

# Patristic evidence in the new edition of the *Vetus Latina Iohannes*

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## Patristic Evidence in the New Edition of the *Vetus Latina Iohannes*

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### ABSTRACT

Following an introduction to the principles and procedures followed in producing the new *Vetus Latina* edition of John, the patristic evidence in the first fascicle (*John* 1:1-4:48) is compared with Old Latin codices. Most readings found in citations are already preserved in gospel manuscripts, but others are without parallel. These require careful investigation before they can be attributed to a version no longer extant. A small proportion appear to be renderings from an otherwise lost source, but others are harmonisations, paraphrases or altered forms typical of quoted material. Latin authors who also used Greek texts, such as Tertullian and Marius Victorinus, seem to stand outside the main tradition. Translations of Greek writings often feature ad hoc renderings of biblical citations. The variety of these independent versions highlights the overall consistency of the Latin tradition of *John*.

Patristic evidence is a key source for the earliest Latin translations of the New Testament. The ubiquity of the Vulgate in later tradition means that manuscripts of the preceding versions are usually scarce. Instead, these texts have to be pieced together from the few, often fragmentary, surviving manuscripts and biblical quotations in early Christian authors. In the *Vetus Latina* edition, published by Herder since 1951 under the aegis of the Beuron *Vetus Latina*-Institut, each page is divided into three sections.<sup>1</sup> The principal lines at the top are text-types reconstructed by the editor, representing different chronological and geographical stages in the tradition. The presence of each type is dependent on the availability of quotations in the relevant sources. In the middle of the page is the critical apparatus, which reports the readings of each witness word by word along with comparative information from other traditions such as Greek and Syriac. The third section is the witness apparatus, where the full text of the Latin material is given for the whole verse, including transcriptions of biblical codices, verbatim quotations in Christian writers, and allusions which, despite

<sup>1</sup> For a full list of the volumes currently available in this series (*Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron*), see the annual *Arbeitsbericht* of the *Vetus Latina*-Institut or the website: [http://www.vetus-latina.de/edition\\_vetus\\_latina/vetus\\_latina.html](http://www.vetus-latina.de/edition_vetus_latina/vetus_latina.html). A detailed description of the principles of the edition is provided by Roger Gryson, *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins de l'Antiquité et du haut Moyen Âge*, *Vetus Latina* 1/1, fifth ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 2007), 15-43.

their freedom, may nonetheless provide information about the text of this verse known to the author.

In the case of the new edition of the *Vetus Latina Iohannes*, of which the first fascicle (covering *John* 1:1-4:48) was published recently, there is considerably more evidence available than for the other biblical books covered so far in this series.<sup>2</sup> Twenty more or less complete gospel codices are cited in the edition, along with nine more fragmentary witnesses.<sup>3</sup> While fewer than half of these offer a consistently Old Latin text for the whole gospel, it appears that most of the recoverable pre-Vulgate traditions are represented. In addition, there are almost 60,000 index cards in the *Vetus Latina Database* containing patristic testimony to *John* from the second to the beginning of the ninth century.<sup>4</sup> This collection was begun by Joseph Denk in the early twentieth century on the model of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* in preparation for a 'new Sabatier'. It was subsequently inherited, maintained and enlarged by the *Vetus Latina-Institut*. Digital images of these cards are available by subscription to the Brepols *Vetus Latina Database* and they continue to form the foundation for new volumes in the *Vetus Latina* series.

As part of the preparation for the new edition of *John*, the index cards were typed into a spreadsheet in order to provide electronic text for the edition. Additional material was collected for Augustine, Hilary of Poitiers and the biblical text of Latin chapter summaries.<sup>5</sup> Once imported into a database, the entries could be reviewed by author and work and checked against the text of the latest edition listed in Gryson's *Répertoire général*, which also provides a key to the author and work abbreviations used in the *Vetus Latina* series.<sup>6</sup> The process of editing the material for publication also served as the final preparation of the database for each verse: duplicates and outdated references were removed, attributions were updated, and dependencies between different works were identified when possible. A category was also assigned to each entry in

<sup>2</sup> Philip H. Burton, Hugh A.G. Houghton, Rosalind F. MacLachlan, David C. Parker (eds), *Evangelium secundum Iohannem. Fasc. 1 (Jo 1,1-4,48)*, *Vetus Latina* 19 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> This figure includes both VL 22 and 22A among the fragmentary witnesses. There are also 3 sets of canon tables (VL 39 40 46) and one marginal note (VL 49) which are numbered as manuscripts. An electronic edition of the manuscripts has been available since 2007 at the website <http://www.iohannes.com/vetuslatina/>.

<sup>4</sup> A survey at the beginning of the *Vetus Latina Iohannes* project counted 58,207 cards: the exact number of biblical references is impossible to calculate, as this figure includes duplicates, placeholders, extracts from gospel manuscripts, and cards listing multiple citations from the same work.

<sup>5</sup> The data from Augustine was supplied from the author's doctoral work (Hugh A.G. Houghton, 'Augustine's Citations and Text of the Gospel according to John', PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2006). This independent collection of 8,678 quotations of John was used to verify the comprehensiveness of the *Vetus Latina Database*. Dr Robert Wilkinson volunteered a spreadsheet with 854 references to John in Hilary of Poitiers, which were also compared with the Beuron cards.

<sup>6</sup> R. Gryson, *Répertoire général* (2007).

order to differentiate quotations of potential significance for the history of the biblical text from broader allusions or more generic material: only the former are given in full in the printed edition. The full text of all references is available in the database, often with additional contextual material omitted from the edition for reasons of space. It is intended to make the database available online at the completion of the edition in order to complement the printed volumes and enable further research.<sup>7</sup>

Given the nature of the evidence, the presentation of the printed edition of *John* has departed from the standard *Vetus Latina* template described above. This is illustrated in the page from the edition reproduced below as Figure 1. The variety of readings preserved in the manuscripts meant that it was not necessary to use the patristic citations as the basis for text-types. In fact, no hypothetical text-types are reconstructed in the edition: the *schema* instead gives the text of the manuscripts in three broad groups at the top of the page. This is followed by an apparatus simply of the patristic evidence, in roughly chronological order, providing a key to the quotations which are printed below. After the full-text citations, there is a list of references with limited or no verbal correspondence to the biblical forms of that verse.

The aim of the editors has been to present as much evidence with as little editorial intervention as possible. The guidelines of the *Vetus Latina* series were followed in terms of the range of manuscripts and patristic works included. The edition is basically a huge collection of data spanning more than a millennium, making possible further research and analysis on the basis of all available material. In keeping the patristic evidence separate from the manuscript tradition, the presentation highlights the importance of a proper evaluation of citations for the history of the biblical text. Occasionally, the conventional question mark has been used to signal doubt that a particular form of words in a quotation was drawn from a biblical manuscript, but this does not necessarily mean that it is unimportant for the study of the text or its interpretation. The exclusion of such data would impoverish the edition and risk obscuring connections between different sources. Instead, by providing as much patristic material as possible, together with Greek and Latin manuscript evidence, the editors have tried to make it possible for users to assess the likelihood that a form of text found in a Christian author represents the reading of a codex known to them.

The purpose of the present study is to offer a preliminary evaluation of the relationship between the patristic material and the biblical manuscripts in the first fascicle of this new edition. It will explore the extent to which the variety in gospel codices is reflected in quotations of *John*, with a focus on readings in Christian authors which are not paralleled in surviving manuscripts. Some of these preserve evidence for versions which have not otherwise survived, but

<sup>7</sup> The data is already accessible at <http://www.iohannes.com/vetuslatina/citations/>, although at the time of writing not all verses have been edited and there are no search facilities or documentation.

101	Iohannes										1,23
NA <sup>27</sup> 23	×	ξφη·	ἐγὼ	φωνή	βοῶντος	ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ·	εὐθύνατε	τὴν ὁδὸν	κυρίου,		
	ο δε f <sup>13</sup>										
GROUP 1 2 3 4 13 14											
2	et	dixit	ego	sum	uox	clamantis	in	deserto	dirigite	uiam	dñi
3	qui	respondit	ego	uox	clamantis	in	deserto	dirigite	uiam	dñi	
4	quibus	ait	ego	uox	clamantis	in	deserto	dirigite	uiam	dñi	
13	×	ait	ego	uox	clamantis	in	deserto	parate	uiam	dñi	
14	qu[ibu]s	ait	ego	uox	clama[3]	in	deserto	dir[igite]	uiam	dñi	
					clamantis	14 <sup>c</sup>					
GROUP 2A 6 8 11 11A											
8	×	ait	ego	uox	clamantis	in	deserto	parate	uiam	dñi	
	et 6		ego sum 6		clamantes	11A		dirigite	11 11A		
GROUP 2B 7 9A 10 15 29 30 33 35 47 48											
Vg	x <sub>1</sub>	×	ait	ergo	uox	clamantis	in	deserto	dirigite	uiam	domini
	et 9A 15		respondit 10	ergo 30 <sup>a</sup>				diririto 15 <sup>a</sup>	parate 7 9A 10	ui[am] 33	
				×	47 <sup>a</sup>			des[er]to 33	diregite 35 48		
									[...] 47 <sup>a</sup>		
<p>23 (cf Is 40,3; Mt 3,3)  × ait AM; AU; GR-M; AM-A; M-M; RES-R ×  respondit CLAU-T  ego AM; MAX s 63; HI ep; AU Jo, s 289, 293C;  PET-C s 86, 88; CAE s 216; EUS-G; GR-M; BED; AM-A;  SED-S; PS-HIL; AN h Vind; AN Ps sen; AN s Le 6; M-M;  RES-R ego sum HI Is; AU s 288, 289, 292, 293, 293A,  293B, 293D, 308A, 341; MAX s Mu 6, 8; PET-C s 174;  QU; CAE s Lem 3; CLAU-T; AN s Le 5; PS-AU s Cai; PS-  IS  uox exclamantis? MAR uox clamantis 39; AM; HI;  AU; MAX; PET-C; QU; A-SS Helia; CAE; EUS-G; PS-HIL  tr; AN Ps sen; GR-M; KA C; PS-IS q; PS-IS Jud; PS-MEL  V; BED; AM-A; CLAU-T; SED-S; AN Fris; AN h Vind; AN  s Le 6; M-M; POE Mer; PROL Jo Te; PS-AU s Cai; RES-R  in eremo TE; AU s 289, 292, 293, 293A, 293C, 308A,  341; QU; A-SS Helia; PS-AU s Cai 1,55 in deserto</p> <p>22  AM Lc 2,73: ipse interrogatus Iohannes quid dicis de te  ipso? AU Ev 2,12,25: interrogatus quid diceret de se ipso  sicut narrat Iohannes euangelista 4,7,3: dixerunt ergo ei:  quis es tu, ut responsum demus his qui miserunt nos. quid  dicis de teipso? Pet 3,34: qui ab eo quaesierunt quem se  esse diceret s 288,2: et illi quis ergo es? 289,3: et  tu, inquit, quis es? 293,3: responsum est tu ergo quis  est? 293A,5: dum diceretur illi: tu quis es 308A,2:  et illi quis ergo es? et quid dixit? GR-M Ev 7 tit: dixerunt  ergo ei: quis es, ut responsum demus his qui miserunt nos?  quid dicis de teipso? HI Is 11: dic ergo nobis, quis  es? ut responsum demus his qui miserunt nos. quid dicis  de te? JO-N 15: cum interrogatus ab eis fuisset, dic  nobis aliquid de temetipso M-M (229A): dixerunt ergo  ei: quis es tu, ut responsum demus his qui miserunt nos?  quid dicis de teipso? MAXn Am 13: interrogatus a  Iudeis quid dicis de teipso, respondit QU pro 3,2: quis  ergo es? aiunt, dic ut habeamus (+ quod H) renuntiare his  qui nos miserunt. (miserunt nos G P W) quid de te ipso</p> <p>39; MAR; AM; MAX; HI; AU Ev, Jo, s 288, 293B, 293D;  PET-C; CAE; EUS-G; PS-HIL tr; AN Ps sen; GR-M; KA  C; PS-IS q; PS-IS Jud; PS-MEL V; BED; AM-A; CLAU-T;  SED-S; AN Fris; AN h Vind; AN s Le 6; POE Mer; PROL  Jo Te; PS-AU s Cai 1,56; M-M; RES-R  parate (cf Me 1,3) TE; HI Is; AU Jo 5, s 289, 293, 293B,  293D, 308A, 341; QU; CAE; AN Ps sen; AN Fris; POE Mer;  PS-AU s Cai 1,55; PROL Jo Te; RES-R 2264 dirigite  MAR; HI Mal; AU Jo 4; GR-M; SED-S; M-M; RES-R  1315, 2610  uiam TE?; MAR; HI; AU; QU; CAE; GR-M; AN Ps  sen; SED-S; AN Fris; PS-AU s Cai 1,55; PROL Jo Te; M-M;  RES-R  domini TE?; MAR; HI; AU Jo 4<sup>2/3</sup>; GR-M; AN Ps sen;  SED-S; M-M; RES-R domino AU Jo 4<sup>1/3</sup>, 5, s 289, 293,  293B, 293D, 308A, 341; QU; CAE; AN Fris; PROL Jo Te;  PS-AU s Cai 1,55</p> <p>dicis? RES-R 2264: dixerunt Pharisei ad Iohannem:  quis ergo es tu, ut responsum demus his qui miserunt nos?  AU s 293D,2; CLAU-T Ru (311,185); PS-IS q (93)</p> <p>23  39: VIII uox clamantis in deserto  A-SS Helia (208): hic uox clamantis in eremo AM  Lc 1,4: uox Iohannes est... uox clamantis in deserto 2,73:  ait ego uox clamantis in deserto Ps 36,58,3: ego uox  clamantis in deserto AM-A Apc 5: Iohannes ait ego uox  clamantis in deserto AN Fris 7: Iohannes uox clamantis in  deserto parate uiam domino, rectas facite semitas eius h  Vind 36: ego uox clamantis in deserto Ps sen 84,14,5:  Iohannes, quomodo dicit ego uox clamantis in deserto;  parate uiam domini ... quando dixit rectas facite semitas  eius s Le 6: ego uox clamantis in deserto AU Ev  2,12,25: sicut narrat Iohannes euangelista ego ait (× B)  uox clamantis (clamans B) in deserto Jo 4,7,5: ait:  ego uox clamantis in deserto. Isaia illud dixit: in Iohanne  prophetia ista impleta est: ego uox clamantis in deserto. quid</p>											

Figure 1. A page from the *Vetus Latina Iohannes* edition (reproduced by kind permission of Herder Verlag).

many may be attributed to common variations typical of quoted material (a feature which has been described in a previous communication as ‘flattening’).<sup>8</sup> In other cases, the origin of the source must be taken into account. In conjunction with an earlier textual commentary on Augustine, who supplies more than one in five citations of *John*, it is hoped that this analysis will provide a model for using the new edition.<sup>9</sup>

In most verses, the patristic evidence closely matches that of the manuscripts. For example, in *John* 4:21 each of the variants is supported both by biblical codices and Christian authors:<sup>10</sup>

<i>crede mihi mulier</i> VL 4 11 13 22 33; HIL; PS-VIG tri		<i>mulier crede mihi</i> VL 2 5 6 7 8 9A 10 11A 14 15 29 30 33 35 47 48; AU; FAC; AM-A; M-A; M-M	
<i>quoniam</i> VL 3 4 13 14; HIL		<i>quia</i> VL 2 5 6 7 8 9A 10 11 <sup>c</sup> 11A 15 22 29 30 33 35 47 48; PS-VIG tri; AU; FAC; AM-A; M-A; M-M	
<i>ueniet hora</i> VL 2 3 6 7 8 9A 10 11 11A 13 14 15 29 30 33 35 48; NO; HEp; PS-VIG tri; HI; AU; FAC; GR-M; AM-A; PS-HI Jo; M-A		<i>uenit hora</i> VL 4 5 22?; HIL; RUF; M-M	
<i>cum</i> VL 3 4 5; NO		<i>quando</i> VL 2 6 7 8 <sup>c</sup> 9A 10 11 11A 13 14 15 22 29 30 33 35 47 48; HIL; HEp; PS-VIG tri; AU; FAC; GR-M; AM-A	
<i>monte isto</i> VL 13; NO; HI	<i>isto monte</i> VL 2 4 14; HIL; PS-VIG tri	<i>hoc monte</i> VL 3 5; HEp; RUF?	<i>monte hoc</i> VL 6 7 8 9A 10 11 11A 15 29 30 33 35 47 48; AU; FAC; GR-M; AM-A; M-A; M-M
<i>in</i> VL 2 3 4 7 9A 10 13 15 29 30 33 35 47 48; NO; HIL; PS-VIG tri; RUF; HI; AU; FAC; GR-M; AM-A; M-A; M-M		<i>omit in</i> VL 5 6 8 11 11A; HEp; PEL?; AU	
<i>patrem</i> VL 2 3 4 6 7 8 9A 10 11 11A 13 14 15 22 29 30 33 35 47 48; NO; HEp; PS-VIG tri; HI; AU; FAC; GR-M; AM-A; M-A; M-M		<i>patri</i> VL 5; HIL	

<sup>8</sup> Hugh A.G. Houghton, ‘“Flattening” in Latin Biblical Citations’, *SP* 45 (2010), 271-6.

<sup>9</sup> Hugh A.G. Houghton, *Augustine’s Text of John. Patristic Citations and Latin Gospel Manuscripts*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford, 2008).

<sup>10</sup> Old Latin manuscripts are identified by their VL number, as in the introduction to the edition and Roger Gryson (ed.), *Altlateinische Handschriften/Manuscripts vieux latins. Répertoire descriptif. Mss 1-275, Vetus Latina 1/2A* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1999); patristic authors and works are indicated according to the scheme in Gryson, *Répertoire général* (2007). The evidence in the following tables is taken from the new edition but has occasionally been simplified.



No manuscript consistently has the earliest patristic reading (on the left of the table), and there is no identity between any writer and a single manuscript except in forms corresponding to the Vulgate (VL 7, 9A etc.). Even so, in this relatively well-attested verse with early evidence from Novatian and Hilary of Poitiers, the text of all citations is preserved in surviving manuscripts and there is no indication of any versions no longer extant.<sup>11</sup> Numerous similar examples may be found in these first four chapters: when only a few citations are present, the evidence is usually from Augustine and later sources which correspond to the Vulgate.

One particularly striking illustration of the overlap between manuscripts and citations is the rendering of the phrase φραγέλλιον ἐκ σχοινίων in *John* 2:15. All sources are unanimous in translating φραγέλλιον by *flagellum*, but there are no fewer than eight versions of the next two words in patristic material. Despite this variety, seven are matched by surviving manuscripts:

<i>de/ex funibus</i>	VL 9A; HIL
<i>de restibus</i>	VL 3 4 22? 33; AM; AU Ad
<i>de resticula</i>	VL 13; cf CY-G?; AU Ps 130
<i>de sparto</i>	VL 11A; CHRO
<i>de funiculis</i>	VL 6 7 10 15 29 30 32? 35 47 48; HI; GR-M Ev; BON IV.; BED h; PS-BED Jo
<i>de resticulis</i>	VL 2; AU Ev, Jo, Ps 57, 139; cf QU; PHI; cf PS-HI Ps; GR-M Ev, Ez; IS; PS-HI Ev; BED Esr; ORA Vis
<i>de/ex reste</i>	VL 8; VER

The exception is *de fune*, found in two allusions in sixth-century writings: a *De trinitate* ascribed to Ambrose (PS-AM tri) and the translation of a Greek *florilegium* by Pope John III (JO III.). The allusive nature of these references and lack of earlier attestation does not make a strong case for an otherwise lost reading. On the other hand, the same would be true of the phrase *dominus ex reste flagellum aptauit* in the contemporary author Verecundus were it not for the presence of this form in VL 8. Furthermore, the attestation of *reste* alongside *restibus* and *resticulis* in gospel manuscripts indicates that *fune* could well have coexisted with *funibus* and *funiculis*. The fact that five of the seven forms only survive in a single manuscript demonstrates the haphazard nature of manuscript preservation, although the patristic support for these readings is equally slight. The one interruption to the overall pattern is *de resticulis*, possibly an early African form given its occurrence in VL 2 (Codex Palatinus). On the patristic side, this is first attested in Augustine and it seems likely that most if not all of the subsequent writings which cite this form may be based

<sup>11</sup> There are only two variants not cited in the table above: the interpolation of *et nunc est* from *John* 4:23 in a sermon of Augustine, and *ut* rather than *cum* or *quando* in a loose reference from Rufinus. Neither is compelling evidence for a reading otherwise lost.

on Augustine rather than independent witnesses to an ancient text: it is clear, for instance, that its occurrence in Taio of Saragossa's *Libri sententiarum* is taken from Gregory the Great (Augustine himself sometimes depends on earlier authors rather than biblical codices<sup>12</sup>). Identifying this sort of 'patristic transmission' is vital for eliminating false positives, and also indicates the diffusion and re-use of certain writings in later tradition.

The breadth of the surviving manuscripts with an Old Latin affiliation in John means that readings are often attested in biblical codices which are completely absent from patristic sources. In *John* 1:39, all authors support *hora autem erat quasi decima* yet there are alternative renderings of ὥς, *fere* and *circiter*, in two manuscripts apiece. A couple of manuscripts have *enim* rather than *autem*, while VL 2 gives the phrase as *et fuit hora quasi decima*, also corresponding to a Greek text. Three verses later, Augustine and Bede alone quote the words *intuitus autem eum*, matching the Vulgate. This gives no hint of the variety of Old Latin versions corresponding to ἐμβλέψας δὲ αὐτῷ: *intuens autem* (VL 4 14 47\*), *et respiciens eum* (VL 3 13) and even *et cum uidisset illum* (VL 2). In *John* 1:43, where patristic sources provide *sequenti die*, *in cratinum* and possibly also *alio die* as renderings of τῇ ἐπαύριον, gospel codices supplement these with *altera die* and *postera die*. Both quotations and manuscripts in *John* 2:10 have *usque modo*, *usque nunc* and *usque adhuc* for ἕως ἄρτι but *usque (in) hanc horam* only appears in VL 2 and 11. There are also instances of additional material or harmonisation which would easily be dismissed as patristic intervention were it not for its occurrence in a gospel book: no author has *et leuitae* in *John* 1:24 (compare VL 2 3) or hints at the presence of *in paenitentia* in 1:26 (compare VL 3 4 13). The first ten verses of *John* 2 contain several such expansions, and others are found throughout the first four chapters in VL 2.<sup>13</sup>

Despite the variety in Old Latin manuscripts, there are also numerous readings in biblical citations with a strong claim to be a form no longer preserved in gospel codices. The best examples are found in third- and fourth-century sources (especially 'primary citations' found in biblical compilations such as Cyprian, *Ad Quirinum* and the Pseudo-Augustine, *Speculum*) which correspond to a known Greek text.<sup>14</sup> The majority are renderings which are preserved elsewhere in John but do not happen to be extant at that particular point, including *lumen* rather than *lux* (1:4, 3:19), *quoniam* for *quia* (4:20), *de* for *ex* (2:15, 3:6), and *ille* for *is* (2:25, 3:5). In both *John* 1:23 and 3:14, *in eremo* is the

<sup>12</sup> See H.A.G. Houghton, *Augustine's Text of John* (2008), 72-3.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. *John* 1:23 (*rectas facite semitas dei nostri*), 1:38 (*quid uultis aut quem quaeritis*), 2:23 (*in eos qui infirmi erant*), 3:16 (*in hunc mundum*), 3:27 (*a se*), 3:28 (*eis qui missi sunt ab Hierosolymis ad me*), 3:36 (*et post haec traditus est Iohannis*). It is worth observing that the most substantial of these, *John* 3:28, is paralleled in Cyprian (who is the source for Firmicus Maternus), suggesting that such additions may have been characteristic of African texts.

<sup>14</sup> On 'primary' and 'secondary' citations, see Hugh A.G. Houghton, 'Augustine's Adoption of the Vulgate Gospels', *NTS* 54 (2008), 450-64.

earliest translation of ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ: this is not attested in the manuscripts for either verse although it does appear at *John* 6:31 and 6:49. All surviving manuscripts have *qui tollit* for ὁ ἀΐρων in *John* 1:29 but there is substantial early support for *qui aufert* or *qui auferet* in Cyprian, Irenaeus, Firmicus Maternus, Gregory of Elvira and a Latin version of the Physiologus (compare VL 2 in *John* 19:31). Chromatius reads *doctor* rather than *magister* for διδάσκαλος in 3:2, which is then found in manuscripts at 3:10; Gregory of Elvira provides the only example of *ignoras* for οὐκ οἶδας in 3:8 but this is the standard Old Latin rendering in 1:31 and 1:33 (compare 4:32); the two citations with *urceum* in 4:11 may be related to the occurrence of this word in VL 2 at 4:28 although the underlying Greek is different. In the opening verses of the gospel Cyprian sometimes has *fuit* rather than *erat* for ἦν, a characteristic shared with VL 2 elsewhere.<sup>15</sup> Generally speaking, patristic sources provide these additional readings every two or three verses. They are dispersed throughout the corpus, with no author appearing regularly enough to constitute an entirely missing text type (apart perhaps from Tertullian, who is discussed below).

One of the most interesting supplementary readings is provided at *John* 2:19 by *De montibus Sina et Sion*, pseudonymously attributed to Cyprian and dated by some to the first half of the third century (PS-CY mont). The majority of manuscripts and citations have *soluite templum hoc* for λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτου, but this text reads *destringite fanum istum*. The rendering of *fanum* for ναός persists in the next two verses, suggesting that it was characteristic of an early translation despite the customary identification of this term with pagan rather than Judaeo-Christian religious sites.<sup>16</sup> In the next variation unit, this source is joined by many others including Tertullian, Novatian, Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrosiaster in supplying an emphatic pronoun, *et ego*, another early form no longer preserved in manuscripts. On the other hand, the continuation of the citation departs from the Greek, with *et Pharisaei dicebant* for εἶπαν οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι and a unique third-person form, *et hic in tribus diebus suscitabit illum* in 2:20. In *John* 2:21 ἐκεῖνος is replaced by *Iesus*, and there is also an inconsistency between *excitabo* for ἐγερῶ in 2:19 and *suscitabit* for ἐγερεῖς in the next verse. This may cast some doubt on verbatim correspondence of this citation with a lost manuscript, although it is clearly an important early source.<sup>17</sup> A similar extended treatment with unusual readings is found in

<sup>15</sup> E.g. *John* 1:1, 1:2, 1:4, 1:9. Some of these are only preserved in manuscripts of *Ad Quirinum* which have been accommodated to another biblical version: see Cyprianus. *Opera I: Ad Quirinum, Ad Fortunatum etc.*, ed. Robertus Weber, CChr.SL 3 (Turnhout, 1972), lviii–lix and the discussion of *John* 1:2 below. Variations in the manuscript tradition of patristic works which are significant for the biblical text have been included when possible: *John* 3:36 offers another example of several different early forms in manuscripts of Cyprian.

<sup>16</sup> Compare the Vulgate at *Judges* 9:27, 9:46; *1Kings* 11:7; *2Chron.* 24:7.

<sup>17</sup> It is worth observing that the rendering *excitabo* for ἐγερῶ, although characteristic of the Vulgate and not present in the most ancient gospel codices, is also supported by the earliest African set of *capitula* (KA Cy) from around the same time.

one of the texts of the *Catechesis Celtica* (AN Wil 7), a much later compilation transmitted in a single tenth-century manuscript (Vatican, Reg. lat. 49). This discussion of *John* 2:1-11 combines some apparently early readings (e.g. *et uocatis ministris ait illis Iesus* in 2:7, *honorem suum* in 2:11) with unparalleled forms such as *uinum optimum* for τὸν καλὸν οἶνον in 2:10 and *hanc primam uirtutem fecit* in 2:11 (the latter resembling the Greek text of P66, ταύτην πρώτην ἀρχὴν ἐποίησεν). Again, elements of paraphrase elsewhere may weaken the claim of this to represent an otherwise unknown version, but it remains of considerable interest.

It is often very difficult to determine the likelihood that forms peculiar to citations derive from biblical manuscripts. Chromatius cites *John* 2:19 on three occasions:

*Tract.Mt.* 51A.2: *destruite hoc templum dei et ego in tribus diebus suscitabo illud.*

*Sermo* 4.50: *destruite templum hoc et ego in tribus diebus reaedificabo illud.*

*Sermo* 4.63: *destruite templum hoc dei et ego in tribus diebus excitabo illud.*

The first and last of these are the only examples in Latin tradition of the addition of *dei*. This could be an authorial gloss or an otherwise lost reading: the absence of Greek support suggests that the former is more probable. As for the final verb, *reaedificabo* is not present at this point in biblical manuscripts, nor is it an obvious rendering of ἐγερῶ, although the same verb occurs in citations in Hilary of Poitiers, Cassiodorus, the *Responsoriale Romanum* and an edition of conciliar proceedings by an anonymous monk (SCY:CO 1.5). While these may have been influenced by Synoptic parallels (*Matth.* 26:61/27:40, *Mark* 14:58/15:29), one manuscript of *John* does have *aedificabis* for ἐγερεῖς in the next verse (VL 48). The variation between *suscitabo* and *excitabo* in the other citations means that it is impossible to assign a single form to Chromatius (*excitabo* could be a later accommodation to the Vulgate, although *destruite* and *dei* remain unchanged). All three options, however, are better attested than the solitary *exsuscitabo* in Augustine's *Contra Iulianum* 6.14.42, which I have suggested elsewhere is a conflated form due to memory, and *restituam* in an otherwise verbatim citation in Pseudo-Augustine *Solutiones* 5, itself believed to derive from Ambrose *De fide*.<sup>18</sup> It is highly unlikely that either of these appeared in a Latin gospel book, although they remain part of the broader tradition.

Assessing the Latin versions of οὐ κατέλαβεν in *John* 1:5 is a more straightforward task. All biblical manuscripts have *non comprehenderunt*, which is also the earliest patristic form, attested by Cyprian, Irenaeus, Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrosiaster as well as most later writers. Gregory of Elvira has *non sunt assecutae* which, given his early date, the context of a discussion of this passage, and the correspondence with the Greek, is likely to be an

<sup>18</sup> On *exsuscitabo* as a conflation, see H.A.G. Houghton, *Augustine's Text of John* (2008), 173.

alternative version not preserved elsewhere. The reading *non adprehenderunt* in Jerome *Epistula* 108, although a possible rendering of οὐ κατέλαβεν, is less compelling because his other five quotations all have *non comprehenderunt* and this reference takes the verse out of context. Four further patristic readings do not correspond exactly to the Greek. The present-tense *non comprehendunt* is fairly widely attested, including Ambrose's sole reference and Augustine *De consensu euangelistarum* 3.86 (later quoted by Bede and Sedulius Scottus), but this seems to be an accommodation to the tense of the previous verb and is hard to justify as a variant in Latin biblical tradition in the absence of support from Greek codices.<sup>19</sup> The two instances of *non comprehendebant* in Augustine (*Tractatus in Iohannem* 47.14.11, *Sermo* 195.3) both follow the otherwise unprecedented *lux lucebat in tenebris* and are massively outweighed by all his other quotations of this verse. There are two examples of a periphrastic form: *non ualebant comprehendere* in so-called Praedestinatus and *comprehendere nequiuerunt* in the *Orationale Visigothicum*. Elegant though these are, they may be dismissed as insignificant: the *Orationale* gives the first half of the verse in a loose form with *uenit* rather than *lucet*. Of the six variants found in patristic texts but not biblical manuscripts, then, closer investigation discounts all but one as deriving from an otherwise lost Latin version of the Gospel.

Many patristic readings which involve alteration to connectives, periphrasis, omission, harmonisation, or changes in person or tense may be characterised as 'flattening' rather than attributed to versions which no longer survive.<sup>20</sup> Several authors have *uidebit* for *potest uidere* in *John* 3:3 and even more feature *intrabit* for *potest intrare* two verses later, but the lack of Greek support implies that this is a patristic form. Differences in word order in quotations are also rarely significant. For example, the order of the first two phrases of *John* 4:22 is reversed in the Arian *Instructio uerae fidei* from the Bobbio Codex (AN Bob fi), with *autem* consequently displaced, but it is improbable that this originates from a manuscript of the Gospel. Nonetheless, as similar types of variation occur in Old Latin witnesses, there is occasionally coincidental agreement between manuscripts and citations. The seventh-century *Expositio quattuor euangeliorum* pseudonymously attributed to Jerome (PS-HI Ev) is unlikely to have depended on a biblical codex with *quod uidi et audiui hoc testificatur* in *John* 3:32, even though *audiui* is the first hand reading in VL 33. Certain manuscripts of Augustine and Bede and the corrector of VL 47 seem independently to have the imperfect *clamabat* in *John* 1:15. All Latin gospels read *amen amen dico tibi* in *John* 3:5, yet three quotations have *dico*

<sup>19</sup> The only Greek correspondence I have found is with Clement of Alexandria, who reads *καταλαμβάνει* throughout the *Paedagogus*: this may be an independent example of the same alteration.

<sup>20</sup> An introduction to this concept, with examples from *John*, is given in H.A.G. Houghton, "'Flattening" in Latin Biblical Citations' (2010).

*uobis* and two only a single *amen*: both these variants happen to find parallels in Greek and Latin manuscripts for the same phrase two verses earlier. There are various tenses of *accipere* in gospel books and citations in *John* 3:11, 3:33 and 4:36 (as well as a change of person at 3:11 in VL 33): alternative forms in patristic manuscripts offer still more options although the likelihood of these representing lost versions is slim.

Harmonisation is particularly common in biblical quotations. Greek manuscripts are almost unanimous in reading ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔλεγε in *John* 2:21, to which all Latin gospels and the earliest Christian writers correspond with *ille autem dicebat*.<sup>21</sup> The vast majority of the citations of this verse, however, have *hoc autem dicebat*, presumably under the influence of the Johannine formula with a neuter pronoun as found at *John* 6:6, 7:39, 11:51, 12:33 and 21:19. Ambrose, in fact, reads *hoc autem dixit* (as do a couple of later compilations), matching instances with the perfect: in the absence of any ‘primary citations’ with this form or Greek support there is no justification for reconstructing it as a version no longer extant. The same is true of *non uenit filium hominis*, Augustine’s ‘mental text’ of the first clause of *John* 3:13 in place of *non enim misit deus filium suum in mundum*. Despite the exclusive correspondence of *misit* and ἀπέστειλεν in biblical manuscripts, other authors also have *uenire* here: the most likely source seems to be a phrase from the Synoptic Gospels such as *Matth.* 20:28, *Mark* 10:45 or *Luke* 5:32. The occurrence of *uoluntatem eius qui in caelis est* alongside *uoluntatem eius qui misit me* in *John* 4:34 is yet another example: Ambrose, Rufinus, Ambrosius Autpertus and Beatus all seem to have conflated this verse with *Matth.* 7:21 or 12:50. Such extraneous material has usually been omitted from the edition, but when it is embedded into an author’s text of a particular verse or features in a number of different sources it has been included: conflation is also sometimes present in biblical manuscripts (e.g. *mitteret* alongside *daret* in *John* 3:16).

Examples of deliberate alteration to the biblical text by Christian authors are rare in these four chapters, perhaps because it was more convenient for exegetes simply to omit problematic phrases. One major intervention is Jerome’s apparent rewriting of *John* 3:26 as:

*magister cui tu praeuisti testimonium iuxta Iordanem, ecce discipuli eius baptizant et plures ueniunt ad eum.* (HI Ep 121.1.4)

This is presumably to bring the verse into line with *John* 4:2 (*quamquam Iesus non baptizaret sed discipuli eius*); there is also an anticipation of the latter passage in the use of *plures* rather than *omnes*. The substitutions of *magister* for *rabbi* and *iuxta* for *trans*, however, as well as the initial word order, indicate that the quotation is fairly loose and may even be a conflation rather than a

<sup>21</sup> The only exception is 032<sup>S</sup> with αὐτός for ἐκεῖνος. Greek authors predominantly concur with biblical manuscripts although there are some examples of flattening in Greek citations as well.



conscious change. Another of Jerome's adjustments seems to be a grammatical correction: his *Commentary on Galatians* is the only text with a plural verb in *John* 1:17; *gratia enim et ueritas per Iesum Christum factae sunt*. The majority of additions seem to be exegetical expansions, such as the various interpolations after *daret* in *John* 3:16, although it is not clear why Gaudentius adds *uerae* before *hydriae* on the second occasion he quotes *John* 2:6 in *Sermo* 9.24. Interference with the text might be expected in certain theologically-important verses, yet there is little evidence of this: the singular *natus est* in several writers could represent a Christological interpretation of *John* 1:13, but it is also found in two manuscripts (VL 4 and 9A); although Irenaeus, Hilary, Jerome and Fulgentius have the only instances of *unigenitus deus* in 1:18, all of them cite this verse in other writings as *unigenitus filius*; the variation between *electus* and *filius* at 1:34 reveals more about later editorial policies than patristic doctrine (the Vulgate reading was preferred in an earlier edition of Ambrose). The earliest Greek text of *John* 3:34 is lacking an explicit subject for *δίδωσιν τὸ πνεῦμα*, and although *ὁ θεός/deus* is supplied in biblical manuscripts, the choice of *pater* in Gregory of Elvira (long before the *Filioque* controversy) may be explained as an anticipation of the following word.

The differences between Marius Victorinus' citations could be a deliberate ploy to emphasise the discontinuity between Latin and the original Greek, as well as reflecting his preference for variety.<sup>22</sup> He leaves *λόγος* untranslated in his citations of *John* 1:1 and renders *πρὸς τὸν θεόν* variously as *circa deum*, *ad deum*, *apud deum* and *iuxta deum* all within the same work, as well as explicitly preferring *in gremio* to *in sinu* as a rendering of *ἐν κόλπῳ* [*sic*] in *John* 1:18 (MAR Ar 4.33). His recourse to a Greek text and the discrepancies between his citations of the same verse diminish the significance of his evidence for the history of the Latin Bible. For instance, Victorinus provides the only example of *nullus* as a rendering of *οὐδεὶς* at *John* 1:18, which he also reads at 3:13, but his other seven quotations of 1:18 have *nemo*. Similarly, he has both *facere* and *efficere* for *γενέσθαι* in citations of *John* 1:3 and 4:14. The two citations of the latter verse in *Aduersus Arium* are markedly different:

*qui autem biberit ex ista aqua quam ego dabo ei non sitiet in omni saeculo, sed aqua quam ipsi dabo efficietur in ipso fons aquae scatentis in uitam aeternam.* (MAR Ar 1.5)  
*qui autem biberit de aqua quam ego dederō ei non sitiet in sempiternum, sed aqua quam dabo ei fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam.* (MAR Ar 4.6)

The latter corresponds to Old Latin witnesses, but the former presents a number of unique features (*ista, omni saeculo, ipsi, ipso, scatentis*). Further examination may reveal that he changed his source for the gospel in the middle of

<sup>22</sup> See further Frederick F. Bruce, 'The Gospel Text of Marius Victorinus', in Ernest Best and Robert McL. Wilson (eds), *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament presented to Matthew Black* (Cambridge, 1969), 69-78.

writing this work, like Augustine's *De trinitate*, although the absence of parallels makes it hard to locate the earlier version within the rest of the tradition.<sup>23</sup> *Regnum dei tenere* in *John* 3:5 also has no other Latin or Greek support. In the next verse, however, Victorinus provides the earliest citation with *quod nascitur* for τὸ γεγεννημένον twice: the occurrence of this in Hilary of Poitiers, Gregory of Elvira, Filastrius of Brescia, Faustus the Manichee and others indicates that it is likely to have been present in an early manuscript (compare *John* 3:8 in VL 3).

The problem of multiple forms of a single biblical verse is particularly acute in Tertullian, who rarely quotes the same text twice:

John 1:3	<i>omnia per illum facta sunt et sine illo factum est nihil</i> (TE Her 20)
	<i>omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil</i> (TE Pra 21.1)
John 2:19	<i>euertite templum hoc et ego illud in triduo resuscitabo</i> (TE pud 16)
	<i>diruite templum istud et ego illud triduo resuscitabo</i> (TE res 18.6)
John 3:5	<i>nisi quis nascetur ex aqua et spiritu non inibit in regnum dei</i> (TE an 39)
	<i>nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto non intrabit in regno caelorum</i> (TE ba 13.3)
John 3:6	<i>quod in carne natum est, caro est, quia ex carne natum est ... et quod de spiritu natum est spiritus est, qui deus spiritus et de deo natus est</i> (TE car 18.5)
	<i>quod in carne natum est caro est, et quod de spiritu spiritus est</i> (TE Pra 27.14)
John 3:31-2	<i>qui de terra est, terrena loquitur; qui de supernis uenit super omnes est</i> (TE ba 10.7)
	<i>qui de terra est terrena fatur, et qui de caelis adest quae uidit ea loquitur</i> (TE or 1.3)

There are also variations within the same work, such as *Aduersus Praxean* with *principio* and *primordio* in *John* 1:1-2 and *unigeniti* and *unici* in *John* 1:14, or *De carne Christi* with the singular *natus est* as well as *nati sunt* in *John* 1:13. This has prompted the question of whether Tertullian used a Latin version of the Gospel or translated directly from a Greek text. As with Marius Victorinus, if the latter is the case then he stands apart from Latin biblical tradition because the wording of his citations was never found in a gospel codex. Earlier studies of Tertullian's text of *Luke* have suggested that he was familiar with multiple Latin versions.<sup>24</sup> The number of occasions when he is independent of the entire Latin tradition in these four chapters of

<sup>23</sup> For the differences between the first book of Augustine's *De trinitate* and the rest of the work, see H.A.G. Houghton, *Augustine's Text of John* (2008), 153-6.

<sup>24</sup> See Angus J.B. Higgins, 'The Latin Text of Luke in Marcion and Tertullian', *VC* 5 (1951), 1-42; Thomas P. O'Malley, *Tertullian and the Bible. Language, Imagery, Exegesis* (Nijmegen, 1967).



*John*, however, is surprisingly high. These include *quid tibi mecum est* for τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί in 2:4, *augeri ... diminui* for αὐξάνειν ... ἐλαττοῦσθαι in 3:30 and *et tamen ... non tinguebat* for καίτοιγε ... οὐκ ἐβάπτιζεν in 4:2, as well as several instances in the table above. Most of these correspond to a Greek text, although his form of *John* 1:12 seems to be a paraphrase, with *crediderunt* for ἔλαβον and *ut filii dei uocentur* for τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι.<sup>25</sup> It is notable that he uses *uera lux* for τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν in *John* 1:9 even though *lumen uerum* is widely attested as the predominant early Latin form. Both the internal differences between his quotations and the distance between Tertullian and the rest of the Latin tradition of *John* suggest that his evidence should be treated with caution.

The potential for patristic sources to supply forms which were never present in gospel manuscripts can be seen in translations of Greek writers. Although a translator might have referred to a Latin version of the Gospel (especially for longer passages or commentary *lemmata*), and familiar forms of text would have exerted a subconscious influence in the rendering of well-known verses, quotations in translated works often differ from the rest of the tradition. The best explanation for this is that the source text was translated in its entirety, resulting in occasional *ad hoc* renderings in biblical quotations. For example, only the *Scholia* of Cyril of Alexandria (CYR:CO 1.5) have *absque* rather than *sine* for χωρίς in *John* 1:3. Again, manuscripts and authors all render ὅσοι in *John* 1:12 by *quotquot* or *qui* except for the Latin translation of Hegemonius' *Acta Archelai* with *quicumque*. Eusebius of Emesa is believed to have been translated into Latin in Gaul around the fifth century, and these sermons consistently feature unique renderings including *lumen* in *John* 1:4, *nomen ei Iohannes* in 1:6 (a literal version of ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἰωάννης), *iste uenit ad testimonium* in 1:7, *indigebat* for οὐ χρεῖαν εἶχεν in 2:25, the imperative *testes estote* in 3:28, *ex hac aqua* and *sitiens* in 4:15 (a misreading of διψῶ as διψῶν?) and *uos autem* in 4:20. Only the translations of Eusebius and Cyril have the slavishly literal *quid erat in homine* in 2:25; all other Latin writings have the more idiomatic subjunctive. The versions of Chrysostom by Anianus of Celeda and anonymous translators (including the sixth-century collection of John of Naples) supply a further share of otherwise unattested forms such as *temetipso* in *John* 1:22, *qui autem* in 1:24 and *non noueram ipsum* and *tingens* in 1:31.<sup>26</sup> The practice of *ad hoc* translation is not restricted to entire works: many of the unusual or inconsistent forms in Jerome's citations may

<sup>25</sup> Compare also *John* 3:36, with the addition of *dei* after *filio* and the substitution of *deum* for *uitam*.

<sup>26</sup> Note that Anianus is inconsistent in this rendering of βαπτίζειν, preferring *baptizare* in *John* 1:33. The *Vetus Latina Database* also includes cards for certain translations of Chrysostom made by Johannes Oecolampadius in the sixteenth century: these too feature unparalleled forms of the biblical text, although they have been excluded from the edition.

derive from his direct use of Origen and other Greek writers.<sup>27</sup> Of course, there remains a high proportion of overlap between the gospel text of translated works and the rest of Latin tradition. Nonetheless, these sources rarely if ever qualify as evidence in their own right. The Latin Irenaeus is especially vexing: this early translation features many unique forms, like Tertullian, but it is difficult to determine the extent to which these may represent forms from one or more lost Latin versions rather than *ad hoc* renderings.<sup>28</sup>

The fact that numerous variant readings are only attested in translated works, or are unlikely for other reasons to have been drawn from biblical manuscripts, reveals an overall consistency in the Old Latin tradition of *John*, particularly as far as the patristic material is concerned. This may be illustrated by the eight forms of *John* 1:2:

1.	<hoc erat> in primordio apud deum	TE Pra <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub>
2.	hic erat in principio apud deum	TE Pra <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub> ; CY (ms); IR <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ; EUS-E (mss); MAXn
3.	hoc erat in principio apud deum	NO; CY; VICn; IR <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ; PS-HIL ap; FIR; HIL; ZE; FAUn; PS-PRIS; AM; AMst <sup>3</sup> / <sub>5</sub> ; EUS-E; FID Fris; PS-AU spe; PS-VIG tri; CHRO; RUF; PS-RUF fi; ORO; HI; AU; PS-VIG Var; EVA-G; cf ORI Mt; cf PET-C; SALO; QU; AR (mss); PROS; LEO; CE; PS-AU sol; VIG-T; CO 1,5 S; PS-AM tri; S-L; FU; PS-FU; PS-THI; CAE (<AU); PS-AU s; DION-E; FEnd; APR; RUS; CAr; GR-T; AN Ps sen (<AU); APO; PS-HIL tr; S-Ge V; GR-M; PS-HI Ev; ILD; AN Jo; PS-HI bre; PS-IGN; PS-IS Jud; BED; PS-BED Jo; AM-A; PAU-Aq; BEA; CLAU-T; ANT-M; M-Ga; M-M; PROL Mt Ir; RES-R
4.	hoc fuit in principio apud deum	CY (ms); LAC; MAR Ar 2; JO-N; ORI ser?
5.	hoc in principio erat apud deum	AN sy; AMst <sup>2</sup> / <sub>5</sub>
6.	erat hic in principio apud deum	MAR Ar 1
7.	hoc erat in initio apud deum	RUF pri <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
8.	iste erat in principio apud deum	VIG-P

<sup>27</sup> Compare the variety of forms in Jerome's citations of *John* 1:11, 1:16, 1:26, 1:32, 3:13, 3:20, 3:31, 3:33, 4:14 and 4:34.

<sup>28</sup> Examples include *erat ei nomen* in 1:6 (compare Eusebius above), *testaretur* in 1:7, *dicebam* in 1:30, *opus erat illi* and *cum ipse sciret* in 2:25, *traducantur* in 3:20, *attolite* in 4:35, *messor* in 4:36, *sermo uerus* in 4:37 and *praemisi* in 4:38. Note that while the Latin Irenaeus has *messor* for δ θερίζων at the beginning of 4:36, it reverts to the standard *qui metit* at the end of the verse and in 4:37.

The problems outlined above concerning material only preserved in Tertullian or Marius Victorinus mean that 1. and 6. may immediately be put to one side. Furthermore, in both cases, alternative forms are found within the same work. The unreliability of patristic quotations as evidence for word order means that 5. can also be discounted: there are no fewer than four different sequences of these words in the relevant paragraph of Ambrosiaster, *Quaestiones Veteris et Noui Testamenti* 91 (two of which are not given here as they are without parallel); the anonymous fourth-century *Commentarius in Symbolum Nicaenum* (AN sy) is more compelling as this text occurs within a continuous citation of the first three verses, but the variant could have arisen independently. This leaves four forms with alternative renderings. 7. only occurs once in Rufinus' translation of Origen's *De principiis*, and Rufinus chooses *principio* on the three other occasions, suggesting that this is an *ad hoc* rendering. This is the case for 8. as well: letter 83 in the *Collectio Avelana*, by Pope Vigilius (VIG-P:COL-AV), cites a translation of Greek conciliar proceedings. When Tertullian, Marius Victorinus and translated works are removed from 2. and 4., the attestation is much weaker. In 2., *hic*, the literal translation of οὗτος, requires *sermo* rather than *uerbum* in order to correspond grammatically to the previous verse: this is the case in manuscript L of Cyprian's *Ad Quirinum* (manuscript B appears to read *sermo* and *hoc*), but Augustine's Arian opponent Maximinus – who has *hic* twice – reads *uerbum*. As Lactantius is known to have used *Ad Quirinum*, his support for *fuit* in 4. may not be independent but indicate that he read the form of text transmitted by manuscript B of this work. Given that, as mentioned earlier, the manuscript tradition of *Ad Quirinum* reflects revisions according to different versions of the Bible, neither 2. nor 4. can be ignored despite their poor attestation. The result of this analysis is therefore to reduce the eight forms of *John* 1:2 to the one found in all surviving manuscripts and the majority of citations and two preserved in single manuscripts of Cyprian.

In conclusion, this survey has confirmed the initial claim that surviving gospel manuscripts appear to preserve most of the recoverable Old Latin evidence for the text of *John*. The manuscript tradition is often far richer than the patristic material, featuring readings not found among Latin writers. Only a small proportion of variants occurring solely in quotations have a strong claim to be considered as evidence of versions which no longer survive. These are mostly alternative renderings paralleled elsewhere but not preserved in biblical codices at that point. Many forms peculiar to Christian authors can be explained as instances of alterations typical in the presentation of biblical verses out of context: deliberate adjustments, subconscious 'flattening', harmonisation to other texts and errors of memory. Some discrepancies may have arisen during the transmission of the patristic work. When a writer is inconsistent it usually weakens the value of their evidence: this is especially the case with Tertullian and Marius Victorinus, who may sometimes have relied on a Greek text of the gospel. Translators of other Christian writings usually seem to have made an

*ad hoc* rendering of biblical citations, resulting in occasional forms peculiar to these sources. The overall consistency of the Latin tradition in these four chapters of *John* may support the observation already made for other biblical books that the surviving Old Latin texts all seem to derive from a single original translation which was subsequently modified, adjusted and revised in various ways in various places.<sup>29</sup> It remains to be seen whether this will be borne out by the remaining chapters currently in preparation.

<sup>29</sup> For books of the New Testament, see Bonifatius Fischer, 'Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache. Der gegenwärtige Stand seiner Erforschung und seine Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte', in Kurt Aland (ed.), *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ANTF 5 (Berlin, 1972), 24-8; for the Old Testament, Jean-Claude Haelewyck, 'Les premières versions latines de la Bible', in Christian-Bernard Amphoux and Jean Margain (eds), *Les premières traditions de la Bible*, Histoire du texte biblique 2 (Lausanne, 1996), 121-36.