

ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

NOVA SERIES

VOL. III

HELSINKI 1962 HELSINGFORS

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ON THE BIBLE TEXT OF ST. ATHANASIUS

Henric Nordberg

As is well known, St. Athanasius assumes a key position in the Bible canon. In his thirtyninth Easter epistle, that of 367, he was the first to demarcate the number of the canonical writings and their mutual sequence in a way which became, and still is, the norm for the Church. Under these circumstances, it is easy to assume that also the Bible text, which St. Athanasius himself employed, became to some extent the one providing a norm. This did not occur. The normalized Koine text (Ⓐ) proved to be the victor in the tussle with the Alexandrian readings, and to all intents and purposes monopolized the field until there appeared our modern critical editions of LXX and NT.

The foundation for our best complete critical editions of LXX and NT, those of Rahlfs and Nestle respectively, is constituted to a very striking extent by the Codex Vaticanus (B) from the fourth century. In edition after edition of his *Patrologie*, B. Altaner¹⁰ put forward the thesis that this codex derived from St. Athanasius, and that it was in fact identical with the *πνεύματα* which Athanasius had had written on behalf of the Emperor Constans, to whom he handed them during his stay in Rome in the year 340.¹¹ That it was here a matter of Biblical manuscripts is obvious, although J. M. Szymusiak still considers it possible that it might have been a matter of the pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis Scripturae sacrae* (PG 28, 283—438), a theory which was first propounded by L. S. Nain de Tillemont¹², but was rejected by B. de Montfaucon as early as in 1706¹³. This »Synopsis» is quite certainly non-Athanasian; apparently it was attributed to St. Athanasius in the only surviving manuscript

¹⁰ B. Altaner, *Patrologie*, 3rd ed. 1951, p. 235; 5th ed. 1958, p. 246. — For the sake of clearness, the notes are numbered from 10 onwards.

¹¹ *Apol. ad Const.* ed. J.-M. Szymusiak, *Sources Chrétiennes* 56, 1958, p. 92, 8/9 = PG 25, 600 D.

¹² L. S. Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires* 8, p. 86.

¹³ B. de Montfaucon, *Collectio Nova Patrum* 2, p. XXVIII.

because it included a canon list which agreed in detail with the Athanasian one mentioned.

Altaner's theory that Athanasius was the author of the highly esteemed B manuscript thus remains unchallenged, or in other words that Athanasian readings do in fact dominate our modern critical editions of LXX and NT. He supports his theory on the fact that the scriptures of the Bible in codex B appear in the same order as in St. Athanasius' canon. Other attempts to link the B text with St. Athanasius have not been lacking. After what was apparently a very superficial investigation of the biblical quotations in Athanasius, **H. M. Gwatkin** came to the conclusion that the B text was dominant in them.¹⁴ And on the whole the general conception appears to be that Athanasius made use of a B text.

The possibility of making a decision whether there is any foundation for the very attractive theory of **Altaner** naturally involves a careful investigation of the Bible quotations in St. Athanasius and consideration of the text or the readings appearing there. If codex B is in fact a work of St. Athanasius, then the B text should be the dominating one in his writings. There is the greatest probability that he took as a basis for the manuscript ordered by the Emperor a text in which he had confidence, and which he could accept. To the best of my knowledge, no such investigation has been undertaken since **C. D. Tischendorff** formulated the apparatus for his NT. He included in this no less than 286 Athanasian and 58 pseudo-Athanasian readings. The most recent edition of Nestle's NT, the 24th edition of 1960, includes only two Athanasian readings (Luke 4: 1; Acts 5: 3).¹⁵

It is rather natural that scholars in this field have avoided the tedious labour involved in such an investigation. The writings of Athanasius are full of direct Bible quotations, and contain a large number of references, not always easy of identification, to places in the Bible. **G. Müller's** *Lexicon Athanasianum* (1952), which is based upon Migne's PG 25 and 26, with both their genuine and false Athanasian writings, and *De virginitate* from PG 28, has a list of Bible quotations which comprises a total of 2.460 separate items. And this list is

¹⁴ **H. M. Gwatkin**, *Studies of Arianism* 2, 1900, p. 73.

¹⁵ The American Textual Criticism Seminar, which systematically collects details of Bible texts, including quotations in Patristic authors, had not at the time of writing this, to the best of my knowledge, recorded any forthcoming investigation of the Bible quotations in St. Athanasius.

far from being complete as regards the writings concerned. I have myself found a large number which were not included by Müller; among these, those amounting to two or more verses constitute a not insignificant proportion.¹⁶

An investigation of the biblical quotations in St. Athanasius is rendered difficult by the fact that St. Athanasius was a biblicist in the sense that he made abundant use of direct quotations. In the genuine Athanasian writings covered by my investigation, I have noted 2,247 quotations, or minor word for word extracts from books of the Bible. Apart from explicit quotations, the language of St. Athanasius is filled with biblical turns of phrase and lengthy pronouncements which were taken direct from the Scriptures. As a rule, the quotations in St. Athanasius are short, and comprise one or two Bible verses. The one exception to this general rule is *Contra gentes*, which contains a number of long quotations, of which the longest amounts to no less than 11 verses. The quotations in the pseudo-Athanasian writing *Oratio IV contra Arianos* are of a completely different type. There, the quotations are either very short, small fragments, or are noticeably longer than is customary in the genuine Athanasian writings. In this short work, there are to be found more than half a dozen quotations which comprise four verses or more.

On the other hand, confirmation of the Athanasian Bible text is facilitated by the circumstance that in his quotations, St. Athanasius was remarkably careful to give the correct Bible text down to the last detail. It is, of course, a generally known fact that teaching in the school of catechists in Alexandria was, to a great extent, based upon the memorization of Bible texts, and it is certain that Athanasius could cite a considerable number of Bible quotations from memory. But the method employed by Athanasius in the formulation of his tracts ran counter to this quoting from memory. It is obvious that Athanasius, before committing himself to paper, made notes of the Bible quotations, which might be needed in dealing with a certain theme, and then built up the factual reasoning round this framework. This written definition of biblical quotations, or in any case the majority of them, means that Athanasius' Bible quotations are given with extraordinary word for word accuracy. In its turn, the method he employed constitutes an important prerequisite for an investigation of the Bible text of St. Athanasius.

¹⁶ There is reason at this point to give a warning to those scholars who use Müller's Lexicon as a wordindex, which it is in fact by reason of the author's general accuracy and carefulness. It does occur that Müller includes words as Athanasian which appear in biblical quotations not identified by him.

Work on the Athanasian Bible texts is, however, rendered a difficult matter by the fact that only a fraction of the works of Athanasius has appeared in modern critical editions. Before his death, H.-G. Opitz succeeded in editing, in Volume II of Athanasius Werke, published by direction of the Kirchenväter-Kommission der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,¹⁷ *De decretis Nicaenae synodi, De sententia Dionysii, Apologia de fuga sua, Apologia secunda, Epistola encyclica, Historia Arianorum* and *De synodis*. In this investigation, I have followed this edition as far as these writings are concerned. For *Apologia ad Constantium imperatorem*, I have followed the edition by J.-M. Szymusiak in Sources Chrétiennes 56, which is based upon the material compiled by Opitz. A. Robertson's edition of *Oratio de incarnatione Verbi* has been followed for this work¹⁸; this edition was based upon the so-termed Codex Seguerianus (= S), but I have made use of the collations of other manuscripts made by G. J. Ryan.¹⁹ For *Epistola ad Epictetum*, I have kept to G. Ludwig's edition.²⁰ For *De virginitate*, use was made of E. von der Goltz's edition.²¹ As far as all other Athanasian texts are concerned, it was necessary to refer to the text of Migne (= PG), volume 25, and 26, based upon B. de Montfaucon's old edition. One consolation in this connection is that in his work he somewhat surprisingly made use of modern critical methods. For *Orationes contra Arianos I—III*, reference was made also to W. Bright's reprint of the PG text.²²

In studying the Bible text of a given author, one must, along with the influence of memorization, remind oneself that the old Bible manuscripts had a completely different shape and size from our printed editions. The famous Codex Sinaiticus probably measured 16 × 28 inches in its original form,²³ whereas the Codex Alexandrinus measures 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches × 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches.²⁴

¹⁷ H.-G. Opitz' task has been taken over by Professor W. Schneemelcher, Bonn. I understand that the continuation is in proof form, but at the time of printing this publication has not taken place. — The name of the Kirchenväter-Kommission was during the war altered to *Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte* der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.

¹⁸ A. Robertson, *St. Athanasius on the Incarnation* 3, 1901. As this text is not now generally available, I give below references also to F. L. Cross' edition (1957), on the basis of the same MS. Robertson's text is reprinted by R. P. Casey in his *De Incarnatione of Athanasius II*. (Studies and Documents, XIV, 2, 1946.) This text, too, is not very easy to obtain.

¹⁹ G. J. Ryan, *The De Incarnatione of Athanasius I*. (Studies and Documents, XIV, 1, 1945.)

²⁰ G. Ludwig, *Athanasii Epistula ad Epictetum*, Diss. Jena 1911.

²¹ *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur* 29 = NF 14, 1905.

²² W. Bright, *St. Athanasius' Orations against the Arians* 2, 1884.

²³ *The Codex Sinaiticus and The Codex Alexandrinus*. British Museum, 1951, p. 12.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 30.

This meant that one and the same Bible text was to a great extent restricted to one and the same place. Of course, there must have existed also more easily handled examples of the books of the Bible for liturgical use. Athanasius himself indicated that this was the case with the Book of Psalms.²⁵ But a complete Bible codex was restricted to a definite place. For this reason, it appears to be correct from the point of view of method to investigate Athanasius' writings in chronological order according to the different places where the various writing can be supposed to have been compiled.

For the sake of perspicuity, I must at this point anticipate one of the chief results of my investigation. The Bible text of St. Athanasius principally circles round the readings which are represented by the two great Bible manuscripts, Codex Alexandrinus (= A), and Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1209 (= B). Other readings appear only sporadically. I shall revert later to the appearance of the R text in Athanasian writings. The circumstances with the pseudo-Athanasian writings are absolutely different.

For a general index of the Bible quotations in Athanasius' writings discussed in this paper, see p. 138.

The first group investigated comprises three writings of the period 339—351 in Alexandria: Ep. encycl., De decr. Nic. syn., De sent. Dion.

EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA (year 339; 5 quotations) gives no indication of the Bible text followed.

EPISTOLA DE DECRETIS NICAENAE SYNODI (year 350/351; 100 quotations) follows an A text, in most instances in direct opposition to B. The following A readings are to be noted²⁶:

Deut. 13: 19 εἰσακούσητε (pro ἀκούσης), ἐναντίον²⁷ (pro ἐνώπιον) Opitz 6, 4; *Ps.* 109: 3³ ἐγέννησα (pro ἐξεγέννησα) Opitz 18, 13; 33, 8; *Is.* 40: 28 Θεός (pro ὁ Θ.) Opitz 6, 30; *Is.* 44: 24 πλάσσω (= B; ὁ πλάσσω S) Opitz 8, 21; *Jer.* 2: 13 ζῶντος (pro ζωῆς) Opitz 11, 3; *Matth.* 28: 19

²⁵ τὸ ψαλτήριον ἔτι κατέχουσιν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ Ep. encyclica, Opitz 173, 18/19. ψαλτήριον ἔχε De virginitate, Goltz 46, 7.

²⁶ Below the following usual abbreviation have been employed: *add.* = addit; *om.* = omittit, omittunt; *pr.* = praemittit, praemittunt; *tr.* = transponit, transponunt. > is used for 'as opposed to'.

²⁷ Opitz has here ἐνώπιον, in accordance with Athanasian manuscripts BKPO; to me, it seems more correct to follow the REJV MSS, which give the above reading. MS A has here ἐναντί.

βαπτίζοντες (pro βαπτίσαντες) Opitz 29, 20/21; *Joan.* 1: 18 b ὁ μονογενῆς υἱός (pro [ὁ] μονογενῆς Θεός) Opitz 11, 38; 18, 18; *Rom.* 8: 35 Χριστοῦ (pro Θεοῦ) Opitz 16, 37; *1 Cor.* 8: 6 b δι' οὗ (pro δι' ὧν) Opitz 7, 11; 14, 34; *Gal.* 4:6 ὁ Θεός (om. B) Opitz 27, 32; *Colos.* 1: 12—17 τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (om. τὰ B), ἡμᾶς (pro ὑμᾶς) Opitz 14, 36.

Alongside these A readings, there appears only one specific B reading:

Jer. 1:5 a ἐν κοιλίᾳ (A: ἐκ κοιλίας) Opitz 8, 19.

DE SENTENTIA DIONYSII (year 350/51; 63 quotations) A readings:

Prov. 12: 7¹ ὁ ἀσεβής (ὁ om. B) Opitz 61, 28; *Act.* 17: 30, 31 παραγγέλλει²⁸ (pro ἀπαγγέλλει) Opitz 50, 25.

The following large group comprises the writings of St. Athanasius during his exile from 356 to 362, which he spent in the deserts of Upper Egypt. This period coincided with the literary flourishing of St. Athanasius. There then appeared *C. Ar.* I—III²⁹, *Apol. ad Const.*, *Apol. de fuga*, *Apol. secunda*, *Vita Ant.*, *Ad. Ser.* I—IV, *Hist. Ar.*, *De synodis*.

ORATIO I CONTRA ARIANOS (275 quotations) includes both B and A readings to approximately corresponding extents:

Ps. 19: 8^{1,2} Κυρίου (B; om. A) BR² 42, 7/8 = PG 96 B 1/3; *Ps.* 44: 7, 8¹ ἀδικίαν (A; ἀνομίαν B) BR² 47, 30/33 = PG 105 C 4/7; BR² 53, 19 = PG 117 B 6/7³⁰; *Ps.* 88: 7² Τίς (B; om. A) BR² 59, 29 = PG 132 A 2/3; *Ps.* 88: 17, 18 καύχημα (A; pr. τό B) BR² 43, 23/25 = PG 97 C 4/6³¹; *Ps.* 89: 1², 2 ἐγενήθης ἡμῶν (A; tr. B) BR² 14, 21/24 = PG 40 A 9/13; καὶ ἕως (A; καὶ om. B) *ibid.*; *Prov.* 3: 19 ἐν (A; om. B) BR² 20, 34/36 = PG 52 B 9/11; *Prov.* 8: 10, 11 versum om. B BR² 58, 10/12 = PG 128 B 3/6; *Os.* 7: 15², 16¹ καὶ (B; om. A) BR² 7, 21/22 = PG 25 A 14/16; *Mal.* 3: 6 καὶ (B; om. A) BR² 37, 15/16 = PG 85 B 15/C 1; *Is.* 40: 28 om. ὁ Θεός (A > B) BR² 13, 11/12 = PG 36 C 12/13; *Jer.* 1: 5 a ἐν κοιλίᾳ (B; ἐκ κ-ίας A) BR² 14, 20/21 = PG

²⁸ According to Ath. MSS BKP V. Ath. MSS REFW give the B reading ἀπαγγέλλει.

²⁹ The datings vary considerably. Earlier scholars, including F. Loofs, assume the date to be about 340, thus during the second exile in Rome. A. Stegmann laid the basis for the present more commonly accepted dating to the year 356 on. (*Theologische Quartalschrift* 96, 1914, p. 423 et seq. and 98, 1916, p. 227 et seq.) My investigation supports the supposition that the latter dating is more correct, dealt with later on.

³⁰ Codex Seguerianus = Ath. MS C. Coislinianus gr. 45 (= S) gives in these two last instances the reading ἀνομίαν.

³¹ Ath. MS S τὸ καύχημα.

40 A 8; *Jer.* 2: 13 ζῶντος (A; ζωής B) BR² 20, 10 = PG 49 C 7/8; *Bar.* 4: 20 b, 22 ἤλπισα ἐπὶ τῷ αἰωνίῳ (B; tr. A) BR² 13, 13/15 = PG 36 C 14/15; *Joan.* 17: 17 ἀλήθεια (pr. ἡ B) BR² 48, 29 = PG 108 B 15/C 1; *Joan.* 17: 18, 19 ἐγώ (B[⊕]; om. A)³² BR² 48, 20/21 = PG 108 B 6/9; *Act.* 2: 36 ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός³³ (B; tr. A) BR² 55, 27/29 = PG 121 C 2/5; *Act.* 8: 34 τοῦτο (om. B) BR² 56, 24/25 = PG 124 C 1/2; *1 Cor.* 3: 16 οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν (A; tr. B) BR² 48, 36/49, 2 = PG 108 C 9/10; *1 Cor.* 15: 45 ἄνθρωπος (om. B) BR² 53, 30 = PG 117 C 3; *1 Cor.* 15: 47 om. ὁ Κύριος (B > A) BR² 46, 9/10 = PG 104 A 10/11; *Hebr.* 1: 1—4 τῶν ἀγγέλων (B om. τῶν) BR² 57, 17/23 = PG 125 B 12/C 4; BR² 56, 16/17 = PG 124 B 7/8; BR² 55, 22/24 = PG 121 B 12/14; *Hebr.* 1: 8, 10, 11 τοῦ αἰῶνος (om. B) BR² 60, 25/28 = PG 132 C 9/13; *Hebr.* 7: 22 om. καί (A [⊕]) BR² 62, 28 = PG 137 A 3/4.

Alongside these B and A readings, some typical [⊕] readings also appear in this writing³⁴:

Ps. 5: 6² om. Κύριε BR² 54, 27/28 = PG 120 C 1/2; *Philip.* 2: 5—11 φρονείσθω (pro φρονεῖτε) BR² 41, 16/26 = PG 93 B 13/C 10; ὄνομα (pro τὸ ὄνομα) *ibid.*; *1 Tim.* 4: 1, 2 κεκαυτηριασμένων (pro κεκαυστηριασμένων) BR² 9, 2/5 = PG 28 C 2/6; *Hebr.* 1: 1—4 δι' ἑαυτοῦ; ἡμῶν BR² 57, 17/23 = PG 125 B 12/15; *Hebr.* 7: 22 τοσοῦτον (pro -το) BR² 62, 27 = PG 137 A 3/4.

ORATIO II CONTRA ARIANOS (388 quotations). The text in the quotations is of an exactly similar type to that in C. Ar. I:

Gen. 1: 14 versum om. (B > A) BR² 96, 32/35 = PG 205 A 4/8; *Gen.* 2: 17 φάγησθε³⁵ (A > B) BR² 136, 21/22 = PG 288 A 14/15; *Gen.* 48: 5 ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ (B; ἐν γῆ Αἴγ. A) BR² 72, 33/35 = PG 156 B 9/11; πρὸς σὲ εἰς Αἴγ. (A; tr. B) *ibid.*; *Deut.* 4: 32 ἄνθρωπον (B; pr. τόν A) BR² 115, 15/17 = PG 244 B 2/5; *Deut.* 32: 6^{3,4} om. καὶ ἔκτισε σε (> B) BR² 128, 13/14 = PG 269 C 12/14; BR² 128, 30/32 = PG 272 B 2/4; *Deut.* 32: 17, 18 πρόσφατοι (B; pr. καί A) BR² 128, 32/35 = PG 272 B 5/8; *Ps.* 2: 6^{1,2} βασιλεύς (om. B) BR² 122, 16/17 =

³² Ath. MS S ἐγώ.

³³ Sic Ath. MS S.

³⁴ [⊕] readings have of course most easily, through the intermediation of the so-termed »textus receptus», been able to creep into the text as a foreign loan. In view of the certain [⊕] readings' appearance in other Athanasian writings, I have, however, noted them here also.

³⁵ Sic Codex Regius 2285 = Ath. MS C. Parisinus gr. 474 (= R); φάγητε Ath. MS S and B (= C. Basiliensis gr. A III); φάγηται C. »Felckmanni 4» = C. Genevensis gr. 891 (= b); »alii» φάγεσθε.

PG 257 C 2/3; *Ps.* 15: 10 ἄδου³⁶ (A; [τόν] ἄδην B) BR² 84, 11/12 = PG 180 A 5/7; BR² 84, 36 = PG 180 C 5/6; *Ps.* 21: 31², 32^{1,2} ὁ Κύριος (B; ὁ om. A) BR² 136, 19/21 = PG 288 A 10/13; *Ps.* 32: 6¹ Κυρίου (A; τοῦ K. B) BR² 101, 11/12 = PG 213 B 14/15; *Ps.* 44: 7^{1,2} τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος³⁷ (B) BR² 81, 22/23 = PG 173 B 1/3; *Ps.* 88: 7² καὶ τίς (B; om. A) BR² 119, 10 = PG 252 B 6/7; *Ps.* 115: 7² Ἐγὼ δοῦλος σός (B; om. A) BR² 71, 31/32 = PG 153 B 9/10; *Prov.* 1: 7¹ Κυρίου (A; Θεοῦ B) BR² 150, 31 = PG 316 C 11/12; *Prov.* 8: 23 om. ἐν ἀρχῇ (A > B) BR² 150, 35/36 = PG 317 A 2/3; *Eccl.* 7: 10¹⁻³ πρότερον (A; πρότεραι B) BR² 149, 20/22 = PG 313 B 11/13; *Eccl.* 8: 1² αὐτοῦ (B; om. A) BR² 149, 18/19 = PG 313 B 9/10; *Eccl.* 12: 14¹⁻³ ἄξει ὁ Θεός (A; tr. B) BR² 73, 35/36 = PG 157 B 10/12; *Sap.* 9: 2 κατεσκεύασας (B > A) BR² 115, 9/10 = PG 244 A 11/13; *Is.* 25: 8 ὁ Θεός (pr. Κύριος B) BR² 85, 1 = PG 180 C 6; *Is.* 26: 13 Κύριε, ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν (om. B) BR² 82, 20 = PG 176 B 1; *Is.* 38: 19, 20 a Κύριε (Θέε B) BR² 72, 21/22 = PG 156 A 8/10; *Is.* 40: 28 om. ὁ Θεός (A > B) BR² 94, 12/14 = PG 200 B 8/11; *Is.* 45: 14 om. ἐροῦσιν (B > A) BR² 92, 25/27 = PG 196 C 3/8; *Jer.* 38: 22 ἐν ἣ σωτηρία (A; ἐν σ. B; εἰς σ-αν S) BR² 116, 5/6 = PG 245 A 9/11; *Matth.* 19: 4 κτίσας (B; pro ποιήσας) BR² 127, 11/12 = PG 268 C 7/8; *Joan.* 1: 18 ὁ μονογενῆς υἱός ῤ BR² 133, 3 = PG 280 B 8/9; *Joan.* 10: 38 πιστεύητε (B; -ετε A) BR² 81, 5/7 = PG 172 C 8/11; om. καὶ γινώσκητε (B) *ibid.*; *Joan.* 17: 3 γινώσκωσι (B; -ουσι A) BR² 152, 10/12 = PG 320 B 6; *I Cor.* 10: 13 ὑμᾶς πειρασθῆναι (tr. B) BR² 74, 18/19 = PG 160 A 4/5; *Ephes.* 1: 3—5 καὶ πατήρ (om. B) BR² 146, 8/12 = PG 308 A 9/B 3; *Ephes.* 1: 11 ἐκληρώθημεν (B; ἐκλήθημὲν A) BR² 146, 19 = PG 308 B 10; *Colos.* 1: 15—17 a τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (A; τά om. B) BR² 115, 18/22 = PG 244 B 6/12; τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (A; τά om. B) *ibid.*; *Colos.* 1: 18 ἀρχή (pr. ἡ B) BR² 136, 2/4 = PG 285 C 3/6; *Hebr.* 1: 4 τῶν ἀγγέλων (τῶν om. B) BR² 69, 8/9 = PG 148 C 8/9; BR² 87, 20/22 = PG 185 A 10/11; *Hebr.* 2: 14—18, 3: 1, 2 τὰς ἁμαρτίας (B; ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις A) BR² 76, 32/77, 8 = PG 164 B 9/C 10.

Some typical S readings can be noted:

Jer. 23: 29 ὡσπερ (ὡς B) BR² 108, 18/19 = PG 229 A 9/10; om. φλέγον, λέγει Κύριος (BS) *ibid.*; πέλυξ (BS) *ibid.*; *Matth.* 6: 25—30 om. ἢ τί πίνετε BR² 94, 20/32 = PG 200 C 3/201 A 5; *Joan.* 6: 38, 40 ποιήσω BR² 124, 8/14 = PG 261 B 12/C 6; *Joan.* 6: 46 τοῦ πατρὸς (pro τοῦ Θεοῦ) BR² 91, 16/17 = PG 193 B 1/2.

³⁶ Ath. MS S τὸν ἄδην; Ath. MSS R and b ἄδου.

³⁷ Ath. MS S om. τὸν et τοῦ.

The following $\text{\textcircled{R}}$ readings:

Joan. 17: 4 ἐτελείωσα BR² 136, 35/36 = PG 288 C 1/3; *Ephes.* 2: 14, 15 ἐαυτῶ³⁸ BR² 115, 30/31 = PG 244 C 7/9; BR² 125, 14/17 = PG 264 C 5/9; *2Tim.* 1: 8—10 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ BR² 146, 2/5 = PG 308 A 3/8; *2 Tim.* 2: 13 om. γάρ BR² 78, 18/19 = PG 168 A 9/10.

ORATIO III CONTRA ARIANOS (353 quotations). In general type, the quotations in this writing represent the same text as appear in the foregoing oration; a combined text of B and A readings, together with some typical $\text{\textcircled{R}}$ readings. B and A readings dominate:

Gen. 32: 27 b με εὐλογήσης (B; tr. A) BR² 166, 20/21 = PG 348 A 4/5; *Gen.* 48: 15 b, 16 a Θεός (Κύριος B) BR² 166, 8/10 = PG 345 C 2/5; *Ex.* 3: 2, 4, 6 φλογὶ πυρός (tr. B) BR² 168, 24/27 = PG 352 A 9/13; ὁ Θεός (A; ὁ om. B) *ibid.*; *Ps.* 15: 10 εἰς ἄδην³⁹ (B; ἄδου A; εἰς τὸν ἄ. S) BR² 210, 31/33 = PG 444 C 3/5; *Ps.* 17: 1—3 ἡ ἰσχὺς (ἡ om. B) BR² 167, 5/9 = PG 348 B 15/C 5; *Ps.* 32: 6¹ Κυρίου (SA; pr. τοῦ B) BR² 218, 23/24 = PG 460 C 11/12; *Ps.* 88: 7² τίς (B; om. A) BR² 164, 23/24 = PG 344 A 4/5; *Ps.* 113: 11 om. ἄνω, ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (A > B) BR² 213, 13/14 = PG 449 A 14/15; *Ps.* 117: 6^{1,2} om. καὶ (B > A) BR² 207, 19/20 = PG 437 A 4/5; *Prov.* 3: 19 ἐν φρονήσει (ἐν om. BS) BR² 216, 34/35 = PG 457 A 5/6; BR² 218, 21/22 = PG 460 C 8/10; *Prov.* 29: 7² νοεῖ (BS; συνήσει A) BR² 180, 16/17 = PG 377 A 1/2; *Matth.* 10: 16 ἐν μέσῳ (A; εἰς μέσον B) BR² 173, 11/13 = PG 361 A 14/B 2; *Joan.* 5: 37, 38 ἐκεῖνος (BS; αὐτός A) BR² 170, 35/171, 3 = PG 356 B 14/C 4; *Joan.* 10: 37, 38 πιστεύητε (B; -ετε A) BR² 186, 23/26 = PG 392 A 1/5; BR² 208, 12 = PG 440 A 3/4; *Joan.* 13: 21 ὁ Ἰησοῦς (A; ὁ om. B) BR² 181, 4/6 = PG 377 C 1/4; λέγω ὑμῖν (tr. B) *ibid.*; *Joan.* 17: 17 ἀλήθεια (pr. ἡ B) BR² 174, 21/22 = PG 364 B 15; *Rom.* 5: 14 ἐπὶ (A; ἐν B) BR² 187, 25/26 = PG 393 A 14; *Rom.* 8: 35 Χριστοῦ (A; Θεοῦ B) BR² 179, 36/180, 1 = PG 376 B 12/13; *1 Cor.* 1: 4 Θεῶ μου (A; μου om. B) BR² 167, 28/31 = PG 349 B 3; *1 Cor.* 2: 4 σοφίας λόγοις (B; ἀνθρωπίνης σ. λ. A) BR² 155, 34/35 = PG 325 A 10; *2 Cor.* 1: 10 καὶ ῥύσεται (B; om. A) BR² 167, 11/12 = PG 348 C 7/9; *1 Petr.* 2: 24 ἡμῶν (A; ὑμῶν B) BR² 186, 15/16 = PG 389 C 2/3; *1 Petr.* 4: 1 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν (A $\text{\textcircled{R}}$; om. B) BR² 185, 29/30 = PG 389 A 4/5⁴⁰; BR² 188, 19/20 = PG 396 A 14/B 1; *1 Joan.* 4: 13 δέδωκεν (B; ἔδωκεν A) BR² 178, 26 = PG 373 A 14; *1 Joan.* 4: 15 ὁμολογήσει (B; -γη A)

³⁸ Ath. MS S αὐτῶ = NT MSS of group $\text{\textcircled{S}}$.

³⁹ εἰς τὸν ἄδην Ath. MSS RS.

⁴⁰ Om. Ath. MSS RSU (= Codex Musei Britannici Harleianus 5579); b³ (= C. Genevensis gr. 892).

BR² 179, 8/10 = PG 373 C 6/8; om. *Χριστός* (A > B) *ibid.*; 1 *Joan.* 5: 20 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (B; om. A) BR² 162, 26/27 = PG 340 A 8/9; BR² 174, 13/15 = PG 364 B 3/8; *Θεόν* (A; om. B) *ibid.*

The following \mathfrak{R} readings can be noted:

Ps. 134: 6^{1,2} *πάσαις*⁴¹ BR² 213, 17/19 = PG 449 B 2/5; *Luc.* 2: 52 *σοφία* (pro ἐν [τῆ] σ.) BR² 181, 10/11 = PG 377 C 8/9; BR² 203, 34/35 = PG 429 B 1/3; BR² 205, 35/36 = PG 433 B 6/7; *Joan.* 10: 37, 38 *πιστεύσατε* (pro *πιστεύετε*) BR² 208, 12 = PG 440 A 3/4; BR² 221, 15/16 = PG 465 C 5⁴²; *Joan.* 14: 23 *ποιήσομεν* (pro *ποιησόμεθα*)⁴³ BR² 165, 15/16 = PG 344 C 6/7; *Joan.* 17: 17 *ἀληθεία σου* BR² 174, 21/22 = PG 364 B 15; *Joan.* 17: 21 ἐν ὧσιν BR² 179, 20/21 = PG 376 A 4/6; *Hebr.* 9: 26 *ἀμαρτίας* (pro τῆς ἀ.)⁴⁴ BR² 185, 24/25 = PG 388 C 14/D 1; 1 *Joan.* 3: 5 ἡμῶν BR² 189, 8/9 = PG 397 A 3/5.

APOLOGIA AD CONSTANTIUM IMPERATOREM (year 357, 28 quotations) proves to be a mixed text of A and B readings combined:

Prov. 25: 18 ἀκιδωτόν (B; ἀκηλίδωτον A) Szymusiak 101, 30/31; *Eccl.* 10: 20 ἀποίσει σου (B; ἀ. σύν A) Szymusiak 91, 29/33; ἔχων (A; om. B) *ibid.*; τὰς πτέρυγας (B; τὰς om. A) *ibid.*

APOLOGIA DE FUGA SUA (year 357; 76 quotations). The B text dominates over the A text:

1 *Regn.* 21: 14 τὸ πρόσωπον (B; τὸν π. A) Opitz 75, 16/17; 1 *Regn.* 22: 2 πᾶς (B; om. A) Opitz 74, 4; *Eccl.* 5: 7, 8 a ἐπ' αὐτῆς (A; ἐπ' αὐτούς B) Opitz 83, 2/4; *Job* 5: 26 ἐλεύση (B; ἀπελεύση) Opitz 78, 14; *καιρόν* (B; *καιρὸν αὐτοῦ* A) *ibid.*; *Is.* 26: 20 λαός (B; pr. ὁ A) Opitz 82, 31; *Matth.* 26: 45 λοιπόν (B; τὸ λ. A) Opitz 77, 26; *Joan.* 8: 58 b, 59 καὶ διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο καὶ παρήγεν οὕτως (A; om. B) Opitz 77, 6; *Joan.* 11: 53, 54 ἐβουλεύσαντο (B; *συνεβ.*- A) et *Joan.* 18: 5 Ἰησοῦς (B) Opitz 79, 3/5; *Rom.* 8: 37, 35 a *Χριστοῦ* (A; *Θεοῦ* B) Opitz 82, 12/13.

In addition, there appear in this writing a pair of readings which are in common with neither B nor A:

Ps. 39: 2, 3 ἰλύος (BA: ὕλεως⁴⁵) Opitz 83, 8/10; *Matth.* 14: 12, 13 σῶμα (\mathfrak{R} ; pro πτώμα) Opitz 77, 11/13.

⁴¹ Sic Ath. MSS RS; «alii» om.

⁴² But *πιστεύετε* BR² 186, 23/26 = PG 392 A 1/5!

⁴³ *ποιήσομεν* Ath. MSS RS; «alii» -*σόμεθα*.

⁴⁴ *ἀμαρτίας* Ath. MSS RS; «alii» τῆς ἀμαρτίας.

⁴⁵ This BA version appears in Ath. MSS RE.

APOLOGIA SECUNDA (year 357; 28 quotations) ⁴⁶.

Tob. 12: 7 κρούπτειν (A; pro κρούσαι B) Opitz 96, 9; *Jer.* 22: 10 ἐπιστρέψει (B; ἀναστρ. A) Opitz 90, 18/19.

VITA ANTONII MONACHI (year, approx. 357; 64 quotations) is linked, as far as the general type of the Bible text is concerned, with the text which was made a basis for the Bible quotations in C. Ar. I—III. It is presumably a coincidence that the ℞ readings here are in number greater than the B and A readings. The old Latin translation, versio Evagrii, of which Evagrius of Antioch was the author, confirms all these ℞ readings and accordingly provides an instance that the ℞ readings were not strange to Athanasius and necessarily of later insertion. I have noted the readings worthy of remark:

Ps. 19: 8^{1,2} Κυρίου (B; om. A) PG 900 B 12/14; *Ps.* 49: 16¹⁻³ ἐκδιηγῆ (A; διηγῆ B) PG 881 C 8/884 A 2; *Prov.* 15: 13^{1,2} οὔσης ⁴⁷ (℞; -σαις B; -σα A) PG 940 A 15/B 2; *Job* 41: 10—13 πυρί (B; φλογί A) PG 877 B 14/C 5; *Is.* 10: 14 χειρὶ μου (A ℞; μου om. B) PG 880 A 6/8; *Matth.* 4: 10 ὀπίσω μου (℞) PG 897 B 5/7; *Luc.* 9: 62 χεῖρα (B; χ. αὐτοῦ ℞) PG 872 B 14/C 1; ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ (S³; εἰς τὴν β-αν ℞; τῇ β-α ℞) *ibid.*; *Joan.* 16: 23, 24 ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δώσει (℞) PG 960 C 1/4; *Jac.* 1: 20, 15 οὐ κατεργάζεται (℞; pro οὐκ ἐργάζεται) PG 873 B 15/C 2.

EPISTOLA AD SERAPIONEM I ⁴⁸ (233 quotations) evidences a Bible text which is similarly of B and A readings, the stamp of the literary production of St. Athanasius during the whole of the third exile, as we have found. In quotations from the NT, the A readings are predominant. On the other hand, no trace could be found here of the ℞ readings which could be observed in C. Ar. I—III and Vita Ant.:

Gen. 48: 15 b, 16 Θεός (A; Κύριος B) PG 565 A 6/9; *Ex.* 14: 31 b ἐφοβήθη δέ (B; καὶ ἐφοβήθη A) PG 564 C 12/565 A 2; *Ex.* 33: 1, 2 πρὸ προσώπου (B; πρότερον A) PG 560 B 12/C 3; *Χανααῖον* (A; ἀμοραῖον B) *ibid.*; *Ex.* 33: 15 μεθ' ἡμῶν (A; om. B) PG 560 C 3/4; *Num.* 11: 29 ἐμέ (B; μοι A) PG 540 A 9/11; *Num.* 14: 24 εἰσάξω (B; καὶ εἰσάξω A) PG 549 C 10/13; *Jud.* 11: 29 ἐγένετο (B; ἐγενήθη A) PG 540 A 14; *Jud.* 13: 24 b, 25 αὐτό (B; αὐτόν A) PG 540 A 15/B 1; *Ps.* 32: 6¹ Κυρίου (SA; τοῦ

⁴⁶ The quotations in this writing are extraordinarily inexact in their formulation.

⁴⁷ Versio Evagrii: *in maerore constituto tristatur.*

⁴⁸ Epistolae ad Serapionem I—IV were written between 358 and 362.

Κυρίου B) PG 601 A 9/11; *Ps.* 92: 1 ὁ Κύριος (A; ὁ om. B) PG 556 B 4/7; *Ps.* 142: 10², 11¹ γῆ (A; τῆ BS) PG 540 B 6/7; *Eccl.* 3: 11²⁻⁴ σύμπαντα (B > A) PG 573 A 4/7; *Job* 1: 6² ἦλθον (A; ἰδοὺ ἦ. B) PG 592 C 6/7; *Sap.* 1: 5^{1,2} παιδείας (B; σοφίας A)⁴⁹ PG 589 C 5/6; *Am.* 4: 13 ἰδοὺ ἐγώ (A; om. B) PG 536 A 13/B 2; ποιῶν (A; pr. ὁ B) *ibid.*; καὶ ἐπιβαίνων (A; καί om. B) *ibid.*; *Joel* 3: 1 ἐκχεῶ (S^cA; καὶ ἐκχ. B) PG 604 A 11; *Jon.* 1: 4 ἐπί (BS; εἰς A) PG 549 A 8/11; 552 A 10/11 συντριβῆναι (B; τοῦ διαλυθῆναι SA) *ibid.*; *Agg.* 2: 4, 5 μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐγώ (BS; tr. A) PG 564 A 2/7; *Zach.* 4: 5, 6 om. πρὸς με (A > B) PG 557 C 1/6; *Zach.* 7: 12 εἰσακούειν (B; εἰσακοῦσαι A) PG 541 B 2/6; 601 C 4/8; *Zach.* 12: 1 b ἀνθρώπου (B; αὐτοῦ A) PG 553 B 15/C 1; *Is.* 7: 2 om. ὅταν (B; ὅταν A)⁵⁰ PG 552 A 6/9; *Is.* 30: 1 τάδε (A; om. B) PG 540 B 10/13; οὐ (B; καὶ οὐ A) *ibid.*; ἀμαρτίαις (A; -τίας B) *ibid.*; *Is.* 48: 16 λελάληκα (B; ἐλάλησα A) PG 540 B 13/16; 561 C 11/564 A 2; om. οὐδὲ ἐν τόπῳ γῆς σκοτεινῶ (B > A) *ibid.*; ἀπέστειλε (B; ἀπέσταλκε A) PG 540 B 13/16⁵¹; *Is.* 63: 9, 10 Κύριος (A; om. B) PG 540 C 3/541 A 3; τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ (B; om. A) *ibid.*; *Is.* 63: 11, 12 a γῆς (A; θαλάσσης B) PG 560 C 12/561 A 2; *Jer.* 2: 13 ζῶντος (A; ζωῆς B) PG 573 B 14/15; *Bar.* 3: 1 b κέκραγε (B; ἐκέκραξε A) PG 548 C 4/5; *Bar.* 3: 10, 12 ὅτι ἐν τῇ (A; τί ὅτι ἐν B) PG 573 B 16/C 1; *Ez.* 11: 24 ἀνέλαβέ με πνεῦμα (A; tr. B) PG 541 A 3/5; *Ez.* 18: 31 b, 32 om. λέγει Κύριος (B > A) PG 553 C 12/15; ἀδωναὶ Κύριος (A; ἀδωναὶ om. B) *ibid.*; *Matth.* 28: 19 βαπτίζοντες (A; -ίσαντες B) PG 544 A 7/9; 560 A 15/B 3; 596 B 13/15; *Marc.* 1: 13 b οἱ ἄγγελοι (B; οἱ om. A) PG 560 A 12; *Joan.* 3: 16 υἱὸν αὐτοῦ (A; αὐτοῦ om. B) PG 580 A 10/11; *Joan.* 7: 39 πιστεύοντες (A; -σαντες B) PG 584 B 12/15; *Joan.* 14: 10 b, 11 ὁ μένων (A; ὁ om. B) 576 C 8/11; αὐτά (αὐτοῦ B) *ibid.*; *Act.* 20: 22, 23 μοι (A; ἐμοί B) PG 604 B 3/8; διαμαρτύρατό μοι (A; διαμαρτύρεταί μοι B)⁵² PG 604 B 3/8; *Act.* 20: 28 Κυρίου (A; Θεοῦ B)⁵³ PG 544 B 10/12; *Rom.* 7: 25 b, 8: 1, 2 om. μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν (B > A) PG 549 C 1/6; με (A; σε B) *ibid.*; *Rom.* 8: 11 Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (A; om. Ἰησοῦν B) PG 544 C 8/545 A 5; 576 B 15/C 3; 584 B 7/10; καὶ (B; om. A) *ibid.*; διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεύματος (A > B) *ibid.*; *Rom.* 15: 18, 19 τολμήσω (A; τολμῶ B) PG 576 C 13/16; om. λόγων (A > B) *ibid.*; ὑπακαοῆν (A; ἀκοῆν B) *ibid.*; ἁγίου (A; om. B) *ibid.*; *1 Cor.* 2: 11 om. ἀνθρώπων (A > B) PG 545 A 5/12; 548 C 10/549 A 1; 581 A 14/B 3; *1 Cor.* 3: 16, 17 οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν (A; tr. B) PG 545 A 12/14; 585 B 8/12⁵⁴; τοῦτον (B; αὐτόν A) *ibid.*; *1 Cor.* 6: 11 b Κυρίου ἡμῶν (B; om.

⁴⁹ παιδείας Ath. MSS RSBUb¹; »alii» σοφίας.

⁵⁰ ὅταν Ath. MSS RS.

⁵¹ But ἀπέσταλκε PG 561 C 11/564 A 2!

⁵² I am here following Ath. MSS RS, while Montf. (and Migne) has διαμαρτύρεταί μοι.

⁵³ Ath. MS R has the reading κυρίου; Ath. MSS SUb Χριστοῦ; Montf. (and Migne) Θεοῦ.

⁵⁴ Montf. has here the B variant, which presumably should be corrected in accordance with the text PG 545 A 12/14.

ἡμῶν A) PG 545 A 14/B 2; 581 C 7/9; 601 A 15/B 2; 1 Cor. 10: 4 δὲ πέτρα (A; tr. B) PG 576 A 2/4; 1 Cor. 12: 4—6 ὁ δέ (A; καὶ ὁ B) PG 600 B 2/5; Θεὸς ὁ ἐνεργῶν (A; add. ἐστὶ B) *ibid.*; Gal. 3: 14 Χριστῶ Ἰησοῦ (A; tr. B) PG 545 B 7/9; Gal. 4: 6 ὁ Θεός (A; om. B) PG 545 B 9/13; 589 A 13/15; Gal. 4: 19 τεκνία (A; τέκνα B) PG 585 A 14/B 1; Ephes. 1: 17 b, 18 a δώη (A; δῶ B) PG 573 C 11/14; Philip. 1: 18 πλὴν ὅτι (A; om. πλὴν B) PG 545 C 3/548 A 1; Philip. 1: 19 γὰρ (A; δε B) *ibid.*; 1 Thes. 4: 8 διδόντα (B; δόντα A) PG 548 A 4/6; ὑμᾶς (B; ἡμᾶς A) *ibid.*; 2 Thes. 2: 8 Κύριος Ἰησοῦς (A; om. Ἰησοῦς B) PG 548 B 3/5; 1 Tim. 6: 13, 14 a σοι (A) PG 564 C 3/5; Hebr. 1: 14 διακονίαν (A; -ίας B) PG 557 A 6/7; Hebr. 9: 13, 14 ἡμῶν (A) PG 548 A 13/B 3; Hebr. 10: 29 ἐν ᾧ (B; om. A) PG 548 A 9/13; Jac. 1: 17 παραλλαγὴ ἢ τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα (A > B) PG 592 A 3; 1 Petr. 1: 9—11 Χριστοῦ (A; om. B) PG 544 B 14/C 4; προμαρτυρούμενον (A; -ρόμενον B) *ibid.*; 1 Petr. 3: 4 πραέος καὶ ἡσυχίου (A; tr. B) PG 589 C 7/8; 1 Petr. 4: 14 καὶ δυνάμεως (A; om. B) PG 589 B 1/3; 1 Joann. 2: 27 ἀλλ' ὡς (A; ἀλλά B) PG 584 C 6/9; αὐτοῦ (B; αὐτό A) *ibid.*; 1 Joann. 4: 13 ἔδωκεν (A; δέδωκεν B) PG 544 C 5/7; 576 B 7/10; 585 C 7/9; Judae 6 δε (A; τε B) PG 592 A 10/13.

EPISTOLA AD SERAPIONEM II (52 quotations):

Ps. 32: 6¹ Κυρίου (SA; pr. τοῦ B) PG 621 A 4/5; Ps. 44: 7^{1,2} αἰῶνα αἰῶνος (B; τὸν αἰ. τοῦ αἰ. A) PG 616 A 2/4; 621 A 10/15; Ps. 44: 7, 8 ἀδικίαν (A; ἀνομίαν B) PG 621 A 10/15; Ps. 81: 6, 7¹ δέ (A; δὲ δὴ B) PG 613 C 6/8; Matth. 28: 19 βαπτίζοντες (A; -σαντες B) PG 617 A 3/5; Hebr. 1: 10—12 om. ὡς ἱμάτιον (R) PG 613 A 1/6; 1 Joann. 5: 20 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (B; om. A) PG 612 A 2/4.

EPISTOLA AD SERAPIONEM III (42 quotations):

Ps. 32: 6^{1,2} Κυρίου (SA; pr. τοῦ B) PG 632 B 17/C 2; Sap. 1: 7¹ πεπλήρωκε (B; ἐπλήρωσεν A) PG 632 A 6/7; Zach. 7: 12 εἰσακούειν (B; -κοῦσαι A) 633 A 1/4; Matth. 12: 32 b οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται (> B) PG 637 A 1/3; Matth. 28: 19 βαπτίζοντες (A; -σαντες B) PG 633 C 10/13; Joann. 16: 13 ἀκούσει (B; -ση A) PG 625 A 7/9; 1 Cor. 2: 11 om. ἀνθρώπων (A) PG 625 C 2/7; 1 Cor. 3: 16 οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν (A; tr. B) PG 629 A 11/12; 1 Cor. 12: 6 καὶ ὁ (B; ὁ δὲ αὐτός A) PG 633 B 2/3; 2 Cor. 13: 13 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (A; om. Χριστοῦ B) PG 633 B 6/8; Gal. 4: 6 om ὁ Θεός (B) PG 625 B 7/10; Gal. 4: 19 τεκνία (A; τέκνα B) 629 A 3/4; 1 Joann. 2: 27 αὐτοῦ (B; αὐτό A) PG 628 B 14/C 3; ἀλλ' ὡς (A; ἀλλά B) *ibid.*; 1 Joann. 4: 13 δέδωκεν (B; ἔδωκεν A) PG 629 A 13/15.

EPISTOLA AD SERAPIONEM IV (76 quotations):

Ex. 32: 35 οἱ (B; ὁν A) PG 661 B 11/12; *Ps.* 32: 6^{1,2} Κυρίου (SA; pr. τοῦ B) PG 641 C 2/3; *Ps.* 105: 20^{1,2} αὐτῶν (B; αὐτοῦ A) PG 661 B 8/10; *Prov.* 26: 4, 5 πρὸς (B; κατά A) PG 640 B 11/14; κατά (B; πρὸς A) *ibid.*; *Matth.* 12: 31 add. ὑμῖν (B) PG 649 A 10/B 1; *Matth.* 12: 32 οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται (> B) PG 649 A 10/B 1; 676 A 3/4; *Matth.* 26: 45 γάρ (B; om. A) PG 669 A 14/B 2; *Matth.* 27: 42 (= *Marc.* 15: 32) πιστεύσομεν (B; πιστεύομεν A) PG 660 B 12/13; *Matth.* 28: 19 βαπτίζοντες (A; -σαντες B) PG 644 B 13/15; *Luc.* 11: 19, 20 ὑμῶν κριταὶ ἔσονται (B > A) PG 669 B 9/13; *Joan.* 10: 21 ἀνοίγειν (A; ἀνοῖξει B) PG 664 C 14/665 A 2; *Joan.* 10: 38 πιστεύετε (A; -ητε B) PG 669 A 10/12; *Gal.* 4: 19 ἄχρις (A; μέχρις B) PG 653 C 13/14.

HISTORIA ARIANORUM (year 362 [?], 47 quotations). The readings given below are based upon modern critical manuscript collation. It is thus of very great value to be able to determine that the quotations in this writing also represent B and A readings of the same type as we have found to be characteristic of the writings which belong to this period, but which have not as yet been published in modern critical editions:

Prov. 24: 22 b¹ βασιλεῖ (B; βασιλέως A) Opitz 212, 30; *Prov.* 29: 12 ὑπακούοντος (A; ἐπακ.- B) Opitz 221, 9; *Is.* 1: 6 add. οὐδέν ἐστιν εὐλογον ἐν αὐτῇ (℞) Opitz 228, 11; *Is.* 50: 6 a ἔδωκα (B; δέδωκα A) Opitz 206, 6; *Is.* 52: 11 ἄψησθε (B; ἄπτεισθε A) Opitz 228, 17; *Dan.* 6: 5, 6 νόμοις (A; νομίμοις B) Opitz 209, 8/9; 2 *Thes.* 2: 3 ἀνομίας (B; ἀμαρτίας A) Opitz 226, 12; 1 *Petr.* 5: 8 τίνα (A; om. B) Opitz 193, 1/2; καταπίη (A ℞) *ibid.*

DE SYNODIS (year 362; 124 quotations). It is difficult, on the foundation of the scanty material available, to decide whether it is just by chance that the quotations in this writing show only two A readings; one from the Book of Psalms, and one in the formula for baptism. All the remaining quotations give B readings:

Jud. 11: 34 secundum versionem B Opitz 275, 14; *Ps.* 49: 16² ἐκδιηγῆ (A; διηγῆ B) Opitz 265, 16/17; *Mich.* 7: 18 ἀνομίας (B; ἀδικίας A) Opitz 273, 32/33; *Matth.* 28: 19 βαπτίζοντες (A; -σαντες B) Opitz 249, 28/29; *Colos.* 1: 16, 17 πάντα (B; pr. τά A) Opitz 276, 10; 1 *Tim.* 1: 8 χρῆται (χρήσηται A) Opitz 269, 30; 1 *Tim.* 2: 7 πίστει (B; πνεύματι A) Opitz 265, 20/21.

I assign to the following group *Oratio contra gentes* and *Oratio de incarnatione Verbi*, a writing in two parts. They are generally assigned to about 318, and are regarded as the youthful work of Athanasius. I have earlier, in another connection, dated these writings during the period 362/363.⁵⁵ The result of the present investigation supports such a dating. In these writings, A readings and B readings stand contiguous to one another, and only individual readings of other type are to be noted. As we have seen, the manuscripts which were with certainty written in Alexandria are dominated by A readings. In the large group stemming from the period of the third exile, the struggle between B and A readings shows rather even matching, although there is a slight preponderance of the latter. As regards *Oratio contra gentes* and *Oratio de incarnatione Verbi*, the circumstances are diametrically opposite: the B text dominates over the A text as in no other of the works of St. Athanasius. With some generalization, we can say that the A text in St. Athanasius all belong to Alexandria⁵⁶, that the appearance of the B text occurs with expatriation from Alexandria, and the period of exile outside Alexandria. The dominance of the B text in the two writings mentioned is well in accord with the theory that they were a product of the fourth exile under the Emperor Julian.

ORATIO CONTRA GENTES (45 quotations). The following B readings have been noted:

Deut. 4: 19 om. *αὐτά* (B > A) PG 89 C 6/10; *Ps.* 113: 12—16¹ *αὐτοῖς* (*αὐτῶν* A) PG 29 B 1/11; *Ps.* 146: 7²—9¹ *καὶ γλῶσσην τῇ δουλείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (om. A) PG 92 B 7/11; *Eccl.* 7: 29 *Θεός* (*Κύριος* A) PG 16 B 12/13; *Sap.* 13: 5 *καί* (om. A) PG 88 D 3/4; *Sap.* 14: 12—21 *τέλος* (pr. *τό* A) PG 24 B 7/D 1; *τότε* (*πότε* A) *ibid.*; *κολακεύωσι* (-*σωσι* A) *ibid.*; *εὐχαρι* (*εὐχαρες* A) *ibid.*; *Is.* 44: 10—20 *γλύφοντες πάντες* (> A) PG 29 B 13/32 B 3; *στήτωσαν* (*στήσονται* A) *ibid.*; *καὶ ἐντραπήτωσαν* (om. *καί* A) *ibid.*; *καὶ ἐποίησεν* (B $\text{\textcircled{R}}$; om. *καί* A) *ibid.*; *ὁ Κύριος* (B $\text{\textcircled{R}}$; om. *ὁ* A) *ibid.*; *εἰργάσαντο* (-*σατο* A) *ibid.*

⁵⁵ An account, unfortunately in far too compressed a form, of this was given in the proceedings of The Third International Conference on Patristic Studies, in Oxford, 21—26 September 1959, entitled *A Reconsideration of the Date of St. Athanasius' Contra Gentes and De Incarnatione*, published in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Vol. 78 (= *Studia Patristica III*) pp.262—266. — A more thorough discussion of these problems is to be found in my paper *Athanasius' Tractates Contra gentes and De incarnatione; An Attempt at Redating* (*Societas Scientiarum Fennica: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum XXVIII. 3*, 1961.)

⁵⁶ The dominance of the A readings recurs subsequently in the writings of Athanasius in his late years, in Alexandria. See below, p. 136.

Against these, there are the following non-A readings:

Ps. 32: 6 *Κυρίου* (SA; pr. *τοῦ* B) PG 92 B 15/C 1; *Is.* 44: 10—20 *ἐρροῦθμισεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἔστησεν* (℞) PG 29 B 13/32 B 3; *ὁ ἔκοψε* (A; om. *ὁ* B) *ibid.*; *εἰς θεούς* (A; om. *εἰς* B) *ibid.*; *τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ ἀνελογίσαστο* (A; om. B) *ibid.*; *γνώτε* (SA; *γνώθι* B) *ibid.*; *Act.* 14: 15—17 *ἐαυτὸν* (℞; *αὐτόν* BA) PG 69 C 5/72 A 1; *διδούς ὑετούς* (A; tr. B) *ibid.*; *Rom.* 1: 21 b—24 *διὸ καὶ* (℞; om. *καὶ* BA) PG 40 A 14/B 6; *Rom.* 1: 26 b, 27 a *δε* (A; *τε* BS) PG 52 A 12/B 2.

ORATIO DE INCARNATIONE VERBI (79 quotations). The B text dominates:

Is. 2: 4 b om. *ἔτι* (B > A) Cross 82, 6/9 = Rob.³ 79, 11/14; *Is.* 35: 3—6 a om. *καὶ ἀναποδώσει* Cross 59, 12/20 = Rob.³ 57, 14/20; *Is.* 53: 3 b—5 *ἀμαρτίας . . . ἀνομίας* (tr. A) Cross 52, 12/22 = Rob.³ 50, 20/28; *μεμαλάκισται* (*ἐμαλακίσθη* A) *ibid.*; *Is.* 65: 1, 2 *οἱ* (*οὔτινες* A) Cross 58, 28/59, 1 = Rob.³ 56, 30/57, 3; *μον τὸ ὄνομα* (tr. A) *ibid.*; *Jer.* 11: 19 *δε* (om. A) Cross 53, 23/27 = Rob.³ 51, 27/52, 3; om. *κατὰ σου* *ibid.*; *ἄρτον* (*τράχηλον* A) *ibid.*; *Dan.* 9: 24 *τὴν ἁγίαν* (add. *σου* A) Cross 60, 31/61, 10 = Rob.³ 58, 29/59, 8; *συντελεσθήναι* (*-λέσαι* A) *ibid.*; *ἀδικίας* (*ἀνομίας* A) *ibid.*; *Matth.* 19: 4, 5 *ὁ κτίσας* (pro *ποιήσας* S℞) Cross 4, 11/16 = Rob.³ 4, 7/11; *1 Cor.* 15: 53—55 *νίκος*⁵⁷ (*κέντρον* SA℞) Cross 42, 26/27 = Rob.³ 41, 10/11; *Ephes.* 3: 17 b—19 *ὑψος καὶ βάθος* (tr. A) Cross 25, 9/15 = Rob.³ 24, 11/16.

The number of non-B readings is greater in this writing than in C. genres:

Gen. 2: 16 b, 17 *φάγησθε* (A) Cross 6, 9/14 = Rob.³ 5, 31/6, 3; *Num.* 24: 5—7 a *παράδεισοι* (*παράδεισος* B) Cross 51, 17/23 = Rob.³ 49, 26/50, 1; *Is.* 35: 3—6 a *ὁ χωλός* (*ὁ* om. B) Cross 59, 12/20 = Rob.³ 57, 14/20; *Is.* 53: 6—8 a *κείραντος*⁵⁸ (A; *κείροντος* B) Cross 52, 24/53, 1 = Rob.³ 50, 30/51, 7; *αὐτόν* (om. B) *ibid.*; *Is.* 53: 8 b—10 *εὐρέθη δόλος* (A; *δόλον* B) Cross 53, 5/13 = Rob.³ 51, 11/18; *ἀπὸ τῆς πληγῆς* (A > B) *ibid.*; *Is.* 63: 9 *Κύριος* (om. B) Cross 63, 20/21 = Rob.³ 61, 14/15; *Is.* 65: 1, 2 *ἐγενόμην* (A; *ἐγενήθην* B) Cross 58, 28/59, 1 = Rob.³ 56, 30/57, 3; *ζητοῦσιν . . . ἐπερωτῶσιν* (tr. B) *ibid.*; *1 Cor.* 15: 53—55 om. *τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσεται ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ* (℞⁴⁶ S* > BA) Cross 33, 1/7 = Rob.³ 31, 23/28; *κέντρον* (SA℞; *νίκος* B) *ibid.*; *ἄδη* (℞; *θάνατε* B) *ibid.*; *2 Cor.* 5: 10 *φαῦλον* (A; *κακόν* B) Cross 88, 18/21 = Rob.³ 85, 17/20; *Ephes.* 3: 17 b—19 *πληρωθῆτε εἰς* (A; *πληρώθη* B) Cross 25,

⁵⁷ Cf. below Cross 33, 1/7 = Rob.³ 31, 23/28 *κέντρον* pro *νίκος*.

⁵⁸ Sic Ath. MSS GtyzT¹LQMTNBO according to G. J. Ryan op.cit. p. 114; Ath. MS S *κείροντος*.

9/15 = **Rob.**³ 24, 11/16; *Hebr.* 11: 3 τὰ βλεπόμενα (℞; τὸ β — von A)
Cross 5, 8/10 = **Rob.**³ 5, 1/3.

The following group is made up of writings from the five last years of Athanasius' life, in Alexandria: *Epistola ad episcopos Afros*, *Epistola ad Epictetum episcopum*, *Epistola ad Adelphium episcopum*, *Epistola ad Maximum philosophum*⁵⁹, and *De virginitate*. The common denominator for these writings is that the A text again dominates over the B text.

EPISTOLA AD EPISCOPOS AFROS (year 369; 33 quotations):

Jer. 2: 13 ζῶντος (A; ζωής B) PG 1033 A 12/14; *Jer.* 23: 18, 22 τίς (B; om. A) PG 1036 B 2/5; 2 *Cor.* 5: 17 b, 18 τὰ πάντα (℞) PG 1037 B 10/12; *Jac.* 1: 17 παραλλαγή (τις) ἢ τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα (A℞) PG 1044 B 12.

EPISTOLA AD EPICLETUM EPISCOPUM (year, approx. 370; 24 quotations):

Mal. 3: 6 καὶ οὐκ ἠλλοίωμαι (B; om. καί A) Ludwig 9, 17; *Is.* 50: 6 δέδωκα⁶⁰ (A; ἔδωκα B) Ludwig 10, 12.

EPISTOLA AD ADELPHIUM EPISCOPUM (year, approx. 370; 24 quotations):

Is. 32: 6 ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ (B; αὐτῶν A) PG 1073 C 9/10; *Rom.* 1: 28 om. ὁ Θεός (A > B) PG 1076 C 10/13; *Philip.* 2: 10, 11 ἐξομολογήσεται (A; -σηται B) PG 1076 D 1/1077 A 3; *Tit.* 2: 13, 14 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (A) PG 1080 B 9/14; 1 *Petr.* 4: 1 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν (A; om. B) PG 1080 B 7/8.

*DE VIRGINITATE*⁶¹ (66 quotations):

Gen. 1: 26, 2: 7—8, 21—24 τῆ γυναικί (A; pro πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα) Goltz 36, 3/16; *Deut.* 10: 17 b οὐδ' οὐ (B; οὐδέ A) Goltz 55, 2/3; *Ps.* 106: 16 συνθλάσας (cf. A; συνέκλασεν B) 51, 15/17; *Ps.* 118: 62^{1,2} ἐξομολογεῖσθαι (B; ἐξομολογήσασθαι A) Goltz 55, 17/18; *Prov.* 12: 7 ὁ ἀσεβής (A; om. B) Goltz 54, 8/9; *Jer.* 4: 22 καλόν (A; καλῶς B) Goltz 39, 1/2;

⁵⁹ The five quotations in this writing give no indication of the Bible text followed.

⁶⁰ Here, I have followed Ath. MSS ORNCPQL, as opposed to Montfaucon and Ludwig, who chose the form ἔδωκα.

⁶¹ This tract was entitled *dubia* by Montfaucon, but, following upon the arguments presented by E. von der Goltz (op.cit. pp. 60—139) may be regarded as genuine. Another point which speaks for their genuine nature is that the Bible text followed in this writing is in accordance with what has been established as genuine Athanasian. The writing should, obviously, be assigned to this period.

Dan. 1: 12 τῆς γῆς (A; om. B) Goltz 40, 21/22; *Dan.* 3: 81 τὰ θηρία καὶ πάντα τὰ (A; tr. B) Goltz 50, 28/29; *Matth.* 20: 27 ἔστω (B) Goltz 39, 24/25; *1. Cor.* 7: 34 ἅγια τῷ σώματι (A; ἅγια καὶ τῷ σ. B) Goltz 37, 1/4; τὰ τοῦ κόσμου (A; om. B) *ibid.*; *1 Cor.* 10: 27 πᾶν τὸ παρατιθέμενον (B; πάντα τὰ -μένα A) Goltz 57, 23/24; *Ephes.* 4: 26 τῷ παραοργισμῷ (om. τῷ BA) Goltz 56, 21/22; *1 Tim.* 5: 3, 5 τὸν Θεόν (A) Goltz 44, 9; *Jac.* 2: 19, 20 νεκρά (SA[Ⓡ]; ἀργή B) Goltz 50, 11/13.

The above investigation of the Bible texts of St. Athanasius shows that, as regards their general type, he made use of several Bible manuscripts in his writing.

As for the writings originating in Alexandria (1), viz. *De decr. Nic. syn.*, *De sent. Dion.* (350/51); *Ad Afr.*; *Ad Epict.*; *Ad Adelph.*; *De virg.* (369/70), the Bible text used correspond, with a few individual exceptions, with the so-termed A text, that is to say with the Codex Alexandrinus.

(2) The most productive literary period of Athanasius' life, which coincided with the third exile (356/362), provides examples of a mixed text of B and A readings. It is a mixed text in a real sense, in that B and A readings come side by side in the same quotation. Nevertheless, the A readings dominate in number. One could entitle this Bible text »Exile text 1» if it is simultaneously observed that this text is not absolutely homogeneous in type.

A group in itself could be constituted by (a) *C. Ar. I—III* and *Vita Ant.*, which is noteworthy in that they are the only writings investigated in which [Ⓡ] plays any part. To another group (b) there can be attributed all the remaining writings from this period.

(3) *C. gentes* and *De inc.*, which I have assigned to the third exile (362/363), represent a Bible text of their own. Here, the B readings play a dominating role, which can especially be remarked in the long quotations in the first mentioned writing, although one must also in this instance talk of a mixed text of combined B and A readings. In any case, it does not agree in its general type with the text which appears in the writings ascribed with certainty to Alexandria, which should have been the case if I had, in conformity with other scholars, assigned these writings to the time before the Arian controversy, and had thus presumed that they were written in Alexandria.

From the specimens of readings given above, it is evident that one and the same reading appears in writings from different periods. This is naturally nothing remarkable in itself, and does not speak against the theory of several Bible texts of different types. Just what should in this connection be ascribed to memorizing, and what are possibly examples of common readings, are

difficult to decide. For instance, among the readings employed throughout, the following may be noted: *Gen.* 48: 15, *Deut.* 32: 6 b, *Ps.* 32: 6, *Ps.* 49: 16, *Ps.* 81: 7, *Prov.* 12: 7, *Prov.* 15: 13, *Sap.* 13: 5, *Is.* 63: 9, *Jer.* 1: 5 a, *Jer.* 2: 13, *Joan.* 1: 18, *Rom.* 8: 35, *Ephes.* 4: 26, *Hebr.* 1: 4, *1 Petr.* 4: 1. One thing common to these readings is that the A text is dominant. This circumstance goes to show that the A text was the original one of St. Athanasius, and that memorization insinuated itself into quotations where the readings were of another type.

Considerable importance has been attached to noting the instances in St. Athanasius' writings where one and the same quotation appears in different readings. If these variable and varying readings, which are to be found in specimen tables above, are divided into the four groups which presented themselves when we were engaged in investigating only the general types of the Bible text⁶², we get a table which, despite the comparative scantiness of the material, gives support to the theory that Athanasius employed four Bible manuscripts, distinct from each other, in accordance with the model already presented:

	<i>Alexandrian text</i>		<i>Exile text 1</i>		<i>Exile text 2</i>
			a)	b)	
<i>Gen.</i> 2: 17	—		φάγητε	—	φάγησθε
<i>Num.</i> 24: 6	—		παράδεισος	—	παράδεισοι
<i>Ps.</i> 44: 7	—		{ τὸν αἰῶνα		
			{ τοῦ αἰῶνος	αἰῶνα αἰῶνος	—
			{ ἁμαρτίας . . .	{ ἀνομίας . . .	
<i>Mich.</i> 7: 18	—		{ ἀνομίας	{ ἀδικίας	—
<i>Is.</i> 40: 28	Θεός		om. Θεός	—	—
<i>Is.</i> 50: 6	δέδωκα		—	ἔδωκα	—
<i>Matth.</i> 11: 27	οἶδε ⁶³		(ἐπι)γι- νώσκει ⁶⁴	οἶδε	—
<i>Joan.</i> 6: 38	—		ποιήσω	ποιῶ	—
<i>Joan.</i> 6: 46	τοῦ Θεοῦ		τοῦ πατρὸς	—	—
			{ πιστεύετε		
			{ (bis)		
<i>Joan.</i> 10: 38	—		{ πιστεύσατε	πιστεύετε	πιστεύσατε
			{ (bis)		
<i>1 Cor.</i> 2: 9	ἄ		—	—	ῥσα
<i>Gal.</i> 4: 6	ὁ Θεός		—	om.(?) ⁶⁵	—
<i>1 Tim.</i> 4: 1	πλάνοις		πλάνης	πλάνης	—
<i>Hebr.</i> 11: 3	τὸ βλεπόμενον		—	—	τὰ βλεπόμενα
<i>1 Joan.</i> 4: 13	—		δέδωκεν	ἔδωκεν ⁶⁶	—

⁶² Cf. p. 136.

⁶³ Not included among the reading specimens in the above, as it does not accord with the reading in any surviving Bible MS. However, it appears also in Didymus, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Basil.

⁶⁴ So (quater) C. Ar. I and II; οἶδε C. Ar. III, 46 BR² 200, 3/5 = PG 421 A 15/B 2.

⁶⁵ Ad Ser. III, 1 PG 625 B 7/10 but ὁ Θεός (bis) Ad Ser I.

⁶⁶ So Ad Ser. I (ter) but δέδωκεν Ad Ser. III, 3 PG 629 A 13/15.

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