receptor to whom they were destined (moral elevation of the public). Therefore this redaction should have a simpler syntax, a less complex conceptual content, a looser textual coherence in favour of narrativity.

In addition, stenographers could not interfere too much in the text. The mistakes produced by them, due mostly to the high speed of notation rather than to intentional modification, cannot have determined too many inconsistencies as shown by this analysis of CG. Rather the major inconsistencies were produced by later scribes who had enough time to think over semantic modifications or uniformisation of variant readings. My opinion is that the stenographers' redaction is more likely to preserve a purer text than the second emendated version which "invited", to extra scribal interference in the text because of its increased complexity .

[44] Goodall, 94.

adjectives (PG.78.44 adds θαυμαστότερον, etc.), nouns (PG.121.46-48 adds καὶ παραφροσύνη; PG.134.4-3ai adds καὶ κείμενον, etc.) and pronouns (PG.125.13, μοι; PG.131.19, ὑμῖν; PG.133.12-14, αὐτῷ, etc.), by verbal (PG.123.17ai μηνύω versus CG.10v.I9, μηκύνω; PG.125.47-49, ἀπολαῦσαι versus CG.12r.15-16, ἐπιτυχεῖν, etc) or noun synonymy (PG.126.20-24, πλοῦτον versus CG.12v.I17, θησαυρόν; PG127.25-26, τῆς μεταλήψεως versus CG.13v.II8-7ai, τῆς θεάς, etc), or by simple variation of verbal prefixes (PG.123.24ai, ὑπεισελθούσης versus CG.10r.II6-7ai, ἐπεισελθούσης, PG.126.7-8ai ἀπεργασάμενος versus CG.13r.II14, ἐργασάμενος, etc). Extra colloquial devices are added (PG.135.11-12 adds Εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, etc.) as well as many explanatory (PG.125.38-40 adds καὶ ἐπιβλαβεῖς θεωρίας;PG.127.3-4 adds διὰ τῆς ὁμιλίας, etc.) or completing phrases (PG.81.26ai, ὁ μακάριος προφήτης Δαυὶδ versus CG.2r.4ai, ὁ μακάριος προφήτης; PG.131.4ai διὰ τοῦτο φηψσὶν ἡ Γραφή versus CG.15v.II8, διὰ τοῦτο φησίν, etc.). Considered as alone, these can be easily ascribed to copyists but taken as a whole, they acquire intentional coherence, seen especially in the addition of pronouns, characteristic to any emendatory project. The greatest part of the variant readings while comparing the stenographers' redaction with the edited version in PG (as representative, due to the editorial rules, of the more complex secondary redaction) is made, as we can notice, of the pronoun additions.

A characteristic of Chrysostom's style is his afinity for emphatic expressions. The authorial emendation of the homily adds more such devices to the text: PG.78.52 adds πολλή; PG.131.29 adds τοσαύτης; PG.132.8-6ai adds πολλῆς, etc. Most of the noun and adjective additions are due to the same tendency.

Slight corrections required by the shift from the actual oral discourse to written "colloquialism" are also present as variants of the two redactions. An example is the shift from the singular addressing formula εἶδες, characteristic to the sermon style, to the more correct εἴδετε, preserving orality but more logical.

The fact that the two different versions had in target different receptors is obvious from the changes in focus of the discourse. Many fragments display a parallel series of stylistic characteristics and devices. The usual pattern for the public as receptor requires: simplicity; narrativity; colloquiality; shorter syntactical constructions; focus on context; general focus. the usual pattern for the reader as receptor requires: complexity; conceptual consistence; descriptiveness; increased textual coherence; more complicated syntactical constructions; concrete reference. This paralelism is obvious in variant passages like: PG.83.32-39 versus CG.56r.II12-15; PG.128.29 versus CG.14r.II1ai; PG.132.7-6ai versus CG.16v.I23; PG.133.33-42 versus CG.17r.I7-1ai - II1-10; PG.134.13.19 versus CG.17v.1-10, etc.

The CG/stenographers' text is characterised more by direct reference while the PG/emendated version is more metaphorical: PG 134.13-19, τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ τούτου ξύλου (with direct reference to the tree mentioned earlier) versus CG.17v.1-10, τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυρου.

Another characteristic of Chrysostom's emendatory policy is the augmentation of the scriptural quotations in the text and the adaptation of the interpretation to the new biblical reference. The reason is obviously the textual complexity and coherence in the intention of modifying the preached homily into an exegetical commentary (see the above mentioned tendency to acquire conceptual consistency). It is also obvious that the scriptural additions do not belong to the scribes for they have consistency throughout the text and the extra inherent commentary is too complex and too well-embedded in the whole to be attributed to scribes. This is the situation of the addition τούτου μόνου which occurs four times in PG (PG.138.22-24, PG.138.32-33, PG.138.36-39 and PG.138.37-38) determining a shift in the interpretation and focus of the discourse as compared to the two CG occurences where the commentary has a completely different focus. Another example is τό καλὸν καὶ τὸ πονηρόν,

present as reference text only in **PG** (PG.132.7-6ai, PG.133.33-42) while in CG it is not under focus as reference text, and has only one occurence.

The intentional change in focus is also obvious from the word-order, which sometimes shifts the reference from general to concrete: see PG.128.9 versus CG.14r.II10-11.

The complex syntactic structure of the first redaction becomes even more complex due to the change in conception and stylistic pattern, such as in PG.133.33-42 versus CG.17r.I7-1ai - II1-10.

Generally, the first redaction centres its discourse on the moral/theological subject offered by the biblical reference while the second redaction is rather centred on the Chrysostomian topos of the philantropy of God as subject.
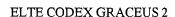
These two-fold equally valuable stylistic variants are the main arguments in favour of a double redaction of the texts of the homilies.

4) External Indicators of a Two-Fold Chrysostomian Redaction of the Homilies
To these internal evidences in favour of a two-fold redaction of the Chrysostomian homilies some external ones can be added.

The difference of length in the title-biblical quotation, as shown by our comparison between the CG and the PG text can be one of these indicators. The CG title-quotation of homilies 10 and 15 is longer than the corresponding one in PG.. Moreover, the PG titles are sometimes augmented by an explanatory sentence, such as in homily 9, in accordance with the Chrysostomian emphasis on the ineffable philanthropy of God. It is known the fact that while preaching, the Church Fathers used to indicate only the *locus* from the Bible which they were going to refer to. Besides, it is normal in a written exegetical commentary to quote all the reference text. It is more likely the Chrysostom expanded his titles due to this necessity. The fact that homily 17 has its title longer in CG/first redaction, with very strict reference to the next commentary can only point to other scribal tradition which made an omission or to the editor's inconsistent

notation. This problem can be solved only by comparison with several other manuscripts. I would rather incline towards the CG longer version as original, as it is necessarily required by the subject of the next paragraphs. As a rule, if attested by many manuscripts, the difference in length of the title scriptural quotations can be a reliable mark of the two-fold text tradition.

In the same manner, the external comparison of the endings of the homilies as they appear in the catalogue descriptions included in *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci* can be another reference point for the double redaction. The difference in the endings of homily 17 is three-fold. The longest is displayed by PG in conformity with Montfaucon's rule of editing the longer version. Besides this there are two shorter ones. The translation of these endings offer a clue for their redaction. I will note the three endings by using bold for the shortest, italic for the longer and normal for the extra passage ending.

PG.147.4ai - 148.31.

Εἶτα ἐντεῦθεν μνημονεύσατε τοῦ ἐπιτιμίου τῆς γυναικὸς, καὶ τῆς κολάσεως τῆς ἐπαχθείσης αὐτῇ, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς νουθεσίας, καὶ οὕτως τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ εἰρημένα μνημονεύσαντες, καὶ τῆς ἀποφάσεως εἰς ἔννοιαν ἐλθόντες, "Ὅτι γῆ εἶ, καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ", ἐτεῦθεν ἐκπλάγητε τὴν ἄφατον τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν, ὅτι ἡμᾶς τούς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὄντας, καὶ εἰς γῆν διαλυομένους, εἰ βουληθείημεν ἀρετὴν μετελθεῖν, καὶ κακίαν φυγεῖν, τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἐκείνων ἀγαθῶν ἀξιοῦν ἐπηγγείλατο τῶν ἡτοιμασμένων τοῖς ἠγαπηκόσιν αὐτὸν, "Ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη." Χάριν τοίνυν πολλὴν ὀφείλομεν ἡμῶν ὁμολογεῖν τῷ Δεσπότῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων εὐεργησιῶν, καὶ μηδέποτε λήθῃ ταῦτα παραπέμπειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων καὶ τῆς πολλῆς τῶν φαύλων ἀποφυγῆς, τοῦτον ἐξιλεωσώμεθα καὶ εὐμενῆ ἡμῖν καταστήσωμεν. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ πάσης τοῦτο ἀγνωμοσύνης δεῖγμα,

εἰ αὐτὸς μὲν, Θεὸς ὢν καὶ ἀθάνατος, τὴν φύσιν ἀναλαβέσθαι τὴν θνητὴν ἡμῶν καὶ γήϊνον οὐσίαν οὐ παρῃτήσατο, καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας νεκρώσεως ἀπαλλάξαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐρανὸν ταύτην ἀναβιβάσαι, καὶ τῇ πατρικῇ συνεδρίᾳ τιμῆσαι, καὶ ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς οὐρανίας στρατιᾶς προσκυνεῖσθαι καταξιῶσαι, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτῳ ἀνταμεῖψαι οὐ κατῃδέσθημεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀθάνατον ψυχὴν, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι, τῇ σαρκὶ προσκολλήσαντες, γήϊνον αὐτὴν καὶ νεκρὰν καὶ ἀνενέργητον γενέσθαι κατεσκευάσαμεν; Μὴ, παρακαλῶ, μὴ οὕτως ἀγνώμονες ὦμεν περὶ τὸν τοσαῦτα ἡμᾶς εὐηργετηκότα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῦ νόμοις ἑπόμενοι, τὰ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα καὶ εὐάρεστα ὄντα διαπραττώμεθα, ἵνα καὶ τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν ἀξίους ἡμᾶς ἀναδείξῃ ὧν γένοιτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀξιωθῆναι, χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ'οὗ τῷ Πατρί, ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι δόξα, κράτος, τιμὴ, νῦν καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Thus, from now on, remember the sentence to the woman, and the punishment, or rather admonition, assigned to her. In this way, recollecting what has been said to Adam, and understanding the verdict: "For you are earth and unto earth will you return," be astonished of the ineffable philanthropy of God, by which he promised us who are made of earth and who disolve into earth to deem us worthy, if only we want to pursue virtue and avoid evil, of these ineffable goods which he has prepared for those who love him – the goods *"which the eye has not seen, and the ear has not heard, and which have not reached the heart of man."*

We should, therefore, show much gratitude towards our Ruler for those great benefits and never let them fall into oblivion, but by doing good deeds and striving to keep away from bad actions, let us reconcile Him and render Him favourable to us. For how would it not be a sign of great ungratefulness if while He himself who is God and immortal did not hesitate to assume our mortal and earthly substance, to deliver it from the ancient decay, to uplift it above heaven,

to honour it by enthroning it together with the Father and deem it worthy to be worshipped by all the heavenly army, we will not be ashamed to reward this by the opposite and, as one would say, to stick the immortal soul to the flesh, and make it by this fact earthly, and dead, and inactive? No, I summon you, let us not be so ungrateful to that great Benefactor of ours, but following his laws always do what is pleasant and agreeable to him, so that He may show us worthy of the eternal goods. Of which let all of us be deemed worthy by the grace and philanthropy of our Lord Jesus Christ, together with whom be glory, power and honour to the Father, along with the Holy Spirit, now and forever, and into the ages of ages. Amen.

The two shorter versions seem original while the extra ending passage in PG is obviously added later, most probably not by the author. Though Chrysostomian in style, this fragment unnecessarily prolongs the homily. It is more likely that it has been written by the author but it belongs to another work (possibly to one of the sermons on Genesis or to another homily). It may have been merged here by a compilator. This long version occurs only in one of the manuscripts included in *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*[45] (Ms. B.II.16, Basel) which is of a very early date (tenth century). All the other manuscripts described in this collection have one of the shorter versions with an equal number of occurrences. The shortest (τοῖς ἠγαπηκόσιν αὐτόν), which is also the version of CG, is perfectly coherent and complete. The second shorter one, present in one half of the manuscripts, adds a scriptural quotation from the New Testament as a completion of the previously stated idea. Its presence is not necessarily required by the text; it provides more emphasis in accordance with Chrysostom's style. It is also a custom of Chrysostom to finish his homilies with a conclusive quotation from the New Testament. This two-fold difference can point to a later scriptural addition made by the author.

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[45]CCG III, 68.

The extra fragment is required by the customary structure of the homilies, which is usually fixed. The exegetical commentary of the Old Testament fragment is followed by a moral conclusion based on New Testament quotations. The last part (ἠθικόν) is a sermon composed as an exhortation to virtue and the love of God. Homily 17 is more extensive in the exegetical part than most of the other homilies. This is why it probably omitted the moral sermon. It is a complete structure in itself but is not in conformity with the customary form. Probably this inconsistency caused a scribe to add a Chrysostomian moral fragment in order to restore the rule. Returning to the two-fold shorter versions, the same reason could have caused Chrysostom to add the usual scriptural quotation to the end of the homily in his revised version. There are also three versions for the end of homily 16: a) καὶ δεσπότου φιλανθρωπίας. αὐτῷ δῶμεν δόξαν σὺν τῷ Πατρί (and the philanthropy of the Ruler, to him we give glory; b) τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας ἐπιτυχεῖν (to enjoy God's philanthropy...) and c) πέλαγος καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπιτύχωμεν, χάριτι (sea, and to enjoy the kingdom of heaven by the grace of.)

The two-fold ending of many of the homilies included in this cycle (starting usually with hom.16 and ending with hom. 24) can point to the double redaction. The shorter versions are usually associated with the second ending of homily 17 (οὐκ ἀνέβη). Only one late manuscript from the fourteenth century (Cod. gaec.73, Roma, Biblioteca Angelica),[46] associates the short τοῦ δεσπότου φιλανθρωπίας with the shortest τοῖς ἠγαπηκόσιν αὐτόν. There is only one manuscript described in CCG which has the PG version of the endings of the two manuscripts, the above mentioned Ms. B.II.16 from Basel dated to the tenth century. The variant c above appears only in two manuscripts (Selden Archiuum B. 21 olim Selden. 24 from the Bodleian Library, Oxford,[47]and Theol.

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[46]CCG II, 163.
[47]CCG I, 250.

gr., olim 114, Wien[48], from the tenth century). Nevertheless, most of the manuscripts in CCG have the longer version of the ending of homily 16 (the b ending as present in the CG and PG) associated with one of the shorter versions of homily 17 as in CG. This association causes me postulate the existence of an original short ending for homily 16, annotated by Chrysostom, and another stenographers' version. The problem of the endings is complicated by their inconsistent notation of the endings in CCG. A comparison with more manuscripts and with the different ending versions of the other homilies can clarify it. As noted before, the length of the scriptural quotations within the text can also serve as a mark in the same way as the endings and titles.

5) Problems Raised by Editing a Two-Redaction Text

Until now the arguments are clear and convincing in favour of the double redactions. Nevertheless, there are are also problems which can complicate the task of eventual editors who have to discern among the manuscripts the most reliable and to solve the issue of the text tradition.

Even if I did not make an analysis of the grammatical variants and transpositions, noting only those with semantic influence in the text, I must note a consistency in the use of verbal prefixes (PG has generally a prefixed verb where CG has verb with no prefix), in the use of verbal mood (generally PG had subjunctive where CG has optative + ἄν), in the use of cases (usually CG generalised the accusative direct object where PG has the classical standard genitive or dative direct object), in the use of adjectival endings (PG has the colloquial while PG the classical), and of pronoun conjunctives (PG has the later, logical form while CG the classical Attic standard). Wherever I could I added suggestions for these puzzling occurences, without claiming any clarification. A comparison with more manuscripts may provide a clue in this case as well.

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[48]CCG IV, 11.

Another problem which can hinder the choice of a variant in a possible edition is due to the variant readings of the Chrysostomian formulae and topoi, such as PG.124.16 τοῦ Δεσπότου φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπυ ῥᾳθυμίαν καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου βασκανίαν (CG.11r.I4-12 omits καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ῥα.θυμίαν) or PG 126.17 τοῦΘεοῦ τὴν ἄφατον φιλανθρωπίαν (CG.12v.II11 omits ἄφατον).Their inclusion in one or another of the redactions or their ascription to the author or scribe is very difficult. Their incompleteness in an earlier redaction can not be surely attributed to either the stenographer who might have produced the omission or to the author who renounced it in the delivered speech. Their completeness in a later redaction can also not be surely attributed to the authorial emendation or to scribal addition. The choice is to be made according to the context. I would prefer rather to preserve the Chrysostomian *formulae* and *topoi* in their complete form.

6) Suggestions for a New Editorial Policy

In concordance with the information provided by the existence of two original Chrysostomian versions of the homilies, the editorial policy of these texts should change. Even when scholars noticed the double stylistic redaction, they did not change their approach. Markowicz is satisfied with his two-fold list of variant readings and does not attempt any modification in the actual text. Boismard and Lamouille still adhere to the traditional editing rules, despite their own conclusion. From the two noted versions they choose one, the shorter as being considered more authentic,[49] which can be true, but not in terms of the two redactions earlier mentioned by them. Besides, the choice of one version shows the same unilaterality as Montfaucon's choice to the longest.

In terms of the two-fold redaction of the homilies, the traditional editorial rules are continuing the same scribal error, for centuries. The edition of these texts should not be one text which mixes up and tries to uniformise the two

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[49]"Le texte court se présente avec meilleures garanties d'autenticité," ibid., 58.

stylistic variants as the third family of manuscripts noted by Markowicz does. As proved by the PG text, such an edition cannot have internal coherence and results in mistaken readings and obscure passages. The text is an artificial composite, built up mainly on the basis of the second redaction which ofers a more complex reading, but losing the wealth of information offered by the oral version.

Thus, I would propose a two-fold text, edited in two columns, each with its own apparatus and variant readings. This would also make easier the task of tracing the manuscript tradition and using the whole amount of material at once. On the basis of external analysis, a preliminary division of the mannuscripts into three classes can be made. Manuscripts witnessing to the late, uniformised version would not be used because of their too corrupted form unless they are considered useful for one or the other version. The amount of material for one edited text will thus diminish, being easier to handle.

The necessity of using a *textus receptus* can be supplied by Savile's edition, the readings of which are, in many cases, the same with those in the purer CG version and are usually based on manuscript evidence.

It is also necessary to consider the most original manuscripts, with many variant readings as compared to the extant editions because these seem to be closer to an earlier redaction than the already uniformized ones. Thias would be one reason to include in the "good" manuscripts even fragmentary ones if they are early and original. In this respect, Codex Graecus 2, the study of which has led me to these conclusions, accumulates the qualities of a manuscript useful for an eventual text edition.